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Giles King sculp. 1726.

PLUTARCH'S
LIVES:

VOLUME *the* SIXTH.

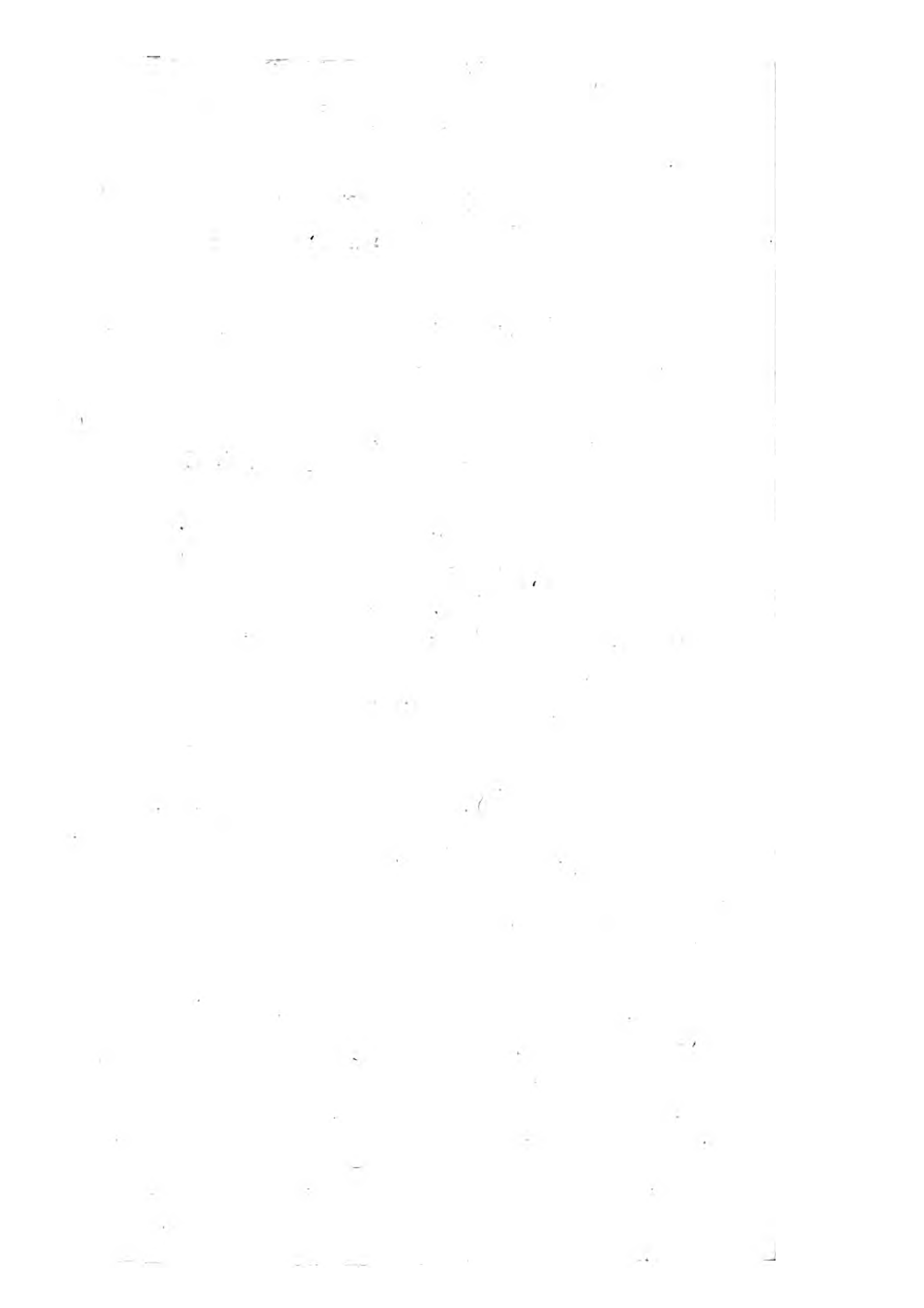
CONTAINING

ALEXANDER. PHOCION.
JULIUS CÆSAR. CATO MINOR.

Translated from the GREEK.

With NOTES *Historical and Critical*
From M. DACIER.

L O N D O N:
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L. Cheron Inv.

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G. P. Gucht Sculp.



THE
L I F E
O F
ALEXANDER the Great.

IT being my purpose to write the Lives of *Alexander*, and *Cæsar* by whom *Pompey* was destroyed, the multitude of their great Actions afford me so large a Field, that I were to blame if I should not by way of Apology acquaint my Reader that I have chosen rather to Epitomize the most celebrated parts of their Story, than to insist at large on every particular Circumstance of it; (1) especially when

(1) The Fidelity so essential to History requires an exact circumstantial Account of every thing; whereas in Biography the chief Draughts and Touches, which serve to convey the Resemblance of the Person to the Reader, are sufficient. *Plutarch* very justly compares Biography to Portraiture, wherein all the Lineaments of the Countenance are not expressed, but such only as more particularly Characterize it.

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I consider my Design is not to write Histories, but Lives. Neither do the most glorious Exploits always furnish us with the clearest Discoveries of Virtue, or Vice, in Men; (1) sometimes a Matter of less moment, an Expression or a Jest, informs us better of their Manners and Inclinations, than the most famous Sieges, the greatest Encampments, or the bloodiest Battels whatsoever. Therefore as Those who draw by the Life, are more exact in the Lines and Features of the Face, from which we may often collect the Disposition of the Person, than in the other Parts of the Body: So I shall endeavour, by penetrating into, and describing the secret Recesses and Images of the Soul, to express the Lives of Men, and leave their more shining Actions and Atchievements to be treated of by Others.

It is agreed on by all hands, (2) that on the Father's side *Alexander* descended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and from *Æacus* by *Neoptolemus* on the Mother's side. His Father *Philip* being in *Samathrace* when he was young, fell in Love there with *Olympias*, (3) with whom he was initiated in the religious Ceremonies of the Country; and her

(1) And it is upon this Consideration that *Plutarch's* Lives are so worthily admired; he paints those great Men so exactly to the Life, that We think we see and converse with them.

(2) *Caranus*, who was the sixteenth in Descent from *Hercules*, got the Possession of *Macedonia*, and *Alexander* the Great was the twenty second Descendant from *Caranus*, so that from *Hercules* to *Alexander* there were thirty eight Generations. The Descent by his Mother's side is not so clear, there being many Races wanting in it. It is sufficient to know that *Olym-*

pias was the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, and Sister to *Arymbas*, or *Arybbas*.

(3) It was customary for the Women to be initiated in the holy Mysteries, as well as the Men, as appears by this Passage, and in the first Scene of *Phormio*, where *Davus* saith:

———— *Porro autem Geta
Ferietur alio Munere ubi Heras
peperexit,
Porro alio autem ubi erit Natalis
dies,
Ubi initiabunt.*

Father

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Father and Mother being both dead, soon after, with the consent of her Brother *Arymbas*, married her. The Night before the Consummation of the Marriage, she dreamed that a Thunderbolt fell upon her Belly, which kindled a great Fire, whose divided Flames dispersed themselves all about, and then were extinguished. And *Philip*, some time after he was married, dreamed that he sealed up his Wife's Belly with a Seal, whose Impression, as he fancied, was the Figure of a Lion. Some interpreted This as a Warning to *Philip* to look narrowly to his Wife; but (1) *Aristander* of *Telmessus* considering how unusual it was to seal up any thing that was empty, assured him the Meaning of his Dream was, that the Queen was with Child of a Boy, who would one day prove as stout and courageous as a Lion. Not long after a Dragon was observed to lie close by *Olympias* while she slept; upon which *Philip's* Affection to her sensibly abated: (2) For whether he feared her as an Inchantress, or thought she had Commerce with some God, and so looked on Himself as unequal to such a Rival, he was ever after less fond of her Conversation. Others say, that the Women of this Country having always been extremely addicted to perform the Enthusiastick Ceremonies of *Orpheus* and *Bacchus*, (upon which account they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*) did in many things imitate

(1) The Same who attended *Alexander* in all his Expeditions in the Quality both of Priest and Prophet. He was *Alexander's* *Calchas*. The Explication he gave the King's Dream shews that he was a Man of good Sense, and that he endeavoured to ease his Mind of those sinister Ideas which the other Divines might have impressed upon it by their Interpretations. *Telmessus* was a Town in *Lycia*.

(2) It is more likely that he became suspicious of his Wife's Chastity, for *Philip* was not so ignorant how the World went, as not to know that those Stories of Serpents, and other Fictions of the same Stamp, were commonly invented as a Blind, to conceal some criminal Intreague or Correspondence.

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the *Edonian* and *Thracian* Women about Mount *Hæmus*, from whom the word *Σηροδία* seems to be derived, signifying superfluous and over-curious Sacrifices: And that *Olympias* zealously affecting these Fanatical and Enthusiatick Inspirations, to perform them with more barbarick Dread, was wont in the Dances proper to these Ceremonies, to have great tame Serpents about her, which sometimes creeping out of the Ivy, and the Mystick Fans, sometimes winding themselves about the sacred Spears, and the Womens Chaplets, made a dreadful Spectacle to Those who beheld them.

Philip after This Vision sent *Chæron* of *Megalopolis* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, by which he was commanded to sacrifice to, and most respectfully adore *Jupiter Hammon* above all other Gods; and was told he should one day lose that Eye with which he presumed to peep through the Chink of the Door, when he saw the God in the form of a Serpent so familiar with his Wife. *Eratosthenes* says, that *Olympias* when she brought *Alexander* on his way to the Army (in his first Expedition, told him in private the Secret of his Birth, and exhorted him to behave himself with Courage suitable to his divine Extraction. Others again affirm, that she wholly declined this Vanity, and was wont to say, *Will Alexander never leave making Juno jealous of me?*

Alexander was born the sixth of *June*, (which Month the *Macedonians* call *Lous*) the same day that the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was burnt; (1) upon which occasion *Hegesias* of *Magnesia* has an

(1) *Hegesias* was an Historian, and flourished during the Reign of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*. This Expression, which *Plutarch* applies to Him, and which he calls so cold, is fathered upon *Timeus* by *Cicero*, who thinks it a very good one. *Concinneque ut multa Timeus, qui cum in historia dixisset, qua nocte natus Alexander esset,*

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an Expression so mean and cold, as might have extinguished the Flames: *Diana*, says he, *deserved to have her Temple burnt, for leaving the care of it to play the Midwife at the Birth of Alexander.* All the Priests and Soothsayers who happened to be then at *Ephesus*, looking upon the Ruin of this Temple to be the Forerunner of some other Calamity, ran about the Town, beating their Faces, and crying, *That Day had brought forth something that would prove fatal and destructive to all Asia.* *Philip* had just taken *Potidaea*, when he received these three Messages on the same Day: That *Parmenio* had overthrown the *Illyrians* in a great Battle; that his Race-horse had won the Course at the *Olympick Games*; and that his Wife was brought to bed of *Alexander*; with which being extremely pleased, as an addition to his Satisfaction, the Diviners assured him, that a Son whose Birth was accompanied with three such Successes, could not fail of being invincible.

The Statues that most resembled *Alexander* were Those of *Lysippus*, by Whom alone this Prince would suffer his Image to be made. Many of his Scholars and Friends endeavoured to copy after it, but None of them ever came up to *Lysippus*, who expressed the Inclination of his Head a little on one side towards his left Shoulder, and his melting Eye, with incomparable exactness. But *Apelles*, who drew him with Thunderbolts in his Hand, made his Complexion browner and darker

set, eadem Diana Ephesia Templum deflagravisse, adjunxit Minimum id esse miraculum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset; absuisse domo. These Judgments differ very much. For my Part I take That of *Plutarch* to be the Best. In what manner soever it be taken it is a

cold Expression. And we learn from *Longinus* that *Timaeus's* Style was often cold and childish. *Cicero* was of himself so inclined to Jest and Rallery, that Things of that Nature would go down easier with Him than with Persons of a more grave and serious Temper.

than

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than it was naturally, for he was fair, having a mixture of Ruddiness chiefly in his Face, and upon his Breast. *Aristoxenus* in his Memoirs tells us, that an admirable Scent proceeded from his Skin, and that his Breath and Body all over was so fragrant, as to perfume the Cloaths which he wore next him; the cause of which might probably be the hot and adust Temperament of his Body: For sweet Smells, as *Theophrastus* conjectures, are produced by the concoction of moist Humours by Heat, which is the reason that those Parts of the World which are driest and most burnt up, afford Spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity; for the Heat of the Sun exhausts the superfluous Moisture, which floats as it were upon the Surface of the Body, and generates Putrefaction. And this hot Constitution, it may be, rendered *Alexander* so addicted to drinking, and so choleric.

His Temperance, as to the Pleasures of the Body, was apparent in him in his very Childhood, being with much difficulty incited to them, and always using them with great moderation: Tho' in other things he was extremely eager and vehement. In his love of Glory, and the pursuit of it, he shewed a solidity of Judgment and Magnanimity far above his Age; for he neither sought nor valued it upon every slight occasion, as his Father *Philip* did, (who affected to shew his Eloquence almost to a degree of Pedantry, and took care to have the Victories of his Racing Chariots at the *Olympick* Games engraven on his Coin :) but when he was asked by Some about him, whether he would run a Race in the *Olympick* Games, (for he was very swift-footed) he answered, *He would, if he might have Kings to run with him.* It is evident that he had no Opinion of the *Athletick* Exercises; for though he often appointed Prizes, in
which

which not only Tragedians and Musicians, Pipers and Harpers, but Rapsodists also strove to outvie one another, And delighted in all manner of Hunting and Cudgel-playing, yet he never gave any encouragement either to playing at Fifty-cuffs, or that Sport in which all Weapons were to be made use of. While he was yet very young, he entertained the Ambassadors from the King of *Persia*, in the absence of his Father, and charmed them with his Politeness, and Affability in Conversation; but they were taken with nothing so much as the Questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling; for he enquired of them the length of the Ways, the Passages into *Asia*, the Character of their King, how he carried himself to his Enemies, and what Forces he was able to bring into the Field; insomuch that they were struck with Admiration of him, and looked upon the Diligence and so much fam'd Conduct of *Philip*, to be nothing in comparison of the Forwardness and great Spirit that appeared so early in his Son. Whensoever he heard *Philip* had taken any Town of Importance, or won any signal Victory, instead of rejoicing at it, he would in a deploring manner tell his Companions, that *his Father would anticipate every thing, and leave Him and Them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious Actions*. For being more addicted to Virtue and Glory, than either to Pleasure or Riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his Father, as a diminution and prevention of his own future Atchievements; and would have chosen rather to succeed to a Kingdom involved in Troubles and Wars, which would have afforded him frequent Exercise of his Valour, and a large Field of Honour, than to One already flourishing and settled, where he must lead an unactive Life, and be

as

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as it were buried in the sordid enjoyments of Wealth and Luxury.

The care of his Education (as it much imported) was committed to a great many *Præceptors* and Tutors, over whom *Leonidas*, a near Kinsman of *Olympias*, a Man of an austere Temper, presided: (1) He declining the Title of *Præceptor*, though a Charge of sufficient Honour and Reputation, because of his Dignity and Relation, was called *Alexander's* Foster-father and Governour. But He who took upon him the Place and Name of his Pedagogue, was *Lysimachus* the *Acarnanian*, who though he had nothing of worth to recommend him, but his luck to call Himself *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, and *Philip Peleus*, was therefore well enough esteemed and ranked in the next degree after *Leonidas*.

Philonicus the *Theffalian* brought the Horse *Bucephalus* to *Philip*, offering to sell him for thirteen (2) Talents; but when they went into the Field to try him, they found him so very vicious and unmanageable, that he stood up on end when they endeavoured to back him, and would not so much as endure the voice of any of *Philip's* Attendants: Upon whose dislike, as they were leading him away as wholly useless and untractable, *Alexander*, who stood by, would not let them, saying, *What an excellent Horse do they lose, for want of address*

(1) We see by this Passage that the Title of *Præceptor* was of old declined, and despised by Persons of the first Quality, though there can be nothing more honourable than to season the Mind of a young Prince with the Rudiments of Virtue, and raise it by proper Institutions above that cloud of Ignorance, which naturally hangs over it, and is the Source of all sorts of Evils.

(2) This will appear a moderate Price to Those who have read what *Varro* writes in *Lib. 3. Cap. 2. de re rust.* that *Q. Axius* a Senator gave four hundred thousand Sesterces for an *As*; and still more moderate when compared with what *Tavernier* relates that there were Horses in *Arabia* valued at a hundred thousand Crowns.

and boldness to manage him? Philip at first took no notice of what he said; but when he heard him repeat the same thing, and saw he was troubled to have the Horse sent away; Do you reproach, said he to him, *Those who are elder than yourself, as if You knew more, and were better able to manage him than They? Yes,* replied he, *with This Horse I could deal better than any body else. And if you do not,* said Philip, *what will you forfeit for your Rashness? By Jove,* said Alexander, *the whole price of the Horse.* At This the whole Company fell a laughing; but as soon as the Agreement was made between them about the Money, he presently ran to the Horse, and taking hold of the Bridle, turned him directly towards the Sun, having it seems observed he was disturbed at, and afraid of the motion of his own Shadow: Then letting him go forward a little, still keeping the Reins in his Hand, and stroaking him gently, when he found him begin to be very brisk and fiery, he let fall his upper Garment softly, and with one nimble Leap securely mounted him, and when he was seated, by little and little straitned the Bridle, and curbed him without either striking or spurring him. Afterwards, when he perceived his dangerous Fury and Heat was abated, but yet not without great impatience to run, he let him go at full speed, not only encouraging him with a commanding Voice, but pressing him forward also with his Heel. All who were present beheld this Action at first with silent Astonishment, and inward Concern: 'Till seeing him turn at the end of his Career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they All burst out into acclamations of Applause; and his Father weeping for joy, kissed him as he came down from his Horse, and in his Transport said, *O my Son, look thee out a Kingdom equal to, and worthy of thy great Soul, for Macedonia is too little for thee.*

After

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After This, considering him to be of a Temper easie to be led to his Duty by Reason, but by no means to be compelled, he always endeavoured to persuade, rather than to command or force him to any thing; and now looking upon the institution and accomplishment of his Youth, to be of greater difficulty and importance, than to be wholly trusted to those Masters who only taught him Musick, and other superficial and vulgar Sciences, and to require, as *Sophocles* says,

The Bridle, and the Rudder too;

He sent for *Aristotle*, the most knowing and celebrated Philosopher of his Time, and rewarded him with a Munificence proportionable to, and becoming the Care he took to instruct his Son. For he re-peopled his native City *Stagira*, which he had caused to be demolished a little before, restored all the Citizens who were in Exile or Slavery, to their Habitations, and assigned them *Nymphæum* for their Studies and Exercises, near the Town of *Mieza*, where to this very day they shew you *Aristotle's* Stone Seats, and the shady Walks which he was wont to frequent. It appears that *Alexander* received not only the Rules of Morality and Policy from him, but those more abstruse and solid parts of Learning, going by the peculiar Names of (1) *Acroamaticks*, and *Epopticks*, and which are never communicated to the Vulgar. For when he was in *Asia*, and heard *Aristotle* had published some

(1) That is such a sort of Learning as is received by Word of Mouth, and into which the Scholars were initiated by Inspection *as* into the Mysteries. These Sciences were called *Acroamaticks*, to distinguish them from the *Exotericks*. The First were never communicated but to particular Persons, who were known to *Aristotle* to be of a Capacity proper to receive them, whereas he taught the Others publickly to all who had a Mind to hear them. *Aul. Gell. lib. xx. cap. 5.*

Treatises

Treatises of that kind, he wrote to him with great Freedom in the behalf of Philosophy, in this manner: Alexander to Aristotle, greeting. *You have not done well to publish your Books of Acroamaticks, or select Knowledge, for what is there now wherein I can surmount Others, if those things in which I have been particularly instructed by you, be laid open to All? For my part I assure you, I had rather excel Others in the knowledge of what is excellent in its kind, than in the extent of my Power and Dominion. Farewel.* Aristotle, to appease and comply with this noble Ambition of Alexander, answered him, that those Treatises which were his Metaphysicks, were indeed published, but not plainly exposed to every Body's Capacity. For to say truth, they are written in such a style, that they are only an useful and instructive System to Those, who have been already long conversant in that sort of Learning. Doubtless it was to Aristotle's Precepts that he owed the Knowledge and Skill he had not only in the Theory, but likewise in the Practice of Physick: For when any of his Friends were sick, he would often prescribe them their course of Diet, and Medicines proper to their Disease, as we may find in his *Epistles*. He was naturally a great Lover of all kind of Learning, and mightily addicted to Reading, but the Book he delighted in most was *Homer's Iliad*, which he esteemed as an exact Institution, and perfect Store-house of all military Virtue and Knowledge. He always had with him that Edition which had been corrected for him by Aristotle, which (1) Onescritus informs us he laid with his Dagger every

(1) Of *Astypalaa* One of the *Sporades*, Isles lying in the *Cretan* Sea. He followed Alexander in his Expedition into *Asia*, and wrote a Relation of it. He was Pilot to Alexander's Gally, and would have us believe in his Hi-

story that he had the Command of his Fleet. Truth was one of the Things the least regarded by him in his Writings. He endeavoured to imitate *Xenophon's* style, but he fell far short of his Eloquence, and Simplicity.

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Night under his Pillow. When he was in upper *Asia*, where he cou'd not be so easily supplied with Books, he ordered *Harpalus* to send him Some, who furnished him with *Philistus's* History, a great many of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Æschylus* his Tragedies, and some Dithyrambick Hymns composed by *Telestes* and *Philoxenus*. For a while he loved and cherished *Aristotle* no less, as he was wont to say Himself, than if he had been his Father, giving this Reason for it, *that as the One had given him to Live, he was taught how to live Well by the Other*. But afterwards having some mistrust of him, yet not so far as to do him any Prejudice, (1) his Familiarity and friendly Kindness to him abated so much, as to make it evident he was very indifferent to him. However his violent Thirst after, and respect for Learning, which were born, and still grew up with him, never decayed; as appears by his Veneration of *Anaxarchus*, by the Present of fifty Talent which he sent to (2) *Xenocrates*, and his particular Care and Esteem of *Dandamis* and *Calanus*.

When *Philip* went in an Expedition against the *Byzantines*, he left *Alexander*, then sixteen Years old, his Lieutenant in *Macedonia*, committing the charge of his Great Seal to Him; who not to sit idle, reduced the Rebellious (3) *Medarans*; and

(1) The real Cause of this Coldness was never known. Some have thought it was because *Aristotle* was more zealous for the Interests of *Olympias* than Those of *Alexander*. Others, because he had recommended *Callisthenes* the Philosopher to that Prince's Service. For *Callisthenes* was a Person of too blunt a Temper, and too much an Enemy to Flattery, to be long acceptable to a Prince, who would be thought the Son of *Jupiter*.

(2) Of these fifty Talents *Xenocrates* took no more than three thousand Drachmas, telling *Alexander* that He had the most need of the rest, who had so many Mouths to feed, and so many Men to pay.

(3) They were a People of *Thrace* subject to the *Macedonians*, and were so called because they were descended from the *Medes*, who a long time before had settled a Colony in that Country.

having

having taken their chief Town by Storm, drove out the barbarous Inhabitants, and planting a Colony of several Nations in their room, called the Place after his own Name *Alexandropolis*. At the Battel of *Chæronæa*, which his Father fought against the *Græcians*, he is said to have been the first Man that charged the *Thebans* sacred Band. And even in My remembrance there stood an old Oak near the River *Cephisus*, which the Country People called *Alexander's Oak*, because his Tent was pitched under it. And not far off are to be seen the Graves of the *Macedonians*, who fell in that Battel. This early Bravery made *Philip* so fond of him, that nothing pleased him more, than to hear his Subjects call *Alexander* their King, while they allowed Himself no other Title than That of their General.

But the Disorders of his Family, chiefly caused by his new Marriages, and extravagant Loves, (the whole Kingdom being soon in a manner imbroiled by the Women) raised many Quarrels, and great Breaches between them, which the Ill-nature of *Olympias*, a Woman of a jealous and implacable Temper, still made wider by exasperating *Alexander* against his Father. Among the rest, this Accident contributed most to their falling out. At the Wedding of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* in his Dotage had married, she being much too young for him, her Uncle *Attalus* in his Cups desired the *Macedonians* would implore the Gods to give them a lawful Successor to the Kingdom by his Neice. This nettled *Alexander* so, that throwing one of the Cups at his Head, *You Villain*, said he, *what am I then, a Bastard?* *Philip* taking *Attalus's* part, rose up and would have ran his Son through; but by good Fortune for them Both, either his over-hasty Rage, or the Wine he had drank, made his Foot slip, so that he fell down on the Floor. At

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which *Alexander* most reproachfully insulted over him: See there, said he, *the Man, who made such Preparations to pass out of Europe into Asia, overturned in passing from one Seat to Another.* After this insolent Debauch, He and his Mother *Olympias* went from Court, and when he had placed her in *Epirus*, he Himself retired into *Illyria*.

About this time *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, an old Friend of the Family, who had the freedom to say any thing among them without offence, coming to visit *Philip*, after the first Compliments and Embraces were over, *Philip* asked him, *Whether the Græcians lived in Amity with one another? It ill becomes You,* replied *Demaratus*, *to enquire after the State of Greece, who have involved your own House in so many Dissentions and Calamities.* He was so convinced by this seasonable Reproach, that he immediately sent for his Son home, and at last by *Demaratus* his Mediation prevailed with him to return. But this Reconciliation lasted not long; for when *Pexodorus*, Viceroy of *Caria*, sent *Aristocritus* to treat a Match between his eldest Daughter and *Philip's* Son *Arideus*, hoping by this Alliance to secure his Assistance upon occasion; *Alexander's* Mother and Some who pretended to be his Friends, presently filled his Head with Tales and Calumnies, as if *Philip* by this splendid Alliance, and considerable Negotiation, intended to settle the Kingdom upon *Arideus*. To prevent This, he dispatched one *Theffalus* a Player into *Caria*, to dispose *Pexodorus* to flight *Arideus*, both as illegitimate, and a Fool, and rather to accept of Himself for his Son-in-law. This Proposition was much more agreeable to *Pexodorus* than the former. But *Philip* as soon as ever he was made acquainted with this Transaction, went directly to his Son's Apartment, accompanied only by *Philotas*, one of his most intimate Friends, the Son of *Parmenio*,
and

and there reprov'd him severely, and reproach'd him bitterly, that he should be so degenerate, and unworthy of the Crown he was to leave him, as to desire the Alliance of a mean *Carian*, who was at best but the Vassal of a barbarous Prince. Nor did this satisfy his Resentment, for he wrote to the *Corinthians*, to send *Thessalus* to him in Chains, and banished *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius*, and *Ptolemy*, his Son's Confidants and Favourites, whom *Alexander* afterwards recalled, and rais'd to great Honour and Preferment.

(1) Not long after this, a Youth named *Pausanias*, being forcibly abused, not without the knowledge and consent of *Attalus* and *Cleopatra*; When he found he could get no Reparation for his Disgrace at *Philip's* Hands, watched his opportunity and murder'd him. The guilt of which Fact fell partly upon *Olympias*, who is said to have encouraged and exasperated the enraged Youth to Revenge; and partly upon *Alexander* Himself, who when *Pausanias* came and complain'd to him of the Injury he had received, (2) repeated that Passage to him out of *Euripides's Medea*, where it is said,

The Bridal Father, Bridegroom, and the Bride.

(1) *Justin* calls him *Nobilis ex Macedonibus Adolefcens*. He was One of *Philip's* Life-Guard. *Attalus* having satisfied his beastly Lust upon his Person, was not content with that Outrage, but prostituted him to all his Guests at a festival Entertainment. *Justin* ix. 8.

(2) *Alexander* cited only the two hundred and eighty eighth Verse of that Tragedy,

Τὸν δόντα, καὶ γήμαρτα, καὶ
χαρμμένον.

which is spoken by *Creon* to *Medea*. I have been inform'd that thy design is to punish the Bridegroom, the Bride, and the Person who gave her. That is, *Jason*, *Creusa*, and *Creon*. *Alexander* in the Application of this Verse gives *Pausanias* to understand that he ought to wreck his Vengeance upon the Bridegroom, that is *Philip*, upon the Bride, that is his Wife *Cleopatra*, and upon Him that gave her, that is *Attalus*, who contriv'd the Match between *Philip*, and his Neice.

B 2

However

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However he took care to find out and punish the Accomplices of the Conspiracy severely, and was very angry with *Olympias*, for treating *Cleopatra* too inhumanly in his absence.

Alexander was but twenty Years old when his Father was murdered, and succeeded to a Crown beset on all sides with many Dangers, and powerful Enemies. For not only the barbarous Nations that bordered on *Macedonia*, were impatient of being governed by any but their own native Princes; but *Philip* likewise, though he had been Victorious over the *Græcians*, yet for want of time to finish his Conquests, and settle his Affairs, had left all things in great Hurry and Confusion. Wherefore Some would have persuaded *Alexander*, to have given over all thoughts of containing the *Græcians* in their Duty by force of Arms, and rather to apply himself to reduce the neighbouring Nations by gentle means, and prevent Innovations in their very beginning. But he rejected this Counsel as weak and timorous, and looked upon it to be more Prudence to secure himself by Resolution and Magnanimity, (1) than by seeming to truckle to Any, encourage All to trample on him: In pursuit of this Opinion, he kept the *Barbarians* quiet, by making a sudden Incurfion into their Country, as far as the River *Ister*, where he gave *Syrmus* King of the *Triballians* a considerable Overthrow. And hearing the *Thebans* were ready to revolt, and held Correspondence with the *Athenians*, willing to shew himself a Man, he immediately marched through the Straights of *Thermopylae*, saying, *That to Demo-*

(1) This Resolution was very proper, especially in the Beginning of a Reign. A young Prince who upon his first setting out bears with the Insults of his Neighbours will find it very difficult to get over it. He ought immediately to provide for the Safety and Establishment of his Authority by having Recourse to his own Courage, and Magnanimity.

ALEXANDER.

21

Athenes who had called him a Child while he was in Illyria and the Country of the Triballians, a Youth while he was in Thessaly, he would now appear a Man before the Walls of Athens.

When he came to *Thebes*, to shew how willing he was to accept of their Repentance for what was past, he only demanded of them *Phœnix* and *Prothytes* the Authors of the Rebellion, and proclaimed a general Pardon to Those who would come over to him. But when the *Thebans*, on the other side, not only required *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered into their Hands, but also publicly invited All who would assert the Liberty of *Greece* into an Association with them, he presently applied himself to make them feel the last Extremities of War. The *Thebans* indeed defended themselves with their Alacrity and Courage more than by their Strength, being much out-numbered by their Enemies. But when the *Macedonian* Garrison sallied out upon them from the Cittadel, they were so hemmed in on all sides, that Many of them fell in the Battel. The City it self being taken by Storm, was sacked and rased, on purpose that so severe an Example might terrifie the rest of *Greece* into Obedience. However, to colour his Vengeance, he gave out that he was forced to be so extremly rigorous, by the pressing Complaints and Accusations of his Confederates the *Phocians* and *Platœans*. So that, except the Priests, and some Few who had heretofore entertained the *Macedonians* kindly at their Houses, the Family of the Poet *Pindar*, and Those who were known to have opposed the Rebellion; all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were publicly sold for Slaves; and it is computed, that upwards of six thousand were put to the Sword. Among the other Calamities that besel this miserable City, it happened that some *Thracian* Soldiers having plundered

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dered and demolished the House of an Illustrious Matron named *Timoclea*, their Captain, after he had lain with her by force, to satisfy his Avarice as well as Lust, asked her, if she knew of any Money concealed; to which she readily answered, she did, and bid him follow her into a Garden, where she shewed him a Well, into which she told him, upon the taking of the City, she had thrown what she had of most value. The greedy *Thracian* presently stooping down to view the place, where he thought the Treasure lay, she came behind him and pushed him into the Well, and then flung great Stones in upon him, 'till she had killed him. After which, when the Soldiers led her away bound to *Alexander*, her very Mein and Gate shewed her to be a Woman of Quality, and of a Mind no less elevated, not betraying the least sign of Fear or Astonishment. And when the King asked her, Who she was, *I am*, said she, *the Sister of Theagenes, who fought the Battel of Chæronea with your Father Philip, and fell there for the Liberty of Greece.* *Alexander* was so surprized both at what she had done, and what she said, that he gave Her and her Children full Liberty to go whither they pleased.

After This he received the *Athenians* into Favour, altho' they had shewed themselves so much concerned at the Calamity of *Thebes*, that they omitted the Celebration of their Festivals, and entertained Those who escaped with all possible Humanity. Whether in This he followed the nature of Lions, his Rage (being already satisfied, or that after an Example of horrid Cruelty, he had a mind to appear merciful, it happened well for the *Athenians*: For he not only forgave them all past Offences, but commanded them to look to their Affairs with Caution and Vigilance, upon this Consideration, That if He should miscarry in his Expedition, They were like to be the Arbiters of *Greece*.

Greece. Certain it is, that he often repented of his Severity to the *Thebans*, and his Remorse had such influence on his Temper, as to make him ever after less rigorous to all Others. He imputed also the Murther of *Clitus*, which he committed in his Wine, and the base unwillingness of the *Macedonians* to follow him against the *Indians*, (by which his Enterprize and Glory was left imperfect) to the Wrath and Vengeance of *Bacchus*, the Protector of *Thebes*. And it was observed, that whatsoever any *Theban*, who had the good fortune to survive this Victory, asked of him, he was sure to grant, without the least difficulty.

Soon after This the *Grecians* being assembled in the Straight of *Peloponnesus*, declared their Resolution of joining with *Alexander* in the War against the *Persians*, and made choice of Him for their General. While he staid there, many publick Ministers and Philosophers came from all Parts to visit him, and congratulated his Election: He had promised himself the same Compliment from *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, for he was then at *Corinth*; (1) but when he found he took little or no Notice of him, and that he did not so much as stir out of the Suburb called *Cranium*, where he resided, *Alexander* went thither Himself to visit him. *Diogenes* was lying on the Ground basking himself in the Sun when *Alexander* came up to him; but when he saw so much Company near him, he raised himself a little, and vouchsafed to look upon *Alexander*; and when he kindly asked him, whether he wanted any thing; *Yes*, said he, *I would have you stand*

(1) For *Diogenes* made no great Account of Grandeur. He thought there was no necessity of going immediately to Compliment Persons upon their Advancement to any eminent Post of Honour and Dignity, but wait 'till they had done something by which it appeared that they were worthy of that Advancement. The Reader may find a fine Image of *Diogenes*, in *Epicærus*, lib. iii. art. xlii.

The LIFE of

from between me and the Sun. Alexander was so affected at this Answer, and surprized at the Greatness of the Man's Soul, who had taken so little notice of him, that as he went away, he told his Followers who were laughing at the Moroseness of the Philosopher, *That if he were not Alexander, he could wish to be Diogenes.*

Then he went to *Delphi*, to consult *Apollo* concerning the Success of the War he had undertaken, and happening to come at a time that was esteemed unlucky, when it was unlawful to give any Answers from the Oracle, he sent Messengers to desire the Priests to do her Office; but she refusing to comply, alledging that there was a Law to the contrary, he went up himself, and drew her by Force into the Temple, where tired and overcome with struggling, *My Son*, said she, *Thou art invincible.* Alexander taking hold of what she spoke, declared he had received such an Answer as he wished for, and that it was needless to consult the God any further. Among other Prodigies that proceeded the March of his Army, the Image of *Orpheus* at (1) *Libethra*, made of Cypress-wood, was seen to sweat in great abundance, to the discouragement of Many. But *Aristander* told him, that far from presaging any Ill to Him, it signified he should perform things so important and glorious, as would make the Poets and Musicians of future Ages labour and sweat to describe and celebrate them.

His Army, by Their Computation who reckon moderately, consisted of thirty thousand Foot, and

(1) This was the Name of a Mountain, and City in the Country of the *Odrysa* a People of *Thrace*. On Mount *Helicon* in *Bœotia* there was a Cave called the *Cave of the Nymphs of Libethra*, upon which *Strabo* has founded his Conjecture that the *Thracians* were the People who consecrated all those Places to the *Muses*. *Orpheus* was a Native of *Libethra*.

five thousand Horse; and Those who make the most of it, speak but of thirty four thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. *Aristobulus* says, he had not a Fund of above seventy Talents for their Pay, nor more than thirty days Provision, if we may believe *Duris*; and *Onesicritus* tells us, he was two hundred Talents in Debt. However narrow and disproportionable the beginnings of so vast an Undertaking might seem to be, yet he would not embark his Army, 'till he had informed himself particularly what Estates his Friends had to enable them to follow him, and supplied what they wanted, by giving good Farms to Some, a Village to One, and the Revenue of some Borough or Port-town to Another. So that when at last he had given away or engaged all the Crown-lands, *Perdiccas* asked him *what he had left for himself*; he replied, *My Hopes*. You will not then, said *Perdiccas*, take it ill, if We who are to share with you in your Dangers, desire to share with you in your Hopes also, and refused to accept the Estate he had assigned to Him. Some Others of his Friends did the like; but to Those who willingly received, or desired assistance of him, he liberally granted it, as far as his Patrimony in *Macedonia* would reach, which was all spent in those Donations.

With such vigorous Resolutions, and his Mind thus disposed, he passed the *Hellepont*, and at *Troy* sacrificed to *Minerva*, and honoured the Memory of the Heroes who were buried there, with solemn Funeral Libations: Especially *Achilles*, whose Monument (1) he anointed, and with his Friends, as the ancient Custom was, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crown'd it with Garlands, withal declaring, how happy he esteemed Him, in having while he lived, so faithful a Friend as *Patroclus*,

(1) This was an Act of Religion, and a sort of Worship paid by the Heathens to the Memory of Those whom they held in Honour.

and

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and when he was dead, so famous a Poet as *Homer* to immortalize his Actions. While he was viewing the rest of the Antiquities and Curiosities of the Place, being told he might see *Paris's Harp*, if he pleas'd, he said, *He thought it not worth looking on, but he should be glad to see That of Achilles, with which he had celebrated the Glory and renowned Actions of so many brave Men.*

In the mean time *Darius's* Lieutenants had drawn together a great Army, and lay encamped on the Banks of the *Granicus*. Here was in a manner the Door leading out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and *Alexander* was under a Necessity of forcing it open by an Engagement with the Enemy. The Depth of the River, with the Unevenness and difficult Ascent of the opposite Bank, which was to be gained by main Force, was apprehended by Some; and Others were so superstitious, as to think it an improper time to engage, because it was unusual for the Kings of *Macedonia* to march with their Forces in the Month of *June*. But *Alexander* broke through these Scruples, telling them, they should call it a second *May*. And when *Parmenio* advised him not to attempt any thing that day, because it was late, he told him, *That he should disgrace the Hellespont, should he fear the Granicus.* And so without more saying, he immediately took the River with thirteen Troops of Horse, and advanced against whole Showers of Darts thrown from the other side, which was covered with multitudes of the Enemy, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the Ground and the rapidity of the Stream; so that this Action seemed to have more of Rage and Madness in it, than of prudent Conduct. However he persisted obstinately to gain the Foord, and at last with much ado climbing up the Banks, which were very slippery by reason of the Mud, he was fain to mingle among the thickest
of

of the Enemy, and fight Hand to Hand for a while, before he could bring his Men, who were endeavouring still to pass, into any Order. They pressed upon him with loud and warlike Outcries, and charging him closely with their Horse, after they had broken and spent their Javelins, they fell to it with their Swords. And *Alexander* being remarkable for his Buckler, and a large Plume of excellent white Feathers on his Helmet, was attacked on all sides, yet escaped wounding, though his Cuirass was pierced by a Javelin in a faulty place. And *Rhesaces* and *Spithridates*, two *Persian* Commanders, falling upon him at once, he with great Address gave *Spithridates* the go-by, and pointed his Javelin with such Force against *Rhesaces* his Cuirass that it shivered in Pieces, whereupon he betook himself to his Sword. While they were thus engaged, *Spithridates* watching his Opportunity came up on one side of him, and raising himself upon his Horse, gave him such a Blow with his Battel-ax on the Helmet, that he cut off the Crest of it, with one side of his Plume, and made such a Gash, that the edge of his Weapon touched the very Hair of his Head. But as he was about to repeat his Stroak, the Great *Clitus* prevented him, by running him through the Body with his Spear. At the same time *Alexander* dispatched *Rhesaces* with his Sword. While the Horse were thus dangerously engaged, the *Macedonian* Phalanx passed the River, and the Foot on each Side advanced to fight. But the Enemy hardly sustaining the first Onset, soon gave ground and fled, All but the Mercenary *Grecians*, who making a stand upon a rising ground, desired Quarter, which *Alexander*, guided rather by Passion than Judgment, refused to grant, and charging them Himself first, had his Horse (not *Bucephalus* but Another) killed under him. And this Obstinacy of his to cut off these experienced
desperate

desperate Men, cost him the Lives of more of his own Soldiers, than all the Battel before, besides Those who were wounded. The *Persians* lost in the Battel twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse: On *Alexander's* side, *Aristobulus* says there were not wanting above four and thirty, of which nine were Foot, to eternize whose Memory (1) he caused so many Statues of Brass of *Lysippus's* hand to be erected: And that the *Græcians* might participate the fruits of his Victory, he shared the Booty among them. Particularly to the *Athenians* he sent three hundred Bucklers, and upon all the rest of the Spoils he ordered this glorious Inscription to be set: *Alexander the Son of Philip, and all the Græcians, except the Lacedæmonians, won these from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia.* All the Plate and Purple Garments, and whatever else of any value he took from the *Persians*, except a very small quantity which he reserved for Himself, he sent as a Present to his Mother.

This Battel soon made a great change of Affairs to *Alexander's* Advantage: For *Sardis* itself, the chief Seat of the *Barbarians* Power in the Maritime Provinces, and many other considerable Places, were surrendered to him; only *Halicarnassus* and *Miletus* stood out, which he soon took in by force, together with the adjacent Territories. After which he was a little unsettled in his Opinion

(1) *Quintus Curtius* tells us that he paid this Honour only to twenty five of the Cavalry, who were in the beginning of the Action overpowered by Numbers of the Enemy. These Statues were erected in a Town of *Macedonia* called *Dia*, from whence *Q. Metellus* a long time after caused them to be removed to *Rome*. But how was it possible for *Lysippus* to finish thirty four Statues, or even five and twenty, in so short a space, so as to have them erected by *Alexander* in his Life-time? It is allowed that Brazen Statues are sooner wrought than Statues of Marble; notwithstanding which it will take up a great many Years for one Statuary to finish so many; and *Alexander* lived but ten Years after the Battel of *Granicus*.

how

how to proceed: Sometimes he thought it best to find out *Darius* as soon as he could, and put All to the hazard of a Battel; another while he looked upon it as a more prudent Course, to make an entire Conquest of the Sea-coast, and not to seek the Enemy 'till he was strengthened by the Addition of the Wealth and Forces of those Provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened that a Fountain near the City of *Xanthus* in *Lycia*, of its own accord swelled over its Banks, (1) and threw up a Copper Plate upon the Shore, in which was engraven in ancient Characters, *That the time would come when the Persian Empire should be destroyed by the Græcians*. Encouraged by this Accident, he proceeded to reduce the Maritime Parts of *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*, and passed his Army along the Sea-coasts of *Pamphilia* with such expedition, that many Historians have described, and extolled it with that height of Admiration, as if it were no less than a Miracle, (2) and an extraordinary Effect of Divine Favour, that the Waves which were wont to come rowling in from the

(1) It is more than probable that this Plate was invented by *Alexander*, to encourage his Soldiers.

(2) There is a Passage in *Strabo* which will clear up This, and make it appear what was the Foundation of this pretended Miracle, and the imaginary Compliment of the Sea, which was so far from being complaisant on that Occasion, that it covered the whole Shore up to the very Foot of the Mountain, so that *Alexander's* Soldiers were forced to march up to the Middle in Water. Near the City of *Phaselis* between *Lycia* and *Pamphilia* there is a Passage coasting along by the Sea, through which *Alexander*

marched his Army. This Passage is very narrow, and lies between the Mountain *Climax*, which overlooks the *Pamphylian* Sea, and the Shore. It is dry at low Water, so that Travellers pass thorough it with Safety; but when the Sea is high it is all covered over. It was then in the Winter Season, and *Alexander*, who depended much upon his good Fortune, was resolved to set out without staying 'till the Floods were abated; so that his Men were forced to march up to the Middle in Water. This is the Account we have from *Strabo*. *Quintus Curtius* has drawn up a Medley, partly true, and partly miraculous, on purpose to embellish his Narration.

Main,

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Main, and hardly ever leave so much as the Beach under the steep broken Cliffs at any time uncovered, should on a sudden retire to afford him Passage. *Menander*, in one of his Comedies, alludes to this wonderful Event, when he says,

*How this resembles Alexander's high
Exploits? This Fellow of his own accord is here,
Ask him to wade the Sea, and he'll reply,
Even That to him does passable appear.*

Alexander himself, in his Epistles, mentions nothing unusual in This at all, but says he went from *Phaselis*, and marched through the Straits which they call the *Ladders*. At *Phaselis* he staid some time, and finding the Statue of *Theodectes*, who was then dead, erected in the Market-place, after he had supped, and drank pretty plentifully, he went and danced about it, and crowned it with Garlands as it were in sport; thus after a gentle and graceful manner honouring the Memory of his Friend, whose Conversation he had formerly enjoyed, when he was *Aristotle's* Scholar.

Then he subdued the *Pisidians* who made Head against him, and conquered the *Phrygians*, at whose Chief City *Gordium* (which is said to be the Seat of the ancient *Midas*) he saw the famous Chariot fastened with Cords made of the rind of the *Cornel-Tree*, which Whosoever should untie, the Inhabitants had a constant Tradition, that for Him was reserved the Empire of the World. Most are of Opinion, that *Alexander* finding himself unable to untie (1) the Knot, because the ends of it were
secretly

(1) The Ancients were very expert in tying Knots of such a curious contrivance, that it was impossible for One that was not in the Secret to untie them. In the eighth Book of the *Odyssey*, *Ulysses* when he would secure the Presents made him by the *Phaicians* in

secretly folded up within it, cut it asunder with his Sword: But *Aristobulus* tells us it was easy for him to undo it, by only pulling the Pin out of the Beam which fastened the Yoak to it, and afterwards drawing out the Yoak itself. From hence he advanced into *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, both which Countries he soon reduced to his Obedience, and then hearing of the death of *Memnon*, the best Commander *Darius* had upon the Sea-Coasts, who, if he had lived, might have put a great stop to the Progress of his Arms, he was the rather induced to carry the War into the upper Provinces of *Asia*.

Darius was by this time upon his March from *Susa*, very confident, not only in the Number of his Men, which amounted to six hundred thousand, but likewise in a Dream which the Magicians interpreted rather in Flattery to him, than with any probability of Truth. He dreamed that he saw the *Macedonian Phalanx* all on fire, and *Alexander* waiting on him clad in the same Robe which he used to wear when he was (1) *Asgandes* to the late

in a Chest provided for that Purpose, and prevent their being stolen at any time whilst he was asleep, corded the Chest, and folded the Ends of the Cords in a most intricate Knot, which had been taught him by *Circe*. At present a Thief of the lowest Rank would on such Occasions be an *Alexander*.

(1) It is in Text Ἀσγάνδης ὁ βασιλεύς. *Asgandes*, *Ascandes*, or *Astandes*, is without doubt a *Persian* Word; but what it signifieth is a Question. *Hesychius* explains it by ἀγγελός, Ἀσγάνδης Ἀγγελός, *Asgandes* a *Courier*. In another place he writes it ἀσάνδης ἡμεροδρόμος, it is otherwise defined ὁ ἐκ διαδοχῆς

γραμματοφόρος. The right Name is *Astandes*, according to the *Abbe Renaudot*, a Person remarkable for his great Skill and Knowledge in the oriental Languages. The Infinitive *Staden* signifieth *Stare*, *Istanda Stator*, from whence comes the *Greek Asandes*, for it is indifferent how the first Syllable is pronounced. *Astandes* is the same with what *Cicero* calls *Stator*. *Letteras a te mihi Stator tuus reddidit Tarsi*, *Your Courier delivered Me your Letters at Tarsus*. *Darius* therefore must have been what we call a *State Messenger*, or perhaps the *Persians* gave that Title to Persons of a more considerable Rank, and it might denote the *Chief*, or *Post-Master-General*.

King;

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King; after which going into the Temple of *Belus*, he vanished out of his sight. By this Dream it was manifest, in my Opinion, that the Gods designed to shew him the Illustrious Actions the *Macedonians* were to perform; and that as He from an *Asgandes* had arrived at the Crown, so *Alexander* should come to be Master of *Asia*, and not long surviving his Conquests, conclude his Life with great Glory and Reputation. *Darius's* Confidence increased the more, because *Alexander* spent so much time in *Cilicia*, which he imputed to his Cowardice: But it was Sickness that detained him there, which Some say he contracted by taking too much Pains, Others by Bathing in the River *Cydnus*, whose Waters were exceeding cold. However it happened, none of his Physicians would venture to give him any Remedies, they thought his Case so desperate, and were so afraid of the Censure and Ill-will of the *Macedonians*, if they should fail in the Cure; 'till *Philip* the *Acaranian* considering his extream Danger, and confiding in his Friendship, resolved to try the utmost Efforts of his Art, and rather hazard his own Credit and Life, than suffer him to perish for want of Physick, which he confidently administred to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he desired a speedy Recovery, in order to prosecute the War. At this very time *Parmenio* wrote to *Alexander* from the Camp, bidding him have a care of *Philip*, as one who was bribed by *Darius* to kill him, with great Sums of Money, and a Promise of his Daughter in Marriage. When he had perused the Letter, he put it under his Pillow, without shewing it so much as to any of his most intimate Friends. At the Hour appointed, *Philip*, attended by the other Physicians, came into the Bed-Chamber with the Potion he had prepared for the King, who delivered Him the Letter to read, and at the same time swallowed
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the Potion with great Chearfulness and Intrepidity. This was an Encounter well worth being present at, to see *Alexander* take the Draught, and *Philip* read the Letter at the same time, looking earnestly upon one another, but with different Sentiments; for *Alexander's* Looks were cheerful and open, a Demonstration of his Kindness to and Confidence in his Physician, while the Other's were full of Surprize at the Accusation, appealing to the Gods to witness his Innocence, sometimes lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and then throwing himself down by the Bedside, and beseeching *Alexander* to lay aside all Fear, and rely on his Fidelity. The Medicine at first wrought so strongly with him, that it overcame his Spirits, and brought him so low that he lost his Speech, and falling into a Swoon, had scarce any Sense or Pulse left; but soon after by *Philip's* means, his Health and Strength returned, and he shewed himself in publick to the *Macedonians*, who were in continual Fear and Dejection 'till they saw him abroad again.

There was at this time in *Darius's* Army (1) a *Macedonian* Fugitive, named *Amyntas*, one who was pretty well acquainted with *Alexander's* Temper. This Man, when he saw *Darius* intended to fall upon the Enemy in the *Straits* of an inclosed Country, advised him rather to keep where he was, it being the advantage of a numerous Army to have Field-room enough, when it engages with a lesser Force. *Darius*, instead of taking his Counsel, told him he was afraid the Enemy would endeavour to run away, and so *Alexander* would escape out of his Hands. *That Fear*, replied *Amyntas*, is needless, for assure yourself that far from avoiding you,

(1) This *Amyntas* was the Son of *Antiochus*, and retired out of *Macedonia* without the Provocation of any ill Treatment, but purely for fear of the King, for as He hated *Alexander*, so he concluded that in his turn he was hated by Him.

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*he will make all the speed he can to meet you, and is now questionless on his March towards you. But Amyntas's Counsel was to no purpose, for Darius immediately decamping, marched into Cilicia, at the same time that Alexander advanced into Syria to meet him, but missing one another in the Night, they Both came back again. Alexander, mightily pleased with the Accident, made all the haste he could to fight in the Straits, and Darius to recover his former Ground, and draw his Army out of so disadvantageous a Place: For now he began to perceive his Error in engaging too far into a Country, which by reason of the Sea, the Mountains, and the River *Pindarus* running through the midst of it, would necessitate him to divide his Forces, render his Horse almost unserviceable, and only cover and supply the weakness of the Enemy. Fortune was not kinder to Alexander in the Situation of the place, than He was careful to improve it to his Advantage: For being much inferior in numbers, to prevent being inclosed, he stretched his Right Wing much further out than the Left of his Enemy's, and fighting there Himself in the very foremost Ranks, put the Barbarians to Flight. In this Battel he was wounded in the Thigh by Darius, (as *Chares* says) with Whom he fought Hand to Hand. But in the Account which he gave *Antipater* of the Battel, though indeed he owns he was run through the Thigh with a Sword, but not dangerously, yet he takes no notice Who it was that wounded him.*

Nothing was wanting to compleat this glorious Victory, which he gained at the Expence of above an hundred and ten thousand of his Enemies Lives, but the taking the Person of *Darius*, who escaped very narrowly by Flight. However having taken his Chariot and his Bow, he returned from pursuing him, and found his own Men busy in pillaging
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the *Barbarians* Camp, which was exceeding rich; though *Darius* thinking it unsafe to take the Field with too much Baggage, had left most of it behind at *Damascus*. But the Tent of *Darius*, which was full of costly Furniture, and vast quantities of Gold and Silver, they reserved for *Alexander* Himself, who after he had put off his Arms, went to bathe, saying, *Let us now cleanse and refresh ourselves after the Toils of War, in Darius's Bath.* Not so, replied one of his Followers, *but in Alexander's rather, for the Goods of the Vanquished are and always ought to be reputed the Conqueror's.* Here, when he beheld the Bathing Vessels, the Water-Pots, Vials, and Ointment Boxes all of Gold, curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant Odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into another Apartment, large and well pitched, where the Bed, the Table, and the Entertainment were perfectly magnificent, he turned to Those about him, and in a kind of Transport told them, (1) *This is to be a King indeed.* But as he was going to Supper, Word was brought him that *Darius's* Mother and Wife, and two unmarried Daughters, being taken among the rest of the Prisoners, upon the sight of his Chariot and Bow, were all in Tears and Sorrow, imagining him to be dead. After a little pause, more touched with Their Affliction than with his own Success, he sent *Leonatus* to them, to let them know *Darius* was not dead, and that they need not apprehend any ill Usage from *Alexander*, who made War upon him only for Dominion; and that they should find themselves as well provided for,

(1) I cannot but think This of the Vanquished. Is That to saying unworthy of *Alexander*; they seem to Me the Words of One beginning already to be tainted with the Luxury and Effeminacy | be a King, to be so enervated with Delight and Wantonness, as to be a Prey to the first Handful of Men that shall come to attack him?

as ever they were in *Darius's* most flourishing Condition, when his Empire was entire. This kind Message could not but be very welcome to the Captive Ladies, especially being made good by Actions no less human and generous: For he gave them leave to bury whom they pleased of the *Persians*, and to make use of what Garments and Furniture they thought fit out of the Booty. He diminished nothing of their Equipage, or of the Respect formerly paid them, and allowed larger Pensions for their Maintenance, than ever they had before. But the bravest and most Royal part of their Usage was, that he treated these Illustrious Prisoners according to their Virtue and their Quality, not suffering them to hear, or receive, or so much as to apprehend any thing that was indecent, or to the Prejudice of their Honour. So that they seemed rather lodged in some Temple, or holy Virgin Cloyster, where they enjoyed their Privacy sacred and uninterrupted, than in the Camp of an Enemy. Not that he wanted Temptation, for *Darius's* Wife was accounted the most beautiful Princess then living, as her Husband passed for the handsomest and properest Man of his Time, and the Daughters were no less charming than their Parents: But *Alexander* esteeming it more glorious to govern Himself than to conquer his Enemies, touched none of them, nor any other Woman before Marriage, except *Barsina*, *Memnon's* Widow, who was taken Prisoner at *Damascus*. She was very knowing in the *Græcian* Learning, of a sweet Temper, and by her Father *Artabazus* Royally descended. Which good Qualities, added to the Sollicitations and Incouragement of *Parmenio*, (as *Aristobulus* tells us) made him the more willing to enjoy so agreeable and illustrious a Woman. Of the rest of the Female Captives, though most of them were celebrated Beauties, he
took

took no farther notice than to say merrily, (1) *That they were great Eye-sores.* His Temperance and Chastity so much surmounted the effects of their Charms, that they moved him no more than so many lifeless Statues. And when *Philoxenus*, his Lieutenant on the Sea-coast, wrote to him to know if he would buy two very fine Boys, which one *Theodorus* a *Tarentine* had to sell; he was so offended, that he often expostulated with his Friends, what Baseness *Philoxenus* had ever observed in him, that he should presume to make Him such a reproachful Offer? And immediately wrote him a very sharp Letter, commanding him to dismiss *Theodorus*, and his vile Merchandise, with Disgrace. Nor was he less severe to *Agnon*, who sent him word he would buy a pretty *Corinthian* Youth named *Crobylus*, to present him with. And hearing that *Damon* and *Timotheus*, two of *Parmenio's* Soldiers, had abused the Wives of some Strangers who were in his Pay, he wrote to *Parmenio*, charging him strictly, if he found them guilty, to put them to Death, as Beasts that were good for nothing but to corrupt and ruin Mankind. In the same Letter he added, *that he had not so much as seen, or desired to see the Wife*

(1) The same thing was said to *Amyntas* by the *Persians*, speaking of some Women he had placed over-against them at an Entertainment he had prepared for them; they called them *Ἀλγέδονες ὀφθαλμῶν*: and This Expression, mentioned by *Herodotus*, is severely criticized by *Longinus*, who saith in his third Chapter, *There is something altogether as ridiculous in Herodotus, when he calls beautiful Women Eye-sores; but This seems in some measure pardonable, when we consider the Circumstances. They are the Words*

of Barbarians, uttered in the Heat of Wine and Debauch; and yet Persons so vile and contemptible do not excuse the impropriety of the Expression. We must not insert and adopt any improper unsuitable Word in our Writing, so as to run the Hazard of disgusting the Polite and Judicious in all Ages. But in this Place it is worse; These Words are not spoken here by Barbarians in their Cups, but by Alexander in his sober Senses. Plutarch indeed salves it by saying Alexander spoke it merrily.

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of Darius, no, nor suffered any body to speak of her Beauty before him. He was wont to say, that Sleep, and the Act of Generation, chiefly made him sensible that he was mortal; withal affirming, that Weariness and Pleasure proceeded both from the same Frailty and Imbecillity of human Nature.

In his Diet he was most temperate, as appears, omitting many other Circumstances, by what he said to (1) *Ada*, whom he called his Mother, and afterward created Queen of *Caria*. For when she out of Kindness sent him every day many curious Dishes, and Sweet-meats, and would have furnished him with such Cooks and Pastry-men as were excellent in their kind: He told her, *He wanted none of them, his Præceptor Leonidas having already given him the best, which were Night-marches to prepare him for his Dinner, and moderate Dinners to create an Appetite for Supper.* And added, that he used to open and search the Furniture of his Chamber and his Wardrobe, to see if his Mother had left him any thing that was nice or superfluous. He was much less addicted to Wine than was generally believed; That which gave People occasion to think so of him, was, that when he had nothing else to do, he loved to sit long, and discourse, rather than drink, and tell long Stories between every Glass. For when his Affairs called upon him, he would not be detained as other Generals often were, either by Wine, or Sleep, Nuptial Solemnities, Spectacles, or any other Diversion whatsoever: A convincing Argument of which is, that in the short

(1) This Princess was the Daughter of *Hecatomnus* King of *Caria*. After the Death of *Mausolus* her eldest Brother and his Consort *Artemisia*, who died without Children, she succeeded in the Kingdom with her Brother *Hidreus* to Whom she had been married.

Her Husband dying before her, *Pexodarus* her third Brother de-throned her, and after his Death his Son-in-Law *Orontobatus* usurped the Crown, but *Alexander* restored her to a quiet Possession of all her Dominions.

time he lived, he accomplished so many and so great Actions. When he was free from Employment, after he was up, and had sacrificed to the Gods, he used to sit down to Dinner, and then spend the rest of the Day either in Hunting, or writing Memoirs, or composing Differences among his Soldiers, or Reading. In Marches that required no great haste, he would practise Shooting as he went along, or to mount a Chariot, and alight from it in full speed. Sometimes, for Sports sake, his Journals tell us, he would go a Fox-hunting, and Fowling, and when he came home, after he had bathed, and was anointed, he would call for his Bakers, and chief Cooks, to know if they had got his Supper ready in good order. He never cared to sup 'till it was pretty late, and was wonderful circumspect at Meals, that every one who sat with him should be served alike. His talkative Humour, as I noted before, made him delight to sit long at Table, and then, though otherwise no Prince's Conversation was ever so agreeable, he would fall into such a vein of Ostentation, and souldierly Bragging, as gave his Flatterers a great advantage (1) to ride him, and made his best Friends and Servants very uneasy. For though they thought it too base to strive who should flatter him most, yet they found it hazardous not to do it; so that between the Shame and the Danger, they were in a great strait how to behave themselves. After such an Entertainment, he was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he would sleep 'till Noon, and sometimes all day long. He was so very temperate in his Diet, that when any excellent Fish or Fruits were sent him, he

(1) This may be thought too remarkable, *καὶ τοῖς κολαζῖν ἐξυτὸν ἀνεκῶς ἰππασίμων*, Word for Word. *se adulatoribus inequitan- dum submittere.*
 indecent an Expression when such a Person as *Alexander* is the Subject; but *Plutarch's* own Words lead naturally to it, they are very

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would distribute them among his Friends, and hardly reserve any for his own eating. His Table however was always magnificent, the Expence of it still increasing with his good Fortune, 'till it amounted to ten thousand Drachmas a day, to which Sum he limited it, and beyond This he would suffer none to lay out in an Entertainment, though He himself were the Guest.

After the Battel of *Iffus*, he sent to *Damascus* to seize upon the Money and Baggage, the Wives and Children of the *Persians*, of which the *Theffalian* Horsemen had the greatest share; for he had taken particular notice of their Gallantry in the Fight, and sent them thither on purpose to make their Reward suitable to their Courage: Not but that the rest of the Army had so considerable a part of the Booty, as was sufficient to make the Fortune of every private Soldier. This first gave the *Macedonians* such a taste of the *Persian* Wealth, Women, and manner of Living, that they pursued and traced it (1) with the same Eagerness and Ardour that Hounds do when they are upon a Scent. *Alexander*, before he proceeded any farther, thought it necessary to assure himself of the Sea-coast. Those who governed in *Cyprus*, put that Island into his Possession, and all *Phœnicia*, except *Tyre*, was surrendered to him without a Stroke. During the Siege of this City, which with Mounts of Earth cast up, and battering Engines, and two hundred Gallies by Sea, was carried on with all imaginable Vigour for seven Months together, he chanced to dream that he saw *Hercules* upon the Walls, reaching out his Hand, and calling to him. And many of the *Tyrians* in their Sleep fancied that *Apollo* told them he was displeas'd with their Actions,

(1) *Horace* made use of the same Comparifon, before *Plutarch*.
Ut Canis a Corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto. Sat. 5. l. 2.

and

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and was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*. Upon which, as if the God were a Fugitive, they took him in the Fact, (1) chaining his Statue, and nailing it to the Pedestal, withal reproaching him, that he was an *Alexandrist*, or a Favourer of *Alexander's* Party. Another time *Alexander* dreamed he saw a Satyr mocking him at a distance, and when he endeavoured to catch him, he still escaped from him, 'till at last with much Entreaty, and running about after him, he suffered him to get hold of him. The Soothsayers making two words of *Satyros*, assured him (2) *Tyre* was as good as his own. The Inhabitants at this time shew the Fountain near which *Alexander* slept, when he fancied the Satyr appeared to him.

While the Body of the Army lay before *Tyre*, he made a short Excursion against the *Arabians*, who inhabit Mount *Antilibanus*, in which he hazarded his Life extreamly, to bring off his Master *Lyfimachus*, who would needs go along with him, bragging he was neither older, nor inferior in Courage to *Phoenix*, *Achilles's* Tutor, whose Name he affected to bear. For when quitting their Horses, they marched up the Hill on foot, the rest of the Soldiers out-went them a great deal, so that Night drawing on, and the Enemy near, *Alexander* was fain to stay behind so long, to encourage and help up the lagging, tired old Man, that before he was aware, he was gotten a great way from his Army with a slender Attendance, and forced to pass an

(1) *Quintus Curtius* saith they bound the Statue of *Apollo* in a gold Chain, and fastened it to the Altar of *Hercules*, to whom the City was dedicated, thinking by that means to hinder him from deserting them. This is a very merry Expedient.

(2) Nothing can be more pat and natural than this Answer, which divides the word $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\upsilon\rho\Theta$, *Satyrus*, into Two, $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\upsilon\rho\Theta$, *tu* *erit Tyrus*. *Plutarch* as firmly believes This as if he had been there, without imagining in the least that such Dreams are forged, when the things to which they are made to relate are over.

extream

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extream cold Night in the Dark, and in a very ill place. 'Till seeing a great many scattered Fires of the Enemy at some distance, and trusting to his Agility of Body, and constant Indefatigableness, with which he was wont to relieve and support the *Macedonians* in their Distress, he ran strait to one of the nearest Fires, and with his Dagger dispatching two of the *Barbarians* that sat by it, snatched up a lighted Brand, and returned with it to his own Men, who immediately made a great Fire, which so terrified the Enemy, that most of them fled, and Those that assaulted them were soon routed, by which means they lodged securely the rest of the Night. Thus *Chares* gives an account of this Action.

But to return to the Siege, it had this Issue: *Alexander*, that he might refresh his Army, harassed with many former Encounters, drew out a small Party, rather to keep the Enemy upon Duty, than with any prospect of much Advantage. It happened at this time, that *Aristander* after he had sacrificed, upon view of the Intrails, affirmed confidently to Those who stood by, that the City should be certainly taken that very Month, which made them laugh at, and mock him exceedingly, because That was the last Day of it. But the King taking notice of his Perplexity, and always favouring Predictions, (1) commanded that they should not account That the thirtieth, but the twenty eighth day of the Month, and ordering the Trumpets to sound, attacked the Walls with more Fury than he at first intended. The briskness of the Assault so inflamed the rest of his Forces who were left in the

(1) Since he was resolved to give a general Assault that very day, ought he not to have waited for the Success, without committing such a Violence upon the Month for the sake of two days which were of no manner of use to him? This was not confirming, but questioning the Prophecy,

Camp,

Camp, that they could not hold from advancing to second it, which they performed with so much Vigour, that the *Tyrrians* retired, and the Town was carried that very Day. The next Place he sat down before was *Gaza*, the Metropolis of *Syria*, where this Accident befel him. A great Fowl flying over him, let a Clod of Earth fall upon his Shoulder, and then settling upon one of the battering Engines, was suddenly intangled and caught in the Nets composed of Sinews, which protected the Ropes with which the Machine was managed. This fell out exactly according to *Aristander's* Prediction, which was, that *Alexander* should be wounded in the Shoulder, and the City reduced.

From hence he sent great part of the Spoils to *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and the rest of his Friends, not omitting his *Præceptor Leonidas*, on whom he bestowed five hundred Talents worth of Frankincense, and an hundred of Myrrh; prompted to it by the Remembrance of his forward Hopes of him, when he was but a Child. For *Leonidas*, it seems, standing by him one Day while he was sacrificing, and seeing him take both his Hands full of Gums to throw into the Fire, told him *it became him to be more sparing in Offerings then, and not be so profuse 'till he was Master of the Countries, where those sweet Gums and Spices were produced.* Upon this account, *Alexander* wrote him Word he had sent him a large quantity of Myrrh and Frankincense, that for the future he might not be so niggardly to the Gods. Among the Treasures and other Booty that was taken from *Darius*, there was a very curious little Box, which being presented to *Alexander* for a great Rarity, he asked Those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it; and when they had delivered their Opinions, he told them he esteemed Nothing so worthy to be preserved in it as *Homer's Iliads.* This Passage

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sage is attested by many credible Authors, and if what Those of *Alexandria*, relying upon the credit of *Heraclides*, tell us, be true, *Homer* was neither an idle, nor an unprofitable Companion to him in his Expedition. For when he was Master of *Ægypt*, designing to settle a Colony of *Græcians* there, he resolved to build a large and populous City, and give it his own Name. In order to which, after he had measured and staked out the Ground, with the Advice of the best Workmen, he chanced one Night in his Sleep to see a wonderful Vision: A Grey-headed Old Man, of a venerable Aspect, appeared to stand by him, and pronounce these Verses:

*Girt with the surging Main, there lies an Isle
Not far from Ægypt, which they Pharos style.*

Alexander upon this immediately rose up and went to *Pharos*, which at that time was an Island lying a little above the *Canobique* Mouth of the River *Nilus*, though it be now joined to the Continent by a streight Causey. As soon as he saw the commodious Situation of the Place, it being a Neck of Land, more in Length than Breadth, like to an Isthmus, which running in Length even with, and opposite to the Continent, forms a double Haven, having the Sea on one side, and a great Lake between That and the Continent on the Other; he said, *Homer*, besides his other Excellencies, was a very good Architect; and ordered the Plot of a City to be drawn answerable to the Place. To do which, for want of Chalk, the Soil being black, they set out their Lines with Flower, taking in a pretty large compass of Ground in a circular Figure; the inside of whose Circumference was equally terminated by Right Lines like the Edges of a Cloak. While he was pleasing himself with his
Design,

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Design, on a sudden an infinite number of great Birds of several kinds, rising like a black Cloud out of the River, and the Lake, devoured all the Flower that was used in setting out the Lines; at which Omen *Alexander* was much troubled, 'till the *Augurs* encouraged him to proceed, by telling him it was a Sign the City he was about to build, would not only abound in all things within it self, but also be the Nurse of many Nations: whereupon he commanded the Workmen to go on, while He went to visit the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*.

This was a long, painful, and dangerous Journey, in two respects: First, If their Provision of Water should fail in so wide a Desert: And, Secondly, If a violent South-wind should rise upon them, while they were travelling through the deep gaping Sands, as it did heretofore upon *Cambyses's* Army, blowing the Sand together in heaps, and then rowling it in Waves upon his Men, 'till fifty thousand were swallowed up and destroyed by it. All these Difficulties were weighed and represented to him; but *Alexander* was not easily to be diverted from any thing he was bent upon: For Fortune having hitherto seconded him in his Designs, made him resolute and firm in his Opinions, and the Greatness of his Mind raised a Confidence in him of surmounting almost invincible Difficulties; as if it were not enough to be always Victorious in the Field, unless Places, and Seasons, and Nature her self submitted to him. In this Voyage, the Relief and Assistance the Gods afforded him in his Distresses, were more wonderful and worthy of Belief, than the Oracles he received afterwards; and it may be added, that such (in a manner) miraculous Relief and Assistance, made those very Oracles to be more universally received and credited. For First, The plentiful Rains that fell, preserved them from perishing by Drought, and allaying the ex-
tream

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tream Driness of the Sand, which now became moist, firm, and good footing to Travel on, cleared and purified the Air. Besides This, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, by reason the Marks which were wont to direct the Guides were disordered and lost, they were set right again by some Ravens who flew before them in their March, and waited for them when they halted. But the greatest Miracle of all was, that if any of the Company went astray in the Night, They never left croaking and making a noise, as *Callisthenes* has written, 'till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having passed through the Wilderness, they came to the City, where the High-Priest, at the first Salute, bade *Alexander* welcome from his Father *Ammon* : and being asked by him whether any of his Father's Murderers had escaped Punishment, he charged him *to speak with more respect, for his Father was not Mortal*. Then *Alexander* in plainer terms desired to know of him, *if any of Those who murdered Philip were yet unpunished* ; and further concerning Dominion, *Whether the Empire of the World was reserved for him ?* This, the God answered, *he should obtain, and that Philip's Death was fully revenged* ; which gave him so much Satisfaction, that he made splendid Offerings to *Jupiter*, and gave the Priests very rich Presents. This is what most Authors write concerning the Oracles : But *Alexander*, in a Letter to his Mother, tells her, there were some secret Answers, which at his Return he would communicate to Her only. Others say, that the Priest, desirous to express himself more genteely, and to call him in the Greek Tongue *Paidion*, which signifies *My Son*, mistaking the Pronunciation, used the *S* instead of the *N*, and said *Paidios*, or *Son of Jupiter*, which mistake of his Speech *Alexander* was well enough pleased with,
and

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and it went for currant that the Oracle had called him so.

Among the Sayings of one *Psammon*, a Philosopher, whom he heard in *Ægypt*, he most approved of This, *That all Men are governed by God, because in every thing* (1) *That which is chief and commands is Divine.* (2) But what he pronounced himself upon this Subject, was more like a Philosopher; for he said, *God was the common Father of us All, but more particularly of Good Men.* To the *Barbarians* he carried himself very insolently, as if he were fully persuaded of his Divine Original; but to the *Græcians* more moderately, and with less Affectation of Divinity: Except it were writing to the *Athenians* concerning *Samos*, where he tells them they held not that free and glorious City by vertue of his Gift, but from the Bounty of Him who at that time was called his Lord and Father, meaning *Philip*. However, afterwards being wounded with an Arrow, and feeling much Pain, he turned to Those about him, and told them, it was common Human Blood that fell from him, and not the *Ichor*,

Such as th' Immortal Gods were wont to shed.

And another time, when it thundred so much that every Body was afraid, and *Anaxarchus* the Sophist asked him, if He who was *Jupiter's* own Son were so too? *Yes, that I am,* answered *Alexander* laughing; *but I would not be formidable to my Friends, as you would have me be, who despised my Table, for*

<p>(1) According to this Rule the Soul which governs in Man is the God that conducts him. But This is a false Principle, and opens the Door to many dangerous Errors. <i>Alexander</i> relished it because it flattered his Vanity, for as he was spurred on by his Am-</p>	<p>bition to obtain the Rule over the rest of Mankind, he thought by that means to become a God.</p> <p>(2) <i>Plutarch</i> knew the <i>Egyptians</i> Principle was erroneous, and with good reason called That of <i>Alexander</i> more true, and Philosophical.</p>
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being

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being furnished with Fish, and not with the Heads of Governors of Provinces. For it is certain, that *Anaxarchus* seeing a Present of small Fishes, which the King sent to *Hephestion*, (1) did express himself to this purpose, to shew his Contempt and Derision of Those who take mighty Pains, and run desperate Hazards in pursuit of great Matters, and yet after all, if we examine things closely, have little more of Pleasure or Injoyment than other People. From what I have said upon this Subject, it is sapphire, that *Alexander* in himself was not foolishly affected, or had the Vanity to think himself really a God, but he kept Others under by his Pretences to Divinity.

At his return out of *Ægypt* into *Phœnicia*, he sacrificed and made solemn Processions, to which were added circular Dances, and Acting of Tragedies, whose Splendor appeared not only in the Furniture and Ornaments, but in the noble Zeal and Contention of Those who exhibited them. For no less Persons than Kings of *Cyprus* were at the Charge of them, in the same manner as it is performed at *Athens* by Those who are chosen by Lot out of the Tribes. And indeed, they strove with wonderful Emulation to out-vie each other: Chiefly *Nicocreon* King of *Salamine*, and *Pasocrates* of *Soli*, who were appointed to furnish and defray the Expence of *Athenodorus* and *Theffalus*, two of the most

(1) The Saying of *Anaxarchus* is not so fine here as it is in *Diongenes*, and the Sense *Plutarch* puts upon it is forced, and nothing to the purpose. There is one more true, and more natural, of which the Judgment is in the Reader. *Anaxarchus* mortally hated *Nicocreon* Tyrant of *Salamine*. *Alexander* having one day invited him to dinner, asked him how he liked his Entertainment. It is most

excellent, replied *Anaxarchus*, it wants but one Dish, and That a delicious one, the Head of a Tyrant. Meaning *Nicocreon*. Here the Sense is clear without any Mystery in it. But the Philosopher paid dear for it, for after the Death of *Alexander* he was forced by contrary Winds upon the Coasts of *Cyprus*, where the Tyrant had him seized, and put him to Death.

cele-

celebrated Actors of that Age. *Theſſalus* was moſt favoured by *Alexander*, though it appeared not 'till *Athenodorus* was declared Victor by the plurality of Suffrages. For then at his going away, he ſaid the Judges deſerved to be commended for what they had done, but that (1) he would willingly have loſt part of his Kingdom, rather than have ſeen *Theſſalus* overcome. However, when he underſtood *Athenodorus* (2) was Fined by the *Athenians*, for being abſent at the Feſtivals celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*, though he reſuſed his Requeſt of Writing in his behalf, yet he was ſo generous as to give him wherewithal to ſatiſfie the Penalty. Another time, *Lycon* of *Scarphia* happened to Act with great Applauſe in the Theater, and in a Verſe inſerted in his Part, cunningly begged ten Talents of *Alexander*; who was ſo pleaſed with his Inge- nuity, that he freely gave him the Money.

About this time he received Letters from *Darius*, beſeeching him to accept of ten thouſand Talents as a Ranſom for the Captives, and offering him one of his Daughters in Marriage, with a Ceſſion of all the Countries on this ſide the *Euphrates*, on Condition he would enter into a Treaty of Friend- ſhip and Alliance with him. He communicated theſe Propoſitions to his Friends, and when *Par- menio* told him, that for His part, if He were *Alex- ander*, he ſhould readily embrace them; (3) *So would I too, you may be ſure*, ſaid the King, *if I were*
 Parmenio.

(1) This was too much in Conſcience for a thing of ſo tri- fling a Nature; but it is an Inſtance of *Alexander's* great Zeal for Thoſe, on whom he had placed his Af- fection.

(2) This is a remarkable Paſſage; for we learn by it that all the Comedians were obliged to be preſent at *Athens* during the Fe- ſtival of *Bacchus*, and that they

were fined in Caſe of Abſence; and This gives us to underſtand how fond the *Athenians* were of thoſe Entertainments.

(3) *Longinus* endeavouring in his ſeventh Chapter to prove that it is peculiar to great Men to let fall even in their familiar diſcourſe things uncommon and extraordinary, quotes this Anſwer of *Alexander* to *Parmenio*. *It muſt be allowed,*

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Parmenio. His Answer to *Darius* was, that if he would yield himself up into his Power, he would treat him with all imaginable Kindness; if not, he was resolved immediately to advance towards him. But the Death of *Darius* his Wife, who died in Child-bed, made him soon after repent of this Resolution, not without evident Marks of Grief, for being thereby deprived of a further opportunity of exercising his Clemency and Good-nature, which he shewed to the last, by the great Expence he was at in her Funeral.

Among the Eunuchs who waited in the Queen's Chamber, and weretaken Prisoners with the Women, there was one *Tyreus*, who getting out of the Camp, fled away on Horseback to *Darius*, to inform him of his Wife's Death; which as soon as he heard, he could not forbear beating his Head; and bursting forth into Tears with lamentable Outcries, *Alas! how great, said he, is the Calamity of the Persians! was it not enough that their King's Consort and Sister was a Prisoner in her life-time, but she must, now she is dead also, be deprived of the royal Obsequies? Oh Sir,* replied the Eunuch, *neither on the Account of her Obsequies, or any other Marks of Honour and Distinction due to a Person of her exalted Birth and Dignity, have you the least reason to accuse the ill Fortune of your Country; for to my knowledge neither your Queen Statira when alive, or your Mother, or Children, have wanted any thing of what they enjoyed in their former happy Condition, unless it were the light of your Countenance, which I doubt not but the mighty (1) Orosmades will yet restore with greater Splendor and Glory than ever: Neither at her*

said he, that None but Alexander could return such an Answer. This is Sublime, and yet Simple, by which it appears that the Sublime does not always consist in pompous Words, and Expressions.

(1) Thus the Persians called

that God whom they took to be the good Principle, as they did *Arimanius* the Author of Evil. The First was according to Them the Offspring of the purest Light, and the Other of Darknes.

Death

Death has any thing been wanting or omitted, to render her Obsequies less solemn and illustrious; but on the contrary they have been honoured with the Tears of your very Enemies; for Alexander is as merciful and gentle after Victory, as he is daring and terrible in the Field. At the hearing of these words, such was the Grief and Emotion of Darius's Mind, that (although there was not the least ground for them) he could not chuse but entertain some absurd Suspicions. Wherefore taking Tyreus aside into a more private Apartment in his Tent; Unless Thou likewise, said he to him, hast deserted me together with the good Fortune of Persia, and art become a Macedonian in thy heart; if thou yet bearest me any Respect, and ownest me for thy Sovereign, Tell me, I charge thee, by the Veneration thou payest the Deity of Mithras, and this Right Hand of thy King; Do I not lament the least of Statira's Misfortunes in her Captivity and Death? Have I not suffered something more injurious and deplorable in her Life-time? And had I not been miserable with less Dishonour, if I had met with a more severe and inhuman Enemy? For how is it possible a young Man as He is, should treat the Wife of Darius with so much Generosity, without passing the Bounds of a virtuous Conversation? Whilst he was yet speaking, Tyreus threw himself at his Feet, and besought him neither to wrong Alexander so much, nor his dead Wife and Sister, as to harbour such unjust Thoughts, which deprived him of the only Consolation he was capable of in his Adversity, in a firm belief that he was overcome by a Man, whose Virtues raised him far above the pitch of Human Nature. That he ought to look upon Alexander with Love and Admiration, who had given no less Proofs of his Continence towards the Persian Women, than of his Valour against the Men. The Eunuch confirmed all he said with solemn Oaths and Imprecations, and was

D 2 farther

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farther enlarging himself in the Description of *Alexander's* Moderation and Magnanimity upon other occasions, when *Darius*, not able to contain himself any longer, broke from him into the next Room, where before all his Courtiers he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and uttered this Prayer, *O Gods, who are the Authors of our Being, and supream Directors of Kingdoms; above all things, I beg of you to restore the declining Affairs of Persia, that I may leave them at least in as flourishing a Condition as I found them, and have it in my Power to make some grateful Returns to Alexander, for the Kindness which in my Adversity he has shewed to Those who are dearest to me. But if indeed the fatal Time be come, which is to give a Period to the Persian Monarchy; if our Ruin be a Debt that must be inevitably paid to the Divine Vengeance, and the Vicissitude of things; then I beseech you grant, that no other Man but Alexander may sit upon (1) the Throne of Cyrus. The Truth of these Passages is attested by most Writers.*

But to return to *Alexander*: After he had reduced all *Asia* on this side the *Euphrates*, he advanced towards *Darius*, who was coming down against him with a Million of Men. In his March a very ridiculous Passage happened. The Servants who followed the Camp, for Sports-sake divided themselves into two Parties, and named the Commander of One of them *Alexander*, and of the Other *Darius*. At first they only pelted one another with Clods of Earth, and after fell to Fifty-cuffs, 'till at last, growing warm in the Contention, they fought in good earnest with Stones and Clubs, so that they

(1) The *Persians* always called their Throne *the Throne of Cyrus*, as well on Account of the excellent Qualities of that Prince, as for that he was looked upon as

the Founder of that Empire, which he had so vastly enlarged by his Conquests, for which Reason *Horace* saith,

Redditum Cyri solum Phraatem.

had

had much ado to part them, 'till *Alexander* (who had been informed of the Dispute) ordered the two Captains to decide the Quarrel by single Combat, and armed Him who bore His Name Himself, while *Philotas* did the same to the Other who represented *Darius*. The whole Army were Spectators of this Encounter, with Minds prepared from the Event to make a Judgment of their own future Success. After they had fought stoutly a pretty while, at last He who was called *Alexander* had the better, and for a Reward of his Prowess had twelve Villages given him, with leave to vest himself after the *Persian* Mode. Of this we are informed by the Writings of *Eratosthenes*.

But the great Battel of All that was fought with *Darius*, was not, as most Writers tell us, at *Arbela*, but at (1) *Gausamela*, which in their Language signifies the *Camel's House*, forasmuch as one of their ancient Kings, having escaped the Pursuit of his Enemies on a swift Camel, in gratitude to his Beast, settled him at this Place, with an Allowance of certain Villages and Rents for his Maintenance. It came to pass that in the Month *Boedromion*, about the beginning of the Feast of Mysteries at *Athens*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moon, the eleventh Night after which, the two Armies being then in view of one another, *Darius* kept his Men in Arms, and by Torch-light took a general Review of them. But *Alexander*, while

(1) Or *Guagamela*. In the Plains of *Aturia* near *Arbela* is the Village of *Guagamela*, where *Darius* lost his Empire. *Guagamela* properly signifies the *Camel's House*, and was so called by *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, when he assigned it over as a Maintenance for the Camel who had suffered much with him in his Passage

cross the Desert of *Scythia*. But the *Mac onians* observing it to be a poor insignificant Place, and that a considerable Town stood near it called *Arbela* from *Arbelus* the Son of *Ashmonaus*, who was the Founder of it, they chose rather to distinguish the Battel and Victory by that Name. *Strab.* lib. xv.

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his Soldiers slept, spent the Night before his Tent with his Augur *Aristander*, performing certain secret Ceremonies, and sacrificing to (1) *Fear*. In the mean while the eldest of his Commanders, and chiefly *Parmenio*, when they beheld all the Plain between the River *Niphates*, and the *Gordyean* Mountains, shining with the Lights and Fires which were made by the *Barbarians*, and heard the rude and confused Voices out of their Camp, the Terror and Noise of which resembled the roaring of a vast Ocean, they were so amazed at the Thoughts of such a Multitude, that after some Conference among themselves, they concluded it an Enterprize too difficult and hazardous for them to engage so numerous an Enemy in the Day time, and therefore meeting the King as he came from sacrificing, besought him to attack *Darius* by Night, that the Darkness might conceal the Horror and Danger of the ensuing Battel. To This he gave them the so celebrated Answer, *That he would not steal a Victory*; which tho' Some may think childish and vain, as if he played with Danger, yet (2) Others look upon it as an Evidence

(1) Thus it ought to be read. $\Phi\acute{o}\beta\omega$ to *Fear*. and not $\Phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$ to *Apollo*, or the *Sun*. *Alexander* sacrificed thus to *Fear*, to the end she might prevent his Troops from being frightened at the sight of such a formidable Army, consisting of eight hundred thousand Foot, and two hundred thousand Horse; for which reason *Plutarch* saith he performed certain secret Ceremonies. *Fear* was not without her Altars; *Theseus* Himself sacrificed to her, as we have seen in his Life, Vol. I. p. 103. And *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* that a Chapel was built to *Fear* at *Sparta*, and that the *Lacedaemonians* ho-

noured her not as One of those *Dæmons* that are abhorred, and detested, nor as an evil pernicious Being, but on the contrary they were persuaded that *Fear* was the Band or Ligament of all good Governments, that where there is *Fear* there likewise is *Modesty*: from hence we may gather the Reasons, which induced the most Valiant to sacrifice to *Fear*.

(2) They judged rightly, and the Reflection with which they backed their Judgment was very true. *Alexander's* Answer on this Occasion is not only a great Token of his Confidence and Magnanimity, but of his Foresight and Penetration.

that

that he confided in his present Condition, and made a true Judgment of the future, in not leaving *Darius*, in case he were worsted, so much as a Pretence of trying his Fortune any more; which he would certainly do, if he could impute his Overthrow to the disadvantage of the Night, as he did before to the Mountains, the narrow Passages, and the Sea. For it was not to be imagined, that He, who had still such Forces and large Dominions left, should give over the War for want of Men or Arms, 'till he had first lost all Courage and Hope, by the Conviction of an undeniable and manifest Defeat. After they were gone from him with this Answer, he laid himself down in his Tent, and slept the rest of the Night soundlier than he was wont to do, to the Astonishment of the Commanders, who came to him early in the Morning, and were fain Themselves to give order that the Soldiers should take a Repast. But at last, Time not giving them leave to wait any longer, *Parmenio* went to his Bed-side, and called him twice or thrice by his Name, 'till he waked him, and then asked him, *How it was possible, when he was to fight the most important Battel of All, he could sleep so securely, as if he were already victorious: So I am,* said *Alexander*, smiling, *since I am now no more put to the trouble of wandering after, and pursuing Darius, as long as he pleases to decline Fighting, in a Country of so large extent, and so wasted.* And not only before the Engagement, but likewise in the extreamest Danger of it, he shewed the Greatness of his Courage in Action, and the Solidity of his Judgment in Counsel. For the left Wing which *Parmenio* commanded was so violently charged by the *Bactrian* Horse, that it was disordered, and forced to give ground, at the same time that *Mazæus* had sent a Party round about to fall upon Those who guarded the Baggage, both which so

disturbed *Parmenio*, that he sent Messengers to acquaint *Alexander*, that the Camp and Baggage would be all lost, unless he immediately relieved the Rear, by a considerable Reinforcement drawn out of the Front. This Message being brought him just as he had given the Signal to the Right Wing to charge, he bad them tell *Parmenio*, *That sure he was mad, and had lost the use of his Reason, and that the Consternation he was in had made him forget, (1) that Conquerors always become Masters of their Enemies Baggage; whereas if We are defeated, instead of taking care of our Wealth or Slaves, we have nothing more to do, but to fight gallantly, and die with Honour.* When he had said This, he put on his Helmet, having the rest of his Arms on before he came out of his Tent, which were a short Coat of the *Sicilian* fashion, girt close about him, and over that a Breast-piece of Linnen often folded and pleated, which was taken among other Booty at the Battel of *Issus*. The Helmet which was made by (2) *Theophilus*, though of Iron, was so well wrought and polished, that it was as bright as the most refined Silver. To this was fitted a Gorget of the same Metal, set with precious Stones. His Sword, which was the Weapon he most used in Fight, was given him by the King of the *Citians*, and was of an admirable Temper and Lightness. But the Belt which he wore also in all Engagements, was of much richer Workmanship than the rest of his Armour; it was made by old *Helicon*, and presented him by the *Rhodians*, as a mark of their Respect to him. Whenever he

(1) This was reasoning justly. *Alexander* would have run too great a Risk if he had sent a Detachment from the Front of his Army to secure the Baggage. What he saith on this Occasion is a Precept he learnt from *Homer*.

(2) *Plutarch* in mentioning the

Helmet, Sword, Breast-Plate, and the rest of the Armour, which *Alexander* had on that day, makes likewise mention of the Workmen, and Those who had presented him with any Part of it, and This one may easily find to be in the Spirit of *Homer*.

drew up his Men, or rode about to give Orders, or instruct, or view them, he favoured *Bucephalus* by reason of his Age, and made use of another Horse, but when he was to fight, he sent for Him, and as soon he was mounted the Signal to begin the Fight was immediately given. After he had made a long Oration to the *Thessalians*, and the rest of the *Græcians*, who encouraged him with loud Outcries, desiring to be led on to the Charge, he shifted his Javelin into his left Hand, and with his Right lifted up towards Heaven, besought the Gods (as *Callisthenes* writes) *that if he was of a truth the Son of Jupiter, they would be pleased to assist and strengthen the Græcians.* At the same time the Augur *Aristander*, who had a white Mantle about him, and a Crown of Gold on his Head, rode by and shewed them (1) an Eagle that soared just over *Alexander*, and directed his Flight towards the Enemy; which so animated the Beholders, that after mutual Encouragements and Exhortations, the Horse charged at full speed, and were vigorously seconded by the Foot. But before they could well come to Blows with the first Ranks, the *Barbarians* shrunk back, and were hotly pursued by *Alexander*, who drove Those that fled before him into the middle of the Battel, where *Darius* Himself was in Person, whom he saw over the foremost Ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his Life-Guard; for he was an handsome, proper Man, and drawn in a lofty Chariot, defended by abundance of the best Horse, who stood close in order about it, ready to receive the Enemy. But *Alexander's* Approach was so terrible, forcing Those who gave back upon Such as still maintained their

(1) These Prodiges placed in
 an Historical Narration support
 the Probability of those employed
 by *Homer* in his Fictions, where
 he makes Eagles appear by *Ju-*
piter's Appointment to encourage
 the Combatants.

Ground,

Ground, and doing such Execution upon Them likewise, that they could not stand the Shock, but consulted their Safety in their Flight. A Few of the bravest among them, and the most Determined, maintained their Post, 'till they were all slain in their King's Presence, and falling in Heaps upon One Another strove in the very Pangs of Death to stop the Pursuit, by clinging to the *Macedonians* as they fell, and catching hold of and intangling the Feet of the Horses when they were fallen. *Darius* had now before his Eyes every thing terrible in a Battel, and found himself surrounded with the greatest Dangers. Those who had placed themselves in the Front, to defend him, were broken, and forced back upon him. The Wheels of his Chariot were clogged, and entangled with the dead Bodies, which lay in such Heaps about them, as not only stopped, but almost covered the Horses, which made them fret, and bound, and grow so unruly, that the frighted Charioteer could govern them no longer: In this extremity he was glad to quit his Chariot and his Arms, and mounting, as they say, upon a Mare that had newly Foaled, betook himself to Flight. But he had not escaped so neither, if *Parmenio* had not sent fresh Messengers to *Alexander*, to desire him to return, and assist him against a considerable Body of the Enemy which yet stood together, and would not give Ground. Upon This *Parmenio* was on all Hands accused of Dulness and Sloth, whether Age had impaired his Courage, or that, as *Callisthenes* says, he inwardly grieved at (1) and envied his Master's growing Greatness. *Alexander*, though he was not a little vexed to be so recalled, and hindered from pursuing

(1) This is not without Example. There have been several Principal Officers since his time, who chose rather to be wanting in

their Duty than to contribute to the Glory of a General who was unacceptable to them.

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his Victory, yet concealed the true Reason from his Men, and causing a Retreat to be sounded, as if it were too late to continue the Execution any longer, marched back towards the Place of Danger, and by the way met with the News of the Enemies total Overthrow and Flight.

This Battel being thus over, seemed to put a Period to the *Persian* Empire; and *Alexander*, who was now proclaimed King of *Asia*, returned thanks to the Gods in magnificent Sacrifices, and rewarded his Friends and Followers with great Sums of Money, and Places, and Governments of Provinces. To ingratiate himself with the *Græcians*, he wrote to them, that he would have all Tyrannies abolished, that they might live free according to their own Laws, more particularly to the *Platæans*, that their City should be re-edified, because their Ancestors permitted the *Græcians* to make their Territories the Seat of the War, when they fought with the *Barbarians* for their common Liberty. He sent also part of the Spoils into *Italy*, to the *Crotoniates*, (1) to honour the Zeal and Courage of their Citizen *Phaylus* the Wrestler, who in the *Median* War, when the other *Græcian* Colonies in *Italy* gave *Greece* for lost, and refused to assist her; that He might have a share in the Danger, joined the Fleet at *Salamis*, with a Vessel set forth at his own Charge. So affectionate was *Alexander* to every kind of Virtue, and so desirous to preserve the Memory of laudable Actions.

From hence he marched through the Province of *Babylon*, which without a Stroke entirely submitted to him. In That of *Ecbatane* he was migh-

(1) *Herodotus* has given us a succinct Account of this Piece of History, lib. viii. 47. Of all Those who dwell on the other side, the *Crotoniates* were the only People

who came to the Succour of Greece on board a Ship commanded by *Phaylus*, who had been three times crowned in the *Pythian* Games.

tily

tily surprized to see Fire continually breaking like a Spring out of a Cleft of the Earth; and not far from That a Fountain of *Naphtha*, which gushing out in great abundance formed a large Lake at a small distance from it. This *Naphtha*, in other respects resembling *Bitumen*, is so subject to take Fire, that before it touches the Flame, it will kindle at the very Light that surrounds it, and often inflame the circumambient Air. The *Barbarians*, to shew the Power and Nature of it, sprinkled the Street that led to the King's Lodgings with little drops of this Liquor, and when it was almost Night stood at the further end with Torches, which being applied to the moistned places, the first presently taking Fire, in less than a Minute it caught from one end to another, in such a manner, that the whole Street was but one continued Flame.

Alexander had at that time in his Service a certain *Athenian* named *Athenophanes*. He was One of Those, whose Business it was to wait on the King, and anoint his Body when he bathed, and had a peculiar Knack of diverting him, and relaxing his Mind after he had been too intent upon the Affairs of the Publick. One day whilst the King was bathing came into the Room a Boy called *Stephanus*, very homely, but an excellent Singer. *Athenophanes* seeing him, said to the King, *Sir, permit us to make an Experiment of the Naphtha upon this Youth: (1) For if it take hold of Him, and cannot be quenched, it must undeniably be allowed to be of great and invincible Strength.* The Youth readily consented to undergo the Tryal, and as soon as he was

(1) This Saying doth not seem to Me to have much in it. Is it pointed at *Stephanus's* Homeliness which was enough to frighten even the *Naphtha* it self? That is a poor Piece of Wit indeed. In all likelihood *Athenophanes* meant

that *Stephanus* was so extream cold in his Nature that it was not in the Power of all the Fire in the World to heat him. I think the Thought wants something to make it less unintelligible.

anointed

anointed and rubbed with it, his whole Body broke out into such a Flame, that *Alexander* was exceedingly perplexed and concerned for him, and not without reason; for nothing could have prevented his being consumed by it, if by good chance there had not been People at hand with a great many Vessels of Water for the Service of the Bath, with all which they had much ado to extinguish the Fire; and his Body was so scorched with it that he was the worse for it ever after. Not absurdly therefore do they endeavour to reconcile the Fable to Truth, who say, This was the Drug mentioned by the Poets, with which *Medea* anointed the Crown and Veil which she gave to *Creon's* Daughter. For neither the Things themselves, nor the Fire could kindle of its own accord, but being prepared for it by the *Naphtha*, they imperceptibly attracted and caught the (1) Flame: For the Rays and Emanations of Fire at a distance, have no other Effect upon some Bodies, than bare Light and Heat; but in Others where they meet with airy Driness, and also sufficient fat Moisture, they collect themselves, and soon prey upon and alter the Matter. The Generation, or Production of this *Naphtha* is a Point that has not yet been agreed upon, (2) it being a Question whether it is not a
sort

(1) From whence proceeded that Flame? It was in the day time, when there was neither Fire nor Flambeau. The Fire did not take from the Light of any Flame that had been brought near the Princess, but purely from the Heat of her Body, with which as soon as the Crown and Robe were warmed they immediately took Fire. In the same manner as *Plutarch* told us just before in the Case of *Stephanns*, He was no sooner rubbed, and anointed with it, but his whole Body broke out into a Flame. It was the natural Heat of the Body only, which produced that Effect; tho' *Strabo* in mentioning this History, lib. xvi. saith that a Flambeau was brought towards him, but That was unnecessary, and *Plutarch* saith not a Word of it.

(2) The Interpreters are all sensible that the Text is defective in this Place. I have taken the Liberty

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sort of *Liquid Bitumen*, or rather another sort of *Liquor* violently agitated by sulphurous volatile Spirits steaming from a Soil naturally unctuous, and inflammable. For the Ground in the Province of *Babylon* is so very hot, that oftentimes the Grains of *Barley* leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent Inflammation had given the Earth a Pulse: And in extream Heats the Inhabitants are wont to Sleep upon Skins filled with Water. *Harpalus*, who was left Governor of this Country, and was desirous to adorn the Palace Gardens and Walks with *Græcian* Plants, (1) succeeded in the raising of all but *Ivy*, which the Earth would not bear, but constantly killed: For being a Plant that loves a cold Soil, the temper of that Mold, which was violently hot, was improper for it. Such Digressions as These the nicest Readers may endure, provided they are not too tedious.

Liberty to fill up the Void with a few Words which I think fully supply that Defect; for there are two Opinions concerning this *Naphtha*, One is of Those who believe it to be a sort of liquid Bitumen, and the Other of Those who take it for a Liquor of another Species. The first Opinion was what was wanting. The liquid Bitumen called *Naphtha*, saith *Strabo*, is of a very extraordinary Quality. And *Pliny*, *Sunt qui & Naphtham Bituminis generi adscribunt*, lib. xxxv. 15.

(1) This is what *Theophrastus* tells us in his History of Plants, lib. iv. cap. 4. *Harpalus* was at great Pains to raise *Ivy* in the Gardens about *Babylon*, planting it several times, and omitting nothing that it was thought would make it grow; but All to no purpose; for it will not, like other Gre-

cian Plants, live in that Soil; the Climate will not bear it, by reason of the Quality of the Air. And he gives the reason for it in his second Book of the Causes of Plants, chap. iv. *There are other Plants which require a cold Soil, such as the Ivy, which will by no means grow in hot Countries; the Reason of which is the natural Heat, and Dryness of the Plant, so that to set it in such a Soil is to add Fire to Fire.* And yet *Pliny* tells us that in his time *Ivy* did grow in *Asia*, tho' *Theophrastus* had asserted the contrary. *Edera jam dicitur in Asia nasci, Theophrastus negaverat.* lib. xvi. cap. 34. If this be true, it must be in some other Parts of *Asia*, and not in the Soil about *Babylon*. The Nature both of the Plant, and the Climate was the same then, as in the Days of *Theophrastus*.

At the taking of *Susa*, *Alexander* found in the Palace (1) forty thousand Talents in Money ready Coined, besides an unspeakable quantity of other Treasure and Furniture; amongst which was five thousand Talents worth of *Hermionique Purple*, that had been laid up there an hundred and ninety Years, and yet kept its Colour as fresh and lively as at first. The reason of which, they say, is, that in Dying the Purple they made use of Honey, and of White Oil in the White Tincture, and that there is to be seen Some of the same Make and the same Age that still preserves its Lustre and Refulgency as strong as if it were but just come out of the Die-house. *Dion* also relates, that among other things it was a Custom with the Kings of *Persia* to have Water brought them from the *Nile* and the *Danube*, and laid up in the Treasury, as an Argument and Proof of their extensive Power and universal Empire.

Now the entrance into *Persia* being very difficult, by reason of the Unevenness of the Ways, and that the Passes to secure *Darius*, who was retired thither, were guarded by the best of his Forces, *Alexander* happened upon a Guide exactly correspondent to what the *Pythia* had foretold him when he was a Child: *That a Lycian should conduct him in his Journey into Persia*; for by Such an one, whose Father was a *Lycian*, and his Mother a *Persian*, and who spoke both Languages, he was led into the Country by a Way something about, yet without fetching any considerable compass. Here a great many of the Prisoners were put to the Sword, of which Himself gives this account, That he commanded them to be killed, out of an Opinion that

(1) *Quintus Curtius* saith Fifty thousand. Several Kings, saith the same Historian, had in a long course of Years amassed together an immense Treasure for their Children and their Posterity, and in a Moment's time All fell into the Hands of a Stranger.

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it would be advantageous to his Affairs: Nor was his Booty in Money less here than at *Susa*, besides which he found in other Moveables and Treasure, as much as ten thousand pair of Mules and five thousand Camels could well carry away.

As *Alexander* was passing through a Court, he beheld a large Statue of *Xerxes*, which the Soldiers, as they were pressing into the Palace, had thrown on the Ground. At the Sight of it he stood still, and addressing himself to it as if it was alive, (1) *Tell Me*, said he, *shall I pass on, and leave thee prostrate as thou art on the Ground, for that thou once invadedst Greece, or shall we Erect thee again in consideration of the Greatness of thy Mind and thy other Virtues?* At last, after he had paused a pretty while, he went on, without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his Winter-Quarters, and staid four Months to refresh his Soldiers. It is said, that the first time he sat on the Royal Throne of *Persia*, under a Canopy of Gold, *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, a Well-wisher to *Alexander*, and one of his Father's Friends, wept, Good Old Man, and deplored the Misfortune of the *Græcians*, who had fallen in the Wars, for that Death had deprived them of the Satisfaction of seeing *Alexander* placed on the Throne of *Darius*.

From hence designing to march against *Darius*, before he set out he diverted himself with his Officers at an Entertainment of Drinking, and other Pastimes, and indulged so far as to suffer every one his Mistress to sit by, and share in the Entertainment. The most celebrated of them was *Thais* an *Athenian*, Mistress to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards King of *Ægypt*. She sometimes cunningly praised

(1) Here *Alexander* addresseth himself to a Statue of *Xerxes*. The Remembrance of the War that Prince raised against *Greece*, excites and throws him into a Passion, which forceth from him those Words.

Alexander,

Alexander, sometimes played upon him and rallied him, and all the while drank so freely, that at last she fell to talk extravagantly, as Those of her Country used to do, much above her Character or Condition. She said *She was abundantly rewarded for the Pains she had taken in following the Camp all over Asia, since she was that Day treated in, and could insult over the stately Palace of the Persian Monarchs: But she added, it would please her much better, if while the King looked on, she might in sport, with her own Hands, set Fire to Xerxes's Court, who reduced the City of Athens to Ashes; that it might be recorded to Posterity, that the Women who followed Alexander had taken a sharper Revenge on the Persians, for the Sufferings and Affronts of Greece, than all her Commanders had done in their several Engagements by Sea and Land.* What she said was received with such universal Liking, and murmurs of Applause, and so seconded by the Incouragement and Eagerness of the Company, that the King Himself, persuaded to be of the Party, started from his Seat, and with a Chaplet of Flowers on his Head, and a lighted Torch in his Hand, led them the way, and They followed him in a riotous manner, Dancing, and with a mighty Noise surrounding the Palace. When the rest of the *Macedonians* perceived what they were about, They also with all the Joy imaginable ran thither with their Torches; for they hoped the Burning and Destruction of the Royal Palace, was an Argument that he looked homeward, and had no Design to reside among the *Barbarians*. Thus some Writers give an Account of this Action, and Others say it was done deliberately; however, All agree, that he soon repented of it, and gave Order to have the Fire extinguished.

Alexander was naturally very munificent, and grew more so as his Fortune increased, accompanying what he gave with that Courtesie and Freedom,

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which, to speak truth, is absolutely necessary to make a Benefit really obliging. I will give you a few Instances of this kind. *Aristo*, the Captain of the *Pæonians*, having killed an Enemy, brought his Head to him, and told him, *That among Them such a Present was recompensed with a Cup of Gold. With an empty one,* said *Alexander* smiling, *but I drink to you in This full of Wine, and give it you.* Another time, as one of the common Soldiers was driving a Mule laden with some of the King's Treasure, the Beast tired, so that he was forced to take it on his own Back, and with much ado marched with it a good way, 'till *Alexander* seeing the Fellow so overcharged, asked what was the matter; and when he was informed, just as he was ready to lay down his Burden for weariness; *Do not faint now,* said he to him, *but keep on the rest of thy way, and carry what thou hast on thy Back to thy own Tent for thy own Use.* He was always more displeas'd with Those who would not accept of his Presents, than with Those who begged them of him. And therefore he wrote to *Phocion*, *That he would not take him for his Friend any longer, if he refused to accept of what he had sent him.* Nor would he ever give any thing to *Serapion*, one of the Youths that played at Ball with him, because he did not ask of him, 'till one Day it coming to *Serapion's* turn to play, he still threw the Ball to Others, and when the King asked him, *Why he did not direct it to him? Because you did not ask it,* said he; with which Answer he was so pleas'd, that he was very liberal to him afterwards. One *Proteas*, a pleasant, drolling, drinking Fellow, having incurred his Displeasure, got his Friends to intercede for him, and begged his Pardon Himself with Tears, which at last prevail'd, and *Alexander* declared he was Friends with him. *I cannot believe it, Sir,* said *Proteas*, *unless you first give me some Pledge of your Reconciliation.* The King

King' understood his Meaning, and presently ordered him five Talents. How generous he was in enriching his Friends, and (1) Those who attended on his Person, appears by a Letter which *Olympias* wrote to him, where she tells him, *He should reward and honour Those about him in a more moderate way; for now, said she, you make them All equal to Kings, - you give them power and opportunity to improve their own Interest, by obliging Many to them, and in the mean time do not consider, that you leave Yourself bare and destitute.* She often wrote to him to this purpose, and he never communicated her Letters to any body, unless it were One which he opened when *Hephestion* was by, whom he permitted to read it along with him; but then, as soon as he had done, he took off his Ring, and clapped the Seal upon his Favourite's Lips, thereby recommending Secrecy to him. *Mazeus*, who was the most considerable Man in *Darius's* Court, had a Son who was already Governour of a very good Province; but *Alexander* would needs join Another to it, which was more profitable, which he modestly refused, and withal told him, *Instead of one Darius, he went the way to make many Alexanders.* To *Parmenio* he gave *Bagoas's* House, in which he found a Wardrobe of Apparel worth more than a thousand *Susian* Talents. He wrote to *Antipater*, commanding him to keep a Life-guard about him, for the security of his Person against Conspiracies. And to his Mother he was very munificent in sending her many Presents, but would never suffer her to meddle with Matters of State or War, not indulging her busy Temper; and when she fell

(1) He means fifty young Gentlemen brought to him by *Amyntas*. They were the Sons of the greatest Men in *Macedonia*. Their Office was to wait on him at Table, lead his Horses to him when he went to fight, attend him when he hunted, and keep Guard Day and Night at his Chamber-door.

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out with him upon this account, he bore her ill Humour very patiently. Nay more, when he read a long Letter from *Antipater*, full of Accusations against her: *I wonder*, said he, *Antipater should not know, that one Tear of a Mother effaces a thousand such Letters as These.*

But when he perceived his Favourites grow so luxurious, and extravagant in their way of Living and Expences; that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore silver Nails in his Shoes; that *Leonatus* employed several Camels, only to bring him Powder out of *Ægypt*, to use when he wrestled; and that *Philotas* had Toils to take wild Beasts, that reached twelve thousand five hundred Paces in length; that More used precious Ointments than plain Oil when they went to Bathe, and that they had Servants every where with them, to rub them and wait upon them in their Chambers: He reprov'd them like a Philosopher with great mildness and discretion, telling them, *he wondered that They who had been engaged in so many signal Battels, should not know by experience, that Labour and Industry made People sleep more sweetly and soundly than Laziness; and that if they compared the Persians manner of Living with their Own, they would be convinced it was the most abject, slavish Condition in the World to be effeminate and voluptuous, but the most generous and becoming a Great Man to take Pains.* Besides he reasoned with them, *how it was possible for any one who pretended to be a Soldier, either to look well after his Horse, or to keep his Armour bright and in good order, who thought much to let his Hands be serviceable to what was nearest to him, his own Body.* Be ye still to learn, said he, *that the End and Perfection of our Victories is to avoid the Vices and Infirmities of Those whom we have subdued?* And to strengthen his Precepts by Example, he applied himself now more vigorously than ever to Hunting and warlike Expeditions, readily embracing all opportunities

portunities of Hardship and Danger; insomuch that a *Spartan* Ambassador, who one day chanced to be by, when he encountered with, and mastered a huge Lion, said, (1) *Royalty, Sir, has been the Prize, and you have fought bravely for it with the Lion.* Craterus caused a Representation of this Adventure, consisting of the Lion and the Dogs, of the King engaged with the Lion, and Himself coming in to his Assistance, all expressed in Figures of Brass; some of which were made by *Lysippus*, and the rest by *Leochares*, to be dedicated in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. In this manner did *Alexander* expose his Person to Danger, whilst he both inured Himself, and incited Others to the performance of brave and virtuous Actions.

But his Followers, who were now become rich, and consequently proud, longed to indulge themselves in Pleasure and Idleness, and were grown weary of the Toils and Inconveniences of War, and by degrees came to be so impudently ungrateful, as to censure and speak ill of him behind his Back. All which at first he bore very patiently, saying, *It became a King to do well, and be ill spoken of.* But to descend to some Instances of an inferior nature, it is certain, that in the least Demonstrations of Kindness to his Friends, there was still a great mixture of Tenderneſs and Respect. Hearing *Peuceſtas* was bitten by a Bear, he wrote to him, *That he took it unkindly, he should send Others notice of it, and not make Him acquainted with it; but now, said he, since it is so, let me know how you do, and whether any of your Companions forsook you when you were in danger, that I may punish them?* He sent *Hephestion*, who was absent about some Business, word, *How, while they were fighting for their Diver-*

(1) This is a fine Saying. The two Kings to see which was to be the Master, it was a sort of Contention between

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tion with an (1) *Ichneumon*, *Craterus* was by chance run through both *Thighs* with *Perdiccas's* *Javelin*. And upon *Peucestas's* Recovery from a Fit of Sickness, he sent a Letter of Thanks to his Physician *Alexippus*. When *Craterus* was ill he saw a Vision in his Sleep, after which he offered Sacrifices for his Health, and commanded Him to do so likewise. He wrote also to *Pausanias* the Physician, who was about to purge *Craterus* with *Hellebore*, partly out of an anxious Concern for him, and partly to give him a Caution how he used that Medicine. He was so tender of his Friends Reputation, that he imprisoned *Ephialtes* and *Cissus*, who brought him the first News of *Harpalus's* Flight, and Desertion from his Service, as if they had falsely accused him. When he sent the old infirm Soldiers home, *Eurylochus* the *Ægean* got his Name enrolled among the Sick, though he ailed nothing; which being discovered, he confessed he was in Love with a young Woman named *Telesippa*, and had a mind to go along with her to the Sea-side. *Alexander* enquired, To whom the Woman belonged? and being told, She was a Courtesan, but of a liberal Birth: I will assist you, said he to *Eurylochus*, all I can in your Amour, if your Mistress be to be gained either by Presents or Persuasions; but we must use no other means, because she is free-

(1) The *Ichneumon* is a small Animal, very common in *Egypt*. It is remarkable for its mortal Enmity to the *Aspic* and *Crocodile*, and the Tricks it useth to get the better of two such dangerous Enemies. When it has to deal with the *Aspic* it rolls itself several times together in the Mud, and at every turn dries the Dirt that sticks round it in the Sun; so that when it has armed itself with several Crusts, as with so many *Cuirasses*, it attacks the *Aspic* boldly, and flies

at its Throat. When it is to encounter the *Crocodile*, it watches the Moment a little Bird called *Trochylus* enters into the Mouth of that Animal to cleanse his Jaws, and pick his Teeth, feeding upon what he finds; at which time the *Crocodile*, who is wonderfully pleased with the Operation, falls asleep with his Mouth wide open, then the *Ichneumon* darts down his Throat like an Arrow, and gnaws his Bowels, *Plin. lib. 8. Cap. 24, 25.*

born.

born. It is surprizing to consider, upon what slight occasions he would write Letters to serve his Friends. As when he wrote One, in which he gave order to search for a Youth that belonged to *Seleucus*, who was run away into *Cilicia*. In Another, he thanked and commended *Peucestas*, for apprehending *Nicon*, a Servant of *Craterus*. And to *Megabyfus*, concerning a Slave that had taken Sanctuary in a Temple, he wrote, that he should not meddle with him while he was there, but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to seize him. It is reported of him, that when he first sat in Judgment upon Capital Causes, he would lay his Hand upon one of his Ears, while the Accuser spoke, to keep it free and unprejudiced in behalf of the Party accused. But afterwards such a Multitude of Accusations were brought before him, whereof many proving true, exasperated him so, that he gave credit to Those also that were false; and especially when any body spoke ill of him, he would be so out of measure transported, that he became cruel and inexorable, valuing his Glory and Reputation far beyond either his Life or Kingdom.

His Affairs called upon him now to look after *Darius*, expecting he should be put to the hazard of another Battel; 'till he heard he was taken, and secured by *Bessus*; upon which News he sent home the *Thessalians*, and gave them a Largess of two thousand Talents, over and above the Pay that was due to them. This long and painful Pursuit of *Darius*, (for in eleven Days he marched four hundred and twelve Miles) harassed his Soldiers so, that most of them were ready to faint, chiefly for want of Water. While they were in this distress, it happened that some *Macedonians*, who had fetched Water in Skins upon their Mules from a River they had found out, came about Noon to

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the Place where *Alexander* was, and seeing him almost choaked with Thirst, presently filled an Helmet, and offered it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying the Water; they told him *to their Children*, adding withal, *that if His Life were but preserved, it was no matter for Them, they should have opportunities enow to repair the loss, tho' they all perished.* Then he took the Helmet into his hands, and looking round about, when he saw all Those who were near him stretching their Heads out, and gaping earnestly after the Drink; he returned it again with Thanks, without tasting a Drop of it: *For, said he, if I only should drink, the rest will be quite out of heart and faint.* The Soldiers no sooner took notice of his Temperance and Magnanimity upon this occasion, but they, One and All, cried out to him to lead them on boldly, and fell a whipping their Horses to make them mend their Pace; *for whilst they had such a King, they said, they defied both Weariness and Thirst, and looked upon themselves to be little less than immortal.* But tho' they were all equally chearful and willing, yet not above threescore Horse were able to keep up, and fall in with *Alexander* upon the Enemy's Camp; where they rode over abundance of Gold and Silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a great many Chariots full of Women, that wandered here and there for want of Drivers, they endeavoured to overtake the First of those that fled, in hopes to meet with *Darius* among them. At last, with much ado, they found him lying along in a Chariot, all over wounded with Darts, just at the point of Death. However, he desired they would give him some Drink, and when he had drank a little cold Water, he told *Polystratus* who gave it him, *That to receive such a Benefit, and not have it in his Power to return it, was the highest pitch of his Misfortune.*

But

But Alexander, said he, whose Kindness to my Mother, my Wife, and my Children, I hope the Gods will recompence, will doubtless thank Thee for thy Humanity to me. Tell him therefore in token of my Acknowledgment, I give him this Right Hand: At which Words he took hold of *Polystratus's* Hand, and died. When *Alexander* came up to them, he was sensibly touched at the unfortunate End of so great a Man, and pulling off his own Coat, threw it upon the Body to cover it. And to shew how much he detested so horrid a Fact, as soon as *Bessus* was taken, he ordered him to be torn in pieces in this manner. (1) They fastned him to a couple of tall strait Trees, which were bound down so as to meet, and then being let loose, with a great force returned to their places, each of them carrying that part of the Body along with it that was tied to it. *Darius's* Body was laid in State, and sent to his Mother with Pomp suitable to his Quality. *Alexander* received his Brother *Oxathres* into the number of his most intimate Friends.

And now with the Flower of his Army he marched down into *Hyrkania*, where he saw a Gulph of the Sea, not much less than the *Euxine*, and found its Water sweeter than That of other Seas; but could learn nothing of Certainty concerning it, farther than that in all probability it seemed to Him to be an overflowing of the Lake of *Mæotis*, or at least to have Communication with it. However the Naturalists better informed of the Truth, give us this account of it many Years before *Alexander's* Expedition; that of four Gulphs which out of the main Sea enter into the Continent, This is the most Northern, and is known

(1) *Quintus Curtius* tells us | had cut off his Nose and Ears,
Alexander delivered the Assassine | and fastned him to a Cross, the
 up to *Oxathres* the Brother of | *Barbarians* might kill him with
Darius, to the end that when they | their Darts, and Arrows.

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by the Name both of the *Hyrceanian* and *Caspian* Sea. Here the *Barbarians* unexpectedly meeting with Those who led *Bucephalus*, took them Prisoners, and carried the Horse away with them; which *Alexander* was so offended at, that he sent an Herald to let them know, he would put them all to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children, without mercy, if they did not restore him: Which they immediately did, and at the same time surrendered their Cities into his Hands; upon which he not only treated them very kindly, but also paid a good Ransom for his Horse to Those who took him.

From hence he marched into *Parthia*, where not having much to do, he first put on the *Barbarick* Habit, which Compliance perhaps he used in order to Civilize the Inhabitants; for nothing gains more upon Men, than a Conformity to their Fashions and Customs: Or it may be he did it as an Essay, whether the *Macedonians* would be brought to adore him, (as the *Persians* did their Kings) by accustoming them by little and little to bear with the Alteration of his Discipline, and Course of Life in other things. However he followed not the *Median* Fashion, which was altogether barbarous and uncouth; for he wore neither their Breeches, nor their long Vest, nor their Tiara for the Head, but taking a middle way between the *Persian* Mode and the *Median*, he so contrived his Habit that it was not so flanting as the One, and yet more pompous and magnificent than the Other. At first he wore this Habit only when he had Business to transact with the *Barbarians*, or within Doors, among his intimate Friends and Companions, but afterwards he appeared in it abroad, and at publick Audiences. A Sight which the *Macedonians* beheld with exceeding Grief; but they were so charmed with his other Virtues and good Qualities

lities, that they could not but think it reasonable in some things to gratifie his Humour and his passionate Desire of Glory; In pursuit of which he hazarded himself so far, that besides his other Adventures, he had but newly been wounded in the Leg by an Arrow, which had so shattered the Shank-bone, that Splinters were taken out. And another time he received such a violent Blow with a Stone upon the Nape of the Neck, as dimmed his Sight a good while afterwards. But all this could not hinder him from exposing himself to the greatest Dangers, without any regard to his Person; insomuch that he passed the River *Oreartes*, which he took to be the *Tanais*, and putting the *Scythians* to Flight, followed them above twelve Miles in the Rear, though at the same time he had a violent Flux upon him. Here Many affirm, that the *Amazonian* Queen came to give him a Visit: So report *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus* and *Onesicritus*, *Antigenes* and *Ister*. But then on the other side, *Aristobulus* and (1) *Chares* of *Theangela*, *Ptolemy*, *Anticlides*, *Philo* the *Theban*, *Philip* likewise of

(1) Here the Text is faulty in two Places; it is said *Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς*, and *Φίλιππος ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς*. *Diodorus* tells us that *εἰσαγγελεύς* was an Officer in the *Persian* Court, whose Business was to acquaint the Prince when Any came to see or speak to him, and to introduce them, so that he was what we call an *Introducer*, or *Master of the Ceremonies*; but that cannot be what is meant here, for neither *Chares* nor *Philip* ever exercised that Office. *Holstenius*, and *Reinesius* prove that *Plutarch* wrote it *Χαῖρης ὁ Θεασγγελεύς*, and *Φίλιππος ὁ Θεασγγελεύς*, that is, *Chares* of the Town, or City of *Theangela*, and *Philip* of *Theangela*, which

Theangela was a City in *Caria*. This Correction seems the more justifiable, because Those *Plutarch* names here, and among whom he has placed *Chares* and *Philip*, are distinguished by their several Countries, such as *Philo* the *Theban*, *Hecateus* of *Eretria*, and *Duris* of *Samos*, and it is not very likely that he would describe the other Two by their Employments. But That which puts it out of all doubt is, that *Athenaus*, lib. 6. p. 271. quotes this very *Philip* as belonging to that Place. *Φίλιππος ὁ Θεασγγελεύς ἐν τῷ περὶ Χαῖρῶν καὶ Λελέγων Συγγραμμάτι*. *Philip* of *Theangela* in his *Treatise* of the *Carians*, &c.

Theangela,

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Theangela, *Hecatæus* the *Eretrian*, *Philip* the *Chalcidian*, and *Duris* the *Samian* say, (1) it is wholly a Fiction. And truly *Alexander* himself seems to confirm the Opinion of the Latter; for in a Letter in which he gives *Antipater* an account of all Passages, he tells him, that the King of *Scythia* offered him his Daughter in Marriage, but makes no mention at all of the *Amazon*. And many Years after, when *Onesicritus* read this Story in his fourth Book to *Lysimachus*, who then reigned, the King with a Smile asked, *where then was I at that time?* but as for This Particular, They who believe it will not have a greater Veneration for *Alexander*, and They who reject it will not esteem him the less for it.

Apprehending the *Macedonians*, grown weary of the War, and tired with the Fatigues and Hardships attending it, would not have the Courage or Patience to accompany him any farther in his Expedition, he left the Gross of his Army behind him in their Quarters, and taking with him the choicest of his Forces, to the Number of twenty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, he marched with Them (2) into *Hyrkania*, having first called them to an Assembly, and in a long Speech told them, *That hitherto the Barbarians had seen them no otherwise than as it were in a Dream, and if they should think of returning when they had only alarmed Asia, and not conquered it, those Barba-*

(1) It is certain that this History of the *Amazons* is a downright Fable, of which *Strabo* was very sensible. The Reader may see the Remarks upon the Life of *Theseus*, vol. 1. pag. 100.

(2) This Passage as it stands in the Text seems very intricate. *Alexander* is in *Parthia*, and it looks as if the Troops he was

taking with him were in *Hyrkania*. Whereas in Truth *Alexander* had just left *Hyrkania*, and was in *Parthia* when he made this Speech to his Army, and returned into *Hyrkania*, where some Com-motions had made his Presence necessary. If it be taken in this Sense the whole is consistent, and clear.

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rians would set upon them, and destroy them like so many Women: However he would detain None of them against their Will, but gave Such as desired it free Liberty to return; but withal protested against Those who should be so mean-spirited as to desert Him and his Friends, and Those who were willing to fight under him still, in an Enterprize so glorious as it would be, to make the Macedonians Lords of the habitable World. This is almost Word for Word the same with what he wrote in a Letter to Antipater, where he adds, *That when he had thus spoken to them, they all cried out, they would go along with him, whithersoever it was his Pleasure to lead them.* When he had in this manner gained the Leaders, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the Multitude, which in such Cases easily follows the Example of their Betters. From this time forward he more and more endeavoured to accommodate himself in his way of living to the Customs and Manners of the *Barbarians*, which he likewise endeavoured to blend with the Customs and Manners of the *Macedonians*, in hopes that this Mixture and Communication would cement them in a sort of Friendship and Alliance, and that mutual Love and Benevolence would tend more to the Maintenance of his Authority during his Absence, than Distrust and Force. In order to This he chose out thirty thousand Boys, whom he allowed Masters to teach them the *Greek Tongue*, and to train them up to Arms in the *Macedonian Discipline*. As for his Marriage with *Roxana*, That was purely the effect of Love. For having accidentally seen her at a Feast, she appeared in his Eyes so charming and beautiful, that immediately she got Possession of his Heart, nor did it prove in the least prejudicial to his Interest, as things stood with him at that time. For this Alliance with them made the *Barbarians* confide in him, and love him more than ever,
when

when they saw how continent he was, and that he forbore the only Woman he ever was in Love with, 'till he could enjoy her in a lawful and honourable way.

When he perceived that of his two chief Friends and Favourites, *Hephestion* approved of and applauded the Customs he had newly taken up, and imitated him in his Habit, while *Craterus* continued strict in the Observation of the Customs and Fashions of his own Country; He made the best use of them Both, employing the first in all Transactions with the *Persians*, and the latter when he had to do with the *Greeks* or *Macedonians*. It is true he had a greater Love for the One, and a higher Esteem for the Other, being persuaded, as he always said, (1) that *Hephestion* loved *Alexander*, and *Craterus* the King. Whereupon a Misunderstanding arose between these two Rival Favourites, so that they often clast, and quarrelled; insomuch that once in *India* they drew their Swords, and were going to it in good earnest, with their Friends on each side to second them, 'till *Alexander* came up to them, and publickly reprov'd *Hephestion*, calling him Fool and Madman, not to be sensible that without his Favour he was but a Cypher. He chid *Craterus* also in private very severely, and then causing them Both to come into his Presence, he reconciled them, at the same time swearing by *Jupiter Ammon*, and the rest of the Gods, that he loved them Two above all other Men; but if ever he perceived them fall out again, he would be sure to put Both of them to death, at least the Ag-

(1) According to This, *Alexander* had a greater Esteem for Him, who loved him as King, than Him who loved him as he was *Alexander*; and This is very reasonable. He that loves him purely for his Person as *Alexan-* *der*, will share with him in his Infirmities, will justify, and excuse them; but He who loves the King will not spare to warn him when he finds him wanting to Himself, and will not suffer him to do any thing beneath his Dignity. gressor.

greflor. After which, they neither ever did, or said any thing, so much as in jest, to offend one another.

None had more Authority among the *Macedonians* than *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*: For besides that he was Valiant, and able to endure any Fatigue of War, he was also next to *Alexander* Himself the most Munificent, and the greatest Lover of his Friends; One of whom asking him for some Money, he commanded his Steward to give it him; and when he told him, he had not wherewith, *Have you not Plate then*, said he, *and Cloaths of mine? turn Them into Money, rather than let my Friend go without.* But he was so very proud and insolent by reason of his Wealth, and so over-nice about his Person and Diet, more than became a private Man, that he awkwardly and unseemingly affected the Air and Character of Greatness, without the Civility and obliging Temper which ought to accompany it, and so gained nothing but Envy and Ill-will to that degree, that *Parmenio* would sometimes tell him, *My Son, appear less.* He had for a considerable time before been complained of to *Alexander*: For when *Darius* was overthrown in *Cilicia*, and an immense Booty taken at *Damascus*, among the rest of the Prisoners who were brought into the Camp, there was one *Antigone* of *Pydna*, a very handsome Woman, who fell to *Philotas's* share. The young Man one day in his Cups, like an arrogant, bragging Soldier, told his Mistress, *That all the great Actions were performed by Him and his Father, the Glory and Benefit of which, he said, together with the Title of King, that Stripling Alexander reaped and enjoyed by their means.* She could not hold, but discovered what she had heard to one of her Acquaintance; and He, as is usual in such Cases, to Another, 'till at last it came to *Craterus*, who watched his Opportunity, and introduced

duced her privately to the King. When *Alexander* had heard what she had to say, he commanded her to continue her Intrigue with *Philotas*, and give Him an account from time to time of all that she could gather from him to the same Purpose. *Philotas* being thus inadvertently taken in the snare, sometimes to gratifie his Passion, and sometimes his Vain-glory, blurted out many foolish indiscreet Speeches against the King in *Antigone's* hearing; of which though *Alexander* was informed, and convinced by strong Evidence, yet he would take no notice of it at present; whether it was, that he confided in *Parmenio's* Affection and Loyalty, or that he apprehended their Authority and Interest in the Army. About this time one *Limnus*, a *Macedonian*, Native of *Chalestra*, conspired against *Alexander's* Life, and communicated his Design to a Youth whom he loved, named *Nicomachus*, inviting Him to be of the Party. But He not relishing the thing, revealed it to his Brother *Balinus*, who immediately addressed himself to *Philotas*, requiring him (1) to introduce them Both to *Alexander*, to whom they had something of great Moment to impart, which very nearly concerned him. *Philotas*, for what Reason is uncertain, refused to introduce them as they had desired, pretending the King was taken up with Affairs of more importance: And when they had urged him a second time, and were still slighted by him, they applied themselves to Another; by whose means being admitted into *Alexander's* Presence, they first laid open *Limnus's* Conspiracy, and then as by the by represented *Philotas's* Negligence, who had taken so little notice of their repeated Solicitations. A-

(1) *Quintus Curtius* saith that *Balinus*, or *Cebalinus*, went by Himself to *Philotas*, for fear lest if his Brother *Nicomachus*,

who had not often received that Honour, should be introduced to the King, the Conspirators might have taken Umbrage at it.

Alexander

Alexander was extremely exasperated at this neglect in *Philotas*; but when he came to understand, that the Person who had been sent to apprehend *Lim-nus* (1) had killed him, because he had put himself upon his Defence, and chose rather to be slain than taken, he was highly concerned, for he conceived the Death of that Traytor had deprived him of the Means of making a full discovery of the Plot. As soon as his Displeasure against *Philotas* began to appear, presently all his old Enemies shewed themselves, and said openly, *The King was too easily imposed on, to imagine, that One so inconsiderable as Limnus, a poor unregarded Chalæstrian, should of his own head undertake such an Enterprize; that in all likelihood He was but subservient to the Design, an Instrument that was moved by some greater Spring; that Those ought to be more strictly examined about the Matter, whose Interest it was so much to conceal it.* When they had once filled the King's Head with These and the like Speeches and Suspicions, they loaded *Philotas* daily with innumerable Crimes, 'till at last they prevailed to have him seized, and put to the Question, which was done in the Presence of the principal Officers, *Alexander* himself being placed behind the Tapestry, to understand what passed. When he heard in what a miserable Tone, and with what abject Submissions *Philotas* applied himself to *Hephestion*, he broke out in this manner: *Couldst Thou, Philotas, effeminate, and mean-spirited as thou art, couldst Thou engage in so bold, and bazardous an Enterprize?* After his Death, he presently sent into *Media*, to take off *Parmenio*, his Father, who had done brave Service unto *Philip*, and was the only Man, especially of his old Friends and Counsellors, who had encouraged *Alexander* to

(1) Other Authors say he killed himself. The Guards carried him to *Alexander's* Tent, but by that time they got him thither he became Speechless, and expired in a Moment.

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invade *Asia*. Of three Sons which he had in the Army, he had already lost Two, and now was himself put to death with the Third. These Actions rendered *Alexander* formidable to many of his Friends, and chiefly to *Antipater*, who thereupon to strengthen Himself, sent Ambassadors privately to the *Ætolians*, to treat an Alliance with them; for they stood in fear of *Alexander*, because they had destroyed the City of the (1) *Oeniades*, of which when he was informed, he said, *The Children of the Oeniades need not revenge their Father's Quarrel, for He would himself take care to punish the Ætolians.*

Not long after This happened the deplorable End of *Clitus*, which to Those who barely hear the matter of Fact, may seem more inhuman than That of *Philotas*: But if we take the Story with its Circumstance of Time, and weigh the Cause, we shall find the King did it not on purpose, but by evil Chance, and that his Passion and Drunkenness were the occasion of *Clitus's* Misfortune, which came to pass in the following manner. The King had a Present of *Græcian* Fruit brought him from the Sea-coast, which was so very fresh and fair, that he was surprized at it, and sent for *Clitus* to shew it Him, and to give him a share of it. *Clitus* was then sacrificing, but he immediately left off and went to wait on the King, followed by three of the Sheep, on whom the Drink-offering had been already poured, in order for the Sacrifice. *Alexander* being informed of this Accident, consulted his two Diviners, *Aristander* and *Cleomantis* the *Spartan*, and asked them what was portended by it. They

(1) This City *Oenias*, or *Oeniades*, was situated in *Acarmania*, at the Mouth of the River *Achelous*. In all likelyhood it was so called from *Oeneus* the Father of *Deianira*. It was afterwards called *Eryfichia*, and last of all *Dramogesta*. It is mentioned both in *Polybius* and *Diodorus*.

assuring

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assuring him (1) that it was an ill Omen, he commanded them in all haste to offer Sacrifices for *Clitus's* Safety, forasmuch as three days before He himself had seen a strange Vision in his Sleep, of *Clitus* all in Mourning, sitting by *Parmenio's* Sons who were all dead. *Clitus* however staid not to finish his Devotions, but came strait to Supper with the King, who the same Day had sacrificed to *Castor* and *Pollux*. And when they had drank pretty hard, some of the Company fell a singing the Verses of one *Pranichus*, or as Others say, of *Pierion*, which were made upon those Captains who had been lately worsted by the *Barbarians*, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to ridicule, which so offended the grave ancient Men, that they reprov'd both the Author, and the Singer of the Verses, though *Alexander* and the Blades about him were mightily pleas'd to hear them, and encouraged them to go on: 'Till at last *Clitus*, who had drank too much, and was besides of a froward and wilful Temper, was so nettled that he could hold no longer, saying, *It was not well done thus to expose the Macedonians before the Barbarians, and their Enemies, since though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better Men than Those who laugh'd at them.* To This *Alexander* replied, *That sure Clitus spoke so tenderly of Cowardise when he call'd it Misfortune, only to excuse Himself: At which Clitus starting up, This Cowardise, as you are pleas'd to term it, said he to him, saved your Life, though you pretend to be sprung from the Gods, when you were running away from Spithridates's*

(1) It could indeed be no favourable Omen to *Clitus* to be followed by three Sheep destined to the Sacrifice, for which end they had already received the sacred Effusion. It plainly intimated that the same Destiny pursued *Clitus*, and that He was going to fall a Victim. This Circumstance might have been thus interpreted, without the Help of a Conjuror.

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Sword; and it is by the expence of Macedonian Blood, and by these Wounds, that you are now raised to such an height, as to despise and disown your Father Philip, and adopt your self the Son of Jupiter Ammon. Thou base Fellow, said Alexander, who was now thoroughly exasperated, dost thou think to utter these things every where of me, and stir up the Macedonians to Sedition, and not be punished for it? We are sufficiently punished already, answered Clitus, if This be the recompence of our Toils; and esteem Those happiest, who have not lived to see their Countrymen ignominiously scourged with Median Rods, and forced to sue to the Persians to have Access to their King. While Clitus talked thus at random, and the King in the bitterest manner retorted upon him, the old Men that were in the Company endeavoured all they could to allay the Flame, when Alexander turning to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, asked them, If they were not of Opinion, that the rest of the Græcians behaved among the Macedonians, like so many Demi-Gods among Savages? All This would not silence Clitus, who calling aloud to Alexander bid him if he had any thing to say to speak out, or else why did he invite Men who were Free-born, and used to speak their Minds openly without restraint, to sup with him? he had better live and converse with Barbarians, and conquered Slaves, who would not scruple to adore his Persian Girdle, and white Tunick. Which Words so provoked Alexander, that not able to suppress his Anger any longer, he took one of the Apples that lay upon the Table and flung it at him, and then looked about for his Sword. But Aristophanes, one of his Life-guard, had hid that out of the way, and Others came about him, and besought him to stay his Fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he called out aloud to his Guards in the Macedonian Language, which was a certain Sign of some great Disturbance

Disturbance in him, and commanded a Trumpeter to sound, giving him a Box on the Ear for delaying, or rather refusing to obey him; though afterwards the same Man was commended for disobeying an Order, which would have put the whole Army into Tumult and Confusion. *Clitus* continued still in the same quarrelsome Humour, 'till his Friends with much ado forced him out of the Room; but he came in again immediately at another Door very irreverently, and insolently sung this Passage out of *Euripides's Andromache*. (1) *Ye Gods, what an ill Custom have you introduced in Greece! When an Army has erected a Trophy upon the Defeat of the Enemy, it is never considered that the Victory is owing to the Valour of the Troops, who fought, but the General puts in for all the Honour of it; tho' he had exposed himself to no more Danger than many Thousands besides, and had done no more than a common Soldier, yet He only is celebrated in the Songs of Triumph, and robs the rest of their share in the Glory.* Then *Alexander* snatching a Spear from one of the Soldiers, met *Clitus* as he was putting by the Curtain that hung before the Door, and ran him through the Body. He fell immediately, and after a few piercing Groans expired. In that very Instant the King's Indignation cooled, and he came perfectly to himself; but when he saw

(1) This is a Speech spoken by *Peleus* to *Menelaus*, ver. 639, &c. *Plutarch* mentions only the first Line, because in those days every one almost had *Euripides's* Works by Heart, and if one Verse only in a Speech was spoken they All knew what followed. It was thought necessary to add the Whole in this Translation, because otherwise the Reader would be at a loss, and would not comprehend the Meaning of the Passage. Be-

sides, *Plutarch* saith *Clitus* sung them all. They carry in them a bitter Reflection upon *Alexander*, hinting that as *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* arrogated to Themselves the whole Honour of the Expedition against *Troy*, the Success of which was owing to the blood of so many Thousands, so *Alexander* attributed to Himself the Merit of all those wonderful Exploits, most of which were owing to the Bravery of his Commanders.

his Friends about him all in a profound Silence, as seized with Horror at the Fact, he pulled the Spear out of the dead Body, and would have turned it against himself, if the Guards had not held his Hands, and by main Force carried him away into his Chamber.

He spent all that Night and the Day following in the Bitterness of Grief, 'till being quite wasted with weeping, and lamenting, he threw himself on the Floor, where he lay as it were Speechless, only now and then a deep Sigh broke from him. His Friends apprehending some dangerous consequence of this Silence, broke into the Room; but he took no notice of what any of them said to him to comfort him, 'till *Aristander* put him in mind of the Vision he had seen concerning *Clitus*, and the Prodigy that followed, and at the same time observed to him that nothing happened in this World, but what had been predetermined by Fate, and was consequently unavoidable, at which he seemed to moderate his Grief. Hereupon they brought to discourse with him *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, who was nearly related to *Aristotle*, and *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*. (1) *Callisthenes* endeavoured to alleviate his Sorrow with moral Discourses, and gentle Insinuations, without irritating him. But *Anaxarchus*, (2) who was always singular in his Method of Philosophy, and was thought to flight Those of

(1) He was of the City of *Olynthus*, and had been recommended by *Aristotle* to *Alexander*. He was not only very learned, but a Person of unshaken Probity, and a zealous Lover of Liberty, which made him of a humour not over-complaisant, or proper for a Court.

(2) It appears by his Discourse to *Alexander* that he neither fol-

lowed *Pythagoras*, *Socrates* nor *Aristotle*. It is said that he was Scholar to one *Diomenes* of *Smyrna*, or *Metrodorus*, Philosophers little known, or regarded. Others say he studied under *Democritus*, and indeed it is plain his Sentiments were much the same with Those of that Philosopher; who held that Laws were only human Inventions,

his own Time, as soon as he came in cried out aloud, *Is this the Alexander whom the World looks upon with such Admiration? Behold him extended on the Ground, and weeping like an abject Slave for fear of the Law, and Reproach of Men, (1) to whom he Himself ought to be a Law, and the Measure of Equity; (2) since he conquered for no other End but to make himself Lord of all, and not to be a Slave to a vain idle Opinion. Do not you know, continued he, addressing himself to Alexander, that (3) Jupiter is represented sitting on his Throne with Law assisting on one side, and Justice on the Other, intimating thereby that let a Sovereign Prince do what he will all his Actions are just and lawful? With these and the like Arguments Anaxarchus indeed allayed the King's Grief, (4) but withal corrupted his Manners, rendring him more dissolute and violent than he was before. Nor did he fail by these means to*

(1) This is a most pernicious Doctrine. A King is no longer a Law to Others, and the Measure of Justice, than whilst he governs Justly, and obeys God who is the supream Law, and Justice it self, to, whichever thing is to submit.

(2) This is a precious Philosopher! as if the End of Victory was to give the Conqueror a Right of breaking through all the Obligations of Virtue, of subjecting every thing to his own Humour, and abandoning himself to all Acts of Injustice and Licentiousness, by stifling within him the Light of Reason. What follows is still more horrid.

(3) This is a great and noble Idea, teaching us that God always observes Justice and Equity in his Dispensations; and that every thing He does is Right and Just, since He is Justice it self, Princes

are to learn from hence that their Thrones ought to be founded in Justice and Righteousness, which is their only Safeguard, for the Throne is Established by Righteousness, Prov. xvi. 12. Now here is a Villain of a Philosopher, that Poisons this wholesome Doctrine to the Perdition of his Prince, by persuading that Justice is always attending not to be the Rule of his Actions, but to make his Actions the Rule of Justice.

(4) What Argument could be more effectual to quiet the Conscience of a Prince who thought himself guilty of a notorious Crime, than to tell him that what he had done was a most righteous Action? and what other Tendency could such a pernicious Doctrine have than to render Alexander more unjust, and arrogant?

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insinuate himself into his Favour, and to make *Callisthenes* his Conversation, which otherwise, because of his Austerity, was not very acceptable, very uneasy and disagreeable to him.

It happened that these two Philosophers meeting at an Entertainment, where the Company discoursed of the Seasons of the Year, and the Temperature of the Air; *Callisthenes* joined with their Opinion, who held, That those Countries were colder, and the Winter sharper there than in *Greece*; which *Anaxarchus* would by no means allow of, but maintained the contrary with great Obstinacy. Sure, said *Callisthenes* to him, you must needs confess this Country to be colder than *Greece*, (1) for there you had but one thread-bare Cloak to keep out the coldest Winter, and here you cannot so much as sit at Table without three good warm Mantles one over another. This piece of Raillery not only exceedingly exasperated *Anaxarchus*, but likewise piqued the other Pretenders to Learning, and the Crowd of Flatterers, who could not endure to see him so beloved and followed by the Youth for the sake of his Eloquence, and no less esteemed by the ancient Men for his good Life, his Modesty, Gravity, and being contented with his Condition. All which confirmed what he gave out of his Design in his Voyage to *Alexander*, that it was only to get his Country-men recalled from Banishment, and to rebuild and repeople *Abdera*, where he was born. Besides the Envy which his great Reputation raised, he also by his own Deportment gave Those who wished him Ill, opportunity to

(1) This was a very natural, and convincing Argument, to prove that the Climate of *Hyrkania* was more sharp and cold than That of *Greece*; but moreover this Argument carries with it a fine Piece of Satyr. *Callisthenes* tells *Anaxarchus*, that he was so poor and beggarly in *Greece*, that he was Master of but one Garment to cover his Nakedness even in the Winter.

do him Mischief. For when he was invited to publick Entertainments he would most-times refuse to come, or if he were present at any, he put a Constraint upon the Company by his Moroseness and Silence, seeming to disapprove of every thing they did or said; which made *Alexander* say this of him: (1) *I hate that Pretender to Wisdom who is not wise to his own Interest.* Being with many more invited to sup with the King, he was commanded to make an Oration *Extempore*, while they were drinking, in Praise of the *Macedonians*; and he did it with such a Torrent of Eloquence, that All who heard it exceedingly applauded him, and threw their Garlands upon him, only *Alexander* told him out of *Euripides*,

*I wonder not that you have spoke so well,
'Tis easy on good Subjects to excel.*

Therefore, said he, if you will shew the force of your Eloquence, tell my *Macedonians* their Faults, and dispraise them, that by hearing their Errors, they may learn to be better for the future. *Callisthenes* presently obeyed him, retracting all he had said before, and inveighing against the *Macedonians* with great freedom, added, *That Philip thrived, and grew powerful, chiefly by the Discord of the Græcians*; applying this Verse to him,

*Where-ever Feuds and Civil Discords reign,
There the worst Men most Reputation gain.*

(1) This is a Verse in *Euripides*, by repeating of which *Alexander* gave him to understand that his ill humour would one day be fatal to him; and it is no more than what *Aristotle* Himself had foretold him; for observing once with what Freedom of Speech, or rather Insolence, he treated the

King, he applied to him the following Verse out of *Homer*, spoken by *Thetis* to *Achilles*:

Ὀκλύμορθε δὴ μοι, τέκνον, ἕσσεαι
οἱ ἀγορῶν. Il. xviii. 95.

*Oh! then I see thee dying, see thee
dead!* Pope.

Which

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Which so disobliged the *Macedonians*, that he was odious to them ever after. And *Alexander* said, That *Callisthenes* had not on that Occasion shewn such evident Proofs of his Eloquence, as of his Malignity and Ill-will to the *Macedonians*. *Hermippus* assures us, that one *Stroibus*, a Servant whom *Callisthenes* kept to read to him, gave this account of these Passages afterwards to *Aristotle*. He adds, that when *Callisthenes* perceived the King grow more and more averse to him, he muttered this Verse out of *Homer* two or three times to himself, as he was going away :

(1) *The great, the good Patroclus is no more.
He, far thy Better, was fore-doom'd to die.* Pope.

Not without Reason therefore did *Aristotle* give this Character of *Callisthenes*, That he was indeed an excellent Orator, but had no Judgment. For though we grant it was resolutely and Philosophically done of him, not to worship the King, but by talking publickly against That which the best and gravest of the *Macedonians* only repined at in secret, he put a stop to their base Adoration, and delivered the *Græcians* and *Alexander* Himself from a great deal of Infamy; yet in the close he ruined Himself by it, because he went too roughly to work, as if he would have forced the King to That which he should have effected by Reason and Persuasion. *Chares of Mitylene* writes, That at a Banquet, *Alexander* after he had drank reached the Cup to

(1) This Verse is in the twenty first Book of the *Iliad*. *Callisthenes* meant by it, that though *Alexander* was become thus cool and averse to him, he comforted himself with the thoughts that he had not long to live, and that no wise Man would take to Heart the un-

friendly Treatment of One whose Life was no better than a Vapour; just upon the Point of expiring. Perhaps likewise there might be some secret Menace couched under those Words, intimating that *Alexander's* Behaviour was hastening his Destruction.

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one of his Friends, who receiving it, rose up, and turning himself towards (1) the Fire Hearth, where stood the Altar sacred to the domestick Deities, he drank, adored, and then kissed *Alexander*, and afterwards sat down at the Table with the rest. Which they All did one after another, 'till it came to *Callisthenes's* Turn, who taking the Cup, drank it off, when the King, who was engaged in Discourse with *Hephestion*, did not mind him, and then offered to kiss him. But *Demetrius*, Sirnamed *Pheidon*, interposed, saying, *Sir, by no means let him kiss you, for He only of us All has refused to adore you; upon which the King declined it, and all the Concern Callisthenes shewed, was, that he said aloud, Then I go away with a Kiss less than the rest.* This began to give the King an Aversion to him, which was improved by many concurring Circumstances. In the first place *Hephestion* was easily believed when he declared that he had broke his Word with him, for that he had given him his Promise to pay the King the same Adoration that Others did. Besides This, and to finish his Disgrace, *Lyfimachus* and *Agnon* added, That this Sophister went about priding himself, as if he stood in the Gap against Arbitrary Power; that the young Men all ran after Him, and honoured him as the only Man among so many thousands, who had the Courage to preserve his Liberty. Therefore when *Hermolaus's* Conspiracy came to be discovered, the Crimes which *Callisthenes's* Enemies laid to his Charge were the more easily believed, particularly that when the young Man asked him, *What he should do to be the most illustrious Person on Earth;* he told him, *The readiest way was to kill Him who was so at present.*

(1) He turned that way because that Prince among the domestick *Alexander* sat on that side, and tutelary Deities. to shew that he did already reckon

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And that to incite him to commit the Fact, he bid him *not be awed by the golden Canopy which was allowed to him by his Flatterers, as to a Deity, but remember, Alexander was a Man equally infirm and vulnerable as Another.* However none of *Hermolaus's* Accomplices, in the extremity of their Torments, made any mention of *Callisthenes's* being engaged in the Design. Nay *Alexander* Himself, in the Letters which he wrote soon after to *Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas,* tells them, that Those who were put to the Rack, confessed they had entered into the Conspiracy wholly of Themselves, without any Others being privy to, or guilty of it. But yet afterwards, in a Letter to *Antipater,* he accuses *Callisthenes* of the same Crime. *The young Men,* says he, *were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but for the Sophister, meaning Callisthenes, I will take care to punish Him, and Them too who sent him to me, who harbour Those in their Cities who conspire against my Life.* By which Expressions it appears he had no very good opinion of *Aristotle,* by whom *Callisthenes* was educated upon the score of his Relation to him, being his Niece *Hero's* Son. His Death is diversly related: Some say he was hanged by *Alexander's* Command; Others, that he died of Sicknes in Prison; but *Chares* writes, he was kept in Chains seven Months after he was apprehended, on purpose that he might be proceeded against in full Council, when *Aristotle* should be present; (1) and that being grown very fat, he died of the lousie Disease, about the time that *Alexander* was wounded in the Country of the *Malli Oxydracæ;* all which came to pass afterwards.

In the mean time *Demaratus* of *Corinth,* a Man of a great Age, was very desirous to give the King a Visit, and when he had seen him, said, *He pitied the*

(1) *Athenaus* saith he was carried about in an Iron Cage, where he was almost devoured by Vermin, and at last exposed to a Lion.

Misfortune

Misfortune of those Græcians who were so unhappy as to die before they had beheld Alexander seated on the Throne of Darius. But he did not long enjoy the Effects of his Bounty to him any otherwise, than that soon after falling sick and dying, he had a magnificent Funeral, and the Army raised him a Monument of Earth fourscore Cubits high, and of a vast Circumference. His Ashes were conveyed in a very rich Chariot drawn by four Horses to the Sea-side.

Alexander now intent upon his Expedition into *India*, took notice, that his Soldiers were so charged with Booty, that it hindered their marching; to remedy which, at break of Day, as soon as the Baggage Waggons were laden, first he set Fire to his Own, and his Friends, and then commanded Those to be burnt which belonged to the rest of the Army. An Action which in the Deliberation of it seemed more dangerous and difficult than it proved in the Execution, with which Few were dissatisfied; for most of them, as if they had been inspired with Zeal from above, with loud Out-cries and warlike Shoutings, furnished one another with what was absolutely necessary, and burnt and destroyed all that was superfluous, the sight of which redoubled *Alexander's* Vigour and Alacrity.

He was now grown very severe and inexorable in punishing Those who committed any Fault; for he put *Meander* one of his Friends to death, for deserting a Fortrefs, where he had placed him in Garrison; and shot *Orsodates*, one of the *Barbarians*, who had revolted from him, with his own Hand. At this time a Sheep happened to yean a Lamb, with the perfect Shape and Colour of a *Tiara* upon the Head, and Testicles on each side; which portent *Alexander* so detested, (1) that he immediately

(1) Upon the Appearance of any | tous Nature among the Heathens,
Signs and Prodigies of a porten- | They who thought they might be
affected

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ly caused his *Babylonian* Priests, whom he usually carried about with him for such Purposes, to purify him, and withal told his Friends, he was not so much concerned for his own sake, as for Theirs, out of an apprehension that God after his Death might suffer (1) his Empire to fall into the Hands of some degenerate, unworthy Person. But this Fear was soon removed by another Prodigy that happened not long after, and was thought to presage better: For *Proxenus*, a *Macedonian*, Chief of Those who had the Care of the King's Equipage, as he was breaking Ground near the River *Oxus*, to set up the Royal Pavilion, discovered a Spring of gross Oily Liquor, which after the top was drawn off, (2) ran pure clear Oil, without any difference either of Taste or Smell, having exactly the same Smoothness and Brightness, and that too in a Country where no Olives grew. The Water indeed of the River *Oxus* is said to be so fat, that it leaves a Gloss on their Skins who bathe themselves in it. Whatever might be the Cause, certain it is, that *Alexander* was wonderfully pleased with it, as appears by his Letters to *Antipater*, where he tells him, He looked upon it as one of the most considerable Presages that God had ever favoured him

affected by them, took care to expiate themselves, in a Persuasion that their Uncleaness, which was the Cause of them, being washed off by that Expiation, they should escape the Evils with which they were threatened, and be spared. *Alexander* made use of *Babylonians* upon such Occasions, They being the best skilled in all sorts of Superstitions, most of which were in a manner born in their Country.

(1) I cannot conceive how this *Tiara* with Testicles on each side, could ever signify that the Empire should descend to some degene-

rate unworthy Person; it seemed rather to signify that it should be divided.

(2) *Strabo* saith, that They who dig up the Earth near the River *Ochus* meet with Springs of Oil, and adds, that as the Earth abounds with Sulphury bituminous Liquids, so doth it likewise with fat and unctuous, Lib. 11. He saith That of the River *Ochus*, which *Plutarch* ascribes to the *Oxus*; but those two Rivers join, and flow together through a certain Tract of Land. *Quintus Curtius* gives another Turn to this Miracle.

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with. The Diviners told him, it signified his Expedition would be glorious in the Event, but very painful, and attended with many Difficulties; for Oil, they said, was bestowed on Mankind by God as a Refreshment of their Labours. Nor did they judge amiss; for he exposed himself to many Hazards in the Battels which he fought, and received very deep and dangerous Wounds, besides the mouldering away of his Army, through the unwholesomeness of the Air, and for want of necessary Provisions. But he still applied himself to surmount Fortune, and whatever opposed him, by his Resolution and Virtue, and thought nothing impossible to a daring, valiant Man. Therefore when he besieged *Sisimethres* in an (1) inaccessible, impregnable Rock, and his Soldiers began to despair of taking it, he asked *Oxyartes*, *Whether Sisimethres was a Man of Courage?* who assuring him, *he was the greatest Coward alive;* Then you tell me, said he, *that the Place is our own, if the Commander of it be a Poltroon:* And in a little time he so intimidated *Sisimethres*, that he took it without any difficulty. At an Attack which he made upon such another steep Place with some of his *Macedonian* Soldiers, he called to one whose Name was *Alexander*, and told him, *It would become him to behave himself gallantly for his Name's sake.* The Youth fought bravely, and was killed in the Action, at which he was sensibly afflicted. Another time, seeing his Men march slowly and unwillingly to the Siege of (1) a Place called

(1) In *Bactriana*. *Strabo* saith it was fifteen Furlongs high, and Four-score about, and that the Top was a fertile Plain, capable of maintaining five hundred Men. It was here *Alexander* espoused *Roxana*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes*.

(2) *Arrian* calls it *Nyssa*, *Νύσσα*,

and placeth it between the Rivers *Cophene* and *Indus*, near Mount *Meris*. He adds, that it was built by *Dionysius Bacchus*. This makes *Father Lubin* think that it is the Same with the *Dionysopolis* of *Ptolemy*, which he likewise calls *Nagara*, The River, which according

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called *Nysa*, because of a deep River between Them and the Town, he advanced before Them, and standing upon the Bank, *What a miserable Man*, said he, *am I, that I have not learned to swim?* and then was hardly dissuaded from endeavouring to pass it upon his Shield. His Troops, stung with shame, flung themselves One and All into the River, and having gained the other side, made a furious Assault upon the Place; but *Alexander* causing a Retreat to be sounded, contented himself with a Blockade. Whereupon the Besieged sent their Ambassadors, with offers to surrender upon an honourable Capitulation. When they were introduced into his Presence, they were surprized to find him rough, and armed at all Points, without any Pomp or Ceremony about him; but were more so when his Attendants bringing him a Cushion, he made the eldest of them, named *Acuphis*, take it, and sit down upon it. The Old Man charmed with his Magnanimity and Courtesy, asked him, *What his Countrymen should do to merit his Friendship?* *I would have them*, said *Alexander*, *chuse Thee to govern them, and send one hundred of the most considerable and most worthy Men among them to remain with me as Hostages: I shall govern them with more ease*, replied *Acuphis* smiling, *if I send you so many of the worst, rather than the best of my Subjects.*

(1) The Extent of King *Taxiles's* Dominions in *India* was thought to be as large as *Ægypt*, abounding

according to *Plutarch*, runs under the Walls of *Nysa*, must be the River *Coas* mentioned by *Ptolemy*. *Justin* calls *Dionysiopolis Nyssa*, and agrees with *Arrian* in his Account of it. It is at present called *Nerg*.

(1) *Alexander* passed the *Indus*, over a Bridge near the Town of *Pencolaites*. Between the *Indus*

and *Hydaspes* stood *Taxiles*, a large well-governed City. The Country about it is both beautiful and fertile, and some Authors say it is bigger than *Ægypt*, *Strab. Lib. 15*. *Strabo* as well as *Plutarch* calls the King of the Country *Taxiles*; but Others say He was only the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant, that his true

ing in good Pastures, and above all in excellent Fruits. The King himself had the Reputation of a wise Man, and at his first Interview with *Alexander*, he spoke to him in these Terms: *To what purpose, said he, should we make War upon one another, if thy design of coming into these Parts be not to rob us of our Water, or our necessary Food, which are the only things that wise Men are indispensably obliged to fight for? As for other Riches and Possessions, as they are accounted in the eye of the World, if I am better provided of them than Thou, I am ready to let Thee share with Me; but if Fortune has been more liberal to Thee than Me, I will not decline thy Favours, but accept them with all the grateful Acknowledgments that are due to a Benefactor.* This Discourse pleased *Alexander* so much, that embracing him, *Do not think, said he to him, thy fair Speeches and affable Behaviour shall bring thee off in this Interview without fighting. No, thou shalt not escape so; for as to matter of Benefits, I will contend with thee so far, that how obliging soever thou art, thou shalt not have the better of me.* (1) Then receiving some Presents from him, he returned him Others of greater value, and to compleat his Bounty, one Night at Supper he presented him with a Cup, saying, *I drink to thee, Taxiles, and with this Cup present thee with a Present of a hundred Talents;* at which his old Friends were exceedingly displeas'd, but it gain'd him the Hearts of many of the *Barbarians*. The valiantest of the *Indians* now taking Pay of several Cities, undertook to defend them, and did it so bravely, that

true Name was *Mopbis*, or *Omphis*, and that *Alexander* made him take the Crown, and the Name of *Taxiles*, which was the common Name of the Kings of that Country.

(1) *Quintus Curtius* saith *Alexander* returned him all the Pre-

sents he had made him, and added a thousand Talents to them, together with a great deal of Plate of Gold as well as Silver, several Robes made after the *Persian* Fashion, and thirty Horses with such Furniture to them as he used Himself.

they put *Alexander* to a great deal of Trouble and Fatigue, 'till having made an Agreement with him, upon the surrender of a Place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the Sword. This one Breach of his Word was a perpetual Blemish upon him, though on all other occasions he had managed his Wars with that Justice and Honour that became his Dignity. Nor was he less incommoded by the *Indian* Philosophers, who inveighed bitterly against those Princes who were of his Party, and solicited the free Cities to oppose him, therefore he took several of them, and caused them to be hanged.

Alexander in his own Letters has given us an Account of his War with *Porus*: He says, The two Armies were separated by the River *Hydaspes*, on whose opposite Bank *Porus* continually kept his Elephants in order of Battel, with their Heads towards their Enemies, to guard the Passage. That he was forced every Day to make great Noises in his Camp, and give his Men constant Alarms, to accustom them by degrees not to be afraid of the *Barbarians*. That one cold dark Night he passed the River, above the Place where the Enemy lay, into a little Island, with part of his Foot, and the best of his Horse. That here there fell so violent a Shower of Rain, accompanied with Lightning and fiery Whirlwinds, that seeing some of his Men burnt and destroyed by the Lightning, he quitted the Island, and made over to the other side. That the *Hydaspes*, now after the Storm, was so swollen and grown so rapid, as to make a Breach in the Bank, at which Part of the River ran out, so that when he came to land, he found very ill standing for his Men, the Place being extream slippery and undermined, and ready to be blown up by the Currents on both Sides. In this Distress he was heard

to say, (1) O ye Athenians! to what incredible Dangers do I expose myself to merit your Praises? But as to this last Particular (2) the Reader has it only upon the Credit of *Onesicritus*. *Alexander* Himself goes on, and tells us that here they quitted the Rafts they had made use of in their Passage, and passed the Breach in their Armour up to the Breast in Water; and then he advanced with his Horse about twenty Furlongs before his Foot, concluding, that if the Enemy charged him with their Cavalry, he should be too strong for them; if with their Foot, his Own would come up time enough to his Assistance. Nor did he judge amiss; for being charged by a thousand Horse, and sixty armed Chariots, which advanced before their main Body, he took all the Chariots, and killed four hundred Horse upon the Place. *Porus* by this smart Execution, guessing that *Alexander* Himself was gotten over, came on with his whole Army, except a Party which he left behind, to hold the rest of the *Macedonians* in Play, if they should attempt to pass the River: But *Alexander* apprehending the Multitudes of the Enemy, and to avoid the shock of their Elephants, would not join Battel with them in Front, but dividing his Forces, attacked their left Wing Himself, and commanded *Perdiccas* to fall upon the Right, which was performed with good Success. For by this means both Wings being broken, they retired, when they found themselves pressed close, to their Elephants, and then rallying, renewed the Fight so obstinately, that it was three Hours after

(1) Such Philosophers as *Socrates*, *Zeno*, and *Epicetus* would not approve this Saying. They would have thought it poor, and unworthy a truly great Man. We are not to make the Praise of Men the End of our Actions.

(2) *Plutarch* destroys the Cre-

dit of this Particular by barely naming the Author; for this *Onesicritus*, as *Strabo* tells us, *Lib. 15.* was of all *Alexander's* Historians the Writer that dealt most in the Fabulous, and excelled (or rather out-lyed) all Those who preferred the Wonderful to the True.

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Noon before they were entirely defeated. This Description of the Battel the Conqueror has left us in his own Epistles.

Almost all Writers agree, (1) that *Porus* exceeded the common Size, and that when he was upon his Elephant, which was the largest in the Army, his Stature and Bulk were so answerable, that he appeared to be but proportionably mounted. This Elephant, during the whole Battel, gave many Proofs of wonderful Understanding, and a particular Care of the King, whom as long as he was strong, and in condition to fight, he defended with great Courage, repelling Those who set upon him; and as soon as he perceived him ready to faint, by reason of his many Wounds, and multitude of Darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly kneeled down, and then with his Probosces gently drew every Dart out of his Body. When *Porus* was taken Prisoner, and *Alexander* asked him, *How he expected to be used?* he answered, *Like a King.* *And hast thou nothing else to demand?* said *Alexander.* *No,* replied *Porus,* *in the word King every thing is comprehended.* Accordingly *Alexander* dealt very generously with him, for he not only suffered him to govern his own Kingdom as his Lieutenant, but added to it a large Province of some free People whom he had newly subdued, which consisted of fifteen several Nations, and contained five thousand considerable Towns, besides abundance of Villages. Another Government three times as large as This he bestowed on *Philip*, one of his Friends.

Some time after the Battel with *Porus*, most Authors agree, that *Bucephalus* died under cure of his Wounds, or as *Onesicritus* says, of Fatigue and Age, being thirty Years old. *Alexander* was no less con-

(1) The Words as they stand in the Text taken literally, imply that *Porus* was four Cubits and a half taller than the common Size, which is not to be believed, for then he must have been a Giant.

cerned at his Death, than if he had lost an old Companion, or an intimate Friend, and built a City which he named *Bucephalia*, in memory of him, on the Banks of the River *Hydaspes*. We are told moreover, that having lost a favourite Dog named *Peritas*, he likewise built a City in Memory of Him, calling it after his Name. (1) *Sotion* the Historian tells us, that he had This Particular from *Potamon* of *Lesbos*.

But this last Combat with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonians* Courage, and hindered their farther Progress in *India*. For having with much ado defeated Him, who brought but twenty thousand Foot and two thousand Horse into the Field, they thought they had reason to oppose *Alexander's* Design, of obliging them to pass (2) the *Ganges* too, which they were told was four Miles over, and an hundred Fathom deep, and the Banks on the farther side covered with prodigious Numbers of Squadrons, Battalions, and Elephants. For they had Intelligence that the Kings of the (3) *Gandarites* and *Præsians* expected them there with
 eighty

(1) This Author lived in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and was Contemporary with *Potamon*, who wrote a History of *Alexander's* Exploits in *India*. We are not to take him to be the Same with that *Sotion* who lived about the time of *Ptolemy Philometer*, and was the Author of a Treatise entitled *The Succession of the Philosophers*, of which *Heraclides Lembus*, the Son of *Serapion*, made an Abridgement.

(2) There was a Letter extant in *Strabo's* time, written by *Craterus* to his Mother *Aristopatra*, wherein he informed her that *Alexander* was arrived upon the Banks of the *Ganges*, and that He himself had seen that River, of

which he gave a wonderful Account, especially concerning the Depth and Breadth of it. It is well known that the *Ganges* is the largest of all the Rivers in the three Continents, that the *Indus* is the Second, the *Nile* the Third, and the *Danube* the Fourth.

(3) *Quintus Curtius* makes one Man King of those two Nations. But it appears from *Strabo* that they were two distinct Governments, as they are represented here by *Plutarch*. The *Gandarites* were a People inhabiting near the Heads of the *Ganges* and *Indus*, and the *Præsians* on the Banks of the *Ganges* where that River falls into Another called *Erannoboas*. The Capital

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eighty thousand Horse, two hundred thousand Foot, eight thousand armed Chariots, and six thousand fighting Elephants. Nor was this a false, vain Report, spread on purpose to discourage them; for *Androcottus*, who not long after reigned in those Parts, made a Present of five hundred Elephants at once to *Seleucus*, and with an Army of six hundred thousand Men subdued all *India*. *Alexander* at first was so grieved and enraged at the Reluctancy he found in the Army, that he shut himself up in his Tent, and in a desponding manner threw himself upon the Ground, declaring, that if they would not pass the *Ganges*, he owed them no Thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now, was plainly to confess himself vanquished. But at last, the prudent Remonstrances and Persuasions of his Friends, who informed him truly how the Case stood, and the Tears and Lamentations of his Soldiers, who in a suppliant manner crowded about the Entrance of his Tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet before he decamped, he would needs impose upon Posterity, by leaving behind him some fictitious Monuments of his Glory; such as Arms of an extraordinary Bigness, and Mangers for Horses, with Bits of Bridles, above the usual size, which he set up, and distributed in several Places. He erected Altars also to the Gods, which the Kings of the *Præsians* even in our time highly reverence, and often pass the River to sacrifice upon them after the *Græcian* manner. *Androcottus*, then a Youth, saw *Alexander* there, and has often afterwards been heard to say, that he missed but little of making himself Master of those

pital of These was called *Palibrothras*; and the King, besides his Family Name, was called after the Name of his City *Palibrothras*. *Strab. Lib. 15.* Father *Lubin* is of

Opinion that it is the same with That which is called at present *Holobass*, in the Dominions of the great *Mogul*.

Countries;

Countries; their King, who then reigned, (1) was so hated and despised for the Viciousness of his Life, and the Meanness of his Extraction.

Alexander decamping from hence, had a mind to see the Ocean; to which purpose he caused a great many Vessels with Oars, and small Boats to be built, in which he fell gently down the Rivers, making merry as he went, and ordered it so, that his Navigation was neither unprofitable nor unactive; for by making several Descents, he took in the fortified Towns, and consequently the Country on both sides. But at the Siege of a City of the (2) *Mallians*, who are the most valiant People of *India*, he ran in great danger of his Life; for having beaten off the Defendants with showers of Arrows, he was the first Man who mounted the Wall by a scaling Ladder, which, as soon as he was up, broke, and left him almost alone exposed to the Darts, which the *Barbarians* threw at him in great numbers from below. In this Distress, turning himself as well as he could, he leaped down in the midst of his Enemies, and had the good Fortune to light upon his Feet. The brightness and clattering of his Armour, when he came to

(1) This King's Name was *Agrammes*, the Son of a Barber, with whose Person the Queen was so smitten that she got him to be raised in Dignity next to the King Himself. This Villain having treacherously made away with the King seized on the Kingdom upon a pretence of being Guardian to the Royal Infants, whom likewise he caused to be murdered, and had a Son that succeeded him; and He was the Person who was on the Throne in this Expedition of *Alexander*. Subjects are generally inclined to revolt from a Prince of mean

Birth, especially when they are provoked to it by his Injustice and Cruelty.

(2) The *Mallians* were a distinct Nation. *Plutarch* makes here a Town of the same Name, which was agreeable to the Customs of those Times. However *Strabo* names only the People, and saith *Alexander* was in great Danger at the Attack of a small Town in that Country. It is very likely that *Quintus Curtius* ascribes to the City of the *Oxydraca* what happened in this considerable Town of the *Mallians*.

the Ground, made the *Barbarians* think they saw Rays of Light, or some Phantome playing before his Body, which frighted them so at first, that they ran away, and dispersed themselves, 'till seeing him seconded but by two of his Guards, they fell upon him Hand to Hand, and though he defended himself very bravely, wounded him through his Armour with their Swords and Spears. One who stood farther off, drew a Bow with such just Strength, that the Arrow finding its way through his Cuirass, stuck in his Ribs under the Breast. This Stroke was so violent, that it made him give back, and set one Knee to the Ground, which as soon as He that shot him perceived, he came up to him with his drawn Scimitar, thinking to dispatch him; and had done it, if *Peucestes* and *Limneus* had not interposed, who were both wounded, *Limneus* mortally, but *Peucestes* stood his Ground, while *Alexander* killed the *Barbarian*. But This did not free him from Danger; for besides many other Wounds, at last he received so weighty a Stroak of a Club upon his Neck, that he was forced to lean his Body against the Wall, yet still looked undauntedly upon the Enemy. When he was reduced to this Extremity, the *Macedonians* breaking in to his Assistance, very opportunely took him up, just as he was fainting away, having lost all sense of what was done near him, and conveyed him to his Tent, upon which it was presently reported all over the Camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains sawed out the Shaft of the Arrow, which by good Luck was of Wood, and so with much ado got off his Cuirass, they then proceeded by Incision to come at the Head, and draw it out. They found it to be three Fingers broad, and four long, and that it stuck fast in the Bone. During the Operation, he was taken with almost mortal Swoonings, but when it
 was

was out, he came to himself again. Yea though all Danger was past, he continued very weak, and confined himself a great while to a regular Diet, and the method of his Cure, 'till one day hearing the *Macedonians* were so desirous to see him, that they were ready to mutiny, he put on his Robe, and when he had shewed himself to them, and sacrificed to the Gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along, subdued a great deal of the Country on both sides, and took in several considerable Cities.

In this Voyage he took ten of the *Indian* Philosophers Prisoners, who had been most active in persuading *Sabbas* to rebel, and besides That, had done the *Macedonians* abundance of Mischief. These Men, because they go stark naked, (1) are called *Gymnosophists*, and are reputed to be extremly sharp and succinct in their Answers to whatsoever is propounded to them, which he made Tryal of, (2) by putting difficult Questions to them, withal letting them know, that They whose Answers were not pertinent, should be put to death, of which he made the eldest of them Judge. The First being asked, *Which he thought most numerous, the Dead or the Living?* Answered, *The Living, because They who are Dead are not at all.* Of the Second he desired to know, *Whether the Sea or Land produced*

(1) They were not so called in the days of *Alexander*. *Strabo*, upon the Credit of Some who had followed that Prince in this Expedition, saith, there were two Sects of these Philosophers, and that One of them were called *Brachmani*, and the Other *Germani*; that the *Brachmani* were most esteemed, because there was a Consistency in their Principles; that some of these *Brachmani* were called *Gymneti*, the Naked;

Others the *Mountaineers*, and a third Part the *Polite*, because they dwelt in the Cities. The Readers may see something very curious upon this Subject in *lib. xv.* of that Author.

(2) It was anciently a Custom to propose intricate Questions to wise Men, the better to judge of their Parts and Knowledge by their Answers. Of This we meet with several Examples in the Holy Scriptures.

the largest Beast? Who told him, *The Land, for the Sea was but a Part of it.* His Question to the Third was, *Which was the craftiest Animal?* That, said he, *which Mankind is not yet acquainted with.* He bid the Fourth tell him, *What Arguments he used to Sabbas to persuade him to Revolt?* No other, said he, *than that he should live with Honour, or perish in the Attempt.* Of the Fifth he asked, *Which was eldest, Night or Day?* The Philosopher replied, *Day was eldest, by one Day at least:* But perceiving Alexander not well satisfied with that Account, he added, *That he ought not to wonder, if strange Questions had as odd Answers made to them.* Then he went on, and enquired of the Next, *What a Man should do to be exceedingly beloved?* He must be very powerful, said he, *without making himself too much feared.* The Answer of the Seventh to his Question, *How a Man might be a God?* was, *If he could do That which was impossible for Men to perform.* The Eighth told him, *Life was stronger than Death, because it supported so many Miseries.* And the Last being asked, *How long he thought it decent for a Man to live?* said, *'Till Death appeared more desirable than Life.* Then Alexander turned to Him whom he had made Judge, and commanded him to give Sentence. *All that I can determine,* said he, *is, that they have every one answered worse than another. No, that they have not,* said the King, *but however thou shalt die first, because thou judgest so ill. You will not deal so with me, Sir,* replied the Gymnosophist, *if you intend to be as good as your Word, which was, that He should die first who answered worst, which I have not done, for you have not asked me any Question.* In conclusion he gave them Presents, and dismissed them. But to Those who were in greatest Reputation among them, and lived a private

vate retired Life, (1) he sent *Onesicritus*, one of *Diogenes* the *Cynick's* Disciples, desiring them to come to him. *Calanus* very arrogantly and rudely commanded him to strip himself, and hear what he said, naked, otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from *Jupiter Himself*. But *Dandamis* received him with more Civility, and hearing him discourse of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes*, told him, he thought them Men of great Parts, (2) and to have erred in nothing so much, as in living as they did in so great a Subserviency to the Laws. Others say, he only asked him the Reason, *Why Alexander undertook so long a Voyage to come into those Parts?* *Taxiles* persuaded *Calanus* to wait upon *Alexander*; his proper Name was *Sphines*, but because he was wont to say *Cale*, which in the *Indian Tongue* signifies *God save you*, when he saluted those he met with any where, the *Græcians* called him *Calanus*. He is said to have shewn

(1) *Strabo*, who gives us an Account of this Transaction, tells us that *Alexander* knowing those Philosophers went to wait on no one, but insisted that Whoever had a mind to see or hear them should wait upon Them, and thinking it beneath his Dignity to go Himself, and a piece of Injustice to force Them upon any thing contrary to their Laws and Institutions, sent *Onesicritus* to them, who made his Report that he found fifteen Men not far from the City, who sat naked from Morning 'till the Evening in one continued Posture, and that in the Evening they returned into the City; that he had discoursed with one of them called *Calanus*, who had disclosed to him things of a wonderful Nature, which are to be found in

Strabo, lib. xv. It appears that this Philosopher had some Idea of the Happiness of the first Man, and of the Misery that ensued upon his Transgression, which is entailed upon his Descendants, *Onesicritus* was a great Philosopher, but much given to Fiction, and Romance.

(2) I cannot but think *Plutarch* delivers This in too loose a Manner. *Dandamis* did not declare himself in terms so general; he only saith, *That those Philosophers appeared to Him to be wise Men, but that they were out in one Thing, which was in their preferring Law, or Custom, to Nature. for if they had not done so they would not have been ashamed of going naked, as they did.* This makes it quite another thing.

Alexander

The LIFE of

Alexander an instructive Emblem of Government, which was This : He threw a dry shrivelled Hide upon the Ground, and trod upon the edge of it ; the Skin when it was pressed in one place, still rose up in another, wheresoever he trod round about it, 'till he set his Foot in the middle, which made all the Parts lie even and quiet. The Meaning of This was, That he ought to reside most in the Middle and Heart of his Empire, and not undertake such remote Voyages.

His Voyage down the Rivers took up seven Months time, and when he came to the Sea, he sailed to an Island which He called (1) *Scilloustis*, Others *Pfiltucis*, where going ashore, he sacrificed, and made what Observations he could of the Nature of the Sea, and the Sea-coast. Then having besought the Gods, *that no other Man might ever go beyond the Bounds of this Expedition*, he ordered his Fleet, of which he made *Nearchus* Admiral, and *Onesicritus* Pilot, to sail round about, leaving *India* on the right hand, and returned himself by Land through the Country of the *Orites*, where he was reduced to great Straits for want of Provisions, and lost abundance of Men, so that of an Army of a hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and fifteen thousand Horse, he scarce brought back above a fourth part out of *India*, they were so diminished by Diseases, ill Diet, and the scorching Heats, but mostly by Famine. For their March was through an uncultivated Country, whose Inhabitants fared hardly, and had none but a little ill Breed of Sheep, whose Flesh was rank and unfavoury, by reason of their continual feeding upon Sea-fish.

(1) *Arian* calls it *Cilluta*. *Quintus Curtius* hints at it without naming it. Here they first observed the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, which at first wonderfully surprized them.

After

After sixty Days March he came into *Gedrosia*, where he found great Plenty of all things, which the neighbouring Kings, and Governors of Provinces, hearing of his Approach, had taken care to provide. From hence, when he had refreshed his Army, he continued his March through *Carmania*, feasting all the way for seven days together: He with his most intimate Friends banqueted and revelled Night and Day, upon a Stage erected on a lofty, conspicuous Scaffold, which with a slow, majestick Pace, was drawn by eight Horses. This Machine was accompanied by a great many Chariots, whereof some were covered with Tapestry of Purple and other Colours in the Form of Tents, and Some in the Shape of Cradles with green Boughs, which were supplied with Fresh as they withered. In these were born the rest of his Friends and Commanders, All crowned with Chaplets of Flowers, and wallowing in Wine, and Debauch. In all this Train there was no Target, Helmet, or Spear to be seen; but the Road was covered with Soldiers, continually dipping their Flaggons, Cups, and Goblets in large Vessels of Wine, and drinking to one another, Some as they marched along, and Others seated at Tables, which were placed for them at proper Distances in their Passage. (1) This disorderly and dissolute March was closed by a very immodest Figure born in

(1) This Passage is so corrupted in the Original that it is impossible to make any tolerable Sense of it; for what can be the meaning of τὰς Φιάλαις in this Place? *M le Fevre* in his Notes upon *Anacreon* has restored the Reading with great Judgment τῷ δὲ ἀτάκτῳ καὶ πεπλανημένῳ τῆς πορείας παρέπετο ὁ Φάλλος καὶ παιδία βακχικῆς ὑβρείως, which he has translated

tam incompotum, & vagabundum agmen sequebatur Phales, & Bacchicæ licentiæ Lusus. This *Phales* was a very scandalous Figure of the God of the Gardens, the same which was carried in Procession in Greece in the Feasts of the *Bacchanals*, and was called *Phales* or *Phallus*. *Plutarch* makes use of the last of these Words in the Life of *Romulus*, Φαλλοὶ γὰρ ἐκτῆς ἐστίας ἀναχθῆν.

Pomp,

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Pomp, and a most licentious Representation, wherein were exposed all the Filthiness of the *Bacchanals*, as if *Bacchus* himself had been present to countenance and carry on the Debauch. As soon as he came to the Royal Palace of (1) *Gedrosia*, he again refreshed and feasted his Army; and one Day, after he had drank pretty hard, (it is said) went to see a Prize of Dancing he had appointed, wherein his Paramour *Bagoas* obtained the Victory, at which he was so elated that he crossed the Stage in his Dancing Habit, and sat down close by him, which so pleased the *Macedonians*, that they made loud Acclamations for him to kiss *Bagoas*, and never left clapping their Hands and shouting, 'till *Alexander* took him about the Neck and kissed him.

Here his Admiral *Nearchus* came to him, and delighted him so with the Relation of his Voyage, that he resolved Himself to sail out of the mouth of *Euphrates* with a great Fleet, with which he designed to go round by *Arabia* and *Libya*, and so by *Hercules's Pillars* into the *Mediterranean*; in order to which he directed all sorts of Vessels to be built at *Thapsacus*, and made great Provision every where of Sea-men and Pilots. But it fell out unluckily for this Enterprize, that the Report of the Difficulties he went through in his *Indian Expedition*, the danger of his Person among the *Mallians*, the loss of a considerable part of his Forces, and the general Opinion that he would hardly return in Safety, occasioned the Revolt of many conquered Nations, and made the Commanders and Lieutenants in several Provinces presume to oppress the People with extream Injustice, Avarice, and Insolence. In a Word, there seemed to be throughout his whole Empire an universal fluctuation and

(2) How could that be, since he had just quitted *Gedrosia*, and had continued his March for seven days together through *Carmania*? Why should we not read it *the Royal Palace of Carmania*?

disposition to Change: Infomuch that *Olympias* and *Cleopatra* had raised a Faction against *Antipater*, and shared his Government between them, *Olympias* seizing upon *Epirus*, and *Cleopatra* upon *Macedonia*. When *Alexander* was told of it, he said, *His Mother had made the best choice, for the Macedonians would never endure to be ruled by a Woman.* Upon This he dispatched *Nearchus* again to his Fleet, intending to carry the War into all the Maritime Provinces; in the mean time, in his March through the inland Countries, he punished those Commanders who had not behaved themselves well, particularly *Oxyartes*, one of *Abulites's* Sons, whom he killed with his own Hand, thrusting him through the Body with his Spear. And when *Abulites*, instead of the necessary Provisions which he ought to have furnished, brought him three thousand Talents in Money ready coined, he ordered it to be thrown to his Horses, who not meddling with it, *What good does this Provision do me?* said he to him; and sent him away to Prison.

Upon his Return into *Persia*, he distributed Money among all the Women of the Country, according to a Custom which had been observed time out of mind by their Kings, who were obliged upon their Progress to give every Woman a piece of Gold; for which Reason some of them came but seldom, and *Ochus* was so fordidly covetous, that he never visited *Persia*, though it was his Native Country, but chose rather to live a voluntary Exile than bear the Expence.

Then finding *Cyrus's* Sepulcher opened, and rifled, he put *Polymachus*, who did it, to death, though he was a Man of Quality, and born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*: And after he had read the Inscription, he caused it to be cut again below the old one in Greek Characters; the Words were these: *O Man, whosoever thou art, and from whencesoever thou*

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thou comest (for come I know thou wilt) I am Cyrus, the Founder of the Persian Empire; do not envy me this little quantity of Earth which covers my Body. The reading of this sensibly touched *Alexander*, causing him to reflect seriously upon the Uncertainty and Mutability of Human Affairs. At the same time *Calanus* having been a little while troubled with a Loosness, requested he might have a Funeral Pile erected, to which he came on Horseback, and after he had said some Prayers, sprinkled himself, and cut off some of his Hair to throw into the Fire, as was usual on such occasions, he ascended it, having embraced and taken leave of the *Macedonians* who stood by, desiring them to pass that Day in Mirth and good Fellowship with their King, whom in a little time, he said, he doubted not but to see again at *Babylon*. Having thus said, he lay down, and covering himself, he stirred not when the Fire came near him, but continued still in the same Posture as at first, and so sacrificed Himself, as it was the ancient Custom of the Philosophers of His Country to do. The same thing was done long after by another *Indian*, who came with *Cæsar* to *Athens*, where they still shew you the *Indian's* Monument. At his Return from the Funeral Pile, *Alexander* invited a great many of his Friends and principal Officers to Supper, and proposed a Drinking-match, in which the Victor should be crowned. *Promachus* drank eighteen Quarts of Wine, and won the Prize, which weighed a Talent, from them All; but he survived his Victory but three days, and was followed, as *Chares* says, by one and forty more, who died of the same Debauch, by reason of the severe Frost which happened at that time.

At *Susa* he married *Darius's* Daughter *Statira*, and celebrated the Nuptials of his Friends, bestowing the noblest of the *Persian* Ladies upon the worthiest

worthiest of them, withal making a very splendid Entertainment for all the *Macedonians* who were married before; at which it is reported, there were no less than nine thousand Guests, to each of whom he gave a Golden Cup, for them to use in their Libations of Wine to the Honour of the Gods. Not to mention other Instances of his wonderful Magnificence, he paid the Debts of his whole Army, which amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy Talents. But there was one *Antigenes* who had lost one of his Eyes, though he owed nothing, got his Name set down in the List of those who were in Debt, and bringing One who pretended to be his Creditor, and to have supplied him from the Bank, received the Money. But when the Cheat was found out, the King was so incensed at it, that he banished him from Court, and took away his Command, though he was an excellent Soldier, and a Man of great Courage. For when he was but a Youth, and served under *Philip* at the Siege of *Perinthus*, where he was wounded in the Eye by an Arrow shot out of an Engine, he would neither let the Arrow be taken out, or be persuaded to quit the Field, 'till he had bravely repulsed the Enemy, and forced them to retire into the Town. A Man of his Spirit was not able to support such a Disgrace with any Patience, and certainly Grief and Despair would have made him kill himself, but that the King fearing it, not only pardoned him, but let him also enjoy the Benefit of his Deceit.

The thirty thousand Boys which he left behind him to be taught the use of their Arms, and military Discipline, were so improved at his return both in Strength and Beauty, and performed their Exercises with such Dexterity, and wonderful Agility, that he was extremely pleased with them; which grieved the *Macedonians*, and made them fear he would have the less Esteem for Them. And

when he was sending home the infirm and maimed Soldiers, they said they were unjustly and dishonourably dealt with, complaining *that after he had worn them out in his Service, and had his Ends of them, he was now for turning them off with Disgrace, and packing them away to their own Country among their Friends and Relations, in a worse Condition than he found them in, when he brought them from thence. Therefore they desired him, One and All, to discharge them, and to account his Macedonians useless, now he was so well furnished with dancing Boys, with whom if he pleased he might go on, and conquer the whole World.* These Speeches so enraged Alexander, that after he had severely reprimanded them, he removed them from his Person, and committed the Watch to *Persians*, out of whom he chose his Life-guard, and Serjeants at Arms. When the *Macedonians* saw him attended by these Men, and Themselves excluded, and shamefully disgraced, their high Spirits fell, and upon Discourse with one another, they found that Jealousie and Rage had almost distracted them. But at last coming to themselves again, they went without their Arms almost naked, crying and weeping, to offer themselves at his Tent, and desired him to deal with them as their Baseness and Ingratitude deserved. However This would not prevail; for though his Anger was already something mollified, yet he would not admit them into his Presence, nor would they stir from thence, but continued two Days and Nights before his Tent, bewailing themselves, and imploring Him their Sovereign Lord to have Compassion on them. But the third Day he came out to them, and seeing them very humble and penitent, he wept a great while, and after a gentle Reproof spoke kindly to them, and dismissed Those who were unserviceable, with magnificent Rewards, and this Recommendation to *Antipater*; that when they came into *Greece*, at all publick

publick Shows, and in the Theaters, they should sit on the best and foremost Seats, Crowned with Chaplets of Flowers; and ordered the Children of Those who had lost their Lives in his Service, to have their Father's Pay continued to them.

When he came to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and had dispatched his most urgent Affairs, he fell to divert himself again with Spectacles, and publick Entertainments, to carry on which, he had a Supply of three thousand Performers newly arrived out of *Greece*. But they were soon interrupted by *Hephestion's* falling sick of a Fever, in which, being a young Man, and a Soldier too, he could not confine himself to so exact a Diet as was necessary; for whilst his Physician *Glaucus* was gone to the Theater, he eat a boiled Capon for Dinner, and drank a large Draught of Wine cooled with Ice, upon which he grew worse, and died in a few days. At this Misfortune *Alexander* was so beyond all Reason transported, that to express his Sorrow he presently ordered the Manes and Tails of all his Horses and Mules to be cut, and threw down the Battlements of the neighbouring Cities. He crucified the poor Physician, and forbad the Use of the Flute, or any other Musical Instrument in the Camp a great while, 'till the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* enjoined him to Honour *Hephestion*, and sacrifice to him as to an Heroe. Then seeking to alleviate his Grief in War, he set out as if he were to go a Man-hunting, for he fell upon the *Cussetans*, and put the whole Nation to the Sword, not sparing so much as the Children. This was called a Sacrifice to *Hephestion's Ghost*. In his Sepulcher and Monument, and the adorning of them, he intended to bestow ten thousand Talents; and that the Excellency of the Artist, and the Curiosity of the Workmanship, might go beyond the Expence it self, he rather chose to employ *Stasicrates* than

any other, because he always expressed something very bold, lofty, and magnificent in his Designs. This was the Man, who in a former Discourse had told him, that of all the Mountains he knew, That of *Athos* in *Thrace* was the most capable of being contrived to represent the shape and lineaments of a Man; That if He pleased to command him, he would make it the noblest and most durable Statue in the World, which in its left Hand should hold a City of ten thousand Inhabitants, and out of its right should pour a copious River into the Sea. Though *Alexander* declined this Project, yet now he spent a great deal of time with Workmen, to invent and contrive Others far more absurd and expensive.

As he was upon his way to *Babylon*, *Nearchus*, who had sailed back out of the Ocean by the mouth of the River *Euphrates*, came to tell him, he had met with some *Chaldean* Diviners, who warned him not to go thither. But *Alexander* slighted this Advertisement, and went on; and when he came near the Walls of the Place, he saw a great many Crows fighting with one another, whereof some fell down just by him. After This, being privately informed that *Apollodorus* the Governor of *Babylon* had sacrificed to know what would become of him; he sent for *Pythagoras* the Soothsayer, who not denying the thing, he asked him, in what condition he found the Victim? and when he told him, the Liver was defective in its Lobe; *A terrible Presage, indeed!* said *Alexander*. However he offered *Pythagoras* no Injury, but was much troubled that he had neglected *Nearchus's* Advice, and therefore remained in his Camp a great while without the Town, removing his Tent from Place to Place, and sailing up and down the *Euphrates*. For besides This, he was terrified by many other Prodigies, which deterred him from entering into the City.

ty. A tame As fell upon the biggest and handsomest Lion that he kept, and kicked him to death. One day he undressed himself to be anointed, and to play at Tennis, and when he had done, and was putting his Cloaths on again, the young Men who had been with him, perceived a Man clad in the King's Robes, with a Diadem upon his Head, sitting silently upon his Throne. They asked him, *Who he was?* To which he gave no Answer a good while, 'till at last with much ado coming to himself, he told them, *His Name was Dionysius; that he was of Messenia; that for some Crime whereof he was accused, he had been forced to fly his Country, and had made his Escape by Sea, and got from thence to Babylon, where he had been kept in Chains for a long time; that that very day Serapis had appeared to him, had freed him from his Chains, conducted him to that Place, and commanded him to put on the King's Robe and Diadem, and to sit where they found him, and to say nothing.* Alexander when he heard this, by the Direction of his Soothsayers, put the poor Fellow to death, but from thenceforth desponded, and grew diffident of the Protection and Assistance of the Gods on the one Hand, and very suspicious of his Friends on the Other. His greatest apprehension was of *Antipater*, and his Sons, one of whom, *Iolaus*, was his chief Cup-bearer; the other, named *Cassander*, was newly arrived out of Greece, and being bred up in the Freedom of his Country, the first time he saw the Barbarians adore the King, he was surprized at the Novelty of the Thing, and could not forbear laughing out aloud at it; which so incensed *Alexander*, that he took him by the Hair with both Hands, and violently knocked his Head against the Wall. Another time, *Cassander* would have said something in defence of *Antipater*, to Those who accused him; but *Alexander* interrupting him, *What is it you say? Do*

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you think People, if they have received no Injury, would come such a Journey only to calumniate your Father? To which, when Cassander replied, That this very thing was a great Evidence of their Calumny, for the farther they are come the farther are they got from those Proofs that could confute Them, and clear the Innocent. Alexander smiled at This, and said, Those are some of Aristotle's Sophisms, which will serve equally on both sides; but, added he, both You and your Father shall be severely punished if it appears that the Complainants have received the least Injustice at Your Hands. This Menace made such a deep Impression of Fear in Cassander's Mind, that long after, when he was King of Macedonia, and Master of all Greece, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and looking on the Statues, at the Sight of That of Alexander, he was suddenly struck with Horror, and shook all over, his Eyes rowled, his Head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himself.

When once Alexander gave way to Superstition, his Mind grew so disturbed and timorous, that if the least unusual or extraordinary thing happened, he would needs have it thought a Prodigy, or a Presage; and his Court swarmed with Diviners and Priests, whose Business was to sacrifice and purifie, and foretell the future. (1) So horrid a thing is Incredulity, and Contempt of the Gods on one Hand, and no less horrid is Superstition on the Other, (2) which

(1) This is a Sentiment worthy of a sound Philosopher. *Plutarch* declares in Express Terms that this Timidity which throws a Man into a Panick at every Trifle, as if he was threatened with horrible Monsters, and tremendous Portents, and obligeth him to have Recourse to extraordinary Sacrifices, Expiati-

ons, Purifications, and the Opinion and Advice of the Divines, is a sure sign that he placeth little Confidence in God, and that he despiseth his Worship. And all This is very true.

(2) This is a very just Comparison. Superstition never reacheth up to Souls truly great, and Elevated;

which like Water whose Property is always to subside, and press downwards, seizeth on low abject Spirits, filling them with servile Fear and Folly, as it did now *Alexander* Himself. But upon some Answers which were brought him from the Oracle concerning *Hephestion*, he laid aside his Sorrow, and fell again to Sacrificing and Drinking; and having given *Nearchus* a splendid Entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his Custom, just as he was going to Bed, at *Medius's* Request he went to Supper with Him. Here he drank all that Night and the next Day to such excess, as put him into a Fever, which seized him, not as Some write, after he had drank off *Hercules's* Bowl, nor was he taken with a sudden Pain in his Back, as if he had been struck with a Lance: For These are the Inventions of some Authors, who thought it became them to make the conclusion of so great an Action as tragical and moving as they could. *Aristobulus* tells us, that in the Rage of his Fever, and a violent Thirst, he took a draught of Wine, upon which he fell into a Frenzy, and died the thirtieth of *June*. But in his own Journals we have the following Account of his Sicknes: *That the eighteenth of June, by reason of his Illness, he lay in his Bathing-room where it had first seized him; that when he had bathed, he removed into his Chamber, and spent that day at Dice with Medius. In the Evening having washed and sacrificed, he eat with a good Stomach, and had his Fever that Night. The twentieth, after the usual Sacrifices and Bathing, he kept his Bed in the same Room, and heard Nearchus's Relation of his Voyage, and the Observations he had made concerning the Ocean. The twenty first he passed in the same manner, his Fever still encreasing, and had a very ill Night of it. The*

Elevated; it creeps only into low | is a Discourse upon Superstition
groveling Minds, or: Such as have | in *Plutarch's* Morals very well
been dejected by Adversity. There | worth the reading.

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next Day he had a severe Fit, and caused himself to be removed, and his Bed set by the great Bath, and then discoursed with his principal Officers about filling up the vacant Charges in the Army, with Men of tried Valour and Experience. The twenty fourth, being much worse, he was carried out to assist at the Sacrifices, and gave order that his chief Commanders should wait within the Court, whilst the Colonels and Captains kept Watch without doors. The twenty fifth he was removed to his Palace on the other side the River, where he slept a little, but his Fever abated not, and when the Commanders came into his Chamber, he was speechless, and continued so the following Day. Then the Macedonians supposing he was dead, came with great Clamours to the Gates, and menaced his Friends so, that they were forced to admit them, and let them all pass unarmed along by his Bed-side. The same day Python and Seleucus being sent to Serapis's Temple, to enquire if they should bring Alexander thither, were answered by the God, that they should not remove him. The twenty eighth in the Evening he died. This Account is most of it word for word, as it is written in his own Diary.

(1) At that time no Body had any suspicion of his being poisoned; but upon a discovery made six years after, They say, *Olympias* put Many to death, and threw abroad the Ashes of *Ioläus*, who was then dead, as if he had given it him. But Those who affirm *Aristotle* counselled *Antipater* to do it, and that by his means wholly the Poison was brought, produce one *Agnothemis* for their Author, who pretends he had heard King *Antigonus* speak of it,

(1) This is a strong Proof that he was not poisoned, for, generally speaking, People readily run into such Suspicions on the slightest Probabilities, especially upon the Death of any eminent Person.

That Rashness and Malignity incident to Men, make them too apt to entertain Doubts and Suspicions, though highly unjust and improbable.

and

(1) and tells us that the Poison was a Water, deadly cold as Ice, distilling from a Rock in the Territory of *Nonacris*, which they gathered like a thin Dew, (2) and kept in an Ass's Hoof; for it was so very cold and penetrating, that no other Vessel would hold it. However, Most are of opinion that all This is false, no slight evidence of which is, that during the Dissentions among the Commanders, which lasted a great many Days after his Death, the Body continued clear and fresh, without any sign of such Taint or Corruption, though it lay neglected in a close Place, and sultry Climate.

Roxana, who was now with Child, and upon that account much honoured by the *Macedonians*, being jealous of *Statira*, sent for her by a Counterfeit Letter, as if *Alexander* had been still alive; and when she had her in her power, killed Her and her Sister, and threw their Bodies into a Well, which they filled up with Earth, not without the privity and assistance of *Perdiccas*, who at this time under the shelter of *Arideus*, whom he carried about with him for his own security, bore the greatest sway of Any. *Arideus* Himself, who was *Philip's* Son, by one *Philinna*, an obscure common Strumpet, was a Man of weak Parts, by reason of his Indisposition of Body, which was neither natural to him, nor contracted of itself; for in his Childhood he was quick-witted, and hopeful enough, but caused by Drinks that *Olympias* gave him, which not only impaired his Health, but weakened his Understanding.

(1) *Nonacris* was a Town in *Arcadia*, near which there was a Rock, from whence flowed a Water of so deadly cold a Nature, that they gave it the Name of the *Stygian Water*.

(2) It may be so, but how could they convey it so far as from *Arcadia* to *Babylon*? What could hinder its evaporating and piercing through the Stopple of this Ass's Hoof?



THE
L I F E
O F
JULIUS CÆSAR.



AS (1) soon as *Sylla* had made himself Master of *Rome*, (2) he resolved to force *Cornelia*, Daughter to *Cinna* (the late Usurper) from *Cæsar* her Husband; but being unable to compass it either by Hopes or Fears, confiscated her Dowry. The ground of *Sylla's* Hatred to *Cæsar*, was the Alliance between Him and *Marius*; for *Marius* the

(1) Some Authors are of Opinion that this Life of *Cæsar* is imperfect, and that the Beginning is wanting; but this Conjecture is ill founded. *Plutarch* passeth over the first Years in *Cæsar's* Life, because nothing illustrious occurred in them 'till in opposition to *Sylla* he refused to divorce *Cornelia*. He falls at once upon that Part where he first begins to

make a Figure.

(2) He married her, notwithstanding he had been contracted whilst very young to *Cossusa* a Lady of a Consular Family, and very wealthy. He thought not fit to follow the Example of *Piso*, who on purpose to make his Court to *Sylla* divorced *Amia*, *Cinna's* Wife, to whom he had been married.

Elder



L. Chéron Inv.

Vol. 6: p. 122.

G. J. Gucht Sculp.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

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Elder married *Julia*, *Cæsar's* Aunt by the Father's side, and had by her the Younger *Marius*, who consequently was *Cæsar's* Cousin-german. And though at first, in the Heat of his Tyranny and Hurry of Business, *Cæsar* was overlooked by *Sylla*, (1) he could not lie still, but presented himself to the People as a Candidate for the Priesthood, though he was yet under Age. But *Sylla*, by his underhand Management, so carried it, that *Cæsar* fell short of his Pretensions; and in a Consult of Friends to take him off, when it was urged by Some, that it was not worth his while to contrive the Death of a Boy, he answered, *That they knew little, who did not see many Marius's in that Boy.* *Cæsar*, upon notice of This, lay concealed a long while among the *Sabines*, often changing his Quarters; 'till one Night, as he was removing his Lodging for his Health, he fell into the Hands of *Sylla's* Soldiers, who were searching those Parts in order to apprehend Such as had absconded. *Cæsar*, by a Bribe of Two Talents, prevailed with *Cornelius* their Captain to let him go, and was no sooner dismiss'd, but he put to Sea, and made for *Bithynia*. After a short stay there with *Nicomedes* the King, in his Passage back, he was taken near the Island *Pharmacusa* by some Pirates, who at that time with some great Ships, and a vast number of smaller Vessels, infested those Seas. When at first

(1) Some learned Criticks have rightly observed that *Plutarch* is mistaken in this Particular; for it is not true that *Cæsar* did not stand for the Priesthood 'till *Sylla's* Government, and that when he did stand for it *Sylla* made an Interest against him. It is evident from History that *Cæsar* in the seventeenth Year of his Age breaking through his Obligations to *Cossuta*, married *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna*, by the Help of whose Interest, and That of *Marius*, he was declared *Flamin Dialis*, the Priest of *Jupiter*. After This *Sylla*, who was now become absolute, earnestly pressing him to divorce *Cornelia*, and *Cæsar* obstinately refusing, he deprived him of that Office. In this Manner we find it related by *Velleius*, and *Suetonius*.

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they demanded of him twenty Talents for his Ransom, he smiled at them, as not understanding the Value of their Prisoner, and voluntarily engaged to give 'em Fifty. He presently dispatched Those about him to several Places to raise the Money, and in the mean time remained in the Hands of those bloody Villains, with only one Friend, and two Attendants: Yet he made so little of them, that when he had a mind to sleep, he would send to them, and command Silence.

For thirty eight Days, with all the Freedom in the World he used Exercise, and Gamed among them, as if they not been his Keepers, but his Guards. He wrote Verses, and Speeches, and made them his Auditors, and Those who did not admire them, he called to their Faces Illiterate and Barbarous, and would often in raillery threaten to hang them. They were mightily taken with This, and attributed his free way of talking to a kind of Simplicity, and juvenile Humour. As soon as his Ransom was come from *Miletus*, he paid it, and was discharged; soon after which he Manned some Ships at the *Milesian* Port, and went in pursuit of the Pirates, whom he surprized as they were yet at an Anchor, and took most of them. Their Money he made Prize, and the Men he secured in Prison at *Pergamus*, and presently applied himself to *Junius*, who was then Governor of *Asia*, to whose Office it belonged, as *Prætor*, to determine their Punishment. *Junius* having his Eye upon the Money, (for the Sum was considerable) said, *He would think at his leisure what to do with the Prisoners*; upon which *Cæsar* took his leave of him, and went for *Pergamus*, where he ordered the Pirates to be brought forth and crucified; the Punishment he had often threatned them with, whilst he was in their Hands, and they little dreamed he was in earnest.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

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In the mean time *Sylla's* Power declined, and *Cæsar's* Friends advised him to return to *Rome*; but he went off to *Rhodes*, and entered himself in the School of (1) *Apollonius*, *Molon's* Son, a famous Rhetorician, one who had the Reputation of a well-tempered Man, and had *Cicero* at that time for his Auditor. *Cæsar* was by Nature excellently framed for a perfect States-man, and Orator, and took such Pains to improve his Genius this way, that without dispute he might challenge the Second Place amongst Men of that Character. More he did not aim at, as chusing to be First rather amongst Men of Arms and Power; and therefore never rose up to that pitch of Eloquence to which Nature would have carried him, being diverted by those Expeditions and Designs, which at length gained him the Empire. And he Himself, in his Answer to *Cicero's* Panegyric on *Cato*, desires his Reader not to compare the plain Discourse of a *Soldier* with the Harangues of an Orator, who had not only fine Parts, but had employed his whole Life in this one Study.

When he was returned to *Rome*, he accused *Dolabella* of Male-Administration, and many Cities of *Greece* came in to attest it. *Dolabella* was acquitted; and *Cæsar*, in return of the Favours he had received from the *Græcians*, assisted them in their Prosecution of *P. Antonius* for Bribery before *M. Lucullus* Prætor of *Macedonia*. In this Cause he prevailed so far, that *Antonius* was forced to appeal

(1) According to *Suetonius*, *Cæsar* had before this Adventure of the Pirates studied at *Rome* under *Apollonius*; but *Plutarch* very improperly makes Two Men of One in this Place. It was not the Father of *Apollonius*, but He Himself was called *Molon*, as it appears in *Suetonius*, *Quintilian*, and *Cicero*. He was often called *Molon* simply, without the Addition of the other Appellative, which would be very ridiculous if he was the Son of *Molon*. *Plutarch* falls into the same Mistake in the Life of *Cicero*, as *Rualdus* has observed.

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to the Tribunes at *Rome*, alledging, That in *Greece* he could not have fair Play against *Græcians*. In his Pleadings at *Rome* he appeared with all the Graces of an Orator, and gained much upon the Affections of the People by the easiness of his Address and Conversation, in which he was accomplished beyond what could be expected from his Age. His Interest grew still insensibly greater by the open House he kept, and the Magnificence of his Entertainments: His Enemies slighted the growth of it at first, in expectation it would soon fail, when his Money was gone; whilst in the mean time it was firmly settled among the Common People. When his Power at last was fixed, and not to be controlled, and now openly tended to the altering of the whole Constitution, they were aware too late, that there is no Beginning so mean, which continued Application will not make considerable, and that small Dangers, by being despised at first, become at last irresistible. *Cicero* was the first who had any Suspicions of his Designs upon the Government, and (as a good Pilot is apprehensive of a Storm when the Sea is calmest) saw the designing Temper of the Man through this disguise of good Humour and Affability, and said upon it; *In all his other Actions and Intrigues I plainly discover the air of a Tyrant; but when I see his Hair lie in so exact order, and observe him so often adjusting it (1) with his Finger, I cannot imagine it should enter into such a Man's Thoughts to subvert the Roman State. But of this more hereafter.*

(1) This was the common term of Reproach towards effeminate Persons, *Ignavos*, witness this Epigram.

— Digito qui caput uno

Scalpit. quid credas hunc sibi velle? Virum.

And this Line in *Juvenal*.

Qui digito uno scalpunt Caput.

The

The first Proof he had of the People's good Will to him, was, when he carried a Tribuneship, in the Army against *C. Popilius*. A second and clearer Instance of their Favour appeared upon his making an Excellent Oration in Praise of his Aunt *Julia*, Wife to *Marius*, publickly in the *Forum*: At whose Funeral he was so bold as to bring forth the Images of *Marius*, which 'till then no body durst produce since the Government came into *Sylla's* Hands, *Marius's* Party having from that time been declared Enemies to the State. For when Some upon this Occasion exclaimed against *Cæsar*, the People on the other side were taken with the Action, and received it with very great Applause; admiring him for having revived in the City those Honours of *Marius*, which for so long time had been buried. It had always been the Custom at *Rome* to make Funeral Orations in praise of Ancient Matrons, but there was no Precedent of any upon young Women, 'till *Cæsar* first made one upon the Death of his own Wife. This also procured him Favour, and by this shew of Affection he got the Hearts of the People, who looked upon him as a Man of great Tenderness and extraordinary Good-nature.

When he had buried his Wife, he went *Quæstor* into *Spain* under *Antistius Væter*, who was *Prætor*, whom he honoured ever after, and made his Son *Quæstor*, when He himself came to be *Prætor*. When he was out of that Office, he married *Pompeia*, his third Wife, having then a Daughter by *Cornelia* his first Wife, whom he afterwards matched to *Pompey* the Great.

He was so profuse in his Expences, that before he had any publick Employment, he was in debt thirteen hundred Talents. Some thought that by being at so great a charge to be popular, he changed a real and solid Good, for what was short
and

and uncertain : But in truth he purchased what was of the greatest Value at an inconsiderable rate. When he was made Surveyor of the *Appian Way*, he disburs'd besides the publick Money a great Sum out of his private Purse; and when he was *Ædile*, he provided such a number of Gladiators, (1) that he entertained the People with three hundred and twenty several Duels; and by his great Liberality and Magnificence in Shews, in Poms, and publick Feastings, obscured the Glory of All who went before him, and gained so much upon the People, that every one was ready to invent new Offices, and new Honours, for him, in return to his Munificence.

There being two Factions in the City, One for *Sylla*, which was very powerful, the Other for *Marius*, which was then broken, and in a very low condition, he was desirous to raise it again, and to bring it over to his Interest : To this end, whilst he was in the height of his Repute with the People, for the Magnificent Shews he gave as *Ædile*, he ordered *Marius's* Images and Statues, with the Triumphal Ensigns of his Victories, to be carried privately in the Night, and placed in the Capitol. Next Morning, when Some saw them glittering with Gold, and curiously wrought with Incriptions of *Marius's* Exploits over the *Cimbrians*, they were surprized at the Boldness of Him who had set them up, nor was it difficult to guess who it was. The Fame of this soon spread, and brought together a great Concourse of People : Some presently cried out that *Cæsar* had Designs upon the Government, because he had revived those Honours which were buried by the Laws, and Decrees

(1) *Suetonius* tells us he had raised a very great Number of Gladiators, which made his Enemies so jealous of him that they were forced to limit the Number, so that he exhibited fewer than he intended. *Aliquanto paucioribus, quàm destinaverat, paribus.*

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of the Senate; that This was done to found the Temper of the People, whom he had prepared before, and to try whether they were tame enough to bear his Humour, and would quietly give way to his Innovations. However *Marius's* Party took Courage; and it is incredible what a multitude of them appeared on a sudden, and came shouting into the Capitol. Many of them at the sight of *Marius's* Picture wept for Joy, and *Cæsar* was highly extolled as the only Person, who was a Relation worthy of *Marius*. Upon This the Senate met, and *Catulus Luctatius*, one of the most Eminent Romans of that Time, stood up, and accused *Cæsar*, closing his Speech with this remarkable Saying; *Cæsar no longer undermines the Government, but openly plants his Batteries against it.* But when *Cæsar* had made an Apology for Himself, and satisfied the Senate, his Admirers were very much animated, and advised him not to depart from his own Thoughts for any one, since he was likely to get the better of them All in a little time, and to be the first Man in the State with the Peoples Consent.

At the same time *Metellus* the High-Priest died; and *Catulus* and *Isauricus*, Persons of known Reputation, and who bore a great weight in the Senate, were Competitors for the Office; yet *Cæsar* would not give way to them, but presented himself to the People as a Candidate against them. The several Interests seeming very equal, *Catulus*, who because he had the most Honour to lose, was the most apprehensive of the Event, sent to *Cæsar* to buy him off, with Offers of a great Sum of Money: But he said, *He would provide a larger Sum than That to carry on the Competition.* Upon the day of Election, as his Mother conducted him out of doors with Tears in her Eyes, he saluted her, and said; *Well Mother, to-day you'll see me either High-Priest, or an Exile.*

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When the Votes were taken, after a great struggle, he carried it, and by That gave the Senate and Nobility reason to fear he might now draw on the People to the greatest height of Arrogance. Whereupon *Piso* and *Catulus* found fault with *Cicero* for letting *Cæsar* escape, when in the Conspiracy of *Catiline* he had given the Government such advantage against him. For *Catiline*, who had designed not only to change the present State of Affairs, but to subvert the whole Constitution, and confound All, had Himself escaped, by reason the Evidence was not full against him, they having not yet gone to the bottom of his Design. But he had left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the City, to supply his Place in the Conspiracy : Whether they had any secret Encouragement and Assistance from *Cæsar* is uncertain ; This is certain, that they were fully convicted in the Senate, and when *Cicero* the Consul asked the several Opinions of the Senators, how they would have them punished, All who spake before *Cæsar* sentenced them to Death ; but *Cæsar* stood up, and made a set Speech, wherein he told them, *That he thought it without Precedent, and not just, to take away the Lives of two Persons of their Birth and Quality, before they were fairly tried, unless there was an absolute necessity for it ; but that if they were kept confined in any Town which Cicero himself should chuse 'till Catiline was defeated, then the Senate might in peace and at their leisure determine what was best to be done.* This Sentence of his carried so much appearance of Humanity, and he gave it so good an air by his Speech, that not only Those who spoke after him closed with it, but even They who had before given a contrary Opinion, now came over to His ; 'till it came about to *Catulus*, and *Cato's* turn to speak. They warmly opposed it ; and *Cato* insinuated in his Speech some Suspicions of *Cæsar* Himself, and prest the Matter
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so far, that the Criminals were given up to suffer Execution. As *Cæsar* was going out of the Senate, many of the young Men who guarded *Cicero* ran in with their naked Swords to assault him. But *Curio*, as it is said, threw his Gown over him, and conveyed him out, and *Cicero* Himself gave a Sign to his Guards, who watched the Motions of his Eye, not to kill him, either for fear of the People, or because he thought the Murder unjust and illegal. If This be true, I wonder how *Tully* came to omit it in the Book which he wrote concerning his Consulship. *Cicero* was blamed afterwards for not making use of so good an Opportunity against *Cæsar* out of fear of the Populace, who mightily favoured him.

Some time after, when *Cæsar* went into the Senate to clear himself of some Suspicions he lay under, he found great Clamours raised against him, whereupon the Senate sitting longer than ordinary, the People went up to the House in a Tumult, and beset it, demanding *Cæsar*, and requiring them to dismiss him. Upon this *Cato* much fearing a Mutiny from the poorer sort, who are always the Incendiaries in a Rebellion, and who now placed all their Hopes in *Cæsar*, persuaded the Senate to give them a Monthly Allowance of Corn, which put the Commonwealth to the extraordinary Charge of fifty five thousand Crowns a Year. This Expedient removed all Fears for the present, and very much weakened *Cæsar's* Power, who at that time was just going to be made *Prætor*, and consequently would have been more formidable by his Office. But there was no disturbance during his *Prætorship*, only what Misfortune he met with in his own Domestick Affairs.

P. Clodius was a Person well descended, Eminent both for his Riches and Eloquence, but in Lewdness and Impudence exceeded the very worst of

Those who were remarkable for their Debauchery. He was in Love with *Pompeia*, *Cæsar's* Wife, and She had no Aversion to Him. But there were strict Guards on her Apartment, and *Cæsar's* Mother *Aurelia*, who was a discreet Woman, being continually about her, made an Interview very dangerous and difficult. (1) The *Romans* have a Goddess which they call *the good Goddess*, the same with *Her*, whom the *Greeks* call *Gynæcea*, that is, *the Goddess of the Women*: The *Phrygians*, who claim a peculiar Title to her, say she was Mother to *Midas*: The *Romans* pretend she was one of the *Dryads*, and married to *Faunus*: The *Græcians* affirm that she is that Mother of *Bacchus*, whose Name is not to be uttered: For this Reason the Women who celebrate her Festival, cover the Tents with Vine-branches, and according to the Fable, a Consecrated Dragon

(1) We learn from *Cicero* all that is to be known of that Goddess, and of the Sacrifices offered to her. It is in his Oration *de Haruspicio responsis*, against *Clodius*. For, saith he, what Sacrifice is there so ancient as That which is derived down to us from our first Kings, and is co-equal with Rome itself? What Sacrifice is there so private and secret as That which is concealed not only from the Eyes of the Curious and Inquisitive, but from the Sight even of incurious Passengers, and whither neither the most profligate Wickedness, nor determined Impudence, ever yet presumed to enter? This Sacrifice no Man living but *Clodius* ever was so impious as to violate: No Man but *Clodius* ever shewed his Face at it; no Man but He was ever so irreligious as to profane it, or so much as think without the utmost Horror of assisting at it. This Sacrifice which is performed by the *Vestal Virgins*, which is

performed for the Prosperity of the Roman People, which is performed in the House of the Chief Magistrate, celebrated with unknown Ceremonies, and to a Goddess whose very Name to know is Sacrilege, &c. Since therefore at the very time when this Adventure happened, the Ceremonies observed in that Sacrifice were absolutely unknown to the People, and locked up under so religious a Secrecy, that All were ignorant even of the very Name of the Goddess: We are not to wonder if *Plutarch* leaves us a little in the Dark as to that Point. One thing indeed seems something unaccountable, which is This; *Cicero* saith the Men were forbid the Knowledge of her Name, but that it was revealed to the Women, how then could it remain such a Secret? This is much to the Honour of the *Roman Ladies*.

is placed near the Statue of the Goddess. It is not lawful for a Man to be by, nor so much as in the House, whilst the Sacred Rites are celebrated, but the Women by themselves perform such Holy Offices, as are much a-kin to Those used in the Solemnity sacred to *Orpheus*. When the Festival comes, the Husband, who is always either *Consul* or *Prætor*, and with Him every Male-creature, quits the House; the Wife then taking it under her Care, prepares it for the Solemnity, which is performed chiefly in the Night-time, attended with Dancing, and several sorts of Musick. As *Pompeia* was at that time Celebrating this Feast, *Clodius*, who as yet had no Beard, and so thought to pass undiscovered, took upon him the Habit and Disguise of a Singing-Woman, having the Air of a young Girl, and went to *Cæsar's* House. Finding the Doors open, he was without any stop introduced by a young Maid, who was in the Intrigue. She presently ran to tell *Pompeia*, but not returning so soon as he expected, he grew uneasy in waiting for her, and therefore left his Post, and traversed the House from one Room to another, still taking Care to avoid the Lights, 'till at last *Aurelia's* Woman met him, and invited him to such Recreations as the Women use among themselves. He refused to comply; but she presently pulled him forward, and asked him who he was, and whence? *Clodius* told her he waited for *Aura*, one of *Pompeia's* Maids, and so betrayed himself by his Voice: Upon which the Woman shrieking, ran into the Company where there were Lights, and cried out, she had discovered a Man. The Women were all in a Fright: *Aurelia* presently threw a Veil over the Ceremonies, put a stop to the *Orgia*, and having ordered the Doors to be shut, ran about with Lights to find *Clodius*, who was got into the Maid's Room that he had come in with, and was seized there. The

Women knew him, and drove him out of Doors, and presently, though it was yet Night, went home to tell their Husbands the Story. In the Morning it was all about Town, what an impious attempt *Clodius* had made, and All agreed he ought to be punished as an Offender, not only against Those whom he had Affronted, but also against the Publick, and the Gods. Upon which one of the Tribunes accused him of prophaning the Holy Rites, and some of the Principal Senators came in, and witnessed against him, that besides many other horrible Crimes, he had been guilty of Incest with his own Sister, who was married to *Lucullus*. But the People set themselves against the Interest of the Nobility, and defended *Clodius*; which was of great service to him with the Judges, who were at a stand, being afraid to provoke the Commonalty. *Cæsar* presently dismissed *Pompeia*, but being summoned as a Witness against *Clodius*, said, *He had nothing to charge him with*. This looking like a Paradox, the Accusers asked him, *Why then he parted with his Wife?* *Cæsar* replied, *Because I cannot bear that my Wife should be so much as suspected*. Some say that *Cæsar* spake This as his Thought; Others, that he did it to gratify the People, who he saw were very earnest to save *Clodius*. So *Clodius* got clear of the Indictment, (1) most of the Judges giving their Opinions

(1) This has been translated *most of the Judges giving their Opinions in confused Terms*. The Words in the Original are τῶν πλείστων δικασῶν συσκευυμένας τοῖς πράγμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδιδόντων, *most of the Judges jumbling That, with other Affairs, gave their Opinions upon All at once, as it were in a Lump*. *Plutarch* meant in this Place to render in Greek that Latin Expression, *ferre Sen-*

sentias per Saturam; and because that Language would not admit of a literal Translation he gave it an explanatory one, which is the Business of every judicious Translator, when he meets with a Sentence or Expression that will not pass easily out of one Language into Another. The Romans called it *ferre Sententias per Saturam*, when in giving their Opinion upon one Point, they gave it likewise

Opinions upon several Causes at the same time, that they might not be in Danger from the People by Condemning him, nor in Disgrace with the Nobility by Acquitting him.

The Province of (1) *Spain* fell to *Cæsar's* Lot at the Expiration of his Prætorship, but he found himself in ill Circumstances with his Creditors, who, as he was going off, came upon him, and were very pressing and importunate; which made him apply himself to *Crassus*, who was the richest Man in *Rome*, but wanted *Cæsar's* Vigour and Warmth to set up against *Pompey*. *Crassus* took upon him to satisfy those Creditors which were most uneasy to him, and would not be put off any longer, and engaged himself to the value of eight hundred and thirty Talents: Upon which *Cæsar* was now at Liberty to go to his Province. In his Journey as he was crossing the *Alps*, and passing by a small Village of the *Barbarians*, which was stocked with but few Inhabitants, and Those wretchedly Poor, his Friends smiled, and asked him by way of Railery, *If there were any Canvassing for Officers there; any Contention Which should be Uppermost, or Feuds of great Men One against Another?* To which *Cæsar* made answer very seriously, *For my part I had ra-*

wife upon many Others at the same time. In This before us if the Judges had pronounced singly upon *Clodius*, and condemned him, they would have provoked the People; whereas blending his Cause, as they did, with many Others, they made it pass almost unobserved in a Crowd with little Notice or Reflection. When they came to understand the Inconvenience arising from this way of Proceeding, the Practice of judging *per Saturnam* was abolished, *Lege Cæcilia & Didia*, and the

Judges were obliged to pass a distinct Sentence upon every distinct Fact, which was called *dividere Sententiam*.

(1) They who are not conversant in the *Roman* Antiquities will be apt to conclude from this Passage that *Cæsar* had the Government of all *Spain* conferred upon him; whereas the farther *Spain* only fell to his Lot, *ex Praturâ ulteriore sortitus Hispaniam*, saith *Suetonius*, which comprehended *Lusitania* and *Batica*, that is *Portugal* and *Andaloufia*.

ther be the First Man among these Fellows, than the Second Man in Rome. It is said that another time whilst he was in Spain, and reading at a leisure Hour the History of *Alexander*, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst out into Tears. His Friends were surprized, and asked him the Reason of it. *Do you think* (said he) *I have not just Cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my Age had conquered so many Nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is Memorable?*

As soon as he came into *Spain* he was very active, and in a few Days had got together ten new Companies of Foot, to those twenty which were there before: With These he marched against the *Galleci* and *Lusitani*, conquered them, and advancing as far as the Ocean, subdued other Nations, which never before had been subject to the *Romans*. Having managed his Military Affairs with good Success, he was equally happy in the Course of his Civil Government: For he established a good Understanding amongst the several States, and took especial Care to heal the Differences betwixt Debtors and Creditors. He ordered that the Creditor should receive two Thirds of the Debtor's yearly Income, and that the other Third should remain to the Debtor Himself, 'till by this Method the whole Debt was at last discharged. This Conduct made him leave his Province with a fair Reputation; though He carried off great Wealth himself, and enriched his Soldiers, who therefore Complimented him with the Title of *Emperor*.

There is a Law among the *Romans*, that whoever desires the Honour of a Triumph must stay without the City, and expect his Answer: And Another, that Those who put in for the Consulship shall appear personally upon the place: *Cæsar* was come home at the very time of chusing Consuls; and being in a strait between these two opposite Laws,

sent to the Senate to desire, that since he was obliged to be absent, he might appear for the Consulship by Proxy. *Cato* being backed by the Law, at first opposed his Request; afterwards perceiving that *Cæsar* had prevailed with a great part of the Senate to comply with it, he made it his Business to gain time, and wasted an whole Day in Harangues. (1) Upon which *Cæsar* thought fit to let the *Triumph* fall, and pursued the *Consulship*. He advances therefore presently, and enters upon a Project which received all but *Cato*. This was the reconciling of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, who then bore the greatest weight in *Rome*. There had been a Misunderstanding between them, but *Cæsar* had the Dexterity to make up all Matters; and by this means strengthened himself by the united Power of Both; and so privately undermined the Government, under the covert of an Action which carried in it all the appearance of a good Office. For it was not the Quarrel betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, as most Men imagine, which was the Foundation of the Civil Wars, but their Union; the conspiring at first to subvert the Aristocracy, and Quarreling at last betwixt themselves which should be Monarch. *Cato*, who often foretold what the Consequence of this Alliance would be, had then the Character of a sullen and busy Man, and afterwards the Reputation of a wise but unfortunate Counsellor. Thus *Cæsar* being doubly guarded with the Interest of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, was promoted to the Consulate, and declared publickly with *Calpurnius Bibulus*.

When he was fixed in his Office he brought in Bills, which would have been preferred with bet-

(1) Indeed the Consulship was much more valuable than the Triumph, which was an Honour of one day only; whereas the Consulship was a Power of Duration, and gave him Time and Opportunity to accomplish the Designs he had been forming. He wisely quitted the Shew for the Substance.

ter Grace by a bold mutinous Tribune, than by a Consul; in which he proposed Transplantation of Colonies, and Division of Lands, on purpose to oblige the Commonalty. The best and most honourable of the Senators opposed it, upon which, having long waited for such a colourable Pretence, he openly protested *how unwillingly he was forced to appeal to the People, and that the Rigour and Opposition of the Senate had driven him upon the fatal Necessity of flying to Them for their Protection.* Which he did accordingly, and having *Crassus* on one side of him, and *Pompey* on the other, he asked them Two, Whether they consented to the Bills he had proposed? They owned their Assent, upon which he desired them to assist him against Those who with Sword in Hand had threatened to oppose him. They engaged they would, and *Pompey* added farther, *That he would not only meet their Swords with Sword in Hand, but that he would bring a Buckler with him besides.* This Speech the Nobles resented, as neither suitable to his Gravity, nor becoming the Reverence due to that Assembly, but such as had an air of Levity and Rashness: But the People were pleased with it.

Cæsar, that he might work himself yet deeper into the Interest of *Pompey*, gave him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, who had before been contracted to *Servilius Cæpio*, and told *Servilius* he should have *Pompey's* Daughter, who was not unprovided neither, but designed for *Sylla's* Son, *Faustus*. A little time after *Cæsar* married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*, and made *Piso* Consul for the Year following. *Cato* exclaimed loudly against This, and protested with a great deal of Warmth, that it was intollerable the Government should be prostituted by Marriages, and that they should advance one another to the Commands of Armies, Provinces, and other great Posts, by the Interest of Women.

Bibulus,

Bibulus, *Cæsar's* Collegue, finding it was to no purpose to oppose his Bills, but that he was in danger of being murdered in the *Forum*, as also was *Cato*, confined himself to his House, and there wore out the remaining part of his Consulship. *Pompey*, when he was married, presently filled the *Forum* with Soldiers, and so secured to the People their new Laws, and to *Cæsar* the Government of all *Gaul*, both on This and the other side of the *Alps*, together with *Illyricum*, and the Command of four Legions for five Years. *Cato* made some attempts against these Proceedings, but was sent to Prison by *Cæsar*, who imagined he would appeal to the Tribunes. But when *Cæsar* saw that he went along without speaking a Word, and not only the Nobility disrelished it, but that the People also out of their Veneration to *Cato's* Virtue waited on him, and by their Silence and dejected Looks, expressed a great concern for him; he Himself privately desired one of the Tribunes to rescue *Cato*. As for the other Senators, some few of them attended the House; the rest being disgusted absented themselves. Hence *Confidius*, a very old Man, took occasion one Day to tell *Cæsar*, that the Senators did not meet because they were afraid of his Soldiers. *Cæsar* presently asked him, *Why don't You then out of the same fear keep at home?* To which the old Man replied, that *Age was his guard against Fear, and that the small Remains of his Life were not worth much Caution.*

But the foulest thing that was done in *Cæsar's* Consulship, was his Promoting *Clodius* to be Tribune; that very *Clodius* who attempted to dishonour his Bed, and who contrary to all Piety had polluted the Holy and Mysterious Vigils. Him he preferred on purpose to pull down *Cicero*, nor did *Cæsar* take the Field 'till they had overpowered him, and driven him out of *Italy*.

Thus

Thus far have we deduced *Cæsar's* Conduct before the Wars of *Gaul*. After This he seems to have begun his Course afresh, and to have entered upon a new and different Scene of Action. The Progress of those Battels which he afterwards fought, and those many Expeditions in which he subdued the *Gauls*, shew him to have been a Soldier and General, not in the least inferior to any of those great and admired Commanders, who have appeared at the Heads of Armies. For if we compare him with the *Fabii*, the *Metelli*, the *Scipio's*, and with Those who were his Contemporaries, or not long before him, *Sylla*, *Marius*, the two *Luculli*, or even *Pompey* Himself, whose Glory reached the Heavens, we shall find *Cæsar's* Actions to have surpassed them All. One he excelled on the account of the difficulty of the Places where he fought: Another in respect of the large Extent of Country which he over-ran: Some in the Number and Strength of the Enemies, whom he conquered; and Some in the Roughness and Barbarity of their Tempers, whom he polished and civilized: Others yet in his Humanity and Clemency to Those he overpowered; and Others in his Gifts and Gratuities to his Soldiers: All in the number of the Battels which he fought, and the Enemies which he killed. For he had not pursued the Wars in *Gaul* full ten Years, before he took by Storm eight hundred Towns, subdued three hundred States; and of the three millions of Men, which made up the gross of Those, with whom at several times he engaged, he killed One, and took a Second. He was so much Master of the Good-will, and hearty Service of his Soldiers, that Those who in other Expeditions were but ordinary Men, carried with them a force not to be resisted or shaken, when they went upon any danger, where *Cæsar's* Glory was concerned. Such an one was *Acilius*, who in

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a Sea-fight before *Marfeilles* flung himself into a Galley belonging to the Enemy, where he had his Right Hand struck off with a Sword, yet did he not quit his Buckler out of his Left, but gaul'd the Enemies in the Face with it, 'till he defeated them, and made Himself Master of the Vessel. Such another was *Cassius Scæva*, who in the Battel fought against *Pompey* near *Dyrrhachium*, lost One of his Eyes by an Arrow, and had his Shoulder pierced with one Javelin, and his Thigh run thorough with another; and having received (1) a hundred and thirty Darts upon his Target, called to the Enemy, as though he would surrender himself; but when two of them came up to him, he cut off the Shoulder of One with his Sword, and by a Blow over the Face forced the Other to retire, whilst with the Assistance of his own Party he made his Escape. Again in *Britain*, when some of the Vaunt-guard were accidentally fallen into a Morass full of Water, and there assaulted by the Enemy, a common Soldier, whilst *Cæsar* stood and looked on, threw himself into the midst of them, and after many and signal Demonstrations of his Valour, beat off the *Barbarians*, and rescued the Men. At last he himself with much ado, partly by swimming, and partly by wading, past the Morass, but in the Passage lost his Shield. *Cæsar* was astonish'd at the Action, and went to meet him with Joy and Acclamation; but the Soldier, very much dejected, and in tears, threw himself down at *Cæsar's* Feet, and begged his Pardon that he had let go his Buckler. Another time in *Afric*, *Scipio* having taken a

(1) *Cæsar* Himself gives us an Account of this Action in his third Book of the Civil Wars, and tells us, that he received two hundred and thirty of those Darts upon his Target, and adds, that he gave him as a Reward for his Va-

lour two hundred thousand Sesterces, and promoted him from the Eighth Rank to the First, and besides other military Rewards, decreed double Pay to the Soldiers of that Cohort.

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Ship of *Cæsar's* in which *Granius Petronius*, one lately made *Quæstor*, was passing, he gave the other Passengers as free Prize to his Soldiers, but thought fit to give the *Quæstor* his Life: But he said, *It was not usual for Cæsar's Soldiers to take, but give Life*; and having said so, ran upon his Sword, and killed himself.

These Principles and Notions of Honour were inspired into them, and cherished in them by *Cæsar* himself, who by his liberal Distribution of Money and Honours, shewed them, that he did not from the Wars heap up Wealth for his own Luxury, or the gratifying his private Pleasure, but that he took care to settle a sure Fund for the reward and encouragement of Valour, and that he looked upon himself only rich in That, which he gave to deserving Soldiers. There was no danger to which he did not willingly expose himself; no Labour from which he pleaded an exemption. His contempt of danger was not so much admired by his Soldiers, because they knew how much he loved Honour: But his enduring so much Hardship, which he did to all appearance beyond his Natural Strength, very much astonished them. For he was a spare Man, had a soft and white Skin, was distempered in the Head, and subject to an Epilepsie, which it is said first seized him at *Corduba*. But he did not make the weakness of his Constitution a pretext for his Ease, but used War as the best Physick against his Indispositions; whilst by unwearied Travels, course Diet, and frequent lodging in the Fields, he struggled with his Diseases, and prepared his Body against all Attacks. He slept generally in his Chariots or Litters, and employed even his Rest in pursuit of Action. In the Day he was carried to view Castles, Garrisons, or Fortifications, in his Chariot; One of Those sitting with him, whose business it was to write down what he dictated

dictated as he went, and a Soldier attending behind, with his Sword drawn. In this Equipage he usually drove so briskly, that when he first set out from *Rome* he arrived at the River *Rhoan* within eight Days. He had been an expert Rider from his Childhood; for it was usual with him to hold his Hands close behind him, and to put his Horse to full speed. But in the Wars he had improved himself so far as to dictate Letters from on Horseback, and to direct himself to Two who took Notes at the same time, or as *Oppius* saith, to more. And it is thought that He was the first who found out a new way of conversing with his Friends by Cyphers, when either through multitude of Business, or the large Extent of the City, he had not time for a Personal Conference about such Incidents as required a sudden dispatch.

How little nice he was in his Diet, we may learn from this remarkable Instance. When *Valerius Leo* invited him one Night to Supper, and treated him with *Asparagus*, upon which instead of Oyl he had poured sweet Ointment, *Cæsar* fed on it without any disgust, and reprimanded his Friends for finding fault with it. *For it was enough, said he, not to eat what you did not like; but He who reflects on another Man's want of Breeding, shews he wants it as much Himself.* Another time upon the Road he was driven by a Storm into a poor Man's Cottage, where he found but one Room, and That such as would afford but a mean Reception to a single Person, and therefore he told his Companions, that *the most Honourable Places ought to be given to the best Men, but the most Necessary Accommodations to the weakest;* and accordingly ordered that *Oppius*, who was infirm, should lodge within, whilst He and the rest slept under a Shed at the Door.

His first War in *Gaul* was against the *Helvetians* and *Tigurines*, who having burnt twelve of their

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own Towns, and four hundred Villages, would have marched forward through that part of *Gaul* which was under the *Roman* Province, as the *Cimbrians* and *Teutones* formerly had done. Nor were they inferior to These in Courage; and in Numbers they were equal, being in all three hundred thousand, of which one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting Men. *Cæsar* did not engage the *Tigurines* in Person, but (1) sent *Labienus* his Lieutenant, who routed them near the River *Arar*: But the *Helvetians* surprized *Cæsar*, and unexpectedly set upon him as he was conducting his Army (2) to a Confederate Town. However he managed it so as to get into a Place well fortified, where, when he had mustered and marshaled his Men, his Horse was brought to him; upon which he said, *When I have won the Battel, I will use my Horse for the Chace, but at present let us go against the Enemy*: Accordingly he charged them furiously on foot. After a long and sharp Engagement he drove the main Army out of the Field, but found the roughest work at their Carriages and Ramparts, where not only the Men stood, and fought, but the Women also and Children defended themselves, 'till they were cut to pieces; insomuch that the Fight was scarce ended 'till Midnight. This Action, in itself very great, *Cæsar* crowned with another more Glorious, by gathering in a Body all the *Barbarians* that had escaped out of the Battel, above one

(1) *Cæsar* saith Himself that he left *Labienus* to guard the Works he had raised from the Lake of *Geneva* to Mount *Jura*, and that he marched in Person at the Head of three Legions to attack the *Tigurines* in their Passage over the *Soane*, and killed a great Number of them.

(2) *Bibracte*, called at present

Autun. *Cæsar* gives us a Description of this Engagement in his First Book of the War in *Gaul*. Here it was that in order to prevent any possible Hopes or Expectations of a Retreat, and to share equally with All in the Danger, he sent back his Horse, the rest following his Example.

hundred

hundred thousand in Number, and obliging them to repair to the Country which they had deserted, and the Cities which they had burnt. Which he did for fear the *Germans* should pass the *Rhine* , and possess themselves of the Country whilst it lay uninhabited.

His second War was in favour of the *Gauls* against the *Germans* , though some time before he had made *Ariovistus* , their King, owned at *Rome* as an Ally. (1) But they were very insufferable Neighbours to Those under his Obedience, and it was probable, when Occasion shewed, they would not be satisfied with their late Acquisitions, but would attempt to seize on the rest of *Gaul* , and drive out the Inhabitants. But finding his Commanders timorous, and especially Those of the young Nobility and Gentry, who came along with him in hopes of making use of that Expedition to their Pleasure or Profit, he called them together, and advised them to march off, and not to run the hazard of a Battel against their Inclinations, since they were so effeminately and cowardly disposed; telling them withal, that he would take only the

(1) This Passage may be explained, and illustrated by *Divitiacus's* Speech to *Caesar* in behalf of the *Celta* , as we find it in the first Book of the War in *Gaul* . There we are told that the *Celta* were divided into two Factions; that the *Auverni* were at the Head of the One, and the *Aulnoui* of the Other; that the First of These in Conjunction with the Inhabitants of *Franchconne* had prayed the Assistance of the *Germans* , who to the Number of fifteen thousand Men passed the *Rhine* accordingly; that They were followed by still greater Numbers whom the Goodness of the Soil

invited thither, so that by Degrees they made up a Body of a hundred and twenty thousand; that after Those of *Aulnui* had been defeated in two Engagements they were forced to yield up their Children as Hostages to their Enemies; that if some seasonable Care was not taken all the *Germans* would pass over the *Rhine* , and settle in *Gaul* , and that in short *Ariovistus* their King was become so insolent and tyrannical, that they should be forced to quit their Country rather than submit to his arbitrary Government.

tenth Legion, and march against the *Barbarians*, whom he did not expect to find an Enemy more formidable than the *Cimbri*, nor should they find Him a General inferior to *Marius*. Upon This the tenth Legion deputed Some of their Body to pay him their Compliments of Thanks, and the other Legions blamed their Officers, and with great Vigour and Zeal followed him many Days Journey, 'till they encamped within two hundred Furlongs of the Enemy. *Ariovistus's* Courage was cooled upon their very approach; for not expecting the *Romans* should attack the *Germans*, who were known to be Men likely to stand a Charge, he admired *Cæsar's* Conduct, and saw his own Army under a great Consternation. They were still more discouraged by the Prophecies of their (1) Holy Women, who by observing the (2) Whirl-pools of Rivers, and taking Omens from the Windings and Noise of Brooks, foretold strange Events, and warned them not to engage before the next New Moon appeared. *Cæsar* having had Intimations of This, and seeing the *Germans* lye still, thought it expedient to attack them, whilst they were under these Apprehensions, rather than sit still, and wait

(1) Instead of *their holy Women*, Some have translated it the Prophecies of their Wives, and the Reader is left to chuse for Himself. It is indeed in the Greek Τὰ μαντεύματα τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικῶν; but *M. de Thou* is of Opinion that instead of ἱερῶν it ought to be ἰδίῳν their own Wives. This Conjecture is justified by the Text as it stands in *Dion*, αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν Βαρβάρων, the *Wives of the Barbarians themselves*, and by the Expression in *Cæsar*, *Matresfamilias eorum*.

(2) This is a merry sort of Di-

vination. But there is nothing in Nature too absurd for Superstition; They who are infatuated with it find a Voice, or Signification in every thing. *Cæsar* does not mention particularly what sort of Divination those Women made use of, he only saith, *quod apud Germanos ea Consuetudo esset ut matresfamilias eorum sortibus, & Vaticinibus declararent utrum Prælium committi ex usu esset, nec ne*; and he adds, that upon that Occasion they declared that they could give the *Germans* no hopes of the Victory if they engaged before the New Moon.

their

their time. Accordingly he made his Approaches to their Fortifications and Out-works, within which they were intrenched, and so galled and fretted them that at last they came down with great Fury to engage. But he gained a glorious Victory, (1) and pursued them for three hundred Furlongs as far as the *Rhine*; all which space was covered with Spoils, and Bodies of the Slain. *Ariovistus* made shift to pass the *Rhine* with the small Remains of an Army; for it is said the number of the Slain amounted to eighty thousand.

After this Action *Cæsar* left his Army at their Winter-Quarters in the Country of the *Sequani*, and, in order to attend his Affairs at *Rome*, went into that part of *Gaul* which lyes on the *Po*, and was part of his Province; for the River *Rubicon* divides *Gaul*, which is on this side the *Alps*, from the rest of *Italy*. There he sat down, and gained the Favour of the People, who made their Court to him frequently, and always found their Requests answered: for he never dismissed Any without present Pledges of his Favour in hand, and farther Hopes for the future.

During all this time of the War in *Gaul*, *Pompey* never discovered how on one side *Cæsar* conquered his Enemies with the Arms of *Rome*, and on the Other gained upon the *Romans*, and captivated them with the Money which he had got

(1) That seems impossible. Three hundred Furlongs make thirty seven Miles and a half. There must certainly be some Error in the Text; and that there is so is plain from *Cæsar*, who makes the Distance to be no more than five Miles. *Atque omnes hostes, prius fugere destiterunt quam ad flumen Rhenum millia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinque pervenerunt;* and that *Cæsar* wrote it *millia quinque* and not *millia quinquaginta*, as it is in some Editions, is evident from This, that the Greek Version renders it *εδδία τετταρακοντα* forty Furlongs, which answer exactly to five Miles. *Plutarch* without doubt wrote it *Thirty Furlongs*, but the Copyers in time transcribed it *three hundred*.

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from his Enemies. But when *Cæsar* heard that the *Belgæ*, who were the most powerful of all the *Gauls*, and inhabited a third part of the Country, were revolted, and that they had got together a great many Thousand Men in Arms, he immediately directed his Course that way with great Expedition, and falling upon the Enemy, as they were ravaging the *Gauls* his Allies, he soon defeated them, and put them to Flight. For though their numbers were great, yet they made but a slender Defence, so that the Marshes and deep Rivers were made passable to the *Roman Foot*, by the vast quantity of dead Bodies. Of Those who revolted, They that dwelt upon the Sea-Coasts surrendered without Fighting, and therefore he led his Army against the *Nervi*, who are the most uncivilized and most warlike People of All in those Parts. These live in a close Woody Country, and having lodged their Children and their Goods in a deep Hollow within a large Forest, fell upon *Cæsar* with a Body of sixty thousand Men before he was prepared for them, and while he was making his Encampment. They soon routed his Cavalry, and having surrounded the twelfth and seventh Legions, killed all the Officers; and had not *Cæsar* himself snatched up a Buckler, and forced his way through his own Men, to come up to the *Barbarians*; or had not the (1) tenth Legion, when they saw him in danger, ran in from the tops of the Hills, where they lay, and broke through the Enemies Ranks, to rescue him, in all probability his Army had been entirely cut off. But through the Influence of *Cæsar's* Valour, the *Romans* in this

(1) Thus it ought to be translated, and not the twelfth, as it is in the Text. For *Cæsar* Himself tells us that *Labiennus* sent the tenth Legion to his Assistance; the twelfth had their Hands full elsewhere, and had enough to do. There is a fine Description of this Battel left us by *Cæsar*, lib. 2.

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Conflict exerted more than ordinary Courage: Yet with the utmost Streins of their Valour, they were not able to beat the Enemy out of the Field, but cut them off fighting in their own Defence. For out of sixty thousand Soldiers, not above five hundred survived the Battel; and of four hundred of their Senators not above Three. When the *Roman* Senate had received News of this Action, they voted Sacrifices and Festivals to the Gods, to be strictly observed for the space of fifteen Days, which is longer than ever was observed for any Victory before. For the Danger appeared great, because they were engaged with so many States at once, and the Favour of the People to *Cæsar* made the Victory more esteemed because he was Conqueror. For He was now retired to his Winter-Quarters by the *Po*, where, after he had settled the Affairs of *Gaul*, he resided in order to the forming his Designs at *Rome*.

All who were Candidates for Offices used His Assistance, and were supplied with Money from Him to corrupt the People, and buy their Votes, in return of which, when they were chose, they did all things to advance his Power. But what was more considerable, the most Eminent and Powerful Men in *Rome* in great Numbers made their Court to him at *Lucca*, as *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, and *Appius* the Prætor of *Sardinia*, and *Nepos* the Proconsul of *Spain*, so that there were upon the Place at one time a hundred and twenty Lictors, and more than two hundred Senators, who held a Council, and then parted. There it was decreed, that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should be Consuls again for the following Year; that *Cæsar* should have a fresh Supply of Money, and that his Command should be renewed to him for Five Years more. It seemed very extravagant to all thinking Men, that those very Persons who had received so much Money

from *Cæsar*, should persuade the Senate to grant him More, as if he wanted; though indeed they did not so much persuade as compel the Senate, who at the same time regretted what they were forced to pass. *Cato* was not present, for they had packed him off very seasonably into *Cyprus*; but *Favonius*, who was a zealous Imitator of *Cato*, when he found he could do no good by opposing it, broke out of the House, and loudly declaimed against these Proceedings to the People. But None gave him Hearing; Some slighted him out of respect to *Crassus* and *Pompey*; Others to gratifie *Cæsar*, on whom depended all their Hopes.

After This, *Cæsar* returned again to his Forces in *Gaul*, where (1) he found that Country involved in a dangerous War, two strong People of the *Germans* having lately past the *Rhine*, and made Inroads into it; One of them called the *Usipetes*, and the Other the *Tenchteri*. Of the War with this People, *Cæsar* himself has given this Account (2) in his Commentaries: That the *Barbarians* having sent

(1) *Plutarch* is here giving us an Account of the War with the *Usipetes*, and *Tenchteres*, which happened under the Consulate of *Crassus*, and *Pompey*; but there were several considerable Transactions both before and after the Affair of *Namur*, worthy to be remembred, which *Plutarch* has omitted. In a Word, he skips over all *Cæsar's* third Book of the War in *Gaul*; the War in *Valais*; the Revolt of the Inhabitants of *Vannes*, and their Defeat; the Defeat of the People of *Evreux*, *Lisieux*, and *Contance*; the Conquest of *Gascony*, and *Cæsar's* IncurSIONS into the Territories of *Terouenne*, and *Gueldres*. It is true that most of the Actions were performed by his Lieu-

tenants *Galba*, *Crassus*, and *Titurius Sabinus*; but the Naval Fight against Those of *Vannes*, where *Cæsar* was present, the Reduction of that Place, his Expedition against the Inhabitants of *Terouenne*, and *Gueldres*, deserved at least some cursory mention, if it was only to preserve the Thread of the Narration, and the Order in which the Facts happened.

(2) It is in the Original in his *Ephemerides*; from whence it appears that *Plutarch* in this Place calls *Cæsar's* Commentaries his *Ephemerides*; and This is what *Rualdus* has laid to his Charge. For they were two Works of a different Nature *Cæsar's* *Ephemerides* were Journals

sent Ambassadors to treat with him, did during the Treaty set upon him in his March, by which means with eight hundred Men they routed five thousand of his Horse, who did not suspect their coming; that afterwards they sent other Ambassadors to pursue the same fraudulent Practices, whom he kept in Custody, and led on his Army against the *Barbarians*, as judging it would betray too much Easiness, if he should keep Faith with Those who broke their Promises, and could not be obliged by any League. *Canusius* saith, that when the Senate decreed Festivals and Sacrifices for this Victory, *Cato* declared it to be his Opinion, that *Cæsar* ought to be given into the Hands of the *Barbarians*; that so the Guilt which this Breach of Faith might otherwise bring upon the Publick, might be expiated by transferring the Curse on Him, who was the Occasion of it. Of Those who past the *Rhine* there were four hundred thousand cut off; the Few who escaped were sheltered by the *Sicambri*, a People of *Germany*.

(1) *Cæsar* took hold of this Pretence to invade the *Germans*, being otherwise ambitious of Glory, and especially of the Honour of being the first Man that should pass the *Rhine* with an Army. He presently laid a Bridge over it, though it was very

nals, wherein he minuted down every thing as it occurred day after day; and his Commentaries are a regular History of his Expeditions as they were performed annually. These last are ὑπομνήματα, and the Other ἐφημερίδες, Diaries. *Servius* takes Notice of this Diary, and relates an odd Adventure which happened to *Cæsar* on that Account. *Plutarch* therefore ought not to have jumbled those two Works together.

(1) The Enemies Horse, who

were absent at the Engagement, sheltered themselves among the *Sicambri*, to whom *Cæsar* sent his Summons requiring them to deliver up to him that Body of Horse which had engaged in a War against him; They replied that the *Rhine* was the Boundary of the *Roman* Empire in those Parts, and that as he would not allow the *Germans* to pass that River without his Consent, so it was not reasonable in Him to extend his Dominions beyond it.

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wide,

wide, and in that place deeper than ordinary, and at the same time rough and fierce, carrying down with its Stream Trunks of Trees, and other Lumber, which much shocked and weakened the Foundations of his Bridge. But he drove great Planks of Wood into the bottom of the River above the Bridge, both to resist the Impression of such Bodies, and to break the force of the Torrent; and by this means he finished his Bridge, which no one who saw could believe it to be the Work but of Ten Days. In the Passage of his Army over it, he met with no Opposition, the *Suevi* themselves, who are the most Warlike People of all *Germany*, flying with their Effects into the closest and most woody part of the Vales. When he had burnt all the Enemy's Country, and encouraged Those who had remained firm to the *Roman* Interest, he went back into *Gaul*, after Eighteen Days stay in *Germany*.

But his Expedition into *Britain* gave the most signal Testimony of his Courage; for He was the First who brought a Navy into the Western Ocean, or who sailed through the *Atlantick* with an Army to make War; and though the Island is of so incredible an extent, that it has given room to Historians to dispute, (1) whether such an Island really be in Nature, or whether it is a bare Name and Fiction; yet he attempted to conquer it, and to carry the *Roman* Empire beyond the Limits of the known World. He passed thither twice from that Part of *Gaul* which lies over-against it, and in several Battels which he fought, did more Dis-

(1) How could the *Romans* doubt of its Existence, since the *Gauls* were continually receiving Assistance from it? They did not question but that there was such an Island, but they doubted whether those mighty Things were true, which were reported of it. For Fable makes bold with Things unknown as with its own peculiar Property.

service to the Enemy, than Service to himself; for the Islanders were so miserably poor, that they had nothing worth being plundered of. When he found himself unable to put such an end to the War as he wished, he was content to take Hostages from the King, and to impose some Taxes, and then quitted the Island.

At his Arrival in *Gaul*, he found Letters which lay ready to be conveyed over the Water to him, from his Friends at *Rome*, to give him notice of his Daughter's Death, who died in Labour of a Child by *Pompey*. *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were much afflicted with her Death, nor were their Friends less disturbed; because that Alliance was now quite broke, which had hitherto kept the Commonwealth in Peace and Amity; for the Child also died within a few Days after the Mother. The People took the Body of *Julia* by force from the Tribunes, and buried it in the *Campus Martius*, with all the Solemnities proper on that Occasion.

(1) *Cæsar's* Army was now grown very numerous, so that he was forced to disperse them into several Winter-Quarters, and being gone himself towards *Italy* according to Custom, there was a sudden Rupture in *Gaul*, and great Armies were on their March about the Country, who beat up the

(1) This Army consisted of eight Legions. He tells us Himself, *lib. v.* that an excessive Draught had caused a Scarcity in the Country, which constrained him to separate his Troops for their better Subsistence, and that he did not quit them 'till he saw them well secured, and settled in their Quarters. The only Thing that can possibly be condemned in him was his fixing his Quarters at too great a Distance, which put it out of their Power of assisting one Another in time, when there should be Occasion. *Cæsar* seems to justify himself from that Reproach in his fifth Book, where he saith that all those Legions, except One which was quartered at a greater Distance, but in a quiet Country, where no Danger was to be feared, were posted within a compass of twenty five, or thirty Leagues, but the Geographers find it to be of a larger Extent.

Roman

Roman Quarters, and attempted to make themselves Masters of the Forts where they lay. The greatest and strongest Party of the Rebels, under the Command of *Ambiorix*, (1) cut off *Cotta*, and *Titurius*, with their Army. After That the Enemies invested a Town, (where *Q. Cicero* lay with his Legion) with an Army of sixty thousand Men, (2) and had almost taken it by Storm, the *Roman* Soldiers in it being all wounded, and having quite spent themselves, by a brisk and vigorous Defence, beyond their natural Strength: But *Cæsar*, who was at a great distance, having received notice of This, quickly got together seven thousand Men, and hastened to relieve *Cicero*. The Besiegers being informed of his March raised the Siege, and went with all their Forces to meet him, presuming upon their own Strength, and the Weakness of the Enemy. *Cæsar*, to nourish their Presumption, seemed to avoid Fighting, and kept retreating as if he had been afraid of them, 'till he found a Place

(1) *Plutarch* skims This over too hastily, without saying one Word of the Treachery of *Ambiorix*, which he ought to have enlarged upon as a most material Circumstance. When *Ambiorix* had cut off Those who had been sent to cut Wood, and prepare Fascines, he assaulted the Camp, but being repulsed with a considerable loss he sent and demanded a Conference, in which he pretended to be one of *Cæsar's* faithful Friends, and as such advised *Sabinus* to think of a Retreat before it was too late, because a great Body of the *Germans* had passed the *Rhine*, and would be up with him in two days time. When This was publickly known the whole Camp was in an Uproar. *Cotta* was against retiring, but *Sabinus's* Opi-

nion to the contrary prevailed. Accordingly they decamped by break of day, and had hardly begun their March before they were surrounded by the *Gauls*, and cut in Pieces.

(2) They renewed their Attacks for several times without Intermision. *Ambiorix* endeavoured to trick *Cicero*, as he had done *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, but He was not so easily to be imposed upon, knowing very well that an Enemy's Advice was not to be followed. Hereupon they renewed the Assault with fresh Fury, and here happened the Adventure of those two brave Centurions *Pulsio*, and *Verenus*; an Adventure as beautiful as any of the most ingenious Fictions in Poetry.

conveniently situate for a Few to engage against Many, where he encamped. He with-held his Soldiers from making any Incurſion on the Enemy, and commanded them to raiſe a Bulwark, and to build ſtrong Barricadoes, that by ſhew of Fear, they might heighten the Enemy's Contempt of them; 'till at laſt they came without any order in great Security to make an Attack, when he made a Sally, and put them to Flight with the Loſs of many Men. This quieted many Commotions in theſe parts of *Gaul*, and *Cæſar* made his Progreſs thro' ſeveral parts of the Country, and with great vigilance provided againſt all Innovations. At that time there were Three Legions come to him by way of Recruits for the Men he had loſt; of which *Pompey* furniſhed him with Two out of Thoſe under his Command; the Other was newly raiſed in that part of *Gaul* which is by the *Po*.

(1) After This the Seeds of War, which had long ſince been ſecretly ſown and ſcattered by the moſt powerful Men in thoſe warlike Nations, broke forth, and ripened into the greateſt and moſt dangerous War that ever was in thoſe Parts, both for the number of Men, in the vigour of their Youth, and quantity of Arms, which were gathered from all Parts, and the vaſt Funds of Money laid up for this Purpoſe, and the ſtrength of Towns, and ſituation of Places by which they were inacceſſible. It being Winter, the Rivers were frozen, the Woods covered with Snow, and the Fields overflowed; ſo that in ſome Places the Ways were loſt through the Depth of the Snow; in Others,

(1) *Plutarch* ſkips over the whole ſixth Book of *Cæſar's* Commentaries, tho' it contains many conſiderable Paſſages that happened between the Victory laſt mentioned and the Affair with *Vercingetorix*, of which he is going to give an Account, ſuch as the Defeat of the *Treviri*, *Cæſar's* ſecond Paſſage over the *Rhine*, and the Purſuit of *Ambiorix*.

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the overflowing of Bogs and Brooks made the Passage very dangerous: All which Difficulties made it seem impracticable to *Cæsar* to make any Attempt upon the Rebels. Many States had revolted together; the chief of them were the *Arverni* and *Carnutes*; the General who had the Supreme Command in War was *Vercingetorix*, whose Father the *Gauls* had put to death on suspicion he affected absolute Government. He having disposed his Army in several Bodies, and set Officers over them, drew over to him all the Countries round about as far as Those that lye upon *Arar*, and having Intelligence of the Opposition which *Cæsar's* Affairs now found at *Rome*, thought to engage all *Gaul* in the War. Which if he had done a little later, when *Cæsar* was taken up with the Civil Wars, *Italy* had been put into as great Fears, as before it was by the *Cimbri*. But at this time *Cæsar*, who was of a Genius naturally fitted to make a right use of all Advantages in War, as soon as he heard of the Revolt, returned immediately the same way he went, and shewed the *Barbarians*, by the quickness of his March in such a tempestuous Season, that the Army which was advancing against them was invincible. For in the time that one would have thought it scarce credible that a Courier, or Express, should have come so far, he appeared with all his Army. In his March he ravaged the Country, demolished the Forts, received into his Protection Those who declared for him; 'till at last the *Hedui* opposed him, who before had stiled themselves Brethren to the *Romans*, and had been much honoured by them, but now joined the Rebels, to the great Discouragement of *Cæsar's* Army. Wherefore he removed thence, and past the Country of the *Lingones*, desiring to touch upon the Territories of the *Sequani*, who were his Allies, and are
situate

situate next to *Italy* upon the Confines of *Gaul*.

(1) There the Enemy who had followed him, came upon him, attacked his Troops as they were on their March, and surrounded him with many Myriads: they fell with all their Horse upon his two Wings, and the Front of his Army, at one and the same time. *Cæsar*, without appearing disconcerted in the least, divided his Horse into three Parties, and stood the Brunt of the *Barbarians*. The Fight was maintained with great Obstinacy for some time, and with great Effusion of Blood; 'till at length *Cæsar*, (2) by means of some *Germans*, whom he had received into his Troops, and who having gained an advantageous Eminence, behaved themselves with much Bravery, broke the main body of the *Barbarians*, and totally defeated them. But he seems to have received some check at the Beginning of this War, for the *Averni* shew to this day a Sword hanging up in one of their Temples, which they say was taken from *Cæsar*. It is certain that when it was shewn him a long time after, he laughed at it, and when some of his Friends were for having it taken down he would not suffer it, but looked on it as a thing consecrated.

After the Defeat, a great part of Those who had escaped, fled with their King into a Town called

(1) This Passage is very obscure in the Text, where it is too much cramped and abridged, so that the Interpreters have made a bungling Piece of Work of it, for want of Consulting the Account as it stands in the Seventh Book of *Cæsar's* Commentaries, which *Plutarch* had in his Eye in this Place. We hope it will not be unacceptable to the Reader to find it cleared up from the Original.

(2) It is in the Greek τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καταπολεμῶν, which

seems to be unintelligible. I am persuaded that there is an egregious Fault in the Text, and that it ought to be read τοῖς Γερμανοῖς καταπολεμῶν: and This is justified from *Cæsar's* own Words, for he saith in express terms, that the *Germans* having gained the Top of a rising Ground, and driven off the *Barbarians*, caused the rest of the Enemy's Army to take to their Heels; tandem Germani ab dextro latere summum jugum nostri hostes loco depellunt, &c. Lib. vii.

Alexia,

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Alexia, which *Cæsar* besieged, though for the height of the Walls, and number of Those who were in Garrison, it seemed impregnable. During the Siege, he found himself exposed to a Danger so great, as to surpass even Imagination, nor is it to be thought on without Amazement. For the choice Men of *Gaul*, picked out of each Nation, and well Armed, came to relieve *Alexia*, (1) to the number of three hundred thousand; nor were there in the Town less than one hundred and seventy thousand: So that *Cæsar* being shut up betwixt two such Armies, was forced to raise two Walls, One towards the Town, the Other against the new Supplies, as knowing if these Forces should join, his Affairs would be intirely ruined. The Danger that he underwent before *Alexia*, did justly gain him great Honour, and gave him an Opportunity of shewing greater Instances of his Valour and Conduct, than any other Battel ever did. One would wonder very much how he should engage and defeat so many Thousands of Men without the Town, (2) and not be perceived by Those within: But much more, that the *Romans* Themselves, who guarded their Wall

(1) At a general Review which passed in the *Autunois*, it appeared that they had eight thousand Horse, and two hundred and forty thousand Foot. What likelyhood was there that *Cæsar* should be able to resist so powerful an Army, especially being at the same time to guard himself against the Forces in *Alexia*, which amounted to seventy thousand in Number, and upwards.

(2) I cannot conceive what Memoirs *Plutarch* followed in this Account, for *Cæsar* Himself tells us that when They in the Town observed what was passing without: they went, and congratulated

the Others upon their Arrival. How could *Plutarch* think it possible to conceal from them the Approach of three hundred thousand Men? It was not to be done. But he makes it still more wonderful, for he saith that *Cæsar's* own Troops who guarded the Wall next the Town, knew nothing of the Victory, 'till they heard the Cries and Lamentations of the Women in *Alexia*; and This is likewise contrary to the Account given us by *Cæsar*, who saith that he drew up his Army in order of Battel upon Both the Walls of Circumvallation, to the end they might All know where they were to engage.

Wall which was next the Town, should be Strangers to it. For even They knew nothing of the Victory, 'till they heard the cries of the Men, and lamentations of the Women, who were in the Place, and had from thence seen the *Romans* at a distance carrying into their Camp a great quantity of Bucklers, adorned with Gold and Silver, many Breast-plates stained with Blood, besides Cups and Tents made after the *Gallic* Mode. So soon was so vast an Army diffipated, and vanished like a Ghost or Dream, the greatest part of them being killed upon the Spot. Those who were in *Alexia*, after they had given Themselves as well as *Cæsar* much Trouble, surrendered at last; and *Vercingetorix*, who was the chief Spring of all the War, with his best Armour on, and well mounted, rode out of the Gates, and took a Turn about *Cæsar* as he was sitting; then quitted his Horse, threw off his Armour, and laid himself quietly at *Cæsar's* Feet, who committed him to Custody to be reserved for a Triumph.

Cæsar had long since designed to ruin *Pompey*, and *Pompey* Him; for *Crassus*, who was the only Person capable, in case either of them was overpowered, to take up the Cudgels, and make head against the Other, had hitherto kept them in due Bounds; but being now slain in *Parthia*, the One wanted nothing to make himself the greatest Man in *Rome*, but the Fall of Him who was so: Nor had the Other any way to prevent his own Ruin, but by being before-hand with Him whom he feared. *Pompey* indeed had not been long under such Apprehensions, having 'till that time despised *Cæsar*, as thinking it no difficult matter to crush Him whom he Himself had advanced. But *Cæsar* had entertained this Design from the beginning against his gage. Without doubt *Plutarch* he relyed; but he ought to have had met with some spurious Relations of that Affair, upon which consulted the Original.

Rivals,

The L I F E of

Rivals, and had retired like an expert Wrestler, to prepare himself for the Combat: He had improved the strength of his Soldiery by exercising them in the *Gallic Wars*, and had heightened his own Glory by his great Actions, so that he was looked on as one that vied with *Pompey*. Nor did he let go any of those Advantages, which were now given him by *Pompey* Himself, and the Times, and the ill Government of *Rome*, whereby All who were Candidates for Offices publicly gave Money, and without any Shame bribed the People, who having received their Pay, did not contend for their Benefactors with their bare Suffrages, but with Bows, Swords, and Slings; so that they seldom parted without having stained the Place of Election with the Blood of Men killed upon the Spot, by which the City was brought to Confusion like a Ship without a Pilot; so that the wiser Part wished things which were carried on with so much Tumult and Fury, might end no worse than in a Monarchy. Some were so bold as to declare openly, that the Government was incurable but by a Monarchy, and that they ought to take that Remedy from the Hands of the gentlest Physician, meaning *Pompey*; who though in Words he pretended to decline it, yet in Reality he made his utmost Efforts to be declared Dictator. *Cato* perceiving his Design, prevailed with the Senate to make him Sole Consul, that he might not aim at the Dictatorship, being taken off with the Offer of a more legal sort of Monarchy. They over and above voted him the Continuance of his Provinces; for he had Two, *Spain*, and all *Afric*, which he governed by his Deputies, and maintained Armies under him, at the yearly Charge of ten thousand Talents out of the publick Treasury. Upon This *Cæsar* also, by his Proxies, demanded the Consulate, and the Continuance of his Provinces. *Pompey* at first did not
 stir

stir in it, but it was opposed by *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* who had always hated *Cæsar*, and now did every thing, whether fit or unfit, which might disgrace and expose him : For they took away the Freedom of *Rome* from the *Neocomians*, who were a Colony that *Cæsar* had lately planted in *Gaul*; and *Marcellus*, who was then Consul, ordered one of the Senators of that City, then at *Rome*, to be whipt; and told him, he laid that Mark upon him to let him know he was no Citizen of *Rome*, bidding him, when He went back, to shew it *Cæsar*.

After *Marcellus*'s Consulate was expired, *Cæsar* opened the immense Treasures he had been heaping up in *Gaul*, and suffered Such as had any Weight or Interest in the Government to draw from thence what Sums they pleased. He discharged *Curio*, the Tribune, from his great Debts; gave *Paulus*, then Consul, one thousand five hundred Talents, with which he built a noble Palace joining to the *Forum*, in the Place where That of *Fulvius* had stood. *Pompey*, jealous of these Preparations, did now openly practise both by Himself, and his Friends, to have a Successor declared to *Cæsar*, and sent to redemand those Soldiers whom he had lent him to carry on the Wars in *Gaul*. *Cæsar* readily dismiss them, having first presented each Soldier with a Donative of two hundred and fifty *Drachmas*. Those who conducted them to *Pompey*, spread amongst the People no very favourable Report of *Cæsar*, and flattered *Pompey* Himself with false Suggestions that he was wished for by *Cæsar*'s Army; and though his Affairs at *Rome* were in an ill Posture, through the Envy of Some, and the ill State of the Government, yet There the Army was at his Command, and upon their first Entrance into *Italy*, would declare for him; so uneasy were they under *Cæsar*, who had engaged them in so many hazardous Expeditions, and so suspicious of him, as

aspiring to the Monarchy. Upon This *Pompey* grew careless, and neglected all Warlike Preparations, as fearing no Danger, but attacked him with Words only, and Speeches, thinking to conquer by a Majority of Votes, which *Cæsar* slighted. For it is said, that one of his Captains, who was sent by him to *Rome*, standing before the Senate-house one Day, and being told, that the Senate would not give *Cæsar* a longer time in his Government, clapped his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and said, *But This Shall*. Yet the Demands which *Cæsar* made had the fairest Colours of Equity imaginable; for he proposed to lay down his Arms, and that *Pompey* should do the Same, and Both together should become private Men, and each expect a Reward of his Services from the Publick; for that Those who went to disarm Him, and at the same time confirmed *Pompey's* Power, only supported the One to establish the Other in his Tyranny. When *Curio* made these Proposals to the People in *Cæsar's* Name, he was mightily applauded, and Some threw Garlands towards him, and dismissed him as they do Wrestlers, crowned with Flowers. At that very Instant *Antony*, being then Tribune, produced a Letter sent from *Cæsar* on this Occasion, and read it, though the Consuls did what they could to oppose it. But *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Father-in-Law, proposed in the Senate, that if *Cæsar* did not lay down his Arms within such a time, he should be voted an Enemy; and the Consuls putting it to the Question, *whether Pompey should dismiss his Soldiers*; and again, *whether Cæsar should disband His*; (1) very few assented to the First, but almost

(1) *Dion* saith, there was not a Man for *Pompey's* disbanding His Troops, and that on the contrary they One and All voted that *Cæsar* should dismiss His. Only *Cæsius* and *Curio* stood up for *Cæsar*. | And This is no Wonder; *Pompey* was that Instant at the Gates of *Rome* with a powerful Army, which was an effectual Means to carry a Majority in the Senate.

All to the Latter. But *Antony* proposing again, that Both should lay down their Commissions, All unanimously agreed to it. *Scipio* was upon this very violent, and *Lentulus* the Consul cried aloud, That they had need of *Arms*, and not of *Suffrages* against a Robber; so that they were adjourned, and changed their Robes, in token of Grief for the Dissention.

Afterwards there came other Letters from *Cæsar*, which seemed yet more moderate; for he proposed to quit every thing else, and only to have *Gallia Cisalpina*, *Illyricum*, and two Legions, 'till he should stand a second time for Consul. *Cicero* the Orator, who was lately returned from *Cilicia*, endeavoured to reconcile Differences, and softened *Pompey*, who was willing to comply in other things, but not to allow him the Soldiers. At last *Cicero* prevailed with *Cæsar's* Friends, who were now more flexible, to accept of the Provinces, and six thousand Soldiers only, and so to make up the Quarrel. *Pompey* gave way to this, but *Lentulus* the Consul would not hearken to it, but drove *Antony* and *Curio* out of the House with Disgrace; by which they afforded *Cæsar* the handsomest Pretence that could be to enflame the Soldiers, by shewing them two Persons of such Worth and Authority, who were forced to escape in a common Hackney-Coach, in the Habits of Slaves; for so they were glad to disguise themselves, when they fled out of *Rome*. Now there were not about him at that time above three hundred Horse, and five thousand Foot; for the rest of his Army, which was left behind the *Alps*, was to be brought after him by Persons commissioned for that Purpose. But he thought the first Motion towards the Design which he had then on Foot, did not require many Forces at present, and that he ought to make his first Step so suddenly, as to surprize the adverse Party into an Admi-

ration of his Courage; for he esteemed it easier to Astonish them, if he came unawares, than fairly to Conquer them, if he had alarmed them by his Preparations; and therefore he commanded his Captains and other Officers, to go only with their Swords in their Hands, without any other Arms, and make themselves Masters of *Ariminum*, a great City of *Gaul*, with as little Noise and Bloodshed as possible. He committed the Care of the Army to *Hortensius*, and spent the Day in publick, as a Stander-by, and Spectator of the Gladiators, who Exercised before him. A little before Night he bathed, and then went into the Hall, and conversed for some time with Those he had invited to Supper. When it began to grow dusky, he rose from Table, and having complimented the Company, he desired them to stay 'till he came back, which he said, he should do very speedily. He had before This given private Orders to Some of his most intimate Friends to follow him, not All the same way; but Some one way, Some another, to avoid Observation. He Himself got into a Hackney-Coach, and drove at first another way, but on a sudden turned towards *Ariminum*.

When he was come to the River *Rubicon*, which parts *Gaul* that is within the *Alps* from the rest of *Italy*, his Thoughts began to work; now he was just entering upon Danger, and he wavered much in his Mind, when he considered coolly the difficulty of the Attempt. This stopt his Career for a while, and made him halt, while he revolved with himself, and often changed his Opinion one way, and the other, without speaking a Word. When he could not fix his Resolution, he discust the Matter very particularly with his Friends who were about him, (of which number *Asinius Pollio* was One) computing how many Calamities his passing that River would bring upon Mankind, and what

a Relation of it would be transmitted to Posterity. At last, carried on by an extraordinary Impulse, he left off Reasoning, and trusted to the Event; using the Proverb frequently in their Mouths who enter upon dangerous and bold Attempts, *The Die is cast*; with which Words he took the River. When he was over, he used all Expedition possible, and before it was Day reached *Ariminum*, and took it. It is said, that the Night before he passed the River, (1) he had an impious Dream, for he dreamed that he was unnaturally familiar with his own Mother. As soon as *Ariminum* was taken, there was as it were a wide Gate opened to a War by Sea, as well as Land; and with the Limits of the *Provinces*, the Boundaries of the *Laws* were transgressed also: Nor would one have thought that the Inhabitants only, as at other times, fled from one Place to another in great Consternation, but that the very Towns themselves left their Stations, and fled for Succour into each other: So that the City of *Rome* was over-run as it were with a Deluge, by the Conflux of neighbouring People from all Parts round about; and was neither easy under the Government of its Magistrates, nor to be quieted by the Eloquence of any Orator, in this great Hurry and Confusion, but was in danger of sinking by its own Weight. For contrary Passions, and violent Motions, possessed all Places: Nor were Those who were interested in these Changes wholly at peace; but frequently meeting, as in so great a City they needs must, with such as shewed themselves fearful and dejected, brought Quarrels on themselves by their great Confidence and Presumption.

(1) And yet this Dream, impious as it was, contained in it a fortunate Prefage, according to the established Rules of Divination, for the Earth being esteemed the common Mother of Mankind, his Dream implied that he should bring it into Subjection.

Pompey, sufficiently of Himself disturbed, was yet more perplexed by the Clamours of Others; Some telling him that he justly suffered for having armed *Cæsar* against Himself, and the Government; Others blaming him for permitting *Cæsar* to be insolently used by *Lentulus*, when he made so large Concessions, and offered such reasonable Proposals towards an Accommodation. *Favonius* had him now stamp upon the Ground; for once talking big in the Senate, he desired them not to trouble themselves about making any Preparations for the War; for that He Himself, with one Stamp of his Foot, would fill all Italy with Soldiers. Yet still *Pompey* had more Forces than *Cæsar*, but he was not permitted to pursue his own Thoughts, but being continually alarmed with frightful and false Reports, as if the Enemy was just upon him, and Master of All, was forced to give way, and was born down by the common Cry. In this Distraction, it was resolved to leave the City, and the Senators were commanded to follow him, with an Order, that no one should stay behind who did not prefer Tyranny to their Country and Liberty. The Consuls presently fled, without making the usual Sacrifices; the Same did most of the Senators, carrying off their own Goods in as much haste as if they had been robbing their Neighbours. Some, who had formerly much favoured *Cæsar's* Cause, out of fear quitted their own Sentiments, and without any prospect of Good to Themselves, were carried along by the common Stream. It was a very melancholy View to see the City tost in these Tumults, like a Ship whose Pilot has given her over, and despairs of hindering her from being struck on the next Rock. Those who left the City, though their Departure was on so sad an Occasion, yet esteemed the place of their Exile to be their Country for *Pompey's* sake, and fled from *Rome*, as if it had been

Cæsar's

Cæsar's Camp. At the same time *Labienus*, a Person who had been one of *Cæsar's* best Friends, and his Lieutenant, and One who had fought by him very vigorously in the *Gallic Wars*, deserted him, and went over to *Pompey*. *Cæsar* sent all his Money and Equipage after him, and then sat down before *Corfinium*, which was Garrisoned with thirty Cohorts under the Command of *Domitius*. (1) He in Despair ordered a Slave of His, who was his Physician, to give him some Poison. The Slave accordingly gave him a Dose, which he swallowed in hopes of being dispatched by it: But soon after, when he was told that *Cæsar* used a wonderful Clemency towards Those he took Prisoners, he lamented his Misfortune, and blamed the hastiness of his own Resolution. But his Physician comforted him, when he acquainted him that he had taken a sleeping, not a poisonous Potion; with This he was very much pleased, and rising from his Bed, went presently over to *Cæsar*, and kissed his Hand, but afterwards revolted to *Pompey*.

When these Things came to be known at *Rome*, the Spirits of Such as remained in the City were wonderfully raised, and Many of Those who had fled returned to their Habitations. In the meantime *Cæsar's* Army being thus reinforced by *Domitius's* Soldiers, as likewise by Those *Pompey* had placed in Garrison in the several Towns in those Parts, became now so strong and formidable, that he advanced against *Pompey* Himself, who did not stay to receive him, but fled to *Brundisium*, having sent the Consuls before with the Army to *Dyrrachium*. Soon after, upon *Cæsar's* Approach, he set to Sea,

(1) *Cæsar* makes no mention of this Adventure; probably he had a mind to spare *Domitius*. It only appears that when many of them found there were no means left for their Escape, *Cæsar* having blocked them up on all sides, resolved to lay violent Hands on themselves.

as shall be more particularly related in his Life. *Cæsar* would have immediately pursued him, but wanted Shipping, and therefore went back to *Rome*, having without a drop of Blood spilt made himself Master of all *Italy* in the space of sixty Days. When he came thither, he found the City more quiet than he expected, and many Senators upon the Place, to whom he addressed himself with great Courtesie and Deference, desiring them to send to *Pompey* to treat of an Accommodation upon Conditions reasonable on both sides. But no Body complied with this Proposal; whether out of fear of *Pompey*, whom they had deserted, or that they thought *Cæsar* did not mean what he said, but deemed it his Interest to talk at that rate. Afterwards, when *Metellus* the Tribune would have hindered him from taking Money out of the Publick Treasury, and quoted some Laws against it; *Cæsar* replied, That *Arms and Laws did not well agree; and if you are displeas'd with what I do at present, Sir, retreat quietly, for War doth not admit long Speeches: When I have laid down my Arms, and entered into Terms of Peace, then come and Harangue as you please: And This I tell you in diminution of my own just Right, for indeed you are my Subject, as are all Those who have appeared against me, and are now in my Power.* Having said This to *Metellus*, he went to the Doors of the Treasury, and the Keys being not to be found, he sent for Smiths to force them open. *Metellus* again making Resistance, and Some encouraging him in it, *Cæsar* threatened to kill him, if he gave him any farther Disturbance: *And This, saith he, you know, young Man, is harder for me to Say, than to Do.* These Words made *Metellus* withdraw for fear, and at the same time gave way to *Cæsar's* being easily and readily supplied with all things necessary for the War.

Soon

Soon after This he marched into *Spain*, with a Resolution first to remove *Afranius* and *Varro*, *Pompey's* Lieutenants, and to make himself Master of the Army and Provinces under them, which when he had done, he thought he then might more securely advance against *Pompey*, when he had no Enemy left behind him. In this Expedition his Person was often in danger from Ambuscades, and his Army by want of Provisions, yet he did not desist from pursuing the Enemy, provoking them to fight, and besieging them, 'till by main Force he made himself Master of their Camps, and their Forces: Only the Officers got off, and fled to *Pompey*.

When *Cæsar* came back to *Rome*, *Piso* his Father-in-Law advised him to send Men to *Pompey*, to treat of a Peace; but *Isauricus*, to ingratiate himself with *Cæsar*, spoke against it. *Cæsar* after This being chosen *Dictator* by the Senate, he immediately called home the Exiles, advanced to Titles of Honour the Children of such as had suffered under *Sylla*, and eased such as were in debt by retrenching some part of the Interest. He also made some other Regulations much of the same Nature, but not Many: For within eleven Days he resigned his Dictatorship, and having declared himself Consul, with *Servilius Isauricus*, made haste to the Camp again. He marched so fast, that he left all his Army behind him, except six hundred chosen Horse, and five Legions, with which he put to Sea in the very middle of Winter, about the beginning of the Month *January*, which the *Athenians* call *Posideon*, and having past the *Ionian* Sea took *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, (1) and sent back the Ships to *Brundusi-*

(1) He sent them back under the Conduct of *Calenus*. But He sailing too late lost the Opportunity of the Wind, and fell in with *Bibulus*, who took thirty of his Ships, upon Whom he vented his Cholera, for he burnt them All with their Pilots and Sailors, on purpose to intimidate the Rest. *Cæs. Lib. iii.*

um, to bring over the Soldiers that were left behind in the March. These Soldiers, as they were upon the Road, being very much wasted in their Bodies, and tired with the Fatigue of so many Engagements, talked against *Cæsar* after this manner: *When at last, and where will this Cæsar let us be quiet? He carries us from Place to Place, and uses us as if we were not to be worn out, and had no sense of Labour. Even our Iron itself is spent by Blows, and we ought to have some pity on our Bucklers and Breast-plates, which have been used so long. Doth not Cæsar gather from our Wounds, that we are mortal Men, whom he commands? And that we are subject to the same Calamities and Diseases, as other Mortals are? It is impossible even for a God to force the Winter-Season, or to hinder the Storms, when they rage; yet He pushes forward, as if he were not Pursuing, but Flying from an Enemy.* This was their Discourse as they marched leisurely towards *Brundisium*. But when they came thither, and found that *Cæsar* was gone off before them, they changed their Sentiments, and blamed themselves as Traitors to their General. They now railed at their Officers for marching so slowly, and placing themselves on the Promontories by the Seaside over-against *Epirus*, looked out to see if they could espy the Vessels which were to transport them to *Cæsar*. He in the mean time was posted in *Apollonia*, but had not an Army with him able to fight the Enemy, the Forces from *Brundisium* being so long a coming, which put him into a great suspense and loss what to do. At last he entered upon a dangerous Project, which was to go in a Vessel of twelve Oars, without any one's knowledge, over to *Brundisium*, though the Sea was at that time covered with a vast Fleet of the Enemies. He embarked in the Night-time in the habit of a Slave, and throwing himself down like some inconsiderable Fellow, lay along at the bottom of
the

the Vessel. The River (1) *Anius* was to carry them down to Sea, and there used to blow a gentle Gale every Morning from the Land, which made it very calm towards the Mouth of the River, by driving the Waves forward; but very unluckily that Night there sprung a strong Wind from the Sea, which overpowered That from the Land; so that betwixt the violence of the Tide, and the resistance of the Waves against it, the River was very rough, and so uneven and dangerous that the Pilot could not make good his Passage, but ordered his Sailors to tack about. *Cæsar* upon This discovered himself, and taking the Pilot by the Hand, who was surprized to see Him there, said, *Go on boldly, my Friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and His Fortune along with thee.* The Mariners, when they heard That, forgot the Storm; and laying all their Strength to their Oars, did what they could to force their Way down the River. But when it was to no purpose, and the Vessel now took in much Water, *Cæsar* finding himself in so great Danger in the very mouth of the River, permitted the Master, tho' much against his Will, to turn back. When he was come back to his Camp his Soldiers ran to him in whole Troops, and exprest how much they were troubled, that he should think himself not strong enough to get a Victory by their sole Assistance, but must needs disturb himself, and expose his Person for Those who were absent, as if he could not trust to Them who were with him.

Soon after This, (2) *Antony* came over with the Forces from *Brundisium*, (3) which encouraged *Cæsar*

(1) This is a River in *Epire*, *Strabo* calls it *Aous*, and saith it ran within ten Furlongs of *Apollonia*.

(2) *Antony* and *Calenus* embarked on board the Vessels, which had escaped *Bibulus*, eight hundred Horse, and four Legions, that is,

three old ones, and One that had been new raised, and when They were landed *Antony* sent back the Ships to transport the rest of the Forces that were left behind.

(3) *Plutarch* speaks here of what passed in *Dyrrachium*, a Maritime Town in *Epire*, and takes little or

far to give Pompey Battel, though he was encamped very advantageously, and furnished with plenty of Provisions both by Sea and Land, whilst He himself, who at first had been but ill stocked, was now at last extremely pinched for want of Necessaries, (1) so that his Soldiers were forced to dig a kind of Root which grew there, and tempering it with Milk, to feed on it. Sometimes they made Loaves, and in their Incurfions on the Enemy's Out-guards would throw in those Loaves, telling them, That as long as the Earth produced such Roots they would not leave off to besiege Pompey. But Pompey took what care he could, that neither the Loaves, nor the Words, should reach his Men; for they would have been disheartened at the Fierceness and Hardiness of their Enemies, and looked upon them as a Kin to the savage Nature of wild Beasts. There were continual Skirmishes about Pompey's Out-works, in all which Cæsar had the better, (2) except one; when his Men were forced to fly in such a manner, that he had like to

no Notice of Other more remarkable Occurrences, and the new way of making War. Cæsar besieged an Army much stronger than his Own; an Army that had never met with any Rebuff, and abounded with every thing; for the Wind, from what Quarter soever it blew, brought Him Provisions; whereas That of Cæsar was reduced to the last Extremity. Nothing can be more instructive to a Person who has chosen War for his Occupation, than to read it at large in Cæsar's Third Book.

(1) Cæsar tells us, that in this Extremity Such of the Army as had been with Valerius in Sardinia, found out the way of making Bread of a certain Root called Clara, which they steeped in Milk,

and that when the Enemy insulted them on Account of the starving Condition they were in, they threw out several of those Loaves among them, to put them out of all hopes of subduing them by Famine.

(2) He speaks here of what happened one Night, when Pompey having caused a Body of Archers, and light-armed Infantry, whose Helmets were covered with Oser, to embark on board some small Vessels which he had prepared for them, and to take with them a sufficient Quantity of Fascines provided for that Purpose, made a Draught of sixty Cohorts from his Camp and Fortifications, and went and attacked those Retrenchments of Cæsar which were nearest the Sea, and farthest from his Quarters.

have

have lost his Camp. For *Pompey* made such a vigorous Sally on them, that not a Man stood his ground; the Trenches were filled with dead Bodies; Many fell upon their own Ramparts and Bulwarks, being closely pursued by the Enemy. *Cæsar* met them, and would have turned them back, but could not. When he went to lay hold of the Colours, (1) Those who carried them threw them down, so that the Enemies took thirty two of them. He himself narrowly escaped; for taking hold of a big lusty Fellow that was flying by him, he bid him stand, and face about; but the Fellow, full of Apprehensions from the Danger he was in, began to handle his Sword as if he would strike *Cæsar*; and had done it, had not *Cæsar's* Armour-bearer prevented the Blow, by chopping off the Man's Arm.

Cæsar's Affairs were so desperate at that time, that when *Pompey*, either through Fear or his ill Fortune, did not give the finishing Stroke to that great Action, but retreated after he had shut up the Enemy within their Camp; *Cæsar*, upon his return, said to his Friends, *The Victory to-day had been on our Enemies Side, if they had had a General who knew how to conquer.* When he was retired into his Tent, he laid himself down to Sleep, but spent that Night the most melancholy that he ever did any, being perplexed in his Thoughts for his ill Conduct in this War: For when he had a large Country before him, and all the Wealthy Cities of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, he had neglected to carry the

(1) What *Plutarch* mentions here did not happen at that time when *Pompey* attacked the Entrenchments, but at another Attack which *Cæsar* made upon a Post, where he understood lay one of *Pompey's* Legions. This proved a brisk Engagement, wherein *Cæsar* was worsted, not so much

by the Valour of the Enemy, as the Separation of his own Troops, the Disadvantage of the Place, and Disorder among his Soldiers. He saith Himself, that in these two Attacks he lost nine hundred and sixty Men, among Whom were several *Roman* Knights, and thirty Tribunes and Centurions, *Lib. 3.*

War thither, and had sat down by the Sea-side, whilst his Enemies had such a powerful Fleet; so that he seemed rather to be besieged with want of Necessaries, than to besiege Others with his Arms. Being thus distracted in his Thoughts with the view of the ill Posture he stood in, he raised his Camp, with a design to advance towards *Scipio*, who lay in *Macedonia*; for he hoped either to draw *Pompey* where he should fight without the Advantage he now had of Supplies from the Sea, or overpower *Scipio*, if not assisted. This animated *Pompey's* Army and Officers so far, that they were for pursuing *Cæsar*, as One that was worsted and flying. But *Pompey* was afraid to hazard a Battel, on which so much depended, and being himself provided with all Necessaries for a considerable time, thought to tire out, and waste the Vigour of *Cæsar's* Army, which could not last long; for the best part of his Men, though they had much Experience, and shewed an irresistible Courage in all Engagements, yet by their frequent Marches, changing their Camps, assaulting of Towns, and long Watches, were so broken, and so much exhausted with Age, that their Bodies were unfit for Labour, and their Courage cooled by their Years. Besides, it is said that a Pestilential Disease, occasioned by their irregular Diet, raged in *Cæsar's* Army; and what was of greatest moment, he was neither furnished with Money nor Provisions, so that in a little time he must needs fall of Himself. For these Reasons *Pompey* had no mind to fight him, and was thanked for it by none but *Cato*, who was pleased with it out of his Zeal to preserve his Fellow-Citizens. For when he saw the dead Bodies of Those who had fallen in the last Battel on *Cæsar's* side to the number of a Thousand, he went away, covered his Face, and wept. The rest reproached *Pompey* for declining to fight, and called him *Agamemnon*, and the

the King of Kings, as One that had no mind to lay down his Sovereign Authority, but was pleased to see so many great Commanders waiting on him, and paying their Attendance at his Tent. *Favonius*, who affected *Cato's* free way of speaking his Mind, complained bitterly, that they should eat no Figs that Year at *Tusculum* by reason of *Pompey's* Ambition to be Monarch. *Afranius*, who was lately returned out of *Spain*, and by reason of the ill Campaign he had made, was suspected by *Pompey* to have betrayed the Army for Money, asked him, *Why he did not fight that Merchant, who had made such Purchases?* *Pompey* was compelled by this kind of Language to give *Cæsar* Battel, though against his own Sentiments, and in order to it pursued him.

Cæsar had found great Difficulties in his March, for no Country would supply him with Provisions, his Reputation being very much sunk since his last Defeat. But when he had taken (1) *Gomphi*, a Town of *Theffaly*, by Assault, he not only found Provisions for his Army, but Physick too. For there they met with plenty of Wine, which they took off very freely; heated with This, and fired with the God, they jollily danced along, and so shook off their Disease, and changed their whole Constitution.

When the two Armies were come into *Pharfallia*, and Both encamped there, *Pompey's* Thoughts ran the same way as they had done before, against Fighting; and the more, because of some unlucky Presages, and an odd Vision he had in a Dream.

(1) *Androphenus*, or *Androthechinus*, commanded in the Place. *Cæsar*, who saw how material it was to his Service to make himself Master of it before *Pompey* or *Scipio* could come up to relieve it, was no sooner arrived but he attacked it on every side at once. The Assault began about Three in the Afternoon and tho' the Walls were very high he carried it before Sun set.

For

For he dreamed that the People received him with great Applause upon his going into the *Theater*, and that he himself did adorn the Chappel of *Venus the Victorious* with many rich Spoils. This Vision encouraged him on the one Hand from the Applause he seemed to have received from the People; but then on the other side he was concerned when he considered that *Cæsar* pretended to derive his Family from *Venus*, and the Vision seemed to foretell that He Himself should with his own Spoils illustrate the Splendor and Glory of that Descendant of the Goddess.

Notwithstanding This, whatever *Pompey's* Thoughts were, Some about him were so confident of Success, that (1) *Domitius*, *Spinther* and *Scipio*, as if they had already conquered, quarrelled which should succeed *Cæsar* in the Pontificate: And Many sent to *Rome* to take Houses fit to accommodate Consuls and Prætors, as being sure of entering upon those Offices, as soon as the Battel was over. The Cavalry especially were eager to fight, as being well Armed, and bravely Mounted, and valuing themselves upon the clean shapes of their Horses, and the advantage of their Numbers, for they were five thousand against one thousand of *Cæsar's*. Nor was their Infantry better matched, there being forty five thousand of *Pompey's* against twenty two thousand of the Enemy. *Cæsar* drew up his Soldiers, and told them that *Cornificius* was coming up to them with two Legions, and that fifteen Companies more under *Calenus* were posted at *Megara* and *Athens*; he asked them, whether they would stay 'till They joined them, or would hazard the Battel by themselves. They One and All beseeched him not

(1) *Cæsar* has put this Contest in a very ridiculous Light, as may be seen in the Remarks upon the Life of *Pompey*, Vol. V. Their Thoughts ran not so much upon conquering, as in what manner to share and enjoy the Fruits of their Conquests.

to wait a Moment, but to put himself at their Head, and by some Stratagem or Other entice the Enemy to an Engagement. His first Care was to purify his Army by a Sacrifice; and upon the death of the first Victim, the Augur told him, within three Days he should come to a decisive Action. *Cæsar* asked him, *Whether he saw any thing in the Entrails, which promised an happy Event? That, saith the Priest, you can best answer your self; for the Gods signifie a great alteration from the present posture of Affairs; if therefore you think your self happy now, expect worse Fortune; if unhappy, hope for Better.* The Night before the Battel, as he walked the Rounds about Midnight, he saw a Light in the Heaven very bright and flaming, which seemed to pass over *Cæsar's* Camp, and fall into *Pompey's*; and when *Cæsar's* Soldiers came to relieve the Watch in the Morning, they perceived a Panic Fear among the Enemies. (1) However he was so far from expecting to fight that day that he gave the signal for decamping, and designed to march towards *Scotusa*: But when the Tents were taken down, his Scouts rode up to him, and told him the Enemy were marching out of their Retrenchments in order to give him Battel. With This he was very much pleased, and having performed his Devotions to the Gods, he set his Army in Battalia, dividing them into three Bodies. Over the middlemost he placed *Domitius-Calvinus*: *Antony* commanded the Left Wing, and He Himself the Right,

(1) *Cæsar* perceivung there was no attacking *Pompey*, who was commodiously posted on the higher Ground, without great disadvantage, and despairing to draw him to an Engagement, thought it most convenient to remove, hoping by his frequent Decampings to provide better for his Troops, and harrass his Enemies; besides it might possibly offer him a favourable Opportunity of Fighting, which indeed happened sooner than he expected, for they had hardly struck their Tents when they observed *Pompey* marching out of his Entrenchments.

being resolved to fight at the Head of the tenth Legion. But when he saw the Enemy's Cavalry planted against him, being struck with their Bravery, and their Number, he gave private Orders, that six Companies from the Rear of the Army should advance to him, whom he posted behind the Right Wing, and instructed them what they should do, when the Enemy's Horse came to charge. On the other side, (1) *Pompey* commanded the Right Wing, *Domitius* the Left, and *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Father-in-Law, the Main Body. The whole Weight of the Cavalry was in the Left Wing, who designed to attack the Right of the Enemy, and press that part most which the General Himself commanded: For they thought no Body of Foot could be so deep as to bear such a shock, but that they must necessarily be broken to pieces, upon the first Impression of so strong a Cavalry. When they were ready on both sides to give the Signal for Battel, *Pompey* commanded his Foot who were in the Front to stand their Ground, and without breaking their Order, receive quietly the Enemy's first Attack, 'till they came within Javelin's cast. (2) *Cæsar* blamed this Conduct, and said, *Pompey* was not aware that the first Charge, if it were brisk and fierce, gave weight to every Stroke, and raised a general warmth of Soul, which was easily kept alive and improved by the Concurrence of the

(1) *Cæsar* tells us the quite contrary; he saith *Pompey* was on the Left. *Pompey* was on the Left Wing with the two Legions returned him by *Cæsar*. On the Right was posted the Legion of Cilicia with the Cohorts brought by *Afranius* out of Spain, which he esteemed the Flower of his Army; *Scipio* commanded the main Body which was composed of the Syrian Legions. He does not Name the

Officer who had the Command on the Right, unless he would have it understood to be *Afranius*.

(2) This has been remarked before in the Notes upon the Life of *Pompey*. It is left to skilful Commanders to determine whether *Cæsar* had reason to blame this Conduct in *Pompey*. It is certain that Generals of undoubted Reputation have sometimes done as *Pompey* did, and succeeded.

whole

whole Army. He was now advanced with his Forces, and just ready to engage, when he found one of his Captains, a trusty and experienced Soldier, encouraging his Men to exert their utmost. *Cæsar* called him by his Name, and said, *What hopes, C. Crassinius, and what grounds for Encouragement?* *Crassinius* stretched out his Hand, and cried in a loud Voice: *We shall conquer nobly, Cæsar; and this day I will deserve your Praises either alive or dead.* With these Words he immediately ran in upon the Enemy at the Head of his Company, consisting of a hundred and twenty Men, where he did great Execution, and was still pressing forwards forcing his way as he passed, when he received a Wound in his Mouth from a Sword pushed with such Force that the Point came out at the Nape of his Neck.

Whilst the Foot was thus sharply engaged in the Main Battel, the left Wing of *Pompey's* Horse marched up confidently, and opened their Ranks very wide, that they might surround the Right Wing of *Cæsar*: (1) But before they could engage, the six Companies *Cæsar* had posted in the Rear as a Body of Reserve made up to them, and did not dart their Javelins at a distance, nor strike at their Thighs and Legs as they used to do in close Battel, but aimed at their Faces; for thus *Cæsar* had instructed them, in hopes that those Young Gentlemen, who had not conversed much in Battels, nor been taught to see their own Blood, but

(1) I know not what Memoirs *Plutarch* followed in his Account of this Battel; it is certain that what he tells us here that six of *Cæsar's* Cohorts fell upon *Pompey's* Horse without giving them time to engage, is contradicted by *Cæsar* Himself, who saith They overthrew his Men who were the weaker Party, and made them give Ground. *Eodem tempore Equites a sinistro Pompei Cornu, ut erat imperatum, universi percurrerunt, omnisque Multitudo Sagittariorum se profudit; quorum impetum noster Equitatus non tulit, sed Paulum loco motus cessit, &c.* L. b. iii. de bel. civil.

The L I F E of

were in the flower of their Age, and height of their Beauty, in which they prided themselves very much, wou'd not with any Patience think of having their fine Faces spoiled, or at one and the same time bear the shock of the present Danger, and future Deformity. This Design took, for they were so far from bearing the stroke of the Javelins that they could not stand the sight of them, but turned about, and covered their Faces to save them. Having thus broke their Ranks they fled away in great Confusion, and left the Foot at the Mercy of the Enemy: For those Companies, so soon as they had broke and dispersed Them, immediately furrounded the Infantry, and charging them in Front and Rear soon cut them to Pieces.

Pompey, who commanded the other Wing of the Army, when he saw his Cavalry thus broken and flying, was no longer himself, nor did he now remember that he was *Pompey the Great*; but like One whom the Gods had deprived of his Senses, and struck with some fatal Blow, retired to his Tent without speaking a Word, and there sat to expect the Event, 'till the whole Army was defeated, and the Enemy appeared upon the Works which were thrown up before his Camp, where they closely engaged with his Men, who were posted there to defend it. Then he first seemed to have recovered his Senses; and cried out, *What, into my Camp too?* which when he had said he laid aside his General's Habit, and putting on such Cloaths as might best favour his Flight, stole off. What Fortune he met with afterwards, how he took shelter in *Ægypt*, and was Murdered there, is particularly set forth in his Life.

Cæsar, when he came to view *Pompey's* Camp, and saw so many of his Enemies dead upon the ground, and Others dying, said with a sigh,—
This they would have; they brought me to this necessity,

sity, that I Caius Cæsar must have lost the credit of so many important Victories obtained, so many Wars gloriously terminated, if I had at last dismissed my Army. *Asinius Pollio* says that *Cæsar* spoke those Words then in Latin, which He afterwards wrote in Greek; that Those who were killed at the taking of the Camp, were most of them Servants; and that (1) there fell not in the Fight above six thousand Soldiers. *Cæsar* incorporated most of the Foot whom he took Prisoners, in his own Legions, and pardoned several Persons of Quality, and amongst the rest *Brutus*, who afterwards stabbed him. He did not immediately appear after the Battel was over, which put *Cæsar* into a great Agony for him; nor was his Pleasure less when he saw him safe, surrendering himself to him. (2) There were many Prodigies that foretold this Victory; but the most signal was that at *Tralles*. In the Temple of Victory there stood *Cæsar's* Statue; the Soil on which the Temple stood was naturally hard and dry, but the Pavement was of Stone as hard as Marble; yet it is said that a Palm-Tree shot it self up near the Pedestal of this Statue. In the City of *Padua*, one *C. Cornelius*, who had the Character of a good Augur, Fellow-Citizen and Friend of *Livy* the Hi-

(1) *Cæsar* saith there fell about fifteen thousand of the Enemy, and that he took above four and twenty thousand Prisoners; that he took eight Eagles, and a hundred and fourscore Ensigns; and that on his side the loss amounted to no more than about two hundred Soldiers, and thirty Centurions.

(2) *Cæsar* mentions Some of them. He saith he was told that in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Elis* the Statue of Victory which

fronted the Goddess turned her Face towards the Portal of the Temple the very day *Cæsar* defeated *Pompey*; that such a Noise of Armies engaged frightened the Inhabitants of *Antioch* that they took to their Arms, and manned the Walls. The like happened at *Ptolemais*; and at *Pergamus* in the Sanctuary of the Temple, where none but the Priests were suffered to enter, Drums were heard beating. To These he adds This which happened at *Tralles*.

storian, happened to make some Augural Observations that very Day when the Battel was fought ; And first, he pointed out the critical time of the Fight, and said to Those who were by him, That just then the Action was hot, and the Men engaged. When he looked a second time upon the Birds, and nicely observed the Omens, he leaped as if he had been inspired, and cried out, *Thou, Cæsar, art the Conqueror.* This mightily surprized the Standers-by; but he took the Crown which he had on, from his Head, and swore *he would never wear it again 'till the Event should give Authority to his Art.* This *Livy* positively affirms for a Truth.

Cæsar, as a Monument of his Victory, gave the *Thessalians* great Immunities, and then went in pursuit of *Pompey*. When he was arrived at *Asia*, to gratifie *Theopompus*, who had made a Collection of *Fables*, he enfranchised the *Gnidians* his Countrymen, and remitted one Third of the Tax to all the *Asiatics*. When he came to *Alexandria*, where *Pompey* was already murdered, he turned from *Theodotus*, who presented him with his Head, but took his Signet and wept over it. Those of *Pompey's* Friends who had been taken by the King of *Ægypt* as they were straggling in those Parts, he obliged, and made his Own. He wrote Letters to *Rome*, wherein he signified to his Friends, That *the greatest Advantage and Pleasure he found by the Victory was, that he every Day saved the Lives of some Romans, who had been in Arms against him.* As to the War in *Ægypt*, Some say it was dangerous and dishonourable, and no ways necessary, but occasioned only by his Passion for *Cleopatra*: Others blamed the Ministers, and especially the Eunuch *Photinus*, who was chief Favourite, had lately took off *Pompey's* Head, banished *Cleopatra* from Court, and was now thought to be privately carrying on the Destruction

struction of *Cæsar*; to prevent which, *Cæsar* from that time began to sit up whole Nights, under pretence of Drinking for the greater Security of his Person. It is certain, that he was intolerable in his open Affronts to *Cæsar*, both by his Words and Actions; for when *Cæsar*'s Soldiers had musty and unwholsome Corn measured out to them, *Photinus* told them, They must take it, and be contented, since they were fed at Another's Cost. He ordered that the King's Table should be served with Wooden and Earthen Dishes, and said, *Cæsar* had all the Gold and Silver in Pawn for a Debt. For the present King's Father owed *Cæsar* one thousand seven hundred and fifty Myriads of Money; *Cæsar* had formerly remitted to his Children the rest, but thought fit to demand the thousand Myriads at that time, to maintain his Army. *Photinus* instead of paying the Money prest him every day to be gone, advising him to look after his other Affairs that were of greater Consequence than such a Paltry Debt, and that when Those were finished he should receive his Money, and the King's Favour into the Bargain. *Cæsar* replied, That *he did not want Ægyptians to be his Counsellors*, and soon after privately sent for *Cleopatra* from her Retirement. That Princess accompanied only with *Apollodorus* the *Sicilian* got into a little Skiff, and in the Dusk of the Evening landed near the Palace. When she found it would be almost impossible to get in without being discovered, she bethought her self of this Stratagem: She got into the Tick of a Bed, where she lay at her full length, whilst *Apollodorus* bound up the Bedding, and carried it on his Back through the Castle-gates to *Cæsar*'s Apartment. *Cæsar* was first taken with this fetch of *Cleopatra*, as an Argument of her Wit; and was afterwards so far charmed with her Conversation and graceful Behaviour, that he recon-

ciled her to her Brother, and made her Partner in the Government. A Festival was kept for Joy of this Reconciliation, where *Cæsar's* Barber, a buſie, pragmatifical Fellow, whoſe Fear made him inquiſitive into every thing, went ferreting into all the Corners of the Court, and liſtning every where, and prying into all that paſſed, diſcovered that a Plot was carrying on againſt *Cæſar* by *Achillas*, General of the King's Forces, and *Photinus* the Eunuch. *Cæſar* upon the firſt Intelligence of it ſet a Guard upon the Hall where the Feaſt was kept, and killed *Photinus*. *Achillas* eſcaped to the Army, and raiſed a troubleſome War againſt *Cæſar*, who had enough to do to defend himſelf with a very ſmall Force againſt a ſtrong City on the one Hand, and a powerful Army on the Other. (1) The firſt Difficulty he met with, (2) was want of Water; for the Enemies had turned the Pipes. Another was, the loſs of his Fleet, which he was forced to burn

(1) But he was in more imminent Danger before That, when he was attacked in the Palace by *Achillas*, who had made himſelf Maſter of *Alexandria*. *Cæſar* gives us a Deſcription of this Action towards the latter end of the third Book of the Civil Wars.

(2) *Alexandria* was vaulted underneath, and full of Aqueducts wherein they received the Water from the *Nile*, and from thence conveyed it to the ſeveral Houſes of the Inhabitants, who ſtored it in Reſervoirs and Ciſterns, where it grew ſine, and became fit for uſe. The Maſters of thoſe Houſes and their Families drunk of that Water, but the common People were forced to drink the running Water, which was foul and unhealthy, for there were no Springs or Fountains in the City.

As this River was in the Power of the Enemy, they reſolved to cut the Water off from *Cæſar*: To this End they ſtopped up all the Conduits through which it was conveyed into his Quarters, and not content with That they were at the Pains by the Help of Engines and Machines to raiſe the Sea Water, and poured it down upon *Cæſar's* Reſervoirs and Ciſterns. This diſtreſſed them very much at firſt, but they ſoon found out a Remedy; for *Cæſar* ordered them to dig for Wells, and they went ſo chearfully about it, laying aſide all other Buſineſs, that in a Night's time they met with a ſufficient Quantity of freſh wholeſome Water. which rendered all the Pains the Enemy had been at ineffectual. *Cæſ. Bell. Alex.*

himſelf,

himself, to prevent its falling into the Enemy's Hands. The Flames unluckily spread so far as to destroy the famous Library of *Alexandria*. (1) A Third was, that in an Engagemēt near *Pharos* he leaped from the Mole into a Skiff, to assist his Soldiers who were in Danger: When the *Ægyptians* pressed him on every side, he threw himself into the Sea, and with much difficulty swam off. It is said that at the time when he flung himself into the Sea he had many Papers in his Hand, which though he was continually darted at, and forced to keep his Head often under Water, yet he did not let go, but held them up safe from wetting in one Hand, whilst he swam with the Other. In the mean time his Skiff, which he had just quitted, sunk to the bottom with All that were on board. At last the King having got off to *Achillas* and his Party, *Cæsar* engaged and conquered them; Many fell in that Battel, and the King himself was never seen after.

Upon This, (2) he made *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, who soon after had a Son by him, whom the *Alexandrians* called *Cæsarion*, and then he departed for *Syria*. Thence he passed to *Asia*, where he heard that *Domitius Calvinus*, whom he had appointed Governor of *Asia Minor*, was overthrown by *Pharnaces*, Son of *Mithridates*, and forced to fly out of *Pontus* with an handful of Men; and that *Pharnaces* pursued the Victory so eagerly, that he was already Master of *Bithynia*

(1) *Plutarch* in this Place confounds Facts, which deserve to be distinguished, and related particularly. At first there was a general naval Engagemēt. After This *Cæsar* attacked the Island, and last of all the Mole, and it was in this Attack *Cæsar* was under the Difficulty mentioned

here by *Plutarch*.

(2) *Cæsar* did not confer the Crown of *Ægypt* on *Cleopatra* solely, but divided it between Her, and her younger Brother, according to her Father's Provision in his last Will, of which the *Romans* were made Executors.

and

and *Cappadocia*, and was preparing to take in *Armenia* the *Lefs*: in order to which he invited all the *Kings* and *Tetrarchs* in those *Parts* to rise, and unite against the *Romans*. *Cæsar* immediately marched against him with three *Legions*, fought him near (1) *Zela*, drove him out of *Pontus*, and totally defeated his *Army*. When he gave *Amin-tius*, a *Friend* of his at *Rome*, an *Account* of this *Action*, to express the smartness and dispatch of it, he used these three *Words*, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*; which *Latin Words* being all *Dissyllables*, and having the same *Cadence*, carry with them an air of *Brevity*, which is very lucky and graceful, and cannot be expressed in any other *Language*. Hence he set out for *Italy*, and came to *Rome* at the end of that *Year*, for which he was a second time chosen *Dictator*, (though that *Office* had never before been annual) and was elected *Consul* for the *Next*. However he was very much condemned, because when Some of his *Soldiers* had in a *Mutiny* killed *Cosconius* and *Galba*, who had been *Prætors*, he punished them no otherwise than by calling them *Citizens*, instead of *Fellow-Soldiers*, and moreover gave each *Man* a thousand *Drachmas*, besides a share of some *Lands* in *Italy*. He was also reflected on for *Dolabella's* Extravagance, *Amin-tius's* Covetousness, *Anthony's* Debauchery, (2) and the Profuseness of *Cornificius*, who having got Possession of *Pompey's* House pulled it down,

(1) The Description of this *Battel* is well worth the reading, as it is related by *Cæsar*, who dresseth out the *Temerity* of *Pharnaces* in its proper *Colours*.

(2) *Xylander* and *Cruserius* are with good reason of *Opinion* that there is a *Transposition* in *Plutarch's* Text, and that it ought to be read the *Profuseness* of *Corni-*

ficius, and Anthony's Debauchery, who having, &c. For it was not *Cornificius*, but *Anthony*, who got the *Forfeiture* of *Pompey's* House, where he spent his time in a continued *Scene* of *Debauchery*, as is evident from the second *Philipick* of *Cicero*, and even from *Plutarch* Himself in some *Passages* in the *Life* of *Anthony*.

because

(1) because he thought it not magnificent enough for Him, and rebuilt it; at all which the *Romans* were highly disgusted. *Cæsar* was sensible of it, and would have been glad to have had it otherwise; but his Political Views obliged him to wink at it, because he was forced to make use of such Instruments.

After the Battel of *Pharsalia*, *Cato* and *Scipio* fled into *Afric*, and there, with the Assistance of King *Juba*, got together a considerable Force, which *Cæsar* resolved to engage. In order to it, he passed into *Sicily* in the very midst of Winter; and to remove from his Officers all hopes of delay there, encamped by the Sea-shoar, and as soon as ever he had a fair Wind put to Sea with three thousand Foot, and a few Horse. When he had landed them, he went back privately under great Apprehensions for the better part of his Army; but met them upon the Sea, and brought them all to the same Camp. There he was informed, that the Enemies relyed much upon an ancient Oracle, importing That *the Family of the Scipioes should be always Victorious in Africk*. There was in his Army a Fellow, otherwise mean and contemptible, but of the House of the *Africani*, and his Name *Scipio Salutio*: This Man *Cæsar* put in the Head of his Army, with the Title of General; which he did either in raillery to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the Enemy, (2) or seriously, to bring over the
Omen

(1) This Reflection in *Plutarch* is very judicious; nothing is so provoking to an honest Man as to see a mean Person who by a sudden Change of Fortune has got into his Possession the House of a much better Man than Himself, new model, or rebuild it, because forsooth it was not large enough, or so elegant as He would have it. This is Prodigality in Excess. Our modern times can supply us with Examples of this kind, and even of a more extraordinary Nature.

(2) The First of These is more probable; for *Cæsar* was not so weak as to think that the Destinies

Omen to his side. He was obliged often to set upon the Enemy, and skirmish with them ; (1) for he wanted both Victualling for his Men, and Forage for his Horse : So that he was forced to feed them with a Sea-weed, which he mixed with Grass, to take off its Saltness, and to give it a more agreeable Taste. He was forced to make this shift, because the *Numidians*, in great Numbers, and well Horsed, commanded the Country.

Cæsar's Cavalry being one day out of Employ, diverted themselves with seeing an *African*, who entertained them with a Dance, and plaid upon the Pipe to Admiration: they were so taken with This, that they alighted, and gave their Horses to some Boys, when on a sudden the Enemy briskly surrounded them, killed Some, pursued the Rest, and fell in with them into their Camp; and had not *Cæsar* Himself and *Asinius Pollio* came in to their Assistance, and put a stop to their flight, the War had been then at an end. In another Engagement, where the Enemy had again the better, *Cæsar* took an Ensign, who was running away, by the Neck, and forcing him to face about, said, *Look, that way is the Enemy!* *Scipio* flushed with this Success at first, had a mind to come to one decisive Action: Wherefore he leaves *Afranius* and *Juba* in two distinct Bodies not far distant, and marches Himself towards *Thapsacus*, where he built a Fort, which might serve for a Security to Them, and a Retreat

nies were attached to the Name, and not the Person, and that it was in his Power to appropriate the Oracle by substituting a Man of the same Name in the Place of Another, who was particularly intended by it.

(1) *Plutarch* skips over several memorable Transactions. For what he is going to mention here

did not happen 'till after *Scipio* had joined *Labiennus*, before which many things passed worthy Notice, such as *Cæsar's* Conduct before the Arrival of his Troops, his decamping from before *Damietta*, his engaging with *Juba's* Horse, and above All his Encounter with *Labiennus*, which proved a remarkable Engagement.

to Himself. Whilst *Scipio* was thus employing himself, *Cæsar* with an incredible Dispatch made his way through thick Woods, and an unpassable Country, fell on him on a sudden, attacked one Party in the Rear, and Another in the Front, and having put them All to Flight, he improved this Opportunity, and the Course of his good Fortune so far, that in one moment he took *Afranius's* Camp, and destroyed That of the *Numidians*, *Juba*, their King, being glad to save himself by Flight; so that in a small Part of a Day he made himself Master of three Camps, and killed fifty thousand of the Enemy, with the loss only of fifty Men. This is the Account Some give of that Fight: Others say, He was not in the Action, but that he was taken with his usual Distemper just as he was setting his Army in Battalia. He perceived the Approaches of it, before it had too far disordered his Senses; and as soon as he began to shake, took care to be removed into a neighbouring Fort, where he reposed himself.

Of the Great Men that were taken after the Fight, Some *Cæsar* put to Death, Others prevented him by killing Themselves. *Cato* had undertaken to defend *Utica*, and for that reason was not in the Battel. The desire which *Cæsar* had to take Him alive, made him hasten thither. Upon notice that he had dispatched himself, it is certain *Cæsar* was much discomposed, but for what reason is not so well agreed; yet This he said, *Cato*, *I envy thee thy Death, because thou enviedst me the Honour of saving thy Life*. Yet after all This, the Discourse he wrote against *Cato* after his Death, is no great sign of his Kindness, or that he was inclined to shew him any Favour. (1) For how is it probable

(1) With *Plutarch's* Leave, I think it very consistent. *Cæsar* might have spared *Cato*, not out of any Friendship he had to him, but purely out of much Vanity, and some little Policy.

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that he would have been tender of his Life, who was so bitter against his Memory? Yet from his Clemency to *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and many Others who had engaged against him, Some have guessed that *Cæsar's* Book was not composed so much out of Hatred to *Cato*, as in his own Vindication. *Cicero*, it seems, had written an Encomium upon *Cato*, and called it by his Name; a Discourse written by so great a Master, upon so excellent a Subject, was sure to be in every one's Hands. This touched *Cæsar* to the quick, for he looked upon a Panegyric on his Enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his Hands, as no better than a Satyr against Himself; and therefore he published an Answer to it, containing a Collection of Charges and Accusations against that great Man, which he called *Anticato*. Those Discourses have to this day each of them their several Admirers, as Men are differently inclined to the Parties.

Cæsar, upon his return to *Rome*, did not forget to entertain the People with a large Account of his Victory, telling them, That he had subdued a Country, which would supply the Publick every Year with two hundred thousand Bushels of Corn, and three millions weight of Oyl. He was allowed (1) three Triumphs, One for *Ægypt*, Another for *Pontus*, and a Third for *Afric*; in the Title of the Last no mention was made of *Scipio*, but only of *Juba*, whose little Son was then led in Triumph, and proved the happiest Captive that ever was, for of a barbarous *Numidian*, he came by this means to

(1) How comes *Plutarch* to take Notice only of Three Triumphs, since it is certain he had Four? Nay he omits the most considerable and important of them All, his Triumph over the *Gauls*. *Triumphavit post devictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed interjectis Diebus. Primum, & excellentissimum Triumphum egit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, Proximum Africanum.* Sueton.

be reckoned among the most Learned of all the *Greek* Historians. After these Triumphs, he distributed Rewards to his Soldiers, and treated the People with magnificent Feasts and Shews: At one of these Feasts he had twenty two thousand Tables, and entertained the People with Gladiators and Sea-Fights in honour of his Daughter *Julia*, long since dead. When those Shews were over, an Account was taken of the People, (1) who from three hundred and twenty thousand were now reduced to a

(1) There are no less than three egregious Faults in this single Passage, as the learned *Rualdus* has observed; the First is where it is said that *Cæsar* Mustered, or took an Account of the People. *Suetonius* saith not a Word of it, and *Augustus* Himself in his *Marmora Ancyriana* saith, that in his sixth Consulate, that is in the Year of *Rome* 725, he numbered the People, which is more than had been done for forty two Years before. The Second is, that before the civil Wars broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, the Number of the People in *Rome* amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand, for long before That it was much greater, and had continued upon the Increase. The Last is, where it is asserted that in less than three Years those three hundred and twenty thousand Citizens were reduced by that War to one hundred and fifty thousand; the Falsity of which Assertion is evident from This, in that a little while after *Cæsar* made a Draught of fourscore thousand to be sent to the foreign Colonies; and would he have left no more than seventy thousand Souls in *Rome*? But what is still stronger is, that eighteen Years after,

that is likewise in his sixth Consulate, *Augustus* took the Pole I have been just mentioning, and found the Number amount to four Millions and sixty three thousand. *Censere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & sexaginta tria Millia*. Such an Augmentation in so short a Space must be prodigious, if not impossible. *Rualdus* has not only discovered these Errors in the Text, but the Source of them; he has made it appear that *Plutarch*, for want of a thorough Understanding of the *Latin* Tongue, has been misled by the following Passage in *Suetonius*, who saith of *Cæsar*, Cap. iv. *Recensum Populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos Insularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit*. *Suetonius* speaks there of the Review taken by *Cæsar* of the needy Citizens, who shared in the Publick Corn, Whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand, and *Plutarch* has mistaken *Recensum* for *Censum*, the Muster taken by the Censors, and this Error has lead him into the other Mistakes.

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hundred and fifty thousand. So great a waste had the Civil War made in *Rome* alone, not to mention what the other parts of *Italy* and the Provinces had suffered.

He was now chosen a fourth time Consul, and went into *Spain* against *Pompey's* Sons; they were but young, yet they had got together a great Army, and shewed they had Courage and Conduct to command it, so that *Cæsar* was in extream Danger. The great Battel, and That which proved the decisive Stroke, was fought near the City of *Munda*, in which *Cæsar* seeing his Men hard pressed, and making but a weak Resistance, ran through the Ranks among the Soldiers, and crying out, asked them, *Are You not ashamed to deliver your General into the Hands of Boys?* At last, with great Difficulty, and the best Efforts he could make, he forced back the Enemy, killing thirty thousand of them upon the Spot, though with the Loss of a thousand of his best Men. When he came back from the Fight, he told his Friends, *That he had often fought for Victory, but This was the first time that he had ever fought for Life.* This Battel was won on the (1) *Diony-*

(1) The Interpreters have grossly mistaken this Passage. It is in the Text τῆ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῆ, *Dionysiorum festo.* The old Latin Version has it *Hanc Victoriæ obtinuit Saturnalibus, this Victory was gained on the Festival of Saturn.* The *Dionysia* can never be taken for the *Saturnalia*, they were two very different Festivals. Others, who have translated it into the modern Languages, have rendered it by *the Feast of the Bacchanals.* How could *Cæsar* gain a Victory on the very day of a Festival that had been abolished for a hundred and forty one Years before, and suppressed throughout all

Italy by an Order of Senate, on Account of its Abominations, as we find it at large in *Livy, Lib. 39.* *Plutarch* speaks here of that Feast which is called by the Romans, *Liberalia*, and stands in their Calendar against the seventeenth of March. *Liberalia*, saith *Festus, Liberi Festa, qua apud Græcos dicuntur Dionysia.* And as *Liber* and *Dionysius* are two Names of *Bacchus*, This is what has misled those Interpreters, and made them believe, though very absurdly, that the Feast called *Liberalia*, was the Same with the *Bacchanalia*, which is a gross Mistake.

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sian Festival, the very Day in which *Pompey*, four Years before, had set out for the War. The Younger of *Pompey's* Sons escaped, and *Didius* some Days after the Fight brought the Head of the Elder to *Cæsar*. This was the last Battel he was engaged in; and his triumphal Entry on Account of this Victory displeas'd the *Romans* beyond any thing he had done before; for he did not triumph on the Account of having defeated foreign Generals, and barbarous Kings, but for having ruined the Children and Family of one of the greatest, though most unfortunate of all the *Romans*; and it did not look well to triumph over the Calamities of his Country, and to rejoice for an Advantage which he ought rather to have deplored, and for which no better Apology could be made to the Gods or Men, than that he was absolutely compelled to it by Necessity. But what made this Triumph look still the more distasteful was, that he never before sent a Letter or Express of any Victory he had obtained in the Course of the Civil Wars, but seem'd rather to be ashamed of the Action than to claim any Glory that might arise to him from it. And yet for all This, the *Romans* taking the same side with Fortune, gave the Rein into his Hands, and hoping that the Government of a single Person would give them time to breathe after so many Civil Wars and Calamities, made him Dictator for Life. This was a downright Tyranny; for his Power now was not only *Absolute*, but *Perpetual* too. *Cicero* propos'd to the Senate to confer such Honours upon him as were indeed in some measure within the Bounds of Modesty: Others striving which should deserve most, carried them so excessively high, that they made *Cæsar* odious even to the most indifferent and moderate sort of Men, by the Haughtiness and Extravagance of those Titles which they decreed him. His *Enemies* are thought to have had some Share in This, as well as his *Flatterers*: It gave them more Advantage against him,

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and laid him more open to their Calumnies; for since the Civil Wars were ended, he had nothing else that they could charge him withal. (1) And they had good Reason to decree a Temple to *Clemency*, in Token of their Thanks for the mild Use he made of his Victories; for he not only pardoned Many of Those who fought against him, but farther to Some gave Honours and Offices: As particularly to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were Both of them made Prætors. *Pompey's* Images that were thrown down, he set up again; upon which *Cicero* said, That *by raising Pompey's Statues he had fixed his Own*. When his Friends advised him to a Guard, and Several offered him their Service, he would not hear of it; but said, *it was better to suffer Death Once, than Always to live in fear of it*. He looked upon the Affections of the People to be the best and surest Guard, and therefore entertained them again with publick Feasting, and general Distributions of Corn; and to gratify his Army, he sent out many Colonies to several Places, of which the most remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth*. It may be said there was something singular in the Fate of those two Cities; (2) for as they had heretofore been Both destroyed at the same time, so were they now at the same time rebuilt and repeopled. As for the Men of Quality, he promised Some that they should be *Consuls* or *Prætors*; Others he recompensed and satisfied with other Offices or Titles; and in short ingratiated himself to All by a

(1) What an honourable Acknowledgement was this to *Caesar*! but how shamefully unworthy was it in those very Men a few days after to assassinate that very Person whose Usage towards them had been so mild and benign, as gave them Reason for building a Temple to *Clemency*, in token of

Acknowledgement.

(2) They had Both been taken; and destroyed a hundred and two Years before, *Carthage* by the last *Scipio Africanus*, and *Corinth* by *Mummius Achaicus*, and they were now rebuilt and repeopled Both in the same Year.

gentle

gentle Deportment and winning Behaviour, so as to work in them a chearful and willing Submission. Nay he carried this Complaisance towards them so far, that the Consul *Fabius Maximus* happening to die suddenly on the very day before the Expiration of his Office, he named *Caninius Rebilus* to be Consul for the remaining part of that day only. Hereupon (1) when all the World went to pay their Compliments to the new Consul, as is usual; *Cicero* said, by way of Raillery, *Let us make haste, lest the Man be gone out of his Office before we come.*

Cæsar was born to perform great Things, and was of an Ambition so unbounded, that his past Actions, great as they were, were so far from inclining him to sit down and enjoy in Peace the Glory he derived from them, that they served only as so many Spurs to push him on still to greater Performances, and whetted his Appetite to a keener Pursuit of fresh Honours, as if Those he had already obtained were withered and decayed. This violent Passion was a sort of Jealousy and Emulation in Himself against Himself; an obstinate Perseverance and Endeavour to out-vie his *past* Actions by his *future*. In pursuit of these Thoughts, he had resolved, and was preparing to make War upon the *Parthians*, and when he had subdued Them to pass through *Hircania*; thence to march along by the *Caspian* Sea to Mount *Caucasus*, and so on about *Pontus*, 'till he came into *Scythia*; then to over-run all the Countries about *Germany*, and *Germany* itself; and at last return through *Gaul* into *Italy*; thus describing the spacious Circle of his intended

(1) There was no end of *Cicero's* Witticisms upon that Occasion. Sometimes he said, *We have a very vigilant Consul, for he has not shut his Eyes one Moment since he entered into his Office.* At Another, *This Consul of Ours is a Magistrate of such Strictness and Severity, that not a Person among us has dined, supped, or slept during his Consulship.* And at another Time, *Caninius is come to that pass as to ask under what Consuls He was Consul.*

Empire, and bounding it on every side by the Ocean. While Preparations were making for this Expedition, he attempted to dig through the *Isthmus* on which *Corinth* stands, and at the same time had a Design to divert the Course of the Rivers *Anio* and *Tiber*, and to carry them by a deep Channel directly from *Rome* to *Circeum*, and so into the Sea near *Tarracina*, that there might be a safe and easy Passage for all Merchants who Traded to *Rome*. Besides This, he intended to drain all the Marshes by *Nomentum* and *Setium*, and gain Ground enough from the Water to employ many thousands of Men in Tillage. He proposed farther to make great Mounds on the Shoar nighest *Rome*, to hinder the Sea from breaking in upon the Land; to cleanse the *Ostian* Shoar of such hidden Shelves and Rocks as made it unsafe for Shipping, and to build Ports and Harbours fit to receive such large Vessels as used to ride thereabouts. These Things were designed without taking Effect.

But his Reformation of the Kalendar, in order to rectify (1) the Irregularity of Time, was not only ingeniously contrived, but brought to Perfection by him, and proved of very great Use: For it was not only in Ancient Times that the *Romans* wanted a certain Rule to make the Revolutions of their Months fall in with the Course of the Year, whereby their Festivals and Solemn Days for Sacrifice were removed by little and little, 'till at last they came to fall in with Seasons quite opposite to Those of their primitive Institution; but even in *Cæsar's* days, the People had no way of computing

(1) For by means of this Irregularity the *Roman* Kalendar had gained near three Months in the days of *Cæsar*. Before his time Endeavours had been used to correct that Inequality, but it never could be done to the Purpose. He brought it to a greater Exactness than Any, and it may be said of him that He first opened the Door to a thorough Reformation. The Reader may see the Remarks on the *Life of Numa*, Vol. 1. P. 295.

right the Course of the Sun; only the Priests had the knack, and at their Pleasure, without giving any notice, clapped in an Intercalary Month, which they called *Marcedonius*. *Numa* was the First who put in this Month, but his Invention was too narrow and short to correct all the Errors that rose from their Computation of the Year, as we have shewn in his Life. *Cæsar* called in the best Philosophers and Mathematicians of his Time, to settle this Point; and upon Principles there proposed, established a more exact and proper Method of correcting the Kalendar, which the *Romans* use to this Day, and seem to err less than any other Nation in the Reduction of this Inequality of Months to the Year. (1) Yet even This gave Offence to Those who envied his Grandeur, and were weary of his Power; for *Cicero* the Orator, when one of the Company chanced to say, *The next Morning Lyra would rise*, replied, *Yes, by vertue of the Ediēt*; as if Men were forced by Authority to receive this new Scheme.

But That which brought upon Him the most apparent and mortal Hatred, was his Affectation of being King; which gave the common People the first Occasion to quarrel with him, and proved the most specious pretence to Those who had been his secret Enemies all along. Those, who would have procured him that Title gave it out, That it was foretold in the *Sibyls* Books, *that the Romans should Conquer the Parthians when they fought against them under the Conduct of a King, but not before*. And one

(1) When a Man once begins to be unacceptable every thing he doth is censured. This Reformation of the Kalendar gave *Cæsar's* Enemies a Handle to say that He who had triumphed over the Earth had a mind to govern likewise in Heaven. It is no strange thing to hear ignorant People talk at that Rate, but that *Cicero* could be guilty of such a Weakness is surprizing. He ought to have been better acquainted than any one with this Disorder, which had crept into the Kalendar, He who had long before translated *Aratus*.

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Day, as *Cæsar* was returning from *Alba* to *Rome*, Some were so bold as to salute him by the Name of King; but He finding the People disrelish it, seemed to resent it Himself, and said, *His Title was Cæsar, not King*. Upon This, they forbore their Acclamations, and he past on with an Air that expressed much Sullenness and Dissatisfaction. Another time, when the Senate had conferred on him some extravagant Honours, he chanced to receive the Message as he was sitting on the *Rostræ*, where, though the Consuls and Prætors Themselves waited on him, attended by the whole Body of the Senate, he did not rise, but behaved himself to them as if they had been private Men; and told them, *His Honours wanted rather to be retrenched than increased*. This Carriage of His offended not only the Senate, but Commonalty too; for they thought the Affront upon the Senate equally reflected upon the whole Republick; so that All who could decently leave him went off much dejected. *Cæsar* perceiving the false Step he had made, immediately retired Home; and laying his Throat bare, told his Friends, That he was ready to stand fair for any Man that would do him the kind Office: Afterwards he excused his sitting by his Distemper, under pretence that Those who are affected with it have their Senses discomposed, if they talk much standing; that they presently grow Giddy, fall into Convulsions, and quite lose their Reason. But all This was feigned; for he would willingly have stood up to the Senate, had not *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his Friends, or rather Flatterers, hindered him. *Do not you remember*, said he, *you are Cæsar; and will you abate any thing of that Honour which is due to your Dignity?* He gave still a fresh Occasion of Resentment by his Affront to the Tribunes. The *Lupercalia* were then celebrated, a Feast at the first Institution peculiar, as some Writers say, to the Shepherds; much of
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the same Nature with the *Arcadian Lycæa*: Many young Noblemen and Magistrates run that day up and down the City naked, striking all they meet with Leathern Thongs, by way of sport; Women of the best Quality place themselves in the way, and hold out their Hands to the Lash, as Boys in a School do to the *Ferula*, out of an Opinion that it procures an easy Labour to Those who are with Child, and makes Those Conceive who are Barren. *Cæsar* dressed in a Triumphal Robe, seated himself in a Golden Chair upon the *Rostra*, to view this Ceremony. *Anthony*, as Consul, was one of Those who ran this Course; when he came into the *Forum*, the People made way for him, whilst he presented *Cæsar* with a Diadem wreathed with Laurel. Upon This, there was a small Shout, made only by Those few who were planted there for that purpose; but when *Cæsar* refused it, there was an universal Applause. Upon the second Offer, very few; and upon the second Refusal, All again clapped. *Cæsar* finding it would not take, rose up, and ordered the Crown to be carried into the Capitol. *Cæsar's* Statues were afterwards found with Royal Diadems on their Heads: *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two Tribunes of the People, went presently and pulled them off; and having apprehended Those who first saluted *Cæsar* as *King*, committed them: The People followed them with Acclamations, and called them *Brutus's*, because *Brutus* was the First who cut off the Succession of Kings, and transferred the Power which before was lodged in *One*, into the Hands of the Senate and People. *Cæsar* so far resented This, that he displaced *Marullus* and *Flavius*; and at the same time that he inveighed against Them, he ridiculed the People; calling them several times *Bruti* and (1) *Cumæi*, [Beasts and Sots.]

This

(1) The *Cumæans* were noted for their Stupidity, *οἱ ἐν ἀναίδεσίαν ἢ Κυμῆ; Cumæ* is stupid to a Proverb, saith *Strabo*,

This made the Multitude place their Hopes on *M. Brutus*, who by his Father's Side was thought to be descended from that first *Brutus*, and by his Mother's Side from the *Servilii*, another Noble Family; and what was more than all the rest, he was Nephew and Son-in-Law to *Cato*. But the Honours and Favours he had received from *Cæsar* took off the Edge from those eager Desires he naturally had to subvert the Monarchy; for he had not only been pardoned Himself after *Pompey's* Defeat at *Pharsalia*, and had procured the same Grace for many of his Friends, but was one in whom *Cæsar* had a particular Confidence. He had at that time the most Honourable Prætorship of the Year, and was named for the Consulship four Years after, being preferred before *Cassius* his Competitor. Upon the Dispute between them, *Cæsar* said, *Cassius has the fairest Pretensions, but I cannot pass by Brutus*. Nor did he afterwards hearken to Those who accused *Brutus*, as engaged in a Conspiracy against him; but laying his Hand on his Body, said to the Informers, *Brutus will stay for this Skin of mine*; intimating, that he was worthy of Empire on Account of his Virtue, but would not be base and ungrateful to gain it. But Those who desired a Change, and looked on Him as the *only*, or at least the *most proper Person* to effect it, durst not dis-

Lib. 13, and he gives us these Reasons for it. The first was that they were three hundred Years before they thought of laying a Dury upon Merchandize imported into their Harbours, and before they found they inhabited a maritime City. The Second was for that having mortgaged their Porticoes for a certain Sum of Money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the Contract, their Creditors prohibited them from

walking under them. But when the Rains began to fall, those Creditors being touched with some Shame and Remorse, caused it to be published that the *Cumæans* if they pleased, might take Shelter under their own Porticoes; which gave Occasion to this Gallery, The *Cumæans* had not the Sense to know that they had a right to stand under their own Porticoes when it rained, 'till they were informed of it by the Voice of the Crier.

course

course the Matter with him; but in the Night-time laid Papers about his Chair of State, where he used to sit and determine Causes, with Sentences in them to this Import: *You are asleep, Brutus: You are no longer Brutus.* Cassius, when he perceived his ambitious Soul a little raised upon This, was more instant than before to work him yet farther, having Himself a private Grudge against Cæsar, for some Reasons that we have mentioned in the Life of Brutus. Nor was Cæsar without suspicions of him, so that he took occasion to say to his Friends, *What do you think Cassius drives at? I do not well like him, he looks so pale.* And when it was told him, that Anthony and Dolabella were in a Plot against him, he said, *He did not fear such fat jolly Men, but rather the pale lean Fellows;* meaning Cassius and Brutus. But this single Instance is a Proof that Fate is not so concealed as it is unavoidable; for there were many strange Prodigies and Apparitions, which were manifest Presages of it. As to the Lights in the Heavens, the Phantoms which walked in the Night, and the wild Birds which perched upon the Forum, These are not perhaps worth taking Notice of in so remarkable an Event. But Strabo the Philosopher tells us, that Men were seen in the Air all on Fire encountering each Other; and that a prodigious Flame seemed to issue from the Hand of a Soldier's Servant, insomuch that They who saw it thought he must be burnt, but that after All he had no hurt. As Cæsar was sacrificing, the Victim was seen to want a Heart, which was a very ill Omen, because a Creature cannot subsist without a Heart. Many add, that a Soothsayer bid him beware of the *Ides of March*; for that he was then threatned with some great Danger: and that when the Day was come, Cæsar as he went to the Senate met this Soothsayer, and said to him by way of Raillery, *The Ides*
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The LIFE of

of March are come; and he answered him calmly, *Yes they are come, but they are not past.* The Day before this Assassination, he supped with *M. Lepidus*; as he was signing some Letters, there arose a Dispute *what sort of Death was the best?* At which he immediately, before any one could speak, said, *A sudden one.*

After This, as he was in Bed with his Wife, all the Doors and Windows of the Chamber where he lay flew open on a sudden. He was startled at the Noise, and the Light which brake into the Room, and sat up in his Bed, when by the Moonshine he perceived *Calpurnia* fast asleep, but heard her utter in her Dream some indistinct Words, and inarticulate Groans. She fancied at that time she was weeping over *Cæsar*, and holding him butchered in her Arms. Others say, This was not her Dream; but that she dreamed (1) a Pinnacle (which the Senate had allowed to be raised on *Cæsar's* House by way of Ornament and Grandeur) was broken down, which was the occasion of her Tears and Groans. When it was Day, she begged of *Cæsar*, if it were possible, not to stir out, but to adjourn the Senate to another time; and if he slighted her Dreams, that he would be pleased to consult his Fate by Sacrifices, and other kinds of Divination. Nor was he Himself without some Suspicion and Fears; for he never before discovered in *Calpurnia*

(1) The Pinnacle was a sort of Ornament usually placed on the Top of their Temples. The *Greeks* called it *ἄστρον*, *ἀστρωμα*, and the *Latins*, *Fastigium*. It was not for private Persons to raise such Ornaments on the Tops of their Houses without the Consent of the Senate, who had the Superintendency of every thing relating to the Publick. Thus as a Token of

Honour it was accorded to *Poplicola* to have the Doors of his House open towards the Street instead of opening inwards. This Pinnacle was commonly adorned with some Statues of their Gods, Figures of Victory, or such other Decorations as were suitable to the Rank and Quality of Those to whom the Privilege of erecting them was granted.

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any Womanish Superstition, though he now saw her under such terrible Apprehensions. Upon the Report which the Priests made to him, that they had killed several Sacrifices, and still found them inauspicious, he was resolv'd to send *Antony* to dismiss the Senate. In that very Instant came in *D. Brutus*, whose Sirname was *Albinus*: he was One in whom *Cæsar* had such Confidence that he had made him his Second Heir, though at the same time he was engag'd in the Conspiracy against him, with the other *Brutus* and *Cassius*. This Man fearing lest if *Cæsar* should put off the Senate to another Day, the Business might get wind, took care to expose those Pretenders to Divination, and told *Cæsar* he would be much to blame if he gave the Senate so just Grounds of Complaint against him, by casting such a Slur on them; *for they are,* said he, *met upon your own Summons, and are ready to vote unanimously, that you should be declared King of all the Provinces without Italy, and may wear a Diadem in any other Place but Italy, both by Sea and Land. Now if any one should be sent to tell them they must break up for the present, and meet again when Culpurnia shall chance to have better Dreams; what will your Enemies say? Or who will with any Patience hear your Friends, if they shall pretend to justify You, and maintain that this is not an Instance of downright Servitude on the one Part, and bare-faced Tyranny on the Other. But if You are so far prepossessed as really to think this an unfortunate day, it will be more decent for you to go to the Senate Yourself, and adjourn it in your own Person.* *Brutus*, having spoke these Words, took *Cæsar* by the Hand, and conducted him forth. He was not gone far from the Door, when some Slave unknown made towards him; but not being able to come up to him, by reason of the Crowd who pressed about him, he made shift to get into the House, and committed himself to *Calpurnia*, begging of her to se-

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cure him 'till *Cæsar* returned, because he had Matters of great Importance to communicate to him. *Artemidorus* the *Cnidian*, who taught the Art of Sophistry in *Greek*, and by that means was so far acquainted with Some about *Brutus*, that he had got a great ways into the Secret, brought *Cæsar* in a little Schedule the Heads of what he had to discover to him. But having observed that *Cæsar* as he received any Papers immediately delivered them to some of his Officers, who attended him; he came as near to him as he could, and said, *Read This, Cæsar, alone, and quickly; for it contains great Business, and such as concerns you nearly.* *Cæsar* received it, and went to read it several times, but was still hindred by the Crowd of Those who came to speak to him. However he kept it in his Hand by itself, 'till he came into the Senate. Some say it was Another who gave *Cæsar* this Note, and that *Artemidorus* could not get to him, being all along kept off by the Crowd. All these Things might happen by Chance: But the Place where the Senate met, which was chose out for the Scene of this Murther, was the same in which *Pompey's* Statue stood, and was one of the Edifices which *Pompey* had raised and dedicated with his Theater to the use of the Publick; which plainly shewed that there was something of a Deity which guided the Action, and ordered it to be in that particular Place. *Cassius* just before the Assassination looked towards *Pompey's* Statue, and silently implored his Assistance; though he was an *Epicurean* in his Principles: But this Occasion, and the Instant Danger, shook his former Notions, and made him a perfect Enthusiast. As for *Anthony*, who was firm to *Cæsar*, and a Man of Strength and Execution, (1) *Brutus Albinus* kept

(1) *Plutarch* saith in the Life of *Brutus*, that *Anthony* was detained without by *C. Trebonius*. How could he be guilty of so

manifest a Contradiction in the Relation of a Transaction so considerable and notorious?

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Him without the House, and entertained him with a long Discourse contrived on purpose.

When *Cæsar* entred into the House, the Senate stood up in Respect to him. Of *Brutus's* Confederates, Some came about his Chair, and stood behind it; Others met him, pretending to supplicate with *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his Brother who was in Exile; and they followed him with their joint Petitions 'till he came to his Seat. When he was seated he rejected their Petitions, and upon their urging him farther, reprimanded them severally. Whereupon *Metellus* laying hold of his Robe with both his Hands, pulled it over his Neck, which was the Signal for the Assault. *Casca* gave him the first Cut in the Neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one who at the beginning of such a bold Action was probably very much disturbed, so that his Strength as well as Spirits might fail him. *Cæsar* immediately turned about, and laid his Hand upon his Dagger; and Both of them at the same time cried out: He that received the Blow, in *Latin*, *Wicked Casca! what dost thou mean?* and He that gave it in *Greek*, addressing himself to his Brother, *Brother, help!* Upon the first Onset, Those who were not conscious to the Design were astonished; and their Horror at the Action was so great, that they durst not fly, nor assist *Cæsar*, nor so much as speak a Word. But Those who came prepared for the Business, enclosed him on every side with their naked Daggers in their Hands; so that which way soever he turned, he met with Blows, and saw their Swords levelled at his Face and Eyes, and was baited on all Sides, like a Beast taken in a Toil. For it was agreed they should each of them make a Thrust at him, and flesh themselves with his Blood; wherefore *Brutus* gave him one Stab in the Groin. Some say that he fought and resisted all the rest, and traversed from one Place

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to another, calling out for Help: But when he saw *Brutus's* Sword drawn, he covered his Face with his Robe, and quietly surrendered himself, 'till he was pushed, either by Chance, or by Design of the Murtherers, to the Pedestal on which *Pompey's* Statue stood, which by that means was much stained with his Blood; so that *Pompey* Himself may seem to have presided in this Execution of Vengeance upon his Enemy, who fell at his Feet, and breathed out his Soul through a multitude of Wounds; for they say he received Three and Twenty. The Affinates Themselves were Many of them wounded by each other, whilst they All levelled their Blows at the same Person.

When *Cesar* was dispatched, *Brutus* stood forth to give a Reason for what they had been doing; but the Fathers, who had not the Heart to stay and hear him, flew out of Doors in all haste, and filled the People with so much Fear and Distraction, that Some shut up House, Others left their Shops and Ware-houses: All ran one way or other; Some to the Place, to see the sad Spectacle; Others back again, after they had seen it. *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, *Cesar's* best Friends, got off privately, and absconded themselves in some Friends Houses. *Brutus* and his Followers, being yet hot with the Murther, marched in a Body from the Senate-House to the Capitol with their drawn Swords, not like Persons who thought of escaping, but with an Air of Confidence and Assurance. As they went along, they called to the People to resume their Liberty, and complimented Those of better Quality, as they came in their way. Some of Those went along with them, and joined Company with the Conspirators, pretending to share in the Honour of the Action, as if they had born a Part in it. Of this number was *C. Octavius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*: These suffered afterwards for their Vanity, being taken

taken off by *Anthony* and the younger *Cæsar*, but they lost the Honour they desired, as well as their Lives, which it cost them, since no one believed they had any share in the Action; for even They who punished them did not do it in Revenge of the Fact, but the Will. The Day after, *Brutus* with the rest came down from the Capitol, and made a Speech to the People, who attended to it, without expressing either any Pleasure or Resentment, but shewed by their deep silence, that they pitied *Cæsar*, and revered *Brutus*. The Senate made Acts of Oblivion for what was past, and took healing Measures to reconcile all Parties: They ordered that *Cæsar* should be worshipped as a God, and that not any the least thing should be altered which he had Enacted during his Government: At the same time they gave *Brutus* and his Followers the Command of Provinces, and other considerable Posts: So that all People now thought things were well settled, and put into a very good Posture. But when *Cæsar's* Will was opened, and it was found that he had left a considerable Legacy to each of the *Roman* Citizens; and when his Body was seen carried through the *Forum* all mangled with Wounds, the Multitude could no longer contain themselves within the Bounds of Decency and Order, but heaped together a Pile of Benches, Bars, and Tables, on which they placed the Corps, and burnt it. Then they took Firebrands, and ran Some to Fire the Houses of the Assassins, Others up and down the City, to find out the Men, and Limb them; but they met with none of them, They having taken effectual Care to secure themselves.

One *Cinna*, a Confident of *Cæsar's*, chanced the Night before to have an odd Dream: He fancied that *Cæsar* invited him to Supper; and that upon his Refusal to go with him, *Cæsar* took him by
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the Hand, and forced him, though he hung back. Upon Notice that *Cæsar's* Body was burning in the Market-place, he got up, and went thither, out of respect to his Memory, though his Dream gave him some ill Apprehensions; and though he was at the same time Feverish. One of the Rabble who saw him there, asked Another, *Who that was?* And having learned his Name, told it to his next Neighbour: It presently went for currant, that he was one of *Cæsar's* Murtherers; and indeed there was one *Cinna* among the Conspirators. They taking This to be the Man, immediately seized him, and tore him Limb from Limb upon the Spot.

Brutus and *Cassius* were so terrified at these Proceedings, that a few days after they withdrew out of the City, to escape the Indignation of the People. What they afterwards did and suffered, and how they died, is written in the Life of *Brutus*. *Cæsar* died in his fifty sixth Year, not having survived *Pompey* above four Years. That Empire and Power which he had pursued through the whole Course of his Life with so much Hazard, he did at last with much Difficulty compass; but reaped no other Fruits from it than an empty Name, and invidious Title. (1) But that happy Genius, which was propitious to him during his Life, seems to have stuck to him after his Death, as the Revenger of his Murther; for it pursued by Sea and Land all Those who were concerned in it, and suffered None to escape, but reached All who were either actually engaged in the Fact, or by their Counsels any way promoted it.

The most signal Accident of all here below, was That which befel *Cassius*; who when he was con-

(1) This Sentiment is downright heathenish. It is true that God lead him on to commit all those Acts of Injustice which God punished *Cæsar's* Murderers, opened the Way to his Usurpation. but it is not true that the same

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quered at *Philippi*, killed himself with the same Dagger which he had made use of against *Cæsar*. The most remarkable Appearance in the Heavens (1) was a great Comet, which shone very bright for seven Nights after *Cæsar's* Death, and then disappeared. There was also a very faint Light in the Sun; for the Orb of it was pale for the space of a Year, nor did it rise with its usual Brightness and Vigour. Hence it gave but a weak and feeble Heat, and consequently the Air was damp and gross, for want of stronger Rays to open and rarifie it: The Fruits, for that Reason, were crude and unconcocted, so that they rotted and decayed through the chilness of the Air. Above All, the Phantom which appeared to *Brutus*, shewed the Murther was not pleasing to the Gods. The Story of it is this:

Brutus being to pass his Army from *Abydos* to the Continent on the other side, laid himself down one Night, as he used to do, in his Tent, and was not a-sleep, but thinking of his Affairs, and what Events he might expect: For he was naturally of a watchful Constitution, and very little inclined to Sleep. He thought he heard a Noise at the Door of his Tent, and looking that way, by the Light of his Lamp, which was almost out, saw a terrible Figure, like That of a Man, but of an extraordinary Bulk and grim Countenance. He was somewhat frightened at first: But seeing it neither did nor

(1) *Pliny* has preserved a Passage of *Augustus*, who succeeded *Cæsar*, wherein he saith that that Comet appeared all on a sudden, whilst they were celebrating the Games in Honour of *Cæsar*: *In ipsis ludorum meorum diebus Sidus crinitum per septem dies in regione Cæli, quæ sub septentrionibus est conspectum. Id oriebatur circa undecimam horam Diei, clarumque & omnibus terris conspicuum fuit. Eo Sidere significari Vulgus credidit Cæsar's animam in Deorum immortalium numina receptam: quo nomine id insigne simulacro capitis ejus, quod mox in foro consecravimus, adjectum est. Plin. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.* This was enough in Conscience to warrant and justify the Use that has been made of it by the Poets and Medallists.

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spoke any thing to him, only stood silently by his Bed-side ; he asked it at last, *Who it was?* The Spectre answered him, *I am thy Evil Genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi.* Brutus answered very courageously, *Well, I will see thee there ;* and immediately the Apparition vanished. When the time was come, he drew up his Army near *Philippi* against *Anthony* and *Cæsar*, and in the first Battel got the Day, routed the Enemy, and plundered *Cæsar's* Camp. The Night before the second Battel, the same Spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a Word. He presently understood his Death was near, and exposed himself to all the Danger of the Battel : Yet he did not die in the Fight ; but seeing his Men defeated, got up to the top of a Rock, and there presenting his Sword to his naked Breast, and assisted, as They say, by a Friend, who helped him to give the Thrust, died upon the Spot.



The Comparison of Cæsar with Alexander.

THE *Roman* Empire so plentifully abounded with Virtues of all kinds, especially such as are Military, that I have before me a large Choice of many great Commanders, even Some of them his Cotemporaries, worthy to be put in Competition with *Alexander*. But when *Cæsar* presents himself I cannot but at the first View think Him the fittest to be compared with that Conqueror of *Asia*. And I may venture to say that if in my other Comparisons I have my self made Choice of the Champions I was to bring into the Lists, in This, that is now before us, I have only followed the universal Consent of Mankind. The general Concurrence

Concurrence of all Nations, and all Ages, have pointed *Cæsar* out as the fittest Person to be compared with *Alexander*, the Person in whom is to be found the greatest Conformity with him. In a Word there is a perfect Resemblance between them in every Feature; the same Ambition, and the same Delight in War; the same Courage, and Intrepidity in Action; the same Generosity to Those they had vanquished, and the same Confidence in Fortune. *Alexander's* Glory effaced That of all the *Grecian* Commanders who had gone before him, and *Cæsar's* infinitely excelled the *Roman*. At His Approach a general Eclipse ensued, as when the Sun first appears all the nightly Luminaries are extinguished, and, to make use of *Pindar's* Words, *His Light lays waste the whole Extent of Heaven*.

But as in those Faces where we meet with the strongest Resemblances, we always find some Marks of Distinction; so are there in the Lineaments of these two Heroes some peculiar Features that point out to us the difference that is between them. We are now to take a survey of the One, and the Other, and to weigh in an equitable Balance their Virtues, and their Vices; to the end the Reader may be able to judge Which of them has the Preference, and in Which of them is to be found the most perfect and essential Greatness.

If we consider them with respect to their Birth, we shall not find the One to have any Advantage over the Other. *Alexander* was descended from *Hercules* by his Father's side, and from *Achilles* by his Mother's; so that he could trace his Pedigree up to *Jupiter* himself; and so could *Cæsar* too, being, as he said, descended from *Venus* and *Anchises*. But *Alexander* did in a manner dishonour His Birth by disguising, or rather disowning it, pretending himself to be the Son of *Jupiter*, and the Fruits of the Commerce of that Deity with his Mother.

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Whereas *Cæsar* never departed from the Tradition of his Family, but thought it enough to say, that the *Julii* were descended from *Venus*, and that in His Family was to be found the Majesty of Kings, who are above the rest of Mankind, and the Sanctity of the Gods, on whom Kings are dependent.

They were Both of them exceeding beautiful, of a lofty Mien, full of Sweetness and Majesty. The Fire that sparkled in their Eyes betokened the Heat and Impetuosity of their Courage. However Each of them had a Defect in his Make, which their respective Historians have not forgotten. *Cæsar* was bald, and *Alexander's* Head leaned on one side. But this Defect in *Cæsar* was at last concealed by his many Victories, for They gave him a right to a Laurel Crown, which he wore constantly; and That of *Alexander* was as it were wiped off by the Flattery of his Courtiers, those Apes of their Master, for they either effaced it, or rendered it less remarkable by their Imitation of it. *Alexander* was formed by Nature to encounter with the greatest Hardships, whereas *Cæsar* was of a weak delicate Constitution, which however he hardened by Exercise, and drew even from the Incommodities of War a Remedy for his Indispositions; by a thorough neglect of himself; by inuring himself to all sorts of Fatigues, and turning even his Repose into Action. Now it is more glorious to harden and invigorate an infirm Body by the meer Dint of Courage and Labour, than to receive it robust and strong from the Hands of Nature.

They were Both possessed with the same Spirit of Ambition, or the same Passion of ruling, and being Lords over All. *Alexander*, whilst but a Child, complained to his Comrades of his Father, who, he said, would leave nothing for Him to Conquer; and *Cæsar*, in a more advanced Age, confest to his Friends as he was passing the *Alps* that

that he had rather be the First in a pitiful Borough than the Second in *Rome*. And upon reading the Life of *Alexander* one day whilst he was in *Spain*, he burst out into Tears for that He had done nothing to be talked of at an Age wherein that Prince had conquered so many Kingdoms. But in Truth this passion was more proper for *Alexander*, who was born a King, than for *Cæsar*, who was by Birth no more than a private Person, notwithstanding his high Extraction; he was as it were hemmed in by Numbers of great Men, all his Equals; so that he could not think of aggrandising himself without breaking down that Barrier of Equality, and committing the greatest Acts of Injustice.

It is true that on the other side This makes for the Advantage of *Cæsar*. For it is not so surprizing to see a Prince born and nursed in the Bosom of Royalty, and aided with all the Supports inherent to it, raised to the highest pitch of Greatness, as to see a private Man, without any of those Advantages, work his way thorough, and by his own Industry raise himself up to that Eminence. He certainly shews himself to be the greater Man who owes his Advancement to Himself alone, than He who is in some degree obliged to his Ancestors for it, who had prepared to his Hands the first Foundations of that Advancement.

As to their Education, *Alexander* had in that Respect a great Advantage over *Cæsar*. We hear no mention of His Preceptors, and are only told that he went to *Rhodes* to hear *Apollonius Molon* the Philosopher; whereas *Alexander* had many Preceptors and Governors always attending him; and his Father *Philip* sent for *Aristotle*, the most celebrated and knowing of all the Philosophers, to take care of his Education. To This Education was owing the great Love he had for Knowledge and Learning,

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ing, which made him own that he had rather excell other Men in that respect, than in Power and Dominion. It was This taught him to entertain such a high Value and Esteem for *Homer*, as to declare that he envied *Achilles* in nothing but his good Fortune, in having that excellent Poet the Herald of his Actions. And yet it may be said with great Truth that *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the Narrowness of his Education, was as great a Proficient in Learning as *Alexander*, as appeared by his many Treatises, and of which his *Commentaries*, and the high Commendations he received from his Cotemporaries on Account of his Eloquence, are living Testimonies.

Alexander's first Appearance in the World was with such a Lustre, as plainly foretold the amazing Brightness that was to follow. Being left Regent of the Realm at the Age of sixteen he reduced a Nation that had rebelled, and took their Capital City by Assault. Two Years after he had the Command of a Wing of the Army under his Father *Philip* at the Battel of *Chæronea*, where he broke the sacred Band of the *Thebans*. When he was twenty Years old he succeeded his Father in the Empire, and tho' he found the State in a very distracted Condition, the barbarous Nations being ready to throw off the Yoke, and *Greece* not accustomed to the Domination of the *Macedonians*, full of Cabals, and ripe for a Revolt, yet he refused to follow the Advice of his Friends, who counselled him to leave *Greece* to her self, and not think of retaining her by Force; and to reduce the *Barbarians* by gentle Usage, and apply Lenitives to the Distemper. Instead of these timorous Expedients he built his Security upon his Courage and Magnanimity. He marched against the *Barbarians*, and defeated them in a pitch Battel; after which he turned his Victorious Arms against the

the *Thebans*, and assured himself of *Greece* by the Chastisement inflicted on the Rebels.

Cæsar's Beginnings were not so promising. We hear nothing of Him 'till after he was married, and the first Years that succeeded thereupon do not afford any thing that can stand in Competition with the great Exploits of the *Macedonian*, unless we should bring into the Comparison his steady Behaviour, tho' he was then but young, to *Sylla*; his haughty Carriage to the Pirates tho' he was their Prisoner, and the Punishment he inflicted on them after he had overthrown them in their own Harbour. It was indeed an Argument of a great Resolution not to be shocked at the Menaces of a Man so cruel and imperious as *Sylla*, and to use a Parcel of lawless unrelenting Pirates as if he had been their Master, and not their Prisoner. Besides *Cæsar* must even in his Youth have promised something very great and formidable, since *Sylla* was heard to say that in that Boy he discovered many *Marius's*. But is this Dawn comparable to the Day-break of *Alexander*, in which he rendered himself Master of *Greece*, reduced *Thrace* and *Illyria*, and subdued the *Triballi* and *Mæfians*?

The Expedients they Both made use of in order to compass their Ends, and attain their Greatness, place them in very different Lights. *Alexander's* Procedure was full of Honour, Candor, and Sincerity; That of *Cæsar* was made up of Meanness, Fraud, and Artifice. He dishonourably made his Court to the People; proposed many seditious Laws to gain Their Favour; advanced to the Office of Tribune the most infamous of Mankind, and turned a scandalous Marriage Broker, and All to carry on his own Designs.

Policy is a Talent peculiar to Princes, and Statesmen. That of *Cæsar* was deep, and refined. He at the same time pretended to the Consu-

late, and a Triumph; but forasmuch as the Laws disqualified him for the First whilst he remained with his Troops at the very Gates of the City, after having demanded a Privilege which was refused him, he dropped his Pretensions to the Triumph, entered *Rome*, and put in for the Consulate, like a true Politician preferring That which was more Sure and Profitable, to the more Glaring and Ostentatious. He wrought a Reconciliation between *Pompey* and *Crassus*, by which he secured to himself the Power and Interest of them Both. So that an Action which in shew seemed to be full of Humanity, put him in a Condition of overturning the Government. He defeated his Enemies by the Arms of his Citizens, and bought his Citizens with the Wealth of his Enemies. There is nothing of this kind in *Alexander* that may be compared with it; but That is for his Honour, for Policy is never commendable, but when it is applied to honest, just, and commendable Purposes.

There was one piece of Policy in *Cæsar* worthy of Commendation. After he had overthrown the *Helvetians* in a general Engagement he recalled Those that had escaped the Battel to the Number of a hundred thousand, and upwards, and forced them to return into their own Country, and rebuild the Cities they had destroyed. This he did to prevent the *Germans* who might have been tempted by the Goodness of the Country to pass the *Rhine*, and settle in those Parts, which would have been of dangerous Consequence to the *Romans*.

But is not *Alexander* to be commended for his Policy, when for the better Maintenance and Security of his Affairs during his absence in remote Parts, he took thirty thousand Children of the principal Families in *Persia*, to be educated in the Learning of *Greece*, and instructed in the *Macedonian*

nian Exercises? by this means assuring himself of the Fidelity of the Parents and Affection of the Children, who besides from Hostages would in due time grow up to be Soldiers.

His Marriage with *Roxana*, and afterwards with *Darius's* Daughter, as also the Nuptials of the principal Officers of his Court, whom he matched to the Daughters of the greatest Men in *Persia*, and which were celebrated with so much Magnificence, may be looked on as the effect of great Prudence, for he thereby joined in Bands of the closest Alliance, two of the most powerful Nations upon Earth. Unless it shall be said that Pleasure, and the Allurements of great and magnificent Feastings, accompanied with Love and Dissoluteness, which had already got the better of his Continency, had not a larger share than Policy in that Union.

As for their Warlike Actions, by which they are particularly characterised, it is easy to draw a Comparison of them, but it is not so easy to determine which side has the Advantage; This must be the Work of the most consummate and experienced Commander. We will endeavour to propose That which to us seems the most obvious.

Many things are requisite to the forming a great General. For without reckoning up the Qualifications of the Body, he ought to have a Head that knows how to undertake wisely, to lay his Designs deeply, and so apply his Expedients as to execute them successfully. He ought to know what Places are proper for Encampments; how to form an Army according to the Nature of the Ground, the present Conjuncture and Disposition of the Enemy, so as to deprive Him of all the Advantages that can be of use, and secure them to Himself. He ought dexterously to conceal his own Schemes, and penetrate into Those of the Enemy; or as *Plato* saith from *Homer*, steal from him his Resolu-

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tions, his Designs, and all his Enterprizes. He must have the Foresight to secure his Convoys, and prevent their falling into Ambuscades; Courage, and Boldness in Execution; a Vivacity in profiting from all Conjunctures, and seeing with the cast of an Eye, and instantly amending any Disorder that may arise in the Heat of Action, which otherwise may discompose Measures the most prudential, and best concerted; but above all This he must have a cool Head, and solid Judgment, unshaken in the midst of the greatest Dangers.

All these Qualifications appear in a high Degree in *Cæsar*, and *Alexander*; tho' the Latter trusted more to Fortune, who has a great Influence upon all humane Affairs, and exerts her Power no where with so much Insolence, as in all Warlike Undertakings.

After his Essay against the *Thebans*, and Actions that would do Honour to the most renowned Commanders, he undertook his Expedition into *Asia*, with means no way proportioned to the Greatness of the Undertaking. He set out with an Army consisting of no more than thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, and a Fund of two thousand Talents. With This Fund, and This Army, was he to encounter with *Darius*, who could raise Millions upon occasion, and had immense Treasures to maintain them.

Imagination startles at the Boldness of this Enterprize, and is seized and transported at the manner in which it was executed. What can be more astonishing than his Passage over the *Granicus*? *Alexander* there looks more like one possessed, than a Man of Sense and Reason. To behold him in the middle of the Flood, often born down, and buried in the Waters, One would think one saw *Achilles* grappling with the boisterous Waves of the *Scamander*, and *Simois*. At last after infinite Hazards,
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and through the midst of a shower of Darts, he reached the opposite Banks, where he engaged the Enemy, and obtained a signal Victory. *Sardis*, and several other Cities are the Fruits of that Victory. *Miletus* and *Halicarnassus* he takes by Force; he reduces the *Pisidians* who had revolted, and passes like a Torrent through *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*. He advances against *Darius* into *Syria*, where he gains a second Victory, which was chiefly owing to his Conduct, and the masterly Disposition of his Forces. After This he lays Siege to *Tyre*, during which he makes an Incurfion into *Arabia*. And when he had reduced the Place, which cost him seven Months, and Toils without number, he fits down before *Gaza* the Capital of *Syria*, and makes himself Master of That. From thence he marches into *Ægypt* to consult the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, where he meets with innumerable Difficulties, that were thought insurmountable. Upon his return out of *Phœnicia* he marches against *Darius*, who was come down with an Army of a Million of Men, and defeats him in a pitched Battel, which makes him Master of *Babylon*, and the whole *Persian Empire*.

To these famous Exploits of *Alexander* we may oppose Those performed by *Cæsar* in *Spain*, where he subdued Nations that 'till then had never paid any Obedience to the *Romans*, and give the Preference to his glorious Campaigns against the *Tigurians*, the *Helvetians*, the *Germans*, and the *Belgæ*, in which he totally subdued *Gaul*, took by assault above eight hundred Towns, conquered three hundred Nations, fought in several Engagements against three Millions of Enemies, cut in pieces above one Million, made Another Prisoners, ended two important Wars in one Campaign, and cheaked the Lakes and Rivers with the Bodies of the Slain.

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With *Alexander's* Passage over the *Granicus*, and his Contention with the Waves, may be opposed that Exploit of *Cæsar*, who in the War of *Alexandria* ran a much greater Risque, when he jumped into a Skiff to go to the Assistance of his Troops that were hardly put to it at the Attack of the *Pharos*, and lanced afterwards into the Sea to swim to his Ships riding at Anchor a great ways off, tho' he was exposed all the while to the Enemies Darts and Javelins. He was the first *Roman* that ever past the *Rhine* at the Head of an Army, and tho' he past it on a Bridge, it was a Bridge which was contrived and perfected in the Space of ten days, and was for that Reason the Astonishment and Admiration of the whole World. And what is still more surprizing, this whole Expedition was the Business of no more than eighteen Days.

To the Boldness of *Alexander's* Expedition into the *Indies*, we may oppose That of *Cæsar* into *Britain*. *Alexander* therein satisfied the Ambition he always had of pushing his Conquests to the Extremity of the World, and had the Satisfaction of sailing some Furlongs upon the Oriental Ocean. But *Cæsar* was the first *Roman* that penetrated with his Army as far as to the Western Ocean, and embarking his Troops on the *Atlantick* Sea, carried the War into an Island, of which Many doubted the very Existence, and so extended the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire beyond the Limits of the habitable World.

Porus found more work for *Alexander*, and reduced him to greater Difficulties, with a Body only of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, than *Darius* had done with his innumerable Armies; and the Victory *Alexander* obtained over Him, wherein he took him Prisoner, redounded more to his Glory than all the rest of his Exploits in *Persia*.

And

And yet this Victory is not to be compared either with That obtained by *Cæsar* over *Ariovistus*, or that Other wherein he defeated the *Nervii*, the most Warlike of the *Belgæ*. Nor will it stand in Competition with his Exploits against *Ambiorix*, who taking the Advantage of his Absence fell upon *Cotta* and *Titurius Sabinus* in their Quarters, and afterwards marched at the Head of sixty thousand Men to attack *Cicero* in His. *Cæsar* flew like Lightning to his Relief, with only seven thousand Men under his Command. But what he wanted in Strength was supplied by Conduct. He increased the Presumption of the *Barbarians* by a feigned Fear, 'till he had decoyed them on to his Retrenchments, which they had the Boldness to attack in an undisciplined disorderly manner, natural to Those whose Confidence is augmented by a thorough Contempt of the Enemy, then he fell on, and made a horrible Slaughter among them.

Neither will this Engagement with *Porus* counter-balance That of *Cæsar* against *Vercingentorix*, who had spirited up against the *Romans* a War more terrible than Any they had been engaged in before; marching down at the Head of many confederated Nations united together in the same Interests and Designs, under the most solemn Vows and Obligations; and still more redoubtable for their Courage than Numbers. *Cæsar* in the midst of a severe Winter, with an Expedition hardly to be met with even in a Courier, marches against them, lays their Country waste, and takes their City by Force. They attack him in his March, and encompass him on every side; notwithstanding which, he bravely stands their Shock, fights, and after a very obstinate Resistance defeats them, and forces them to fly into *Alexia*.

The Siege of *Tyre*, which *Alexander* took by Assault, That of *Gaza*, which he took in the same manner,

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manner, after he had been wounded in an Attack, Those of the Rock of *Sisimethres*, and the Town of the *Mallians*, are not all together to be put in the Balance against the single Siege of *Alexia*, to which place *Vercingetorix* was pursued by *Cæsar* after his Overthrow. Never was General engaged in a more difficult Affair, or exposed to greater Dangers. There were seventy thousand Soldiers in the Town, and three hundred thousand of the best Men in all *Gaul* marching to their Relief; infomuch that *Cæsar* found himself shut in between two numerous Armies. His great Judgment, his good Sense and Courage drew him out of that terrible Situation. He overthrew that prodigious Multitude, forced *Vercingetorix* to surrender *Alexia*, and throw himself at his Feet.

Alexander has nothing to oppose to this single Action of *Cæsar's*, nor to his Conduct in the War of *Alexandria*, where he had a strong Town, and a powerful Army, to contend with at one and the same time. And That which rendered his Situation the more dangerous, was his want of Water, and at the same time he was obliged to set fire to his Fleet to save it from falling into the Hands of the Enemy. He surmounted all these Difficulties by his great Courage and Capacity. He forced the King of *Ægypt* to retire with his Troops, attacked him in his Camp, defeated him with a very great Slaughter, obliged him to fly for his Safety, and so put a glorious End to that War; if a War undertaken in behalf of a Woman can ever be said to be ended gloriously.

The Battel gained by *Cæsar* against *Pharnaces* in *Pontus*, who had defeated *Domitius Calvinus*, and taken *Bitynia* and *Cappadocia* from the *Romans*; his Exploits in *Spain* against *Pompey's* Lieutenants, *Afranius* and *Varro*, whom he stripped both of their
Troops

Troops and Camps, may Parallel with any Two of *Alexander's* most glorious Performances in *Asia*.

But I question if in all *Alexander's* Exploits there can One be found to match the Overthrow of *Pompey* in the Plains of *Pharsalia*; or That of *Scipio* in *Afric*, where *Cæsar* in a few Hours time made himself Master of three Camps, and killed fifty thousand of their Men; or the Defeat of *Pompey's* Sons under the Walls of *Munda*, where *Cæsar* slew no less than thirty thousand Men upon the Spot, and owed his Victory chiefly to his own Valour and Example.

It may be said in favour of *Alexander* that he was always Victorious; whereas *Cæsar* was sometimes beaten. But besides that a General is not to be reproached for any Loss that is repaired almost as soon as received, this very thing proves to the Advantage of *Cæsar*. For what Idea must we conceive of Troops that were able to beat *Cæsar*? and what Glory must it be at last to conquer those Troops? Besides, *Alexander* died Young, in the full Course of his Prosperities, before Fortune had time to think of turning the Tide. If he had lived to a farther Date he might possibly have met with a Reverse; for what Man is there who in the whole Course of a long Life found her constant in her Favours. Did not long Life expose the Great *Cyrus* to a cruel Reverse? and did it not do the same by *Pompey*? without mentioning many Other great Kings and Commanders, who have been All of them so many flagrant Instances of the Vicissitude of human Affairs.

But it may likewise be said that *Alexander's* dying very young, takes off and lessens the Advantages *Cæsar* has over him on Account of his many Victories. It is not reasonable to compare the Sum total of a long Life with That of a short one, which passed quick like a Flash of Lightning. If
Alexander

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Alexander had lived as long as *Cæsar*, he might possibly have been beaten as *Cæsar* was; but he might likewise have performed as many brave Actions as *Cæsar*, and excelled even Himself.

That which gives *Cæsar* an incontestable Advantage over his Rival, is the Quality of the Enemies they Both had to encounter with. *Alexander* had seldom or never Any that made head against him, but such as fled almost before they had charged, and who offered him Booty instead of Battel; whereas *Cæsar* had always to do with Men nursed in War, and who chose rather to be hacked in Pieces than quit their Posts. It was easier for *Alexander* to run over, or drive whole Provinces before him, than for *Cæsar* to gain an Inch of Ground.

Besides, *Cæsar* had not only those fierce and war-like *Barbarians* to oppose him; but had to do with *Roman* Generals of the greatest Reputation, and *Roman* Armies; that is, with Officers and Soldiers who had triumphed over the greatest Part of the Universe.

But if We are to measure their Exploits not so much by the Greatness of them, and the Difficulties that attended them, as by the Benefits that flowed from them, and the Motives that produced them, We shall find the Balance pretty even.

An Enemy terrible for Courage, Fierceness, and Numbers arm against *Rome*. *Cæsar* delivers her from all those Dangers, which appeared to her of such Consequence, that even the Priests, and old Men, who otherwise had been exempted from the Wars, lost their Immunities in Case of a War with the *Gauls*. All the Temples were crouded, and the Senate ordained publick Prayers and Processions for fifteen days together, in thanksgiving to the Gods, which had never been done before on Account of any Victory whatever.

Alexander's

Alexander's first Exploits were equally profitable to his Country, for he secured *Macedonia* against any Insults from her Neighbours. But when that was done he ran rambling after remote Conquests; forgot the chief duty of a Prince, which is the Safety of his People; drained *Macedonia* of her Men and Treasure, and opened a Door to those Divisions, which in the End tore her in Pieces. *Cæsar* likewise by the Civil Wars destroyed all the Fruits of his first Performances, and involved *Rome* in greater Terrors than Those from which he had before delivered her.

As for the Motives, which are the Soul of Actions, and by which wise Men have at all times measured the Merits of them, *Alexander* in that Particular appears much Superior to *Cæsar*. If he undertook the Conquest of *Asia*, it was in revenge of the Ravages committed upon *Greece* by the *Barbarians*. If he laboured to bring all in Subjection, it was not to enslave Mankind, but to make them happier. This Character prevails in all his Actions; he had no sooner overthrown *Darius*, and found himself at the Head of the *Persian* Empire, but *Greece* received the first Fruits of his Victories. His chief Care was to abolish the Tyrannies, and restore to all the Cities their antient Rights and Privileges. It may be said in Answer to This, that *Cæsar* likewise enfranchised the *Thessalians* after the Battel of *Pharsalia*; that he restored the *Gnidians* to their Liberty, and eased the Inhabitants of *Asia* of a third Part of their Taxes. But this Character is not uniform, nor well supported; for in all his other Actions he seems to be a perfect Stranger to it. He sacrifices every thing to his Ambition, and breaks through all the Ties of Honour and Justice, in his Pursuit of it. He looks with Pleasure on *Cataline* and his Accomplices, whilst they are upon the Point of overturning the Empire, by the

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Revolt of Nations and foreign Wars, and of laying *Rome* itself in Ashes. He watches to make his Advantage of those Troubles, and that Conflagration, that he may reign absolute in a desolate City reduced to Ashes. In vain did the small Remains of natural Reason, which inwardly condemns all sorts of Trespases and Transgressions, fill his Soul with Agitation and Horror, when he was upon the Point of passing the *Rubicon*, in order to render himself Master of *Italy*. The implacable Thirst of Power got the better of all those Remonstrances, and in spite of his Remorse, and the checks of Conscience, he hurries blindly into an Undertaking that was unavoidably to produce so many Calamities. There was not one *Roman* throughout the Empire whom he did not injure in the highest Degree; for he robbed him of his Liberty, which is the greatest Blessing of Mankind. The Character of Tyrant was so deeply rooted in him, that under that Gentleness of Behaviour with which he endeavoured to disguise it, and then when he seemed to be rendering his Country the most important Services by his successful Undertakings, at that time was he endeavouring, then was he laying his Schemes, how to bring her into Subjection. He exercises himself against his Enemies only, that he may know how to subdue and enslave his Fellow-Subjects. His very Offers and Proposals for an Accommodation, though they outwardly appeared so just and reasonable, were in truth no better than so many Baits laid to amuse and decoy his Rival. In short, *Cæsar* seemed to have been born for the Plague, and *Alexander* for the Happiness of Mankind.

In the Character of their Courage there is an essential Difference, which gives *Alexander* infinitely the Advantage over *Cæsar*. In all the Performances of *Cæsar* we see the Great Man, but still it is Man; there is nothing in them above the reach of human

human

human Power. Whereas in the great Actions performed by *Alexander*, one can distinguish as it were some Rays of Divinity. His Attempts were fitter for a God than a Mortal, and yet he executes them; like *Achilles*, he proves the Truth of *Homer's* Definition of Valour; he saith it is a divine Inspiration, and that some God gets Possession of the Man for the time, and acts within him. *Cæsar* claims our Esteem, but *Alexander* seizes on our Admiration.

This Air of Divinity is not only perceived in his Military Operations, but is blended likewise in his civil Actions. Upon his setting out for *Asia* he gave All he had to his Friends, reserving only Hope for himself. After his Conquests, those Princes who had been conquered by him, or submitted to him, received from him Dominions larger than they had lost, and parted laden with Royal Presents. Every thing that came near him felt the Effects of his Bounty and Magnificence. *Alexander* bestowed not like a King, but like the Master of the Universe.

Cæsar's Bounty is a mercenary Bounty; he does not give, but buys at a great Price the People's Votes and Interests. Whereas the Bounty of *Alexander* flows from a Beneficence natural to him; like That of the Gods, it aims only at the Pleasure and Glory of Bestowing.

Cæsar heaped up great Treasures, which he kept in Reserve, that he might be able in due time to reward that Valour that should be serviceable to his Purposes. But *Alexander* was not satisfied with rewarding magnificently Those that served him; he carried his Gratitude farther, and continued to the Children of Such as had died in his Service the Pay of their Fathers, the Memory of whose brave Actions he thus transmitted to Posterity, and proposed them as Examples for their Imitation.

This Greatness of Soul breaks forth even in his most familiar Discourses. When *Parmenio* advised

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him to accept of *Darius's* Offers, and told him *that He would if He was Alexander: And so would I,* replied *Alexander* very briskly, *if I was Parmenio.* When his Friends pressed him not to attack *Darius* but in the Night-time, that he might conceal from his Troops the prodigious Numbers with which they were to engage; he replied, *I will not steal a Victory.* When *Parmenio* expressed his Astonishment at his being able to sleep so sound and undisturbed the Night before the Battel: *And what,* replied *Alexander,* *dost thou not think we have already conquered, now that we have stopped the Flight of the Enemy, and brought him to engage us?* There is a Sublime in this Simplicity, which nothing can equal. Here *Alexander* is as much *Alexander* as he is in the bravest of his Actions.

Those Sayings of *Cæsar*, that have been preserved, contain nothing in them so Great and Noble, unless we except his Speech to the Pilot, who, amazed at the Danger he was in, and unable to stem the Tide, was for turning back, *Be bold,* said he, *and fear nothing, thou carriest Cæsar and his Fortune.* He would have had the Confidence in his Fortune to outweigh with the Pilot the Terrors of an instant Death, with which he was threatened. This Saying was the Argument of a great Mind, but it should have been justified by the Success, to have appeared as great as Those of *Alexander.*

Alexander transfused this Greatness of Mind to his Troops; his Soldiers thought themselves more than Men whilst they were fighting under him. It is true, that in this Respect *Cæsar* had the same Advantage with *Alexander.* His Soldiers, who under other Commanders performed nothing more than other Men, became under Him invincible Heroes. And yet both the One and the Other have sometimes been exposed to the Murmurs, and experienced the Faint-heartedness of their Troops; but they

they Both knew how to animate them, and bring them back to their Duty by the same Means, and with the same Magnanimity.

There was a strong Resemblance between them in several moral Qualities; they shewed the same Frugality in their way of Living, and the same Zeal and Attachment for their Friends. But *Alexander* never gave so high an Instance of his Friendship as did *Cæsar*, when being forced by a violent Storm to a poor Hovel, in which there was but one Room, and that hardly big enough to hold one Man, he quitted it to his Friend that happened to be sick, and lay himself under the Pent-house. *Alexander* interested himself in behalf of his Friends, but *Cæsar* suffered Inconveniencies for the sake of His.

They have Both of them been commended for their Clemency and Humanity, of which it is certain they gave extraordinary Instances on many Occasions. *Alexander* pardoned the *Atbenians* who had received the *Tbebans* into their City, as *Cæsar* did the Officers in *Pompey's* Army, who were taken Prisoners in the Battel of *Pbarsalia*. *Alexander* coming up to *Darius* the Moment he was expiring, was sensibly touched at the Sight of that unhappy Prince, and sincerely lamented his Misfortunes. And when the Head of *Pompey* was presented to *Cæsar*, he turned his Eyes, and burst into Tears. And yet both the One and the Other were guilty of Actions cruel and inhuman. *Cæsar* put to Death several Persons of Consular and Pretorian Dignity, who had been taken Prisoners at the Battel of *Thap-sos*, and *Alexander* at his first Arrival in *Asia* ordered his Soldiers to put every Man to the Sword without Quarter or Distinction. But in This *Cæsar* was the most to be blamed; for his Cruelty was exercised upon conquered Enemies, from whom he had nothing to fear, whereas Those against whom

whom *Alexander* gave such Directions were as yet unconquered, and had their Arms in their Hands. It is true he shewed a useless Piece of Cruelty in the Sack of *Thebes*, but the Sorrow he afterwards exprest, and the bitter Remorse he felt for that Barbarity, plead for a Pardon. The same may be said of the Murder of *Clitus*, the Ignominy of which was effaced by his Grief and Despair. Besides, that Murder was committed in the transports of a violent Passion, aggravated, and inflamed by Wine.

We cannot make the same Excuse for the Punishment of *Philotas*, That of *Callisthenes*, or the Death of *Parmenio*, whom he ordered to be slain in *Media* after all the great Services he had performed for him. These Cruelties committed in cold Blood upon slight Accusations without any Proofs, will remain as indelible blots upon his Character and Memory.

His breach of Faith in putting a whole Garrison to the Sword, after they had surrendered upon Articles, is still more infamous. Never were any of *Cæsar's* Exploits blasted with such Treachery: Unless we place in the same light That which he acted in his March against the *Germans*, of whom he slew three hundred thousand Men, in Breach of the Peace betwixt Them and the *Romans*. But this Action was justified by all the *Romans*, who returned their Thanks to the Gods for it, whereas That of *Alexander* was never excused by any one.

Alexander, mis-led by the glaring shew of *Achilles's* Valour, made Choice of that Hero for his Imitation, and without distinguishing between what was truly Great, and what was barbarous and brutal in his Character, imitated him in the most faulty parts of it. To this pernicious Imitation we are to impute the Barbarity he exercised upon
the

the *Cusæans*, when he immolated them, Men, Women, and Children, to his Sorrow for the Death of *Hephestion*, calling that horrible Butchery a Sacrifice to his departed Friend. He unluckily remembered that *Achilles* had sacrificed several *Trojan* Princes upon the Tomb of *Patroclus*, and forgot that the Poet's Relation of that Inhumanity includes in it a Condemnation of it. He did not reflect how much, and wherein his Barbarity exceeded That of that fierce and implacable Man. *Patroclus* had been slain by a *Trojan*, but the *Cusæans* were innocent of the Death of *Hephestion*. *Cæsar* never ran out into such barbarous excesses.

On the other hand, none of *Cæsar's* most celebrated Victories can be compared with that glorious and divine Conquest which *Alexander* obtained over himself, when having in his Power the Wife and Daughters of *Darius*, he listened to Wisdom only and Reason. They were in his Camp as in a holy Temple, honoured and served with a Respect due to their Dignity, and their Virtue.

Never Prince therefore received a greater Encomium than did *Alexander* from the Mouth of *Darius*, when after his Defeat he beseeched the Gods that if it was their pleasure an End should be put to the Empire of the *Persians*, that no one but *Alexander* might sit upon the Throne of *Cyrus*; and afterwards when he was just expiring he gave him the tenderest Marks of Affection and Acknowledgment, and died praying the Gods to recompense him for the Humanity, Indulgence, and Generosity exhibited by *Alexander* to That which was the dearest to him of all things in the World. This Testimony given him by a dying Enemy will be more valued by a wise Man than all the Monuments raised to *Cæsar's* Glory; a Testimony singly worth all *Cæsar's* Triumphs.

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Cæsar can by no means enter into the Parallel with *Alexander* on the score of Chastity. What Comparison can there be between a Man so infamous for his Incontinence, as to be called in full Senate, *The Husband of every Woman, and the Wife of every Man*, with a Prince who was the perfect Model of Modesty and Virtue! It is true, the Tincture *Alexander* had received in his Education did not preserve its force and beauty to the end, but by Degrees faded and died. He fell at last into Irregularities, and was not proof against a detestible Vice for which he had always before expressed an Abhorrence. But this may be charged upon his Commerce with the *Barbarians*, the most effeminate and dissolute of Mankind.

Sobriety is a Virtue requisite in all Men, but indispensable in a Prince. The Vice opposite to it plunges them into Disorders, which without reckoning the Mischiefs they occasion, degrades them, and makes them unworthy the high Rank they bear in the World. Here Justice and Injustice lose their Distinctions, and a Man is led by no other Guide but his unruly Passions. *Alexander* loved to sit long at Table without being addicted to Wine, but in the latter part of his Life he wallowed in Excesses that disgraced him. He set Fire to the Palace of *Persopolis* at the Instigation of a Harlot in one of his Debauches, and murdered *Clitus* in Another. *Cæsar* on the other hand kept himself always sober, even by the Confession of his Enemies. *Cato* said of him that *He was the only Man noted for his Sobriety that ever undertook to overturn the Government.*

The Robe of the *Barbarians* which *Alexander* wore, and that mixture he introduced of the *Persian* Customs with Those of the *Macedonians* might be justified as done on some politick Views, if it did not appear that Vanity was at the bottom, and
if

if it was not always thought dishonourable for the Conqueror to stoop to, and follow the Usages of the Vanquished. But perhaps This forgetfulness of himself may be excusable in one born up in the high Tide of his Prosperities. Where shall we find a young victorious Prince capable of resisting the constant Favours of Fortune, always courting, always careffing him?

The *Bacchanalian* Life he led in *Carmania*, where for seven Days together he marched in such a dissolute licentious manner, as was fit only for Those that celebrate the Orgies of *Bacchus*, is a dishonour to that Expedition. *Cæsar* led such another in *Theffaly*, which he marched thorough at the Head of his Army wallowing in Wine and Debauch. Both the One and the Other may possibly be excused, from the great Scarcity they had just suffered in their former Marches. Who knows not how almost impossible it is to keep Troops within Bounds, who after suffering a long and painful Famine fall on a sudden into rich and plentiful Quarters? But *Cæsar's* Army is still the more excusable, for that His Men found in their Debauch a Remedy for the contagious Distemper with which they were afflicted.

We often find in the greatest Men a Mixture of Grandeur and Meanness, at which Those who do not well consider the Infirmary of human Nature would be astonished. *Alexander* is not satisfied with that true and substantial Reputation, which he might justly expect from Posterity on account of his great Exploits, but he is for imposing on the World by false Appearances. He causes to be made Arms of an extraordinary size, Mangers for his Horses higher, and the Bits of his Bridles heavier than ordinary, which he plants up and down in the Plains on the *Ganges*, on purpose to excite a greater Admiration of him in future Generations.

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nerations. *Cæsar* never let slip from Him the least Instance of such a Vanity, or rather of such a Weakness. So far was He from adding to his Reputation by a Falsity, that he would not so much as contradict a Falsity that had been raised to lessen his Reputation. The *Averni* shewed in one of their Temples a Sword, which they had caused to be hung up there, as a Spoil taken from *Cæsar*, and they continue to shew it to this very day. Once in his passage through the Country he was carried to see that Sword, and his Friends prest him to have it removed as a Memorial that disparaged him ; at which he only laughed ; he considered it as a Thing hallowed, and therefore left it where he found it, building His Glory on the Merit of his Exploits.

True Courage does not appear only in the Operations of War ; there are other Instances, wherein the Terror may be less, but the Danger greater ; and which therefore require a firmer Courage, and a more hardy Resolution. Of this sort *Cæsar* has nothing wherein he may be compared to *Alexander*, who, when in a dangerous fit of Sickness he was advised by Letter from *Parmenio* that his Physician had been bribed to Poison him, received with one Hand the Dose that had been prepared for him, and with the Other delivered to the Physician the Letter wherein he was accused of Parricide, and whilst he was reading it swallowed the Medicine without Hesitation, and without shewing the least Token of Suspicion or Uneasiness. Perhaps Policy, always timorous and distrustful, will charge this Action with Imprudence, but Heroism will find such Marks in it as to acknowledge it for her Own.

Cæsar's Ambition was to get himself declared King by a People who had an invincible Aversion to Monarchy, and That of *Alexander* to have the
 People

People own him for a God. The Ambition of the One was unjust, and That of the Other impious. But there is this Difference between them, *Cæsar* would have been declared King, after he had involved the State in innumerable Calamities, and *Alexander* would have passed for a God after all the World had been sensible of his Beneficence. He scattered around him Light and Gladness where-ever he went, and wheresoever he conquered; They only who had not a sight of him remained in Darkness, like Those who are deprived of the Light of the Sun. One of them shewed himself unworthy to be a King by the Miseries he had occasioned, and the Other seemed a God by the Benefit he had procured.

If we examine them with respect to Religion, which is the Spring of all our Actions, we shall find *Alexander's* Opinions of the Divinity were sound enough, which may be owing to his Converse with the greatest Philosophers, to whom he always shewed an Affectionate Regard. He constantly begun his Expeditions with a Sacrifice, and never failed returning Thanks to the Gods for any Success they had vouchsafed him. To this religious Principle was owing the Respect he ever shewed to Priests, and Sanctuaries. *Cæsar* did not appear so well instructed, nor so devout in matters of Religion. He performed Sacrifices on important Occasions, and purified his Troops, but This seemed in Him to be done more out of Custom than Devotion, and he was more solicitous in consulting the Gods than in returning his Thanksgivings to them. That wherein they Both agreed was an Art of eluding the Presages when they were not favourable, or else of laughing at them, or by some turn of Wit construing them to their own Advantage. The only difference between them in this Point was, that *Cæsar* was always the same,

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same, whereas *Alexander* fell into a most horrible Superstition, always more injurious to the Divinity than Irreligion it self, as we have shewn elsewhere.

However it appeared by the Miracles the Gods wrought in favour of *Alexander*, that Providence particularly watched over him. The wonderful Rain that fell all on a sudden whilst he was traversing the Desarts in order to consult the Oracle of *Ammon*, and refreshed his Army that was ready to die for Thirst, and at the same time delivered it from the Danger of being buried in those Heaps of moving Sand raised by the South Wind like so many mountainous Waves, and the Crows which in their Flight guided them by Day, and by their Croaking in the Night, are manifest Evidences of this Providence. The Gods never shewed any thing like it in behalf of *Cæsar*.

It is the distinguishing Quality of the Ambitious Person to count for nothing what is past, to be constantly aiming to surmount That which is the highest, and, when there is no other Rival left, to turn a Rival to, and labour to surpass Himself. Such was the Ambition of *Cæsar*, and *Alexander*. This Last, after he had push'd his Conquests even so far as to the Sun's uprising, thought of embarking on the *Euphrates*, of sailing round the South Sea, and entering by *Hercules's* Pillars into the *Mediterranean*, and so subdue the South as he had already done the East. And *Cæsar* not content with his Conquests, which reached from the *Euphrates* to the other side of the *Atlantick* Ocean, was preparing to march against the *Parthians*, to traverse *Hyrkania*, and coasting Mount *Caucasus*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to throw himself into *Scythia*, and proceeding forwards subdue the Nations bordering on *Germany*, and finally *Germany* it self, and return from thence to *Rome*, after having thus delineated the
spacious

spacious Circle of the *Roman* Empire, and given it on every side the Ocean for its Boundary. And at the same time that he was busied in these Preparations he gave Orders for several prodigious Works designed for *Rome's* Glory, and Accommodation. Can the whole World shew two other Instances of such prodigious Ambition? But Death, which laughs at all human Designs, interposed, and overturned their mighty Projects.

They resembled one another in their Deaths, which were severally preceded by Signs and Admonitions. *Alexander* is warned by the *Chaldeans* not to enter *Babylon*; he despises the Warning, enters, and returns to his Camp, and then laughs at the Prediction. The *Chaldeans* assure him the Menace still hung over him, and that *Babylon* would be fatal to him; he returns thither, and there he dies.

Cæsar in like manner is advised by a Sooth-sayer to beware of the Ides of *March*. When the Day was come he laughed at the Sooth-sayer, telling him, *The Ides of March are come*: Yes replied the Prophet, *but they are not past*; and that very day he was murdered. But if they resembled one Another in their Deaths, as they were both forewarned by Prodigies, they differed very much in the manner of their respective Deaths, and the Circumstances attending them. *Alexander* died in his Bed of a Sickness owing to an immoderate Debauch, and was regretted and lamented by the *Persians* as well as *Macedonians*; whereas *Cæsar* was stabbed in full Senate by Those he had honoured with his Favour and Benevolence, and the Murderers were for some time looked on by the *Romans* as their Deliverers; they decreed them the highest Honours, and the most considerable Provinces. *Alexander* by his Actions forced even his Enemies to love and admire him, whereas

Cæsar

The Comparison of

Cæsar drew on Him the Envy and Hatred of his Fellow-Citizens. As he had made himself a Tyrant he came to a violent End, dying the Death of a Tyrant.

Livy thought it not unbecoming him to interrupt the Tread of his History by examining what might have been the Fortune of *Alexander*, if instead of marching against the *Barbarians* he had turned his Arms against *Italy*. I think it less foreign to the Design of this Comparison if I inquire in this Place which would be most advantageous to a State to have an *Alexander* for their General, or a *Cæsar*, considering Them only in their military, and political Capacities.

Alexander's Actions carry a Lustre with them that dazzles the Eye; his Enthusiastick Valour transports the Reader, as he was transported with it Himself. In *Cæsar's* we find more of Safety, and Sedateness. To follow *Alexander*, is to be in perpetual Alarms, and Apprehensions for him. If we follow *Cæsar*, his Wisdom and Experience quiet us, his Conduct inspires us with more Confidence, than the Dangers, to which we see him expose himself, do with Terror. A Transport of Courage is not always the surest Guide; it often proves a blind Impetuosity, the source of Temerity, and Temerity in the long run must be unfortunate. Nothing can be more dangerous for a State than to have their General trust to Miracles, for Miracles are not always certain, but, as *Aristophanes* saith, the Gods will grow weary of conducting the Rash and Inconsiderate, who make an ill use of their Assistance. If *Alexander* had been worsted in any one Engagement he would have been so for the whole War, without ever being able to get upon his Feet again. Whereas *Cæsar* when beaten found in Himself fresh Supplies, and was sure to conquer the Conquerors. For as it is the
essential

essential Quality of Indiscretion to turn even good Luck into Bad, Prudence on the contrary draws Good out of Evil, and is the Mother of Success. If Fortune is sometimes pleased to exert her Power against her, she is foiled in the long Run, and forced to submit.

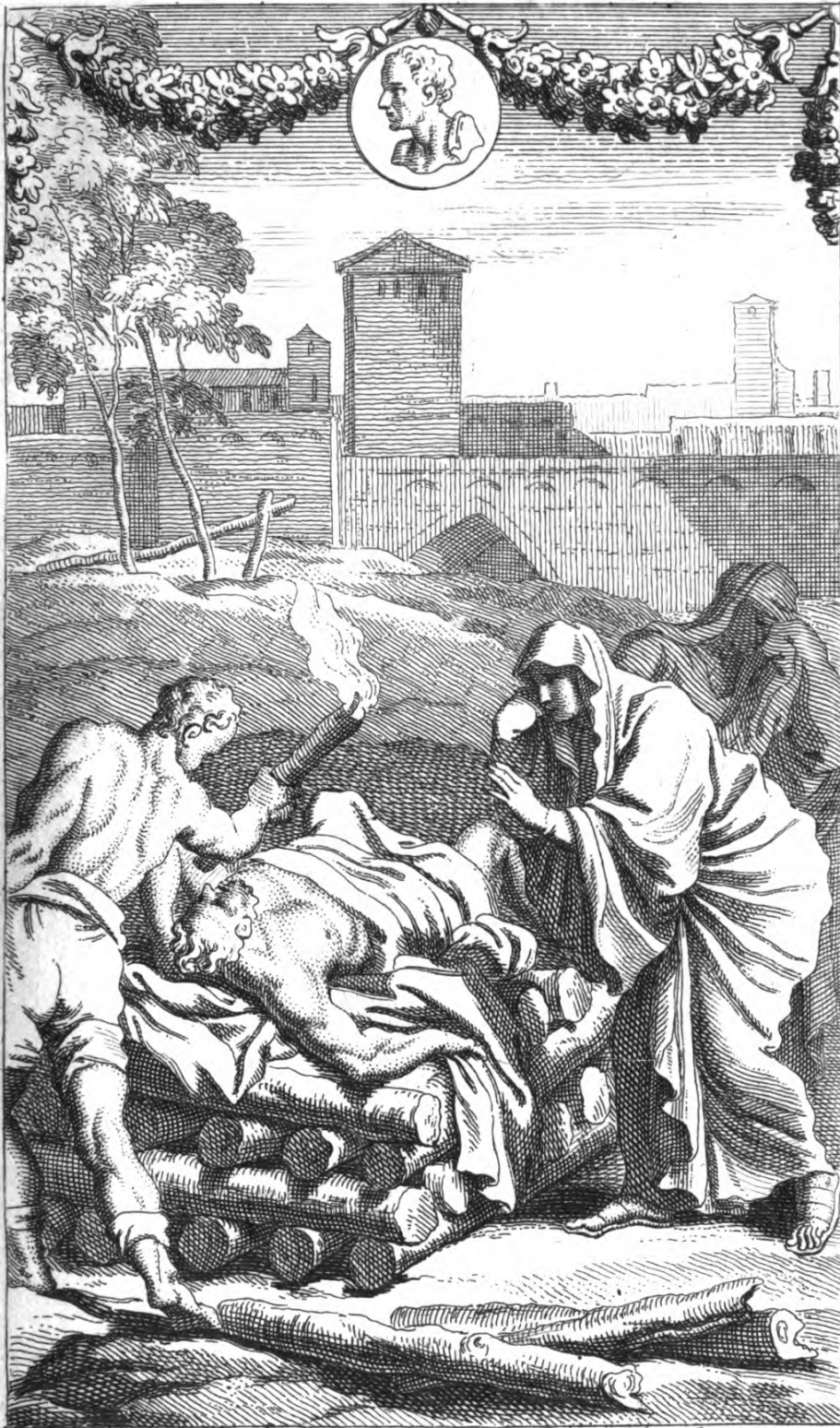




THE
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P H O C I O N.

D*emades* the Orator, a powerful Man at that time in *Athens*, managing Matters in Favour of *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*, being necessitated to write and speak many things below the Dignity, and contrary to the Usage of the City, was wont to say, *he ought to be excused for what he did, because he steered only* (1) *the Shipwrecks of the Com-*

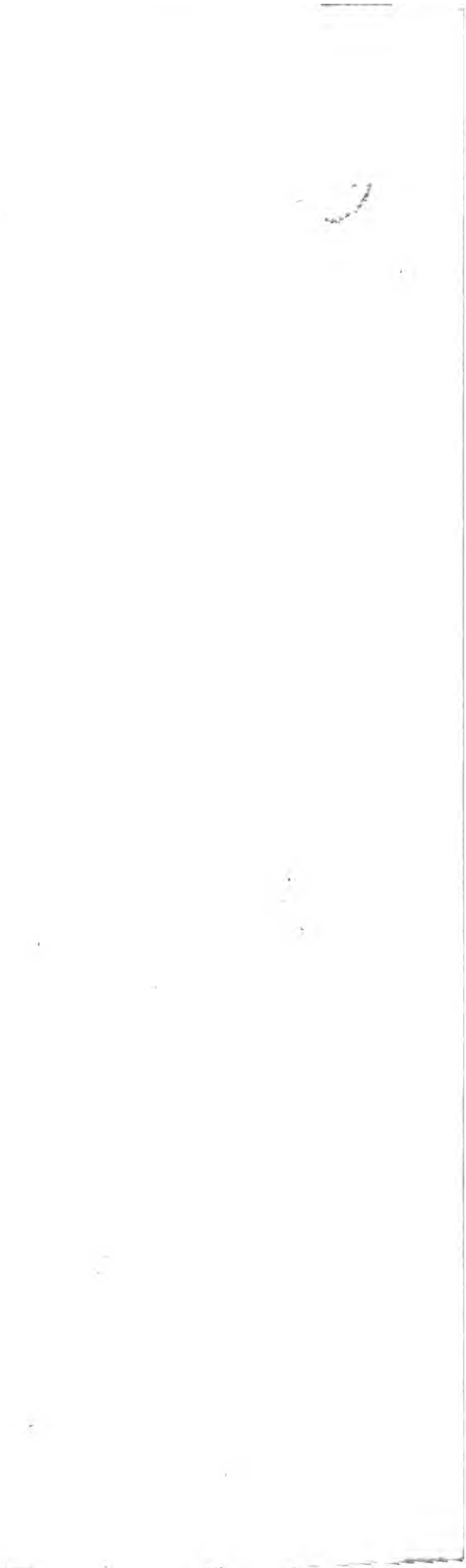
(1) They who have a good stout Ship under them may struggle with a Storm, but He who has been Ship-wrecked, and has nothing but a Plank to trust to, is constrained to ply with the Wind, and humour it. *Demades* could not find out a better Excuse for his great Civilities, and Condescendance to the *Macedonians*, than is not the Case in all Respects, nor would it have passed Muster with *Socrates*. Let a City or Community be pressed never so hard, the Magistrate is not to quit the Helm entirely, but oppose every thing that has an unavoidable Tendency to the Corruption of Manners, and the Dishonour of his Country. We meet with frequent Examples of Such in History.



L. Cheron. Inv.

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G. V. or. Gucci. Sculp.



monwealth. This hardy Saying of His might have some appearance of Truth, if applied to *Phocion's* Government; for *Demades* was the Rock on which his Country split through the Dissoluteness of his Life and Government, which gave *Antipater* occasion to say of him, after he was grown old, *That he was like a sacrificed Beast, (1) all consumed, save his Tongue and his Paunch.* But *Phocion's* was a steady Virtue, depressed only by too great a Counterpoise, the Fate of Greece conspiring with that Juncture of Time, to render it more obscure and inglorious; yet *Sophocles* too much weakens the force of Virtue, by saying, *You are not, Sir, to imagine that They who have a greater Share of Sense than ordinary, can make a right use of it in the days of Adversity: No, it is then eclipsed and confounded.* Thus much indeed must be granted to happen in the Contests between good Men and ill Fortune, that instead of due Returns to their good Management, the People, by unjust Surmises and Obloquies, often sully the Lustre, and endeavour to blast the Reputation of their Virtue. And although it be commonly said, that (2) the Populace is most insulting

(1) For they never burnt the Paunch or the Tongue of the Victim. The Paunch was set apart to be stuffed and served up at Table, and the Tongue was burnt on the Altar at the End of the Entertainment, and had Libations poured upon it. Of This we meet with many Examples in *Homer's Odyssey.*

(2) This is a material Problem in Politicks, to know which is hardest to govern a People when they are in Prosperity, or Adversity. *Plutarch* tells us Some are of Opinion that the First is most difficult. For indeed Prosperity ren-

ders them proud and insolent; but He thinks the latter a harder Task, for This only Reason, that Adversity sours the Mind, which is thereby rendered intractable. But I cannot comprehend how he comes to be of that Opinion in this Place, for in several other Parts of his Works he seems to be entirely of the Former. In the Life of *Lucullus* he tells us in express terms, *nothing renders a Man more intractable than Felicity, nor more gentle than the shock of Fortune.* And elsewhere he supports that Opinion by a proper Allusion, comparing the People to

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sulting and contumelious to great Men, when they are sailing in the full Tide of Prosperity and Success, because their good Fortune makes them proud and contumacious, yet we often find the contrary to happen: for Afflictions and publick Calamities naturally eager and sower the Minds and Manners of Men, and dispose them to such Peevishness and *Chagrin*, that hardly can any one carry himself so swimmingly in his Words or Actions, but they will be apt to take pet: He that remonstrates to their Miscarriages, is interpreted to insult over their Misfortunes, and even the mildest Expostulations are construed Contempt: Honey itself is searching in sore and ulcerated Parts; and the wisest Counsels, if they are not proposed in soft and gentle terms, may prove provoking to distempered Minds, that have not Ears well prepared to entertain them. This made the Poet express such Applications, by a Word signifying a grateful and easy touch upon the Mind, without Harshness or Offence. Inflamed Eyes require a Retreat into gloomy and dusky Places, amongst Colours of the deepest Shades, unable to endure the vigorous and glaring Light: So fares it in the Body politic, when heated with Factions and Irresolution; there is a certain Niceness and touchy Humour prevails in the Minds of Men,

be governed to the Passengers in a Ship, who in fair Weather, and whilst the Wind is favourable, make little or no Account of the Pilot, but contradict and oppose him on every Occasion; but the Moment the Storm ariseth, their Eyes are all fixed on Him, and are ready to obey his Orders, placing their whole Confidence in his Skill and Ability. And in this very Life he tells us, *that the Athenians were extream timorous, and submit in times of Danger; when*

That was blown over, insolent and over-bearing. To reconcile this apparent Contradiction, we must believe that *Plutarch* speaks here only of the Disposition of the People, as they are in a happy, or calamitous State, to receive Reproof, and listen to Advice. It is certain that the Ears of the Unhappy are more touchy, they are then more ready to be exasperated than at other times, and therefore ought to be managed with more Delicacy and Gentleness.

and

and an unaccountable Jealousie of any Person, who with openness and freedom offers to scan their Actions, even when the necessity of their Affairs most requires such Plain-dealing. And surely such a Condition of State is most ticklish, when They who endeavour to stem the popular Torrent, are in Danger to be run down by them, and Those who humour them to be swallowed up with them in the common Ruin.

Astronomers tell us, the Sun's Motion is neither exactly parallel with the rest of the Orbs, not yet directly and diametrically opposite to them; but describing an Oblique Line, with insensible Declination, he steers his Course so, to dispense his Light and Influence in his annual Revolution, at several Seasons, in equal Proportions to the whole Creation: (1) So it happens in Political Affairs, that if the Motions of Rulers be constantly opposite and cross to the Genius and Inclination of the People, they will be stomached as Arbitrary and Tyrannical; as on the other side, too much Deference and Indulgence to the Subjects Levity and Wantonness, has often proved dangerous and fatal; but the gratifying them in reasonable and fair Requests, when they are not Masterly and Insolent, may prove for the Honour and Safety of the Government: Yet it must be confessed it is a nice Point, and extream difficult so to temper this Lenity, as to preserve the Authority of the Government, that it may not be exposed to the Affront and Contempt of the People. But if such a blessed Mixture and Temperament may be obtained, it seems to be the most regular and harmonious of all other; for thus we

(1) This Comparison between the Conduct in a Governour and the Course of the Sun, that is not born away by the common Motion of the Heavens; but maintains a proper Motion of its Own; which placeth him sometimes in a nearer, and sometimes a more remote Distance from the Earth, is very beautiful, and full of good Sense.

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are taught even God governs the World, not by irresistible Force, but persuasive Arguments and gentle Insinuations into our Minds, bending them to Compliance with his Eternal Purposes.

Thus it befel *Cato* the Younger, whose Manners were so little agreeable or acceptable to the People, that he received very slender Marks of their Favour; for he behaved himself, (1) as *Cicero* observes, rather like a Citizen of *Plato's Commonwealth*, than among the Lees of *Romulus's Posterity*, to which was owing his Repulse in his Pretensions to the Consulate. The same Thing happening to him, in my Opinion, as we observe in Fruits ripe out of Season, which we rather gaze at and admire, than use; so much was his old-fashioned Virtue out of present Mode, considering the depraved Customs Time and Luxury had introduced, that it appeared (indeed) fightly and splendid, but suited not the present Exigencies, being so disproportioned to the Manners in vogue, and the Guise of the present Age. Yet his Circumstances were not altogether like *Phocion's*, who came to the Helm when the publick Bottom was just upon sinking. *Cato's* Time was, indeed, stormy and tempestuous; but He only acted a second, or under Part in the Scene, he sat not at the Helm, but assisted in managing the Sails, and lent his helping Hand to Those that steered: His manly Resolution gave Fortune a Task of Time and Diffi-

(1) The Passage here alluded to by *Plutarch* is in *Cicero's* first Epistle of the Second Book to *Atticus*. *Nam Catonem nostrum, non tu amas plus quam Ego. Sed tamen ille optimo animo utens, & summâ fide, nocet interdum Reip. Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tanquam in Romuli faci Sententiâ.* But there is not a Word here of the Repulse he met with when he put up for the Consulship, which did not happen 'till eight Years after the Date of that Epistle; as *Xylander* and *Crusertius* have judiciously observed. We ought therefore to put the most favourable Construction upon this Passage in *Plutarch*, who must mean that this Character given him by *Cicero*, which he truly deserved, was the Cause of the Repulse he met with so many Years after.

cultry in ruining the Commonwealth, in which He and his Friends had almost prevailed against her, and Rome had like to have triumphed over her by His Assistance, and the Efficacy of his Virtue, which we are now to compare with That of *Phocion*; not only in the common Resemblances that appear amongst great Men, and Statesmen; (1) for indeed there is some Difference among Virtues of the same Denomination, as the Valour of *Alcibiades* and *Epaminondas*, the Prudence of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, the Justice of *Numa* and *Agefilaus*: But these Mens Virtues are the Same, even to the most minute Differences, having the same Colour, Stamp, and Character impressed upon them, so as not to be distinguishable; where Lenity is tempered with Austerity, Valour with Caution, their Care and Foresight in behalf of Others with a perfect Neglect and Contempt of Themselves; a fixed and immoveable Bent to all virtuous and honest Actions, accompanied with a constant Zeal for Justice: So that in These, as in two Instruments exactly tuned to each other, He must have a nice Ear that can perceive any Discord.

As to *Cato's* Extraction, it is confessed by All to be Illustrious, (as shall be said hereafter) and we may believe *Phocion's* was not obscure or ignoble; for had he been the Son of a Turner, (as *Idameneus* reports) it had certainly been remembered to his Disparagement, by *Hyperides* the Son of *Glaucippus*, who heaped up a thousand spiteful Things against him: Nor indeed would it have been possible for him in that case to have had such liberal Educati-

(1) Nothing can be truer than this Observation, and no Man ever put it in a better Light than *Homer*. He has painted Valour in all her Attitudes, and made her appear differently in every one of his Heroes. The Valour of *Achilles* is not the Same with That of *Diomedes*, nor does the Valour of *Diomedes* bear any Resemblance with That of *Ajax*. In like Manner the Wisdom of *Ulysses* is not That of *Nestor's*, &c.

on; for when he was very young he was *Plato's* Scholar, afterwards a Hearer of *Xenocrates* in the Academy, being from his Childhood addicted to such Studies as tended to the most valuable Accomplishments. His Countenance was so composed, that, as *Duris* tells us, no *Athenian* ever saw him laugh or cry, nor go into the publick Baths, nor move his Hand from under his Mantle when he appeared dressed in publick: Abroad, and in the Camp, he was so hardy as to go always thin clad and bare-footed, except the Frost was vehement and intolerable, so that the Soldiers used to say in Merriment, *See Phocion has got his Cloaths on, That is a Sign of a hard Winter.* Although he was of most easy Conversation and great Humanity, his Appearance was morose and sour, so that he was seldom accosted by any that were Strangers to him: Wherefore when *Chares* the Orator handled him one day pretty roughly on account of his supercilious Looks, and the *Athenians* seemed pleased with him for it, *Phocion* replied, *The Gravity of my Countenance never made any of You sad, but the Mirth of these Sneerers has cost You many a Tear.* In like manner *Phocion's* Discourse was grave and pithy, full of useful Remarks, with a sententious Brevity awful and austere, however unpleasant: For as *Zeno* says a Philosopher ought not to drop a Word but what was thoroughly tinctured with good Sense; such a Speaker was *Phocion*, who crowded much into little room: And to this probably *Polyeuctus* the *Spartan* had regard, when he said, that *Demosthenes* was indeed the better Orator, but *Phocion* the most powerful Speaker; whose Words were to be estimated like smaller Coins, from the intrinsic Value of the Metal, not from the Bulk. He was observed sometimes, when the Theater was filled with Spectators, to walk musing alone behind the Scenes, which one of his Friends once taking notice of,

said

said, *Phocion*, you seem very thoughtful; I am so indeed, replied he, for I am considering how to retrench something in a Speech I am to make to the Athenians. *Demosthenes*, who had entertained a thorough Contempt of the other Orators, was used to whisper to his Friends that were near him, when *Phocion* rose up to speak, *This is the Pruning-hook of my Periods*. But this perhaps was owing to the Authority of the Man; since not only a Word, but even a Nod, from a Person had in reverence for his Goodness and Virtue, is of more Weight and Force than the most studied and elaborate Speeches of Others.

In his Youth he served under *Chabrias*, at that time General, whom he greatly honoured, and by Him was abundantly instructed in military Knowledge; in return *Phocion* helped *Chabrias* to correct his Temper, which was odd and capricious: For being otherways naturally heavy and flegmatick, he was so fired and transported in heat of Fight, that he threw himself headlong into Danger beyond the forwardest; which indeed cost him his Life in the Island of *Chio*, where he made it a Point to get in first with his Galley, and to force a Descent in spite of the Enemy. But *Phocion* being a Man of Temper as well as Courage, had the dexterity at some times to warm the General's Flegm, and at Others to moderate and cool the Impetuousness of his unseasonable Fury. Upon which Account *Chabrias*, being a good-natured Man at the bottom, loved him extreamly, preferred him in the Army, and by making use of his Assistance, and taking his Advice in Affairs of the greatest Moment, he made him talked of throughout all Greece; particularly in the Sea-fight at *Naxos*, where *Phocion* acquired an universal Reputation; for *Chabrias* committed to him the Command of the left Squadron, where the Fight was hottest, and the Controversy was decided by a signal Victory in favour of the Athenians. As

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This was the first Victory obtained by the *Athenians* at Sea with their own Forces, and without the Assistance of any other State, since the taking of their City, they were wonderfully elated with the Success; they carested *Chabrias* at an extraordinary Rate, and began to consider *Phocion* as a Man capable of the highest Employments. This Victory happened at the great Solemnities, and *Chabrias* appointed an Anniversary to commemorate it on the sixteenth of *August*, on which it was obtained, and distributed a Large of Wine among the *Athenians*. Soon after This *Chabrias* sent *Phocion* to demand their *Quota* of the Charges of the War from the Islanders, and proffering him a Guard of twenty Sail, he told him, *If he intended him to go against them as Enemies, that Force was insignificant; if as to Friends and Allies, one Vessel was sufficient*: So he took one single Galley, and having visited the Cities, and treated with the Governours in a frank and open manner, he returned to *Athens* with all the Arrears due from the Allies, which he shipped on board several Gallies furnished by Them for that Purpose. *Phocion's* great Regard and Respect for *Chabrias* did not determine with the Life of that General, but after his Death he expressed a particular Care and Concern for all his Relations, especially his Son *Ctesippus*, with whom he took all imaginable Pains, and would fain if possible have made him good for something; and tho' he knew him to be a stubborn untractable Youth, he was not discouraged nevertheless, but tried all the ways imaginable to reform and polish him. Once indeed in one of his Expeditions, when the Youngster behaved himself very impertinently, asking a thousand improper Questions, and putting on the Air of a General, took upon him to instruct *Phocion* himself, he was out of all Patience, and cried out, O *Chabrias, Chabrias! I am now making*

making thee the highest Acknowledgments for thy Friendship towards me, whilst I bear thus with this teasing Blockhead thy Son.

Upon looking into publick Matters, and the Managers of them, he observed they had shared the Administration of Affairs among themselves, as it were by Lot; the Swordmen, and Those of the long Robe, so as not to interfere with each other: These were to manage the Assemblies, register their Votes, and publish their Acts and Edicts, of whom were *Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus,* and *Hyperides*; This was a gainful Trade among them: And the Men of the Blade, as *Diopithes, Meneſtheus, Leosthenes,* and *Charetas*, by their Military Employes, carved out fair Proportions for Themselves out of the Publick Stock. Now *Phocion* was of Opinion, that such a Model of Government as That of *Pericles, Aristides* and *Solon*, wherein the same Person acted both Parts, in propounding Laws, and ordering the Militia, (1) was a more perfect, uniform, and regular Mixture, and would redound most to the common Good and Safety; each of these Persons being well qualified for both Purposes, that I may use *Archilochus's* Words:

*Mars and the Muses Friends alike design'd,
To Arts and Arms indifferently inclin'd.*

Minerva being styled the Patroness and Protectress of Arts both Civil and Military.

Phocion having formed his Thoughts upon this Model, was of himself inclined to Peace and the

(1) For there is no greater Perfection in civil Life than to be at the same time an experienced General, and consummate Politician, but it is very difficult to make those two Talents agree. It was indeed a thing common among the *Romans*, and we meet with many notable Instances of it in *Greece*. But they are rare among *Us*, which I am persuaded is purely owing to our Education.

publick Tranquility, yet was he engaged in more Wars than Any, not only of the Generals his Contemporaries, but of all Those that had gone before him; not that he was fond of, or courted military Employments, but it was not in his temper to decline them when he was called to them by the Service of his Country. For it is well known that he was forty five times chosen General of the *Athenians*, and that he was never once present at an Election, but was always named in his Absence, and sent for to take upon him the Command; insomuch that it amazed Those who did not well consider, to see the People always prefer *Phocion*, who was so far from humouring them, or courting their Favour, that he always thwarted and opposed them. But so it was, (1) as great Men and Princes use their Buffoons and Jesters at their Meals, for their Disport and Merriment, so the *Athenians* upon slight Occasions, entertained and diverted themselves with their spruce Speakers and trim Orators, but when it came to dint of Action, they were so sober and considerate as to mark out the Gravest and Wisest for publick Employments, however opposite to their Sentiments. This he made no scruple to own one day, when an Oracle of *Delphi* was read in full Assembly, which informed them, *that the rest of the Citizens being unanimous, there was one Person among them so presumptuous as to dissent from the general Opinion.* Whereupon he rose up and told them, *He was the Person pointed at by the Oracle, and that they need look no farther, for that in short he disliked all their Proceedings.* Happening at another time to give his Opinion in a Case that was under Debate, and finding it was received with the general Ap-

(1) The Table indeed is the proper Place to divert oneself with those Buffoons and Flatterers, and it would be well for the World if Princes gave Ear to them only at their Tables.

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plause and Approbation of the Assembly, he was surprized at it, and turning about to some of his Friends, he asked them *if any thing silly or impertinent had dropped from him unawares?*

One day when the Athenians had agreed every Man to contribute something towards the Charges of a publick Sacrifice, and He was importuned in that behalf, he bid them *apply themselves to the Wealthy, for his part he should blush to be so prodigal as to throw away any thing, whilst he was in that Man's Books, pointing to Callicles the Usurer.* Being still clamoured on, and importuned, he told them this Tale: *A certain White-livered Fellow intending for the Wars, hearing the Ravens Croak in his Passage, threw down his Arms, resolving to be quiet; recollecting himself a little after, he adventured out again, but still hearing the same Musick, he made a full stop, saying, they might tear their Throats (if they pleased) in hopes of a Feast, but for his part he was resolved to sleep in a whole Skin.*

The Athenians urging him at an unseasonable time to fall upon the Enemy, he peremptorily refused, and being upbraided by them with Cowardise and Pusillanimity, he told them, *Gentlemen, we understand one another very well; you cannot make me Valiant at this time, nor I you Wise.* In time of Security the People were very pert and severe upon him, demanding a strict Account how the Publick Treasure had been employed, and the like: He bid them *be assured of their Safety in the first place, and then mind their good Husbandry;* in effect, the Passions of the Populace altered with their Affairs, being extream timorous and submiss in Times of Danger; when That was blown over, insolent and over-bearing, clamouring upon Phocion, as One that envied them the Honour of Victory. To all which he made only this Answer, *My Friends, you are happy that*

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that have a Leader (1) that knows your Humours, otherwise you had long since been undone.

In a Controversy they had with the *Bœotians* about their Boundaries, which the *Athenians* were not for deciding by Treaty, but seemed inclined to bring it to a Rupture; he told them, *For my Part, Gentlemen, I think it advisable for you to have a tryal of Skill at the Weapons you can best manage, (your Tongues) and not your Hands, in which you are inferior.* At another time, when they disrelished what he had proposed, and would not suffer him to go on, he said, *You may force Me to act against my Judgment, but you shall never force me to speak against my Conscience.* *Demosthenes*, one of those Orators that opposed him in the Administration, told him one day, *Phocion, the Athenians will kill thee some time or other in one of their mad fits: And Thee*, said he, *if ever they come to be in a wise one.* As *Polyeuctus* the *Sphettian* was one day in excessive hot Weather haranguing the People, and in a set Speech inciting them to declare War against *Philip*, being a very puffy corpulent Person, he ran himself out of breath, and did sweat to that degree, that he was forced to drink several Draughts of cold Water before he could finish his Discourse; which being observed by *Phocion*, *You ought*, said he, *to declare War against Philip upon the Word of this honest Gentleman, for what are you not to expect from his Prowess when armed Cap-a-pee he marches against the Enemy, when you see he cannot so much as repeat what he has been composing and studying at his Leisure, without running the hazard of being suffocated, and melting his Grease.* As *Lycurgus* the Orator was one day inveighing scurrilously against him in an Assembly, and among other things accused him of having advised the

(1) For if *Phocion* had not known | he had followed their Advice, and
them, but had mistaken them for | ruined them by his Deference to
Men of Sense and Understanding, | their Judgments.

Athenians

Athenians to deliver ten of their Citizens as Hostages to *Alexander*, who had sent to demand them, he stood up and said, *I have indeed given the Athenians much good Advice in my time, but they never had the Wit to follow it.*

There was a Man called *Achibiades*, nick-named the *Lacedæmonian*, affecting their Gravity, by wearing an over-grown Mossie Beard, an old Leaguer Cloak, with a very Formal Countenance: *Phocion* being one day teased by the rest in an Assembly, and contradicted in every thing he said, appealed to this Man for the Truth of what he advanced, as to his Advocate and Compurgator: But finding him, when he began to speak, smoothing and wheadling with the predominant Faction, taking him by the Beard, he cried, *Nay, Friend, if you turn Courtier, by all means off with your Gravity.* *Aristogeiton* the Sycophant was a great Blusterer within doors, evermore founding to Horse, and inflaming the *Athenians* to Battel, but when the Muster-roll came to be produced, and every Man was to appear and answer to his Name, that it might be known who were fit, and who unfit for the Service; *Aristogeiton* came into the Assembly limping on a Crutch, with a world of Bannage on his Leg, like a maimed Soldier: *Phocion* spied him afar off, and cried out to the Clerk, from his Seat, *Set down Aristogeiton too for a Poltron, and a Cripple.* It may be a matter of Wonder to Some, how a Man so severe and smart upon all occasions as it appears *Phocion* was, should notwithstanding acquire among the People the Sir-name of *Good and Gentle*; but I am of Opinion that though it be a thing difficult, it is not impossible for One and the Same Man to have both the *Austere* and *Gentle* blended in his Temper, as it is in some Wines, where we find the *Sweet* and the *Sour* equally and agreeably predominant. Others there
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are on the contrary, who, like some sorts of Fruits, are inviting to the Eye, but are not only unpleasant, but unwholesome and dangerous to the Taste. It is said of *Hyperides* the Orator, that when at any time he had been sour and sarcastical in the Assembly, he would excuse himself to the *Athenians*, by desiring them to consider if in that Bitterness of His he could have any View to his own private Profit or Advantage. As if the People were to reject and avoid Those only whom Avarice had made troublesome and disagreeable, and not much rather Such who made an ill use of their Authority to gratify their Pride, Envy, Anger, or Ambition. But *Phocion* had no Personal Pique nor Spleen to any Man, nor indeed reputed any Man his Enemy, but who contravened his Proposals for the Publick Good, in which Argument he was most Tenacious, Sturdy and Uncontrollable. As to his Conversation in general, it was Easy, Courteous, and Obliging to All, to that point, as to befriend all sorts in Distress, and espouse the Cause even of Those who had most opposed him, when they fell under any Calamity, and wanted his Friendship and Patronage. His Friends reproaching him for pleading in behalf of an ill Man, he told them, (1) *The Innocent had no occasion for an Advocate.* *Aristogeiton* the Sycophant having been convicted, and fined in a great Sum to the Publick, sent to *Phocion*, and desired earnestly to speak with him in Prison, where he lay confined. His Friends dissuaded him from going, but he told them, *I know no Place where*

(1) This Saying is founded upon an undeniable Maxim, that Justice and Innocence are a sure Protection to good Men, who want no other Assistance whilst Justice is on their side. And yet the quite contrary Principle may be opposed to this Saying of *Phocion*. The Good often want to be supported and defended against the Persecutions of the Wicked, and they are the Wicked only who ought never to be defended or protected.

I would so willingly chuse to give Aristogeiton a Meeting.

As for the Friends and Allies of the *Athenians*, Those that inhabited the maritime Towns, and the Islanders, when ever any Admiral besides *Phocian* was sent, they treated him as an Enemy, barricadoed their Gates, blocked up their Havens, drove the Country of their Cattle, Slaves, Wives and Children, and put them in Garrison; but upon *Phocion's* Arrival, they went out to welcome him in their Shallops and Barges, with Streamers and Garlands, and received him at Landing, with all Demonstrations of Joy and Triumph. King *Philip* having an Eye upon *Eubœa*, which he was in hopes of getting by Surprize, ordered a Body of *Macedonians* to march that way, and won the Cities over to his Interest by the Management of the Tyrants, who had the Government in their Hands, and were glad of his Protection. Hereupon *Plutarch* of *Eretria* called in the *Athenians*, conjuring them to come and deliver the Island out of the Hands of the *Macedonians*, who had already possessed themselves of it. *Phocion* was instantly dispatched with only a small Force, because it was expected that all the Islanders would join with him immediately upon his Arrival. But upon Tryal he found the whole Island betrayed and corrupted, and that every thing had been bought and sold by *Philip's* Pensioners, insomuch that he ran the greatest Risque imaginable. To secure himself the best he could, he seized on a small rising Ground, which was separated from the Plain of *Tamynas* by a deep Ditch. This he fortified, and inclosed in it the choicest of his Army, directing his Captains not to mind Such as were given to prate, and to mutiny, who straggled from the Camp, and deserted. “ For, said he, they will not only be disorderly and
“ ungovernable Themselves, but be a hinderance

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“ to the rest; and moreover, being conscious to
 “ themselves of the neglect of their Duty, they
 “ will be less apt to prate and make a false Repre-
 “ sentation of our Proceedings at their return
 “ home.” When the Enemy drew nigh, he com-
 manded them to stand to their Arms, whilst He went
 to Sacrifice; in which he spent a considerable time;
 either for that he could not find an auspicious To-
 ken, or on purpose to invite the Enemy nearer.
Plutarch interpreting this Tardiness as a Failure in
 his Courage, fell on alone with the Auxiliaries;
 which the Cavalry perceiving, could not be con-
 tained, but issuing also out of the Camp, confused-
 ly and disorderly, spurred up to the Enemy. The
 Van by this means was worsted, the rest were ea-
 sily dispersed, and *Plutarch* himself ran away. A
 Body of the Enemy thinking the Day was their
 own, marched up to the very Camp, where they
 endeavoured to level the Intrenchments, and make
 themselves Masters of it. By this time the Sacri-
 fice was over, when the *Athenians* sallying out of
 their Camp, fell upon the Assailants, killed many
 of them in the Intrenchments they were levying,
 and constrained the Rest to fly. *Phocion* ordered
 the main Body to keep their Ground, and cover
 Such as were routed in the first Attack, and had
 disbanded, whilst He with a select Party charged
 upon the main Body of the Enemy. The Fight
 was obstinate, both Sides behaving with great Cou-
 rage and Intrepidity. Among the *Athenians*, *Thal-
 lus* the Son of *Cyneas*, and *Glaucus* the Son of *Pol-
 ymedes*, who both fought near the General's Per-
 son, signalized themselves in the Action. *Cleophanes*
 also acquired great Reputation from the Service he
 performed on that Occasion; for he recalled the
 Horse that had fled, and earnestly exhorted them
 to return to the Succour of their General, whose
 Person was in Danger; so that he obliged them to
 rally

rally and renew the Charge, which confirmed the Victory to the *Athenians*.

When the Fight was over, *Phocion* drove *Plutarch* out of *Eretria*, and possessed himself of a commodious Fort called *Zaratra*, advantagiously situated in that Part of the Island, where it is narrowed into a Neck of Land, washed on each side by the Sea. He would not suffer any of the *Grecians* to be taken Prisoners, for fear the Orators at *Athens* should one time or other stir up the People to exercise their Vengeance upon them, and use them cruelly.

This Affair thus dispatched and settled, *Phocion* set Sail homewards, having given most manifest Tokens of his Justice and Humanity to the Allies, and to the *Athenians* indisputable Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. For *Molossus* his Successor managed the War so indiscreetly, as to fall alive into the Hands of the Enemy. This encouraged *Philip*, whose Hopes were great and proportionate to his Designs and Enterprizes, to move with all his Forces down towards the *Hellepont*, not doubting but in that favourable Conjunction he should easily make himself Master of the *Chersonesus*, *Perinthus*, and *Byzantium*. The *Athenians* raising Recruits to relieve them, the Demagogues made it their Business to prefer *Chares* to be General, who sailing thither, effected nothing worthy of such an Equipage; nor would the Confederates harbour his Fleet, having jealousy of him, so that he did nothing but Pirate about, pillaging their Friends, and being despised by their Enemies. Upon this occasion, the People being chafed by the Orators, were in a high Ferment, and repented their having sent any Succours to the *Byzantines*; whereupon *Phocion* rising up, told them, *My Masters, you have not so much reason to be concerned at the Jealousies of your Friends, as the Unfaithfulness of your own Generals, who ren-*

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der you suspected, even to Those who yet cannot possibly subsist without your Succours. The Assembly being moved with this Speech of his, changed their Minds on the sudden, and commanded Him immediately to raise more Forces, and assist their Confederates in the *Hellepont*. This Choice contributed more than any thing else to the Preservation of *Byzantium*, for *Phocion's* Reputation was then very great, and *Cleon*, a Person of the first Rank in *Byzantium*, on account of his Virtue as well as Authority, having contracted an intimate Friendship with *Phocion* whilst they were Fellow-Students in the Academy, was his Security to the City for his Conduct; whereupon they opened their Gates to receive him, not permitting him (though he desired it) to encamp without the Walls, but entertained Him and all the *Athenians* with entire Respect; and They, to requite their Confidence, conversed with their new Hosts, not only soberly and inoffensively, but behaved themselves on all occasions with great chearfulness and resolution for their Defence. Thus came King *Philip* to be driven out of the *Hellepont*, where he suffered much in his Reputation, for before That he was thought invincible. *Phocion* took some of his Ships, and recovered several Places from him, which he had taken and garrisoned. He likewise made several Incursions into *Philip's* Territories, over-running the flat Country, and raising Contributions; but being at last opposed by some Forces that were sent against him, he was wounded in a Conflict, and obliged to retire.

Some time after This the *Megaræans* privately praying Aid of the *Athenians*, *Phocion* fearing lest the *Bœotians*, being aware of it, should prevent them, called an Assembly very early in the Morning, and backing the *Bœotians* Petition, it was put to the Question, and voted in their Favour. As

soon as ever it was done, he made Proclamation by sound of Trumpet for the *Athenians* to arm, and putting himself at the Head of them, led them instantly to *Megara*, where they were received joyfully. He immediately fortified the Haven of *Nisæa*, raised two new Walls between That and the City, and consequently joined the City to the Sea; so that being sufficiently defended on the Land-side from the Assailants, it continued secure to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* having declared open War against *Philip*, and in the Absence of *Phocion* chosen other Generals for the Service, as soon as he arrived from the Islands he earnestly pressed the People, since *Philip* desired to be at Peace with them, and He for his Part was very apprehensive of the Event of the War, to accept of the Conditions that had been offered to them; and when one of those Sycophants, who spend their whole time in the Courts of Justice, hatching Suits, and accusing all Mankind, asked him, *Darest thou, Phocion, think of dissuading the Athenians from the War, now the Sword is drawn? Yes, said he, I dare, though I am satisfied I shall be thy Master in time of War, (1) and Thou (perhaps) mine in time of Peace.* When he found he could not prevail, but that *Demosthenes's* Opinion carried it, who advised them to engage *Philip* as far off as they could out of *Attica*, *Phocion* made answer, *Let us not be so careful about the Place where we are to engage, as how to get the Victory: That is the only way to keep the War at a Distance; whereas if we are overcome, the worst of Calamities will soon be at our very Doors.*

(1) Here is an Instance of a true Patriot, and Man of Honour, who is zealous for a Peace, tho' he knows it will subject him to his Inferiors, and against the Continuance of the War, tho' whilst That lasts, he is sure of commanding. These later times have produced Men of other Sentiments.

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The *Athenians* losing the Day, and the Innovators and Incendiaries hailing up *Charidemus* to the Tribunal, to be nominated to the Command, the wisest and best Men in the City were startled at the Motion, wherefore joining the Senate of the *Areopagus* to the Assembly, they with many Tears and Prayers at last prevailed, that the Custody and Care of the City should be committed to *Phocion*. This Point being settled, he declared it as his Opinion, that the Regulations and favourable Terms offered by *Philip* were to be received. But *Demades* the Orator making a Motion that the City of *Athens* should be comprehended in the general Peace, and be admitted in the Assembly of *Greece*, *Phocion* opposed the Motion, and insisted (1) that it ought first to be known what it was that *Philip* would demand in that Assembly. But the Times were then too much against him to suffer his Advice to be followed, for which the *Athenians* soon after sufficiently repented, when they understood that by those Articles they were obliged to furnish *Philip* both with Horse and Shipping: *This, Gentlemen, says he, I foresaw, and therefore opposed; but since you have now articulated, make the best on't, be courageous, and bear it as well as you can, remembering that your Ancestors using their Fortune indifferently, sometimes giving Laws, at other times truckling, (2) behaved themselves with Decorum in each Station, and so preserved not only their own City, but the rest of Greece.*

(1) For *Phocion* had just reason to apprehend that *Philip's* Demands would be very high, and that the *Athenians* would be obliged on their Parts to submit to them when the Peace was once made, and they comprised in it. That which follows will make this Passage still clearer.

(2) This Remonstrance contains

in it a very useful Doctrine, which ought to be studied, and put in Practice by all Those who have the Management of publick Affairs. There are Rules to be observed in an inferior, as well as superior Station; without which every thing tends to Confusion, and no Peace can be lasting.

Upon

Upon the News of *Philip's* Death, he would not suffer the People to sacrifice, or give any other publick Demonstrations of Joy on that occasion; for nothing, said he, can be a greater mark of a mean Spirit than to rejoice at the Misfortune of Others; besides, you are to remember that the Army you fought against at Cheronæa is lessened but one Man only.

When *Demosthenes* made Invectives against *Alexander*, who was now set down before *Thebes*, he repeated those Verses of *Homer* :

(1) *What boot's the Godlike Giant to provoke,
Whose Arm may sink us at a single stroke?* Pope.

What is This but adding fresh Fuel to the Fire, and pushing forwards into the Flames, that are already devouring the Neighbourhood? For my part (says he) I will not be consenting to your destroying your selves, though you should court me to it, and for this end only have I continued my Command.

After *Thebes* was lost, and *Alexander* had demanded *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides* and *Charidemus* to be delivered up, the whole Assembly turning their Eyes frequently and intirely upon Him, and calling on him also by Name to deliver His Opinion; at last he rose up, and shewing to them one of his Friends named *Nicocles*, the Person of all Others the dearest to him, and in whom

(1) This is a Verse in the ninth Book of the *Odyssey*. After *Ulysses* had made his Escape out of the *Cyclops* Den, and was embarked with the Remainder of his Companions, he addressed himself in a provoking Speech to *Polyphemus*, who stung with Anger and Indignation hurled at him a vast Piece of a Rock, which fell close by the Prow of his Ship, and raised such a Convulsion

in the Sea, that the Waves forced his Ship upon the Shoar. As soon as she was got off, and He out at Sea again, he once more began to upbraid the *Cyclops*, upon which his Companions, who were in a terrible Fright dissuaded him from it, in That and the following Verses. All the great Men in those days had *Homer* by Heart, and knew how to make Applications out of him upon Occasion.

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he confided most, he spoke to them in this manner *Those Persons whom Alexander now demands of You, are They who have brought You into these miserable Circumstances ; indeed so miserable that if he demanded this Friend of Mine, whom I love so cordially, even Him, innocent as he is, I should be for delivering up to him. Nay if my own Life could purchase Your Safety I would resign it with Chearfulness ; for truly, it pierces my Heart to see Those who are fled hither for Succour from the desolation of Thebes ; and surely it will be more for the common Interest, that we deprecate the Conqueror, and intercede for Both, than run the hazard of another Battel.*

We are told that the first Decree which past in this Assembly was rejected by *Alexander*, who turned his Back upon the Ambassadors, who presented it ; but when *Phocion* came to present the Second he received him graciously, for he had been told by Those of the longest standing in his Court, that his Father *Philip* had a great Value for him. Wherefore he did not only give him a favourable Audience, and grant his Requests, but listned likewise to his Advice. For *Phocion* told him, *if he was desirous of Repose he had then an honourable opportunity of laying down his Arms ; but if Glory was the end he proposed by them, he ought to divert them from Greece, and turn them against the Barbarians.* Thus having dropt several Things in his discourse (1) which he knew to be agreeable to *Alexander's* Humour and Genius, he so won upon him, and softned his Temper, that he told him, *The Athe-*

(1) Nothing can be a greater Instance of *Phocion's* good Sense, and Dexterity in State Affairs, than his Conduct in this Negotiation, wherein he made a right Use of *Alexander's* Bent and Inclination, and with a wonderful Address got the War to be removed from his Country. The way to succeed on such Occasions is to get acquainted with the Character and Temper of Those with whom we are to treat, and steer accordingly.

nians ought to have their Eyes about them, for in case He should miscarry They only were worthy to command. In short that Prince was so taken with *Phocion's* Conversation that he contracted an intimate Friendship with him, which was strengthened by the mutual Ties of Hospitality ; and conferred such Honours on him as Few of Those that were near his Person received. *Duris* the Historian adds, that when *Alexander* had defeated *Darius*, and had thereby attained the highest Point of human Honour and Greatness, he omitted the Word *Greeting* in all his Letters, except only in Those that were directed to *Phocion* and *Antipater*, which also is confirmed by *Chares*. As for his Munificence to him, it is well known he sent him a Present at one time of a hundred Talents, which being brought to *Athens*, *Phocion* demanded of the Officers *Alexander* had intrusted with it, how it came to pass that among all the rest of the *Athenians*, He alone should be so highly obliged to his Bounty ? And being told, that *Alexander* esteemed Him (only) a Person of Honour and Worth: *May it please him then* (said he) *to permit me to continue so, and be still so reputed.* However they followed him to his House, and observing his simple and plain way of Living, (1) his Wife employed in the Pastry-work with her own Hands, Himself pumping Water to wash his Feet ; they pressed him to accept it, being ashamed (as they said) that One so highly in favour with so great a Prince should live so poorly and pitifully. *Phocion* taking notice of a poor old Fellow in a tattered Coat, passing by, asked them, *If they thought him worse than that*

(1) And yet This is the Man who had so often been General in the Service of his Country, and gained so many Victories. One would think this Instance might be sufficient to convince us that the greatest Simplicity is consistent with the highest Elevations, and that Luxury is the Offspring of a degenerate Mind.

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poor Wretch? They begged his Pardon for the Comparison; Yet, says he, (1) *this Man has less to live upon than I, and is content; and in short, I must tell you, if this Sum be more than I can use, it is altogether superfluous? if I live up to it, I shall give cause of jealousy both of your Master and my self to the rest of the Citizens.* So the Treasure was returned back from *Athens*, giving the *Græcians* an Illustrious Example, how much truly richer the Man is, who by contracting his Mind, has no occasion for more, than He who by the largeness of his Fortunes is capable of the largest Munificence. *Alexander* was displeas'd at This, and writ to him again, acquainting him, *That he could not esteem Those his Friends, who thought much to be oblig'd by him.* Yet neither would This prevail with *Phocion* to accept the Mony, but he made use of his Favour to intercede for *Echecratides* the Sophist, and *Athenodorus* the *Imbrian*, as also for *Demaratus* and *Sparton*, two *Rhodians* who had been convicted of certain Crimes, and were in Custody at *Sardis*. *Alexander* immediately granted his Request, and they were set at Liberty. Afterwards sending *Craterus* into *Macedonia*, he commanded him to offer *Phocion* his Choice of one of these Four Cities in *Asia*, *Cio*, *Gergetho*, *Mylassis* and *Elea*, and it should be delivered to him; and withal to assure him that he should highly resent it, if he continued obstinate in his Refusal; but *Phocion* was not to be prevailed upon, and *Alexander* died soon after.

Phocion's House is shown to this day in a Village called *Melita*, beautified with Tyles of Copper, otherways plain and homely. Concerning his

(1) Thus it being an Act of Virtue to be contented with a little, that poor Man would have had the Advantage of *Phocion*, and been more excellent than He, if *Phocion* had not been satisfied with his Lot, but been gaping after more. This was the Observation of a wise Man indeed.

Wives;

Wives ; of the First of them there is little said, save only that she was Sister of *Cephisodotus* the Statuary : The Other was a Matron of no less Reputation for Virtue and good Housewifery among the *Athenians*, than *Phocion* was for Probity. It happened once when the People were to be entertained with a new Tragedy, just as the Play was ready to begin, One of the principal Actors, who was to perform the Part of a Queen, wanted a Habit for that purpose, as likewise several shewy Dresses for her Majesty's Maids of Honour or Attendants. And when *Melantius* who was at the charge of the Entertainment did not supply him, he grew angry, refused to go on, and so kept the Audience in suspense, 'till *Melantius* provoked at his Impertinence pushed him by Force upon the Stage, and told him, *See there Phocion's Wife, she can appear in Publick with only one Servant Maid attending her ; whilst You, forsooth, with your Finery are for giving an ill Example, and filling our Womens Heads with nothing but Pride and Vanity ?* This Speech of his was heard, and received with wonderful Applause, and clapped by the Audience round the Theater. The same plain Lady, entertaining at her House a Stranger, a spruce Dame of *Ionia*, who showed her all her Ornaments, her gold Embroidery, rich Jewels, Bracelets, Necklaces, and the like : *For my part, Madam, says she, my only Ornament is my good Man Phocion, who has commanded the Athenians now these twenty Years.* *Phocion's* Son had an Ambition to make One at the Exercises performed at *Athens* (1) in Honour of *Minerva* every fifth Year, which he per-

(1) This was one of the principal Festivals of the *Athenians* called *Panathenæa*, of which there were the Greater, and the Less ; These were celebrated the twentieth of *Thargelion*, June, and the Others in the Month *Hecatombæon*, August. The first were opened with the Chariot Races, after which there were other Tryals, such as Wrestling, Foot Races, &c. ;

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mitted him to do (1) provided it was in the Foot Races, not that he was over-desirous to have him gain the Prize, but hoping that Exercise might at the same time serve to strengthen his Body, and reform his Mind, for he was naturally given to Wine, and Debauch. His Son obtained the Victory, and many of his Friends importuned *Phocion* that They might have leave to give an Entertainment in Honour of the Conqueror. That Favour which was demanded by Many was granted only to One, who was allowed to give that Testimony of his Attachment to *Phocion's* Family. When he came to the Treat, and found it very extravagant upon all Accounts, even the Water brought to wash the Guests Feet mingled with Wine and Spices, he reprimanded his Son, asking him, *Why he would so far permit his Friend to sully the Honour of his Victory.* He very earnestly desired to reclaim this Son, and wean him if possible from that Habit he had got of Luxury, and Wantonness. To that end he sent him to *Lacedemon*, and placed him among the Youth who are there brought up in the Severity of the *Spartan* Discipline. This the

(1) I am of Opinion the Beauty of this Passage has not been fully understood, and that it wants some Explanation. *Phocion's* Son asked leave to enter the Lists at that Festival; and He knowing his Vanity, and that he did not desire that Permission but that he might have an Opportunity of flaunting it in a gaudy Chariot, granted his Request, but with this Provision that he put in only for the Foot Race. The manner in which *Plutarch* expresseth This is fine, and elegant. *Phocus* the Son of *Phocion* wanted to make One in the Chariot Courses, but *Phocion* would not suffer him to

contend any otherwise than on Foot, he made him descend from the Chariot, of which he was so full in his Imagination, and ἀποβάτην ἐποίησεν, he sent him on Foot. That is, he sent him back with Permission to contend only in the Foot Race. This makes the Passage truly beautiful. It is well known that the *Greeks* called ἀποβάτην, Him who alighted from his Chariot to fight on Foot. In This *Phocion* did his Son a double piece of Service; he mortified his Vanity, and at the same time put him under a necessity of hardening himself by Exercise.

Athenians

Athenians took Offence at, as though he slighted and contemned the Education at home; and *Demades* twitted him with it publickly, telling him, *Why, Phocion, do not we persuade the Athenians to receive the Laconian Manners and Discipline? If you please to have it so, I am ready to propound such a Law. Yes indeed,* said *Phocion*, *it would exceedingly become You who are so Powdered and Perfumed, with that Reveling Habit on your Back, to Speech it in praise of Lycurgus, and invite the Athenians to College Commons.*

When *Alexander* had sent to demand the Gallies they had agreed to furnish him withal, the Orators opposed the sending them, and the Assembly requiring *Phocion* to deliver his Opinion, he told them his Opinion was *that 'till they had made themselves the most powerful, they ought to live in Friendship with Those that were so.*

Pytheas the Orator, (1) who had just begun to speak in publick, soon took upon him to speak with much Confidence and Boldness, and as he was one day tiring the Assembly with his Chattering, *It will become Thee to be silent,* said *Phocion*, *Thou, who art but a Novice amongst us.* When *Harpalus*, to whose Custody *Alexander* had committed the Treasures of *Babylon*, had conveyed himself out of *Asia*, and repaired with his immense Riches to *Athens*, immediately the mercenary and hungry Orators flocked in Crouds to him, full of Hopes, and with earnest Offers of their Service. To These *Harpalus* made some small Presents by way of Retainers: But to *Phocion* he sent no less than seven hundred Talents with large Promises, and an Offer

(1) Some have thought this Passage corrupted, but it is certainly genuine, and the Sense of it clear, and rational. It was required that a Man should be of a certain Age before he was admitted to speak in the popular Assemblies, as is evident from *Demosthenes's* Orations.

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of committing Himself and all his Affairs to his disposal: *Phocion* answered Those he had sent very roughly, threatening to take other Measures with him, if he went on thus to corrupt the People. *Harpalus* was terrified at this Answer, and for the present desisted.

Some time after, when the *Athenians* were deliberating in Council about him, he found Those who had tasted of his Bounty had changed their tone, and were become his greatest Enemies, urging and aggravating Matters against him, which they did to take off all Suspicion of their late Commerce with him; but that *Phocion*, who had clean Hands, shewed as much Concern for him as was consistent with the publick Interest and Safety. This encouraged him once more to feel his Pulse, and attack him; but he found him like a strong Fortress, every way so defended, that even the Golden Key could gain no Admittance, on all sides inaccessible and impregnable: Yet having made a particular Friendship and Intimacy with *Phocion's* Son-in-Law *Charicles*, he brought Him into some Suspicion; for it is plain he placed an entire Confidence in him, and made use of him in all his Affairs, insomuch that he employed Him to erect a magnificent Monument to the Memory of *Pythionica* the Courtesan, whom he tenderly loved whilst she lived, and had a Daughter by her. (1) This Commission, scandalous enough in it self, became more so in the manner of its Execution. For the Mo-

(1) It was indeed an Office too mean for a Person who had the Honour to be Son-in-Law to *Phocion*, the General of the *Athenians*, to be employed in erecting a Monument to the Memory of *Harpalus's* Harlot; but it was still

more mean and shameful in him to cheat Him who had employed him, by charging much more to his Account than had been expended. *Quintus Curtius* calls this Woman *Poshymia*, not *Pythionica*.

ument

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numment is still to be seen at a Place (1) called *Hermus* in the Road between *Athens* and *Eleufis*, and nothing appears in it answerable to the Sum of thirty Talents, which was the Account *Charicles* charged upon *Harpalus*. After *Harpalus's* own deceafe his Daughter was carefully educated by *Phocion* and *Charicles*; but *Charicles* being some time after called to account for the Money he had received of *Harpalus*, he had Recourse to *Phocion*, entreating him to appear in his behalf at his Tryal, and help him to make his Defence. This *Phocion* flatly refused, telling him, *He would espouse his Cause, as his Son-in-Law, only in things Worthby and Honourable.*

About this time *Asclepiades* the Son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first Tidings of *Alexander's* Death to *Athens*, which *Demades* told them was not to be credited; (2) *for were it true, said he, the whole World would before This have smelt the Carcass.* *Phocion* perceiving his Design of innovating and stirring the People to Sedition, endeavoured to pre-

(1) " On the other side of the
" River *Cephisus* are to be seen
" two Monuments remarkable
" for their Size, and Decorations.
" One is for a *Rhodian*, who went
" to settle at *Athens*, and the O-
" ther for *Pythionica* a celebrated
" Courtisan, with whom *Harpa-*
" *lus* was so desperately in love
" that after her Death he caused
" this Monument to be erected
" to her Memory, which of all
" the antient Works in *Greece*
" may be esteemed in its kind the
" most perfect Performance."
This is the Sum of what we find
concerning it in *Pausanias*, some-
thing differing from This in *Plu-*
tarch, who did not think it such
a Master-piece: The Place called

here by *Plutarch* *Hermus* is by
Others called *Hermes*.

(2) What an Elogium is This
upon *Alexander*! This figurative
Expression denotes the Extent of
his Empire, as if the whole Earth
was under his Dominion; at
the same time Imagination is
astonished at the Height of the
Hyperbole. *Demetrius Phalereus*
was thoroughly sensible of the
Beauty of it; his fine Remark
upon it puts it in a true Light;
he makes it appear that That
which makes the Expression seem
so grave, and so terrible, is that
those few Words contain in them
the *Emphasis*, the *Allegory*, and
the *Hyperbole*.

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vent and restrain them, but many of them crowding up to the Bench, and crying aloud that it was true what *Asclepiades* had related; *Well then, suppose it,* says he, *if it be true to Day, it will be as true to Morrow and the next Day; so that we have time enough to debate coolly, and deliberately.*

When *Leosthenes* had by his Artifices drawn the *Athenians* headlong into the War, which was called the (1) *Græcian War*, and saw that *Phocion* was very much offended at it, he asked him scoffingly, *What Services he had done the Athenians during the long time he had been their Captain-General. And dost thou think it nothing,* replied *Phocion*, *that all the Citizens that have died in that time have been buried in the Sepulchres of their Ancestors? But Leosthenes* continuing to huff and swagger in the Assembly, *Young Man,* says *Phocion*, *your Language is like Cypress Trees, tall and topping, but without Fruit. Hyperides* standing up asked him, *When, Phocion, wilt thou advise the Athenians to make War?* To which he replied, (2) *When I shall find the Younger sort tractable and observant of Discipline, the Wealthy forward in their Contributions, and the Orators forbear robbing and plundering the Publick. When Many admired the Forces raised, and the Preparations for War that were made by Leosthenes;*

(1) Thus it stands in the Original, εἰς Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, but *Xylander* and *Cruferius* have very justly observed that it ought to be εἰς Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον the *Lamiack War*, which was undertaken by all the Communities in Greece, except the *Ææotians*, for the Liberty of Greece under the Conduct of *Leosthenes* against *Antipater*, whom they defeated, and cooped up in the City of *Lamia*, from whence it was called

the *Lamiack War*. *Diodor.* lib. xviii.

(2) Here are three Requisites of which we ought to be sure before we engage in War; Troops well disciplined, and determined to do their Duty; every Subject disposed to contribute to the Charge in Proportion to his Capacity; and Ministers of Integrity, who can abstain from misapplying the publick Money. A Failure in the Last will render the other Two ineffectual.

they

they asked *Phocion* how he approved of the new Levies? *Very well*, says he, *for the Course, but I apprehend the (2) Return, the Commonwealth being wholly destitute both of Treasure, Shipping and Seamen for the Expedition: And the Event justified his Prognostick; yet at first all things appeared fair and promising, Leosthenes gained Reputation by worsting the Bæotians in Battel, and driving Antipater within the Walls of Lamia; and the Citizens were so transported with this Success, that they kept solemn Festivals for them, and instituted publick Sacrifices to the Gods of Victory: So that Some, to reproach Phocion for being of contrary Sentiments, asked him whether now he would not willingly be Author of this successful Action to the Publick? Yes verily, says he, most gladly; yet still I would not but have been Author of the Advice I have given You.* When one Express after Another came from the Camp, confirming and magnifying the Victories, *Nay then*, says he, *sure we shall never have done killing and slaying.* *Leosthenes* died soon after, and Those that feared lest if *Phocion* obtained the Command, he would be for putting an end to the War, dealt with an obscure Fellow who stood up in the Assembly, and told the *Athenians*, *that he was an intimate Friend of Phocion's; that he had been his School-fellow; that they ought to be careful of him, and preserve him for the most pressing Oc-*

(1) This Expression is beautiful in the Original, but the Beauty of it fades when translated into any other Language. The *Gracians* had two sorts of Races. The first was the single Race, when they ran from the starting Place to the end of the Course, and This was called *σάδιον* the Race. The Other was called *δολιχόν*, when the Racers ran to the End of the Course, and back

again. *Phocion* thought this Army very fine, and well enough appointed to run the Race, and rest there, but he was doubtful of the Return, the double Race, as indeed the End did not answer the Beginning. Thus *Phocion* had good Reason to say *Τὸν δὲ δολιχόν τὸ πολέμῳ φοβᾶμαι.* To how many Undertakings may these Words be applied?

casions,

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casions, and times of Exigency ; for which Reason he moved that Antiphilus might be sent to Command the Army. The Athenians readily came into the Motion, when Phocion stood up and told them, that he never had been that Man's School-fellow ; that he was so far from being a Friend of His, that he had not so much as the least Familiarity with him : Yet now, Sir, continued He, addressing himself to that Person, give me leave to put you down among the Number of my best Friends, since you have advised That, which of all things in the World is the most agreeable to Me.

The Athenians being violently bent upon prosecuting the War against the *Bæotians*, Phocion did from the first as violently oppose it ; and when one of his Friends cautioned him, and told him that this obstinate Opposition of His might provoke them to put him to Death, he replied, *If they do put Me to Death it will be unjustly if what I advise be for the good of the Publick, but justly if I advise otherwise.* When he saw that in spite of all he could say or do they still persisted, and grew more clamorous against him, he commanded Proclamation to be made that all the Athenians from sixteen to sixty, should prepare themselves with Five Days Provision, and immediately follow Him from the Assembly. This caused a great Tumult : Those in Years were startled, and clamoured against the Order ; whereupon he demanded wherein he had injured them, *For I, says he, that am now Four-score, am ready to lead you.* This softened them for the present, and cooled the zeal they had just before expressed for the War. But when Micion had not long after at the Head of a strong Party of *Macedonians* and Mercenaries pillaged the Coasts, and made a Descent upon *Rhamnus*, Phocion marched out against him with the Athenians. There when every one took upon him to advise what he thought

thought fit, and acted the part of a Commander; *Let that rising Ground be secured*, said One; *Let the Horse be posted there*, said Another; *Let that Ground be marked out for the Camp*, said a Third; *Good God*, said he, *how many Generals have we here, and how few Soldiers!* Afterward, having formed the Battel, One of the *Athenians* that would seem forward, advanced out of his Order before the rest; at the same time One from the Enemy's side advanced likewise in order to encounter him, but his Heart failed him, and he retired back into his Rank. For This *Phocion* reproved him, telling him, *Youngster, are you not ashamed twice in one Day to desert your Station, both where I had placed you, and where you had placed your self?* But falling on the Enemy, with great Bravery and Resolution, he routed them, killing *Micion* and many more upon the Spot. Afterwards he overcame the *Græcian* Army that lay in *Thessaly*, wherein *Leonnatus* had joined himself with *Antipater*, and the *Macedonians* that newly came out of *Asia*: *Leonnatus* was killed in the Fight, *Antiphilus* commanding the Foot, and *Menon* the *Thessalian* Horse. Not long after, *Craterus* coming out of *Asia* with a powerful Army, there happened another Engagement near *Cranaon* in *Thessaly*, in which the *Græcians* were overthrown. This Loss, which was not very great, was chiefly owing to the Stubborness of the Soldiers, and the Youth and Unexperience of the Officers, who knew not how to make themselves obeyed: But This joined to *Antipater's* Practices, who had underhand tampered with the Cities, made the *Græcians* shamefully betray the Liberty of their Country.

Upon the News of *Antipater's* approaching *Athens* with all his Forces, *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* deserted the City; but *Demades*, who was in no Condition to pay any Part of the Fines that

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had been laid upon him for having exhibited no less than seven Bills that were all contrary to Law, for which he had been degraded, and rendered incapable of speaking, or voting in the Assembly, taking his Advantage from the present Distractions, proposed a Decree for sending Ambassadors to *Antipater* with full Powers to enter into a Treaty with him. But the People, who were now very jealous, and knew not whom to trust, called out with one Voice for *Phocion*, declaring that He was the only Person fit to be entrusted with so important a Commission. Upon This *Phocion* rose, and said, *If my Advice had been of any Weight with You heretofore, we need not have now been debating upon Affairs of this Consequence.* However, the Vote passed; and a Decree was made, that He, and some Others, should be deputed to *Antipater*, who lay then incamped in (1) *Cadmea*, but intended suddenly to dislodge, and pass into *Attica*. *Phocion's* first Proposal was that the Peace might be concluded and ratified, before *Antipater* quitted that Camp. This *Craterus* exclaimed against as unreasonable, and declared that they ought not to oppress the Country of their Friends and Allies by their Stay there, since they might rather use That of their Enemies, for Provisions and Support of their Army. But *Antipater* taking him by the Hand, said, *It is true, but let us grant this Boon out of respect to Phocion:* And for the rest he bid them return to their Principals, and acquaint them that he would grant them no other Terms, than what he Himself had received from *Leosthenes*, then General, when he was shut up in *Lamia*.

Phocion returned to the City, and reported this Answer or Demand to the *Athenians*, who made a Virtue of Necessity, and complied: So *Phocion*

(1) That is *Boeotia*, for *Boeotia* was called *Cadmea*, as was the Citadel of *Thebes*.

returned

returned to *Thebes* with other Ambassadors; and among the rest *Zenocrates* the Philosopher, the Reputation of whose Prudence and Wisdom was so great and celebrated among the *Athenians*, that they conceived there was not that Man living so brutal, barbarous, and void of common Humanity, but would be seized with a Respect and Reverence for him at his first Appearance: But the contrary happened by the Insolence and Brutality of *Antipater's* Disposition, who embracing all the rest of his Companions, (1) passed *Zenocrates* by, not deigning so much as to salute him, or take the least notice of him: Upon which Occasion *Zenocrates*, as it is reported, said, *Antipater does well to distinguish Me from the Rest by not taking Notice of Me, and to be ashamed before Me only of the Injuries he is going to do to the Athenians.* As soon as ever he began to speak *Antipater* thwarted and interrupted him, not suffering him to proceed, but enjoined him Silence: But when *Phocion* had declared the Purport of their Embassy, he replied short and peremptorily, he would make a League with the *Athenians* on these Conditions, and no others: *That Demosthenes and Hyperides be delivered up to him: That the ancient way of raising Taxes in the City be observed: That they should receive a Garrison from him into Mynichia: Defray the Charges of the War, and the Damages su-*

(1) He treated him with more Civility once before, when he was sent Ambassador to him to ransom the Prisoners he had taken. The very day he arrived *Antipater* invited him to Supper, and *Zenocrates* answered in those Verses of *Homer*, which he makes *Ulysses* speak to *Circe*, who pressed him to eat, and partake of the Delicacies that were set before him.

*Ill fits it Me, whose Friends are sunk to Beasts,
To quaff thy Bowls, or riot in thy Feasts.
Me wouldst thou please? For Them thy Cares employ,
And Them to die restore, and Me to Joy.* Odyss. Lib. 10.
Antipater was so charmed with his Presence of Mind and lucky Application, that he released all the Prisoners.

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stained, and be subject to some farther Impositions. As Things stood, these Terms were judged tolerable by the rest of the Ambassadors: but *Zenocrates* said, *If Antipater looks upon us as Slaves, these Terms are reasonable, if as Free Men, they are intollerable.* *Phocion* pressed him with much Earnestness only to spare the Garrison, and used many Arguments and Intreaties to that Purpose: *Antipater* replied, *I will deny Thee nothing, Phocion, (1) but what will inevitably tend to Thy Ruin, and my Own.* Others say, *Antipater* asked *Phocion*, *If He would be answerable for the good Behaviour of the Athenians, provided he did not insist upon that Article of the Garrison, and undertake for their performance of the Articles without attempting any Innovations?* To which when he demurred, and made no return; on the sudden *Callimedon*, surnamed *Carabus*, a hot Man, and a professed Enemy to Free States, rose up, asking *Antipater* if he would suffer himself to be juggled withal, and have his Confidence abused so far, as not to act what he thought most expedient? Thus the Athenians were constrained to receive the Garrison, commanded by *Menyllus*, a fair-conditioned Man, and one of *Phocion's* Acquaintance.

This Proceeding seemed sufficiently imperious and arbitrary, indeed rather a spiteful insulting and (2) ostentation of Power, than any real Advantage to *Antipater* in his Affairs. The Resentment of

(1) By This he gave him to understand that if he suffered the People to be Masters in *Athens*, it might not only prove his Ruin, but probably his Death, and the Event shewed that he was right in his Conjecture.

(2) I do not perceive wherein this Proceeding was an Ostentation of Power. Did not that Garrison secure the Oligarchique Interest in

Athens, and support the Nobility against the Enterprizes of the Populace? In This it was no empty Ostentation, but a Matter that really conducted to the Views and Designs of *Antipater*. The Event proved it, and we shall immediately see *Phocion* Himself confess that the People were more modest and tractable whilst they were kept in Awe by that Garrison.

this

this Usage was heightened by the Season in which it happened. For the Garrison entered *Munychia* exactly on the twentieth of *Boedromion*, just at the Time of the great Festival, when *Iacchus* was carried with solemn Pomp from the City to *Eleufina*; so that the Solemnity being thus disturbed, Many began to recollect what had happened at the Time of those Rites, both anciently and modernly: *For of old, in our greatest* (1) *Prosperity, said They, the Gods manifested themselves in our Favour during the Celebration of these Mysteries, in Mystick Visions and Voices, which struck Terror and Amazement into our Enemies; but now, at the same Season, the Gods themselves stand Witnesses of the extream Oppressions of Greece; the Holy Time being prophaned, and the greatest Jubilee made the unlucky Date of our greatest Calamities.* Not many Years before the Oracle at *Dodona* had warned them to guard with Care (2) the Promontory of *Diana*, and secure it from the Possession of Strangers: And about the same time

(1) This Passage seems to carry with it a secret Accusation of the Gods, as if they manifested themselves in their Favour in the times of their greatest Prosperity, but withdrew from them when their Calamities overwhelmed them, which is an impious Thought. But there is a Manuscript which contains a quite different Reading. Instead of *ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις εὐτυχήμασιν*, it stands there *ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀτυχήμασιν*, in our greatest Adversities. And that this is the true reading appears from what follows, which struck Terror and Amazement into our Enemies. No State is then in the Height of its Prosperity, when it is surrounded by its Enemies. This way of reasoning in the *Athenians* is very good and proper to the

Occasion. " Heretofore in the
" midst of our Calamities the Gods
" manifested themselves in our
" Favour during this solemn Fe-
" stival, and during the same Sea-
" son, and at a time when we are
" fallen into greater Calamities than
" ever they hide themselves from
" us, &c." There are not Reasons
wanting to justify the Reading as
it stands in the Text, but I am
persuaded that That in the Manu-
script is the true one, which may
be confirmed by History.

(2) I never knew there was any Promontory in *Attica*, called the Promontory of *Diana*. But the Words of the Oracle are Poetical, and call those Promontories, *the Promontories of Diana*, by reason of the Mountains and Forests, which of right belong to Her.

the Fillets with which they used to dress out, and adorn the mystick Beds, or Cradles of *Iacchus*, having been dipped in Water in order to be cleansed or scowered against the Solemnity, changed from a lively Purple to a faint dead Colour; and, which added to the Wonder, whatever Linnen belonging to private Persons was washed in the same Water, retained its primitive Colour unchanged and unfaded. And whilst a Priest was washing a Porket in the Haven, where the Water was sweet and clear, a Shark seized on him, bit off all his hinder Parts to the Belly, and devoured them; by which they imagined the God gave them apparently to understand, that having already lost the lower Parts of the City which lay towards the Sea-coast, they should more carefully guard Those that stood on the higher Ground.

Now the Garrison under the Command of *Meyllus* was no ways offensive to the Inhabitants; but there were above twelve thousand, who on account of their Poverty, by vertue of an Article in the Treaty, were struck out of the City Rolls; of Whom Some that remained in the City made loud Complaints of Injustice and Oppression; the Rest left *Athens*, and retired into *Thrace*, where *Antipater* had assigned them a Town, and some Territories for their Accommodation. These looked on themselves as no better than a Colony of Slaves and Exiles.

The Death of *Demosthenes*, which happened about that time in the Island of *Calabria*, and That of *Hyperides* who died at *Cleonæ*, as we have elsewhere related, made the *Athenians* remember with Regret the Days of *Philip* and *Alexander*, and almost to wish for a return of those times. So was it after the Death of *Antigonus*; for when They who had defeated and killed him, ruled with an absolute Power, and cruelly oppressed their Subjects;

a Countryman in *Pbrygia*, digging in the Fields, was asked what he was doing? *I am*, says he, fetching a deep Sigh, (1) *searching for Antigonus*. So said Many that remembered those Days, and the Disputes they had with those Kings, whose Anger, however great, was yet generous and placable; whereas *Antipater*, with the counterfeit Humility of appearing like a private Man, in the meanness of his Habit and homely Fare, covered the haughtiness of his Mind, and insolently abusing his Power, was insufferable to Those under his Command, being extream Lordly and Tyrannical. Yet *Phocion* had Interest enough with him to recal Many from Banishment by his Intreaty, and prevailed also for Those who were to continue in Exile, that they might not, like Others, be hurried beyond *Tenarus*, and the Mountains of *Ceraunia*, but remain in *Greece*, and plant themselves in *Peloponnesus*, of which Number was *Agnonides* the Sycophant. As for Those who remained in the City, he governed Them with signal Equity and Moderation, preferring constantly Those who were Men of Worth and Temper to the Magistracy; keeping out the Factious and Turbulent, lest they should abuse their Power to raise Stirs; and when their Substance became exhausted for want of Employment, and they grew weary of Idleness, he advised them to retire into the Country, and mind Tillage. Observing that *Zenocrates* payed his Assesments as a Foreigner, he would have persuaded him to accept of his Freedom; which he refused, saying, *He never could be a Member of that Constitution, (2) to the establishment of which he made all the Opposition possible,*

(1) What an Honour is This to the Memory of that Prince! If after the death of good Kings digging in the Earth would restore them to Life, Who would not be digging?

(2) For he had been sent Ambassador to *Antipater*, to maintain the Democracy, and prevent the Rich from having the Administration solely in their own Hands.

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when he was sent Ambassador by the Athenians to Antipater. When Menyllus one day offered Phocion a considerable Sum of Money, he thanked him, saying, *Neither was He greater than Alexander, nor were His Occasions more urgent to receive it now, than when he refused to accept it from that Prince.* Menyllus still pressing him, desired him at least to permit his Son Phocus to receive it; but he replied, *If my Son returns to his right Mind, his Patrimony is sufficient; if not, in the Courses he now takes, all Supplies will be insignificant.* But to Antipater he answered more tartly, who would have him engaged in something Dishonourable: *Antipater, says he, cannot use me both as a Friend and a Flatterer.* And indeed Antipater was wont to say, he had two Friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades; of whom the First would never suffer him to gratify him at all, and the Other was never to be satisfied. Phocion's Virtue made his Poverty appear reputable, for though he had so oft been Commander in Chief of the Athenians, and been admitted to the Friendship of so many Potentates, yet he grew old and poor in the Service of the Commonwealth: Whereas Demades took a Pride in the Ostentation of his ill-gotten Wealth. For there was at that time a Law in Force, providing that no Foreigner should be entertained to Dance at the publick Shows, on the Penalty of a thousand Drachmas to be levied on Him that should exhibit them; in Defiance of which, his Vanity was so great, as to hire a thousand Strangers, and paid the Fine for them all in ready Cash upon the Stage. Marrying his Son Demeas at that time, he told him with the like Vanity; *Son, when I married your Mother, it was done so privately, it was not known to the next Neighbours; whereas Kings and Princes shew themselves forward to present You at your Nuptials.*

Still

Still this Garrison was a grievous Eye-fore to the Commonalty among the *Athenians*, and they ceased not clamouring upon *Phocion*, to prevail with *Antipater* for its Removal; but when he despaired of effecting it, or rather observed the People more governable, and behaving themselves more orderly, by the Awe that was upon them, he constantly declined that Office: The only thing he asked, and obtained from *Antipater*, was not to exact immediately the Money charged upon the *Athenians*, but prolong the time of Payment. Wherefore the People leaving him off, applied themselves to *Demades*, who readily undertook the Employment, and took his Son along with him into *Macedonia*. It may be said his evil Genius led him thither, just at the time when *Antipater* was seized with a Distemper of which he died, and when his Son *Cassander*, who was now become absolute, had found a Letter written by *Demades* to *Antigonus* in *Asia*, pressing him to come and take upon himself the Empire of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, which now stood upon an old and rotten Stalk, for so in a Scoff, he called *Antipater*.

So soon as *Cassander* heard they were arrived at Court, he ordered them Both to be arrested, and first caused the Son to be murdered in his Father's Presence, and so near his Person, that the Blood spurted out upon him; after which, when he had bitterly reproached him for his Treachery and Ingratitude, he caused Him to be murdered likewise.

Antipater had a little before his Death appointed *Polyperchon* General, and his Son *Cassander* Chiliarch, or Military Tribune; but his Father being now dead, *Cassander* immediately seized on All, and without loss of time sent *Nicanor* to receive from *Menyllus* the Command of the Garrison in *Mynichia*, and possess himself of it before the News of his Father's Death could be known. This was put in Execution,

Execution, and a few days after arrived the News of the Death of *Antipater*. The *Athenians* accused *Phocion* as being privy to it, and as if He had concealed it out of Friendship to *Nicanor*. But he slighted their tittle-tattle, and meeting oft, and conferring with *Nicanor*, made it his Business to render him civil and obliging to the *Athenians*; and not only so, but persuaded him to distinguish himself by his Magnificence, and entertain the People with some publick Shews. In the mean time *Polyperchon*, to whose Care the King's Person was committed, in order (1) to countermine *Cassander*, writ a cunning Letter to the City, declaring, That it was the King's Pleasure they should be restored to their ancient Privileges and Immunities, and be at entire Liberty to govern their Commonwealth, according to their ancient Customs and Constitutions. The Bottom of these Pretences was meer Stratagem and Trick, levelled principally against *Phocion*, as the Event manifested; for *Polyperchon's* Design being to possess himself of the City, he despaired of effecting it whilst *Phocion* lived, and was in Credit: But he did not doubt of getting Him removed if he could but restore Those who had been excluded by Him, and place the Orators and Sycophants once more in the Pulpits.

The *Athenians* were all in an Uproar upon the reading of these Letters, (2) which made *Nicanor* desirous to discourse with them in *Piræus*, and the

(1) *Polyperchon* knew the only way left for him to circumvent *Cassander* was to restore the Government of the People in all the Cities, where it had been abolished by *Antipater*, which would render Him absolute. This whole Scheme is clearly explained in *Diodorus*, Lib. 18.

(2) *Nicanor*, who had smelt out

Polyperchon's Drift, was without doubt for making the *Athenians* sensible of it, to prevent their falling into the Snare, by convincing them that this Bait of a Democracy would be fatal to them, and was laid by *Polyperchon* only to entrap them, and make Himself Master of the City.

Assembly was summoned to meet there accordingly. *Nicanor* came thither in Person, relying upon *Phocion's* Promise for his Security. *Dercyllus*, who commanded for the King in the adjacent Parts, undertook to go and seize him in *Piræus*, but *Nicanor*, who had received some Hint of it, got off before he could arrive, declaring openly that he would revenge himself upon the City. *Phocion* was accused for being near him, and not seizing him, as he might have done; but he justified himself by saying, *That he had no manner of Mistrust of Nicanor, nor did he think him capable of any ill design. However if it should prove otherways, for his part he would have them All know, he had rather receive, than do an ill Thing to any Man.* This Carriage of *Phocion's*, fairly and simply considered, would appear extream Generous, and Gentleman-like; (1) yet looking upon him as a Man standing in the relation he then did to his own Country, endangered whilst He was in the highest Station of Power and Authority, there is something (methinks) of prior Consideration, and Original Obligation of Justice, in discharging the Trust reposed in him, to be regarded; much rather than such Points of Honour: For it is not a satisfactory Pretence to say, that he

(1) This Distinction is very just and reasonable. There are some Actions of Virtue and Magnanimity that are laudable with respect to Those who perform them, but become unwarrantable when considered in Relation to Those who are injured by them. It is certain there are some Ties and Obligations, which do not only dispense with those Actions, but require Others the very Reverse of them, which in that Case become Actions of the greatest Justice and Magnanimity. In a Word, there is no Virtue, Justice, or Magnani-

mity in Actions, which violate natural and fundamental Obligations in Favour of Others that are new and acquired. But This, after all, may make nothing against *Phocion*, who may say that he did not see that Danger with which they pretended his Country was threatened, but depended upon *Nicanor's* Honour and Generosity. So that the only thing he can be charged with is too great a Confidence in his Friend. And if That be a Fault, how few good Men are there who can upon all Occasions be Proof against it?

dreaded

dreaded the involving the City in War, by seizing *Nicanor*; nor that in Honour and Justice he could not lay Hands on a Man, who had given him all the Assurance and Security in the World, that he would no ways molest or disturb the *Athenian* State: But it was, indeed, his Credulity and Confidence in him, and a fond Opinion of his Sincerity, that imposed upon him. So that notwithstanding the sundry Intimations he had of his Designs on *Pyraeus*, and sending Numbers of Mercenaries to *Salamine*, besides his tampering with, and endeavouring to corrupt Those of *Pyraeus*, he would (notwithstanding all this Evidence) never be persuaded to believe it. Nay further, although *Philomedes*, the Son of *Lampres*, had got a Decree passed, that all the *Athenians* should stand to their Arms, and be ready to follow *Phocion* their General, He sat still and secure; 'till such time as *Nicanor* had actually brought down Arms and Ammunition from *Mynichia* to *Pyraeus*, and begun to draw Trenches round it. Whilst these Things were transacting, when *Phocion* (at last) would have led out the *Athenians*, they mutinied against him, and slighted his Orders.

Alexander, the Son of *Polyperchon*, was at Hand with a considerable Force, pretended to be to succour the City against *Nicanor*, but designed rather to surprize it, whilst the *Athenians* were thus divided among Themselves: For the Exiles, who had followed *Alexander*, soon got into the City, where they joined to them all the Foreigners, Those that had been stigmatized and degraded, and All together made up an odd Medly of an Assembly. In this Assembly they immediately divested *Phocion* of all his Power, and made Choice of other Commanders; and if by chance *Alexander* had not been spied from the Walls, alone, and in close Consult with *Nicanor*, and given the *Athenians* just Cause of Suspicion, the City must infallibly have been taken.

Immediately

Immediately the Orator *Agnonides* fell foul upon *Phocion*, and impeached him of Treason: *Callimendon* and *Pericles* fearing the worst, consulted their own Safety, and fled: *Phocion*, with the few Friends that stood by him, repaired to *Polyperchon*. *Solon* of *Plataea*, and *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, being reputed the Friends and Confidents of *Polyperchon*, accompanied them out of Respect to *Phocion*. But *Dinarchus* falling sick by the way, they were forced to rest several days at *Elatea*, a City in *Phocis*. In this Interval, *Archestratus* having got a Decree passed for that purpose, *Agnonides* persuaded the People to send Ambassadors to *Polyperchon* with an Accusation against *Phocion*.

Polyperchon was taking a View of the Country with the King, when both Parties came up to him at *Pharygas*, a small Village in *Phocis*, situated at the Foot of Mount *Acrorion*, at present called *Galate*. There *Polyperchon* raised a Pavillion of Cloth of Gold, and having seated the King and the Chief Officers of his Court under it, he instantly gave his Orders for the seizing of *Dinarchus*, who without any farther Ceremony was first tortured, and then slain. When This was done, he gave Audience to the *Athenians*, who filled the Place with Noise and Tumult, speaking All at once, and accusing one another before the King and his Council; when *Agnonides* pressing forwards, desired they might all be shut up together in a Cage, and conveyed to *Athens*, there to decide the Controversy: The King could not forbear smiling at the Proposition; but the Company that attended, *Macedonians* and Strangers, whose Curiosity had brought them thither, were desirous to hear the Cause, and therefore made Signs to the Ambassadors to go on with their Accusations. But it was far from a fair and equitable Hearing; *Polyperchon* frequently interrupted *Phocion*, and at last knocked with his Batoon on the Ground,

Ground, refused him absolutely, and commanded him Silence. *Hegemon* appealed to *Polyperchon* Himself, as one that well knew how studious he had been of the Interest of the People: To which he replied furiously, *Forbear to belie me before the King.* The King, starting up, was about to have darted him through with his Javelin, but *Polyperchon* interposed and hindered him; so the Assembly was dissolved.

Immediately *Phocion*, and Those who were near him, were put into Custody; whereupon They that were at a greater Distance covered their Faces, and *Clitus* was ordered to conduct *Phocion* and the rest in Custody with him back to *Athens*; seemingly to clear themselves of what was charged against them; but, in truth, as Men already sentenced to die. The Manner of conveying them was indeed extream moving; they were carried in Carts thro' *Ceramicum*, straight to the Theater, where *Clitus* secured them 'till the Archons had called an Assembly, out of which None were excluded; neither Slaves nor Foreigners, nor Persons stigmatized and degraded; both the Theater and Court of Justice stood open to all Comers, Men, Women, and Children. In the first Place they read the King's Letters, wherein he tells them, *that though he was fully convinced that those Men were Traitors, yet he sent them back to be tryed and judged by Them, as by a Free People in full Possession of their own Laws and Privileges.* When these Letters were read, *Clitus* brought in his Prisoners. The Men of Honour and Virtue among them blushed at the sight of *Phocion*, and hanging down their Heads burst out into Tears: One of them was so hardy as to say, *Since the King was so Gracious as to leave to the People the Judgment of an Affair of that Consequence, he thought it reasonable the Assembly should be cleared of Strangers, and Men of servile Condition.* But the Populace opposed the Motion

Motion with great Warmth, bawling out to have them stoned, those Men of Oligarchical Principles, those Enemies to the Commonwealth; after which no Man durst offer any thing further in behalf of *Phocion*. It was a long time before he could be heard himself in his own Cause; at last having obtained Silence, He demanded, *If they intended to put them to Death by Form of Law, or not?* Some answered, *According to Law.* He replied, *How can that be done, except we have a fair Hearing?* But when they were deaf to all he said, approaching nearer, (1) *As to myself, says he, I confess the Crime, and submit myself to the Judgment of the Law; but for these my Friends, O ye Men of Athens, what have they done to deserve the Sentence, having in nothing offended you?* The Rabble cried out, *They were His Friends and Accomplices, and That was enough.* Hearing This, he drew back and was silent.

Then *Agnonides* read the Decree, whereby the People were empowered to decide by a Majority of Voices, whether they judged them *Guilty, or Not Guilty*; and if they were found *Guilty*, then were they to be punished. When they had heard the Decree read, Some were so brutish as to move that a Clause might be added for putting *Phocion* to the Torture before he was executed, and were for having the Rack and Executioner sent for into Court: But *Agnonides* perceiving even *Clitus* Himself to dislike the Motion, esteeming it a Thing most horrid and barbarous; said, *If we can take that Villain Callimedon, O ye Athenians! let us serve Him so with all my Heart, but I cannot consent Phocion should be*

(1) This was according to Custom; the Person under Accusation was obliged to condemn himself in some Penalty, as is explained in the Notes upon the Apology of *Socrates*. *Phocion* adjudgeth Himself to death, thinking it might be a means to blunt the Edge of the *Athenians* Animosity, and soften them a little in Favour of his Friends; but it had not that Effect.

The L I F E of

so used. At which Words One of those who were better-minded, rose up, and said, *Thou art in the right, Agnonides, for if We put Phocion to the Torture, What hast not Thou to expect from us?* When they came to take the Votes there was not One in the Negative, for they All rose up to a Man, Some with Chaplets of Flowers on their Heads in token of their Approbation, and so they were All condemned to die.

There were with *Phocion, Nicocles, Theudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles*; moreover *Demetrius the Phalaræan, Callimedon, Charicles*, and some Others, though absent, were involved in the same Sentence. After the Assembly was dismissed, they were remanded to Prison, some of their Friends following them, embracing and weeping over them, and making great Lamentation. *Phocion* did not change his Countenance in the least, but appeared with the same Chearfulness and Presence of Mind, as when heretofore he left the Assembly in order to take upon him the Command of the Army; so that All who beheld him admired his Firmness and Magnanimity. Some of his declared Enemies, indeed, insulted and reviled him as he past along, and One of them was so brutish as to spit in his Face, at which it is said, he turned to the Archons, asking them, *Will no Body correct this Fellow's Rudeness?* *Theudippus*, when he observed the Executioner tempering the Poison, and preparing it for them, was disordered, and began to bemoan his Condition, and the hard measure he received, so unjustly to suffer upon *Phocion's* Account: *What*, says he, *dost not Thou think it an Honour to run the same Fate with Phocion?* One of his Friends that stood by, asked him, *if he had any Message to his Son?* *Yes*, by all means, says he, *command him from me to forget the Athenians ill Treatment of his Father.* Then *Nicocles*, the dearest and most faithful of his Friends, begged of him first

to drink the Poison: *Ab! my Friend*, says he, *this is the most harsh and ungrateful Request thou ever madest me; but since through my whole Life I have never denied thee any thing, I must gratify thee in This also.* Having All drunk, there wanted of the due Proportion, and the Executioner refused to prepare more, except they would pay him twelve Drachmas to defray the Charge of a full Draught. Some delay being made, and the time spent; *Phocion* called one of his Friends that stood by: *What*, says he, *cannot a Man die on Free-cost among the Athenians?* and desired him to give the Executioner the trifling Sum he demanded.

It was the nineteenth Day of the Month *Mynichion*, when there was accustomed to be solemn Processions on Horseback, in Honour of *Jupiter*: The Horsemen, as they passed by, Some of them threw away their Garlands, Others stopt at the Prison-doors, bitterly weeping, and casting most doleful Looks towards the place of Execution; and as many of the rest, whose Minds were not absolutely debauched by Spight and Passion, or had any spark of Humanity left, acknowledged it to be most wicked and ungodly; at least, not to have reprieved them that Day, and have exempted the City from Blood and Slaughter at that solemn Festival. But as if all this had been small Game, the Malice of *Phocion's* Enemies went yet higher, they got a Decree that his Corps should be banished out of the *Athenian* Territories, and that no *Athenian* should be suffered to provide Fire for the Funeral Pile; so that not One of his Friends dared so much as touch the Body, 'till *Conopion* an Undertaker, who gained his Livelyhood by such Services, took the Corps, and carrying it beyond *Eleusina*, borrowed some Fire of a *Megarian* Woman, and burned it. A Matron of *Megara*, who with her Servant Maids assisted at the Office, raised upon the

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Place an honorary Monument, and made the customary Libations to the Deceased; after which she carefully gathered up the Bones, and carrying them home by Night to her own House, she buried them under the Fire-Hearth, addressing herself in these Words to the *Penates*: *To You, O ye Gods, Guardians of this place, I commit the precious Remains of the most excellent Phocion; protect them, I beseech You, from all Insults, and deliver them one day to be deposited in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser.*

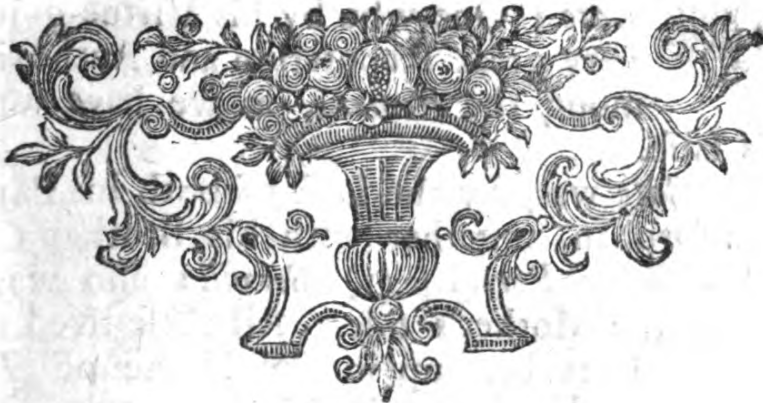
And, indeed, a very little Time, and their own sad Experience, soon informed them, what an excellent Governor, and how great an Example and Patron of Justice, and all Virtue, they had bereft themselves of: Then they decreed him a Statue of Brass, and his Bones to be buried honourably at the publick Charge; and for his Accusers, *Agnonides* they seized, and caused him to be put to Death; The two Others, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, fled the City for Fear, but his Son met them, and took his Revenge upon them. This may be said to be the only good Action his Son was ever praised for. He was in love with a Girl who had been sold to One of those whose infamous Practice it is to buy and sell young Women, and happening one Day to hear (1) *Theodorus* the Atheist maintain an Argument in the following terms: *If it be no shame for a Man to redeem his Friend, it is no more shameful for him to redeem his Mistress; and if he ought not to redeem the One, no more ought he to redeem the Other.* This Argument hitting his Humour, encouraged him to go and release his Mistress.

(1) In all Likelyhood the Atheist maintained that Argument on purpose to countenance the Follies of the young Gentlemen of *Athens*, for we find in the antient Comedy, that it was a common Practice among them to chuse their Mistresses out of the Shops of those Female Hucksters, and make them free in order to marry them.

These Proceedings against *Phocion* made the *Grecians* reflect upon the Fate of *Socrates* ; (1) their Cases were exactly parallel, and Both proved the Shame and Punishment of the *Athenians*.

(1) The Judgment of *Phocion* resembles That of *Socrates* in all its Circumstances, except that in the Case of *Socrates* they had a juster Regard to the Festival called *Theoria*, than they had to the Feast of *Jupiter* in That of *Phocion*. It was fourscore and two Years from *Socrates's* Death to *Phocion's*. After the *Athenians* had committed so great an Error, after they had been sensible of it, and what is more, after they had in a visible

manner been punished for it, one would think they never could have been guilty of the like again. But such is the Nature of the Populace : After the Commission of one Crime, they seldom are so long before they commit Another. They will run headlong into an Error in the Morning, be sorry for it at Noon, and as soon as they have dined be guilty of just such Another.





THE
L I F E
O F
C A T O the Younger.

THE House of *Cato* derived its Lustre and Glory from his Great Grandfather *Cato*; One who by his Virtue gained a very great Reputation and Authority among the *Romans*, as we have written in his Life.

This *Cato* was, by the Loss of both his Parents, left an Orphan, together with his Brother *Cæpio*, and his Sister *Porcia*; (1) *Servilia* also was his Sister by the Mother's side. All these lived together, and were bred up in the House of *Livius Drusus*, their Uncle by the Mother; who at that time had a great share in the Government; for he was very Eloquent, remarkably Just, and in Wisdom not inferior to any of the *Romans*.

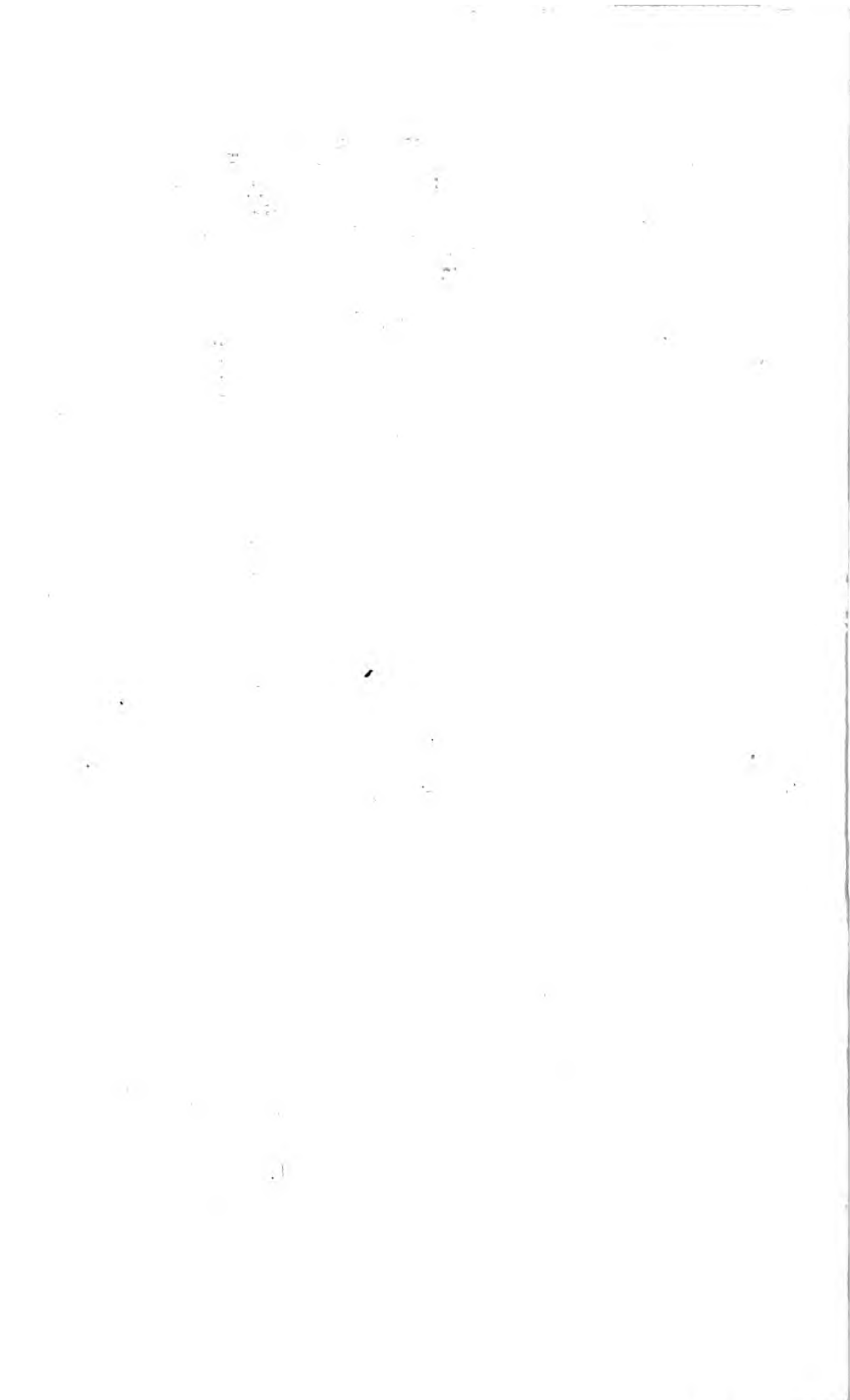
(1) *Servilia* was not his only Sister by the Mother's side; he had Three of them. One was the Mother of *Brutus*, who killed *Caesar*. Another was married to *Lucullus*, and the Third to *Junius Silanus*. *Cæpio* was likewise his half Brother by the Mother's side.



L. Cheron Inv.

Nl. 6: p. 292.

G. Ver Gucht Sculp.
38



It is said of *Cato*, that he did, even from his Infancy, in his Speech, his Countenance, and all his childish Pastimes, discover an inflexible Temper, unmoved by any Passion, and firm in every thing.

He would force himself, much beyond the strength of his Age, to go through with whatever he undertook. He was rough and ungentle toward Them that flattered him ; but yet more stubborn and untractable to Those who threatned him. He was very difficultly moved to laugh ; and was rarely seen to smile. Not quickly or easily provoked to Anger ; but if once incensed, he was no less difficultly pacified.

When he began to learn, he proved dull, and slow to apprehend ; but what he once conceived, he very faithfully retained. And truly it is usual in Nature, that Men of quick Apprehensions have not the best Memories ; but Those who receive things with most Pains and Difficulty, remember them with most Exactness : For every new Thing that is learnt, seems to make some new Impression upon the Mind. Hence the Difficulty there was in *Cato* to be moved, made it the more difficult for him to be taught ; for to Learn is to suffer a kind of Alteration : And it happens that Those are most easily wrought upon, who have least strength to oppose what is offered. Hence young Men are sooner persuaded, than They who are more in Years ; and Sick Men, than Such as that are well in Health : In fine, where the Resistance is least powerful, the Impression is most easily made. Yet *Cato* (they say) was very obedient to his School-master, and would do whatever he was commanded ; but he would also ask the Reason, and enquire the Cause of every thing : And indeed his School-master was a very courteous Man, more ready to instruct, than punish ; his Name was *Sarpedo*.

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When *Cato* was a Child, the Allies of the *Romans* sued to be made free Citizens of *Rome*. *Pompædus Silo*, one of their Deputies, a brave Soldier, and a Man of great Worth, who had contracted a Friendship with *Drusus*, lodged at his House for several Days, in which time being grown familiar with the Children, *Well*, (said he to them) *will you intreat your Uncle to befriend us in our Business?* *Cæpio* smiling, seemed to consent; but *Cato* made no Answer, only he looked stedfastly and fiercely on the Strangers: Then said *Pompædus*, *And You, young Man, what say You to us? will not You, as well as your Brother, intercede with your Uncle in our behalf?* *Cato* continued still unmoved; by his Silence and his Countenance seeming to deny their Petition, *Pompædus* snatched him up to the Window, as if he would throw him out: Then he urged him to consent, or he would fling him down; and speaking in a harsher Tone, held his Body out of the Window, and shook him several times. When *Cato* had suffered this a good while, unmoved and unconcerned, *Pompædus* setting him down, said softly to his Friend, *What a Blessing is this Child to Italy? if he were a Man, I believe we should not gain one Voice among the People.* Another time, one of his Relations, on his Birth-day, invited *Cato* and some other Children to Supper, who diverting themselves in a part of the House, were at Play all together, the Elder and the Younger; (1) their Play was to act the Pleadings before the Judges, accusing one another, and carrying away

(1) This Play was called *Judicia ludere*. Childrens Plays are generally formed upon such Ideas as are most familiar to them. For this Reason the Children at *Rome* usually acted in their Plays either the Tryals before the Magistrates, the Command of Armies, Tri-

umphs, or Emperors. We read in *Suetonius* that *Nero* commanded his Son-in-law *Rufinus Crispinus* the Son of *Poppæa*, a Child, to be thrown into the Sea. *quia ferebatur Ducatus, & Imperia ludere.* That Prince took the Child's Sports to be Indications of his Ambition.

the

the Condemned to Prison. Among These a very beautiful young Child being bound, and carried by a bigger into Prison, he cried out to *Cato*; who presently run to the Door, and thrusting away Those who stood there as a Guard, took out the Youth, and went home in great Anger, followed by all his Companions.

Cato at length grew so Famous among them, that when *Sylla* designed to exhibit the Game of young Men riding Races on Horseback, which they called the *Trojan Course*, having got together all the Youth of Quality, he appointed Two for their Leaders. One of them they accepted for his Mother's sake, He being the Son of *Metella*, the Wife of *Sylla*; but for the Other, who was *Sextus*, the Nephew of *Pompey*, they would not be led by him, nor exercised under him: Then *Sylla* asking, Whom they would have? They all cried out, *Cato*; and *Sextus* willingly yielded the Honour to Him, as the more worthy Person.

Sylla, having had a Friendship with their Father, did often send for *Cato* and his Brother, and would talk familiarly with them; a Favour which he shewed to very Few, by reason of the great Power and high Station which he had gotten. *Sarpedo*, considering the Advantage hereof, as well for the Honour as the Safety of his Scholars, did often bring *Cato* to wait upon *Sylla* at his House, which for the Multitude of Those that were slain, imprisoned, and tormented there, looked like a Place of Execution. *Cato* was then about Fourteen Years old; now seeing the Heads of great Men brought thither, and observing the secret Sighs of Those who were present, he asked his School-master, *Why does no Body kill this Man? Because* (said he) *they fear him, Child, more than they hate him: Why then* (replied *Cato*) *do you not give Me a Sword, that I may stab him, and free my Coun-*

The LIFE of

try from this Slavery? Sarpedo hearing This, and at the same time seeing his Countenance full of Anger and Fury, took care thence-forward to watch him strictly, lest he should fall into any desperate Attempt.

While he was yet very young, to Some that asked him, Whom he loved best? He answered, *His Brother*. And being asked, Whom next? He replied, *His Brother* again. So likewise the third time, and still the Same, 'till they left off to ask any farther. As he grew in Age, this Love to his Brother encreased; for when he was about Twenty Years old, he never supped, never went out of Town, nor into the *Forum*, without *Cæpio*; but when his Brother made use of Ointments and Perfumes, These *Cato* rejected: And he was, in the whole course of his Life, very regular and austere; so that when *Cæpio* was admired for his Moderation and Temperance, he would acknowledge, that indeed he might be accounted such, in respect of some other Men; *but* (said he) *when I compare myself with Cato, methinks I differ not at all from Sippius*; one at that time notorious for Softness and Luxury.

Cato, being made one of *Apollo's* Priests, changed his Habitation, took his Portion of their Paternal Inheritance, and began to live yet more severely than before. Having gained an intimate Acquaintance with *Antipater*, the Stoick Philosopher, he bent himself chiefly to the Study of Moral Philosophy and Politicks.

He was carried, as it were, by a kind of Inspiration, to embrace every Virtue; but most inclined to delight in Justice, (1) but in that severe and inflexible

(1) An Excess in this kind is vicious, for Justice when strained to the utmost Rigour frequently becomes Injustice. That Justice which is the Ornament of a good Man is a temperate Justice, receding from its

inflexible fort that was not to be wrought upon by Favour or Compassion. He learned also the Art of speaking in publick; which he looked upon as a Thing no less requisite for governing, than the Art of War for defending a City. But he would never recite his Speeches before Company; nor was he ever heard to declaim: And to One who told him, Men blamed his Silence; *but I hope not my Life,* (said he) *and I will then begin to speak, when I think I can say something that is worth being spoken.*

There was a great Hall, which had been built and dedicated to the Publick by old *Cato*; here the *Tribunes* of the People used to keep Court; and be-

its Dues upon Occasion. Cicero in his Oration for *Murena* taxeth *Cato* for his inflexible Severity, but at the same time endeavours to excuse him, saying, *Whatever was worthy and valuable in that great Man was genuine, and natural to him; his Defects were owing to his Masters, by whose great Learning and Authority he was captivated, and by Whom he was taught that the wise Man granted nothing to Favour, never pardoned a Fault; that the Weak and Foolish only were touched with Compassion, and that it is not for a Man to suffer himself to be mollified, and appeased. The Publicans, said They, come and ask some Favour of You, do not You let Your good Nature gain upon You. The Miserable and Distressed throw themselves at your Feet, You will be a Knave and a Villain if Your Compassion prompts You to grant them the least Relief. Some one may confess that he has committed a Fault, and is come to ask Your Pardon; it will be a Sin*

in You to pardon him. This is the Doctrine Cato followed, not as a Question to dispute upon, but as a Rule for his Conduct in Life. To This Cicero opposeth the Sentiment of other Philosophers, especially Aristotle, and Plato, who taught That Kindness does sometimes prevail in the Minds of the Wise; that it is the Property of a good Man to be compassionate; that since all Faults are not equal, the Punishments ought to be in Proportion; that the Man of a firm unshaken Mind knows how to forgive upon Occasion, and if sometimes he falls into a Passion, he can at Others be appeased and mollified. Then he adds, if Fortune had placed Cato under the Institution of such Masters, he would not have been a better Man, he would not have been more valiant, just or temperate. That was impossible, but he would have been more inclined to Mildness, and Lenity. What Art, what Delicacy, what an Elogium is there in this very Censure?

cause

cause a certain Pillar seemed not to stand well for the convenience of their Benches, they deliberated, whether it were best to remove it only, or to take it away. This Business first drew *Cato* into the *Forum*, though much against his Will; for he therein opposed the *Tribunes*, and at the same time gave an admirable Specimen both of his Courage and his Eloquence. His Speech had nothing in it of childish or affected, but was Rough, Vehement, and full of Sense; besides he had a certain Grace in Speaking, which charmed the Ear, and agreed well with the shortness of his Sentences, and something of Mirth and Rallery mingled with the Gravity of his Temper, was not unpleasant to his Auditors. His Voice was full, sounding, (1) and sufficient to be heard by so great a Multitude. His Vigour, and the Strength of his Body, indefatigable; for he could speak a whole Day, and never be weary.

When he had carried this Cause, he betook himself again to his Study and Retirement; where he accustomed his Body to Labour, and violent Exercise; would use himself to go bare-headed both in hot and cold Weather. When he went abroad with any of his Friends, though they were on Horse-back, and He on Foot, yet he would often join now one, then another, and discourse with them on the Way.

In Sickness, admirable was the Patience he shewed in supporting; and the Abstinence he used, for curing his Distempers. One time when he had an Ague, he would be alone all the Day long, and suffer no Body to see him, 'till he began to recover, and found the Fit was over. At Supper, when he threw Dice for the Choice of the Messes, and lost,

(1) That is a very useful Quality to such as are to speak in large Assemblies. For this Reason

Homer reckoned it among the Qualities of his Heroes.

the Company offered him nevertheless his choice; but he refused, saying, *Venus forbids.*

At first he was wont to drink only once after Supper, and then go away; but in process of time he grew to drink more, insomuch that oftentimes he would continue at Table 'till Morning. This his Friends excused; for that the State Affairs took him up all Day, and he being desirous of Knowledge, did pass the Night at Table in the Conversation of Philosophers. Hence one *Memmius* saying in Company, That *Cato* spent whole Nights in Drinking; *But you cannot say* (replied *Cicero*) *that he spends whole Days in Playing.*

Cato esteemed the Customs and Manners of Men at that time so corrupt, and a Reformation in them so necessary, that he thought it requisite, in many Things, (1) to go contrary to the ordinary way of the World. Wherefore seeing the lightest and gayest Colours were most in Fashion, he would always wear Black: And often went out of Doors, without either Shoes or Coat; not that he sought Vain-glory from such Novelties, but maintained that a Man ought to blush only at That which was shameful in it self, and to despise all other sorts of Disgrace.

The Estate of one *Cato*, his Cousin-German (which was worth a hundred Talents) falling to him, he turned it all into ready Money, which he kept by him for any of his Friends that should

(1) This Maxim may hold well enough in a State that is corrupt throughout, without one sound Part it. But it must be kept within its due Bounds, as well as that other Sentiment of His which follows, that is, *that a Man ought to blush only at That which is shameful in it self, and to despise all other sorts of Disgrace.* *Cato* carried these Points much too far, and was scrupulous to a Fault, for in observance of them he violated the Customs of his Country, which being established by a long and universal Observance are to be considered as Parts of the Constitution, rather than the Effects of Humour and Opinion.

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happen to want, to whom he would lend it without Use; for some of them, he suffered his own Land and his Slaves to be mortgaged to the publick Treasury.

When he thought himself of an Age fit to Marry, having never before known any Woman, he was contracted to *Lepida*, who had before been contracted to *Metellus Scipio*; but He having quitted her, the Contract was dissolved, and She at Liberty: Yet *Scipio* afterward repenting himself, did all he could to regain her, before the Marriage with *Cato* was compleat; and therein succeeded. At which *Cato* was very much incensed, and resolved to go to Law about it; but his Friends persuaded him to the contrary: However he was so moved by the Heat of Youth and Passion, that he writ Iambicks against *Scipio*, which had all the Wit and Satyr of *Archilochus*, without his Impudence and Scurrility. After This he Married *Atilia*, the Daughter of *Sorranus*, who was the first, but not the only Woman he ever knew; in this much less happy than *Laelius*, the Friend of *Scipio*, (1) who in the whole Course of so long a Life never knew but one Woman.

In the War made by the Rebellion of the Slaves, (which was named from *Spartacus* their Ring-leader) *Gellius* was General; and *Cato* went a Volunteer, for the sake of his Brother *Cepio*, who was a Colonel in that Army. But *Cato* could find no opportunity of exercising his Courage, by reason of the ill Conduct of the General; however amidst the Corruption and Disorders of that Army, he shewed such a Love of Discipline, so

(1) *Plutarch* looks on *Laelius* to have been a much happier Man than *Cato*, in that he never had the Knowledge of but one Woman, with whom he lived a long time, and in truth it is a very great Happiness. This Sentiment makes much to the Honour of our Author.

much

much Bravery upon occasion, and so much Wisdom in every thing, that it appeared he would not be any way inferior to the old *Cato*. Whereupon *Gellius* offered him great Rewards, and would have decreed him considerable Honours; which he refused, saying, he had done nothing that deserved them; and This made him be thought a Man of a very odd Humour.

There was a Law, That the Candidates who stood for any Office should not have Prompters to tell them the Names of the Citizens. *Cato*, when he sued to be elected *Military Tribune*, was the only Man that obeyed that Law; he took great pains to salute Those he met, and call them by their Names. Yet for these things he was envied, even by Those who praised him; for the more they considered the Excellency of what he did, the more they were grieved at the difficulty they found to do the like. Now being chosen *Military Tribune*, he was sent into *Macedonia* after *Rubrius*, who was General there. It is said, that his Wife shewing much Concern, and weeping at his Departure, *Munatius*, one of *Cato's* Friends, said to her, *Do not trouble your self, Atilia, I'll take care to keep him for you; Ay by all means,* replied *Cato*. When they had gone one Day's Journey together; *Well*, said he to *Munatius*, *that you may be sure to keep your Promise to Atilia, you must not leave me Day nor Night;* and then ordered two Beds to be made in his own Chamber, that *Munatius* might lye there: So that he seemed rather to be kept by *Cato*. There went with him fifteen Slaves, two Freed-men, and four of his Friends; These rode on Horseback, but *Cato* always went on Foot, yet would he keep by them, and discourse with them on the way.

When he came to the Army, which consisted of many Legions, the General gave him the Command

mand of One ; but *Cato* looked upon it as a small matter, and not worthy a Command, to make his own single Valour appear only ; therefore he desired to make his Soldiers like Himself. Yet he did not thereby lose the Reverence due to his Command, but joined Reason to his Authority ; for he persuaded and instructed every one in particular, and on All bestowed Rewards or Punishments according to desert. At length his Men were so well disciplined, that it was hard to say, whether they were more Peaceable, or more Warlike ; more Valiant, or more Just: They were dreadful to their Enemies, and courteous to their Companions ; fearful to do Wrong, and forward to gain Honour. (1) Thus *Cato*, tho' he never fought, yet easily acquired Glory and Repute ; was highly esteemed by all Men, but entirely beloved by the Soldiers. What-ever he commanded to be done, he himself took part in the performing. In his Apparel, his Diet and Labour, he was more like a common Soldier than an Officer ; (2) but in Virtue, Courage and Wisdom, he far exceeded all that had the Name of Commanders. By these means he made himself greatly beloved, and was therefore the more willingly followed ; for the true Love of Virtue is in all Men produced by the Love and Respect they bear to Him that teaches it ; and they who praise good Men, without being in love with them, may

(1) This Reflection contains in it a Maxim, which ought to be followed by every Man. We are not in our Actions to aim at acquiring to our selves Honour, Credit, and Reputation ; but study to do well, and Those will follow of Course, without our being anxious or solicitous about them.

(2) This likewise is a Rule

which ought to be followed by all, especially by young Officers in the Army. Let them, in the plainness of their Diet, and regular course of living, out-do the common Soldier, but in their Actions and Sentiments let them contend with the most celebrated Commanders, and endeavour to excell them.

extol

extol their Glory, but will never imitate their Virtue.

At that time there dwelt in *Pergamum* one *Athenodorus*, surnamed *Cordylus*, a Man very well versed in the Stoick Philosophy, who was now grown old, (1) and had always refused the Friendship and Acquaintance of Princes and great Men. *Cato* understood This; so that imagining he should not be able to prevail with him by sending or writing; and being by the Laws allowed two Months absence from the Army, he resolved to go into *Asia*, to see *Athenodorus*; and considering the great Worth of the Man, he hoped he should not lose his Labour. When *Cato* had discoursed with him, and persuaded him from his former Resolutions, he returned and brought him to the Army, (2) as joyful and as proud of this Success, as if he had done some heroick Exploit, greater than Those of *Pompey* or *Lucullus*, who were at that time subduing so many Nations and Kingdoms.

While *Cato* was yet in the Army, his Brother, on a Journey toward *Asia*, fell sick at *Ænus* in *Thrace*, and immediately dispatched Letters to him. The Sea was very rough, and no convenient great Vessel to be had, yet *Cato* getting into a little Passage-boat, with only two of his Friends, and three Servants, set Sail for *Thessalonica*, and having very narrowly escaped Drowning, he arrived at *Ænus* just as *Cæpio* expired. Upon this Occasion *Cato*

(1) In those days great Princes and Generals were ambitious of having near their Persons Those among the Philosophers, who were most celebrated for their Doctrine and Virtue, and were benefited by their Conversation.

(2) And That with good Reason, for Experience tells us, that the most glorious Exploits in War

are not so profitable to a State, as the adding one wise Man to the Community; as on the other hand there is nothing so pernicious and fatal, as to open the Door, and admit a Fool into it. Wisdom is the Buckler of a State, and Folly its Destruction, as we have it demonstrated by *Aristotle* and *Plato*.

shewed

shewed himself more a fond Brother than a Philosopher, not only in the excess of Grief, bewailing and embracing the dead Body, but also in the extravagant Expences of the Funeral, wherein a vast Quantity of rich Perfumes and costly Garments were burnt with the Corps; besides, he erected in the *Forum* of the *Ænians*, a Monument of *Thassian* Marble, which cost eight Talents. This Some blamed, as not suiting with *Cato's* usual Moderation in other things; but they did not consider, that tho' he were stedfast, firm, and inflexible to Pleasure, Fear, or fond Entreaties, yet he was full of natural Tenderness, and brotherly Affection. Divers of the Cities and Governors of the Country sent him many Presents, to honour the Funerals of his Brother; but he took none of their Money, only the Perfumes and Ornaments he received, and paid for Them also. Afterward, when the Estate came to be divided between Him and *Cæpio's* Daughter, he would bring none of the Funeral Charges to her Account, but placed them All upon his Own. Notwithstanding which, a certain Writer has affirmed, that he made his Brother's Ashes be passed through a Sieve, to find the Gold that was melted down with the Body: (1) Thus that Person thought it lawful for him to attack his Adversaries with the Pen as well as the Sword.

(1) This Passage, which is not without its Beauties, has however been ill interpreted. It is in the *Latin* Version, *is à non gladio solum, verum etiam Stylo, putavit impune sibi quod liberet facere*; but This Version, as well as some Others, is far from the Sense of the Author. The Person meant here by *Plutarch* is *Cæsar*, and he insinuates that He was the Writer,

who in his *Anticato* mentions this Particularity, and adds, that he thought it not enough to draw his Sword against *Cato*, but made use of his Pen also to blacken the Reputation of a Man, whose Virtue had raised him so high, that Reproach and Calumny could not reach him; but *Plutarch* forbore mentioning *Cæsar* by Name, out of Respect to his Character.

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The time of *Cato's* Service in the Army being expired, he received at his Departure, not only the Prayers and Praises, but the Tears and Embraces of the Soldiers, who spread their Garments at his Feet, and kissed his Hand as he passed; an Honour which the *Romans* shewed to very few of their Generals.

Cato having left the Army, resolved, before he would return home, and apply himself to the Management of State-Affairs, to travel over *Asia*, and there observe the Manners, the Customs, and the Strength of every Province. He was also willing to gratify the Importunity of *Deiotarus*, King of *Galatia*, who having had great Familiarity and Friendship with his Father, did earnestly invite him thither.

Cato took care to order his Journeys in this manner: Early in the Morning he sent out his Baker and his Cook towards the Place where he designed to lodge the next Night: These went civilly and quietly into the Town, in which if there happened to be no Friend nor Acquaintance of *Cato* or his Family, they provided for him in an Inn, and gave no Disturbance to any Body; but if there were no Inn, they went to the Magistrates, and desired Them to help them to Lodgings, and were always satisfied with what was allotted to them. (1) His Servants thus behaving themselves towards the Magistrates, without noise and threatning, were often not credited, or neglected by them; so that *Cato*

(1) This is a common Observation. The Vulgar generally think the Masters can be of no consequence when the Servants behave themselves with a decent Silence and Modesty. Thus in *Terence*, *Thraso* conceives a mean Opinion of *Phadria* from the mannerly behaviour of *Parmeno*, who delivers

himself in a polite well-bred manner to *Thais*:

Apparet Servum hunc esse domini pauperis, miserieque.

One may easily perceive that this Fellow has some poor insignificant Wretch for his Master, Eunuch. 3. 2.

did many times arrive before any thing was provided for him. And indeed he Himself was often despised, and made little Account of; for sitting silent, and alone, on his Baggage, he was looked upon as a contemptible Man, and one of a mean Spirit; therefore he would sometimes call the Townsmen together, and say, *Ye ill-natured Men, lay aside this inhospitable Humour; you should by Courtesy endeavour to break the Power of those Men, who desire but a pretence to take from you by Force, what you give with such Reluctance.*

While he travelled in this manner, a pleasant Accident befel him in *Syria*. As he was going into *Antioch*, he saw a great multitude of People without the Gates, ranked in order on either side the way; here the young Men with long Cloaks, there the Children decently dressed; These were followed by Others wearing Crowns and white Garments, for they proved to be the Priests and Magistrates. *Cato*, presently imagining all this was to do Him Honour, and for His Reception, began to be angry with his Servants that were sent before, for suffering it to be done; then making his Friends alight, he walked along with them on Foot. As soon as he came near the Gate, a reverend old Man, who seemed to be a Master of these Ceremonies, with a Staff and a Crown in his Hand, came up to *Cato*, and without saluting him, asked him, *Where he had left Demetrius, and how soon he thought he would be there?* This *Demetrius* was *Pompey's* Servant; and by all Those who hoped for any Favour from *Pompey*, he was highly honoured, not for his own desert, but for his great Power with his Master. Upon this *Cato's* Friends fell out into such a Laughter, that they could not restrain themselves while they passed through the Crowd; he Himself much out of Countenance, cried, *O unhappy*

happy City! and said no more; yet afterwards he used to tell this Story Himself, and laugh at it.

Pompey likewise after that; made the People ashamed of their Ignorance and Folly; for *Cato*, in his Journey to *Ephesus*, went to pay his Respects to Him, who was the elder Man, had gained much Honour, and was then General of a great Army. Yet *Pompey* would not receive him sitting; but as soon as he saw him, rose up, and going to meet him, as the most honourable Person, gave him his Hand, and embraced him very kindly. He said many things also in Commendation of *Cato's* Virtue, both in his presence, and when he was gone away. So that now all Men began to respect *Cato*, and admired him for the same things, for which they despised him before; having well considered the Mildness of his Temper, and the Greatness of his Spirit. Moreover, the Civility that *Pompey* Himself shewed him, appeared to come from one that rather honoured than loved him. And it was observed, he was very kind to *Cato* while he was present with him, but very glad when he was gone from him; for when other young Men came to see him, he usually importuned and entreated Them to continue with him: Now he did not at all invite *Cato* to stay, but as if his own Power were lessened by the Other's Presence, he very willingly dismissed him. Yet to *Cato* alone, of all Those who went for *Rome*, he recommended his Children and his Wife, who was also herself allied to *Cato*.

After This, all the Cities through which he passed, strove and emulated each other in shewing him Respect and Honour. They invited him to great Entertainments; at which he desired his Friends to be present, and take care of him, lest he should make good what was said by *Curio*, who though he were his familiar Friend, yet disliking the austerity of his Temper, asked him one Day, *If when he left*

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the Army, he designed to see Asia? And Cato answering, Yes, by all means: You do well, replied Curio, and I hope you will return thence a little more softned, and less an Enemy to Pleasure. Those were his Words.

Deiotarus being now an old Man, had sent for Cato, with design to recommend his Children and Family to his Protection; and as soon as he came, brought him Presents of all sorts of things, which he begged and entreated him to accept. This so displeas'd Cato, that though he came but in the Evening, he stay'd only that Night, and went away early the next Morning. After he was gone one Day's Journey, he found at Pessinus a greater number of Presents provided for him there, and also Letters from Deiotarus, entreating him to receive them, or at least, said he, permit your Friends to take them, who deserve well at your Hands, and your own Estate is not sufficient for you to reward them according to their Merits. Notwithstanding which he would not suffer it, though he saw some of them very willing to receive such Gifts, and ready to complain of his Severity; but he told them, That at this rate Corruption would never want Pretence; and for his Friends, they should share with him in whatever he could get justly and honestly; so he returned the Presents to Deiotarus.

When he took Ship for *Brundisium*, his Friends would have persuaded him to put his Brother's Ashes into another Vessel; but he said, *he would sooner part with his Life than leave them; and so he set Sail.* (1) It is said the Vessel in which He was

(1) *Plutarch* adds the word *happened*, to let his Readers know that he did not give into the Superstition of Those who believe it dangerous to have a Corps on board, for that it always raiseth stormy Weather, and endangers the Ship. It was under that Fear that *Cato's* Friends advis'd him to put his Brother's Ashes on board some other Vessel. This ridiculous Superstition still reigns in the Minds of several among the Moderns.

happened

happened to be in great Danger, though All the rest had a safe and easy Passage.

After he was returned to *Rome*, he spent his time for the most part either at home in Conversation with *Athenodorus*, or at the *Forum*, in the service of his Friends.

When the Office of *Quæstor* fell to him, he would not take the Place, 'till he had perfectly studied the Laws concerning it, and diligently enquired of Experienced Men the Duty and Authority belonging to it. Being thus instructed, as soon as he came into the Office, he made a great Reformation among the Clerks and Under-Officers of the Treasury. For They being well versed in the Records and Methods of the Office into which continually succeeded new *Quæstors*, who for their Ignorance and Unskilfulness were fit only to learn, and not able to manage the Business, These Officers had taken to Themselves all the Power, and were in effect the Treasurers, 'till *Cato*, applying himself roundly to the Work, had not only the Title and Honour of a *Quæstor*, but an Insight and Understanding of whatever belonged to the Office. So that he used the Clerks and Under-Officers like Servants, as they were, reprehending Them that were corrupt, and instructing Those that were ignorant; yet being bold impudent Fellows, they flattered the other *Quæstors* his Collegues, and by their means made great Opposition against *Cato*. But he caught the chiefest of them dealing dishonestly in the division of an Estate, and turned him out of the Treasury. A Second he accused of forging a Will; and *Lucretius Catulus*, who was at that time *Censor*, a Man very considerable for his Office, but more for his Virtue, being eminent above all the *Romans* of that Age for his Wisdom and Integrity, undertook his Defence, though he was an intimate Acquaintance of *Cato's*, and much com-

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mended his way of Living. *Catulus* perceiving he could not bring off his Client, if he stood a fair Tryal, fell to Prayers and Entreaties; but *Cato* would not suffer him to proceed therein; and when he continued still importunate; *It is a shame*, (said he to *Catulus*) *that You who are to judge of Our Lives, should thus let your Own be dishonoured by defending the Servants of the State who have been corrupt in their Offices.* At this Expression *Catulus* looked as if he would have made some Answer; but he said nothing, and either through Anger or Shame went away silent, and out of Countenance. Nevertheless the Man was not cast; for the Voices that quitted him were but one in Number less than Those that condemned him; and *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Cato's* Collegues, was absent by reason of Sickness; to Him *Catulus* sent, and entreated him to come and assist his Client: So *Lollius* was brought into Court in a Chair, and gave his Voice also for acquitting the Man. Yet *Cato* never after made use of that Clerk, and never paid him his Salary, nor would he make any account of that Voice of *Lollius*. Having thus humbled the Clerks, and brought them to be at Command, he made use of the Books and Registers as he thought fit, and in a little while reduced the Treasury into as good order as any other Court; and all Men said, *Cato* had made the Office of a *Quæstor* equal to the Dignity of a *Consul*. When he found Many indebted to the State upon old Accounts, and the State also in Debt to many private Persons, he took care that the Publick might neither do nor suffer wrong; for he severely and punctually exacted what was due to the Treasury, but as freely and speedily paid all Those to whom it was indebted. This made the People much reverence *Cato*, when they saw Those made to pay, who thought to have escaped for nothing, and Others receiving all their due,
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who despaired of getting any thing. Whereas usually Those who brought false Bills, and pretended Orders of Senate, could through Favour get them accepted, but *Cato* would never be so imposed upon; and a certain Order being questioned whether it had passed the Senate, he would not believe a great many Witnesses that attested it, nor did admit of it, 'till the *Consuls* came and affirmed it upon Oath.

There were at that time a great many Whom *Sylla* had made use of as his Executioners in the last Proscription, and to Whom he had for that Service given twelve thousand Drachmas a-piece: These Men every Body hated as wicked Wretches, but no Body durst be revenged of them. Yet *Cato* called every one to Account, who had thus gotten the publick Money, which he exacted of them; and at the same time sharply reprov'd them for their cruel and impious Actions. Having born this from *Cato*, they were presently accused of Murther; and being already prejudged as Guilty, they were easily found so, and accordingly suffered. At This All the People rejoiced, and hoped now to see the fear of Tyranny taken away, and *Sylla* Himself punished.

Cato's Affiduity also, and indefatigable Diligence, won very much upon the People; for he always came first of any of his Collegues to the Treasury, and went away the last. He never missed any Assembly of the People, or Sitting of the Senate; where he always took care strictly to observe Those who lightly, or out of Ambition, voted for remitting, or giving away the Fines and Customs, that were owing to the State. And at length having freed the Exchequer from Informers, yet filled it with Treasure; he made it appear, that the State might be rich, without oppressing the People.

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At first this Behaviour made him uneasy and hateful to some of his Collegues, but afterwards much beloved by them; for on Him they cast the *Odiū*, when they could not gratify their Friends with Pensions out of the Treasury, or give corrupt Judgments in passing their Account: and when pressed by Suiters, they readily answered, *It was impossibly to do any thing, unless Cato would consent.*

The last day of his Office he was very honourably attended to his House by all the People; but by the way he was informed, that several Persons of great Power and Familiarity with *Marcellus* were about him in the Treasury, and earnestly urging him to pass a certain Gift out of the publick Revenue, as if it had been a Debt. This *Marcellus* had been one of *Cato's* Friends from his Childhood, and was one of the best of his Collegues in this Office; but when Alone, he was easily wrought upon by the Importunity of Suiters, and of his own Inclination very ready to do any Body a Kindness. Wherefore *Cato* immediately turned back, and finding that *Marcellus* had yielded to pass the thing, he took the Book and razed it out. When he had done This, he brought *Marcellus* out of the Court, and saw him safe at home. And yet *Marcellus* neither then, nor ever after, complained of him, but always continued his Friendship and Familiarity with him.

Cato, after the Expiration of his Office of *Questor*, did not forbear having a watchful Eye upon the Treasury, where he had his Servants continually minuting their Proceedings there, and He Himself kept always by him certain Books, which contained the Accounts of the Revenue, from *Sylla's* Time to his Own, for which he gave five Talents.

He was always First in the Senate, and went out Last: and frequently whilst Others idled their time
away

away 'till as many Members were present, as were sufficient to make a House, He would sit in some Corner, and read, holding his Gown before his Book; and made it a certain Rule never to be out of Town when the Senate was to meet.

Pompey, and his Party, finding *Cato* could neither be persuaded or compelled to favour their unjust Designs, contrived to keep him from frequenting the Senate so much, by engaging him in Business for his Friends, either to plead their Causes, or arbitrate their Differences. But He quickly discovering their Contrivance, fairly told all his Acquaintance, that he would never meddle in any private Business when the Senate was assembled; since it was not for Honour or Riches, nor rashly, or by chance, that he engaged himself in the Affairs of State, but he undertook the Service of the Publick, as the proper Business of an honest Man; and therefore he thought himself obliged to be as diligent for the Good of his Country, as a Bee for the Preservation of her Hive. To this end he took care to make his Friends and Correspondents send him the Edicts, Decrees, Judgments, and most considerable Actions that passed in any of the Provinces.

Clodius, the seditious Orator, practising to stir up great Commotions, and traducing the Priests and Vestals to the People, (among whom, *Fabia Terentia*, Sister to *Cicero's* Wife, run great danger) *Cato* boldly opposed him, and made him appear so infamous, that he was forced to leave the Town; and when *Cicero* came to thank him for what he had done, *You must thank the Commonwealth*, said he, *for whose sake alone it is that I do every thing.* Thus he gained a great and wonderful Reputation; so that a certain Advocate in a Cause, where there was only one Witness against him, told the Judges, they ought not to rely upon a single Witness, though it were

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were *Cato* Himself. And it was grown proverbial among the People, if any very unlikely and incredible thing were asserted, to say, *They would not believe it, though Cato Himself should affirm it.* One day a debauched Prodigal talking in the Senate about Frugality and Temperance, *Amneus* standing up, cried, *Who can endure This, Sir, to hear you who Feast like Crassus, and Build like Lueullus, Talk at the same time like Cato.* So likewise They who were wild and dissolute in their Manners, and yet affected to seem Grave and Severe in their Discourses, were in Derision called *Catos*.

At first when his Friends would have persuaded him to stand to be Tribune of the People, he thought it not convenient, for that the Power of so great an Office ought to be employed only as the strongest Medicines, when things are brought to the last necessity. But afterwards in Vacation-time, as he was going, accompanied with his Books and Philosophers to *Leucania*, where he had a pleasant Seat, by the way they met a great many Horses, Carriages, and Attendants, of whom they understood, that *Metellus Nepos* was going to *Rome*, to stand to be Tribune of the People. Hereupon *Cato* stopped, and after a little pause, gave Orders to return back immediately: At which the Company seeming to wonder; *Do not you know*, said he, *how dangerous of itself the Madness of Metellus is? but now he comes assisted with the Counsel of Pompey, he will fall like Lightning on the State, and bring it to utter Ruin; wherefore, This is no time for Idleness and Diversion, but we must go and prevent this Man in his Designs, or bravely die in Defence of our Liberty.* Nevertheless, by the Persuasion of his Friends, he went first to his Country-House, where he staid but a very little time, and then returned to Town.

He arrived in the Evening, and went straight the next Morning to the *Forum*, where he began to
solicite

solicite for the Tribuneship, in Opposition to *Metellus*. The Power of this Office consists rather in Controlling, than performing any Business; for though all the rest of his Collegues should agree, yet if one Tribune dissented, his Denial or Intercession could put a Stop to the whole Matter. *Cato* at first had not many that appeared for him; but as soon as his Design was known, all Persons of the best Quality, and of his own Acquaintance, took part with him; for they looked upon him, not as one that desired a Favour of them, but as one who sought to do a great Kindness to his Country, and to all honest Men; One who had many times refused the same Office, when he might have had it without Trouble, but now sought it with Danger, that he might defend their Liberty and their Government. It is reported, that so great a number flocked about him, that he was like to be stifled amidst the Press, and could scarce get thro' the Crowd. He was declared Tribune, with several others, among whom was *Metellus*.

Now when *Cato* was chosen into this Office, having observed that the Election of *Consuls* was grown mercenary, he sharply rebuked the People for this Corruption, and in the conclusion of his Speech protested, he would accuse whomever he should find giving Money: (1) Yet he excepted *Silanus*, by reason of his Alliance, for he had married *Servilia*, *Cato's* Sister, so that he did not Prosecute him; (2) but *Lucius Murena*, who was chosen Con-

(1) This is not much to *Cato's* Honour; especially if we consider it as done in a City where Fathers had condemned their own Children.

(2) But *Silanus* and *Murena* being Both *Consuls*, and Both equally guilty of Bribery, it was unworthy in *Cato* to prosecute *Mu-*

rena without calling *Silanus* to Account, because he was his Relation, though he was altogether as obnoxious as *Murena*. I cannot but think he ought rather to have excused *Murena* for the sake of *Silanus*, and so have prosecuted Neither.

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ful with *Silanus*, he accused of Bribery. There was a Law, That the Party accused might set a Guard upon his Accuser, to watch him lest he should use any indirect means in preparing the Accusation. He that was set upon *Cato* by *Murena*, at first followed and observed him strictly, yet never found him dealing any way unfairly or unjustly, but always generously and candidly going on in the just and open Methods of Proceeding. So that he much admired *Cato's* great Spirit and noble Nature, and easily trusted to his Integrity; for meeting him abroad, or going to his House, he would ask him, *If he designed to do any thing that Day in order to the Accusation*; and if *Cato* said, *No*, he went away, freely relying on his Word.

When the Cause was pleaded, *Cicero*, who was then Consul, and defended *Murena*, did so wittily expose *Cato*, and the Stoick Philosophers, and their Paradoxes, that he raised great Laughter in his Judges. Whereupon *Cato*, smiling, said to the Standers-by; *Sirs, we have a very pleasant Consul. Murena* was acquitted, and afterwards shewed himself no passionate, but a very prudent Man; for whilst he was Consul, he always took *Cato's* Advice in the most weighty Affairs, and in all the time of his Office gave him much Honour and Respect. Of which, not only *Murena's* Prudence, but also *Cato's* obliging Humour was the Cause; for though he were terrible and severe as to Matters of Justice, in the Senate, and at the Bar, yet he was very courteous and good-natured to all Men in private.

Before *Cato* took upon him the Office of Tribune, he assisted *Cicero*, at that time Consul, in many things that concerned his Office; but most especially in prosecuting *Catiline's* Conspiracy, which he did with great Courage and Success.

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This *Catiline* had plotted a dreadful and entire Subversion of the *Roman State*, contriving to raise great Seditious, and drive them into a Civil War; but being detected by *Cicero*, was forced to fly the City. Yet *Lentulus* and *Cetbegus* conspired with several Others, and blaming *Catiline*, as One that wanted Courage, and had too much Caution for such desperate Designs, They Themselves resolved to set the whole City on Fire, and utterly to ruin the Empire of the World, by Tumults at Home, and War from Abroad. But the Design was discovered by *Cicero*, (as we have written in his Life) and the Matter brought before the Senate. *Silanus*, who spoke first, delivered his Opinion, *That the Conspirators ought to suffer the last of Punishments*; and was therein followed by All that spoke after him, 'till it came to *Cæsar*, who was very eloquent; and looking upon all Changes and Commotions in the State as Matter for Him to work upon, desired rather to increase than extinguish them. Wherefore standing up, He made a very merciful and persuasive Speech: *That they ought not to suffer otherwise than according to Law, by which they could not be put to Death*; and moved that they might be kept in Prison: Thus was the House almost wholly turned by *Cæsar*. They were also afraid of the People, insomuch that *Silanus* retracted, and said, *He did not mean Death, but Imprisonment, for That was the utmost of what a Roman could suffer*. Upon This they were all inclined to the milder Opinion; when *Cato* standing up, began to speak with great Passion and Eloquence; *blaming Silanus for his change of Opinion, and reflecting on Cæsar for his affectation of Popularity, who, he said, would ruin the Commonwealth by mild Words, and plausible Speeches, and at the same time endeavour to frighten the Senate, where He Himself ought to fear; for he might take it kindly, if he escaped unpunished or unsuspected, who did*
thus

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thus openly and boldly dare to protect the Enemies of the State; seemed to have no compassion for so great and glorious an Empire, brought so near its utter ruin, yet was full of pity for those Men, who had better never have been born, and whose Death must deliver the Commonwealth from danger and destruction. This only of all *Cato's* Speeches, it is said, was preserved; for *Cicero* the Consul had dispersed about the Senate-house several expert Writers, whom he had taught to make certain Figures, which did in little and short strokes express a great many Words; 'till that time they had not used those they call Short-hand Writings, who then first, as it is said, laid the Foundation of that Art. Thus *Cato* carried it, and so turned the House again, that it was decreed, the Conspirators should be put to death.

Not to omit any the least strokes that may shew *Cato's* Temper, and contribute to draw the Image of his Mind; it is reported, that while *Cæsar* and He were disputing very earnestly in this Business, and the whole Senate regarding them Two, a little Note was brought in to *Cæsar*; which *Cato* presently declared to be suspicious; and Some of the Senators moved it might be read. Whereupon *Cæsar* delivered the Letter to *Cato*, who discovering it to be a Love-letter from his Sister *Servilia* to *Cæsar*, by whom she had been debauched, he threw it to him again, crying, *Take it, you Sot*; and so went on with his Discourse. In short, it seems *Cato* had but ill Fortune in Women; for this Lady was ill spoken of, for her Familiarity with *Cæsar*: And another *Servilia*, *Cato's* Sister also, was yet more Infamous; for being married to *Lucullus*, one of the greatest Men in *Rome*, and having brought him a Son, she was afterwards divorced for Incontinency. But what was worst of all, *Cato's* own Wife *Atilia* was not free from the same Fault; and after she had born him two Children, he was forced

ced to put her away for her ill Conduct. After That he married *Martia*, the Daughter of *Philip*, a Woman of good Reputation, and highly celebrated by the *Romans*. Notwithstanding which, this Passage in the Life of *Cato* looks like a Fable in a Play, and is very difficult to be cleared, or made out with any certainty.

It is thus related by *Thraseas*, who refers to the Authority of *Munatius*, *Cato's* Friend and constant Companion. Among the Many that loved and admired *Cato*, Some were more remarkable and perspicuous than Others: Of these was *Quintus Hortensius*, a Man of signal Worth and approved Virtue; who desired not only to live in Friendship and Familiarity with *Cato*, but also to be united to his Family, by some Alliance in Marriage. Therefore he set himself to persuade *Cato*, that his Daughter *Porcia*, who was already married to *Bibulus*, and had born him two Children, might nevertheless be given to Him, as a fruitful Field, from which he might raise an Off-spring: For, said he, though *This in the Opinion of Men may seem strange, yet in Nature it would be honest and profitable for the Publick, that a Woman in the prime of her youth should not lie useless, and lose the Fruit of her Womb; nor on the other side would it be convenient she should burthen and impoverish one Man, by bringing him too many Children.* (1) *That by thus communicating the Women among worthy Men, Virtue would increase, and be diffused through their Families; and the Commonwealth would be united and cemented by their Alliances. Yet if Bibulus would not part with his Wife altogether, he would*

(1) This indeed is a fine Expedient for the Propagation of Virtue! and yet, such as it is, it was not condemned by *Plato*, who gave it a Place in his Commonwealth, To what Follies are not the wisest of Men subject, without the Guidance of the true and invariable Rules of Piety, which teach us that the Sanctity of the Marriage-Bed is infinitely preferable to its Fecundity?

restore

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restore her as soon as she had brought him a Child, whereby he might be united to both their Families. Cato answered, That he loved Hortensius very well, and did much approve of uniting their Houses, (1) but he thought it very strange to speak of marrying his Daughter, who was already espoused by Another. Then Hortensius (2) turning this Discourse, did not stick to acknowledge, that it was Cato's own Wife which he desired; for she was Young and Fruitful, and He had already Children enow. Neither can it be thought that Hortensius did This, as imagining Cato did not love Martia; for, it is said, she was then with Child. (3) Cato perceiving his earnest Desire, did not deny his Request, but said, that Philip, the Father of Martia, ought also to be consulted. Philip therefore being sent for, came; and finding they were well agreed, gave his Daughter

(1) This Passage is a convincing Proof of the Injustice of that Reproach, which some learned Men have fastened upon *Plutarch*, as if he had written that it was allowed among the Romans for a Man to lend his Wife to Another, that He might have some Children by her, and afterwards take her again. If This had been a Thing permitted by Custom, Cato could never have said he thought it strange in Hortensius to ask it of him. It is true that *Strabo* speaking of this Matter, saith, Cato lent his Wife, according to the Custom of the Romans. Whatever Custom of this sort might have been in the early times of the Commonwealth, I find no Foot-steps or Examples of it in Antiquity; but certainly this Answer of Cato to Hortensius is a clear Proof, that at least in his time it was entirely forgot and abolished.

(2) This demand of his Daugh-

ter was only to try him, and in order to beg his Wife of him, with Whom he was in Love; but This was still the same thing.

(3) Some learned Men have reproached *Plutarch* as guilty of a Fallity in saying, that Cato lent his Wife to Hortensius; but They Themselves are in an Error, as has been proved by *Rualdus*. In the first Place *Plutarch* drew this Particular out of the Memoirs of *Thrasea*, and even *Munatius*, Cato's intimate Friend has written the same Thing, as having been Witness to it. In the second Place, *Strabo* tells us in express Terms, Lib. 11. In our days Cato gave his Wife Martia to Hortensius. He saith in our days, because He was a Child when this Circumstance happened. In short, all the Authors of Antiquity, who have had occasion to mention it, agree with *Plutarch* in this Particular.

Martia

Martia to *Hortensius* in the presence of *Cato*, who Himself also assisted at the Marriage. These things were done afterwards ; but since I was speaking of the Women, I thought fit to make mention thereof in this Place.

Lentulus and the rest of the Conspirators were put to Death ; but *Cæsar*, by reason of what was said against him in the Senate, betook himself to the People, and stirred up the most corrupt and dissolute Members of the State to follow him. *Cato*, apprehensive of what might ensue thereupon, persuaded the Senate to win over the poor and disorderly Rabble, by a distribution of Corn, the Charge of which amounted in the Year to no more than twelve hundred and fifty Talents. This Liberality did in appearance dissipate the present Danger.

But *Metellus*, coming into his Office of *Tribune*, began to hold tumultuous Assemblies, and had prepared a Decree, That *Pompey the Great* should presently be called into *Italy*, with all his Forces, to preserve the City from the Danger of *Catiline's* Conspiracy. This was the fair Pretence ; but the true Design was, to deliver All into the Hands of *Pompey*, and give him an absolute Power. Upon This the Senate was assembled, and *Cato* did not fall sharply upon *Metellus*, as he used to do, but spake many things full of great Reason and Moderation. At last he descended even to Entreaty, and extolled the House of *Metellus*, as having always taken part with the Nobility. At This *Metellus* grew the more insolent, and despising *Cato*, as if he yielded and were afraid, let fall many audacious Speeches, openly threatening to do whatever he pleased in spite of the Senate. Hereupon *Cato* changed his Countenance, his Voice, and his Language ; and after many sharp Expressions, boldly concluded, That while He lived, *Pompey* should never come armed into the City. The Senate thought

them both Extravagant, and not well in their Wits; for the Design of *Metellus* seemed to be the effect of his Rage, who out of excess of Malice, would bring all to Ruin and Confusion; and *Cato's* Virtue looked like a kind of Ecstasie, while He with so great Heat and Passion contended for what was Good and Just. Afterward, when the People were to give their Voices for the passing this Decree, *Metellus* before-hand possessed the *Forum* with armed Men, Strangers, Gladiators and Slaves, and all Those who in hopes of Change followed *Pompey*, which was no small part of the People; besides they had great Assistance from *Cæsar*, who was then *Prætor*. The best and chiefest Men of the City were no less offended at these Proceedings than *Cato*; but they seemed rather likely to suffer with him, than able to assist him. In the mean time *Cato's* whole Family were in dreadful Fear and Apprehension for him; some of his Friends did neither eat nor sleep all the Night, continuing in great Perplexity: His Wife and Sisters also bewailed and lamented him; but He Himself void of all Fear, and full of Assurance, comforted and encouraged them by his own Discourse. After Supper he went to Rest at his usual Hour, and was the next Day waked out of a profound Sleep, by *Munatius Thermus*, one of his Collegues. So soon as he was up, They Two went together into the *Forum*, accompanied by very few, but met by a great many, who bid them have a care of themselves. *Cato* when he saw the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* incircled with armed Men, and the Ascent to it guarded by Gladiators, at the Top whereof sat *Metellus* and *Cæsar* together; turning to his Friends, *Behold* (said he) *that courageous Fellow, who has raised so great Forces against one unarmed naked Man;* and so he went on with *Thermus*. They who kept the Passages, gave way to Him, but would
not

not let any body else pass: Yet *Cato* taking *Munatius* by the Hand, with much Difficulty pulled him through along with him. Then going directly to *Metellus* and *Cæsar*, he fate himself down between them, to prevent their talking to one another; at which they were Both amazed. And Those of the honest Party, observing the Countenance, and admiring the Spirit and Boldness of *Cato*, went nearer, and cried out to him to have Courage, exhorting one another to stand together, and not betray their Liberty, nor the Defender of it. Then the Clerk took out the Bill, but *Cato* forbade him to read it, whereupon *Metellus* took it, and would have read it Himself, but *Cato* snatched it out of his Hands. *Metellus* having the Decree by Heart, began to recite it without Book; but *Thermus* clapped his Hand to his Mouth, and stopped his Speech. *Metellus* seeing them fully bent to withstand him, and the People inclining to their side, (1) had recourse to an Expedient, which could not fail, (2) sending to his House for armed Men, who rushing in with great Noise and Terror, they dispersed and run away All except *Cato*, who Alone

(1) It is in the Text *πρὸ τῶν συμφέρον τρεπόμενος*, instead of which the Interpreters have read it *τρεπόμενος*, making it relate to *δῆμον*, the People yielding to That which was most profitable, that is to Reason, and Justice. But I am of Opinion the Text ought not to be altered, *πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τρεπόμενος* is spoken of *Metellus*, who seeing the strong Opposition that was raised against him, made, as we say, one push for All, and in order to gain his Point, and play his last stake, sent for those armed Men he had left at home waiting his Orders.

(2) *Plutarch* had told us before

that *Metellus* had encompassed the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* with armed Men, and guarded the Ascent with Gladiators. Were not These a Force sufficient against Men unarmed, and naked of Defence? What reason therefore had he to send for more from his own House? Did They that were already in and about the Court want a farther Reinforcement? This is hard to be accounted for, and I am inclined to believe that instead of *δικοθεν* it should be *ἐκείθεν*. from those Places where he had posted them, or *αὐτόθεν*, which sometimes signifieth instantly, all on a sudden.

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stood still, while the other Party threw Sticks and Stones at him from below. *Murena*, though he had formerly profecuted him for Corruption, could not brook This, but came to him, and holding his Gown before him, cryed out to them to leave off throwing : In fine, persuading and pulling him along, he forced him into the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. *Metellus* now seeing the place clear, and all the adverse Party fled out of the *Forum*, thought he might easily carry his Point, so he commanded the Soldiers to retire, and going orderly to work, he began to proceed in passing the Decree ; but the other side having recollected themselves, returned very boldly, and with great shouting, infomuch that *Metellus's* Adherents were utterly dismayed, and fled every one out of the Place. They being thus dispersed, *Cato* came in again, and confirmed the Courage, and commended the Resolution of the People ; so that now the Multitude were, by all means, for deposing *Metellus* from his Office. The Senate also being assembled, gave Orders to stand by *Cato*, and to oppose this Decree, which would certainly raise great Disturbance, and perhaps Civil War in the Commonwealth. But *Metellus* continued still very bold and resolute ; and seeing his Party stood greatly in fear of *Cato*, whom they looked upon as invincible, he flung out of the Senate, and going into the *Forum*, he assembled the People ; to whom he made a bitter and invidious Speech against *Cato*, crying out, *He was forced to fly from his Tyranny, and this Conspiracy against Pompey ; that the City would soon repent their having dishonoured so great a Man.*

Cato was highly magnified for having thus delivered the State from the dangerous *Tribuneship* of *Metellus*, and thereby in some measure diminished the Power of *Pompey* ; but he was more commend-
ed,

ed, for that the Senate intending to disgrace *Mettellus*, and depose him from his Office, *Cato* did altogether oppose, and at length divert that Design; for which the Common People admired his Moderation and Humanity, in not insulting on an Enemy whom he had overthrown; but wise Men acknowledged his Prudence and Policy, in not exasperating *Pompey*.

After This, *Lucullus* returned from the War in *Asia*, the finishing of which, and thereby the Glory of the whole, would in all appearance fall to *Pompey*. *Lucullus* also was like to lose his Triumph; for *Caius Memmius* traduced him to the People, and threatened to accuse him; which he did rather out of Love to *Pompey*, than for any particular Enmity to *Lucullus*. But *Cato*, being related to *Lucullus*, who had married his Sister *Servilia*, and also thinking this Design very unjust, opposed *Memmius*; and thereby underwent many Slanders and false Accusations, infomuch that they would have turned him out of his Office, pretending that he used his Power tyrannically. Yet at length *Cato* so far prevailed against *Memmius*, that he was forced to let fall the Accusations, and to desist from his Design.

Lucullus, having thus obtained his Triumph, did yet more carefully cultivate *Cato's* Friendship, which he looked upon as a great Guard and Defence against *Pompey's* Power.

Pompey the Great also returning from the Army, and confiding in the Glory of his Actions, and the Good-will of the People, thought he should be denied nothing. Therefore he sent to the Senate to put off the Assembly for the choice of *Consuls*, 'till he could be present to assist *Piso*, who stood for that Office. To This most of the Senate presently yielded; only *Cato*, not that he thought this Delay would be of any great Importance, but desiring to lessen and cut off the Hopes and De-

signs of *Pompey*, withstood his Request, and so over-ruled the Senate, that it was carried against him.

This did not a little trouble *Pompey*, who found he should very often fail in his Designs, unless he could bring over *Cato* to his Interest. Therefore he sent for his Friend *Munatius*; and *Cato* having two Neices that were marriageable, he offered to marry the eldest Himself, and take the youngest for his Son. Some say, they were not his Neices, but his Daughters, whom *Pompey* would have thus married. *Munatius* proposed the matter to *Cato*, in presence of his Wife and Sisters: The Women very much desired the Alliance of so great and worthy a Person; but *Cato*, without delay, or balancing, presently answered; Go, *Munatius*, go tell *Pompey*, that *Cato* is not to be wrought upon (1) by Women; though otherwise I very much value his Kindness, and while he deals uprightly in the State, he shall find in me a Friendship more firm than any Alliance, but I will not give Hostages to *Pompey's* Glory, against my Country's Safety. This Answer was very grating to the Women, and to all his Friends it seemed somewhat harsh and haughty. Afterwards, when *Pompey*, endeavouring to get the Consulship for one of his Friends, gave Money to the People for their Voices, and the Bribery was notorious, for the Money was told out in *Pompey's* own Gardens, *Cato* then said to the Women, they must necessarily have been concerned in these Faults of *Pompey*, if they had been allied to his Family; and They acknowledged, that he did best in refusing it.

(1) The literal Sense is, *Cato* is not to be taken by the Womens Apartment, which is droll enough. *Cato* looks on this Proposition of *Pompey's* as of a Person who was

besieging him, and was carrying on his Attack against the Womens Apartment, as That which was the weakest.

But,

But, if we may judge by the Event, *Cato* seems much to blame for rejecting that Alliance, which thereby fell to *Cæsar*. And then that Match was made, which uniting His and *Pompey's* Power, had well-nigh ruined the *Roman* Empire, and did at last utterly destroy the Commonwealth. Nothing of which perhaps had come to pass, but that *Cato* was too apprehensive of *Pompey's* least Faults, and did not consider how he forced him into a condition of committing much Greater; however these things were yet to come.

Now *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had a great Dispute, concerning what had been established in *Pontus*, each endeavouring that his Own Ordinances might stand. *Cato* took part with *Lucullus*, who was apparently injured; and *Pompey*, finding himself the weaker in the Senate, took to the People. To gain Them, he proposed a Law, for dividing the Lands among the Soldiers: *Cato* opposing him in This also, made the Law be rejected. Hereupon *Pompey* joined himself with *Clodius*, at that time the most violent of all the popular Men; and was likewise united to *Cæsar* upon this occasion, of which *Cato* himself was the Cause.

For *Cæsar*, returning from his Government in *Spain*, at the same time sued to be chosen Consul, and yet desired not to lose his Triumph. Now the Law requiring, that They who stood for any Office should be present; and yet that Whoever expected a Triumph should continue without the Walls; *Cæsar* requested the Senate, that his Friends might be permitted to canvass for him in his absence. Many of the Senators were willing to consent to it, but *Cato* opposed it, and perceiving them inclined to favour *Cæsar*, spent the whole Day in speaking, and so prevented the Senate, that they could come to no conclusion. *Cæsar* therefore resolving to let fall his Pretensions to the

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Triumph, came into the Town, and immediately made a Friendship with *Pompey*, and stood for the Consulship: So soon as he was declared Consul Elect, he married his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*. Having thus combined themselves together against the Common wealth, the One proposed the *Agrarian* Laws, for dividing the Lands among the poor People; and the Other was present to second the Proposal. Against Them, *Lucullus*, *Cicero*, and their Friends, joined with *Bibulus* the other Consul, and did All they could to hinder the passing those Laws. Among These none was more remarkable than *Cato*, who looked upon the Friendship and Alliance of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* as very dangerous; and declared, he did not so much dislike the Advantage the People should get by this Division of the Lands, as he feared the Reward these Men would gain, by thus cheating the People. And in This the Senate was of His Opinion; as were likewise many honest Men without doors, who were very much offended at *Cæsar's* ill Conduct, that He now bearing the Authority of Consul, should thus basely and dishonourably flatter the People, practising to win them by the same means, that were wont to be used only by the most rash and heady Tribunes. *Cæsar* therefore and his Party, fearing they should not carry it by fair dealing, fell to open force. First a Basket of Dung was thrown upon *Bibulus* as he was going to the *Forum*; then they set upon his *Lictors*, and broke their Rods; at length several Darts were thrown, and many Men wounded: So that All who were against those Laws fled out of the *Forum*, the rest making what haste they could, but *Cato* last of all walking out very slowly, often turned back and cursed those Citizens.

Now the other Party did not only carry this Point of dividing the Lands, but also ordained, that

that all the Senate should swear to confirm this Law, and to defend it against Whoever should attempt to alter it, inflicting great Penalties on Those who should refuse the Oath. All the Senators, seeing the necessity they were in, took the Oath, remembering the Example of old *Metellus*, who refusing to swear upon the like Occasion, was forced to fly out of *Italy*. As for *Cato*, his Wife and Children with Tears besought him, his Friends and Familiars persuaded and entreated him to yield, and take the Oath ; but he that principally prevailed with him was *Cicero* the Orator, who urged and remonstrated, *How unreasonable it was, that a private Man alone should oppose what the Publick had decreed ; that the thing being already past remedy, it would look like Folly and Madness to run himself into danger, where it is impossible to do his Country any good : Besides, it would be the greatest of all Evils, to abandon the Commonwealth, for whose sake he did every thing, and to let it fall into the Hands of Those who designed nothing but its Ruin. This would look as if he were glad of an opportunity to retire from the Trouble of defending his Country ; for (said he) though Cato have no need of Rome, yet Rome has need of Cato, and so likewise have all his Friends : Of whom Cicero professed Himself the chief ; being at that time aimed at by Clodius, who openly threatned to fall upon him, as soon as ever he should get to be Tribune. Thus Cato (they say) moved by the Entreaties of his Family, and the Persuasions of his Friends, went unwillingly to take the Oath, which he did the last of all, except only Favonius, one of his intimate Acquaintance.*

Cæsar, exalted with this Success, proposed another Law, for dividing almost all the Country of *Campania* among the poor and needy Citizens. No Body durst speak against it but *Cato*, whom therefore *Cæsar* pulled from the *Rostrum*, and dragged to Prison ;

Prison; yet *Cato* did not at all remit his freedom of Speech, but as he went along, continued to speak against the Law, and advised the People to put a stop to these Proceedings. The Senate and the best of the Citizens followed him with sad and dejected Looks, showing their Grief and Indignation by their Silence: So that *Cæsar* could not be ignorant, how much they were offended; but being one of a fierce contentious Spirit, he still persisted, expecting *Cato* should either supplicate Him, or appeal to the People. Afterwards, when he saw that *Cato* would do neither, *Cæsar* Himself, ashamed of what he had done, privately sent one of the *Tribunes* to take him out of Prison.

Thus having won the Multitude by these Laws and Gratifications, they decreed, That *Cæsar* should have the Government of *Illyricum*, and all *Gaul*, with an Army of four Legions, for the space of five Years, though *Cato* still cried out, they were placing a Tyrant in their Citadel. *Publius Clodius* (who illegally of a *Patrician* became a *Plebeian*) was declared Tribune of the People, and he had promised to do all things according to their Pleasure, on condition he might banish *Cicero*. For Consuls, they set up *Calpurnius Piso*, the Father of *Cæsar's* Wife, and *Aulus Gabinius* (1) One of *Pompey's* Bosom Friends, as They write who best knew his Life and Manners.

(1) It is in the Original *ἐκ τῶν Πομπηϊῶν κόλπων ἀνθρώπου*, which may be rendered one of his Minions. This *Gabinius* had a very ill Character on account of his infamous Debauchery. Here follows what *Tully* saith of him in his Oration for *Sextius*. *Cum sciat duo illa Reipub. parte fata, Gabinium, & Pisonem, alterum (Gabinium) haurire quotidie ex pacatissimis atque opulentissimis Syriae Gazis, innumerabile pondus*

auri, bellum inferre quiescentibus, ut eorum veteres, illibatasque divitias in profundissimum libidinum suarum gurgitem profundet? villam adificare in oculis omnium tantam, tugurium ut jam videatur esse illa villa, quam ipse Tribunus Plebis pictam olim in concionibus explicabat, quo fortissimum ac summum civem in invidiam, homo castus, ac non cupidus, vocaret.

Yet

Yet when they had thus firmly established all things, having mastered one part of the City by Favour, and the other by Fear, they Themselves were still afraid of *Cato*; for they well considered, with how much Pains and Difficulty they had oppressed him, and what Disgrace they suffered, when they did Violence to him. This made *Clodius* despair of driving *Cicero* out of *Italy*, while *Cato* staid at home: Therefore, having first laid his Design, as soon as he came into his Office, he sent for *Cato*, and told him, *That he looked upon Him as the most uncorrupt Man of all the Romans, and was ready by Deeds to make good the truth of his Words; for whereas (said he) Many have sought to command the Expedition to Cyprus, and have much solicited to be sent thither, I think You only deserve it, and therefore to You I will freely give that Command.* *Cato* presently cried out, *This was a Design upon him, and no Favour, but an Injury.* Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely answered, *If you will not take it as a Kindness, yet you shall go, though never so unwillingly;* and immediately going into the Assembly of the People, he made them pass a Decree, that *Cato* should be sent to *Cyprus*. But they ordered him neither Ships, nor Soldiers, nor any Officers, only two Secretaries; One of which was a very Rascal, and the Other a Retainer to *Clodius*. Besides, as if the gaining of *Cyprus*, and conquering *Ptolemy*, were not Work sufficient, he was ordered also to restore the Fugitives of *Byzantium*; for *Clodius* was resolved to keep him far enough off, whilst himself continued Tribune.

Cato, being under this necessity of going away, advised *Cicero*, (who was next to be set upon) to make no resistance, lest he should throw the State into Civil War and Confusion, but to give way to the Times; and thus he might become once more the Preserver of his Country.

Cato

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Cato sent *Canidius*, one of his Friends, to *Cyprus*, to persuade *Ptolemy* to yield without being forced; which if he did, he should want neither Riches nor Honour, for the *Romans* would give him (1) the Priesthood of *Venus* in the Isle of *Paphos*. He himself staid at *Rhodes* making some Preparations, and expecting an Answer from *Cyprus*. In the mean time *Ptolemy*, King of *Ægypt*, who had left *Alexandria*, upon some Quarrel between Him and his Subjects, was sailing for *Rome*, in hopes that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* would by their Power restore him again to his Kingdom: In his way he desired to see *Cato*, to whom he sent, not doubting but he would come and wait upon him at the first notice of his Arrival; but *Cato* was about his necessary Affairs, when the Messenger came, to whom he made Answer, *That Ptolemy might come to Him, if he thought fit.* When he came, *Cato* neither went forward to meet him, nor so much as rose up to him, but saluting him as an ordinary Person, bid him sit down. This at first amazed *Ptolemy*, who admired to see such Greatness and stately Carriage, in a Man of common Birth and mean Appearance; but afterwards, when he began to talk about his Affairs, *Ptolemy* no less wondered at the Wisdom and Freedom of his Discourse; for *Cato* blamed his Design, and shewed him the Honour and Happiness he had fallen from, the Disgrace and Troubles he would run himself into; told him, what great Gifts and Presents he must bestow on the leading Men at *Rome*, whom all *Ægypt* turned into Silver would scarcely satisfy: He therefore advised him to return home; and be reconciled to his Sub-

(1) This Priesthood must certainly have been something very considerable, since it was proposed as an Equivalent for *Cyprus*. We know from Antiquity, particularly from *Homer*, that the High Priesthood of any of the Gods was not only a super-eminent Dignity, but a Post of great Power, Wealth, and Authority.

jects,

jects, offering to go along with him, and assist him in composing the Differences. Upon this Discourse *Ptolemy* came to Himself, as one recovered from a fit of Madness, and acknowledging the Wisdom and Sincerity of *Cato*, was resolved to follow his Advice; but he was again over-persuaded by his Friends to the contrary, and so, according to his first Design, went to *Rome*. When he came there, and was forced to wait at the Gate of one of the chief Magistrates, he began to repent of his Folly, in having rejected the Counsel of so good a Man, or rather the Oracle of a God.

In the mean time the other *Ptolemy*, who was in *Cyprus*, (very luckily for *Cato*) poisoned himself. It was reported he had left great Riches; therefore *Cato* designing to go first to *Byzantium*, sent his Nephew *Brutus* to *Cyprus*, for he would not wholly trust *Canidius*. Then having reconciled the Fugitives and the People of *Byzantium*, he left the City in Peace and Quietness; and thence sailed to *Cyprus*, where he found a Royal Treasure in Plate, Tables, Precious Stones, and Purple, all which was to be turned into ready Money. *Cato* resolved to examine all very exactly, and to raise the Price of every thing to the utmost; to which end he was always present at selling the things, and took the Accounts Himself. Nor would he trust to the usual Customs of the Market, but suspected all the Officers, Cryers, Prizers, and even his own Friends; therefore he Himself talked with the Buyers, and urged them to bid up; so that most of the things were sold at great Rates.

This Mistrustfulness of *Cato's* offended most of his Friends; but especially *Munatius*, the most intimate of them All, became almost irreconcilable. And This afforded *Cæsar* a plentiful Subject for Railing, in his Book against *Cato*; yet *Munatius* himself relates, that this falling out was not so
much

much occasioned by *Cato's* Mistrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own Jealousie of *Canidius*; For *Munatius* writ a Book concerning *Cato*, which is chiefly followed by *Thraseas*. Now *Munatius* says, That coming last to *Cyprus*, and having a very ill Lodging provided for him, he thereupon went to *Cato's* House, but was not admitted because he was in private with *Canidius*; of which he afterwards very mildly complained to *Cato*, but received a very harsh Answer; for he told him, *That too much Love (according to Theophrastus) often causes Hatred; and you (said he) because you bear me much Love, think you receive too little Honour, and presently grow angry: But as to Canidius, I will employ Him, both for his Industry and his Fidelity; he has been always with me, and I have always found him free from Corruption.* These things were said in private between them two; but *Cato* afterwards told *Canidius* what had passed; which *Munatius* understanding, would no more go to sup with him, and when he was called to Council, refused to come. Then *Cato* threatened to (1) send and take a Pledge out of his House, as was the Custom to deal with Those who were disobedient; but *Munatius*, not regarding his Threats, returned to *Rome*, and continued a long time thus discontented. Afterwards, when *Cato* was come back also, *Martia*, who as yet lived with him, contrived to have them Both invited to sup together at the House of one *Barca*: *Cato* came in last of all, when the rest were at Table, and asked, Where he should be? *Barca* an-

(1) Thus this Passage ought to be translated; it is not indeed easy to be understood but by Such as are conversant in the Customs of the Romans. When an Officer was sent to summon a Senator or Magistrate to the Senate or Council, and he refused to attend, they sent, and took some Piece of Household Stuff from him as a Token of his Contumacy, which was called *pignora capere ἐνέχυρα λαβεῖν*.

swered

swered him, Where he pleased; then looking about, he said, He would be near *Munatius*, and presently went and placed himself next to him; yet he shewed him no other Mark of Kindness, all the time they were at Table together. But another time, at the Entreaty of *Martia*, *Cato* wrote to *Munatius*, That he desired to speak with him. *Munatius* went to his House one Morning, and was entertained by *Martia*, 'till all the Company was gone; then *Cato* came and embraced him very kindly, and they were perfectly reconciled. I have the more fully related this Passage, for that I think the Manners and Tempers of Men are more clearly discovered by things of this nature, than by Great and Illustrious Actions.

Cato got together no less than seven thousand Talents of Silver; but apprehensive of what might happen in so long a Voyage by Sea, he provided a great many Coffers that held two Talents and five hundred Drachmas a piece: To each of these he fastned a long Rope, and to the other end of the Rope a piece of Cork, so that if the Ship should miscarry, it might be discovered whereabout the Chests lay under Water: Thus all the Money, except a very little, was safely transported. Now *Cato* had made two Books, in which all his Accounts were carefully written; but Neither of them was preserved; for his Freed-man *Phylargyrus*, who had the charge of One of them, setting Sail from *Cenchrea*, was drowned, together with the Ship and all her Freight. The other Book *Cato* himself kept 'till he came to *Corcyra*, where he set up his Tents in the Market-place; and the Mariners being very cold in the Night, made a great many Fires, some of which took hold of the Tents, so that they were burnt, and the Book lost. Though *Cato* had brought with him several of *Ptolemy's* Servants, who could testify his Integrity, and stop the
Mouths

The L I F E of

Mouths of his Enemies, yet this Loss troubled him; for he designed them not only for a Proof of his own Fidelity, but a Pattern of Exactness to Others.

News being brought to *Rome*, that he was coming up the River, all the Magistrates, the Priests, and the whole Senate, with great part of the People, went out to meet him; both the Banks of the *Tyber* were covered with Spectators; so that his Entrance was in Solemnity and Honour, not inferior to a Triumph. But it was thought somewhat strange, and looked like Pride, that when the Consuls and Prætors appeared, he did not come towards them, nor stay to salute them, but rowed up the Stream in a Royal Galley of six Banks of Oars, and stopt not 'till he came to the Place of Landing. However, when the Money was carried through the Streets, the People much wondered at the vast Quantity of it, and the Senate being assembled, did in Honourable Terms decree him (1) an extraordinary Prætorship, and also the Privilege of being at the publick Spectacles in a Robe faced with Purple. *Cato* refused all these Honours, but in consideration of the Diligence and Fidelity he had found in *Nicias*, the Steward of *Ptolemy*, he requested the Senate to give Him his Freedom.

Philip, the Father of *Martia*, was that Year Consul, but the Authority and Power of the Office rested wholly in *Cato*; for the other Consul no less

(1) That is a Prætorship to a Person before he was by Age qualified for it. This happened in the Year of *Rome* 697. *Cato* died ten Years after, that is in 707, when he was eight and forty Years old; he was therefore but thirty eight when this Decree of the Senate passed. Consequently according to this Passage in *Plutarch*,

which is confirmed by *Dion*, a Man who was no more than thirty eight Years old was too young to be Prætor. This serves to justify the Opinion of Those who believe a Man could not put up for Prætor 'till he was at the Age of thirty nine, nor exercise it 'till he was Forty.

respected

respected him for his Virtue, than *Philip* did for his Alliance.

Cicero being returned from his Banishment, (into which he was driven by *Clodius*) and having again obtained great Credit among the People, went one Day, in the absence of *Clodius*, and by force took away the Records of his Tribuneship, which *Clodius* had laid up in the Capitol. Hereupon the Senate was assembled, and *Clodius* complained of *Cicero*; who answered, *That Clodius was never legally Tribune, and therefore whatever he had done was void, and of no Authority.* But *Cato* interrupted him, and standing up, said, *That indeed he did not at all approve of Clodius's Proceedings; but if they questioned the Validity of what had been done in his Tribuneship, they might also question what Himself had done at Cyprus; for the Expedition was unlawful, if He that sent him had no lawful Authority; but he thought Clodius was legally made Tribune, who, by permission of the Law, was from a Patrician adopted into a Plebeian Family; and if he had done ill in his Office, he ought to be called to account for it; but the Authority of the Magistracy ought not to suffer for the Faults of the Magistrate.* *Cicero* took this very ill, and for a long time discontinued his Friendship with *Cato*; but they were afterwards reconciled, upon this occasion.

Pompey and *Crassus*, by Agreement with *Cæsar*, who came over the *Alpes* on purpose, had laid a Design, that They Two should stand to be chosen Consuls a second time; and when they should be in their Office, they would continue to *Cæsar* his Government for five Years more, and take to Themselves the greatest Provinces, with Armies and Money to maintain them. This seemed a plain Conspiracy, to destroy the Commonwealth, and divide the Empire. Several honest Men had intended to stand to be Consuls that Year; but upon the Ap-

pearance of these great Men, they all desisted, except only *Lucius Domitius*, who had married *Porcia*, the Sister of *Cato*, and was by Him persuaded to stand it out, and not abandon such an Undertaking; which (he said) was not only to gain the Consulship, but to preserve the Liberty of Rome. In the mean time, it was usually discoursed among the more prudent part of the Citizens, That they ought not to suffer the Power of *Pompey* and *Crassus* to be united, which would then grow beyond all Bounds, and become dangerous to the State; that therefore One of them must be denied. For these Reasons they took part with *Domitius*, whom they exhorted and encouraged to go on, assuring him that Many who feared openly to appear for him, would privately assist him. *Pompey's* Party fearing This, laid wait for *Domitius*, and set upon him as he was going before Day-light with Torches into the Field. First he that bore the Light next before *Domitius* was knocked down; then several Others being wounded, all the rest fled, except *Cato* and *Domitius*; for *Cato* held him, (though himself were wounded in the Arm) and crying out, conjured the others to stay, and while they had Breath not to forsake the defence of their Liberty against those Tyrants, who plainly shewed with what Moderation they were like to use the Power, which they endeavoured to gain by such Violence. But at length *Domitius* also, no longer willing to stand the Danger, fled to his own House; and so *Pompey* and *Crassus* were declared Consuls.

Nevertheless *Cato* would not give over, but resolved to stand Himself to be Prætor that Year, which he thought would be some help to him, in his Design of opposing them; that he might not act as a private Man, when he was to contend with publick Magistrates. *Pompey* and *Crassus* apprehended This; and fearing that the Office of Prætor

in

in the Person of *Cato*, might be equal in Authority to That of Consul, they assembled the Senate unexpectedly, without giving any notice to a great many of the Senators, and made an Order, That They who were chosen Prætors (1) should immediately enter upon their Office, without attending the usual time, in which, according to Law, they might be accused, if they had corrupted the People with Gifts. When by this Order they were secure from being called to account, they set up their own Friends and Dependants to stand for the Prætorship, giving Money, and solliciting the People for their Voices. Yet the Virtue and Reputation of *Cato* was like to triumph over all these Stratagems; for many of the People abhorred that *Cato* should be sold, who ought rather to be hired to take upon him the Office: So he carried it by the Voices of the first Tribe. Hereupon *Pompey* immediately frames a Lie, crying out, *It thundered*; and straight broke up the Assembly: For the *Romans* religiously observed those Things, and never concluded any Matter after it had thundered. Against the next time they had distributed larger Bribes, and did also keep the best Men out of the Field: By these foul Means they procured *Vatinius* to be chosen Prætor instead of *Cato*. It is said, that They who had thus corruptly and dishonestly given their Voices, made what haste they could out of the Field; but the Others staying together, and being much grieved at what was done, one of the

(1) There was always a certain Interval of time between a Man's Election and Entrance into his Office, that they might have an Opportunity of informing against Such as had carried their Elections by undue Practices. From this Decree, by which it was ordained that Such as should be chosen Præ-

tors should immediately enter upon their Office, *Pompey* and *Craffus* gained two Points very material; they kept *Cato* aloof, because He could not be qualified by Age at the time of the Election to execute the Office, and at the same time got their own Creatures screened from Injury.

The LIFE of:

Tribunes continued the Assembly, and *Cato* standing up, did, as it were by Inspiration, foretel all the Miseries that afterward befel the State: Then he exhorted them to beware of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who were guilty of such Things, and had laid such Designs, that they might well fear to have *Cato* their Prætor. When he had ended his Speech, he was followed to his House by a greater Number of People than all the Prætors together.

Caius Trebonius proposed the Law for allotting Provinces to the Consuls, whereby One was to have *Spain* and *Libya*, the Other *Ægypt* and *Syria*, with full Power of making War and Peace, both by Sea and Land, as they should think fit. When This was proposed, all Men despaired of putting any stop to it, and therefore said nothing against it. But *Cato*, before they began Voting, went up into the *Rostrum*, and desired to be heard. They would scarce allow him two Hours to speak. Having spent that time in declaring many Things that were passed, and foretelling many that were to come, they would not suffer him to speak any longer; but as he was going on, a Serjeant came and pulled him down: Yet when he was down, he still continued his Discourse, and Many there were who hearkened to him, and were much concerned for him. Then the Serjeant took him, and forced him out of the *Forum*; but as soon as he got loose, he returned again, crying out to the People, to stand by him. *Cato* having done thus several times, *Trebonius* grew very angry, and commanded him to be carried to Prison; but the Multitude followed him, and hearkened to him, for he continued speaking to them, as they were carrying him along. Whereupon *Trebonius* was afraid, and ordered him to be released: Thus was all that Day spent, and the Business driven off by *Cato*. But afterward, many of the Citizens being over-awed by Fears and Threats, and Others won by Gifts

Gifts and Favours, they shut *Aquilius*, one of the Tribunes, into the Senate-house; *Cato*, who cried, *It thundered*, they drove out of the *Forum*; Many were wounded, and Some slain: At length by open Force they passed the Law. At This Many were so incensed, that they got together, and resolved to throw down the Statues of *Pompey*; but *Cato* went, and diverted them from that Design.

Again, another Law was proposed, concerning the Provinces and Legions for *Cæsar*. Upon this occasion *Cato* did not apply himself to the People, but to *Pompey*; and told him, *He did not consider now, that he took Cæsar upon his own Shoulders, who would shortly grow too weighty for him; and at length, not able to lay down the Burthen, nor yet to bear it any longer, he would fall with it upon the Commonwealth: And then he would remember Cato's Advice, which was no less advantageous to Him, than just and honest in itself.* Thus was *Pompey* often warned, but still went on, never mistrusting *Cæsar's* Change, and always confiding in his own Power and good Fortune.

Cato was made Prætor the following Year; but, it seems, he did not more Honour and Credit the Office by his signal Integrity, than he did disgrace and diminish it by his strange Behaviour: For he would often come to the Court without his Shoes, and sit upon the Bench without his Gown, and in this Habit give Judgment in the greatest Causes, and upon Persons of the best Quality. It is said also, he would dispatch Business after Dinner, when he had drunk Wine; but This was wrongfully reported of him.

The People were at that time extreamly corrupted by the Gifts of Those who sought Offices, and Many made a constant Trade of selling their Voices. *Cato* was resolved utterly to root this Corruption out of the Commonwealth; therefore he persuaded

suaded the Senate to make an Order, That They who were chosen into any Office, though no Body did accuse them, should be obliged to come into the Court, and give account upon Oath how they had dealt in their Election. This very much displeased Those who stood for the Offices, but much more Those who took the Bribes; insomuch that one Morning, as *Cato* was going to the Place where he kept Court, a great Multitude of People flocked together, and with a mighty Uproar fell to reviling him, and threw Stones at him; whereupon They who were about the Tribunal fled. *Cato* himself being forced thence, and jostled about in the Throng, very narrowly escaped the Stones that were thrown at him, and with much difficulty got into the *Rostrum*; where standing up with a bold and undaunted Countenance, he appeased the Tumult, and silenced the Clamour: Then he began to speak, and was heard with great Attention, so that he perfectly quelled the Sedition. Afterward, the Senate commending him for This; *But I do not commend you* (said he) *for abandoning your Prætor in Danger, and bringing him no Assistance.*

In the mean time the Candidates were in great Perplexity; for every one dreaded to give Money Himself, and yet feared lest his Competitors should. At length they all agreed to lay down one hundred and twenty five thousand Drachmas a-piece, and then go on to canvass fairly and honestly, on Condition, (1) that if any one was found to make use of Bribery, he should forfeit the Money. Being thus agreed, they chose *Cato* to keep the Stakes, and arbitrate the Matter: To Him therefore they

(1) It was thought that no Man who stood Candidate, would be so keen as to submit to the Loss of the Money he gave for Voices, and That he deposited. However the contrary appeared upon Tryal. No Restraints are strong enough for Ambition, which gets the better even of Avarice.

brought

brought the Sum concluded on, and before Him subscribed the Agreement; He refused to take the Money, but would have Others bound for them. Upon the Day of Election, *Cato* stood by the Tribune that took the Votes, and very watchfully observing all that passed, he discovered One who had broken the Agreement, and immediately ordered him to pay his Money to the Rest; but they much admiring the Justice of *Cato*, remitted the Penalty, as thinking the Dishonour of having been condemned by *Cato* a sufficient Punishment. This raised *Cato* as much Envy, as it gained him Reputation, and Many were offended at him, as if he did hereby take upon Himself the whole Authority of the Senate, Court of Judicature, and other Magistracies: For there is no Virtue, the Honour and Credit whereof procures a Man more Envy, than That of Justice; and That because it acquires a Man great Power and Authority among the common People. For they only revere the Valiant, and admire the Wise, while they truly love Just Men, and in these have entire Trust and Confidence; but of the former, (1) they fear the One, and always mistrust the Other: Besides they think Men rather beholden to Their Complexion, than to any Goodness of their Will, for those Virtues: For they look upon Valour as a certain natural Firmity of the Mind, and Wisdom as an acute delicacy of Constitution: whereas a Man has it in his Power to be Just, if he have but the Will to be so: And therefore also Injustice is thought the most dishonourable, because it is least excusable.

(1) They fear the Valiant, and mistrust the Prudent. Nothing can be more judicious than what *Plutarch* advanceth in this Place. Justice never fails drawing the Envy of the Great upon Those who are inviolable Observers of her, She is unacceptable to the Great, because she is an Enemy to their ambitious Designs, their Violence and Usurpation.

The LIFE of

Cato upon this Account was opposed by all the great Men, who thought themselves reproved by his Virtue. *Pompey* especially looked upon the Increase of *Cato's* Credit, as the Ruin of his own Power, and therefore continually set up Men to rail against him: Among These was the seditious *Clodius*, now again united to *Pompey*. He declared openly, that *Cato* had conveyed away a great deal of the Treasure that was found in *Cyprus*; and that he hated *Pompey*, only because he refused to marry his Daughter. *Cato* answered, *That although they had allowed him neither Horse nor Men, he had brought more Treasure from Cyprus alone, than Pompey had, after so many Wars and Triumphs, from the ransacked World: That he never sought the Alliance of Pompey; not that he thought him unworthy of being related to him, but because he differed so much from him, in things that concerned the Commonwealth: For (said he) I laid down the Province that was given me, when I went out of my Prætorship: On the contrary, Pompey retains many Provinces to Himself, and Many he bestows on Others; lately he sent Cæsar six thousand Men to Gaul, which were never asked of the People, nor ever given by their consent. Thus unlimited Powers, Men, Horse, and Arms, are become the mutual Gifts of private Men to one another; and Pompey still keeps the Titles of Commander and General, but gives the Armies and Provinces to Others to govern, while he Himself presides in the City, and stays at home to model Seditions, and contrive Tumults in Elections: Whence it is plain, he aims at raising to Himself a Monarchy out of our Confusion. Thus did Cato take occasion sharply to reflect on Pompey.*

Marcus Favonius was an intimate Friend, and zealous Imitator of *Cato*, (1) such as heretofore *Apollodorus*

(1) This *Apollodorus* loved and admired nothing in the World in Comparison of *Socrates*; Of which we have full proof at the End of *Plato's*

Iodorus Phalereus is said to have been of *Socrates*, with whose Discourses he was wont to be so transported, that he would seem perfectly mad, and as it were possessed. This *Favonius* stood to be chosen *Ædile*, and was like to lose it; but *Cato*, who was there to assist him, observed that all the Votes were written in one Hand, and discovering the Cheat, appealed to the Tribunes, who voided the Election. *Favonius* was afterward chosen *Ædile*, and *Cato*, who assisted him in all things that belonged to his Office, did also take care of the Plays that were exhibited in the Theater: To the Actors *Cato* gave Crowns, not of Gold, but of wild Olive, such as used to be given at the *Olympick* Games. Instead of the magnificent Gifts, that were wont to be bestowed on the People, he gave to the *Græcians* Leeks, Lettices, Radishes, and Pears; and to the *Romans* earthen Pots of Wine, Pork, Figs, Cucumbers, and little Fagots of Wood. Some laughed at *Cato* for This; and Others were well pleased with the Humour, which they looked on as a Relaxation of his usual Austerity. In fine, *Favonius* Himself mingled with the Crowd, and sitting among the Spectators, applauded *Cato*, bid him bestow Honours and Rewards on Those who did well, and assured the People, that he had given all the Power into *Cato's* Hands. At the same time *Curio*, the Collegue of *Favonius*, gave very magnificent Plays in another Theater; but the People left His, and went to Those of *Favonius*, which they very much applauded, seeing him act the private Man, and *Cato* the Master of the Shows; who did these things in Derision of the great Expences that Others bestowed, and to teach them, that in Sports Men ought to seek Diversion only, and decent Chearfulness,

Plato's Dialogue of the Immortality of the Soul; and in the Beginning of his *Banquet*, where it appears that he was extravagant in his Passions, for which reason he was called *μεινός*, possessed.

not

not great Preparations, and costly Magnificence; nor should they imploy too much Care about things of little Concern.

After this *Scipio*, *Hypsæus*, and *Milo*, stood to be Consuls, and that not only with the usual and common Disorders of Bribery and Corruption, but with Arms and Slaughter, so that they seemed to be running desperately into a Civil War. Whereupon it was proposed, That *Pompey* might be empowered to preside over that Election. This *Cato* at first opposed, saying, *That the Laws ought not to seek protection from Pompey, but Pompey from the Laws:* Yet this Confusion lasting a long time, the *Forum* continually, as it were, besieged with three Armies, and no Possibility of putting a Stop to these Disorders, *Cato* at length agreed, that rather than fall into the last Extremity, the Senate should freely confer All on *Pompey*; since it was necessary to make use of a lesser Evil, to prevent a Greater; and better to set up a Monarchy Themselves, than to suffer a Sedition to continue, that must certainly end in one. *Bibulus* therefore, a Relation of *Cato's*, moved the Senate to create *Pompey* sole Consul: *For that either he would preserve the present Government, or they should live quietly under the most Powerful.* *Cato* stood up, and, contrary to all Expectation, seconded this Motion, concluding, *That any Government was better than Confusion, and that he did not question but Pompey would deal honourably, and take care of the Commonwealth, thus committed to his Charge.* *Pompey*, being hereupon declared sole Consul, invited *Cato* to his House in the Suburbs. When he came, he saluted and embraced him very kindly; acknowledged the Favour he had done him, and desired his Counsel and Assistance in the management of this Office. *Cato* made Answer, *That what he had spoken heretofore, was not out of Hate to Pompey, nor what he had now done, out of Love to him,*

him, but *All for the good of the Commonwealth; that in private, if he asked him, he would freely give his Advice; but in publick, though he asked him not, he would always speak his Opinion.* And he did accordingly: For first, when *Pompey* made severe Laws for punishing, and laying great Fines on Those who had corrupted the People with Gifts; *Cato* advised him, *To let alone what was already passed, and to provide for the future; for if he should seek into past Crimes, it would be difficult to know where to stop; and if he would ordain new Penalties, it would be unreasonable to punish Men by a Law, which they had never broken.* Afterward, when many considerable Men, and some of *Pompey's* own Relations, were accused, he grew remiss, and let fall the Prosecution: But *Cato* sharply reprov'd him, and urg'd him to proceed. *Pompey* had made a Law also, to forbid the Custom of making Commendatory Oration, in behalf of Those who were accused: Yet he Himself writ one for *Munatius* (1) *Plancus*, and sent it while the Cause was pleading; which *Cato* seeing, he stopped his Ears with his Hands, and would not hear it read, for He was one of the Judges: Whereupon *Plancus*, before Sentence was given, excepted against him, but was condemn'd notwithstanding. And indeed *Cato* was the Occasion of great Trouble and Perplexity, to almost All Those who were accused of any thing; for they feared to have Him one of their Judges, yet did not dare to reject him: And Many had been condemn'd, because refusing Him, they seem'd not to trust to their own Innocence. To Others it was objected as a great Reproach, the not accepting *Cato* for their Judge.

(1) Thus it ought to be written, and not *Flaccus*, for *Plancus* was the Sirname of the *Munatii*. *T. Munatius Plancus* was at that time Tribune of the People. This *Plancus* was accused by *Cicero*, defended by *Pompey*, and convicted *Nemine contradicente*.

In the mean while, *Cæſar* lay with his Forces in *Gaul*, where he continued in Arms; and at the ſame time, by his Gifts, his Riches, and his Friends, increaſed his Power in the City. Hereupon *Cato* forewarned *Pompey*, and rouzed him out of the negligent Security in which he lay, not imagining any Danger near: But ſeeing *Pompey* very ſlow, and unwilling, or afraid to undertake any thing againſt *Cæſar*, *Cato* reſolved Himſelf to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, and preſently force *Cæſar*, either to lay down his Arms, or diſcover his Intentions. (1) Both *Cato's* Competitors were Perſons very much beloved by the People. *Sulpicius*, who was one, had by *Cato's* means acquired great Credit and Authority in the City; therefore it was thought unhandſome and ungratefully done, to ſtand againſt him: But *Cato* did not take it ill; For it is no wonder (ſaid he) if one Man will not yield to Another, in That which he eſteems the greateſt Good. Now he perſuaded the Senate to make an Order, That They who ſtood for Offices, ſhould Themſelves aſk the People for their Votes, and not ſollicit by Others. This very much offended the common People; for it took from them, not only the means of receiving Money, but alſo the Opportunity of obliging ſeveral Perſons, and ſo rendered them both poor, and leſs regarded. Beſides, *Cato* Himſelf was by Nature altogether unfit for the Buſineſs of Canvaſſing; for he took more care to preſerve the Dignity of his Character, than to obtain the Office. Thus by following his own way of Solliciting, and not ſuffering his Friends to do thoſe things which take with the Multitude, he loſt the Conſulſhip.

Whereas, upon ſuch Occaſions, not only They who miſſed the Office, but even their Friends

(1) *Serv. Sulpicius Rufus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were nominated Conſuls, ſaith *Dion*, the Firſt by reaſon of his great Knowledge in the Law, and the Other on Account of his Eloquence.

and Relations, used to be much grieved, and out of Countenance for several Days after; *Cato* took it so unconcernedly, that he anointed himself, and played at Ball in the Field, and after Dinner went into the *Forum*, as he used to do, without his Shoes or his Coat, and there walked about with his Acquaintance. But *Cicero* blamed him; for that when Affairs required such a Consul, he would not take any Care, nor shew the People any Civility: As also because that he afterward neglected to try again; whereas he had stood a second Time to be chosen Prætor. *Cato* answered, *That he lost the Prætorship the first time, not by any Dislike of the People, but by the Power and Corruption of his Adversaries; whereas in the Election of Consuls there had been no foul Dealing: So that he plainly saw the People were offended at his Manners, which an honest Man ought not to alter for their sake; nor yet would a wise Man attempt the same thing again, while he lies under the same Prejudices.*

Cæsar was then fighting with many warlike Nations, whom he very bravely subdued: Among the rest, it seems, he had set upon the *Germans*, (who yet were in Peace with the *Romans*) and slew three hundred thousand of them. Upon which, some of his Friends moved the Senate for a publick Thanksgiving: But *Cato* declared, *They ought to deliver Cæsar into the Hands of Those who had been thus unjustly assaulted, that they might expiate the Offence, and not bring a Curse upon the City; yet we have reason (said he) to thank the Gods, for that they spared the Commonwealth, and did not take Vengeance upon his Army, for the Madness and Folly of the General.* Hereupon *Cæsar* writ a Letter to the Senate, which was read openly; it was full of reproachful Language and Accusations against *Cato*: Who standing up, seemed not at all concerned, and without any Heat or Passion, but with a calm, and, as it were, premeditated

meditated Discourse, exposed the Scurrility and Folly of *Cæsar*, making it evident, that the Accusations he had heaped together against him, were nothing but abusive and ridiculous Railings. Then he began to rip up all *Cæsar's* Practices, and laid open his Designs from the beginning, as clearly, as if he never had been an Enemy to him, but a constant Confederate with him: And told the Senate, *That if they were wise, they would not fear the Britains and Gauls, but Cæsar Himself.* This Discourse so moved and awakened the Senate, that *Cæsar's* Friends repented they had caused the Letter to be read, which had given *Cato* Opportunity of saying so many reasonable things, and such severe Truths against him. However, nothing was then concluded; only it was hinted, that they would do well to send him a Successor: Hereupon *Cæsar's* Friends required, That *Pompey* also should lay down his Arms, and resign his Provinces, or else that *Cæsar* might not be obliged to Either. Then *Cato* cried out, *What he had foretold was come to pass; now it was manifest he would come upon them with his Forces, and turn against the State those Armies he had got by deceitfully imposing on them.* Yet *Cato* could not prevail much out of the Senate-house; for the People always magnified *Cæsar*, and the Senate were convinced by *Cato*, but were afraid of the People.

When News was brought, That *Cæsar* had taken *Ariminum*, and was coming on with his Army toward *Rome*, then all Men, even *Pompey*, and the common People too, cast their Eyes on *Cato*, who had alone foreseen, and first clearly discovered *Cæsar's* Intentions. He therefore told them, *If you had believed Me, or regarded my Advice, you would not now have been reduced to stand in fear of one Man, and also to put all your Hopes in one Alone.* Then *Pompey* acknowledged, *That Cato indeed had*
spoken

spoken most like a Prophet, and that Himself had acted too much like a Friend. Now Cato advised the Senate to put All into the Hands of Pompey; for They who can raise up great Evils, (said he) can best allay them.

Pompey finding he had not sufficient Forces, and that Those he could raise were not very resolute, he forsook the City. Cato resolving to follow Pompey, sent his younger Son to Munatius, who was then in the Country of Brutium, and took his Eldest with him; but wanting some body to keep his House, and take care of his Daughters, he took Martia again, who was now a rich Widow, for Hortensius was dead, and had left her all his Estate. Cæsar afterward made use of this Action also, to reproach him with Covetousness, and a mercenary Design in his Marriage: For (says he) if he had need of a Wife, why did he part with her? And if he had not, why did he take her again? Unless he gave her only as a Bait to Hortensius; and lent her when she was young, to have her again when she was rich. But in Answer to This, (1) we may apply the Saying of Euripides,

First for Absurdities, and surely none.

Will Hercules for want of Courage blame.

Now it is alike absurd, to reproach Hercules for Cowardice, and to accuse Cato of Covetousness; (2) though otherwise, whether he did altogether

(1) This Passage of Euripides mentioned here by Plutarch is taken out of his first Act of Hercules Furens, where Lycus taxing Hercules with Cowardice, and telling him in plain terms that he did not deserve that Reputation of Valour, which had been fathered upon him; Amphitryon answers, *Those monstrous Lies! for a monstrous Lye it is, O Hercules, to* say You are capable of Fear.

(2) Plutarch will not take upon him to decide upon that Action of Cato; but his leaving it thus undetermined is a sign he could not find in his Heart to condemn it; at least he would not condemn Those who would have it thought a blameless Action. And This was out of the Respect he had for Plato.

The LIFE of

right in this Marriage, might be disputed : For as soon as he had again taken *Martia*, he committed his House and his Daughters to Her, and Himself followed *Pompey*.

It is said, that from that Day he never cut his Hair, nor shaved his Beard, nor wore a Garland, but always full of Sadness, Grief, and Dejectedness, for the Calamities of his Country, continually bore the same Habit to the last, what-ever Party had Misfortune or Success.

The Government of *Sicily* being allotted to him, he past over to *Syracuse*; where understanding that *Asinius Pollio* was arrived at *Messana*, with Forces from the Enemy, *Cato* sent to him, to know the Reason of his coming thither: *Pollio*, on the other side, demanded of Him the Cause of these Com-motions. *Cato* also hearing that *Pompey* had quite abandoned *Italy*, and lay incamped at *Dyrrachium*, he cried out, *How dark and uncertain is the Will of Heaven!* *Pompey*, when he did nothing wisely nor honestly, was always successful; and now that he would preserve his Country, and defend her Liberty, he is altogether unfortunate. As for *Asinius*, he said, he could easily drive him out of *Sicily*; but as greater Forces were coming to his Assistance, he would not engage the Island in a War: Wherefore he advised the *Syracusians* to submit to the Conqueror, and provide for their own Safety. Then he set Sail from thence.

When he came to *Pompey*, he constantly gave Advice to prolong the War; for he always hoped to compose Matters, and would by no means that they should come to Action; For the Commonwealth would suffer extreamly, and be the certain Cause of its own Ruin, whoever were the Conqueror. Moreover he persuaded *Pompey*, and the Council of War, to ordain, that no City should be sacked, that was subject to the People of *Rome*;
and

and that no *Roman* should be killed, but in the Heat of Battel : Thereby he got himself great Honour, and brought over many to the Party of *Pompey*, who were much taken with the Moderation and Humanity of *Cato*. Afterward, being sent into *Asia*, to assist Those who were raising Men, and preparing Ships in those Parts, he took with him his Sister *Servilia*, and a little Boy which she had by *Lucullus* ; for since her Widowhood, she had lived with her Brother, and very much recovered her Reputation, having put her self under His Care, followed Him in his Voyages, and complied with his severe way of Living ; yet *Cæsar* did not fail to asperse him upon Her Account also.

Tho' *Pompey's* Officers in *Asia* thought they had no great need of *Cato's* Assistance, yet he brought over the People of *Rhodes* by his Persuasions to embrace his Party, and leaving his Sister *Servilia*, and her Child there, he returned to *Pompey*, who had now gotten together very great Forces both by Sea and Land. And here *Pompey* clearly betrayed his own Intentions ; for at first he designed to give *Cato* the Command of the Navy, (which consisted of no less than Five Hundred Ships of War, besides a vast Number of Pinnaces, Scouts and Tenders.) But presently bethinking himself, or put in mind by his Friends, that *Cato's* principal and only Aim being to free his Country from all Usurpation, if He were Master of so great Forces, as soon as ever *Cæsar* should be conquered, he would certainly oblige *Pompey* to lay down his Arms, and be subject to the Laws : Therefore *Pompey* changed his mind ; and though he had before mentioned it to *Cato*, yet he made *Bibulus* Admiral: Notwithstanding This, it appeared *Cato's* Affection to the Publick Good was no way diminished ; for when they were ready to engage in a conflict at *Dyrrachium*, *Pompey* Himself encouraged the Army,

and commanded all the Officers to do the like: Yet the Soldiers hearkened to them but coldly, and with Silence. *Cato* spoke last of All, and discoursed to them out of the Principles of Philosophy, such things as the Occasion required, concerning Liberty, Valour, Death, and Glory; all which he delivered with great Vehemence of Affection, and concluded with an Invocation of the Gods, to whom he directed his Speech, as if they were present to behold them fight for their Country. At This the Army gave such a Shout, as filled all their Leaders with Hope, and made them fall on without Fear of Danger. *Cæsar's* Party was routed, and put to flight; yet his good Fortune took such Advantage of *Pompey's* Cautiousness and Diffidence, as rendered the Victory incomplete. But of This we have spoken in the Life of *Pompey*.

Now while All the rest rejoiced, and magnified their Success, *Cato* alone bewailed his Country, and cursed that Fatal Ambition, which made so many brave *Romans* murder one another.

After This, *Pompey* following *Cæsar* into *Thessaly*, left at *Dyrrachium* a great Quantity of Munition, store of Riches, and Many of his Domesticks and Relations; the charge of all which he gave to *Cato*, with the Command only of fifteen Cohorts: For tho' he trusted him much, yet he was afraid of him too, knowing full well, that if he succeeded not, *Cato* would never forsake him; but if he conquered, would never let him use his Victory at his Pleasure. There were likewise many Persons of eminent Quality, who staid with *Cato* at *Dyrrachium*.

When they heard of the Overthrow at *Pharsalia*, *Cato* resolved with himself, that if *Pompey* were slain, he would conduct Those who were with him into *Italy*, and then retire as far from the Tyranny of *Cæsar* as he could, and live in Exile; but if

Pompey

Pompey were safe, he would keep the Army together for him. With this Resolution he passed over to *Corcyra*, where the Navy lay; there he would have resigned his Command to *Cicero*; because He had been Consul, and Himself only a Prætor: But *Cicero* refused it, and was going for *Italy*. At which *Pompey's* Son being incensed, would rashly and in heat have punished all Those who were going away, and in the first place have laid Hands on *Cicero*; but *Cato* reprehended him in private, and diverted him from that Design. Thus apparently he saved the Life of *Cicero*, and preserved several Others besides.

Now understanding that *Pompey* the Great was fled toward *Ægypt* or *Libya*, *Cato* resolved to hasten after him; and having taken all his Men aboard, he set Sail; but first to Those who were not willing to engage, he gave free Liberty to depart.

When they came to the Coast of *Africk*, they met with *Sextus*, *Pompey's* younger Son, who told them of the Death of his Father in *Ægypt*; at which they were all exceedingly grieved, and declared that after *Pompey* they would follow no other Leader but *Cato*. Out of Compassion therefore to so many worthy Persons, who had given such Testimonies of their Fidelity, and whom he could not for shame leave in a desert Country, amidst so many Difficulties, he took upon him the Command, and marched toward the City of *Cyrene*, which immediately received him, tho' not long before they had shut their Gates against *Labienu*s. Here he was informed, that *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Father-in-Law, was received by King *Juba*; and that *Appius Varus*, whom *Pompey* left Governor of *Libya*, had joined them with his Forces. *Cato* therefore resolved to march toward them by Land, it being Winter; and having got together a great many Asses to carry Water, he furnished himself likewise with Plenty

of all other Provision, and a number of Carriages: He took also with him some of those they call (1) *Pfylli*, who cure the biting of Serpents, by sucking out the Poison with their Mouths, and have likewise certain Charms, by which they stupifie and lay asleep the Serpents themselves.

Thus they marched seven Days together. *Cato* all the time went on Foot at the Head of his Men, and never made use of any Horse or Chariot. Ever since the Battel of *Pharsalia*, (2) he used to sit at Table, adding This to his other ways of Mourning, that he never lay down but to sleep.

Having passed the Winter in *Libya*, *Cato* drew out his Army, which amounted to little less than ten thousand Men. The Affairs of *Scipio* and *Varrus* went very ill, by reason of their Dissentions and Quarrels among themselves, and their Submissions and Flatteries to King *Juba*, who was insupportable for his Vanity, and the Pride he took in his Strength and Riches. The first time he came to a Conference with *Cato*, he had ordered his own Seat to be placed in the middle between *Scipio* and *Cato*; which *Cato* observing, took up his Chair, and set himself on the other side of *Scipio*; to

(1) There was a whole Nation in *Africk* who made it their Business to cure the Bite of the Serpent by sucking the Wound. This is no extraordinary Matter, for we read in *Homer* that in antient times Wounds were cured by sucking. But these *Pfylli* pretended to a Power of enchanting the Serpents, and that they could disarm them of their Fury by charming them to sleep. We find in holy Scripture Instances of Persons who pretended to that Power, which they vaunted as miraculous. Upon This is founded what we find in *Jeremiah*, cap. viii. ver. 17. For behold I will send Serpents, Cockatrices among you, which will not be charmed. But these wretched Inchanters often paid dearly for their Presumption.

(2) This was a Token of Mourning which we know not what to make of now-a-days. On the contrary we should think a recumbent Posture at our Meals very incommodious. But this single Example of *Cato* incontestably proves that it was desirous in those times, and that sitting at Table was looked upon as a thing very inconvenient.

Whom he thus gave the Honour of sitting in the middle, tho' he were his Enemy, and had formerly published a scandalous Libel against him. There are Some who approve not this Action of *Cato's*: And yet on the other side blame him, for that in *Sicily*, walking one Day with (1) *Philostratus*, he gave Him the middle Place, out of the Respect he bore to Philosophy. Thus did *Cato* pull down the Spirit of *Juba*, who before treated *Scipio* and *Varus* no better than his own Subjects: He reconciled Them also to one another.

All the Army desired *Cato* to be their Leader: *Scipio* likewise and *Varus* gave way to it, and offered him the Command; but he said, He would not break those Laws, which he fought to defend; and He, being but Pro-prætor, ought not to command in the presence of a Pro-consul, (for *Scipio* had been created Pro-consul;) besides that the People would take it as a good Omen, to see a *Scipio* command in *Africk*, and the very Name would give Courage to the Soldiers.

Scipio having taken upon him the Command, presently resolved (at the Instigation of *Juba*) to put all the Inhabitants of *Utica* to the Sword, and to raze the City, for having (as they pretended) taken part with *Cæsar*. *Cato* would by no means suffer This; but invoking the Gods, exclaiming and protesting against it in the Council of War, he with much difficulty delivered the poor People from the Cruelty.

Afterward, upon the Entreaty of the Inhabitants, and at the Instance of *Scipio*, *Cato* took up-

(1) The same with Him mentioned by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Anthony*, where he gives such a Character of him as is inconsistent with this Respect shewed him by *Cato*. For it is plain that

at the same time that he pretended to be a Follower of the Academy he disgraced the Doctrine by his Life, which was That of a thorough-paced *Epicurean*.

on Himself the Government of *Utica*, lest it should fall into *Cæsar's* Hands; for it was a strong Place, and very advantageous for either Party: Yet it was better provided, and more fortified by *Cato*, who brought in great store of Corn, repaired the Walls, erected Towers, made deep Trenches and Out-works round the Town. The young Men of *Utica* he lodged in the Trenches, having first taken their Arms from them; the rest of the Inhabitants he kept within the Town, and took great care, that no Injury should be done, nor Affront offered them by the *Romans*. From hence he sent great Quantity of Arms, Money, and Provision, to the Camp, and made this City their chief Magazine.

He advised *Scipio*, as he had before done *Pompey*, by no means to hazard a Battel against a Man experienced in War, and encouraged with Success, but to use delay; for time would cool the Heats and Passions of Men, which are the chief support and strength of Usurpers. But *Scipio* out of Pride rejected this Counsel, and writ a Letter to *Cato*; in which he reproached him with Cowardice; and that he could not content Himself to lye secure within Walls and Trenches, but he must hinder Others, That they might not make use of the Courage and Reason they have to lay hold on Occasions. In answer to This *Cato* writ word again, That he would take the Horse and Foot which he had brought into *Africk*, and go over into *Italy*, to give *Cæsar* some Diversion there. But *Scipio* derided this Proposition also. Then *Cato* openly avowed, He was sorry he had yielded the Command to *Scipio*, who, he saw, would not use his Power wisely in the War; and if (contrary to all appearance) he should succeed, doubtless he would use his success as unjustly at home. For *Cato* did then think, and so he told his Friends, That he could have but slender Hopes in those Generals who had so much Boldness, and so little Conduct; yet
if

if any thing should happen beyond Expectation, and Cæsar should be overthrown, for his part he would not stay at Rome, but would retire from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who had already given out fierce and proud Threats against many of the Romans.

But what *Cato* had looked for, fell out sooner than he expected; for about Midnight came one from the Army (whence he had been three Days coming) who brought word, There had been a great Battel near *Thapsus*; that All was utterly lost; *Cæsar* had taken both the Camps; *Scipio* and *Juba* were fled with a Few only, and the Rest cut to pieces. This News (as it is usual in War, and coming in the Night too) did so frighten the People, that they were almost out of their Wits, and could scarce keep themselves within the Walls of the City: But *Cato* went out, and meeting the People in this Hurry and Clamour, did comfort and encourage them what he could; and something appeased the Fear and Amazement they were in, telling them, That very likely things were not so bad in Truth, but more than half augmented by Report: Thus he pacified the Tumult for the present. The next Morning he assembled the Three Hundred, which he used as his Council; These were *Romans*, who trafficked there in Merchandize and Exchange of Money: There were also several Senators, and their Sons. While they were coming together, *Cato* walked about very quietly and unconcerned, as if nothing new had happened. He had a Book in his Hand, which he was reading; in this Book was an Account of what Provision he had for War, Armour, Corn, Weapons and Soldiers.

When they were assembled, he began his Discourse: *First with the Three Hundred Themselves; and very much commended the Courage and Fidelity they had shown, and their having very well served their*

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Country with their Persons, Money and Counsel. Then he entreated them by no means to separate, as if each single Man could hope for any safety in forsaking his Companions : On the contrary, while they kept together, Cæsar would have less reason to despise them, if they fought against him, and be more forward to pardon them, if they submitted to him. Therefore he advised them to consult among themselves, nor would he dislike whatever they should propose : If they thought fit to submit to Fortune, he would impute their Change to Necessity ; but if they resolved to stand to it, and undergo some danger for the sake of Liberty, he should not only commend, but admire their Valour, and would Himself be their Leader and Companion too, 'till they had tryed the utmost Fortune of their Country, which was not Utica or Adrumetum, but Rome, and she had often by her own strength raised her self out of greater difficulties. Besides, as there were many things that would conduce to their safety, so chiefly This, that they were to fight against One, who by his Affairs would be much distracted, and by several Occasions called into many several places. Spain was already revolted to the younger Pompey ; Rome, unaccustomed to the Bridle, and impatient of it, would be ready for Com-motions and Insurrections, upon every turn of Affairs. As for Themselves, they ought not to shrink from any danger ; and in This might take example from their Enemy, who so freely exposes his Life to compass his unjust Designs, yet never can hope for so happy a conclusion, as They may promise themselves : For notwithstanding the uncertainty of War, they will be sure of a most happy Life, if they succeed ; or a most glorious Death, if they miscarry. However, he said, they ought to deliberate among themselves, and pray to the Gods, that in recompence of their former courage and good-will, they would direct their future Designs. When Cato had thus spoken, many were moved and encouraged by his Speech ; but the greatest part were
so

so animated by his Valour, Generosity and Goodness, that they forgot the present Danger; and as if He were the only invincible Leader, and above all Fortune, they entreated him, *To imploy their Persons, Arms and Estates, as he thought fit; for they esteemed it far better to meet Death, in following his Counsel, than to find their Safety, in betraying a Person of such exalted Virtue.* One of the Assembly proposed the making a Decree, to set the Slaves at Liberty; and Most of the rest approved the Motion. *Cato* said, *That ought not to be done, for it was neither just nor lawful; but if any of their Masters would willingly set them free, those that were fit for service should be received.* Which Divers promised to do; whose Names he ordered to be enrolled, and then withdrew.

Presently after This, he received Letters from *Juba* and *Scipio*. *Juba*, with some few of his Men, was retired to a Mountain, where he waited to hear what *Cato* would resolve upon, and intended to stay there for him, if he thought fit to leave *Utica*; or to relieve him with an Army, if he were besieged. *Scipio* also lay at Anchor, under a certain Promontory, not far from *Utica*, expecting an Answer upon the same Account; but *Cato* thought fit to retain the Messengers, 'till the Three Hundred should come to some Resolution.

As for the Senators that were there, They shewed great Forwardness, and freed their Slaves, and furnished them with Arms. But the Three Hundred being Men that dealt in Merchandize and Usury, much of their Substance also consisting in Slaves, the Heat that *Cato's* Speech had raised in them, did not long continue; but as some Bodies easily admit Heat, and as suddenly lose it, when the Fire is removed; So these Men were heated and inflamed, while *Cato* was present; but when they began to reason among Themselves, the Fear they had

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had of *Cæsar* soon overcome the Reverence they bore to *Cato*: For who are we? (say they) and who is it we refuse to obey? Is it not that *Cæsar*, to whom all the Power of Rome has submitted? and which of us is a *Scipio*, a *Pompey*, or a *Cato*? But now that all Men make their Honour give way to their Fear, shall We alone engage for the Liberty of Rome; and in *Utica* declare War against Him, from whom *Cato* and *Pompey the Great* fled out of Italy? Shall We set free our Slaves against *Cæsar*, who have Our selves no more Liberty than He is pleased to allow? No, let Us, poor creatures, know our selves, submit to the Victor, and send Deputies to implore his Mercy. Thus said the most moderate of them; but the greatest part were for seizing the Senators, that by securing Them, they might appease *Cæsar's* Anger. *Cato*, tho' he perceived the Change, took no notice of it; but writ to *Juba* and *Scipio* to keep away from *Utica*, because he mistrusted the Three Hundred.

A considerable Body of Horse, which had escaped from the late Fight, were coming toward *Utica*, and had sent three Men before to *Cato*, who did not agree in One and the same Message, but related to him three different Sentiments with which they were divided. Some were for going to *Juba*; Others for joyning *Cato*; and Some also were afraid of locking themselves up in *Utica*. When *Cato* heard This, he ordered *Marcus Rubrius* to attend upon the Three Hundred, and quietly take the Names of Those, who of their own accord set their Slaves at Liberty, but by no means to force any Body. Then taking with him the Senators, he went out of the Town, and met the principal Officers of those Horsemen; Whom he entreated not to abandon so many worthy Roman Senators, nor to prefer *Juba* for their Commander before *Cato*, but to seek the mutual safety of one another,

another, and to come into the City, which was impregnable, and well furnished with Corn, and other Provision, sufficient for many Years: The Senators likewise with Tears besought them to stay. Hereupon the Officers went to consult their Soldiers, and *Cato* with the Senators sat down upon the Works, expecting their Resolution. In the mean time comes *Rubrius* in great Disorder, crying out, The Three Hundred were all in Commotion, and raising Tumults in the City: At This all the rest fell into Despair, lamenting and bewailing their Condition; but *Cato* endeavoured to comfort them, and sent to the Three Hundred, desiring them to have a little Patience. Then the Officers of the Horse returned with no very reasonable Demands. *They said, they did not desire to serve Juba, for his Pay, nor should they fear Cæsar, while they followed Cato; but they dreaded to be shut up with the Uticans, Men of a Traiterous Nature, and Carthaginian Race; for though they were quiet at present, yet as soon as Cæsar should appear, without doubt they would conspire together, and betray the Romans. Therefore if he expected they should join with Him, he must drive out of the Town or destroy all the Uticans, that he might receive Them into a Place void both of Enemies and Barbarians.* This *Cato* thought very Cruel and Barbarous; but he mildly answered, He would consult the Three Hundred.

Then he returned to the City, where he found the Men, not framing Excuses, or dissembling, out of Reverence to Him, but openly refusing to make War against *Cæsar*; *which (they said) they were neither able nor willing to do.* And Some there were who muttered out something about retaining the Senators 'till *Cæsar's* coming; but *Cato* seemed not to hear This, for indeed he was a little Deaf on one side. At the same time came one to him, and told him, The Horse were going away. *Cato* fearing

fearing lest the Three Hundred should take some desperate Resolution concerning the Senators, he immediately went out with some of his Friends, and seeing they were already removed to some Distance, he took Horse, and rid after them. They, when they saw him coming, were very glad, and received him very kindly, entreating him to save himself with them. At this time (it is said) *Cato* shed Tears; while earnestly begging for the Senators, and stretching out his Hands stopped Some of their Horses, and hung upon their Arms, 'till he had prevailed with them, out of Compassion, to stay only that one Day, to procure a safe Retreat for the Senators. Having thus persuaded them to go along with him, Some he placed at the Gates of the Town, and to Others gave the Charge of the Citadel. Now the Three Hundred began to fear they should suffer for their Inconstancy, and sent to *Cato*, entreating him by all means to come to them; but the Senators flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, and said, they would not trust their Guardian and Saviour to the Hands of perfidious Traitors.

At this Instant (in my Opinion) did most evidently appear to All in *Utica*, the Excellence, the Clearness, and admirable Simplicity of *Cato's* Virtue; how sincere, untainted, and free it was from any mixture of Self-regard; that He, who had long before resolved on his own Death, should take such extream Pains, Toil, and Care, only for the sake of Others; that when he had secured Their Lives, he might put an end to his Own; for it was easily perceived, that he had determined to die, though he did endeavour not to let it appear.

Therefore having pacified the Senators, he hearkened to the Request of the Three Hundred, and went to them alone without any Attendance. *They gave him many Thanks, and entreated him to employ*

employ and trust them for the future; but in that they were not Cato's, and could not come up to his greatness of Courage, they begged he would pity their Weakness; and told him, they had decreed to send to Cæsar, and entreat him chiefly and in the first place for Cato; and if they could not prevail for Him, they would not accept of Pardon for Themselves, but as long as they had breath, would fight in his defence. Cato commended their good Intentions, and advised them to send speedily, for their own safety, but by no means to ask any thing in his behalf; for They who are conquered, must submit, and They who have done wrong, beg pardon; for Himself, he was never overcome in all his Life, but rather so far as he thought fit, had got the Victory, and had conquered Cæsar, in what was Just and Honest. And indeed Cæsar might be looked upon as one surprized and vanquished; for he was now forced to discover and own those Designs, which he had so long denied, and always practised against his Country. When he had thus spoken, he went out of the Assembly, and being informed that Cæsar was coming with his whole Army; *Alas!* (said he) *does he come against us, as against Men?* Then he went to the Senators, and urged them to make no Delay, but hasten to be gone, while the Horsemen were yet in the City. So ordering all the Gates to be shut, except One towards the Sea, he appointed Ships for Those who were to depart, and gave Money and Provision to such as wanted: All which he did with great Order and Exactness, taking care to suppress all Tumults, and that no Wrong should be done to the People.

Marcus Octavius coming with two Legions, encamped near *Utica*, and sent to *Cato*, to treat about the Chief Command. *Cato* returned him no Answer; but said to his Friends, *No wonder all goes ill with Us, who are so much taken up with Ambition, even upon the point of our Ruin.* In the mean time

Word

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Word was brought him, that the Horse were going away, and about to spoil and plunder the *Uticans*. *Cato* ran to them, and from the First he met, snatched what they had taken; the Rest threw down All they had gotten, and went away silent, and ashamed of what they had done. Then he called together the Citizens of *Utica*, and requested them, in behalf of the Three Hundred, not to exasperate *Cæsar* against them, but All to seek their common Safety together with Them. After That he went again to the Port, to see Those who were about to imbark; and there he embraced and dismissed his Friends and Acquaintance, whom he had persuaded to go. As for his Son, he did not counsel him to be gone, nor did he think fit to persuade him to forsake his Father. But there was one *Statyllius*, a young Man, in the Flower of his Age, one of a brave Spirit, and very desirous to imitate the Invincible Constancy of *Cato*, who intreated him to go away, for he was a noted Enemy to *Cæsar*; but he refused to go. Then *Cato* looking upon *Apollonides* the *Stoick* Philosopher, and *Deme-trius* the *Peripatetick*; *It belongs to you* (said he) (1) *to bring down this young Man's Spirit, and to make him know what is good for him.* Thus having dismissed all the Rest, he returned to his Affairs, gave Audience, and dispatched Business; in which he spent that Night, and the greatest part of the Day following.

Lucius Cæsar, a Kinsman of *Julius Cæsar's*, being appointed to go Deputy for the Three Hundred,

(1) By these Words *Cato* implied, that the Disposition of Mind in which *Statyllius* fancied himself to be, was rather a Puff of Vain-glory than true Constancy, and that What became *Cato*, who had always made a Profession of severe Virtue, and was *Cæsar's*

Equal, did not become such a young Man as *Statyllius*. *Epictetus* saith excellently well, that *it is only for an extraordinary Person to imitate an extraordinary Virtue.* It is not fitting for a Person of common size to attempt so high a Flight.

came to Cato, and desired he would assist him to make a persuasive Speech for them: *And as to you yourself, (said he) I shall not scruple to kiss the Hands, and fall at the Knees of Cæsar in your behalf. But Cato would by no means permit him to do any such Thing: For, as to myself, (said he) if I would be preserved by Cæsar's Favour, I should myself go to him; but I would not be beholden to a Tyrant, for those very Things that are Marks of Tyranny: For it is an Instance of his Usurpation to preserve Men, as if He were Lord of their Lives, over Whom he has no right to reign; but if you please, let us consider what you had best say for the Three Hundred. And when they had continued some time together, as Lucius was going away, Cato recommended to him his Son, and the rest of his Friends; and taking him by the Hand, bid him farewell.*

Then he retired to his House again, and called together his Son and his Friends; to whom he discoursed of several Things: Among the rest, he forbid his Son to engage himself in the Affairs of State: *For to act therein as became him, was now impossible; and to do otherwise, would be dishonourable.*

Toward Evening he went into his Bath. As he was bathing, he remembered Statyllius, and cried out aloud, *Well, Apollonides, you have brought down the high Spirit of Statyllius; and is he gone without bidding us farewell? No, (said Apollonides) I have discoursed much to him, but to little purpose; he is still resolute and unalterable, and declares, he is determined to follow your Example. At This (it is said) Cato smiled, and answered, That will soon be tried.*

After he had bathed, he went to Supper, with a great deal of Company; at which he sat, as he had always used to do, ever since the Battel of Pharsalia; for since that time he never lay down
but

but when he went to Sleep. There supped with him all his own Acquaintance, and several of the principal Citizens of *Utica*.

After Supper, the Wine produced a great deal of Wit and learned Discourse; and many Philosophical Questions were discussed: At length they came to those fundamental Principles which are called the Paradoxes of the *Stoicks*; and to This in particular, (1) *That the good Man only is Free, and that all wicked Men are Slaves.* The Moment This was proposed, (2) the *Peripatetick*, as might easily be imagined, took up the Argument against it, but *Cato* fell upon him very warmly; and somewhat raising his Voice, he argued the Matter in a Discourse of some length, which he urged with such wonderful Vehemence, that it was apparent to every Body, he was resolved to put an end to his Life, and set himself at Liberty. Hereupon, when he had done speaking, there was a great Silence, and the Company much dejected: But *Cato*, to divert them from any Suspicion of his Design, turned the Discourse, and fell again to talk of the present Affairs, shewing great Concern for Those who were at Sea, as also for the Others, who travelling by Land, were to pass through a dry and barbarous Desert.

When the Company was broke up, *Cato* walked with his Friends, as he used to do after Supper, gave the necessary Orders to the Officers of the Watch; and going into his Chamber, he embraced his Son, and every one of his Friends, with more than usual Ardour, which again renewed their Suspicion of his Design. Then laying himself

(1) This Paradox, as it is called, is an incontestable Truth, and is not only the Sentiment of the *Stoicks*, but That of *Socrates*.

(2) For the *Peripateticks* maintained that neither Virtue nor Vice signified any thing with respect either to Freedom or Servitude, taking those Words in a Sense too constricted and literal.

down,

down, he took into his Hand *Plato's* Dialogue concerning the Immortality of the Soul: Having read more than half the Book, he looked up, and missing his Sword, (which his Son had taken away, while he was at Supper) he called his Servant, and asked, *Who had taken away his Sword?* The Servant making no Answer, he fell to reading again: And a little after, not seeming importunate, or hasty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he bid it be brought. Then he fell again to reading, and finished the whole Dialogue without any Tidings of his Sword. Hereupon he called up all his Servants, One by One, and in a hasty Tone demanded it of them. To One of them he gave such a Blow in the Mouth, that he hurt his own Hand; and now grew more angry, crying out, *He was betrayed, and delivered naked to the Enemy, by his Son and his Servants.* Then his Son, with the rest of his Friends, came running into the Room, and falling at his Feet, began to lament and beseech him: But *Cato* raising up himself, and looking fiercely; *When,* (said he) *and how did I fall distracted? Why does no Body persuade me by Reason, or teach me what is better, if I have designed any Thing that is ill? But must I be disarmed, and hindered from using my own Reason? And you, young Man, why do not you bind your Father's Hands behind him, that when Cæsar comes, he may find me unable to defend myself? Nor do I want a Sword to dispatch myself: I need but hold my Breath a-while, or strike my Head against the Wall.* When he had thus spoken, his Son went weeping out of the Chamber, and with him all the rest, except *Demetrius* and *Apollo-nides*; who being left alone with him, to Them he began to speak more calmly: *And you,* (said he) *do you think to keep a Man of my Age alive by Force? And do you sit silent here to watch me? Or can you bring any reason to prove that it is not base and unwor-*

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thy Cato, when he can find his safety no other way, to seek it from his Enemy? Or why do you not persuade us to unlearn what we have been taught, that rejecting all the Opinions we have hitherto established, we may now by Cæsar's means grow wiser, and be yet more obliged to him, than for Life itself? Not that I have determined ought concerning myself, but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve; and I shall not fail to ask your Counsel, when I have Occasion to use what your Philosophy teaches: In the mean time, do not trouble yourselves; but go tell my Son, that he should not Compel his Father to what he cannot Persuade him. They made him no answer, but went weeping out of the Chamber. Then the Sword being brought in by a little Boy, Cato took it, drew it out, and looked on it; and when he saw the Point was good, Now (said he) I am Master of myself: And laying down the Sword, he took his Book again, which, it is reported, (1) he read twice over. After this he slept so soundly, that he was

(1) And yet this Dialogue is too long to be read twice over in so short a Space. But That which is most incomprehensible is, that Cato, before he killed himself, should read over that Dialogue, which proves in the strongest terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. A Philosopher will never lay violent Hands on Himself, it being what is not permitted, not even to Those to Whom Death is more desirable than Life. They are not allowed to procure that Remedy to Themselves, though it be never so necessary. For God has placed us in this Life as in a Post, which we are never to quit without his Permission. The Gods take Care of us, and we must consider ourselves as their peculiar Property. If One of

Your Slaves should dispatch himself without Your Command, You would think he had done you an Injury, and would punish him if it lay in Your Power. How could Cato persist in his Resolution against such cogent Arguments? He might possibly justify himself from what is added by Socrates, We must wait with patience 'till it pleaseth God to send us an express order to remove out of this Life. And he looked on the condition he was then in, as such an Order. And thus has Cicero commented upon it in the first Book of his Tusculan Questions, Sect. 30. Cato autem sic abiit a vitâ. ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus, injus su hinc nos suo demigrare; cum

was heard to snore by Those who were attending in the Anti-Chamber.

About Midnight he called up two of his Freedmen, *Cleanthes* his Physician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly imployed in publick Affairs. He sent *Cleanthes* to the Port, to see if all the *Romans* were gone off, and then putting out his Hand, which the Blow he gave his Servant had inflamed, he gave it to be dressed by the Physician. At This they All rejoiced, hoping that now he designed to live.

Butas, after a while, returned, and brought Word, they were All gone, except *Crassus*, who had staid about some Business, but was just ready to depart: He said also, That the Wind was high, and the Sea very rough. *Cato* hearing this, sighed, out of Compassion to Those who were at Sea, and sent *Butas* again, to see if any of them should happen to re-

vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, saepe multis, na ille medius fidius vir sapiens latus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit; nec tamen ille vineta Carceris ruperit, leges enim vetant; sed tanquam a Magistratu, aut, ab aliqua Potestate legitima, sic a Deo evocatus. atque emissus exierit. This trifling Distinction destroys the very end and design of the Dialogue. If it was left to every one to explain as he thought fit the State he is in, and interpret it as an express Order from God to quit his Station, the Prohibition of Self-Murder would be unnecessary, since a reason would never be wanting upon Occasion to justify it. Therefore this Action in *Cato* is not warrantable, it is both foolish and criminal. However, it must be allowed that it was less so in Him, than it can be in Those who de-

stroy themselves for some private particular Reason, when overwhelmed with Grief, pinched with Poverty, mastered with Fear, or some Other of the Passions. For there is, in my Opinion, a great deal of Difference between the Pusillanimity of Such, and the Despair of a brave Man, who kills himself not for any private Reason, but (if the Expression may be allowed) for some Reason of State. For though the Action carries in it a brutal Fury, and the precipitate Impulse of an unbounded un governable Passion, yet as *Plutarch* has well observed on another Subject in the Comparison of *Romulus* and *Theseus*, He is more excusable who is transported by a stronger Cause, as by a more severe Stroke. And what Stroke can be more severe than the Ruin of our Country?

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turn for something they might want, and acquaint him therewith.

Now the Birds began to sing, and *Cato* again fell into a little slumber. At length *Butas* came back, and told him, *All was quiet in the Haven*: Then *Cato* laying himself down, as if he would sleep out the rest of the Night, bid him shut the Door after him. But as soon as *Butas* was gone out, he took his Sword, and stabbed it into his Breast; yet not being able to use his Hand so well, by reason of the Swelling, he did not immediately die of the Wound; but struggling fell out of the Bed, and throwing down a little Mathematical Table that stood by, made such a Noise, that the Servants hearing it, cryed out. And immediately his Son, and all his Friends, came into the Chamber, where seeing him lie weltring in his Blood, great part of his Bowels out of his Body, himself not quite dead, but looking ghastly, they all stood amazed. The Physician went to him, and would have put in his Bowels, which were not pierced, and sowed up the Wound: *Cato* hereupon coming to himself, thrust away the Physician, plucked out his own Bowels, and tearing open the Wound, immediately expired.

In less time than one would think his own Family could have known this Accident, all the Three hundred were at the Door. And a little after, the People of *Utica* flocked thither, crying out with one Voice, *He was their Benefactor and their Saviour; the only Free, and only Invincible Man*. At the very same instant, they had News that *Cæsar* was coming; (1) yet neither fear of the present Dan-

(1) This Circumstance as to the Time sets off their Elogiums to a wonderful Advantage. How strong must the Impressions be which the Virtue of *Cato* had wrought in them, that could make them so hardy as to be openly lavish in his Commendations at the Approach of his Enemy, his Enemy that was victorious, and into whose Power they were that Moment to resign themselves!

ger, nor desire to flatter the Conqueror, nor the Commotions and Discord among themselves, could divert them from doing Honour to *Cato*: For they sumptuously set out his Body, made him a magnificent Funeral, and buried him by the Sea-side, where now stands his Statue, holding a Sword. Which being done, they returned to consider of preserving Themselves and their City.

Cæsar had been advertised, that *Cato* stayed at *Utica*, and did not seek to fly: That he had sent away the rest of the *Romans*, but Himself with his Son, and a few of his Friends, continued there very unconcernedly; so that he could not imagine what might be his Design: But having a great Consideration for the Man, he hastened thither with his Army. When he heard of *Cato's* Death, it is reported, he uttered these Words: *Cato, I envy thee thy Death, since thou hast envied Me the preservation of thy Life.* And indeed if *Cato* would have suffered himself to be preserved by *Cæsar*, it is probable he would not so much have impaired his own Honour, as augmented the Other's Glory; yet what would have been done, we cannot know, but from *Cæsar's* usual Clemency we may guess what was most likely.

Cato was forty eight Years old when he died. His Son suffered no injury from *Cæsar*; but it is said, grew idle, and debauched with Women. In *Cappadocia* he lodged at the House of *Marphadates*, one of the Royal Family, who had a very handsome Wife; where staying longer than was decent, he was reflected on by Some, who made such Jest as These upon him: *Cato goes to-morrow after thirty Days. Porcius and Marphadates are two Friends, who have but one Soul, (for Marphadates's Wife was named Psyche, i. e. Soul:)* and *Cato is noble and generous, and has a Royal Soul.*

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But all these stains were clearly wiped off by the Bravery of his Death; for in the Battel of *Philippi*, where he fought for his Country's Liberty, against *Cæsar* and *Antony*, when the Army was broken, he disdain'd to fly, or escape, called out to the Enemy, shew'd them who he was, and encouraged Those of his Party to stay: At length he fell, and left his Enemies in Admiration of his Valour.

Nor was the Daughter of *Cato* inferior to the rest of her Family, for Prudence and greatness of Spirit. She was married to *Brutus*, who killed *Cæsar*; was acquainted with that Conspiracy, and ended her Life as became one of her Birth and Virtue. All which is related in the Life of *Brutus*.

Statyllius, who said he would imitate *Cato*, was at that time hindred by the Philosophers, when he would have put an end to his Life. He afterward followed *Brutus*, to whom he was very faithful, and very serviceable, and died in the Field of *Philippi*.



The Comparison of Phocion with Cato.

THESE two great Men bear so sensible a Resemblance, that They who have read their Lives will soon find what Reasons we had to compare them together. This Resemblance is not only common and general, such as we often meet with between Men, who in other respects are of a different Cast and Turn; but their Virtues considered, even in the most minute and imperceptible Instances, are All of the same Stamp and Complexion, and have the same Influence upon their Thoughts and Actions. This will appear more evidently in the

the following Comparison, wherein we shall lay before the Reader the particular Circumstances that point to the several Differences and Agreements between them, by which he will be enabled to make a thorough Estimate of their Virtues, and their Vices, and judge which of them deserves the Preference.

The most material Difference between them is That of their Birth. *Cato* was descended from very illustrious Ancestors, being the Great Grandson of *Cato* the Censor; whereas *Phocion's* Parentage is unknown; at the best it is only conjectured from the Education bestowed on him, that he was of no mean Family. But This is no better than Conjecture, for we often see Men of low Birth as well educated as Those of the first Rank. The same Principles which *Phocion* imbibed in the Schools of *Plato* and *Xenocrates*, the Same were instilled into *Cato* by that celebrated Stoick *Antipater*. So that both the One and the Other formed their Life and Manners upon the Model of the most perfect Virtue, from whence they drew that Strictness and Severity, which is peculiar to them.

Eloquence is a Means absolutely necessary to a Statesman, for executing with Success the Schemes he has formed for the Service of the Community; and That usually sympathizes with the Disposition and Temper of the Speaker. We have here before us an Exception to that general Rule; the same Austerity of Manners produces two very different kinds of Eloquence. That of *Phocion* abounded with noble and happy Conceptions; it was concise, and full of Sense and Energy, but without any Mixture of the Gentle and Insinuating. That of *Cato* with the same Brevity, Stiffness, and Solidity, was set off with such Flowers and Graces, as could not but Charm the Ears of his Hearers.

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The very contrary to This appears in their Maxims relating to the Government. *Cato's* breathed nothing but Austerity, Compulsion, and Severity; whereas in *Phocion's* there was a judicious Compound of Greatness and Severity, tempered and seasoned with Sweetness and Affability. From hence it came that *Cato* never had any Weight or Interest in the *Roman* State; whereas *Phocion*, though he paid his Court to the People as little as *Cato*, and took as little Care to humour them, yet he always carried his Point, and often obtained more than he demanded. It is well known the People with Tears in their Eyes desired the Command might be taken from the other Captains, and that the whole Authority might be lodged in his Hands.

This Difference may be owing to the Difference of the Times, in which each of them entered into the Administration. *Phocion* took upon him the Conduct of Affairs when his Country was already ruined, and *Cato* appeared in the midst of an outrageous Tempest. His excessive Virtue was unseasonable in times so corrupt and degenerate, when it was impossible for him not to meet with Envy and Contradiction. A more complying Virtue would have gained more, and consequently would have been more useful. *Phocion* was five and forty times chosen Captain-General, and, what is very extraordinary, always in his Absence. *Cato* after being deposed from the Office of Tribune, and the Mortification of having *Vatinius* preferred to him in the Prætorship, met with still a more shameful Repulse in his Pretensions to the Consulate, though he solicited it in Person. It is true the Magnanimity with which he bore his Disgrace, turned it to his Glory. It shewed that Virtue was independent of the Suffrages of the People, and that nothing foreign to it can ever tarnish its native Lustre.

If we consider them in their military Exploits, we shall find their first Essays much alike, but in the main the Advantage is entirely on the side of *Phocion*. He first served under *Chabrias*, and in the Battel of *Naxos* had the Command of the left Wing, which decided the Victory.

Cato made his first Campaign in Quality of a Volunteer under *Gellius* in the War against the Slaves, and distinguished himself in such a Manner that even then they began to compare him to *Cato* the Censor; and when his General offered him great Rewards, and would have decreed him considerable Honours, he refused them; a Modesty very rare in a young Soldier. When all the World thought him worthy of the greatest Honours, he was the only Person of a contrary Opinion. Being chosen *Military Tribune*, he is sent into *Macedonia* under *Rubrius* the General, who gave him the Command of a Legion. No Action happened there that could contribute to his Glory; but as Virtue never wants opportunities of exerting it self, he performed a Piece of Service of more importance than any military Exploit, tho' never so successful. He made it appear that a Man who commands is not only to be virtuous himself, but is to render Those so likewise, who are under him. He made His Soldiers as Peaceable as they were Valiant, and as Just as they were Brave.

The Commission which was forced upon him of driving *Ptolemy* out of *Cyprus*, and re-establishing the Exiles in *Byzantium*, gave him no opportunity of manifesting his Courage. His good Fortune eased him of *Ptolemy*, who poisoned himself, and left him Master of the Island; and his Eloquence alone restored the Exiles in *Byzantium*, and re-established Concord and Unanimity in that City. That which was most remarkable in his Transactions was that Example of a most scrupulous Punctuality, a most

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most exquisite Order, and steady Impartiality at the Sale of the immense Wealth that was found in that Island, which would not suffer him to connive at any of his Friends, or allow them to enrich themselves at the Expence of Justice. The Senate decreed him extraordinary Honours for this Service, which he refused, desiring them only to give *Nicias* the Steward of *Ptolemy* his Freedom, because he had been serviceable to him.

All these things put together can't be compared with the military Actions of *Phocion*, his Victory over the *Macedonians* in the Island of *Eubœa*, which was singly owing to his Conduct, his repairing the Losses received by the other Generals through their Imprudence and Incapacity; his driving *Philip* out of the *Hellepont*; his fixing the City of *Megara* in the Interest of the *Athenians*, his Victory over *Micion* who at the Head of the *Macedonians* was ravaging *Attica*, and That when he was more than Fourscore Years of Age.

It must be confest Fortune was more favourable to *Phocion* than she was to *Cato*. For *Phocion* was always at the Head of Affairs, whereas *Cato* acted only in a secondary Station; but this very thing may be construed to his Advantage, since even in that subaltern State he was able by the Force of his single Virtue to support the Constitution against the Attacks of Fortune, who was resolved to overturn it, and missed but a little of making it Triumph over all the Efforts of that formidable Enemy.

If *Phocion* has the better of *Cato* at the Head of an Army, and in the Field, *Cato* has the Advantage of Him in the Senate, and in Council.

Phocion undoubtedly shewed a great piece of Prudence in reforming a modern Custom in *Athens*, by which the Military and Civil were made two distinct Provinces, and in restoring the Scheme of
Government

Government practised by *Pericles*, and *Aristides*, by which those two Talents became reunited.

Cato had no Opportunity of effecting such a Regulation in *Rome*, where *Minerva* was worshipped under her Civil as well as martial Capacity, and the *Roman* Generals were no less diligent in studying the Art of governing Cities than they were in That of conquering them.

Phocion's collecting the Arrears of Contributions due from the Islanders to the *Athenians* with one Ship only, shews him a Man of singular Conduct, and that he was Master of the Art of Persuasion.

His Behaviour in *Eubœa*, where he hindered the *Athenians* from making the *Grecians* Prisoners, for fear the People incited to proceed with the utmost severity against them should one day give Occasion to endless Divisions and Quarrels, is a farther Mark of his great Prudence and Capacity. It was the same Prudence which prompted him to dissuade the *Athenians* from giving publick Testimonies of their Joy upon the News of *Philip's* Death, not only because it was mean and ungenerous to rejoice at the Death of an Enemy, but for a more weighty and substantial Reason. He wisely foresaw such Demonstrations of Joy would irritate *Alexander*, and incense him against them.

The Advice he gave the same *Athenians* to deliver up the leading Men among the *Thebans* to *Alexander* who demanded them, They having sheltered themselves in *Athens*, was wholesome, and seasonable. Nothing can be a greater Absurdity in Politicks than for a State to expose it self to the utmost Calamities out of Compassion to Others, especially when that Compassion must be impotent and ineffectual. If we are not the most powerful in Arms our selves, we ought to cultivate a Friendship with Those who are so. That was His Maxim.

Phocion's.

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Phocion's Ability, and political Capacity appeared in its true Lustre, and proved exceeding serviceable to *Greece*, when he represented to *Alexander* that if he had a mind to lead a quiet Life he ought to give over all Thoughts of War; but that if he was fond of Glory it became him to divert his Arms from *Greece*, and turn them against the *Barbarians*. He laid before him such a lively Representation of the Honour he would acquire in that Enterprize, that he softened the Mind of that young Prince, gave it another Bent, and by that means procured a State of Tranquillity to *Greece*, which it could never have enjoyed without him.

The great Confidence the Islanders, and Allies of the *Athenians* reposed in him, does a farther Honour to his Prudence. True Policy tells us it is much better to win Men by fair means, than conquer them by force of Arms.

One of *Phocion's* stated Rules in Politicks was, that Peace ought to be chiefly aimed at in all Governments. In this View he opposed all Wars that were either imprudent, or unnecessary. The unexpected Success of *Leosthenes* in a War, which He would have prevented, could not bring him to depart from his Opinion, he still continued to oppose that War against the *Bæotians*, and the Event justified him in that Opposition.

This Foresight, which is a material Quality in a Politician, appeared in a still stronger Light when he opposed Those, who were for having *Athens* comprehended in the Peace proposed by *Philip*, and that she should appear in the general Assembly of *Greece*. He insisted upon knowing previously what *Philip* would insist upon. It was indeed carried against him, but it was not long before the *Athenians* had reason to repent of it, when they found themselves sated with the exorbitant Demands of *Philip*. After This *Phocion's* Advice was as salutary as That which he had given them before,
when

when it was rejected. He endeavoured to make them sensible that Disobedience would be their Ruin, and proposed to them the Example of their Ancestors, who being sometimes Sovereigns, and sometimes Subjects, and acting as became them under both those Circumstances, did not only preserve their own City, but all Greece into the Bargain.

As soon as the News of *Alexander's* Death was known in *Athens*, the People who had been intimidated by the high Reputation of that Prince, began to shew themselves, and aim at Innovations. But *Phocion*, who foresaw to what a degree of Danger the City would expose it self in case the News did not come confirmed, restrained and cooled them with this celebrated Saying, which was dictated by consummate Prudence, *If Alexander be dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow, and the next day, in the mean while we shall have time enough to deliberate at leisure and provide for our Safety.*

These Instances of *Phocion's* Policy, which must be allowed to be very extraordinary, are however short of *Cato's*; whether they are considered in the Usefulness of them, or the Dangers that attended them. He put up for Tribune in Opposition to *Metellus*, a most dangerous Competitor, and a Person whose Power would have proved fatal to *Rome* if it had not been counterbalanced by the Authority of a true Patriot. He courageously opposed *Cæsar* in the Question about *Catiline*; he exposed himself to the most imminent danger when he opposed the Decree of *Metellus* for recalling *Pompey*, and yet when he had quashed *Metellus*, and in Him all the Interest and Power of *Pompey*, he gave still a stronger Instance of his Prudence when he hindered the Senate from branding the same *Metellus* with Infamy, and deposing him, which Proceeding would have irritated *Pompey* to the last Degree, and forced him upon Extremities.

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The same Spirit put him upon standing for the Prætorship, on purpose to countermine *Crassus* and *Pompey*, who were named Consuls. With the same Courage and Resolution he opposed the Decree of *Trebonius*, and tho' he was dragged from the Tribunal by a Lictor he persisted in declaiming against the Decree, and when they had got it passed by Force, and the People enraged at it were gathering into a Mob in order to demolish *Pompey's* Statues he hindered it, and with great Prudence prevented the Disturbances and Tumults that would have ensued.

The Act he got passed in Senate, that in case no one appeared to accuse Those who should be named to Offices, They Themselves should appear and deliver in an Account of the Means they had used to obtain them, was a stroke no less bold than necessary to give a mortal Blow to that pernicious practice of Corruption.

He gave an equal Instance of his Prudence at that time, when the Factions of *Scipio*, *Hypseus*, and *Milo* threatned a Civil War, and there were three Parties in the *Forum* ready to come to Blows; he proposed curing a greater Evil with a Less, and preventing still a Greater; His Advice was for committing every thing to *Pompey*, and declaring Him sole Consul. The Council he afterwards gave *Pompey*, who was for establishing Penalties by a new Law against Such as had attained their Offices by Bribery and Corruption, was no less an Argument of his great Prudence, and Judgment. He convinced him that it would be a great Piece of Injustice to raise up new Laws to punish old Transgressions, and create Forfeitures to a Law that had never been violated.

It may be said that he did not act like a good Statesman when he refused *Pompey's* Alliance, and so forced him upon One with *Cæsar*, which proved the Overthrow of the Commonwealth. But besides

besides that *Cato* could not foresee that Alliance, he followed in that Refusal his own Maxim, which was, that no true Patriot ought to receive into his Family a Person of ambitious Designs, who will not seek his Alliance but for the sake of his Authority, which he will make use of to the Ruin of his Country.

A State is concerned in nothing more nearly than in a punctual Administration of its Revenues, wherein *Cato* rendered to his Country three most important Services when he was Quæstor.

In the first Place he exacted with the utmost rigor whatever was due from private Persons to the Treasury, and at the same time caused a punctual Payment to be made of all the publick Debts; by which Proceeding he put a Stop to a most flagrant Abuse that had crept in by the Connivance, or too injudicious Compliance of former Quæstors. There were several unwarrantable Orders obtained by Favour, and to be paid without Inquiry. *Cato* caused them All to be laid before him, cancelled them, and so broke the Neck of such pernicious Practices.

In the second Place he prosecuted the Officers who had been employed by *Sylla* in the Execution of his Proscriptions, and when he had forced them to refund the immense Sums they had gained in that execrable Service, he had them condemned, and executed as so many Assassines and Murderers.

The Third and most considerable Service of all, was his putting a stop to Grants unnecessary, or undeserved. There can be no greater disorder in a State than when its Treasure is made a Prey to Favour, instead of a Recompence for Service. This is the Fountain of two Evils equally pernicious. The Wealth of the State is wasted by giving where it does not receive, and true Merit seeing it self neglected and repulsed, languisheth,
and

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and at last perisheth for want of Nourishment; whilst no Man cares to exert himself in the Service of his Country, for which he is never regarded, but on the contrary finds the Undeserving and Unprofitable reap the Rewards due to that Service. The very Bees preach a wholesome Doctrine on this Head to the Statesman, and Politician; They drive from their Hives the Drones who live upon their Stock, without contributing to it by a proportionable share of Labour and Industry. *Cato* made it appear in his younger days, that a State might grow wealthy without committing the least Injustice, and that Order and Regularity would suffice to enrich it.

Phocion has nothing of this kind to come into the Comparison, tho' the Finances were not under a better Regulation at *Athens* than they were at *Rome*, but were dissipated on Occasions altogether as unnecessary, and unprofitable to the Government.

Cato did not think it enough to regulate the Revenues of the State, but extended his Care even to the Purses of private Persons, by moderating the exorbitant Expences, which Luxury and an indiscreet Emulation had introduced in the Shews exhibited to the People by the *Ædiles*. He introduced the Simplicity observed in *Greece* on those Occasions, and made it appear that nothing was more ridiculous than to be profuse in Matters of no Moment or Consequence, and make a publick Diversion the Ruin of Families.

Among the Political Actions of *Cato* may be reckoned That which he performed at his first Entrance into the World, when being no better than a Tribune of the Soldiers he made use of a Furlough, not to go, and look after his own Affairs, as it was customary with Others, on such Occasions, but to travel in *Asia* on purpose to bring home with him if possible the Philosopher

Athenodorus,

Athenodorus, celebrated for his great Wisdom, and for having withstood, and rejected the most advantageous Offers made him by great Commanders, and even Sovereign Princes, who were All striving who should get him. He succeeded, and enriched his Country with the presence of that Person at a time when she stood in greatest need of him; and was so proud of his Success, that he thought it a Piece of Service more profitable to the State than all the Exploits of *Lucullus* and *Pompey*.

In his Behaviour to King *Ptolemy* at *Rhodes*, when he obliged him to Pay him the first Visit, the stiff manner in which he received him without so much as rising from his Seat, and treating him as a private Person, he nicely maintained the *Roman* Dignity, and yet at the same time he gave the King strong Marks of his Benignity, and Friendship for him, in the sage Remonstrances he laid before him, of which that Prince was afterwards convinced by the Reception and Treatment he met with at *Rome*.

Cato maintained the Majesty of the Empire still to a higher Degree, in the Audience he received from King *Juba* in *Africk*. That Prince, puffed up with Pride and Arrogance, which made him look on the Proconsuls of *Rome* as no better than so many Lieutenants, had ordered His Chair to be placed between Those of *Cato* and *Scipio*. *Cato* could not bear with such Contempt and Presumption, but removed his own Chair, and placed it on the other side of *Scipio's*, whom by that means he seated in the Middle, paying the first Honour to the *Roman* Proconsul, tho' his Enemy; an Action of so much Greatness, Courage, and Virtue, that it never can be too much extolled.

Humanity is a Virtue so essential to Man, that one ceaseth to be a Man when he is without it, it

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being the Basis and Foundation of all other Virtues. *Phocion* with all that Severity which made him inflexible whenever the State was concerned, was notwithstanding so gentle and compassionate in his Nature that even his Enemies found him ready to assist them on all proper Occasions. *Cato* was possessed of that Virtue to as eminent a Degree as *Phocion*, and like Him made it evident that he was no where terrible and intractable, but in the Assemblies of the People, and in the Senate, where the State was concerned. This Person who was Austerity it self, even He who had been brought up in a School where Compassion was condemned as a Weakness, was notwithstanding the most compassionate Man breathing. It was That which induced him to quit *Sicily*, rather than expose the Country to an unavoidable Ruin by making it the Seat of War. He obtained that Order, upon the breaking out of the Civil War, that no City should be sacked that was in Subjection to the *Romans*, and that no *Roman* should be slain but in Battel. After *Cæsar's* Overthrow at *Dyrrhachium*, he is mortified in the very Embraces of Victory, and weeps at the sight of so many *Romans* who fell in the Action. After the Battel of *Pharsalia*, when *Pompey's* Son was for arresting and punishing all Those who were withdrawing themselves, and was beginning with *Cicero* Himself, *Cato* softened him, and saved *Cicero's* Life, and the Lives of all the rest. *Scipia*, in Complaisance to *Juba*, proposed to Murder all the Inhabitants of *Utica*, Men, Women, and Children, and rase the City; He opposed such an Act of Barbarity, and prevented it. The Night before his Death he conferred with *Lucius Cæsar*, and instructed him in what manner he was to address himself to *Cæsar*. He who was resolved upon his own Death, was concerned for the Safety of Others, and taught them what they were to say and do, to pacify their Enemy, and obtain a Pardon.

Cato

Cato is likewise to be preferred to *Phocion* on the score of Penetration and Foresight. It may be said of him that he did not penetrate into the Womb of Futurity with the Faculties of a Man, but with the Prescience of a God unwrapped, and revealed it. He foretold to the *Romans* all the Calamities, which the Friendship between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* would unavoidably bring upon them. *Cras- sus* and *Pompey* had no sooner obtained *Vatinius* to be elected Prætor, but he warned them of the Miseries in which the City was to be plunged. As soon as the Decree passed for continuing to *Cæsar* his Troops and Provinces, he threatened *Pompey* with the Cloud that was gathering, which was to fall both upon Him, and the State. He discovered to the *Romans* all the Views and Designs of *Cæsar* so clearly as if he had been of his Privy-Council; he shewed them what he was driving at, and that they had nothing to fear but *Cæsar*. He foresaw *Scipio's* Disaster, and the unfortunate End of the War in *Africk*, and foretold it.

Cato professed a severe inflexible Justice, that was never to be mollified either by Favour or Affection; That which *Phocion* observed was more humane and gentle. And yet this very austere and inflexible *Roman*, the declared Enemy of Such as bought Suffrages in order to carry their Elections, raised a sharp Prosecution against *Murena*, for having got himself declared Consul by dint of Money, but spared the other Consul *Silanus*, tho' he was full as guilty as his Collegue, because forsooth he was his Brother-in-law. *Phocion*, tho' less severe, was more just when he refused to stand by his Son-in-law *Gharicles*, who was called to account for the Money he had received of *Harpalus*, and returned him this fine Answer; *It is true I have made thee my Son-in-law, but it is only in things just and honourable.* And what is more, when *Cato*, who acted with so much Partiality in respect

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to *Silanus*, saw *Pompey* sometimes slacken his Hand in favour of his Friends, and Relations accused of the same Crimes, he severely reprimanded him for it. He could not pardon That in *Pompey* which he had allowed in Himself. In such outrageous Virtues Humour often gets the upper Hand, and insinuates it self under the Mask of Reason and Equity.

An impartial disinterested Mind is absolutely necessary in a Statesman, without which all other Qualities are generally unprofitable, and sometimes even pernicious. At first sight *Phocion* and *Cato* seem pretty equal as to this Article. *Phocion* refused a hundred Talents sent him by *Alexander*, and a Town which he would have presented him. He rejected with the like Magnanimity the seven hundred Talents offered him by *Harpalus*, and a very considerable Sum from *Menyllus*. *Cato* turned an Estate that had been left him into ready Money, which he lent to his Friends, as they wanted it, without Interest; nay he often mortgaged his own Farms and Slaves to serve Them, and returned the rich Presents sent him by *Deiotarus* to gain his Favour.

It may be said that the infinite Difference that was between the Offers made to the One and the Other, creates the same Difference in the Virtue of the One and the Other in the Refusal, and that in this Respect *Phocion* has infinitely the Advantage; but in my Opinion that is not the Point we are to judge upon. *Cato* would have been Proof as well as *Phocion* against all the Wealth in the Universe; besides, He that gives may be said to do more than He who refuseth to receive. The Difference of their Fortune only is what gives *Phocion's* Magnanimity the Preference. The rich Man, who makes himself a slave to Gold, of which he has no need, is a Monster; and the poor Man, who can bear with Patience and Constancy the gauling

gauling load of Necessity, always importunate and imperious, has something in him that is divine. The extream Poverty wherein *Phocion* died, after having been so often Captain-General of the *Athenians*, is a glorious Illustration of his Self-denial.

A Simplicity of Life was equally conspicuous in them Both. But That of *Phocion* was not so extraordinary for the Age and City wherein he lived, which afforded many illustrious Examples of that Kind, as was That of *Cato*, who lived at a Time, and in a City where Luxury was exalted to its highest Pitch. It must be said to the Disadvantage of the Latter, that suffering his Austerity to create in him a Contempt and Dislike of the established Customs, to appear in publick bare-footed, and without his Robe, and sit in that Condition to hear Causes in open Court, he was very justly reproached with having undervalued and disgraced the Dignity of Prætor by such Indecencies. His Principle of running counter to the common Practice of Mankind, and to blush only at things that were truly and in their own Nature shameful, at the same time looking with Contempt on Those that were only so in Opinion, ought to have been restrained within its due Bounds. Our Ways indeed ought to be contrary to Those of the Vicious, and such as are really to be condemned; but whatever has been established by general Consent, and the constant Practice of Mankind, is not to be treated as a vain Opinion, but a Part of Decency, which no Man can break thorough, especially if he be in a publick Station, without opening a Door to Impudence, than which nothing can be more shameful.

Marriage is a Circumstance so essential, as to be of it self able to poison the most happy, and exhilarate the most unfortunate State of Life. *Phocion* and *Cato* were Both twice married, but with very different Success. We know nothing of *Phocion's*

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cion's first Wife, which is not at all to her Disreputation. His second was a Pattern of Virtue, Modesty, and Simplicity. She received in the crowded Theater the publick Acclamations and Applause of the *Athenians*; whereas *Cato's* first Wife dishonoured him with the Life she led, and He Himself dishonoured the second in parting with her, and marrying her to *Hortensius*. It is certain that this Complaisance would have been more pardonable in *Phocion*, who lived in a City where a grave Legislator had been for introducing such Marriages, how indecent soever they appeared, and for establishing them by lawful Authority.

If *Phocion* had better luck than *Cato* in his Wives, *Cato* was more fortunate in his Children. *Phocion's* Son, notwithstanding the great Care his Father had been at to have him educated in *Sparta* in all the Rigor of the *Lacedemonian* Discipline, on purpose to correct in him his Propensity to Luxury and Pleasure, lived and died a Debauchee; whereas *Cato's* Son, tho' he was at first indeed in ill Reputation for his Attachment to the Ladies, he made an Attonement for that Weakness by the Bravery of his Death. He was killed at the Battel of *Philippi*, after having given such prodigious Proofs of his Valour, as were admired even by the Enemy. And his Daughter *Porcia* came not behind her Father either in Wisdom, Temperance, or Magnanimity.

To finish the Comparison of these two great Men there remains but one Circumstance more to be considered, and That is their Death. *Phocion* fell a Sacrifice to the Injustice of his Fellow-Citizens. It is true he had given them some Colour for what they did, by the Fault he committed in not arresting *Nicanor*. But That, if it was a Fault, was not only pardonable but glorious. It is not to be doubted, but if he had known what *Nicanor* designed he would have preferred the Preservation of his Country to the Interest and Safety of his Friend, but he was ignorant

ignorant of it; and to betray and surrender a Friend, in whom one has an entire Confidence without any suspicion of him in the least, is an Extremity so violent and terrible that a Man of Honour would chuse rather to die than be guilty of it. *Cato* chose rather to kill himself than outlive his own Liberty, and That of his Country, and was the only Man who by a generous Death triumphed over his Enemy who at the same time was triumphing over the rest of Mankind.

What followed upon the Death of *Phocion* was more honourable than what ensued upon That of *Cato*. Great indeed and universal were the Applauses given him. All the People of *Utica* with a general Voice called him their Benefactor, their Saviour, the only Free Man, the only Invincible. Their dread of *Cesar* Himself, who was then at their Gates, could not abate in them the Respect and Veneration they had for him. They made him an honourable Funeral, and on the Sea-side erected to his Memory a Statue with a Sword in its Hand. But all This was nothing comparable to the Glory that attended the Death of *Phocion*. A Lady of *Megara* raised up to him an honorary Sepulcher, and carried his Bones home with her, and repositied them under her Fire-hearth. The *Athenians*, made wise by their Calamities, soon repented of their Folly, and Wickedness; they lamented when it was too late what a watchful Magistrate, what an upright Guardian of Temperance and Justice they had put to Death, and stung with Remorse conducted his Ashes back to *Athens*, interred them honourably at the publick Expence, raised to him a Statue in Brass, and put to Death his Accusers. Thus *Phocion*, after dying like *Socrates*, the wisest of Men, he was like him revenged.

The Care both the One and the Other took of their Friends, when they were in the very Jaws of Death, ought not to be forgotten. *Phocion* con-
demns

demns Himself on purpose to mollify his Judges, and tries every thing for the Preservation of his Friends, who were accused with him. It was with the utmost Reluctancy that he granted *Nicoles* the Favour he had so earnestly insisted upon of drinking first, and he made it appear how much that melancholy Concession cost him. Neither was *Cato* wanting in any thing for the Preservation of his Friends; he pressed them to provide for their own Safety; furnished them with every thing necessary; goes Himself to the Key to see them embark; expresseth the utmost Concern for them; sends several times to inquire after them, and when he was told that the Weather was stormy he fetched a deep Sigh at the Thoughts of the Danger they might be in. At last when he was sure they were all embarked he killed himself. Men truly Great and Good extend the Offices of Friendship beyond Death it self, and forget their own Safety whilst they are intent upon the Preservation of their Friends. The Orders Both of them left their Sons at their Death are much to their Honour, considered either as Statesmen or Philosophers. *Phocion* commanded His Son never to think of revenging himself upon the *Athenians*, but to forget their Injustice to Him, and *Cato* warned His against meddling in Affairs relating to the Government.

To conclude, and give in a few Words a general Idea both of the One and the Other, it is sufficient to say that *Phocion* fell, and drew on his Country innumerable Calamities by following too stiff his own Opinion, and not distrusting a Friend, whom he thought to manage for her Interest; whereas *Scipio*, *Pompey*, and *Rome* it self were lost for want of following the Advice of *Cato*. This makes much for his Honour, and gives him no small Advantage over *Phocion*.

The End of the Sixth Volume.

