Magd. Hall.

M. 8 - 16.
THE TROJANS, as Simonides reports, were not angry with the Corinthians for join-
ing their Forces with the other Greeks in the Confederate Expedition against them, because Glau
cus, King of Lycia, whose Ancestors were originally of Corinth, frankly engaged on their side, and brought them Aid to Troy: So neither can the Romans or Graeians be justly displeased with the Academy, (1) by which Both of them have been equally favoured, as will appear from this Historical Account of the Lives of Brutus and Dion. For One of them was con-
temporary and familiarly conversant with Plato, and the Other from his Youth Educated in his Phi-
losophy. So that they had the same Institution, on which they built their great Achievements, and set out (as it were) from the same Liffs to run their

(1) For if the Academy produced Dion for the Deliverance of Sicily, so did the Brutus for That of Rome.
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Race of Honour. Nor need we wonder if by the near Resemblance and Affinity of their Actions, they confirm that Maxim of their beloved Guide in the Ways of Virtue, who faith (1) that without a mutual concurrence of Power and Success, joined and tempered with Justice and Prudence, nothing great and glorious can be accomplished in the managery of Publick Affairs. For as Hyppomachus the Wrestler affirmed, (2) he could by their Port distinguish his Scholars at a great distance, (3) tho' they were but carrying Meat from the Shambles; so it is very probable, that the ingenuous Sentiments of Tho' he have had good Education do alike influence their Actions, and create in them a gentle Demeanor, very agreeable and becoming.

Now we may draw a Parallel of the Lives of these two great Men from their Fortunes, wherein Chance, not Design, made them much alike, for they were Both cut off by an untimely Death, not being able to accomplish those Ends which through many Risques and Difficulties they aimed at. But above all, This is most wonderful; that by Divine

(1) This Sentiment of Plato's is very just, and noble. It is This Assemblage, or Conjuncture only, which can form the perfect Statefman. His Prudence, and Justice will little avail him without Power, and his Power will be ineffectual unless his Design and Undertakings are crowned with Success. Tho' in general Justice and Prudence are the sure Fore-runners of Prosperity and Success.

(2) This is very common. A Dancing-Master at the first sight of a Man can tell if he has learned to Dance, and if he has been taught in His School. For every Master gives his Scholars a particular Turn and Air. This Comparison in Plutarch is extreme proper. Reason, that is the Master, infuseth into every Action of her Scholars a peculiar Decency and Harmony, and a Behaviour that visibly discovers to an observing Eye under Whom they have been educated.

(3) This was a customary thing among the Graecians, they went Themselves to the Markets; which is a Circumstance that cannot appear strange to Tho' he have read the Characters of Theophrastus.

Permission
Permission Both of them had notice given of their approaching Death by a frightful and ominous Demon, which visibly appeared to them. Altho’ there are a sort of Men who utterly deny any such thing, and say, that no Man in his right Wits ever saw a Phantom or Apparition; but that Children only, and silly Women, or Men crazed by some Distemper of their Mind, or Disease of their Body, entertain such idle and absurd Fancies, over-fondly conceiting themselves haunted with Spirits and Goblins. (1) Yet if Dion and Brutus, Men of great Courage and Learning, not easily deluded by Fancy, or discompos’d by any sudden Apprehension, were so disturbed at these Visions, that they forthwith declared to their Friends what they had seen; I know not how we can avoid admitting against that Opinion of the Ancients (2) how absurd ever it may appear, That the Devils and evil Spirits, out of an envious Hatred to good Men, vigorously oppose whatever they do; and by raising Distractions and Terrors in the Mind, endeavour to

(1) It is most certain that the Testimony of two Persons of known Sense and Probity is sufficient to gain Credit to Things, which, considered in themselves, seem most incredible. Nevertheless we are not to believe those sort of Apparitions because Dion and Brutus affirmed that a Phantom appeared to them, because it may be alleged that they were liable to be deceived as well as Others, but we are to believe them upon Testimonies more audible and infallible.

(2) With Plutarch’s leave it is by no means an absurd Opinion, but such a one as no wise Man can refuse attending to. But the Question is inverted here by Plutarch. It does not turn upon this Point, whether there really be evil Spirits who set themselves against good Men, and endeavour to hinder, or withdraw them from the Pursuit, and Practice of Virtue. This is an incontestable Truth established by the Authority of Religion; but the Matter in question is, if those Spirits ever appear to Men under such horrible Figures as have been represented, and I am of Opinion that it is a Fact of which no doubt is to be made, after so many undeniable Testimonies of it, which abound in Antiquity. It must be confessed, that it is a Point very liable to Impositure. They have not appeared to All, who pretend to have seen them.

A 4 shake
shake and undermine their Virtue, left by a steady and unbyass’d Perseverance in Goodness, they should after Death obtain a happier Condition of futurity than those wretched Beings can ever hope for. But I shall refer these things to another place, and in this Twelfth Book of the Lives of great Men, compared one with another, begin with His who was the elder.

Dionysius the First, having seized on the Government of Sicily, took to Wife the Daughter of Hermocrates, a Syracusan. She, in an Insurrection which the Citizens made before the Government was well settled, was abused in such a barbarous and outrageous manner, that for shame thereof she put an end to her own Life. But Dionysius, being soon re-established and confirmed in the Throne, married two Wives, One named Doris a Native of Locris, the Other Aristomache, Daughter of Hipparpinus, a Nobleman of the first Quality in Syracuse, and Colleague with Dionysius when he was chosen General of the Army. It is said he married them both in one Day, but which he enjoyed first is uncertain; ever after he divided his Kindness equally betwixt them, both accompanying him together at his Table, and in his Bed by turns. Indeed the Syracusians were urgent that their own Country-woman might be preferred before the Stranger; but Doris, to recompense the Aspersion of being a Foreigner, had the good Fortune to be the Mother of Dionysius’s eldest Son, whilst Aristomache continued a long time without Issue, tho’ the King was very desirous to have Children by her, and caused Doris’s Mother to be put to death, laying to her Charge, that she had bewitched Aristomache, to prevent Conception.

Dion was Aristomache’s Brother, and at first found a very Honourable Reception at Court, for his Sister’s sake; but his own Worth and Parts soon
soon procured him a nearer Place in the Prince's Affection, who among other Favours gave special Command to his Treasurers to furnish Dion with whatever Money he demanded, enjoying them withal the same Day to give him a particular Account of what they had delivered to him. Now, tho' Dion was before reputed a Person of extraordinary Parts, a noble Mind, and daring Courage; yet all these excellent Qualifications received a considerable Improvement by Plato's happy Arrival in Sicily. It was without doubt no Human Contrivance, but the Direction of Providence, designing that this remote Cause should hereafter occasion the Recovery of the Sicilians lost Liberty, and the Subversion of the Tyrannical Government, which brought the Philosopher out of Italy, and settled him at Syracuse. Dion soon gained his Acquaintance, and became the most considerable among his Scholars, by his wonderful Disposition to Learning, and Inclination to Virtue, far above what his Years could promise, (1) as Plato himself reports of him, and his own Actions sufficiently testify. For tho' he was bred up under the Tyrant in a Condition much below himself, inured to a dissolute and servile kind of Life, under a haughty and imperious Command, glutted with extravagant Pleasures, and a customary regard to nothing but Wealth and Luxury, (the mistaken Happines of Life;) yet no sooner had he tasted the Sweets of more rational Notions, and was made acquainted with the Precepts of Philosophy, which direct the

(1) It is in his seventh Letter, where he faith in express terms, For my part when I conversed with Dion, who was then very young, when I explained to him such Things as I thought were the best and most adapted to the Nature of Man, and compared him to the Practice of them. I little thought I was then insensibly opening a way to the total Subversion of the Tyranny. For he was of a decided Temper, and took with such Readiness and Vivacity whatsoever was said to him, that I never saw any Young Man worthy to be compared with him.
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way to Virtue and true Satisfaction, but his Appetite increased, and his Soul was inflamed with a Desire of more Knowledge, and greater Attainments: Hereupon innocently, tho' not judiciously, concluding from his own ingenuous Disposition, that the same powerful Reasons would work the same Effects upon Dionysius, he made it his Business, and at length obtained the Favour of him at a leisure Hour to admit and hear Plato. At their meeting, the Subject-matter of their Discourse in general was Virtue, but more particularly they disputed concerning Fortitude, which Plato proved Tyrants, of all Men, had the least pretence to; and thence proceeding to treat of Justice, he asserted the happy Estate of the Just, and the miserable Condition of the Unjust. Here the King, touched to the quick, and not able to answer his Arguments, would not endure to hear him out, being highly displeased with the rest of the Auditors there present, who with Wonder and Delight had listened to his Discourses. At length, exceedingly exasperated, he asked the Philosopher in a great Rage, what Business he had in Sicily? to which Plato answered, I came hither to seek an honest Man: It seems then, replied Dionysius you have lost your Labour. Dion conceiving that the King's Displeasure would not rest there, but might possibly be attended with more fatal Consequences, at Plato's Request conveyed him suddenly Aboard a Galley, the Captain whereof was named Pollis, a Lacademonian, bound for Greece; but Dionysius privately pressed Pollis by all means to kill Plato in the Voyage, or at least to sell him for a Slave. For, said he, it will be doing Him no Injury, since according to his own Maxims, being a just Man, he will be as happy in a state of Slavery as he can be in a free Condition. Pollis therefore, as it is reported, carried Plato to Ægina, and there sold him to the Ægineters, who
who were then at War with Athens, and had made a Decree, That whatever Athenian was taken on their Coasts, should forthwith be exposed to Sale. Notwithstanding all This Dion was in no less Favour and Credit with Dionysius than formerly, but was entrusted with the most considerable Employments, and sent on an Honourable Embassage to Carthage.

This Voyage served very much to raise his Credit and Reputation, and gave him still a greater share in the Friendship and Confidence of Dionysius, insomuch that the Tyrant bore very patiently the Liberty he took with him, allowing him to speak his Mind freely, and without any Reserve. Of this we have an instance in the smart Repartee he one day gave Dionysius, who ridiculing Gelo's Government, and alluding to his Name, said, Gelo was [ geilus] the Laughing-stock of Sicily; while Others seemed to admire and applaud the Quibble, Dion very warmly replied, Sir, you got the Crown, (1) by being trusted for Gelo's sake; but for your sake no Man will ever be trusted hereafter; for indeed Gelo made it appear, that Monarchy was the best of Governments, and You have convinced us that it is the worst.

Dionysius had three Children by Doris, and Four by Aristomache, Two of which were Daughters named Sophrosyne and Arete. Sophrosyne was married to his eldest Son Dionysius, whom he had by Doris the Lorician, and Arete to his Brother Thearides; after whose Death, Dion took his Neice Arete to Wife. Now when Dionysius was sick, and like to die, (2) Dion endeavoured to discourse with him

(1) The Syracusians were so charmed with Gelo's Probity and Justice that they were easily disposed to submit to Dionysius in hopes of being governed by a just and gracious Monarch, which indeed is the most desirable and perfect of all Governments.

(2) Dion's design was to prevail with him to prefer his Children by Aristomache, who was a Syracusan by Birth, to Those by Doris.
him in behalf of the Children he had by Aristo-
machus; but the Physicians, designing thereby to
ingratiate themselves with the next Successor, were
too quick for him; for, as Timaeus reports, the Prince
having demanded something to make him sleep,
they prepared for him so strong a Dose that it soon
deprived him of his Senses, and made him sleep
his last.

Immediately upon the Death of his Father the
young Dionysius summoned a Council, consisting of
his Friends, and Such as he thought were most in
his Interest. There Dion discoursed so well upon
the present Exigency and State of Affairs, that he
made all the rest appear in their Politicks but young
Statesmen; and in their Votes, rather Slaves than
Counsellors, who timorously and disingenuously
advised what would best please the young King,
rather than advance his Interest. But That which
startled them most, was the Proposal he made to
avert the imminent Danger they feared of a War
with the Carthaginians, undertaking to fail immedi-
ately over into Africa, and if the King desired it,
to conclude a Peace upon honourable Terms; but if he rather inclined to War, that he would fit
out and maintain at his own proper Cost and
Charges fifty Gallies, ready for the Service. Dio-
nyius admired his Gallantry, and received the
Frankness of his Offer with great Satisfaction. But
the other Courtiers, thinking this Generosity re-
lected upon Them, and jealous of being lessened
by his growing Greatness, from thence took all
Occasions by private Insinuations and Slanders to
render him obnoxious to the King's Displeasure;
as if he designd by his Power at Sea to surprize
the Government, and by the help of those Naval
Dories who was a Foreigner; al-| of a Stranger. Besides Aristama-
ledging that the Children of a che's Sons were his own Ne-
Native were preferable to Those phews, and Brothers-in-law.

Forces
Forces confer the supreme Authority upon his Sister Aristomache's Children. But indeed the most apparent and prime Cause of their invidious and malicious Proceedings against him, was his Reservedness in Conversation, and Singularity in his way of living; for they who had from the beginning by Flatteries and all manner of unworthy Artifices intimated themselves into the Favour and Familiarity of the Prince, youthful and voluptuously bred, were wholly subservient to his Pleasures; and sought how to entertain him daily with new Amours, and such idle and extravagant Employ, as Wine, Women, and other lewd Diversions: By which means the Tyranny, like Iron softened in the Fire, seemed to the Subject to be more moderate and gentle, and to abate somewhat of its extreme Severity; the Edge thereof being blunted, not by the Clemency, but rather the Sloth and Degeneracy of the young King; whose Dissoluteness gaining Ground daily, and growing upon him, soon weakened and broke those Adamantine Chains, with which his Father Dionysus said he had left the Monarchy fastned and secured. It is reported of him, that having begun a drunken Debauch, he continued it ninety Days without Intermission; in all which time no grave Man appeared, no serious Discourse was heard at Court, but Drinking, Singing, Dancing, Buffoonry, and all sorts of licentious Railery reigned there without Controul. Whilst they were thus taken up it may easily be imagined that they could bear any thing rather than the Presence of Dion, who never indulged himself in such Diversions and Youthful Frolicks; (1) for which reason they made

(1) This is the Method commonly taken by Those whose Fathers were Persons of Virtue and Integrity, they attribute to their Virtues the Names of those very Vices, which are oppugnant to them, as has been very well explained.
made his very Virtues the Subject of their Calum-
 mies, and nick-named whatever was remarkable in
 him, Vice: They called his Gravity Pride, his
 Plain-dealing Obitinacy, the good Advice he gave
 was all construed Reprimand; and he was censured
 for neglecting and scorning Those whom he would
 not accompany in their Misdemeanours. And to
 say the Truth, he was naturally of a haughty Hu-
mour, austere, reserved, and unsociable in Conver-
sation, which made his Company unpleasant and
 disagreeable, not only to the young King, who de-
 lighted in none but his smooth-tongued Courtiers
 and Parasites, but many also of Dion's intimate
 Friends, tho' they well approved the Integrity and
 Generosity of his Temper, yet justly blamed his
 surly Carriage, as favouring too much of an un-
couth and starched Humour, and wanting some-
thing of Address and due Civility in the Reception
 of Those who applied themselves to him; of which
 Plato afterwards wrote to him, and (as it were pro-
phetically) advised him carefully to avoid a surly
 Demeanour, unless he intended to be abandoned by
 all Society, and live alone by Himself.

Now, tho' Dion, by reason of the present State
 of Affairs was very considerable and in great
 Esteem, as being the only Stay and Prop of the
 Government, which was in a tottering and unsafe
 Condition; yet he well understood that he owed
 not his Greatness to the King's Kindness, but to
 the Necessity of his Concerns; and supposing the
 prime Cause of This to be his Ignorance and want
 of Education, he endeavoured to induce him into
 a Course of ingenious Studies, and acquaint him

explained by Horace, Sat. iii.

\[\text{As nos virtutes ipsas invertere.}\]

That which follows perfectly

agrees with this Passage in Pla-
such, and convinces us that

Scandal and Detraction abound

no where so much as in the

Courts of Princes.
DION.

With the Precepts of Morality; thereby hoping to take off the Aversion he had to Virtue, and by Degrees inure him to a Complacency in performing good and laudable Actions. Dionysius in his own Nature was not the worst of Princes, but his Father fearing that if he should come to understand himself better, and converse with wise and learned Men, he might complot against him, and dispossess him of his Kingdom, (1) kept him in a close Confinement to his Lodgings; where, for want of other Company, and ignorant how to spend his time better, he busied himself in making little Chariots, Candlesticks, Joint-Stools, Tables, and the like wooden Implements. For his Father, Dionysius the First, was so diffident and suspicious of all Mankind, and withal so wretchedly fearful, that he would not suffer a Barber to trim him with Razor or Scissors, but made one of his Artificers with a live Coal-tear off his excellent Hair. Neither were his Brother or his Son allowed to come into his Apartment in the Habit they wore, but They, as all Others, were stript to their Skins by some of the Guard, and put on other Cloaths before they were admitted into the Presence. When on a time his Brother Leptines was explaining the Situation of a Place, and took a Javelin from one of the Guard to describe the Plot, he was highly incensed at him, and caused the Soldier that delivered him the Weapon to be put to Death. He declared the more judicious his Friends were, the more he suspected them; because he knew, that were it in their choice, they would rather command than be

(1) This is the necessary Policy, and Caution of Tyrants: being perfect Strangers to all Humanity, so are they likewise to all Sentiments of Nature; their Fear, and Ignorance together, give them an utter Aversion to all liberal Education, not only in their Subjects, but their very Children, of whom they are more jealous than of their Subjects.
The LIFE of

subject to a Superior; he slew Marsyas, one of his Captains, whom he had preferred to a considerable Command, for dreaming that he killed him; supposing that it was not a roving Fancy, but a previous Thought and resolved Design, which had formed that Idea in his Imagination; so timorous was he, so miserable a Slave to his Fear, yet very angry with Plato, because he would not allow him to be the valiantest Man alive.

Dion (as we said before) seeing Dionysius the Son defective in his Understandings, and irregular in his Manners, for want of good Education, advised him to set to Study; persuading him earnestly to entreat Plato, the greatest Philosopher in the World, to come into Sicily; and when he came, to commit himself to his Direction and Advice, by whose Instructions he might learn to lead a virtuous Life, and be conformable to the glorious Idea of that Divine Essence, whose wife Conduct all things obey, and which out of Confusion formed the beautiful Order of the Univerfe; by which Means he would procure great Happiness to Himself and all his Subjects; who, obliged by his Justice and Moderation, would then willingly pay him Obedience as their Father, which now grudgingly, and upon Necessity, they are forced to yield him as their Lord. For Fear and Force, said he, a great Navy and standing Armies, are not (as your Father said) the Adamantine Chains which secure the Regal Power, but the Love and Affection of Subjects to their Prince, endeared to him by his Clemency and Justice; which, tho' they seem more pliant than the stiff and hard Bonds of Severity, are nevertheless the strongest and most durable Ties to fix and establish a settled and lasting Empire: Moreover, it is mean and dishonourable that a Prince, glorious in his Equipage, and splendid in the Galantry and Magnificence of his Court, should not at all excel a Peasant in Discourse and Conversation.
DION.

Persuasion, nor have his Princecy Mind accomplished, as well as his Body adorned, according to his Royal Dignity.

Dion frequently entertaining the King upon this Subject, and as Occasion offered repeating some of the Philosophers learned Arguments, Dionysius grew impatiently desirous to have Plato's Company, and to hear him discourse: Forthwith therefore he sent divers Letters to him to Athens, to which Dion added His Entreaties; also several Philosophers of the Pythagorean Sect from Italy persuaded him to come and manage the pliable Youth of the King, and by his grave and serious Advice restrain the unstable and defultory Efforts of his new-acquired Power and Grandeur. Plato (as he says himself) being ashamed to seem busie only in Words, and slothful in Action, hoping withal, that if he could work a Cure upon one Man, the Head and Guide of the rest, he might remedy the Distempers of the whole Kingdom of Sicily, yielded to their Requests.

But Dion's Enemies fearing an Alteration in Dionysius, persuaded him to recall from Banishment one Philisius, a Learned Man indeed, but very skilful in Tyrannical Policy, whom they designed to set in Opposition to Plato and His Philosophy. For Philisius from the Beginning was a great Instrument to promote the Tyranny, and being Governor of the Castle, kept it a long time for that Faction. There was a Report, that he had to do with the Mother of Dionysius the First, and that he was not altogether ignorant of it. But Leptines, having two Daughters by a married Woman whom he had debauched, gave one of them in Marriage to Philisius, without acquainting the King, who being enraged, put Leptines's Mistress in Prison, and banished Philisius, who thereupon fled to some of his Friends at Adria, in which Retirement and
Leisure it is probable (1) he composed the greatest part of his History; for he returned not into his Country during the Reign of that Dionysius.

But after his Death, as is before related, Dion's Enemies occasioned him to be recalled home, as fitter for their Purpose, and a firm Friend to the arbitrary Government, which he immediately upon his Return endeavoured to abett; and at the same time divers Calumnies and Accusations against Dion were by Others brought to the King; as that he held Correspondence with Theodotes and Haraclides, to subvert the Monarchy: For indeed it is likely he had Hopes by the coming of Plato to take off the unlimited Power of Dionysius, and make him moderate and equitable in his Authority; but if he continued averse to That, and were not to be reclaimed, he resolved to depose him, and restore the Common-wealth to the Syracusians; not that he approved a Democracy or Popular Government, but thought it preferrable to a Tyranny, when a good Aristocracy or Regency of the Grandees could not be procured.

This was the State of Affairs when Plato came into Sicily. At his first Arrival he was received with wonderful Demonstrations of Kindness and Respect; for one of the King's richest Chariots waited upon him when he came on Shore. Dio-

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(1) This Philistus was not only a Person of singular Knowledge in Martial Affairs, but he was likewise a great Historian. He composed the History of Ægypt in twelve Books, That of Sicily in as many, and That of Dionysius the Tyrant in six. Cicero runs out so far in his Commendation as to say he was almost Thucydides, the least, penus pusillus Thucydides, by which he meant that he was a studious Imitator of him, and came not far behind him. It is true he never could arrive at the Dignity of Style in Thucydides, but he made amends for that Defect by his Perspicuity. That which he was most to be blamed for was his zealous Attachment to Tyranny.
DIONYSUS himself sacrificed to the gods in thankful acknowledgment for the great happiness they had by the arrival of that philosopher conferred on his kingdom. The citizens also entertained marvelous hopes of a speedy and thorough reformation: for that at court they observed a modest decorum in their feasting, a grave composure in their behaviour, and the king himself returned kind and obliging answers to all petitions and causes that were brought before him. Men were generally grown very desirous of learning, and eagerly intent upon the study of philosophy; inasmuch that all the apartments in the court itself were like so many schools of geometricians full of the dust which those students make use of to describe their mathematical figures, and so general was the thirst after learning and knowledge.

Not long after, at a solemn sacrifice in the castle, according to the custom of the country, when the priest, as he was wont, prayed for the long continuance of the present government: Dionysus standing by, was heard to say, What, will you never leave off cursing me? This sensibly vexed Philistus and his party, who conjectured, That if Plato by so little acquaintance had thus transformed and altered the young king's mind, consequent-ly by longer converse, and greater intimacy, he would get such power and authority, that it would be impossible to withstand him. They did therefore no longer privately and apart, but jointly and in publick all of them rail at Dion; noising it abroad, that he manifestly charmed and bewitched Dionysus by Plato's sophistry; to the end, that when he was persuaded voluntarily to part with the regency, and throw off his authority; Dion might take it up, and settle it upon his sister Aristomache's children. Others seemed to take it in great scorn, that the Athenians, who formerly arrive...
arrived in Sicily with a great Fleet, and numerous Land-Army, but were routed and beaten off with great Loss, without being able so much as to take the City of Syracuse; should now by means of one Sophister, overturn the whole Empire of Dionysius; inveagling him to cashier his Guard of ten thousand Lances, dismiss a Navy of four hundred Galleys, disband an Army of ten thousand Horse, and treble the number of Foot, and go seek in the Schools an unknown and imaginary Bliss, and learn from the Academy how to be happy; while in the mean time he resigned the substantial Enjoyments of absolute Power, Riches and Pleasure to Dion and his Sister's Children.

By these means at first Dion incurred the King's Suspicion, and by degrees his apparent Displeasure and Aversion. A Letter also was intercepted, which Dion had writ to the Carthaginian Agents, advising them, that when they treated with Dionysius concerning a Peace, they should not come to their Audience, unless he were there; and then he would effectually dispatch their Business according to their Minds. When Dionysius had shewed this to Philus, and, as Timaeus relates, consulted with Him about it, he over-reached Dion by a feigned Reconciliation, fairly pretending to receive him again to his Favour; but leading him alone one Day to the Seaside, under the Castle Wall, he shewed him the Letter, and taxed him with Conspiring with the Carthaginians against him; when Dion essayed to offer something in his own Defence, Dionysius refused to hear him, and immediately forced him Aboard a Vessel, which lay there for that purpose, and commanded the Sailors to set him ashore on the Coast of Italy, and there leave him.

When This was publicly known, all Men thought it very hard Usage, and a great piece of Cruelty. The Ladies also in the Court mightily lamented
lamented Dion. But the Citizens of Syracuse encour- 
egaged themselves, expecting that for His sake 
some Insurrection would ensue; which together 
with the Mistrust Others would have of the King, 
upon this account, might occasion new Measures, 
and an Alteration in the State; which Dionysius 
perceiving, and being very much concerned at, 
he endeavoured to pacifie the Women, and Others 
of Dion's Friends and Relations; assuring them, 
that he had not banished, but only sent him out 
of the way for a time, fearing that if he continued 
there present upon the Place, Passion might pre- 
vail upon him to punish his Obstinacy with greater 
Severity. At the same time he allowed his Friends 
two Ships, and gave them Liberty to load on 
board all his Wealth, and rich Furniture, and 
transport it to him in Peloponnesus. For Dion was 
immenely rich, and little inferior to the King him- 
self in the Splendor and Furniture of his House, 
which his Friends packed up and conveyed to him; 
besides many rich Presents, which were sent him 
by the Ladies and Others of his Acquaintance. In- 
somuch that the abundance of his Wealth and 
Treasure gained him great Honour and Regard a-
mong the Gracians; and this Opulence, and Gran- 
dure of a Person who at the best was but a Sub- 
ject, and was now an Exile, gave them a Specimen 
of the unlimited Power and Magnificence of the 
Tyrant.

As soon as Dion was packed off the Tyrant re- 
moved Plato into the Castle, designing under co- 
our of an honourable and kind Reception, to set 
Guard upon him, lest he should follow Dion, and 
declare to the World in his Behalf, how injuriously 
he had been dealt with. But now Time and Con- 
versation (as wild Beasts by use grow tame and 
tractable) brought Dionysius to endure Plato's Com- 
pany and Discourse; so that he began to love the
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Philosopher, but with such an Affection, as had something of the Tyrant in it, requiring of Plato, that he should, in return of his Kindness, love Him only, and admire Him above all other Men, being ready to permit to his Care the chief Management of Affairs, and even the Government too, upon Condition that he would not prefer Dion's Friendship before His. This extravagant Affection was a great Trouble to Plato; for it was accompanied with petulant and jealous Humours, like the fond Passions of Those who are desperately in Love, frequently falling out with him, and presenty entreaty to be Friends again; for now he was beyond measure desirous to be Plato's Scholar, and to proceed in the Study of Philosophy; yet he seemed still to have some regret, and to be ashamed of himself to Those who endeavoured to pervert him from this Design, as if he were grown degenerate, and like to be spoiled and undone.

But a War about this time breaking out, he was obliged to send Plato away; but promised him before his Departure to recall Dion the next Summer: tho' in this he was not so good as his Word, nevertheless he remitted to him the Proceeds of his Revenues; desiring Plato to excuse him for the prefixed time, by reason of the War; but as soon as he had settled a Peace, he would immediately send for him, requiring him in the Interim to be quiet, and not raise any Disturbance, nor speak anything ill of him among the Grecians. This Plato endeavoured to effect, by keeping Dion with him in the Academy, and busying him in his Philosophical Studies.

Dion sojourned in the City with Calippus, one of his Acquaintance; but for his Diversion, he bought a Seat in the Country, which afterwards, when he went into Sicily, he gave to Specippus, the
the most familiar Companion he had of all his Friends at Athens; Plato designing by Specipus's pleasant Conversation, full of seasonable and witty Mirth, to sweeten and divert Dion's austere and melancholy Temper; for Specipus was a very ingenuous and merry Droll, as Timon, in his Satyr, calls him.

Whilst Dion was residing at Athens it happened to be Plato's turn to exhibit the juvenile Shews, and Dion taking upon him the ordering and management thereof, defrayed the whole Expense at his own Charge; Plato giving him this Opportunity to oblige the Athenians, which was like to procure his Friend more Kindness than Credit to Himself. Dion went also to see several other Cities, and was entertained in their Publick Assemblies by those of the best Quality and Understanding in State Affairs; betraying nothing in his Conversation either rude or unbecoming; neither taking too much State upon him, nor too easily condescending; but in all his Behaviour he shewed a great deal of Modesty, Generosity, and Manly Bravery: And in his Philosophical and Political Discourses, no less Skill and Learning; by which means he gained the Love and Respect of all Men, and in many Cities had publick Honours decreed him; the Lacedemonians making him a Citizen of Sparta, without regard to the Displeasure of Dioclesius; tho' at that time he aided them in their Wars against the Thebans.

It is reported, that Dion, upon an Invitation, went to the House of Ptoodorus, the Megaritian, who was a very Potent and Wealthy Man; and when by reason of the great Concourse of People about his Doors, who waited for the dispatch of Business, his Access was troublesome and difficult, turning about to his Friends, who seemed concerned and angry at it, What reason, said he, have...
We to blame Ptoleodorus, who our selves used our Vis-
tants no better when we were at SyracuSe?

Soon after, Dionysius envying Dion, and withal
jealous of the Favour and Interest he had among
the Gracians, put a stop upon his Incomes; and
no longer sent him his Revenues, making his own
Commissioners Trustees of the Estate; but endeav-
youring to obviate the Ill-will and Discredit,
which upon Plato's account might accrue to him
among the Philosophers, he got into his Court
Many who were reputed Men of Learning; and
ambitiously desiring to surpass them all in their De-
bates, he was forced (tho' sometimes very imper-
tinently) to make use of what he had occasionally
learnt from Plato, and now wished for his Com-
pany again, repenting he had not made better use
of it when he had it, and given no greater heed to
his excellent Precepts and Discourses: Like a Ty-
rant therefore, inconsiderate in his Desires, heady
and violent in his Passions, on a sudden he was
eagerly bent on the Design of recalling him, and
left no Stone unturned, but prevailed with Archy-
tas and the other Pythagorean Philosophers to stand
obliged for the Performances of his Promises, and
to persuade him to return into Sicily, (1) for it was
Plato who first brought them acquainted with Dion-
yius, and established the Right of Hospitality be-
tween them.

These Philosophers sent Archidemus in their Be-
half to Plato, and at the same time Dionysius sent
some Gallies, and several of his Friends to impor-
tune him to comply with his Request. He like-
wise wrote to him Himself, telling him in plain

(1) This Plato Himself tells us
in his seventh Letter. For before
I left him I had introduced Ar-
chytas, and the other Philosophers
of Tarentum into the Acquain-
tance and Friendship of that Prince,
and established the Right of, Hospi-
tality between them. ξενίας ἡ ἐφιάκας, &c.

Terms,
DION.

Terms, that Dion must never look for any Favour or Kindness, if Plato would not be prevailed with to come into Sicily; but upon his Arrival he might then be assured of whatever he desired. Dion also was much solicited by his Sitter and his Wife to oblige Plato to gratifie Dionysius in this Request, and pretend no Excuse to the contrary. So that, as Plato says of himself, he set Sail the third time for Sicily,

(1) Daring once more the terrible Charybdis.

This Arrival brought great Joy to Dionysius, and no less Hopes to the Sicilians, who were as earnest in their Wishes, as studious in their Endeavours, that Plato might get the better of Philistus, and Philosophy triumph over Tyranny. Neither was he unfriended by the Ladies, who upon all Occasions studied to oblige him; but he had from Dionysius that peculiar Credit, which no Man else ever obtained, to that degree of confiding, that he might come into his Presence without being examined or searched. When the King offered him a very considerable Sum of Money, and repeated the tender of his Bounty, but Plato still

(1) This is a Verse in the twelfth Book of Homer's Odyssey.

"Οφρυὶς τὴν ἐλοιν ἀναμετροῦσαίμας Χάρυβδιν,

which word for word is

Once more to meet the terrible Charybdis.

and thus the Verse stands quoted by Plato in his Seventh Letter. Plutarch has changed a Word, and instead of ἀναμετροῦσαίμας he has it ἐξολοθρεύσεις. The question is what the Meaning can be of that Word, which has puzzled the Interpreters. I am of Opinion Plutarch has made use of it to signify that this third Voyage of Plato into Sicily was the Cause of the Tyrant's Destruction; or rather that Plato went a third time to engage, and endeavour to exterminate in Dionysius the Charybdis, that is the Monster, the Tyrant, by converting him, and rendring him a Prince full of Justice and Benignity. This Sense seems to be confirmed by what followeth, that Philosophy might triumph over Tyranny.

refused
refused to accept it, Arisippus the Cyrenian, then present, said, That Dionysius was liberal without danger of hurting his Treasury; for to Those who wanted much he gave very little, and offered a great deal to Plato, because he received nothing.

After the first Compliments of Kindness were over, when Plato began to discourse of Dion, he was at first diverted by Dilatory Excuses, which soon after begat Feuds and Diliguits, tho' as yet not publickly taken notice of; 'Dionysius endeavouring all he could to conceal them; and by other Civilities and honourable Usage to draw him off from his Kindness to Dion. Plato for some time did not divulge this perfidious Dealing, and Breach of Promise, but bore with it, and dissembled his Resentment. While Matters stood thus betwixt them, and as they thought they were unobserved and undiscovered, Helicon the Cyzicinian, one of Plato's Followers, for told an Eclipse of the Sun, which happened according to his Prediction: For which he was much admired by the King, and rewarded with a Talent of Silver. Arisippus, drolling with some others of the Philosophers, told them, He also had something extraordinary to Prognosticate; which they entreating him to declare, I foretell, said he, that Dionysius and Plato will in a very little time fall out.

At length Dionysius made Sale of Dion's Estate, converted the Money to his own Use, and removed Plato from an Apartment he had in the Gardens of the Palace, to Lodgings near Those of the Guards he kept in Pay, who bore Plato an old Grudge, and sought Opportunity to make him away; supposing he advised Dionysius to lay down the Government, and disband his Soldiers. When Archytas understood the Danger Plato was in, he immediately sent a Galley with Messengers, to demand him of Dionysius, alledging, that he stood engaged...
DION.

for his Safety, upon the Confidence of which Plato came for Sicily. Dionysius, to palliate his secret Hatred, before Plato departed, treated him with great Entertainments and all seeming Demonstrations of Kindness; but could not forbear breaking out one Day into such an Expression as This; No doubt Plato, when you are at home among the Philosophers, your Companions, you will complain of Me, and reckon up a great many of my Faults. To which Plato smiling return’d, Answer, I hope, Sir, we shall never be so put to it in the Academy, for want of Subjects to discourse of, as to talk of You. Thus, they say, Plato was dismissed; but his own Writings do not altogether agree with this Relation.

Dion was very angry at This, and not long after declared himself an open Enemy to Dionysius, having received some Intelligence concerning his Wife, about which Plato by Letters had held a Correspondence with Dionysius; now thus it was. After Dion’s Banishment, Dionysius sending back Plato, desired him to ask Dion privately, if he would be against his Wife’s marrying another Man: (For there went a Report, whether true, or raised by Dion’s Enemies, was uncertain, that his matrimonial State was not agreeable to him, and that there was a Coolness, and Indifference between Him, and Areta.) Wherefore when Plato came to Athens, and had discoursed the matter with Dion, he wrote a Letter to Dionysius in which he expressed every thing else plainly and intelligibly; but this Affair in covert and obscure Terms, that none else but He might understand it; signifying therein, that he had talked with Dion about the Business, and that it was evident, he would highly resent the Affront, if Dionysius should attempt any such Thing. At that Time therefore, while there were yet any Hopes of an Accommodation, he altered nothing in his Sister’s Concerns, suffering her to live with Dion’s
The LIFE of Dion's Son; but when Things were come to that Pass, that no Reconciliation could be expected, and that Plato, after his second Return, was again sent away in Displeasure, he then forced Arete against her Will to marry Timocrates, one of his Favourites; in this Action coming short, even of his Father's Justice and Lenity. For when Philoxenus, who had married his Sister Thespe, being in Disgrace, and his declared Enemy, for fear had fled and left Sicily, he sent for his Sister, and taxed her, that being privy to her Husband's Flight, she had not declared it to Him: But the Lady, confident and fearless, made him this Reply: Do you believe me, Brother, so bad a Wife, or so timorous a Woman, that having known my Husband's Flight, I would not have born him Company, and feared the worst of his Fortunes. Alas! I was ignorant of it; for better had it been for me, and more honourable, to be called the Wife of the Exile Philoxenus, than the Sister of the Tyrant Dionysius. 'Tis said, the King admired her ready and confident Answer; the Syracusans also honoured her for her Bravery; insomuch, that she retained her Dignity and Princely Retinue after the Dissolution of the Tyranny; and when she died, the Citizens, by publick Decree, attended the Solemnity of her Funeral. 'Tho' this be a Digression from the present Purpose, it is not altogether an useless Remark.

From this time Dion set his Mind wholly upon a War, tho' Plato endeavoured to dissuade him from it, in regard to the hospitable Entertainment he had received from Dionysius; and also considering the advanced Age of Dion! But Speucippus and the rest of his Friends assisted and encouraged him to undertake the Deliverance of Sicily, which in humble manner, with Hands lifted up, seemed to implore his Help, and stood with open Arms impatient to receive him. For during Plato's Sojourn at
at Syracuse, Spesippus being oftener than He in Company with the Citizens, thoroughly understood how they were inclined; at first he was shy of them, and suspected they were set on by the King to trapan him; but at length he gave Ear and Credit to what they said. They generally agreed in their Wishes and Prayers, that Dion would undertake the Design, and come, tho' without either Navy, Men, Horse, or Arms: That he would put himself aboard a Ship, and lend the Sicilians only, his Person and Name against Dionysius. This Information from Spesippus encouraged Dion, who, that he might the better conceal his Design, employed his Friends privately, to raise what Men they could. Many great Statesmen and Philosophers were assisting to him, among whom was Cyprus Endermus, (on whose Death Aristotele wrote his Dialogue of the Soul) and Timonides, the Loucadian; they also engaged on his side Miltas the Thessalian, (1) who was skilful in foretelling Events, and his Fellow-Student in the Academy: Of all that were banished by Dionysius, who were not fewer than a thousand, five and twenty only lifted themselves, the rest for fear declining the Undertaking. The general Rendezvous was in the Island Zacynthus, whither they marched a small Army, (2) being not in all eight hundred compleat.

(1) These Divines or Conjurers had a great Share in all Enterprizes of Consequence, so that there was hardly ever any Expedition without one of them. He was considered as a necessary Member, and an Instrument very fit to conduct and animate the Adventurers. There was nothing to be done without such a Miltas.

(2) This Circumstance is something extraordinary, and I do not know of a like Instance in History, where a Man at the Head only of eight hundred Soldiers, and with two Ships, undertook to attack such a Force as was That of Dionysius. I cannot but insert on this Occasion a Reflection of Diodorus, which seems very useful for Princes, and all such as are placed at the Head of Affairs. Who would ever have thought, saith he, (lib. xvi.) that a Person with two Traps-
pleat; but all of them experienced Men, who had signalized themselves in many and great Engagements; well-disciplined and intrepid to Hardship; and for Courage and Conduct; the very Flower of all the Soldiery; and such as by their Example would animate and encourage to Action the numerous Forces Dion hoped to have in Sicily. Yet these Men, when they first understood the Expedition was against Dionysius, were troubled and disheartened, blaming Dion; that hurried on like a mad Man by his Passion and Despair, he rashly threw both Himself and Them into certain Ruin: Nor were they less angry with their Commanders and Muster-masters, that They did not in the Beginning let them know the Design of the War. But when he had in an Oration set forth the unsafe and weak Condition of Arbitrary Government; and declared that he carried them rather for Commanders than Soldiers; the Citizens of Syracuse, and the rest of the Sicilians, having been long ready for a Revolt: And when Alcimenes, a Great

Transport only should get the better of a Prince, who had at his Command four hundred Men of War, a hundred thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, Stores of Ammunition, and Provision in preparation, and such a Profusion of Treasure, as was abundantly sufficient for the Maintenance of such numerous Forces: Who besides all this had in his Possession one of the most potent Cities in Greece, where he was Master of Havens, Arsenals, and Citadels that were impregnable, and was moreover strengthened with the strongest Alliances? The sole Cause of Dion’s unparalleled Success was in the first Place his Courage, and Magnanimity joined to the good Will and Affection of Those for the Sake of whose Liberty he was engaged. But what which turned most to his Service was the Unmerit and Efficacy of the Tyrant, and the Disaffection, Hatred, and Contempt of his Subjects; all these Circumstances concurring in the same Infants gloriously produced such an amazing Event, as may by Posterity be thought incredible. Will any one pretend after This, that Force and Power are the adamantine Chains which secure an Empire, as Dionysius the Elder vainly imagined? The only true and indissoluble Chains of Admiration, are Justice, Munificence and Humanity in the Prince, and Those which never fails to Flow from them, Love and Affection in the Subject.
Nobleman of great Quality and Reputation, who accompanied him in the Expedition, had arranged them to the same Effect, they were quiet and contented.

It was now the midst of Summer, and the Winds called (1) Etesian then prevailed, the Moon being at the full, when Dion prepared a magnificent Sacrifice to Apollo, and with great Solemnity marched his Soldiers to the Temple in all their Arms and Accoutrements; after the Sacrifice he feasted them all in the Publick Cirque or Place of Exercise of the Zacynthians, where he had made Provision for their Entertainment, there seeing with Wonder the Plenty and Richness of Gold and Silver Plate, and the Tables furnished in an extraordinary manner, far exceeding the Fortunes of a private Man, they concluded with themselves, that one of his Age, and Master of so much Treasure, would not engage himself in so hazardous an Enterprise, without good Assurance of Hope, and certain and sufficient Supplies from his Friends. As they were offering Wine to the Gods, and performing their customary Devotions, the Moon was eclipsed, which was no Wonder to Dion, who understood the Revolutions of Eclipses, and how the Moon was over-shadowed by the direct Interposition of the Earth between Her and the Sun: But because it was necessary that the Soldiers should be satisfied and encouraged, who were surprized and troubled at it, Miltas the Diviner standing up in the midst of the Assembly, bid them be of good Cheer, and expect all happy Success, for that the

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(1) The Etesian were like what we call the Trade Winds, and blew from certain Points at certain Seasons of the Year. According to Strabo, they were sometimes the North, and sometimes the East Winds; for having in his third Book called them Eurus, he calls them Boreas in his seventeenth. Here without doubt they are to be taken for the East, Eurus subpellicus, because they conveyed Dion, from the Isle of Zacynthus to Naxos.
The L I F E of

Gods did foretell something, that was at present glorious and resplendent should be eclipsed and obscured. Now, nothing, said he, can be more resplendent than the Grandeur of Dionysius, which however will immediately be extinguished upon your Arrival in Sicily. Thus Miltas in publick descanted upon the Accident: (1) But when a Swarm of Bees had settled on the Poop of Dion’s Ship, he privately told Him and his Friends, that he feared the Actions they were like to perform, tho’ in themselves great and glorious, yet (2) would they be but of a short Continuance, and after a sudden and surprizing Blaze would in a Moment be eclipsed, and fall into Decay. It is reported also, that many ill Prodigies hapned to Dionysius at that time. An Eagle snatching a Javelin from one of the Guard, carried it aloft, and from thence let it fall into the Sea. The Water of the Sea, that washed the Castle Walls, was for a whole Day sweet and potable, as Many who tasted it experienced. Pigs were farrowed perfect in all their other Parts, but with-

(1) This is an Circumstance, something singular, and remarkable; a Swarm of Bees appearing all on a sudden was considered as an insuspicious Omen. This Superstition did not prevail only in Greece, but the Romans likewise were infected by it, as we learn from Cicero, who in his Oration de Haruspicis respondit, saeund, Si eximem Amum ludus in Scenario venisset, haruspices accipiendo ex Hellas in putaremus. Videimus universi repente examina tanta Servorum immissio in populum Rom. sapientem, aequo inlustram, & non commoverat Arque in aequo forte abs examina nos ex Hellas inurus Haruspices ut a feroio cunvus evasisset momentum, &c. If a Swarm of Bees should come on a sudden, and appear on the Stage during the Exhibition of the Spectacles we should think it high time to send for and consult with the Etrurian Diviners. And now, thee we all beheld with our own Eyes, so many Swarms of Slaves pouring in upon the Roman People pent up close in the Theatre, are we in the least concerned at it? Perhaps those Sages upon examining their Tuscan Directories would from that Swarm of Bees advise us to guard against Slavery, &c.

(2) Why do the Bees foretell an Action or Event of great Shew, and of but little Continuance? Is it because they feed upon Flowers, which are a lively Emblem of whatever is most agreeable, but most transitory?
out Ears. The Diviners declared this to portend a Revolt and Rebellion; for that Subjects would no longer give Ear to the Commands of their Superiors. They expounded the Sweetness of the Water to signify to the Syracusians a Change from bad and woful Times into better and more happy Circumstances. The Eagle being the Bird of Jupiter, and the Spear an Emblem of Power and Command; This Prodigy was to denote, that Jupiter, the chief of the Gods, designed the Destruction and Difolution of the present Government. These things are related by Theopompos in his History.

Dio's Soldiers were embarked on board of two Transports, which were tended by a Third somewhat less, and two Gallies of thirty Oars. Besides his Soldiers Arms, he carried two thousand Shields, a very great number of Darts and Lances, and abundant Stores of all manner of Provisions, that there might be no want of any thing in their Voyage; because they resolved to keep out at Sea, and play in the Main, fearing to come near the Shoar, upon Advice that Philistus rode at Anchor in the Bay of Apulia with a Fleet ready to intercept them. Twelve Days they sailed with a fresh and gentle Gale; the thirteenth they made Pachinus, a Fore-land of Sicily: There the chief Pilot advised them to land presently; for if they were forced again from Shoar, and doubled the Cape, they might run the Risk of being tossed up and down for many days together (1) in Expectation of a Southerly Wind in that Summer Seafon. But Dio fear-

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(1) For he told us just before that the Eolian Winds then prevailed, which very Winds had brought them to the Cape, and if once they got at any considerable Distance beyond it they would not be able to make Sicily without a Southerly Wind, which was not usual in that Seafon.
ing a Descent too near his Enemies, and desirous to 
land at greater distance, and further up in the 
Country, weathered the Cape. They had not sail-
ed long, before the Wind shifted to the Nore, and 
drove them from Sicily. At the same time prodigio-
us Storms of Thunder and Lightning burst the 
Clouds, it being about the rising of Arcturus, and 
were attended with violent Rains, and such tem-
pastuous Weather as put the Mariners at their 
Wits end, so that they were wholly ignorant what 
Course they ran; till on a sudden they found they 
were driven to Cirena, an Island on the Coast of 
Africa, craggy, and full of dangerous Rocks, 
where they narrowly escaped being forced and 
flaved to pieces; but labouring hard at their Oars, 
with much Difficulty they kept clear until the 
Storm ceased. Then lighting by chance on a 
Vessel, they understood they were upon the begin-
ning of the Flats, called the great Syrtis: Being 
now again disheartned by reason of a sudden Calm, 
and beating to and fro without making any Way, 
you had a Southerly Breeze from the Shoir, when 
they least expected the Wind in that Quarter, and 
scarce believed the happy Change of their Fort-
tune. The Gale increasing, and beginning to 
blow fresh, they clapp'd on all their Sails, and 
praying to the Gods, put out again to Sea, steer-
ing to rights for Sicily from the Coast of Africa; 
and running steady before the Wind, the fifth Day 
they arrived at Milnea, a little Town of Sicily, in 
the Possession of the Carthaginians, of which, Sy-
nalus, an Acquaintance and Friend of Dion, hap-
pended at that time to be Governour; who not 
knowing it to be Dion and his Fleet, endeavoured 
to hinder his Men from landing; but they 
made their Descent with their Swords in their 
Hands, without slaying any of their Opponents, 
(for That Dion had strictly forbidden them, because 
of
of the kindness he had for the governour) but forced them to retreat; and following close, pressed in a body with them into the place, and took it. As soon as the two Commanders met, they mutually saluted each other; and Dion delivered up the place again to Synalus, without the least damage done to any one therein. Synalus quartered and entertained the soldiers, and supplied Dion with what he wanted. They were very much encouraged by the lucky accident of Dio-
mythus’s absence at that nick of time, for he was lately gone with eighty sail of ships into Italy: Wherefore, when Dion persuaded the soldiers to refresh themselves there, after their tedious and troublesome voyage, they would not be prevailed with, but earnest to make the best use of that opportunity, urged Dion to lead them straight on to the capital. Leaving therefore behind them their baggage, and as many of their arms as were then of no use, to be conveyed to them by Syna-
lus upon occasion, they marched directly to Syr-
cuse.

Two hundred horse of the Agrigentines, who inhabit near Economus, came in and joined him in his march. These were followed by the inhabitants of the city of Gelus, and the news of his approach soon reaching to Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion’s wife, the sister of Dio-
mythus, and was left commander in chief during his absence, immediately dispatched a courier to Dionythus with letters containing an account of Dion’s arrival, while he himself took all possible care to prevent any stir or tumult that might arise in the city, where all were in great suspense; but as yet continued quiet, fearing to give too much credit to what was reported. A very strange accident happened to the messenger who was sent with the letters; for being arrived in 

Ital.,
Italy, as he travelled through the Country of the Bruttii, hastening to Dionysius at Caulonia, he met one of his Acquaintance, (1) who was carrying home some part of a Sacrifice. The Fellow accepted a piece of the Flesh, which his Friend offered him, and proceeded in his Journey with all speed: But having travelled hard a good part of the Night, and being, through weariness, forced to take a little Rest, he laid himself down in the next convenient Place he came to, which was in a Wood near the Road. A Wolf winding the Flesh, came and seized it as it was fastned to the Mail wherein were the Letters directed to Dionysius, and carried away both That, and the Flesh together. The Man awaking, and missing his Packet, sought for it up and down a great while, and not finding it, resolved not to go to the King without his Letters, but to conceal himself, and keep out of the way. Dionysius therefore came to hear of the War in Sicily from other Hands, and that a good while after.

As Dion proceeded in his March, the Camarines joined his Forces, and many of the Territory of Syracuse revolting, came in to him; the Leonines and Campanians, who, with Timocrates, guarded the Epipole, receiving a false Alarm, which was spread on purpose by Dion, as if he intended first to attack their Cities, left Timocrates, and hastened home to take Care of their own Concerns. When this News was brought to Dion, where he lay near Macra, he raised his Camp by Night, and came to the River Anapus, which is distant from the City about ten Furlongs; there he made a Halt, and sacrificed by the River, directing his Devotions to

(1) It was a Piece of Religion as it was for another to receive for a man to carry home to his part of it from him if by Chance Family some Portion of the Victims, which had been sacrificed,
the rising Sun. The Soothsayers declared, That the Gods promised him Victory, and They who were present, seeing him assist at the Sacrifice, with a Garland on his Head, one and all crowned themselves with Garlands. There were about five thousand that joined his Forces in their March; who, tho' but ill provided with such Weapons as came next to Hand, yet by their Briskness and Courage supplied the want of better Arms; and as if Dion were already Conqueror, they ran forward with loud Shouts and Acclamations, encouraging each other by the Hopes of regaining their long-lost Liberty. The most considerable Men, and better sort of the Citizens of Syracuse, clad all in White, met him at the Gates. The Mobile set upon all that were of Dions's Party, and principally searched for those they call Setters or Informers; a Parcel of wicked Atheistical Wretches, who made it their Business to go up and down the City, thrusting themselves into all Companies, that they might inform Dionysius what Men said, and how they stood affected. These Varlets were the first who suffered, being drubb'd and knocked on the Head by the Rabble as they light upon them.

Timocrates, not being able to force his way to the Garrison who kept the Castle, taking Horse, fled out of the City; and by his Flight filled the Places where he came with Fear and Confusion, magnifying all he could Dion's Forces, left he should seem upon a flight Apprehension to have deserted the City. By this time Dion was come up, and appeared in the sight of the People. He marched first in a rich Suit of Armour, having his Brother Megacles on one Hand, and on the other Calippus the Athenian, Both of them crowned with Garlands. He was followed by a hundred foreign Soldiers, all of them Men well made, and appoint-
ed by him for his Body Guard; next to these marched the rest of the Army in a decent regular Order, under the Command of their respective Officers. The Syracusians looked on this martial Caravalcade as a sacred Procession, and Restoration of Liberty, and the Authority of the People after an Eight and Forty Years Exile, and Deprivation.

He was no sooner entered the Menestide Gate but he caused the Trumpets to sound, in order to compose the Tumult, and quiet the People. As soon as Silence was made, a Herald proclaimed, that Dion and Megacles, who were come to abolish the Tyranny, declared the Syracusians and all other Sicilians to be free from Slavery and Arbitrary Power. And being desirous to address himself in a Speech to the People he marched up through that Part of the City called Acbradina. All the way as he passed along the People on each side of the Streets set out their Cupboards and Tables, prepared their Victims, and as he came before the Doors flung Fruit and Flowers upon him, (1) and offered up Prayers to him as to their tutelary Diety.

There was at the Foot of the Castle, and under the Place called Pentappla, (2) a lofty and stately Sun-dial which Dionysius had set up, from the Top of That Dion made an Oration to the People, persuading them to maintain and defend their Li-

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(1) If we compare Dion in that day of universal Joy and Triumph, I do not say with Dionysius in his Reverse of Fortune, but with Dionysius in the full Enjoyment of Arbitrary Power, when all Men submitted servilely to his despotic Will and Pleasure, even in that State we shall find that there is an infinite Difference between a Tyrant, and a just and gracious Prince.

(2) The Phenicians were the First who contrived a Dial in the Isle of Syros before Homer's time. But that Dial served only to denote the Solstices. Three hundred Years after Homer, Pherecydes formed one that described the Hours, after which they became very common.
berty; who, with great Expressions of Joy and Acknowledgment, created Dion and Megacles Lieutenant-Generals, chusing, at their Request and Desire, twenty other of the most considerable Citizens for their Colleagues, of which Number Half consisted of such as had been banished by the Tyrant, and were now restored by Dion.

At first the Soothsayers looked on it as a happy Omen that Dion, when he made his Oration to the People, had under his Feet, as a sign of Subjection, that stately Monument which Dionysius at his own Expense had erected. But because it was a Sun-dial on the which he stood when he was declared General, they expressed some Fears, that the great Actions he had performed might be subject to decline, and admit a sudden change of Fortune.

After this Dion taking the Castle of Epipolē, releast all the Prisoners who lay confined there, and surrounded it with a strong Wall. Seven days after Dionysius arrived from Italy, and entered the Citadel from the Sea. About the same time Dion received the Carriages, with the Arms and Ammunition which he had left with Synalus, and distributed them among the Citizens; the rest that wanted furnished themselves as well as they could, and expressed great Courage and Readiness for the Service. Dionysius sent Agents at first privately to Dion, to try what Terms they could make with him. But he declaring, that what Overtures they had to make must be in publick, the Syracusians being now no longer in Subjection, but at Liberty to manage their own Affairs; They then addressed themselves to the Citizens, with fair Words and specious Promises, assuring them, that they should have Abatements of their Tributes and Taxes, and not be compelled to serve in the Wars, tho' undertaken by their own Approbation and Consent.
Consent. The Syracusians laughed at these Offers, and Dion returned their Answer, That Dionysius must not think to treat with them upon any other Terms, but resigning the Government; which, if he would actually do, he would not forget how nearly he was related to him, or be wanting to assist him in whatever was just and reasonable. Dionysius seemed to consent to This, and sent his Agents again, desiring some of the Syracusians to come into the Citadel, and consult with him for the Good of the Publick, being ready to make fair Propositions, which he believed they could not but yield to, and He was equally willing to accept such as They had to offer Him. Some therefore were deputed, such as Dion approved of, and the general News from the Castle was, That Dionysius would voluntarily resign his Authority, and that he did it out of Choice rather than Compulsion. But This was only a feigned Device, and crafty Trick to amuse the Syracusians; for he imprisoned the Deputies that were sent to him, and the next Morning by Day-break, having distributed Wine among his Mercenaries to encourage them, he ordered them to fall out, and attack the Wall that had been made by Dion. The Alarm being unexpected, and the Action carried on with a great deal of Courage and Resolution by the Barbarians, they broke through the Works, and with loud Shouts assailed the Syracusians to furiously, that they all quitted their Post except Dion's foreign Troops, who taking the Alarm, hastened to their Relief; tho' at first they knew not what to do, nor how to employ the Aid they brought, by reason of the Noise and Tumult of the Syracusians, who in their precipitate Flight pressed in upon them, and put their Ranks in Disorder. Wherefore Dion perceiving that his Orders could not be heard instructed them by his Example, and charged into
the thickest of the Enemy: The Fight near his Person was fierce and bloody; for he being signal
nally known, as well by the Enemy as his own Part,
y they ran with great Noise and Fury to the Quarters where he fought. Tho' by reason of his Age he was unfit for such a brisk Engagement, yet
with great Vigor and Courage he charged all he met, cutting in Pieces several of the Enemy that
withstood him, 'till he was wounded in the Hand
with a Lance; his Armour also being very much
batter'd in this close Fight, and scarce any longer
serviceable, and having many Hurts through his
Shield by the Arrows and Darts, wherewith they
gall'd him at a Distance, at length he fell to the
Ground; but was immediately rescued, and carried
off by his Soldiers. He left the Command to Timonides,
and mounting his Horse, rid about the City, rallied Those that fled, and commanding a
Detachment of the foreign Soldiers out of Acradina,
where he had posted them to guard that Place, he brought them as a fresh Reserve upon
the Enemy, who were tired with the Heat of the Action, and well nigh ready to give over their
Design; for having Hopes at their first Salley to
have retaken the City, when beyond their Expec-
tation they found such brave Resistance, they
retreated into the Castle: As soon as they gave
Ground, the Greek Soldiers pressed hard upon them,
and pursu'd them to the very Walls. There were
lost in this Action of Dion's Men seventy four, and
a very great Number of the Enemy. This being
a signal Victory, and principally obtained by the
Valour of the foreign Soldiers, the Syracusians re-
warded each of them with a hundred Mine, and
the Soldiers themselves presented Dion with a
Crown of Gold.

Soon after this there came Messengers from
Dionysius, bringing Dion Letters from the Ladies
his
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his Relations; and one was superscribed, Hippo-
rians to his Father Dion: This was the Name of
Dion's Son, thro' Timæus says, he was from his Mo-
der the Arête's Name, called Arêteus; but I think
Credit is rather to be given to Timonides's Report,
who was his Fellow-Soldier and Confident. The
rest of the Letters were opened and read in the
Presence of the Syracusians, containing many Sol-
licitations and humble Requests of the Ladies;
but the People out of Respect to Dion not suffer-
ing That which came from his Son to be unsealed,
He instilled upon it, so That Letter likewise was
opened, and read publickly. It proved to be from
Diomytus himself, addressed in Words to Dion, but
in Substance to the Syracusians, being couched in
such artful Terms that under a plausible Juxtaposi-
tion of Himself, and civil Requests to Him, he con-
voyed such a Meaning as might easily serve to make
him suspected to the People. He reminded him
of the good Service he had formerly done to his
Government, and how vigorous an Assister he
had been of the Prerogative. This was accompa-
nied with terrible Menaces against Those who
were most dear to him, against his Sister, his Son,
and his Wife; conjuring him in the most passion-
ate and moving Expressions to have regard to their
Safeties. But That which touched Dion most
was, he earnestly entreated him. That he would
not destroy the Government, but take it upon
Himself, and not put the Power into the Hands of
those Men who always hated him, and would
never forget their old Piques and Quarrels, but
keep it in his Own, and thereby secure from In-
juries and Violence Himself, his Friends and De-
pendants.

When this Letter was read, the Mobile did not
(as they ought in Justice) pay a due Deference to
the unmovable Constancy and Bravery of Dion,

who
who withstood all his most pressing Concerns, to be true to his Virtue and his Honour; but from hence took Occasion to fear and suspect that he lay under invincible Obligations to be favourable to Dionysius; and therefore began already to be banking after a new General; and the rather, because to their great Joy they received the News of Heraclidas's Arrival. This Heraclidas was one of those whom Dionysius had banished, a very good Soldier, and of great Note for the considerable Commands he had formerly under the King; yet a Man of no constant Resolution, but of a fickle Temper, and least of all steady and unbiased when he had either a Rival or a Colleague in any honourable Command. He had a Difference formerly with Dion in Peloponesus, and thereupon resolved upon his own Fund, with what Ships and Soldiers he had, to make War upon Dionysius. When he arrived at Syracuse with seven Gallies and three Ships, he found Dionysius already close besieged, and the Syracuseans high and proud of their Victories. Forthwith therefore he endeavoured by all ways to make himself popular; and indeed he had in him naturally something that was very insinuating and taking with the People, who loved to be courted and cajoled. He gained his End also the easier, and drew the People over to his side, because they were angry with Dion, and disliked his Gravity as too majestical, stately, and not enough condescending; for Success had made them headstrong and insolent, so that they now thought fit to be treated with, and harangued as a free People, before they had in Reality obtained their Freedom. Getting therefore together in a riotous Assembly, they chose Heraclidas their Admiral; but when Dion came and complained, That conferring this Trust upon Heraclidas, was in Effect to cancel what they had formerly granted
to Him, (for he was no longer their Generalissimo if another had the Command of the Navy) they repealed their Order, and, tho' sore against their Wills, cancelled his Commission. When this Business was over, Dion invited Heraclides to his House, and gave him a gentle Reprimand, 'That he did not well, nor advisedly, to stand with him upon a Puntillo of Honour at a time when the least false Step might be the Ruin of their whole Design; then calling a Common-Council, he made Heraclides Admiral, and prevailed with the Citizens to allow him such a Guard, as they had before granted to Dion.

Heraclides openly pretended much Observance for Dion, and made him great Acknowledgments for this Favour, attending him with all Submission, as ready to receive his Commands; but underhand he dealt with, and tainted the Mobile and Innovators, so that he involved Dion in perpetual Disturbances, and created him much Perplexity and Disquiet; for if he advised to give Dionysius a Pass-port to leave the Castle, he was censured, as designing to deliver and protect him: If, to avoid giving the People any Trouble or Suspicion, he continued the Siege, they cried out, He protracted the War the longer to keep his Command of General, and over-awe the Citizens. There was one Sosis, notorious in the City for a bold and wicked Villain, yet in Shew a great Stickler for the Liberty and Property of the Subjects, especially for that which concerns in the uncontrollable Freedom of their Tongues. This Fellow plotting against Dion, stood up one Day in an Assembly, and having sufficiently railed at the Citizens, as a Parcel of Sots and Blockheads, who could not see how they had made an Exchange of a dissolute and drunken Tyrant, for a sober and crafty Master, publickly declared, he was absolutely against Dion and
and Arbitrary Government; and so he took his Leave of the Company. The next Day he was seen running through the Streets (as if he fled from Some that pursued him) almost stark naked, wounded in the Head, and bloody all over: In this Pickle getting the Rabble about him, he told them, that he was barbarously assaulted by Dion's Men, and to confirm what he said, shewed them the Wounds he had received in his Head. The People in general took his Part, raging and railing against Dion, as cruel and tyrannical, who took such Arbitrary Course to stop the Mouths of the People. Just as they were in this seditious and tumultuous Hurly-burly, Dion came to vindicate himself, and made it appear, That this Sophis was Brother to one of Dionysius's Guard; and that he was set on by Him to embroil the City in Tumult and Confusion: Dionysius having now no way left for his Security, but to make his Advantage of their Dissentions and Distractions. The Chirurgions also having search-ed the Wound, found it was rather razed, than cut with a down-right Blow; for the Wounds made with a Weapon are most commonly deepest in the middle, but this was very slight, and all along of an equal Depth; that it was not one-con-tinued Wound, as if cut at once, but several Inci-sions, in all probability, made at several times, as he was best able to endure the Pain. There were some too who knew him, who brought a Razor, and shewed it openly to the Company, declaring, That they met Sophis running in the Street all bloody, who told them, That he had narrowly escaped with his Life from Dion's Soldiers, who had sorely wounded, and were still in pursuit of him. They hastening to take the Pursuers, could meet with no Man, but spied this Razor lying under a hollow Stone near the Place from which they
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they observed he came. All these Circumstances made strong against Sosis. But when, to back all this, his own Servants came in and gave Evidence, That he came out of his own House alone before Break of Day, with a Razor in his Hand, Dion's Accusers sneaked away, and the People, by a general Vote, condemned Sosis to die, being once again well satisfied with Dion, and his Proceedings.

Yet they were still no less jealous of his Soldiers, (1) and the rather because the War was now carried on principally by Sea; for that Philiptus was come from Apulia with a great Fleet to Dionysus's Assistance; they suppos'd therefore that there would be no longer need of the Greek Soldiers, who were all Land-men, and arm'd accordingly, and rather in a Condition to be protected by Them, who were skilful Sea-men, and depended at present chiefly upon the Strength of their Shipping. They grew also more haughty and self-conceited; by the Advantage they got in an Engagement by Sea, in which they took Philiptus Prisoner, and us'd him in a most barbarous and cruel manner. Euphorus relates, That when he saw his Ship was taken he flew himself. But Timonides, who from the beginning of the War was with Dion in all the considerable Actions, writing to Speuscippus the Philosopher, relates the Story, That Philiptus's Galley running a-ground, he was taken Prisoner alive, and first disarmed, then stripped, and expos'd stark naked, tho' an old Man, to all sorts of Scorn and Contumely; afterward they cut off his Head, and gave the Rabble his Body, who dragged it along the Achradina, and then threw it into a

(1) For This gave the Syracusans a Jealousy, that when the foreign Troops found they could be of no farther Service they might watch an Opportunity of making themselves Masters of the City, whilst the Citizens were taken up in their naval Engagements.
Common-fores. Timæus carries the Indignity still farther, and adds, That the Boys tied him by his lame Leg, and so drew him through the Streets of the City, while the Syracusians insulted over his Carks, to see Him tied by the Leg, who had said, It would not become Dionysius to be behalden to the Swiftness of his Horse to fly from his Throne, but to be dragged from thence by the Heels rather than quit it, tho' Philæus relates, that This was said to Dionysius by Another, and not by Himself. But Timæus takes this Occasion, and truly a just one, from his zealous and constant Adherence to the Tyranny, to vent his own Spleen and Malice against him. They indeed who were injured by him are the more excusable, if they expressed their Reven- ments in Indignities to. his dead Body, (1) but They who wrote his History after his Death, and were no way wronged by him in his Life-time, but have had the Advantage of his learned Writings, in Honour ought not with approbrious and scurrilous Language to upbraid him for those Mis-fortunes, which many times by unhappy Accidents have befallen even the best of Men. On the other side, Ephorus is as much out of the way in the lavish Encomiums he bestows on Phæus, for tho' he is very good at disguising base and unworthy Actions with fair and colourable Pretences, and in his Expressions is very florid and rhetorical, yet when he has done his best, he can never acquire.

(1) This is a very just Reflection. The Cruelties exercised upon an Enemy are excusable in Those who have suffered from his In-justices. But that Writers, who come a long time after, and never could have any Dealings with him, if at all will preserve a Medium, and should use his Memory with the same Cruelty, and stuff their Writings with Calumnies, very often without any just Foundation.
him of the Imputation he lies under, of being of all Mankind the most zealous Asserter of Arbitrary Government; and that no Man ever more industriously promoted, or fondly admired the Luxury, Power, Riches and Alliances of such as made themselves absolute Princes. But between both these Extremes, He that neither praises Philistus for his Faults, nor insulfs over his Misfortunes, seems to me best to consult his own Credit, and perform the part of an Historian.

After Philistus's Death, Dionysius sent to Dion, offering to surrender the Castle, all the Arms, Provisions, and Garrison-Soldiers, with full Pay for them for five Months, demanding, That he might have a Pass-port to go unmolested into Italy, and there to continue, and also enjoy the Seigniory of Gyaeta, a large and fruitful Territory in the Precinct of Syracuse, reaching from the Sea-side to the middle of the Country. Dion rejected these Proposals, and referred him wholly to the Syracusians to treat with Them. And They hoping in a short time to take Dionysius alive, dismissed his Ambassadors without Audience; which he understanding, left his eldest Son Apollocrates to defend the Castle; and putting aboard Those he loved best of his Friends, and the richest of his Goods and Treasure, took the Opportunity of a fair Wind, and made his Escape without being discovered by Heraclides the Admiral.

The Citizens loudly exclaimed against Heraclides for His Neglect, and were ready to mutiny against him; but He, in order to divert and appease them, set up one Hippon, a great Man with the Populacy, and a notable Haranguer, to propose to them an equal Division of the Lands and Revenues of the Country, alledging, That the Beginning of Liberty was Equality, and that Poverty and Slavery were inseparable Companions. Heraclides sided with
with him in this levelling Project, and encouraged the Faction against Dion, who rigorously opposed it; in fine he persuaded the People to ratifie This by their Vote, and pass it into a Law; and farther to decree, That the foreign Soldiers Pay should be stopped, That they would proceed to the Election of new Commanders, take away Dion's Commission, and no longer be subject to his severe and imperious Discipline. The People eagerly desirous to shake off all at once their Yoke of Slavery, which, as a Disease, had long hung upon them, began to do things at random, and like wilful and lawless Men, inconsiderately destroyed what they endeavoured to set up; hating Dion, who, (1) like a good Physician, endeavoured to keep the City, by a sparing and regular Diet, in a due and lasting Temperament of Health.

The Assembly therefore being summoned for the Election of new Officers, in the midst of Summer, there happened all on a sudden unusual and terrible Thunders, with other dreadful Prodigies which remained for fifteen Days together. These Prodigies terrified the People, who were seized with a religious Fear which hindered them from chusing those Officers. But some few days after when the Weather grew more temperate, the Orators were for making the best of that Calm, and proceeding to an Election: but they had scarce began when a draught-Ox, tho' used to the Crowd and Noise of the Streets, without any Provocation grew unruly to his Driver, and breaking his Yoke, ran furiously into the Theater where they were

(1) Plutarch compares the Synecuchians, who were for exercising a full uncontrolable Liberty before they were absolutely free, to People just escaped out of a dangerous Sickness, who before they are entirely recovered are for living like Tho'e, who are in perfect Health. And nothing can be more proper than that Comparison.
assembled, driving out the People before him in great Disorder and Confusion: From thence madding, and tearing, and throwing down all that stood in his way, he rambled over that part of the City of which the Enemies afterwards made themselves Masters. Nevertheless, the Syracusans not regarding all this, elected five and twenty Captains, and among the rest Hiraclides, and underhand tampered with Dion's Men, promising, if they would desert him, and list themselves in their Service, to make them Citizens of Syracuse, and invest them with all the Privileges and Immunities of the Natives. But they, to shew their Fidelity and Courage, with their Swords in their Hands, placing Dion for his Security in the midst of their Battalion, marched out of the City, not offering Violence to any one, but openly upbraiding all they met with their Bасencs and Ingratitude. The Citizens who slighted them, because they were but few in Number, and because they did not first assail them, supposing they might with ease overpower and cut them all off, before they got out of the City, fell upon them in the Rear: Here Dion was in a great Strait, being necessitated either to fight against his own Country-men, or tamely suffer Himself and his faithful Soldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore used many Entreaties to the Syracusans, stretching out his Hands towards the Castle, wherein was a strong Garrison, and shewing them the Enemy, who in great Numbers appeared on the Walls to be Spectators of this Action. But no Persuasions could stop the impetuous Torrent of the Multitude, who like Waves in a Storm were blown up by the seditious Breath of their busy Incendiaries. He commanded his Men therefore not to charge them, but to advance with Shouts and clashing of their Arms; which when the Syracusans saw, not a Man of them durst stand their
their Ground, but fled incessantly through the
Streets, tho' nothing but their own Fears pursued
them, for Dion immediately commanded his Men
to face about, and led them into the Territories of
the Leontines.

The very Women laughed at the new Captains
for this cowardly Retreat; who to redeem their
Credit, ordering the Citizens to stand to their
Arms, followed after Dion, and came up with him
as he was passing a River. Some of the Light Horse
began to skirmish, but when they saw Dion no
more tame and calm, no signs in his Face of his
Fatherly Tenderness towards his Country-men, but
with a stern Look, and full of Fury, as resolved
not to suffer their Indignities any longer, ordering
his Battalia, and ready to give the Onset, they
presently turned their Backs more cowardly and
basely than before, and fled to the City, with the
loss of some few of their Men.

The Leontines received Dion very honourably,
rewarded his Men, and made them free of their
City; sending Envoys to the Syracusians, to re-
quire them to do the Soldiers Justice, and give
them their Pay, who in return, sent back other
Agents to accuse Dion. But when in a full As-
sembly of the Leontines the Matter was heard and
debated, the Syracusians appeared plainly to be in
Fault; but they refused to stand to the Award of
their Confederates, huffing and disdainmg to hearken
to any thing but what their cajoling Leaders and
popular Sycophants advised them.

About this time Diomphus sent a Fleet under the
Command of Nyphius the Neopolitan, with Provi-
sions and Pay for the Garrison. The Syracusians
fought him, had the better, and took four of his
Ships; but they made very ill use of their Succes,
and for want of good Discipline, to express
their Joy, fell to Drinking and Feasting in an ex-
travagant
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travagant manner, with so little regard to their main concern, that when they thought themselves sure of taking the Castle, they were very near losing their city. Nysius seeing all the citizens in this disorder, spending day and night in their drunken revels and debauches, and their commanders well pleased with the frolick, or at least not daring to contradict the riotous crew, who were pot-vaillant, and not to be controled; taking advantage of this opportunity, made a descent, and stormed their works, which having gained and ruined, he attacked the city, leaving the ravage of it to the will and mercy of his soldiers.

The Syracusians quickly saw their folly and misfortune, but could not in the distraction they were in, so soon redress it. The soldiers made miserable havoc in the city, putting the men to the sword, demolishing the fortifications, dragging the women and children with lamentable shrieks and cries prisoners into the castle. The commanders giving all for lost, were not able to put the citizens in any tolerable posture of defence, who were confusedly mixed with the enemy. While they were in this condition, and the Achradina in danger to be taken,

(1) the only man in whom all their hopes were placed, and who alone they all knew to be their last refuge, was Dion, but not a man of them had the courage to name him, so much were they ashamed of the ingratitude with which they had rewarded

(1) This passage has been misunderstood by some of the interpreters who have made that, which is applicable only to Dion, to be understood of the Achradina, which is directly contrary both to Plutarch's words, and meaning; so his words, judged as in the text it is, is or mean upon whom alone, and not if he meant the Achradina, and to his meaning, because if the Achradina was of that strength and consequence that Sicilians could not be in that tolerable condition, nor were they under such a pressing want for Dion.
his Services, and of their folly in driving him out of the City. They were at last forced upon it by Necessity, and some of the Auxiliary Troops cried out, Send for Dion and his Peloponnesians from the Leontines, or we are utterly undone. No sooner had they the Confidence to mention his Name, and it was heard among the People, but they gave a Shout for Joy, and with Tears in their Eyes wished him there, that they might once again see that Hero at the Head of them, whose Courage and Bravery in the worst of Dangers they could never forget; remembering not only with what undaunted Gallantry he always behaved himself, but also what Courage and Confidence he inspired them with when he led them against the Enemy. They immediately therefore dispatched Archonides and Teleides of the Auxiliaries, and Hellanicus, with five more of the Horse; who posting with all the Speed they could make, reached the City of the Leontines in the close of the Evening. (1) The first thing they did, was to leap from their Horses, and fall at Dion's Feet, with Tears relating the sad Condition the Syracusians were in. Many of the Leontines and Peloponnesians began to throng about them, guessing by their Speed, and the manner of their Address, that there was something extraordinary in the Business.

Dion presently called an Assembly, and the People being gathered together in a very little time, Archonides and Hellanicus came in among them, and in short declared the Miliary and Distress of the Syracusians; begging the Foreign Soldiers to for-

(1) How glorious was this Circumstance to Dion. How strongly doth this resemble the Ambassady sent by Agamemnon and the other Princes to Achilles, to endeavour to appease him, and persuade him to shatter up the Succour of the Greeks, who were reduced to the last Extremity. Truth is brought in here to justify from History one of the most moving Touches expressed by Homer in Fiction. Nay History goes still farther, as we shall soon see by what follows.
get the Injuries they had received, and assist the distressed, who had suffered more for the Wrong they had done, than They Themselves who received it would (had it been in their Power) have inflicted upon them. When they had made an end, there was a profound Silence in the Theater; 

Dion then stood up, and began to speak, but a flood of Tears stopt his Words: His Soldiers were sensibly troubled at his Grief, praying him to moderate his Passion, and proceed: When he had therefore recovered himself a little, Gentlemen (says he) and Fellow-Soldiers, Peloponnesians, and Confederates, I have called you here together to consult upon your own Affairs, (1) for it will ill become me to be silent, or consider what is fit for Me to do if Syracuse be lost, which the I cannot save from Destruction, I will nevertheless beseech thee, and be buried in the Ruins of my Country; but if you can find in your Hearts to assist me, be the most inconsiderate and unfortunate of Men. In this Exigency, you may to your eternal Honour again retrieve this unhappy City. But if the Displeasure and Indignation you have justly conceived against the Syracusians will no longer suffer you to pity and relieve them, may the Gods reward you for what you have already done for them, and for your constant Fidelity and Kindness to 

Dion, who, you must remember, as he did not desert you when you were injured and abused by his Fellow-Citizens, so he cannot now forsake and abandon his Fellow-Citizens in their Afflictions and Misfortunes.

(1) Such might be the Words of an honest good Man. His own personal Injuries and Reflections are out of the Case the Moment his Country comes to be in Danger, there is no Room left so much as to deliberate. The this Adventure of 

Dion's may be said truly to resemble That of Achilles, the Characters must be allowed to be very different. But Homer's Design was to represent a Person haughty, passionate, and inexorable, and History has furnished Plutarch with one educated in the Bosom of Philosophy, and he sketcheth him out to us in the Colours of Sublime Virtue.
Before he had well ended his Speech, the Soldiers with a great Shout testified their readiness for the Service, crying out to march immediately to the Relief of the City. The Syracusian Couriers haggled and embraced them, praying the Gods to shower down Blessings upon Dion and his valiant Peloponnesians. When the Noise was pretty well over, Dion gave Orders that all should go to their Quarters, to prepare for their March, and having refreshed themselves, come compleatly armed to their Rendezvous in the very place they now were; resolving that very Night to hasten to their Succour.

Now, at Syracuse, Dionysius's Soldiers, as long as Day continued, ranlacked the City, and did all the Mischief they could; but when Night came on, they retired into the Castle, having lost some of their Number. This small Respite restored Courage and Confidence to the factionous Demagogues of the City, who flattering themselves with Hopes that the Enemy would yet content with what they had done, and make no further Attempt upon them, persuaded the People again to reject Dion, and if be came with the Foreign Soldiers, not to admit him; advising them not to yield, as inferior to Them in point of Honour and Courage; but to save their City Themselves, and defend their Liberties and Properties with their own Swords. (1) The Populacy therefore and their Leaders sent new Messeengers to Dion, to forbid him to advance; but the Nobility and the Horse sent Others to him, to desire him to hasten his March. For this reason he slack'd his Pace, and came forward but slowly. When Night came on the Faction that was against him set a Guard upon the Gates of the City, to hinder him from coming in.

(1) How suddenly is the Scene and surprising? And yet This is changed! Can Poetry furnish us not all, with any thing more unexpected.
In that very instant Nyssius made another Sally out of the Castle with a far greater Number of Men than before, who quite ruined as much of the Rampart as was left standing, and fell in pell-mell to sack and ravage the City. The Slaughter was now very great, not only of the Men, but of the Women also and Children; for they regarded not so much the Plunder, as to destroy and kill all they met. For Dionysius desiring to regain the Kingdom, and mortally hating the Syracusians, resolved to bury his lost Empire in the utter Ruin and Desolation of Syracuse. The Enemy therefore, to prevent Dion's Succours, resolved upon the most terrible and ready way of Destruction, to lay the City in Ashes, firing all at hand with Torches and other Combustibles; and at distance with flaming Arrows, and other Fire-works, shot from their Bows and Engines. The Citizens in great Distraction fled every way before them. They who to avoid the Fire forsook their Houses, were taken in the Streets, and put to the Sword; They who betook themselves for Refuge into the Houses, were forced out again by the Flames. Many were burnt, and many killed by the Fall of Houses and Ruins of Walls and Towers. This fresh Misfortune by general Consent opened the Gates for Dion. It happened that he made no extraordinary Haste when he received Advice that the Enemies were retreated into the Castle; but early in the Morning some Horse brought him the News of another Assault, and soon after some of those who before opposed his coming, fled now to him, to

(1) Here is another Turn. quicker Turnas? The Moment What Preparations are here for the Gates are shut against Dion, Dion's Entry into Syracuse in the very critical Minute! Is it in the Power of Fiction to form a greater Variety of Surprises, and to some Divinity.
entreat him to hasten to their Relief. The Fire and Defoliation increasing, Heracleides sent his Brother, and after Him his Uncle Theodotes, to beg him to help them, for that now they were not able to make any longer Opposition; that He Himself was wounded, and the greatest part of the City was either in Ashes, or in Flames.

Dion met this sad News, at about sixty Furlongs distant from the City. When he had acquainted the Soldiers with the exigency, and exhorted them to behave themselves like Men; the Army no longer marched, but ran forwards, and by the way were met by several who begged them to quicken their Pace. By the wonderful Eagerness of the Soldiers, and their extraordinary Speed, Dion quickly came to the City, and entered at the Gate Hecatompedon, sending his Vanguard immediately to charge the Enemy; that upon the sight of Them, the Syracusians might take Courage. In the mean time he drew up in good Order his main Body, and as many of the Citizens as came in and joined him; forming his Battalions long, and setting over them double Officers, that he might, as occasion required, make Detachments, and amuse and terrify the Enemy, by attacking them in several Quarters at one. As he appeared in the Streets, advancing at the Head of his Men to engage the Enemy, a confused Noize of Shouts, Congratulations, Vows, and Prayers were raised by the Syracusians, who now called Dion their Deliverer, their Tuteur-Dity, and his Soldiers their Friends,

(1) We see his very Enemies sending to him One Messenger upon the Heels of Another. It must be confessed that if the Subject be in its own Nature beautiful and important, Plutarch has had the Address to let it lose nothing in the Narration, but knew how to make a right use of every Incident Fortune had provided for him, to render the Whole more marvellous and surprising.

Brethren,
Brethren, and Fellow-Citizens. In this time of general Danger and Confusion, there was not One among them, who was not more solicitous for Dion's Safety than his Own, or That of all his Fellow-Citizens put together. So daringly did he march before them to meet the Danger, through Blood and Fire, and over heaps of dead Bodies that lay in his way.

And indeed the Posture of the Enemy was in appearance very terrible; for they were animated by Rage and Despair, and had posted themselves very advantageously along the demolished Works, which made the Approach to them very hazardous and difficult: Yet That which discouraged Dion's Men most was the apprehension they were in of the Fire, which made their March very troublesome and difficult; for the Houses being in Flames on all sides, they were surrounded with them, and treading upon burning Ruins, every Minute in danger of being overwhelmed with falling Houses, through Clouds of Ashes and Smoke they laboured hard to keep their Order, and maintain their Ranks.

When they came near to the Enemy, by reason of the Advantage of their Post, and the Inconvenience of a Delay they were to pass, few of them onely could engage at a time; but at Length fighting with great Bravery, and the Syracusans with Shouts encouraging their Party, Nysor's Men were beaten off and routed: Most of them escaped into the Castle, which was near at hand; as many of them as could not get in, were pursued, and picked up here and there by the Soldiers, and put to the Sword.

The present Exigence did not suffer the Citizens to reap the Benefit of their Conquest in such mutual Congratulations and Expressions of Joy as become the Victorious; for now all were busily employed to save what Houses were left standing, labouring
labouring hard all Night, and could scarce master the Fire. The next Day not one of the Popular Harelquins durst stay in the City, but all of them, knowing their own Guilt, by their Flight confessed it, and secured their Lives. Only Herædides and Theodotes voluntarily surrendered themselves to Dion, acknowledging that they had wronged him, and begging he would be kinder to Them than they had been just to Him; adding, how much it would be for his Honour, who was Master of so many excellent Accomplishments, to moderate his Anger, and be generously compassionate to the Ungrateful; confessing, that They who were formerly his professed Enemies, were now absolutely overcome by his Virtue. Tho' they did in this manner most humbly address themselves to him, his Friends advised him not to pardon such turbulent and ill-natured Men, but to leave them to the Mercy of his Soldiers, and utterly root out of the Commonwealth the ambitious Association of Populacy; (1) a Disease more pestilential and pernicious than the most licentious Tyranny. Dion endeavoured to satisfy them, telling them, That other Generals employed their Thoughts and Designs chiefly about Warlike Achievements; but that he had long studied in the Academy how to conquer his Passions, and not let Envy and Envy conquer Him. That to do This, it is not sufficient that a Man be obliging and kind to his Friends, and Those who have deserved well of him; (a) but also indulgent and favourable to Them also from whom he has received Injuries and Affronts. That he was resolved to let the World see,

(1) Polyarch gives us here a true Notion of the Spirit of Faction and Sedition; than which there can be no greater Pest to a Society.

(2) This is perfectly agreeable to the Doctrine of Plato, who teaches us that we are to hurt no one, not even Those who have injured us. We may find in his Gorgias and Crito many excellent Maxims upon that Topic.
The Life of

that he valued not himself so much upon excelling Heraclides in Ability and Conduct, as he did in out-doing him in Justice and Clemency; (1) wherein to have the Advantage is to excell indeed. The Honour of Victory in War is never entire, for Fortune will be sure to claim Her share, the no Man pretend to rival the Conqueror. What if Heraclides be perfidious, malicious, and base, must Dion therefore fully his Honour, or injure his Virtue by a passionate Retention? For the Laws determine it juster to revenge, than to do an Injury; yet it is evident, (2) that both originally proceed from the same Deficiency and Weakness of Human Nature: The malicious Humour of Men, the perverse and refractory, is not so savage and invincible, (3) but it may be wrought upon by Kindness, and habitually altered by repeated Obligations. Dion making use of these Arguments, pardoned Heraclides and dismissed him.

And now resolving to repair the Blockade about the Castle, he commanded all the Syracusians to cut Palisadoes, and bring them to the Works; and

(1) It were to be wished that all proud, passionate Persons, such as value themselves upon returning with Interest the Injuries they receive, would listen to this Doctrine, and learn from hence that the only true and substantial Excellence consists in Goodness, Justice, and Humanity. This is a Truth which was well understood by that great Prince Marcus Antoninus, who faith that real Force or Power consists in Goodness.

(2) This Decision is as true as it is profound. It is as strong a sign of weakness to revenge as it is to commit an Injury. The Injustice is equal in them both. Thus Plato makes it appear that the establishing this Maxim in life, "that it is allowable in a Man to revenge himself, and return Evil for Evil," is the way to make Justice the Offspring of Injustice, and to open an inexhaustible Spring of Injury and Iniquity; it is giving a loose to those Blood-hounds, Revenge and Violence.

(3) This is a fine Sentiment, but Dion made an unhappy Application of this Maxim in his kind Usage and Humanity to Heraclides, whole Malice and Perseverence of Spirit were too strong and inveterate to be reformed and mollified, so that he soon returned to his old Practises. But Dion did still worse incautiously at last to be slain after his repeated Provocation, and Relapse into Sedition, and Revolt.
DION.

Then dismissing them to refresh themselves, and take their rest, he employed his own men all night, and by morning had finished his line of circumvallation, and fortified his trenches. Both the enemy and the citizens next day wondered to see the works so far advanced in so short a time.

As soon as these works were finished he buried the dead, redeemed the prisoners who were near two thousand in number, and called a publick assembly. There Heraclides made a motion, that Dion should be declared general at land and sea. The nobility approved well of it, and desired the commonalty to assent. But the sailors and handycraftsmen would not consent that Heraclides should be deprived of his command of the navy; and tho' they knew him to be otherwise an ill man, yet they believed he would be more compliant with the populace than Dion, and ready to serve their ends. Dion therefore submitted to them in this, and consented that Heraclides should continue admiral. But when they began to press the levelling project, of an equal distribution of lands and estates, he not only opposed it, but repealed all the votes they had formerly made upon that account, which most sensibly vexed them. Heraclides took his advantage of this, and being at Messana, he harangued the soldiers and ships crews that sailed with him, accusing Dion, that he had a design to make himself absolute. And at the same time he held a private correspondence with Dionysius by means of his confidant Pharax, a Spartan. Which when the nobility of Syracuse had intimation of, there arose a sedition in the army, and the city was reduced to that extremity, that they were almost famished for want of provision. Dion now knew not what course to take, being blamed by all his friends, for that he had
had encouraged against Himself such a troublesome, malicious, and perverse Man as Heraclides.

Pharao at this time lay encamped at Neopolis. Dion therefore drew out the Syracusians, but with an intent not to engage him, 'till he saw a fit Opportunity. But Heraclides and his Sea-men exclaimed against him, saying, That he delayed Fighting on purpose, that he might the longer continue his Command; so that, tho' much against his Will, he was forced to an Engagement, and was beaten. His Loss indeed was inconsiderable, and his Defeat was owing more to the Misunderstanding in his own Army than the Courage of the Enemy, so that he resolved upon a second Engagement, and rallying his Men, and encouraging them to redeem their Credit, he drew them up accordingly. But in the Evening he received Advice, that Heraclides with his Fleet were under Sail for Syracuse, with a Resolution to possess himself of the City, and shut Him out. Upon this Intelligence, he made a Draught of the most Forward and Determined in the Cavalry, and marched all Night with such Diligence, that he got thither by Nine the next Morning after a March of seven hundred Furlongs. Heraclides, tho' he strove to make all the Sail he could, yet coming too late, tacked about and stood out again to Sea. Whilst he was unresolved what Course to steer, he accidentally met Gesius the Spartan, who told him that he was sent from Sparta to command in Chief in Sicily, as Glyippus had done heretofore. Upon this Declaration Heraclides readily joined with him, and bragged to his Sailors, That Now he had a Counter-balance to weigh down Dion's Ambition. Hereupon he sent a Herald to Syracuse to summon them to accept a Spartan General: Dion returned Answer, That the Syracusians had Generals enough among them, and that if it was necessary to their Affairs that a Spartan should comm
mood them, he could supply that Office, having the Honour Himself to be a Citizen of Sparta. When Gæstius saw he had loft his Hopes of being Generalissimus, he landed, and reconciled Heracleides to Dion, making Heracleides swear the most solemn Oaths to perform what he engaged, for which Gæstius himself undertook to be Guaranty.

The Syracusians then laid up their Navy, which was at present a great Charge, and of little use to them, but rather an occasion of Differences and Discontents among the Generals; at the same time they continued the Siege, and finished another Breast-work, with which they invested the Castle. The Besieged seeing no hopes of Succour, and their Provisions failing, began to Mutiny; so that Apollocrates, in despair of holding longer out for his Father, capitulated and articed with Dion to deliver up the Castle, with all the Garrison-Soldiers and Ammunition, to have five Gallies and safe Pass-port for Himself, his Mother, and Sisters, which Dion granted, and He sailed with them to Dionysius. There was scarce a Man in the City but went to behold the joyful Sight, calling upon Those who were absent to come and see that happy Day, and be Witnesses how gloriously the Sun now shined upon the Syracusians, who were enfranchised and delivered from all their Slavery and Oppression.

This Flight of Dionysius, being one of the greatest and most remarkable Examples of Fortune's Inconstancy, that any History mentions, how extraordinary may we imagine their Joy to be? How entire their Satisfaction, after they had totally subverted the most potent Tyranny that ever was, and That by means so flight and inconsiderable?.

When Apollocrates was under Sail, and Dion going to take Possession of the Castle, the Ladies could not stay while he made his Entry, but ran to meet him at the Gate. Mithromachus led Dion's Son,
The Life of

Son, and Arete followed after weeping, fearful and dubious how to salute, or address to her Husband, because she had so long accompanied with another Man. Dion first careless his Sister, then his Son, when Aristomache bringing Arete to him, O Dion (said she) your Banishment made us all equally miserable, your Return and Victory has raised our drooping Heads, and cancelled all our Sorrows, excepting this poor Lady's, whom I, to my great Unhappiness, saw compelled to be Another's, while You were yet alive. Fortune has now given you the sole Disposal of us, how will you determine concerning Her in these her necessitous Circumstances? Or in what Relation must She salute you, as her Uncle, or her Husband? This Speech of Aristomache's forced Tears from Dion, who with great Tenderness and Affection embraced his Wife, gave her his Son, and desired her to retire to his own House, where he intended to reside, when he had delivered up the Castle to the Syracusans. For tho' all things now succeeded to his Will, yet he resolved not to enjoy any present Advantage of his good Fortune before he had gratified his Friends, rewarded his Allies, and bestowed upon his Fellow-Citizens and Foreign Soldiers some special Mark of Favour and Honour; his Generosity herein exceeding his Ability, being content himself with a very frugal and moderate Competency; for which he was much admired. That when, not only Sicily and Carthage, but all Greece looked upon him as extremely happy, and no Man living greater than He, no General more renowned for Valour and Success: Yet in his Garb, his Attendance, and Table, he seemed as if he rather communed with Plato in the Academy, than lived among his Soldiers and Officers, who love to be jolly, enjoy themselves plentifully every Day, and cheer their Hearts after the Toils of War, and Dangers they have past. Plato indeed writ to him, that
that the Eyes of all Men were now upon Him; but 'tis evident that (1) He Himself had fixed His Eye upon one particular Place, the Academy, and considered, That the Inquisitive and J udicious there regarded not his great Actions, his Courage, or his Fortune, but watched to see how temperately and humbly he could bear his Prosperity, with what Moderation and Unconcern he could behave himself in that honourable and happy Condition. Neither did he remit any thing of his wonted Reservedness in Conversation, or Majestical Carriage to the People, notwithstanding a little Condescension and obliging Civility was very necessary for his present Affairs. And Plato, as we said before, advised him to avoid a surly Demeanor, unless he intended to be abandoned by all Company, and live alone by Himself. But certainly he was naturally an Enemy to Complaisance; and besides, he had a Design to reform the Syracusians, and make them more grave and staid, who were grown very dissolute, foppish and humerous.

Heraclides began again to set up against him, and being sent for one Day by Dion to Council, (2) he sent word he could not come to Council, or consult otherwise than as a private Citizen, and in a publick Assembly. Soon after he impeached Dion, because he had not demolish'd the Citadel, and because he had hindered the People from throwing down Dionysius's Tomb, and doing despite to

(1) In what an advantageous Light does Plutarch place this Moderation, and Self-denial in Dion! Whilst all Mankind have their Eyes fixed upon Him, he is insensible to that universal Admiration, and fixes his own Eye upon the Academy, that School and Nursery of Wisdom and Virtue.

(2) Heraclides returned this Answer on purpose to cajole the People. He refused to go to the Council-board, because that Meeting was a Mark of the Aristocracy, and professed his Readiness to appear in the Assembly, because That was a Token of the Democracy, which he was willing to have re-established.
The Life of

The Dead; moreover, he accused him for sending to Corinth for Counsellors and Assistants in the Government, and thereby neglecting and slighting his Fellow-Citizens. And indeed he had prevailed with some Corinthians to come to him, hoping by their Means and Presence the better to settle that Government he intended; for he designed to restrain the unlimited Power of the People; which indeed is not a Government, but (1) (as Plato calls it) a Shop or Warehouse of all Sorts of Governments, and to establish a Constitution composed of the Lacedemonian and Cretan Plan, wherein Aristocracy would always prevail, and preside in Affairs of the greatest Importance; for he saw the Corinthians were chiefly governed by the Grandees, and that the People were but little concerned in publick Business.

Now, knowing that Heraclides would be his most considerable Adversary, and that he was always a turbulent, sullen, and factious Man; (2) he gave way to Some, whom he had formerly prevented from putting the like Design in Execution, and allowed them to kill him. Accordingly they

(1) The Place Plutarch has here in View is in the Eighth Book of his Republick, where that Philosopher makes it appear that in a pure Democracy every Man liveth as he list. And that as Women and Children delight in Clothes of all Sorts of Colours, there are some who for the same Reason delight in that Sort of Government. There a Man may pick out what Form pleaseth him best, because in That alone All are comprehended. It is a sort of Fair, or publick Sale of Governments, "ως εἰς παρετοῦλον δημοκρατίαν ποιεῖται."

(2) I am not ignorant that we have some Statesmen, who from the Character of Heraclides, his great Obligations to Dion and the then Situation of Affairs, will be apt enough to determine that it was allowable in Dion to remove that perpetual Obstacle to all his Designs, for the Good of his Country; but I can tell them that they argue upon fallacious and corrupt Principles, and that no Man whatever is to be put to death without the formal Proceedings of Justice. We want no other Judge or Authority in this Point that Dion's own Conscience, which Plutarch will soon tell us was grievously tormented for that Murder.
broke into his House, and murdered him. His Death was much resented by the Citizens: But when they saw Dion make him a splendid Funeral, follow his Herse with all his Soldiers, and pronounce an Oration to the People, they were mollified, and forgave him, for they perceived that it would have been impossible to have kept the City quiet, as long as Dion and Heraclides were Competitors in the Government.

Dion had a Friend, called Calippus, an Athenian, who, Plato says, grew familiar with him, and his Confident not upon the Merit of his Learning, but because he was introduced by him into some Mysterious Ceremonies of their Religion, and so contracted an accidental Acquaintance. This Man was all along with him in the Army in great Honour and Esteem; being the first of his Friends, who marched by his side into Syracuse with a Garland upon his Head, for that he had behaved himself very well in all the Action, and was become remarkable for his Courage and Gallantry. He finding that Dion's principal and most considerable Friends were cut off in the War, Heraclides now dead, and the People without a Leader, and that the Soldiers had a great Kindness for Him, like a persidious and wicked Villain, in Hopes to get the chief Command of Sicily, by the Ruin of his Friend and Benefactor; and, as some say, being bribed by the Enemy with twenty Talents to destroy Dion, inveagled and engaged several of the Soldiers into a Conspiracy against him, contriving his execrable Plot in the manner following. He daily informed Dion of what he heard, or what he feigned the Soldiers said against him; whereby he gained that Credit and Confidence, that he was allowed by Dion to consort privately with whom he would, and talk freely against him in any Company, that he might discover who were his Secret.
The Life of
and factious Malignants. By this means Calippus in a short time got together a Cabal of all the sedulous Discontents in the City; and if any one who would not be drawn in informed Dion that he had been tampered with, he was not troubled or concerned at it; believing Calippus did it in Compliance with his Directions.

While this Conspiracy was at foot, a strange and dreadful Apparition was seen by Dion. As he sat one Evening in a Gallery in his House melancholy and thoughtful, hearing a sudden Noise, he turned about, and saw at the End of the Room, by clear Day-light, a tall Woman, in her Countenance and Garb like one of the Tragical Furies, with a Broom in her Hand sweeping the Floor; being amazed and terribly affrighted, he sent for some of his Friends, and told them what he had seen; (1) entreating them to stay with him, and keep him Company all Night; for he was greatly astonished and perplexed, fearing that if he were left alone, the Spectre would again appear to him: But he saw it no more. (2) A few Days after, his only Son, being almost grown up to Man's Estate, upon some Displeasure and Pet he had taken on a childish and frivolous Occasion, threw himself headlong from the Top of the House, and brake his Neck.

(1) I am not surprized that Dion should see an Apparition, for the Imagination of a Person so splenetic as Dion might present to him one of those formidable Objects. But how comes it about that a Man of so much Courage should be so terribly frightened at it as to desire his Friends to stay with him all Night? It was not for want of Courage, that Dion retained his Friends with him, it was because he would not expose himself to a second Sight of this dismal Object. For those Phantoms never visit a Man when he is in good Company, they appear to him only when he is alone.

(2) Plutarch relates this Event as an Explication of what was done by the Apparition. That Fury which seemed to be sweeping the House, began to sweep it in earnest by hurrying the Son of Dion to his Grave.

While
DION.

While Dion was under this Affliction, Calippus drove on his Conspiracy; and spread a Rumour among the Syracusians, that Dion being now Childless, was resolved to send for Dionysus's Son, Apollocrates, who was his Wife's Nephew, and Sitter's Grand-Son, and make Him his Heir and Successor. By this time, Dion, his Wife and Sitter began to suspect what was doing, and were from all Hands confirmed in the Belief of the Plot. Dion, as 'tis probable, being troubled for Heraclides's Murder, which was like to be a Blot and Stain upon his Honour, and the glorious Actions of his Life, in great Anxiety and Disquiet declared, he had rather die a thousand times, and open his Breast himself to the Assassin, than live not only in Fear of his Enemies, but Suspicion of his Friends.

Calippus seeing the Ladies very inquisitive to search the Bottom of the Business, and fearing the Event, came to them, utterly denying it with Tears in his Eyes; and offering to give them whatsoever Assurances of his Fidelity they desired: They required, that he would take the great Test and solemn Oath; which was after this Manner: The Juror went into the Temple of Ceres and Proserpine; after the Performance of some Ceremonies, he was clad in the purple Vestment of the Goddess, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, took his Oath. Calippus did as they required; and forswore the Fact. But he so little valued those Goddesses, that he stayed 'till the Festival of Proserpine, by whom he had sworn, and then committed his intended Murder; (1) nor that the Solemnity of the

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(1) This Passage has been misunderstood by some of the Interpreters. The Words contain Plutarch's own Reflection upon that impious and abominable Action. The Day of itself adds nothing to the Malignity of a Crime, which is equally offensive to the Deity on whatever Day it is committed. This is undeniable. However,
The Day could add any thing to his Crime, for the Goddess would have been as highly offended at his Impiety had he murdered Dion on any other Day, especially since He was the Person who first introduced, and initiated him in the holy Mysteries.

There were a great many in the Conspiracy; and as Dion was at home with several of his Friends in his Entertaining-Room, some of the Conspirators beset the House round, others secured the Doors and Windows. The Assassins were Zacynthians, who went in to him in their ordinary Habit unarmed. They who were without shut the Doors and kept all fast. The Murderers fell upon him, endeavouring to stifle him; but when That could not be effected, they called for a Sword in order to dispatch him, but none durst open the Door. There were a great many within with Dion, but every one was for securing himself; supposing, that by letting Him lose his Life, he should save his Own; and therefore no Man ventured to assist him. When they had waited a good while, at length Lycon a Synaevian reached a short Sword in at the Window to one of the Zacynthians, and, stoned and almost senseless as he was, like a Sacrifice at the Altar, they cut Dion's Throat.

After this detestable Murder they confined his Sister, and Wife, who was then big with Child. The unhappy Lady fell in Labour in the Prison, and was delivered of a Son, whom they Both undertook to preserve, having first gained the Guards to that Effect, which was no difficult Point, be-

ever it must be allowed that the Horror and Impiety of the Action is more particularly conspicuous in Him who chuses to commit it on a Day set apart for some religious Ceremonies, for thereby he profanes the holy Mysteries.
case Calippus began already to be embroyl'd in Troubles.

At first after the Murther of Dion, He was the only Man that was looked upon, and had the sole Government of Syracuse in his Hands. Nay, he presumed to write even to Athens, whom of all the Cities he ought most to have dreaded next to the Immortal Gods, polluted as he was with so black a Murder. But it may truly be said of that City, That the good Men she breeds are the most Excellent, and the Bad the most Notorious; as the Soil of Africa produces the most delicious Honey, and the most deadly Poison. Calippus did not long continue to scandalize Fortune, and upbraid the Gods with his Prosperity, who seemed to wink at, and bear with that wretched Man, while he purchased Riches and Power by the most heinous and enorm-ous Impieties, but he quickly received the Punishment he deserved; for going to take Catana, he left Syracuse; whereupon they report he said, He had left a City, and got a (1) Cheefe-Graser. Then attempting Messina, he had most of his Men cut off, and among the rest, Dion's Murtheners. When no City in Sicily would admit him, but all hated and abhorred him, he went into Italy, and took Rhegium; there being necessitous, and not able to maintain his Soldiers, he was killed by Leptimus and Phalarcis, and (as Fortune would have it) with the same Sword with which Dion had been assassinated, for it was known by the Site, being but short, as the Spartan Swords commonly are, and by the Workmanship which was very curious and artificial. Thus Calippus received the Reward of his Villanies.

(1) This Instrument was called kal'dron; to which Calippus al-

d'd, instead of which the Lord on this Occasion

common People pronounced it

E 4

When
When Aristomache and Areste were released out of Prison, Ictes, one of Dion's Friends, took them to his House, and for a while entertained them well, and like a faithful Friend; afterwards, being persuaded by Dion's Enemies, he provided a Ship, and pretended to send them into Peloponnesus, but commanded the Sailors, when they came out to Sea, to kill them, and throw them over-board. Others say, that they and the little Boy were thrown alive into the Sea. (1) This Man also escaped, not the due Recompence of his Wickedness, for he was taken by Timoleon, and put to Death; and the Syracusians, to revenge Dion, slew his two Daughters; of which I have discoursed more particularly in the Life of Timoleon.

(1) This single Life furniseth us with many Instances of the divine Vengeance. Dion consents to the Murder of Heracleides, and is Himself murdered soon after. Calippus gets Dion to be assassinated by some Soldiers of Zante, who perish in a Siege, and Calippus is in his Turn assassinated by Ictes and Polyger-clam. Ictes causeth Aristomache, Areste, and her infant Child to be destroyed, and he is put to death, soon after by order of Timoleon, as are his two Daughters by the Syracusians; so that divine Vengeance appeareth no where in greater Lustre, to the Terror, and Conviction, if well attended to, of such whole Dispositions inclining them to Acts of Rapine and Violence.
Arcus Brutus was descended from that Junius Brutus, to whom the ancient Romans erected a Statue of Brass in the Capitol, among the Images of their Kings, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, in remembrance of his Courage and Resolution in expelling the Tarquins, and destroying the Monarchy. But that ancient Brutus was of a severe and inflexible Nature, (like Steel of too hard a Temper) and not at all softened by Study or Education; nay, he suffered himself to be so far transported with his Rage and Hatred against Tyrants, that for conspiring with them, he proceeded to the Execution even of his own Sons. But this Brutus whose Life we now write, having to the Goodness of his Disposition (1) added the Imp-

(1) And yet if he had softened his Natural Disposition by the Dictates of Reason, which he had imbibed in the Schools of the Philosophers, he would never have destroyed Caesar, which was an Action not to be learnt, or approved by any Precepts of Philosophy.
provements of Learning, and Study of Philosophy, and having quickned his natural Parts, of themselves grave and gentle, to qualify himself for Business and publick Affairs, seems to have been of a Temper exactly framed for Virtue; insomuch that (1) They who were most his Enemies, upon the account of his Conspiracy against Caesar, if in that whole Affair there was any honourable or generous Action done, refer it wholly to Brutus, and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the Charge of Cassius, Brutus's most intimate and familiar Friend, but not at all like him in Honesty and Virtue. His Mother Servilia was of the Family of Servilius Hala, who, when Spurius Manlius had worked the People into a Rebellion, and designed to have made Himself King, taking a Dagger under his Arm, went forth into the Market-place, and upon pretence of having some private Business with him, (2) came up close to him, and as he bent his Head to hear what he had to say, stuck him with his Dagger, and slew him. And thus much, as it concerns his Descent by the Mother's side, is confessed by all; but as for his Father's Family, They who for Caesar's Murther bore any Hatred or Ill-will to Brutus (3) will not allow his Descent from that Brutus who expelled the Tarquins; there being none of his Race left, after the Execution.

(1) It appears from this Passage that even in the days of Plutarch there were some remaining who hated the Memory of Brutus for the share he had in the Murder of Caesar; and I am of Opinion that the same Hatred continueth, and will do so to the End of the World.

(2) Livy relates this History after a more probable manner, Bk.iv. Sect. 14. And we are assured by some Historians that Servilius, who was at that time General of the Horse, slew Manlius by order of the Dictator Quintius Cincinnatus. This happened near four hundred Years before the Murder of Caesar.

(3) Of this Number is Dimyclus of Halicarnassus, who does not do it out of any prejudice to Brutus, but upon the Authority of the most faithful Historians.
execution of his two Sons; but that he was a Plebeian, descended from one Brutus, some Nobleman's Steward, of a mean Family, which but very lately was raised to any Office or Dignity in the Commonwealth. But Poseidonius the Philosopher writes, that it is true indeed what History relates, that two of the Sons of Brutus, who were of Mens Estate, were put to Death, but that a Third, yet an Infant, was left alive, from whom the Family was propagated down to Marcus Brutus; and further, that there were several famous Persons of this House in His Time, and of his own Acquaintance, whose Looks very much resembled the Statue of Janius Brutus. But of this Subject enough.

Cato the Philosopher was Brother to Servilia, the Mother of Brutus, and He it was whom of all the Romans his Nephew most admired, and studied to imitate, and afterwards married his Daughter Porcia. But of all the Sects of the Greek Philosophers, tho' there was none of which he had not been a Hearer, and in which he had not made some Proficiency, yet he chiefly esteemed the Platonists. He had no great Opinion either of the New, or Middle Academy, but applied himself wholly to the Study of the Ancient. For this Reason He was all his Life-time a great Admiring of Antistius, of the City of Ascalon, and took his Brother Ariston into his own House for his Friend and Companion, a Man for his Learning inferior indeed to many of the Philosophers, but for the evenness of his Temper, and sweetness of Conversation, equal to the Best. As for Empylius, of whom He Himself and his Friends made often mention in their Epistles, as of one who constantly lived with Brutus, he was an Orator, and has left behind him a short but well-penned History of the Death of Caesar, entitled Brutus.
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In Latin he was a good Speaker; and had by constant Exercise attained a sufficient Excellency in making publick Orations; and pleading Causes: But in Greek he was remarkable for affecting the sententious and short Laconick way of speaking; in his Epistles especially, as when in the beginning of the War he writ thus to the Pergamens; "I bear you have given Dolabella Money; if you gave it willingly, you must own you have injured Me; if unwillingly, show it, by giving willingly to Me. And another time to the Samians: "Your Deliberations are tedious, your Actions slow; what think ye will be the end? And of the Patareans thus: "The Xanthians, suspecting my Kindness, have made their Country a Grave of Despair; the Patareans, trusting themselves to me, have lost nothing of their former Liberty; it is in your Power to oblige the Judgment of the Patareans, or the Fortune of the Xanthians." And this is this Style wherein his most remarkable Letters were usually writ.

When he was but a very young Man, he accompanied his Uncle Cato to Cyprus, whither he was sent with an Army against Ptolemy. But as soon as Ptolemy had killed himself, Cato Himself being detained by some necessary Business in the Isle of Rhodes, sent one of his Friends named Caninius, to take into his Care and Keeping the Treasure of the King; but afterwards suspecting his Fidelity, he writ to Brutus to sail immediately to Cyprus, out of Pamphylia, where he then stayed to refresh himself, being but newly recovered of a Fit of Sickness. He obeyed his Orders, but with a great deal of unwillingness, as well out of Respect to Caninius, who was thrown out of this Employment by Cato with so much Disgrace, as also because he esteemed such a Commission too mean for a Gentleman, and not at all becoming Him, who was in the prime of his Youth, and given to Books and
and Learning. Nevertheless, applying himself to this Business, he behaved himself so well in it, that he was highly commended by Cato, and having turned all the Goods of Ptolemy into ready Money, brought the greatest part of it in his own Ship to Rome.

About this time the State began to be embroiled, when Pompey and Caesar taking up Arms against one another, the whole Government was turned into Confusion. In this Conjuncture, it was generally believed that he would have taken Caesar's side; for his Father not long before had been put to Death by Pompey. (1) But He thinking it his Duty to prefer the Interest of the Publick before his own private Resentments, and judging Pompey's to be the better Cause, took part with Him; tho' formerly he used not so much as to salute or take any notice of Pompey, if he happened to meet him, esteeming it a great Crime to have the least Conversation with the Murtherer of his Father. But now looking upon him as the General of his Country, he lifted himself under his Command, and set Sail for Sicily, in Quality of Lieutenant to Sestius, who had the Government of that Island. But finding no Opportunity there of shewing himself in any great Action, and hearing that Pompey and Caesar were encamped near one another, and were preparing to begin the Battel, upon which the whole Empire depended, he came of his own accord to Macedonia to partake in the Danger. At his coming, it is said, that Pompey was so surprized, and at the same time so pleased, that rising from his Chair, in the fight of all his Guards, he saluted

(1) This is the Action of a great Mind. Brutus embraced the Party even of his Father's Murderer, because he thought it more just than that of Caesar, and considered Him as the Head of the State, of which Caesar was the declared Enemy. An honest Statesman has no other Interest at Heart but That of his Country, and
and embraced him, as one of the chiefest Men of his Party. All the time that he was in the Camp, excepting that which he spent in Pompey's Company, (1) he employed in Reading and in Study, which he did not neglect even the Day before the great Battle of Pharsalia. It was the middle of Summer, and the Heat was very great, and the Camp sustained many Inconveniences, by being lodged in a marshy Ground, and They who carried Brutus's Tent had stayed a long while before they came. Yet tho' upon all these Accounts he was extremarily harassed, and out of Order, had forborne anointing himself till towards the middle of the Day, and eaten very sparingly, whilst the rest were asleep, or taken up with the Thoughts of to-morrow's Action, He spent his whole time 'till the Evening in writing an Epitome of Polybius. It is said, that Caesar had so great a Regard for him, that he ordered his Commanders by no means to kill Brutus in the Battle, but to spare him, if possible, and bring him safe to Him, if he would willingly surrender himself; but if he made any Resistance, to suffer him to escape, rather than to do him any Violence. And This he is believed to have done out of Tenderness to Servilia, the Mother of Brutus; (2) for Caesar had, it seems, in

(1) It were to be wished that our young Officers now-a-days would follow the Example of Brutus, and employ that time in reading good Books, which they usually waste in Trifles, and Debaucho.

(2) This Passion was no Secret, for one day Caesar made her a Present of a Pearl which cost him an immense Sum, and during the Civil Wars he assigned to her for a Trifle, a considerable Estate, which had been confiscated, and had been put up by him to Public Sale. This gave Occasion to one of Cicero's Witticisms, for when every one was surprized to see at how cheap a Price it was passed over to Servilia. Quae melius, faith he, emptum featis Tertio
in his Youth, been very intimate with her, and
the passionately in Love with him: and consider-
ing that Brutus was born about that time, in which
their Loves were at the highest, Caesar had some
Reason to believe that he was begot by him.
There goes a Report too, that when some great
and weighty Matters, concerning the Conspiracy
of Cassius, which had like to have been the De-
struction of the Common-wealth, were debating
in the Senate; Cato and Caesar, tho' differing in
their Opinions, were placed near to one another:
In the middle of the Debate a little Note was de-
ivered to Caesar from without, which he took and
read silently to himself. Upon this Cato cried
out aloud, and accused Caesar for holding Correspon-
dence, and receiving Letters from the Enemies of the
Common-wealth. Many of the Senators being much
concerned, and the House in an Uproar, Caesar
delivered the Note, as he had received it, to Cato,
who reading it, found it to be a lowd Letter from
his own Sister Servilia, and threw it back again in
Rage to Caesar, with these Words, Keep it to your
self, you Sot, and then went on upon the publick
Business. So notorious was Servilia's Love to
Caesar.

After the great Overthrow at Pharsalia, Pom-
pey himself having made his Escape by Sea, whilst
Caesar's Army was storming the Camp, Brutus
stole privately out of one of the Gates, to a marshy
Place full of Water, and covered with Reeds,
from whence venturing out in the Night, he got

Tutia deduces oft, That you may
have a better Opinion of the Purchase,
you are to know that the Third is
deduced; for it was said that Ser-
ville yielded up to Caesar her
Daughter Tutia, that is her Third.
But the Grace and Sting of this
Expression is lost in any other
Language but the Latin, for Set
daecta is an equivocal Expression,
being a mercantile Term, and a
Word made use of in Transacti-
ons, which are not to be named.

safe
safe to Larissa. From Larissa he wrote to Caesar, who expressed a great deal of joy to hear that he was safe, and having sent for him, not only forgave him freely, but honoured and esteemed him, at least to his chiefest Friends. Now when not Body could give any certain Account which Way Pompey had taken his Flight, Caesar walked for some time alone with Brutus, to try to find out what was his Opinion therein, and perceiving by his way of reasoning that he knew more of his Motions than any one else, he gave into his Opinion, and bent his March towards Egypt. But Pompey, who had indeed taken that very Course, as Brutus had conjectured, having reached Egypt, was there barbarously murdered.

Brutus had so much Power with Caesar, that he pacified and reconciled him to his Friend Cassius, and spoke likewise in behalf (1) of the King of Africa. It is true many things were charged against him, some of a high and dangerous Nature, notwithstanding which his Eloquence was so prevalent that he preferred to him a great Part of his Kingdom. It is said that at his first entrance and opening of the Cause Caesar said to his Friends, I know not what this young Man intends, but whate-
ver he intends, he intends it vehemently. For his na
tural Firmness of Mind, not easily yielding or com-
plying in Favour of every one that entreated him,

(1) It does not appear in any Author that Brutus ever pleaded for the King of Africa. But it is certain that he pleaded in Defence of King Decartar. This gave Occasion to that memorable Saying of Caesar concerning Brutus, as Cicero relates it in the first Letter of his 4th Book to Atticus. De quo quidem illa, ad quem diversus, Caesarem folsium dicere, magni referit hic quid volis, sed quicquid volis, valde volis. Idque cum animadvertisse cum pro Dei-
saro Nicae discerit, valde cum ve-
bementer, & libero dicere. It follows therefore that either this Passage in Plutarch is corrupted, or that it is a slip of his Memory, as has been observed by Victorius, and Cruterius.

when
MARCUS BRUTUS.

when it was set on work by the Motives of right Reason, and the Principles of Honesty, which way soever it turned itself, moved with great Vigour and Impetuosity, and generally effected its Designs. No Flattery could ever prevail with him to listen to unjust Petitions; and he reckoned, that to be overcome by the frontless Importunities of Suiters, tho' some compliment it with the Name of Modesty and a shame to refuse, was the foulest Disgrace a great Man could suffer. And he used to say, That he shrewdly suspected, that They who could deny nothing, had not very honestly employed the Flower of their Youth.

Cæsar being about to take an Expedition into Africa against Cato and Scipio, committed to Brutus the Government of Gallia Cisalpina, to the great Happiness and Advantage of that Province. For while Those of other Provinces laboured under the Violence and Avarice of their Governors, and suffered as much Oppression, as if they had been Slaves and Captives of War, Brutus put an End to all such Intolencies there, and by his easie Government made them amends for all their former Calamities, and reconciled and fixed all their Affections to Cæsar; insomuch that it was a most welcome and pleasant Spectacle to Cæsar, when in his Return he passed through Italy, to see the Cities that were under Brutus's Command, and Brutus Himself increasing his Train and Honour, and most obligingly attending him in his Progress.

Now several Praetorships being void, it was all Mens Opinion, that That of the chiefest Dignity, which is called the Praetorship of the City, would be conferred either upon Brutus or Cassius; and Some say, that there having been some little Difference upon former Accounts between them, this Competition set them much more at Variance.
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tho' they were allied, Cassius having married Julia, the Sister of Brutus. Others say, that this Contention was raised between them by Caesar's means, who had privately given each of them such Hopes of his favouring their Pretensions, as made them break out into this open Competition and Tryal of their Interest. Brutus had only the Reputation of his Honour and Virtue to oppose to the many and gallant Actions performed by Cassius in his Youth against the Parthians. But Caesar having heard each Side, and deliberating about the Matter among his Friends, said, Cassius indeed pleaseth me most Justice, but Brutus must have the first Praetorship. So another Praetorship was given to Cassius; but the gaining of this could not so much oblige him, as he was incensed for the Loss of the Other. And in all other Things Brutus was Partaker of Caesar's Power as much as he desired; for he might, if he had pleased, been the chief of all his Friends, and had Authority and Command beyond them All, but Cassius by his Conversation drew him off from Caesar, and turned him to Himself. Indeed he was not yet wholly reconciled to Cassius, since that Competition which had been between them; but yet he gave Ear to Cassius's Friends, who were perpetually advising him not to be so blind, as to suffer himself to be softened and won upon by Caesar, but to shun the Kindness and Favours of a Tyrant, which, they intimated, Caesar shewed him, not to express any Honour to his Merit or Virtue, but to unbend his Strength, and slacken the Vigour of his Mind. Neither was Caesar wholly without Suspicion of him, nor wanted Informers that accused Brutus to him; but he feared indeed the high Spirit, and the great Authority, and the many Friends which he had, but thought himself secure in his Honesty and Virtue. When it was told
told him first, that Antony and Dolabella designed some disturbance. It is not, said he, the fat and the long-haired Men that I fear, but the pale and the lean; meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterwards when some accused Brutus to him, and advised him to beware of him, laying his hand upon his breast, he said, What, do you think that Brutus will not wait out the time of this little body? As if he thought none fit to succeed him in so great power, but only Brutus. And indeed it seems to be without doubt, that Brutus might have been the first man in the Commonwealth, if he could have had patience but a little time to be second to Caesar; if he would have suffered his power insensibly to decay after it was come to its highest pitch, and the fame of his great actions to die and wither away by degrees. But Cassius, a man of a fierce disposition, and one who out of private malice, rather than love of the public, hated Caesar, not the tyrant continually fired him and stirred him up; upon which occasion it was said, That Brutus could not endure the imperial power, but Cassius hated the emperor. Cassius pretended to have received many hardships and injuries from Caesar. Among other things he complained of his having taken his lions from him; for when Cassius was designed for Aedile, he had caused many of them to be taken, and conducted to Megara, to be made use of in the shews he was by virtue of his office to exhibit to the people, but Caesar finding them in Megara, when that city was taken by Calanus, he seized them to himself. It is said that these lions proved very fatal to the Megarians, for when the city was given over for lost, they broke open their dens, pulled off their chains, and let them loose; to the end they might put a stop to the impetuosity of the enemy, who were then entering the city; but they, instead of falling upon the
The Enemy, turned upon the poor Inhabitants Themselves, and as they fled up and down naked and defenceless tore great Numbers of them to Pieces, so that their very Enemies could not behold so miserable a Spectacle without Horror, and Compassion. This, Some say, was the chief Provocation that stirred up Cassius to conspire against Caesar; but they are much in the wrong: For Cassius had from his Youth a natural Hatred and Rancour against the whole Race of Tyrants, which he shewed when he was but a Boy; and went to the same School with Faustus, the Son of Sylla; for He speaking, great Words amongst the Boys, and extolling the unlimited Command of his Father, Cassius rose up, and struck him two or three Boxes on the Ear: which when the Tutors and Relations of Faustus designed to enquire into, and to prosecute, Pompey forbade them, and sending for both the Boys together, examined the Matter Himself. And Cassius then is reported to have said thus, Come on, Faustus, dare to speak before This Man those Words that provoked me, that I may strike thee again as I did before. Such was the Disposition of Cassius.

But Brutus by many Persuasions of his familiar Friends, and many Letters from unknown Citizens, was rouzed up and pushed on to this Undertaking. For under the Statue of his Ancestor Brutus, who overthrew the Kingly Government, they wrote these words, O that we had a Brutus now! And, O that Brutus were alive! And Brutus's own Tribunal, on which he sat as Praetor, was filled each Morning with such Inscriptions as these, You are asleep, Brutus; and You are not a true Brutus. Now the Flatterers of Caesar were the Occasion of all This, for among other invidious Honours which they strove to fasten upon Caesar, they crowned his Statues by Night, with a design to stir up the People
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People to salute him King instead of Dictator. But the quite contrary came to pass, as I have more particularly shewn in the Life of Caesar.

When Cassius sollicited Friends to engage in this Design against Caesar, all readily consented upon Condition Brutus would be Head of the Conspiracy; for their Opinion was, that for this Enterprise they wanted not Hands or Resolution, but the Reputation and Authority of a Man; such as he was, to lead them on, (1) and by his Presence justifie the Undertaking: That without Him they should go about this Action with less Heart; and should lie under greater Suspicions when they had done it; because they knew all the World would think that if the Action were just and honourable, they were sure Brutus would not refuse to engage in it.

Cassius having considered these things with himself, went to Brutus, and made him the first Visit after their falling out, and after the Compliments of Reconciliation passed, and former Kindnesses renewed between them, he asked him, if he designed to be present at the Senate on the Calends of March, for it was discoursed, he said, that Caesar's Friends intended then to move that he might be made King. When Brutus answered, That he would not be there: But what, says Cassius, if they should send for us? It is my Business then, replied Brutus, not to hold my Peace, but to stand up boldly, and die for the Liberty of my Country. To which Cassius, with some Concern, answered, But what Roman will suffer you to die? What, do you not know yourself, Brutus? Or do you think that those Inscriptions that you find upon your Praetor's Seat, were put there by

(1) This is much to the Honour of Brutus; but how can we sufficiently deplore the Illusion those Men were under, who thought the Murder of Caesar would pass for an Action full of Honour and Justice if Brutus would be an Accomplice in it!

Weavers.
Weavers, Victuallers, or the vile Rabble, and not by the first and most powerful Men of Rome? From other Prætors indeed they expect Largeges and Shows and Gladiators, (1) but from You they claim, as an hereditary Debt, the Extirpation of Tyranny; they are all ready to suffer any thing on your account, if you will but shew your self such as they think you are, and expect you should be. Which said, he fell upon Brutus, and embraced him; and after This they parted, each to their several Friends.

Among those of Pompeys Faction there was one Caius Ligarius, whom Cæsar had pardoned, tho' accused for having been in Arms against him. This Man, not being so thankful for having been forgiven, as stomaching that Power which made him need a Pardon, hated Cæsar, but was one of Brutus his most intimate Friends. Brutus visiting him one day and finding him sick, O Ligarius, says he, in what a time have you found out to be sick? At which Words Ligarius raising himself, and leaning on his Elbow, took Brutus by the Hand, and said, But, O Brutus, if you are on any Design worthy of your self I am well. From this time they tried the Inclinations of all their Acquaintance that they durst trust, and communicated the Secret to them, and took also into the Conspiracy not only their familiar Friends, but as many as they believed bold and brave, and Despisers of Death. For which Reason they concealed the Plot from Cicero, tho' he was very much trusted, and as well beloved by

(1) This Idea is full of Energy. What Force of Eloquence must there be in that Thought, which considers the Abolition of Tyranny effected by Junius Brutus, as a Debt upon his Descendants, who are obliged to discharge it! As long as there is one Brutus left of that Family he is bound to extirpate Tyran...
them All, left to his own Disposition, which was naturally timorous, adding the Wariness and Caution of old Age, and weighing every Particular, that he might not make one Step without the greatest Security, he should blunt the Edge of their Forwardness and Resolution, in a Business which required all the Dispatch imaginable.

There were also two Others who were Companions of Brutus; Statilius the Epicurean, and Favonius a Follower of Cato, whom he left out of the Conspiracy, for this Reason: As he was discourseing one Day with them at a distance, and proposing some Questions to be disputed of as among Philosophers, to try what Opinion they were of, Favonius declared his Judgment to be, That a Civil War was worse than the most unjust Tyranny: And Statilius held, That to bring himself into Troubles and Danger, upon the Account of evil or foolish Men, did not become a Man who had any Wisdom or Discretion. (1) But Labeo who was present, contradicted them Both; and Brutus, as if it had been an intricate Dispute, and difficult to be decided, held his Peace for that time; but afterwards discovered the whole Design to Labeo, who readily undertaking it, the next thing that was thought convenient, was to gain the other Brutus, sir-named Albinus, a Man of himself of no great Bravery or Courage, but considerable for the Number of Gladiators which he bred up for the publick Shews, and the great Confidence Caesar put in him. When Cassius and Labeo discourseed with him concerning this Matter, he gave them no Answer: but meeting Brutus Himself alone, and finding that He was their Captain, he

(1) Philosophy indeed furnished with many good Arguments on the other side. But I should have been glad if Plutarch had told us those used by Labeo; for it is certain that the Maxims of Statilius and Favonius were founded upon Reason.
readily consented to partake in the Action; and the very Name of Brutus brought many Others, and Those of the best Quality, over to the Conspirators: Who tho' they neither gave or took any Oath of Secrecy, nor used any other sacred Rite, to assure their Fidelity to each other, yet all of them kept their Design so close, were so wary, and managed it so silently among themselves, that tho' by Prophecies, by wonderful Apparitions and Prodigies, and by the Entrails of sacrificed Beasts, the Gods gave Warning of the Conspiracy, yet could it not be believed.

Now Brutus considering that the greatest Men of all Rome for Virtue, Birth or Courage, depended wholly upon Him, and surveying with Himself all the Dangers they were to encounter, ftove as much as possible, when abroad, to keep his Uneasiness of Mind to Himself, and compose his unquiet Thoughts; but at home, and especially at Night, he was not the same Man, but sometimes his working care would make him start out of his Sleep, and other times he was so taken up with Thoughts, and so perplexed in his Mind, that his Wife, who lay by him, could not chuse but take notice that he was full of unusual Trouble, and had some dangerous and difficult Affair in Agitation. Porcia, as was said before, was the Daughter of Cato, and Brutus, tho' her Cousin-german, had married her very young, tho' not a Maid, but after the Death of her former Husband, by whom she had one Son named Bibulus after his Father; and there is a little Book of His still extant, called The Memoirs of Brutus. This Porcia being addicted to Philosophy, a great Lover of her Husband, and full of Courage and Prudence, resolved not to enquire into Brutus his Secrets, before she had made this Tryal of her Patience and Resolution. She turned all her Attendants out of her Chamber, and
and taking a little Knife, such as they use to cut Nails with, she gave her self a deep Gash in the Thigh, upon which followed a great Flux of Blood, and soon after violent Pains, and a dangerous Fever, occasioned by the Anguish of the Wound. Now when Brutus was mightily afflicted for her, she in the height of all her Pain spoke thus to him: I, Brutus, being the Daughter of Cato, was given to you in Marriage, not like a Concubine, to partake only in the common Civilities of Bed and Board, but to bear a part in all your good, and all your evil Fortunes: And for my part, when I look upon you, I find no Reason to repent the Match; but from Me, what Evidence of my Love, what Satisfaction can you receive, if I may not share with you in bearing your most hidden Griefs, nor be admitted to any of your Counsels that require Secrecy and Trust? I know very well that Women seem to be of too weak a Nature to be trusted with Secrets; but certainly, Brutus, a virtuous Birth and Education, and a Conversation with the Good and Honourable, are of some force to the forming our Manners, and strengthening our natural Weakness. And I can boast that I am the Daughter of Cato, and the Wife of Brutus; in which two great Titles, tho' before I put too little Confidence, yet now I have try'd my self, and find, that even against Grief and Pain it self I am invincible. Which Words having spoke, she shewed him her Wound, and related to him the whole Tryal that she had made of her own Constancy: At which, being astonished, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and begged the Assistance of the Gods in his Enterprize, that he might live to be a Husband worthy of such a Wife as Porcia. So having ordered the Wound to be dressed he comforted his Wife and left her.

A Meeting of the Senate being appointed, at which it was generally believed that Caesar would be present, the Conspirators agreed to make use of
that Opportunity: For then they might appear all together without Suspicion; and besides they had Hopes that all the most noble and leading Men of the Common-wealth who would be then assembled, as soon as the Deed was done, would immediately appear for them, and assert the common Liberty. (1) The very Place too where the Senate was to meet, seemed to be, by Divine Appointment, favourable to their Purpose: It was a Porch that had one Nich towards the Theater, in which there stood a Statue of Pompey, erected to him by the Common-wealth, when it adorned that part of the City with the Porticos and the Theater. To this Place it was that the Senate was called on the Ides of March; so that some God seemed to Them to bring Caesar thither, to revenge upon him the Death of Pompey.

As soon as it was Day, Brutus taking with him a Dagger, which none but his Wife knew of, went abroad: The rest met together at Cassius his House, and brought forth his Son, that was that Day to put on the Manly Gown, as it was called, into the Forum; and from thence going all to Pompey's Porch, stayed there, and expected the coming of Caesar to the Senate. Here it was chiefly that any one who had known what they had purposed, would have admired the unconcerned Temper, and the steady Resolution of these Men, in the most dangerous Undertaking; for many of them being Pratois, and by their Office obliged to judge and determine Causes, did not only hear calmly all who

(1) How inconstant is the Mind of Man! These Conspirators thought Providence itself interposed, and assigned the Place, where Pompey's Statue was erected, for the Murder of Caesar, in Revenge upon Him for the Death of Pompey. They fancy Caesar was going to be punished for a Murder which he never committed, and They are going to commit one Themselves. And will not Providence be an Avenger of That likewise?
made any Application to them, or had any Suit depending before them, as if they were free from all other Thoughts, but decided Causes with as much Accuracy and Judgment, as they had heard them with Attention and Patience. And when a certain Person refused to stand to the Award of Brutus, and with great Clamour and many Attestations appealed to Caesar, Brutus looking round about him upon Those who were present, said, Caesar does not binder me, nor shall He binder me from doing according to the Laws. Yet there were many unusual Accidents that disturbed them, and by mere chance were thrown in their way: The first and chiefest was, The long Stay of Caesar, tho' the Day was far spent, he being detained at home by his Wife, and forbidden by the Southsayers to go forth upon some Defect that appeared in his Sacrifice. Another was This, There came a Man up to Cassca, one of the Conspirators, and taking him by the Hand, You concealed, said he, the Secret from Me, but Brutus has told me all. At which Words when Cassca was surprized, the other said laughing, How come you to be so rich of a sudden as to stand to be chosen Aedile? So near was Cassca to have discovered the Secret, being deceived by the Ambiguity of the other's Discourse. Then Popilius Læna, a Senator, having saluted Brutus and Cassius very obligingly, whispered them softly in the Ear, and said, My Wishes are with you, that you may accomplish what you design, and I advise you to make no delay, for the thing is now no Secret. This said, he parted, and left them in a great Confusion, suspecting that the Design had taken Vent. In the mean while there came one in all haste from Brutus his House, and brought him News that his Wife was dead: For Porcia being extremly disturbed with Expectation of this Event, and not able to bear the greatness of her Cares,
Cares, could scarce keep her self within Doors; and at every little Noise or Voice she heard, leaping forth, and starting suddenly, like one of the mad Priestesses of Bacchus, asked every one that came from the Forum, What Brutus was doing? and continually sent one Messenger after Another to enquire. At last, after long Expectation, the Strength of her Body could hold out no longer, but overcome with her Doubts and Fears, she fainted away. She had not time to betake her self to her Chamber, for as she was sitting amongst her Women, a sudden Want of Spirits, and a great Stupeness seized her, and her Colour changed, and her Speech failed her. At this Sight her Women made a great and lamentable Outcry, and many of the Neighbours running to Brutus' House, to know what was the Matter; the Report was soon spread abroad that Porcia was dead; tho' she recovered in a little while, and came to her self again. When Brutus received this News, he was extremly troubled, nor without Reason, yet was he not so carried away by his private Grief, as to neglect the publick Concern: For now News was brought that Caesar was coming, carried in a Sedan; for being discouraged by the ill Omens that attended his Sacrifices, he had determined to undertake no Affairs of any great Importance that Day, but to defer them 'till another time, pretending that he was sick. As soon as he came out of his Sedan, Popilius Læna, He who but a little before had wished Brutus good Success in his Undertaking, coming up to him, discoursed a great while with him, Caesar standing still all the while, and seeming to be very attentive. The Conspirators not being able to hear what he said, but guessing, by what Themselves were conscious of, that this Conference was the Discovery of their Treason, were strangely dejected, and looking upon one another,
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other, agreed from each other's Countenances, that they should not stay to be taken, but should all kill themselves. And now, when Cassius and some others were laying Hands upon their Daggers under their Robes, and were drawing them out, Brutus viewing narrowly the Looks and Gesture of Cæsar, and finding that he was earnestly petitioning, and not accusing, said nothing, because there were many Strangers to the Conspiracy mingled amongst them; but with a cheerful Countenance encouraged Cassius. And after a little while, Cæsar having kissed Cæsar's Hand, went away, shewing plainly, that all his Discourse was about some particular Business relating to Himself.

Now when the Senate was gone in before to the Place where they were to sit, some of the Conspirators got close to Cæsar's Chair, pretending they had some Suit to make to him, and Cassius turning his Face to Pompey's Statue, is said to have invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his Prayers.

(1) Trebonius in the mean-while drew Antony towards the Door, and kept him in Talk without the Court. Cæsar now entered, and the whole Senate rose up to him: As soon as he was fated down, they all seemingly very officious crowded round about him, and let Tullius Cimbœ, one of their own Number, to intercede in behalf of his

(1) In the Life of Cæsar we are told that Antony was detained without by Brutus Albinius; and there he tells us it was by Trebonius. This is a manifest Contradiction; and not possible to be got over. Plutarch was mistaken in the Life of Cæsar, and here he hits upon the Truth. All the Historians who mention this Action, say it was Trebonius, who entertained Antony at the Door. And Cicero, who is more to be relied upon than all the Historians put together, saith in express Terms in his second Philippic, addressing his Speech to Antony Himself, Quam interictum Cæsar, tum te in Trebonio vidimus sevocari. And in the third, Scholast. Cæsar tum? Quo cleberis? quis quod Te idibus Martis debitis sibi pesse seduxit. Intimating that Antony deferred the same Fate with Cæsar.

Brother
Brother who was banished; they all joined their Prayers with His, and took Caesar by the Hand, and kissed his Head and his Breast. But He rejecting at first their Supplications, and afterwards, when he saw they would not desist, violently rising up, Tullius with both Hands caught hold of his Robe, and pulled it off from his Shoulders, and Caesar, who stood behind him, drawing his Dagger, gave him the first, but a slight Wound, near the Shoulder. Caesar presently catching hold of the Handle of the Dagger, and crying out aloud in Latin, Villain Cæsar what dost thou? He in Greek calling to his Brother, bid him come and help him. Now being wounded by a great many Hands, and looking round about him to see if there was any way to escape, as soon as ever he espied Brutus with his Dagger drawn against him he let go Caesar's Hand, and covering his Head with his Robe, gave up his Body to the barbarous Murthers. They so eagerly pressed towards the Body, and so many Daggers were hacking together, that the Conspirators cut one another; Brutus particularly received a Wound in his Hand, and All of them were besmeared with Blood.

Caesar being thus slain, Brutus stepping forth into the middle of the Senate-house, intended to have made a Speech, and called back, and encouraged the Senators to stay; but they all frightened, ran away in great Disorder, and there was a great Confusion and Press of People about the Gate, tho' None pursued or followed; for they had firmly resolved to kill no Body besides Caesar, but to call and invite all the rest to Liberty. It was indeed the Opinion of all the Others, when they consulted about the Execution of their Design, that it was necessary to cut off Antony with Caesar, looking upon Him as an insolent Man, an Affecter of Monarchy, and one who had gained a powerful
ful Interest by his Conversation and Acquaintance in the Army. And This they urged the rather, because at that time, to the natural Ambition and Haughtiness of his Temper, there was added the Dignity of being Consul and Colleague to Cæsar. But Brutus opposed this Counsel, insistig first upon the Injustice of it, and afterwards giving them Hopes that a great Change might be worked in Antony. For he did not despair, but that Cæsar being taken off, so honourable a Man and such a Lover of Glory as Antony, stirred up with Emulation of their great Attempt, would lay hold of this Occasion to be joint Restorer with Them of the Liberty of his Country. Thus did Brutus save Antony's Life, but He in the general Consternation put himself into a Plebeian Habit and fled. Brutus and his Party betook themselves to the Capitol, and in their way shewing their Hands all bloody, and their naked Swords, proclaimed Liberty to the People. At the first all Places were filled with Lamentation; and the wild running to and fro, occasioned by the sudden Surprise and Passion that every one was in, made a great Tumult in the City. But no other Murther following, and no Man being spoiled of his Goods, the Senators and many of the People took Courage, and went up to the Conspirators in the Capitol. Brutus made an Oration to them very Popular, and proper for the State Affairs were then in. Therefore when they applauded his Speech, and cried out to him to come down, they all took Confidence, and descended into the Forum; the rest were promiscuously mingled with one another; but many of the most eminent Quality attended Brutus, conducted him between them with great Splendor from the Capitol, and placed him in the Rostrum. At the Sight of Brutus the Rabble, though consisting of a confused Mixture, and all disposed to make a Tumult,
mult, were struck with Reverence, and expected what he would say, with Order and with Silence, and when he began to speak, heard him with all imaginable Quiet and Attention. But they all made it appear soon after how much they were displeased at the Action; for when Cinna began to speak, and accuse Caesar, they broke out into a sudden Rage, and railed at him in such opprobrious Language, that the Conspirators thought fit again to withdraw to the Capitol, and Brutus expecting to be besieged, dismissed the most Eminent of those who had accompanied them thither, not thinking it just that They who were not Partakers of the Fact should share in the Danger. But the next Day the Senate being assembled in the Temple of Tellus, and Antony and Plancus and Cicero having made Orations, to move the People to forget what was past, and to be mutually reconciled, it was decreed, That the Conspirators should not only be put out of all Fear or Danger, but that the Consuls should take care of what Honours and Dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. When This was done, the Senate broke up, and Antony having sent his Son as an Hostage to the Capitol, Brutus and his Accomplices came down, and mutual Salutes and Invitations past between them. Antony invited Cassius to Supper, Lepidus did the same by Brutus, and the rest were invited and treated by Others, as each of them had either Acquaintance or Friends among them.

As soon as it was Day, the Senate ordered Thanks to Antony, for having stifled the beginning of a Civil War; afterwards Brutus and his Associates present received likewise the Thanks of the Senate, and had Provinces assigned, and distributed among them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and to the other Brutus that part of Gallia which lies
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lies about the Po. After these things, they began to consider of Caesar's Will, and the ordering of his Funeral; Antony desired that the Will might be read, and that the Body should not have a private or dishonourable Interment, lest that should further exasperate the People. This Cassius violently opposed, but Brutus yielded to it, in which he seems to have a second time miscarried: For as before in sparing the Life of Antony, he could not be without some blame from his Party, in preserving a Person who was a violent Enemy to the Conspiracy; so now in suffering him to have the ordering of the Funeral, he fell into a total and irrecoverable Error. For first, it appearing by the Will, that Caesar had bequeathed to the Roman People three hundred Seftercas a Man, and given to the Publick his Gardens beyond Tyber (where now the Temple of Fortune stands) the whole City was fired with a wonderful Affection for him, and a passionate Sense of the loss of him. And afterwards when the Body was brought forth into the Forum, Antony, as the Custom was, making a Funeral Oration in the Praire of Caesar, and finding the Multitude moved with his Speech, to stir them up yet farther to Compassion, he unfolded the bloody Garment of Caesar, shewed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his Wounds. Hereupon there was nothing to be seen but Confusion, Some cried out to kill the Murderers, Others (as was formerly done in the Case of Clodius that Firebrand of Sedition) tore away the Benches and Tables out of the Shops round about, and heaping them all together, raised a great Funeral Pile, and having put the Body of Caesar upon it, set it on Fire. The place wherein This was done, was surrounded with a great many Temples and other consecrated Houses, so that they seemed to burn the Body in a kind
a kind of sacred Solemnity: As soon as the Fire
flamed out, the Multitude rocking in, Some from
one part, and Some from Another, snatched the
Brands that were half burnt out of the Pile, and
ran about the City to fire the Houses of the Con-
spirators. But They having before-hand well for-
tified themselves, escaped the Danger.

There was a certain Poet, called Cinna, not at
all concerned in the Guilt of the Conspiracy, but
on the contrary one of Cæsar's Friends: This Man
dreamt that he was invited to Supper by Cæsar, and
that he denied to go, but that the Emperor en-
treated, and prest him to it very earnestly; and at
last taking him by the Hand led him into a very
deep and dark place, whither he was forced a-
gainst his Will to follow, in great Consternation
and Amazement. After this Vision he had a Fever
the most part of the Night, nevertheless in the
Morning hearing that the Body of Cæsar was to
be carried forth to be Interred, he was ashamed
not to be present at the Solemnity, but came a-
broad, and mingled himself with the People after
they had been thus stirred up, and enraged by the
Speech of Antony. The Multitude perceiving him,
and taking him not for that Cinna, (who indeed he
was) but for Him who a little before in a Speech
to the People had reproached and inveighed against
Cæsar, fell upon him and tore him to pieces. This
Action chiefly, and the Alteration that Antony
had wrought, so alarmed Brutus and his Party,
that for their Safety they retired from the City:
The first Stay they made was at Antium, with a
Design to return again as soon as the Fury of the
People had spent itself and was abated, which they
expected would soon and easily come to pass, in an un-
settled Multitude, apt to be carried away with such
sudden and impetuous gusts of Passion, especially
since they had the Senate so favourable to them:

Which
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Which though they took no notice of those who had torn Cinna to pieces, yet made a strict search, and apprehended in order to punishment such as had assaulted the Houses of the Conspirators. By this time also the people began to be dissatisfied with Antony, who they perceived was setting up a kind of Monarchy for Himself; they longed for the return of Brutus, whose presence they expected, and hoped for at the Games, and Spectacles, which He, as Praetor, was to exhibit to the Publick. But He having intelligence that many of the old Soldiers who had born arms under Caesar, by whom they had had Lands and Colonies given them, lay in wait for him, and by small parties at a time had stolen into the City, would not venture to come Himself; however in his absence, there were most magnificent and costly shows exhibited to the people; for having bought up a great number of all sorts of wild Beasts, he gave positive order, that not any of them should be given away, or saved, but that they should be all used in those Spectacles. He went in person as far as Naples, to procure a considerable number of Comedians; and hearing of one Canutius who was very much cried up for his acting upon the Stage, he wrote to his Friends, to use all their Entreaties to bring him to Rome, (for being a Graecian, he could not be compelled;) he wrote also to Cicero, begging him by no means to omit being present at the Publick Shews.

This was the posture of Affairs, when another sudden alteration was made, upon Octavius his arrival at Rome; he was Son to the sister of Caesar, who adopted him, and left him heir by his will. At the time when the Murther was committed, he was following his studies at Apollonia, where he staid expecting to meet Caesar, in the expedition he had designed against the Parthians; but hear-
the hearing of his death he immediately came to Rome, and to ingratiate himself with the People, taking upon Himself the Name of Caesar, and punctually distributing among the Citizens the Money that had been left them by the Will, he soon got the better of Antony; and by his Large issues, which he liberally dispersed amongst the Soldiers, gathered together and brought over to his Party, a great number of Those who had served under Caesar. Cicero Himself, out of the Hatred which he bore to Antony, sided with Octavius; which Brutus took so ill, that he treated with him very sharply in his Letters, telling him, That he perceived Cicero could well enough endure a Tyrant, but was afraid that He who hated him should be the Man; that in writing and speaking so well of Octavius, he showed that his only aim was to enjoy an easy and gentle Slavery: But our Forefathers (said Brutus) could not brook even gentle Masters. Further he added, That for his own part he had not as yet fully resolved, whether he should make War or Peace: But that as to one point he was fixed and settled, which was never to be a Slave; that he wondered Cicero should fear the danger of a Civil War, and not be much more afraid of a dishonourable and infamous Peace: That all he could hope for in destroying the Tyranny of Antony, was to make Octavius the Tyrant. And this is the Substance of Brutus's first Letters to Cicero.

The City being now divided into two Factions, Some betaking themselves to Caesar, and Others to Antony, the Soldiers selling themselves, as it were, by publick Out-cry, and going over to Him who would give them most, Brutus began to despair of any good Event of such Proceedings, and resolving to leave Italy, passed by Land through Leucania, and came to Elea which is situated on the Sea-side. From hence it was thought convenient, that Porcia should return to Rome; she was overcome with Grief
Grief to part from Brutus, but strove as much as was possible to conceal it; but in spite of all her Manly Resolutions, a Picture which she found there accidentally betrayed it. The Story of it was that Parting of Hector from Andromache, when he went to engage the Greeks, giving his young Son Astyanax into her Arms, and Andromache fixing her Eyes upon him, with an earnest and affectionate Look. As soon as she espied this Piece, the resemblance it bore to her own Concern made her burst out into Tears, and several times a Day she walked where that Picture hung to gaze at it, and weep before it. Upon this occasion, when Acilius, one of Brutus’s Friends, repeated out of Homer these Verses, wherein Andromache faith,

Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
My Father, Mother, Brethren, all in Thee. Pope.

Brutus replied with a smile, But I must not answer Porcia, as Hector did Andromache,

—hasten to thy Task at home,
There guide the Spindle, and direct the Loom. Pope.

For tho’ the natural Weakness of her Body binders her from acting what only the Strength of Men can perform, yet she has a Mind as valiant, and as active for the good of her Country, as the Best of us. This Relation is in the Memoirs of Brutus, written by Bibulus, the Son of Porcia.

Brutus took Ship from thence, and sailed to Athens, where he was received by the People with great Demonstrations of Kindness, which they expressed in their loud Acclamations, and the Honours decreed him by the Publick. He lived there with one who had been formerly his Guest, and was a constant Auditor of Themistocles the Academick, and
Cratippus the Peripatetick, with whom he was so engaged in a Philosophical Conversation, that he seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of publik Business, that he might be wholly at leisure for Study and Philosophy. But all this while being unsuspected he was secretly making Preparation for War, in order to which he sent Herodotus into Macedonia, to bring over the Commanders that were there to his side, and He Himself careless and won upon the Affections of all the young Roman Gentlemen, who were then Students at Athens. Of this Number was Cicero's Son, whom he every where highly extolled, and said, that whether sleeping or waking, he could not choose but admire a young Man of so great a Spirit, and such a Hater of Tyrants.

At length he began to act openly, and to appear in publik Business; and being informed, that there were several Roman Ships very richly laden, that in their Course from Asia were to touch at Athens, and that they were commanded by one of his Friends, he went and met him near Carystus, a City of Euboea. There entering into a Conference with him he persuaded him to deliver up the Ships to Him, and made him a very splendid Entertainment, for it happen'd to be his Birthday. Now when they came to drink somewhat briskly, and were making Libations for Victory to Brutus, and Liberty to Rome; Brutus, to animate them the more, called for a larger Bowl, and holding it in his Hand, upon no Occasion or Fore-thought on a sudden pronounced aloud this Verse,

(1) Fate and Apollo against me conspire.

Some

(1) This was spoken to Helor that Brutus quoted it on a sudden by Patroclus at the point of Death, and Plutarch will have it without any Premeditation, or any preceding Circumstance to prompt
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Some Historians write, that in the last Battle which he fought at Philippi, the Word that he gave to the Soldiers was Apollo, and from thence conclude, that this sudden unaccountable Exclamation of His was a Prologue of the great Overthrow that he suffered there.

Antistius, the Commander of those Ships, at his Parting gave him five hundred thousand Sesterces of the Money that he was conveying to Italy. And all the Remains of Pompey's Army, which after their General's Defeat wandered about Thessaly, readily and joyfully joined themselves to Brutus. Besides this he took from Cinna five hundred Horse which he was leading to Dalabell in Asia. After that he sailed to Demetrius, and there seized a great Quantity of Arms, which had been provided by the Command of Julius Caesar for the Parthian War, and were now designed to be sent to Antony. Then was Macedonia put into his Hands, and delivered up by Hortensius the Praetor, and all the Kings and Potentates round about willingly offered themselves to join with him. When News was Brought that Caius, the Brother of Antony, having passed through Italy, was marched on directly to join the Forces that Gabinius commanded in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, Brutus designed to prevent him, and to seize them first, and in all haste moved forwards with as many as he had about him; his March was very difficult, through rugged Places, and in a great Snow, but so swift, that he had left

prompt him to it. But we are not to imagine that it was pronounced by Brutus inconsiderately, and at Random. They were then drinking to the Liberty of Rome; this Liberty was the Fruit of Caesar's Death, and as his Imagination was full of that Action he pronounced this Verse in Hor.
Those who were to bring his Provisions a great Way behind. And now being very near to Dysrracrium, with Weariness and Cold, he fell into a Distemper called Bulimia, or Violent Hunger: This is a Disease which seizes both Men and Cattle, after much Labour, and especially in a great Snow: Whether it is caused by the natural Heat, which, when the Body is seized with Cold, is forced all inwards, and suddenly consumes all the Nourishment laid in; or whether the sharp and subtil Vapour, which comes from the Snow as it dissolves, cuts the Body, as it were, and destroys the Heat which is thence dispersed through the Pores; for the Sweating, which are frequent in this Distemper, seem to arise from the Heat meeting with the Cold, and being quenched by it in the Superficies of the Body. But of This I have discoursed more at large in another place. Brutus growing very faint, and there being none in the whole Army who had any thing for him to eat, his Servants were forced to have Recourse to the Enemy, and going as far as to the very Gates of the City, begged Bread of the Centinels that were upon Duty. As soon as they heard of the sad Estate of Brutus, they came Themselves, and brought both Meat and Drink along with them; for which Act of Humanity Brutus, when he took the City, shewed all Kindness and Civility, not to Them only, but to all the rest of the Inhabitants for their Sakes.

Caius Antonius being now arrived at Apollonia, summoned all the Soldiers that were quartered near that City to join him there; but finding that they nevertheless went all to Brutus, and suspecting that even Those of Apollonia were inclined to the same Party, he quitted that City, and came to Butbro- tus; having first lost three Companies of his Men, who in their March thither were cut to Pieces by Brutus. After This attempting to make himself
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Matter of some strong Places about Byllius, which the Enemy had first seized, he was overcome in a set Battel by young Cicero, to whom Brutus gave the Command of the Army that Day, and whose Conduct he made Ufe of often, and with great Success. Caius Antonius was surprized in a marshy Place, from whence he could not retire; and Brutus, having him in his Power, would not suffer his own Soldiers to fall upon Those of the Enemy; but encompassing them with his Horse, gave Command that none of them should be killed, for that in a little time they would All be of his side; which accordingly came to pass, for they surrendered both Themselves and their General: So that Brutus had by this time a very great and considerable Army. He shewed all Marks of Honour and Esteem to Caius Antonius for a long time, nor took away any of his Titles or Dignities, tho' as Some report, he had several Letters from Rome, and particularly from Cicero, advising him to put him to Death. But at last Brutus perceiving that he began to hold private Consuits, and corrupt his Officers, and was raising a Sedition amongst the Soldiers, he put him aboard a Ship, and kept him close Prisoner. In the mean time, the Soldiers who had been corrupted by him were rejoyced to Apollonia, from whence they sent Brutus Word that if he would come thither to them they would return to their Duty. He answered, That This was not the Custom of the Romans, but that it became Those who had offended to come Themselves to their General, and beg Forgiveness of their Crimes, which they did, and accordingly received their Pardon.

As he was preparing to pass into Asia, there was an Account brought to him of the Alteration that had happened at Rome, where the young Cesar assisted by the Senate, in Opposition to Antony, was got into great Power. And having now
thrown his Competitor out of Italy, began Himself to be very formidable; Suing for the Consulship contrary to Law, and maintaining a great Army, of which the Common-wealth had no manner of Need. At length perceiving that the Senate, dissatisfied with his Proceedings, began to cast their Eyes abroad upon Brutus, and decreed and confirmed the Government of several Provinces to Him, he was in some Apprehension of Danger. Therefore dispatching Messengers to Antony, he desired that there might be a Reconciliation, and a strict Friendship between them. Then drawing all his Forces about the City he in a manner forced them to chuse him Consul, tho' he was but very young, being scarce twenty Years old, as He Himself writes in his Commentaries. At his first Entry upon the Consulship he immediately ordered a Judicial Process to be issued out against Brutus and his Accomplices, for having murdered the greatest Man, and the highest Magistrate of Rome, without being heard or condemned; and appointed L. Cornificius to accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa to accuse Cassius. None appearing to plead their Cause, the Judges were forced to pass Sentence and condemn them Both. It is reported, that when the Crier (as the Custom was) with a loud Voice cited Brutus to appear, the People could not keep in their Sighs, and Those of the best Quality hung down their Heads for Grief. Publius Silicius was seen to burst out into Tears, which was the Cause that not long after he was put down in the Lift of Those who were proscribed. Now the Triumviri, Caesar, Antony and Lepidus, being perfectly reconciled, shared the Provinces among Themselves, and made up that black Lift or Proscription of two hundred Roman Citizens, who had a Price set upon their Heads, and were doomed to die, in which Number was Cicero, who was slain on that Occasion.
This News being brought to Brutus in Macedonia, he was forced to send Orders to Hortensius, that he should kill Caius Antonius, in Revenge of the Death of Cicero, his Friend, and Decius Brutus, near Kinsham, who also was proscribed and slain. Upon this Account it was that Antony, having afterwards taken Hortensius in the Barrel of Philip, slew him upon his Brother's Tomb. Brutus declared openly (1) that he was more ashamed for the Cause of Cicero's Death, than grieved for the Misfortunes of it, and could not help accusing his Friends at Rome, who were Slaves more through their own Fault than of Those who Lorded it over them: and could see and be present, and yet suffer these things, which even to hear related, ought to have been insupportable.

Brutus having caused his Army, which was already very considerable, to pass into Asia, ordered a Fleet to be made ready in Bithynia and Cyzicium for them to embark in: But himself going the Way by Land, took Care to settle and confirm to Himself all the Cities, and gave Audience to the Princes of the Parts through which he passed; and sent Orders to Cassius in Syria to come to him, and leave his intended Journey into Egypt, letting him understand, that it was not to gain an Empire for Themselves, but to free their Country, that they had got an Army together; that they were not to run wandering up and down, but remembering what they had undertaken, and persevering in their first Intentions, they ought not to be too far from Italy, but to make what haste they could thither, and endeavour to relieve their Fellow-Citizens.

(1) For the Death of Cicero, who was then sixty four Years of Age, was a common Accident, and might have been borne with; but nothing could be more horrid and deplorable than that accused League which was the Cause of it, and under which the whole Empire most shamefully truckled. This was what ought to be lamented by every true Roman.
Cassius obeyed his Summons, and set out to join him. At the same time Brutus went to meet him, and their first Interview was at Smyrna. This was the first time they had seen one another since they parted at Piræus in Athens; One for Syria, and the Other for Macedonia. They were Both overjoyed, and raised to the highest Degree of Confidence of their Success, from the Forces that each of them had got together: for whereas when they left Italy they were forced in a manner to fly from it like despicable Exiles, without Money, without Arms, without a Ship, a Soldier, or City to rely on, they were now notwithstanding in so short a space met together, so well-furnished with Shipping and Money, and an Army both of Horse and Foot, that they were in a Condition to contend for the Empire of Rome. Cassius was desirous to shew as much Respect and Honour to Brutus, as Brutus did to Him: But Brutus still prevented him, for the most part coming to Him, both because he was the elder Man, and of a more weakly Constitution than Himself. Men generally reckoned Cassius a very expert Soldier, but of a harsh and angry Nature, and one who desired to Command rather by Fear than Love; though on the other side among his familiar Acquaintance he was given to scurrilous Jesting, and loved to play the Buffoon. But Brutus, for the sake of his Virtue, was esteemed by the People, beloved by his Friends, admired by all good Men, and hated by none, no, not even his very Enemies: For he was of an extraordinary mild Nature, great Magnanimity, insensible of the Passions of Anger, Pleasure, or Covetousness; steady and inflexible in his Opinion, and zealous for whatever he thought Just and Honest. And that which gained him the greatest Credit and Reputation among the People, was their inviolable Opinion of his Uprightness, and Integrity in all his Under-
Undertakings. Whereas no Man ever imagined that Pompey even Pompey the Great Himself, if He had overcome Caesar, would have submitted his Power to the Laws, but would have retained the Sovereign Authority in his own Hands, under the specious Name of Consul or Dictator, or some other mild and more popular Title, with which he would have soothed and cajoled the People. As for Cassius, a Man inclined to Passion, and carried often by his covetous Humour beyond the Bounds of Justice, they well knew that He endured all these Hardships of War, and Travel, and Danger, rather to obtain Dominion to Himself, than Liberty to the People. And as for the former Disturbers of the Peace of Rome, whether a Cinna, a Marius, or a Carbo, it is manifest that They having set their Country as a Stake for Him that should win, did almost own in express terms, that they fought for Empire. But even the Enemies of Brutus can't lay this Accusation to his Charge: Nay, many have heard Antony Himself say, That Brutus was the only Man who conspired against Caesar, out of a Sense of the Glory and Justice of the Action; but that all the rest rose up against the Man, and not the Tyrant, from their own private Malice and Emnity. And it is plain, that Brutus (by what he writes himself) did not so much rely upon his Forces, as upon his own Virtue: For thus he speaks in his Epistle to Atticus, immediately before he was to engage with the Enemy. That his Affairs were in the best State of Fortune, that he could wish; for that either he should overcome, and restore Liberty to the People of Rome, or die, and be Himself free from Slavery. That all things else were in a fixed and settled Condition, and that only one thing still remained doubtful and uncertain, which was whether they were to live or die Free Men. He adds further, That Mark Antony had received a just Punishment for his Folly,
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Folly, who when he might have been numbered with the Bruti, Cassii, and Catos, chose rather to join himself with Octavius, and if they were not both defeated in the ensuing battle, they would very soon fall out between themselves. And in this he seems to have been no ill Prophet. Now, when they were at Smyrna, Brutus desired Cassius that he might have part of the great Treasure that he had heaped up, because all his own was expended in furnishing out such a fleet of ships as was sufficient to keep the sea in their power. But the Friends of Cassius dissuaded him from this; for, said they, it is not just that the money which you with so much parsimony have saved, or got with so much envy, should be given to him, to be disposed of in making himself popular, and gaining the favour of the soldiers. Notwithstanding which, Cassius gave him a third part of all that he had; and then they parted each to their several commands. Cassius having taken Rhodes, behaved himself there with great cruelty; though at his first entry, when some had called him their King and Master, he answered, that he was neither king nor master, but the destroyer of Him who would have been their King and Master. Brutus, on the other part, sent to the Lycians, to demand from them a supply of money and men; but Nausates, a popular man among them, persuaded the city to rebel; so that some of the country possessed themselves of several little mountains and hills, with a design to hinder Brutus’s passage. Brutus, at first, sent out a party of horse, which surprizing them at dinner, killed six hundred of them; and afterwards, having taken all their small towns and villages round about, he set all his prisoners free, without ransom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency. But they continued obstinate; filled with anger for what they had suffered, and despising his goodness and humanity;
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Manly; 'till having forced the most Warlike of them into the City of Xanthus, he besieged them there. Several endeavoured to make their Escape by Swimming and Diving under the River, but were taken by Nets for that purpose let down, which had little Bells at the top, to give present notice when Any were taken in them. The Xanthians after that made a Sally in the Night, and seizing several of the Battering Engines, let them on Fire; but being soon perceived by the Romans, were beaten back to their Wall; and there being a very violent Wind, it forced the Flames to the Battlements of the City with such fierceness, that several of the adjoining Houses took Fire. Brutus, fearing lest the whole City should be destroyed, commanded his own Soldiers to assist Those of the City, and to quench it. But the Lycians were on a sudden possessed with a strange and incredible Despair; such a Frenzy which cannot be better expressed than by calling it a violent Desire to die; for both Women and Children, the Bond-men and the Free, Persons of all Ages, and of all Conditions, strove to force away the Soldiers, who came in to their Assistance, from the Walls; and Themselves gathering together Reeds, and Wood, and other combustible Matter, spread the Fire over the whole City, feeding it with whatever Fuel they could get, and by all possible means exciting its Fury; so that the Flame having dispersed itself, and incircled the whole City, blazed out in so terrible a manner, that Brutus being extremely afflicted at their Calamity, got himself on Horse-back, and rid round the Walls, earnestly desirous to preserve the City; and stretching forth his Hands to the Xanthians, begged of them, that they would spare Themselves, and save their Town. Yet none regarded his Entreaties, but by all manner of ways hastened their own Destruction;
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situation; not only Men and Women, but even Boys and little Children, with a hideous Out-cry, Some leaped into the Fire, Others threw them- selves from the Walls, Others fell upon their Parent's Swords, opening their Breasts, and desiring to be slain.

When almost the whole City was reduced to Athes there was found a Woman who had hanged her self, with her young Child fastened to her Neck, and the Torch in her Hand, with which she had fired her own House: It was so Tragical a sight, that Brutus could not endure to see it; but wept at the very Relation of it; and proclaimed a Reward to any Soldier that could save a Xanthian. And it is said, that an hundred and fifty only were preserved, and even They against their Wills. Thus the Xanthians, after a long space of Years, the fatal Period of their Destruction being, as it were, accomplished, by their desperate Courage, revived the Memory of the Calamity of their Fore-fathers, who after the very same manner in the Persian War had fired their City, and destroyed themselves.

Brutus, after This, finding the Patarians resolved to make resistance, and hold out their City against him, was very unwilling to Besiege it; and was in great perplexity left the same Frenzy might seize Them too. But having in his Power some of their Women Captives, he dismissed them all without any Ransom; and They returning, and giving an account to their Husbands and Fathers, who were of the greatest Quality, what an excellent Man Brutus was; how Sober, how Temperate, and how Just, persuaded them to yield themselves, and put their City into his Hands. From this time, all the Cities round about came in to his Power, submitting themselves to him, and found him gracious and merciful, even beyond their hopes and
and Expectations. For though Cassius at the same time had compelled every Rhodian to bring in all the Silver and Gold he was Master of, by which means he raised a Sum of eight thousand Talents, and besides that, condemned the Publick to pay the Sum of five hundred Talents more; Brutus without taking above a hundred and fifty Talents from the Lycians, and without doing them any other Injury, parted from them with his Army to Ionia. Through the whole Course of this Expedition, Brutus did many memorable Acts of Justice, in dispensing Rewards and Punishments to Such as had deferved Either: One of which I will relate, because He Himself, and every honest Roman, were in a particular manner pleased with it. When Pompey the Great, being overthrown by Cæsar, had fled to Egypt, and landed near Pelusium, the Protectors of the young King consulted among themselves what was fit to be done on that Occasion; nor could they all agree in the same Opinion: Some being for receiving him, Others for driving him from Egypt: But Theodorus, a Chian by Birth, and a Mercenary Teacher of Rhetorick, then attending upon the King, and, for want of better Men, being admitted into the Council, undertook to convince them, that both Parties were in the wrong; as well They who counselled to receive Pompey, as They who advised to send him away: That in their present Case, one thing only was necessary, to seize him, and to slay him; and ended his Speech with the Proverb, That dead Men don't bite. The Council agreed to his Opinion, and Pompey the Great (an Example of incredible and unforeseen Events) was slain, and slain by the Rhetorick and Eloquence of Theodorus, as that Sophister Himself had the Impudence to boast. Not long after, when Cæsar came to Egypt, some of the Murtherers received their just Reward, and were
put to Death as they deserved. But Theodotus, though he had gained from Fortune a little time for a poor despicable and wandring Life; yet could not lye hid from Brutus, as he passed through Asia, but being seized by him and executed, became more memorable by his Death than from any Transaction in the whose Course of his Life.

About this time Brutus sent to Cassius, to come to him at the City of Sardis; and when he was on his Journey, went forth with his Friends to meet him; and the whole Army being in Array, saluted each of them with the Name of Emperor. Now (as it usually happens in Business of great Concern, and wherein many Friends; and many Commanders are engaged) several Jealousies of each other; and private Accusations having passed between Brutus and Cassius, they resolved before they entered upon any other Business, immediately to withdraw into some private Apartment; where the Door being shut, and They two alone, they began first to expostulate, then to dispute hotly, and accuse each other; after That from the Liberty of Speech and hard Words, that passed between them, they were transported into Paffion, and at last burst out into Tears. Their Friends, who stood without, were amazed, hearing them loud and angry; and feared lest some Mischief might follow, but yet durst not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the Room. But Marcus Favonius, one who had been a Follower of Cato, and not so much for his Reason or Wisdom, as for his wild and frantick Carriage, would pass for a Philosopher, was rushing in upon them, but was hindered by the Attendants; but it was a hard Matter to stop Favonius, where-ever his Wildness hurried him; for he was fierce and violent in all his Behaviour. And tho' he was a Senator; yet thinking That one of the least of his Excellencies, he valued him
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himself more upon a sort of Cynical Liberty of speaking what he pleased; which sometimes was diverting enough to those who could bear with his impertinent Scurrility. This Favonius breaking by Force through Those who kept the Doors, entered into the Chamber, and with a mimical Voice pronounced this Verse which Homer puts in the Mouth of Nestor,

Be ruled, for I am elder than you both.

This made Cassius laugh; but Brutus thrust him out, calling him a very Dog and counterfeit Cynick; but yet for the present This put an End to their Dispute, and they Both parted. Cassius made a Supper that Night, and Brutus invited his Friends thither; when they were fat down, Favonius having bathed came in among them; Brutus called out aloud, and told him, he was not invited, and bid him go sit at the lower End of the Table: But He violently thrust himself in, and sate down in the Middle. The Entertainment was seasoned with a Conversation neither void of Wit nor Learning.

The following Day, upon the Accusation of the Sardinians, Brutus publickly disgraced and condemned Lucius Pella, One who had been Censor of Rome, and been employed in Offices of Trust by Himself, for having embezelled the Publick Money. This Action did not a little vex Cassius; for, but a few Days before, Two of his own Friends being accused of the same Crime, He only in private admonished them, but in publick absolved, and continued them in their Office. Upon this Occasion he accused Brutus of too much Rigour and Severity of Justice, in a time which required them to use more Gentleness and Favour. In Answer to This, "Brutus bid him remember the Ides of March, (the Day when they killed Caesar) who..."
himself did neither vex nor grieve Mankind, but was only the Support and Strength of such as did. He bid him consider, that if there was any Colour for Justice to be neglected, it had been better to have suffered the Injustice of Caesar's Friends, than to give Impunity to their Own; for then, said he, we could have been accused of Cowardice only; whereas now if we connive at the Injustice of Others we make our selves liable to the same Accusation, and as we share with them in the Guilt, so likewise shall we partake with them in the Pains, and the Hazards that attend it." By which we may perceive what was Brutus's Purpose, and the Rule of all his Actions.

About the time that they had designed to pass out of Asia into Europe, it was said, that a wonderful Apparition was seen by Brutus. He was naturally given to much Watching, and being used to great Moderation in his Diet, and having perpetual Employment, (1) he allowed but a very small Portion of time for Sleep: He never slept in the Day-time, and in the Night then only when all his Business was finished, and when every one else being gone to Rest, he had no Body left to discourse with him. But at this time the War being begun, having the whole State of it to consider, and being very careful and fFacitous of the Event, after his first Sleep, which he took moderately just after Supper, he spent all the rest of the Night in managing his most urgent Affairs; which if he had dispatched in time, he employed himself in Reading, 'till the third Watch; at which time the Centurions and Tribunes were used to come to

(1) Plutarch by this Introduceth want of Rest. For a Head heated on disposed us to believe that by long watching sees what is the Phantom which Brutus unseen by Others, thought he saw was owing to his.
him for Orders. Thus one Night, before he passed out of Asia, he was very late all alone in his Tent, with a dim Light burning by him, all the rest of the Army being hushed and silent; and musing with himself, and very thoughtful, as he turned his Eye to the Door, he saw a terrible and strange Appearance of a prodigious and frightful Body coming towards him without speaking. Brutus boldly asked it, *What art thou? Man or God? Or, upon what Business dost thou come to us?* The Spirit answered, *I am thy Evil Genius, Brutus: Thou shalt see me at Philippi. To which Brutus, not at all disturbed, replied, Then I will see thee.*

As soon as the Apparition vanished, he called his Servants to him, who all told him, that they had neither heard any Voice, nor seen any Vision: From that time he continued watching, 'till the Morning; and then went to Caesius, and related to him the Apparition he had seen. He being bred up in the Principles of Epicurus's Philosophy, and being often used to dispute with Brutus concerning Matters of this Nature, spoke to him thus upon this Occasion; Brutus, *It is the Opinion of our Selves, that all that we feel or see, is not real and true; but that our Senses being apt to receive all sorts of Impressions are very treacherous; and the Imagination which is more quick and subtile, moves and varies them into all manner of Ideas, which have no real Existence in Nature, as readily as we imprint any Form upon Wax, so that it is easy for the Soul of Man, which has in itself both That which forms, and That which is formed, to vary it into what Shapes it pleases. This is evident from the sudden Changes of our Dreams, in which the Imagination upon very slight Principles, represents to us all sorts of Passions of the Soul, and Appearances of Things; for it is the Nature of the Mind to be in perpetual Motion, and that Motion is our Imagination and Thought: But besides all This,*
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in your case, the Body being tired and worn out with continual Labours and Cares, naturally works upon the Mind, and keeps it in Suspence and Trouble. But that there should be any such thing as Demons or Spirits, or if there were, that they should have human Shape, or Voice, or Power, that can reach to Us, (1) is altogether improbable, though. I confess (2) I could wish that there were such Beings, that we might not rely upon our Arms only, and our Horses, and our Navy, all which are so great and powerful, but might be confident of the Assistance of the Gods also, in this our most Sacred and Honourable Attempt.

With such Discourses as These, Cassius in some manner settled and composed the Mind of Brutus.

As soon as the Army began to march from whence they were encamped, two Eagles flew to them, and lighted on the two first Ensigns, and continually followed the Soldiers, and were fed by them 'till they came to Philippi, and there, but one Day before the Fight, they Both flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the Places and People of these Parts, but he marched on as far as to the Coasts of Thasos, that if there were any

(1) This Discourse of Cassius is made up of some Truth, and some Falshood. It is true that our Imagination when it is heated may mislead and impose upon us false Objects, which we see with the same Certainty as if they were real; but Cassius carries this Principle too far, when he faith it is altogether improbable that there should be Spirits. For it is most certain that there are such Beings, who can appear to us, speak to us, and foretell future Events. But such Apparitions of Spirits are like Dreams, Some of which are False, Some True, Some are the Children of our Imagination, and Others sent by God.

(2) This is an effectual way to cure Brutus of his Terrors. He first intimates that the Notion of Spirits is false and groundless, and then makes it appear that it was to be wished there were such, for in that Case they would not come to foretell them unfortunate but happy Events, and instead of being averse would be favourable and beneficient to them. So that upon this way of reasoning, be there Spirits, or be there not, Brutus his Phantom was false, no better than an Illusion of the imaginative Faculty of the Mind.
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City, or Man of Power, that yet stood out, he might force them all to Submission. In these Parts Norbanus was encamped, in a Place called The Streights, near Symbolon: Him they surrounded in such Sort, as they forced him to dislodge and quit the Place; and Norbanus narrowly escaped losing his whole Army; Cæsar, by reason of his Sicknes being left behind: For he had certainly been lost, had not Antony arrived to his Relief with such wonderful Swiftness, that Brutus could not believe he was come. Cæsar came up to the Army ten Days after. Brutus was encamped over-against him, and Cassius over-against Antony. The Space between the two Armies is called by the Romans the Plains of Philippi. Never did two so great Roman Armies appear Together ready to engage each other. The Army of Brutus was somewhat less in Number than That of Cæsar: But in the Splendidness of their Arms, and Richness of their Equipage, it did wonderfully exceed it; for most of their Arms were of Gold and Silver, which Brutus had lavishly bestowed among them: For though in other Things Brutus had accustomed his Commanders to use all Frugality and Moderation, (1) yet he thought that

(1) This was likewise the Sentiment of Cæsar, Habebatur tam cultos (Militis) us argento, & auro politis armis ornaret; similes & ad speciem, & quo tenaciares eorum essent in praxi metu damnui, Sueton, Jul. Cæs. 67. This was likewise the Sentiment of Sertorius, of whom Plutarch faith that he bestowed Silver and Gold upon them liberally to gild and adorn their Helmeis. But Mithridates was of another Opinion, of whom Plutarch saith in the Life of Lucullus, that he laid aside all the Armour bur-
that the Riches which Soldiers carried about them in their Hands, and on their Bodies, would stir up the Ambition of Tho\mone who were desirous of Glory; and make Them who were covetous, and Lovers of Gain, fight the more valiantly to preserve their Arms, which were their Estate.

_Cæsar_ made a View and Lustration of his Army within his Trenches, and distributed only a little Corn, and but five Drachmas to each Soldier for the Sacrifice. But _Brutus_, either pitying this Poverty, or disdaining this Meanness of Spirit in _Cæsar_, first, as the Custom was, made a general Muster and Lustration of his Army in the open Field, and then distributed a great number of Beasts for Sacrifice to every Band, and fifty Drachmas to every Soldier: So that in the Love of his Soldiers, and their readiness to fight for him, _Brutus_ had much the Advantage of _Cæsar_. At the time of Lustration, it is reported, that an unlucky Omen happened to _Cæsar_; for one of his Officers presenting him with a Garland that he was to wear at the Sacrifice, gave it him with the Inside outward: Farther, it is said, That some time be-

_Horis præmium esse._ If such rich Armour sometimes makes covetous Persons more hardly in Action, as _Brutus_ imagined, it may likewise dispose them to fly upon the first Shock on purpose to save it, and at the same time incite the Enemy to fight with more Courage and Resolution in hopes of gaining it. This puts me in mind of a great Commander, who said _Miles non times nifi vestis_. I must leave it to the Generals of the present Age to determine the Point. For my Part if I were to speak my Opinion I should think it proper to have the Troops well clothed and well armed, and leave the Gold and Finery to the Women or the Troops of Barbarians. This was the Sentiment of _Homer_, who in the second Book of his _Iliad_ makes an Officer belonging to the Trojan Allies go to fight bedaubed with Gold like a young Maiden.

_Οὐ ἐκείνός ἐχειν πᾶληνων_.

_κυριο_.

And this Gold proved of no other use to him than to make him the _Prey_ of _Ajax_, who killed him.
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fore, at a certain solemn Procession, (1) the Golden Image of Victory, which was carried before Cassius, fell down by a slip of Him that bore it. Besides This, there appeared many Birds of Prey daily about the Camp; (2) and several Swarms of Bees were seen in a Place within the Trenches, which Place the Soothsayers ordered to be shut out from the Camp, to remove the Superstition which insensibly began to prevail even with Cassius Himself, in spite of his Epicurean Philosophy, but had wholly infected and subdued the Soldiers: From whence it was that Cassius was very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a present Battel, but advised rather to draw out the War 'till farther time; considering that they were stronger in Money and Provisions, but in the Number of Men inferior. But Brutus, on the contrary, was still, as formerly, desirous to come with all speed to the Decision of a Battel; that so he might either restore his Country to her Liberty, or else deliver from their Misery all those Men who were harassed with the Expences, Troubles and Dangers of the War. And finding also his Light-Horse, in several Skirmishes, still to have had the better, he was the more encouraged and resolved: And some of the Soldiers having deserted, and gone to the Enemy, and others beginning to accuse and suspect one another, many of Cassius's Friends in the Council changed their Opinions to That of Brutus. But there was one of Brutus's Party, named Atellius, who opposed his Resolution, advising rather that

(1) Dio makes mention of all these Prodigies in his xlvii. Book: faith only, that a Soldier happened to slip, and fall down as he was carrying a Victory. He doth not say that this Image of Victory was of Gold, nor that it was born before Cassius. Plutarch seems to have been better informed in these Particulars than Dio.

(2) We have already seen in the Life of Dio that Bees were looked upon as an unlucky Omen, for which some Reason is given in that Place, Pag. 32 of this Volume.
they should tarry 'till the next Winter. And when Brutus asked him, In how much better a Condition be hoped to be a Year after? His Answer was, If I gain nothing else, yet I shall live so much the longer.

Cassius was much displeased at this Answer, as were all the Officers present, and they all resolved to give Battel the next Day. Brutus that Night at Supper shewed himself very cheerful and full of Hope; and entertained his Guests with Reasonings and Discourses of Philosophy, and afterwards went to his Rest. But Messala says, that Cassius supped privately with a few of his nearest Acquaintance; and that he appeared thoughtful and silent, contrary to his usual Temper and Custom. After Supper he took him by the Hand, and pressing it close as his Custom was, in Token of Good-will, he said to him in Greek, Bear witness for me, Messala, that I am brought into the same Necessity, as Pompey the Great was before me, of hazarding the Liberty of my Country upon one Battel: Yet ought we to be of Courage, relying on our good Fortune, which it were unjust to mistrust, though we have taken evil Counsels. These, Messala says, were the last Words that Cassius spake before he had him farewell; (1) and that He invited Cassius to sup with Him the next Night, being his Birth-day.

The next Morning as soon as it was light, the Signal of Battel, being a Scarlet Coat of Arms, was expos'd in the Camps of Brutus and Cassius, and They Themselves met in the middle space between their two Armies: There Cassius spoke thus

(1) This Passage is something obscure in the Original; for it leaves it a Doubt whether it was the Birth-day of Cassius, or Messala. I have made Choice of the latter Construction. Cassius, pensive and gloomy as he was, must be but little disposed to make an Invitation for the next Night. It must be Messala who did it, on the Account of his Birth-day, as the Custom then was among Friends on the like Occasion.
to Brutus, The Gods grant, O Brutus, that we may now overcome, and pass the rest of our Days in Repose and Prosperity. But since the greatest of human Concerns are the most uncertain, and since it will be very difficult for us ever to see one another again, if the Battel should go against us, tell me, what is your Resolution concerning Flight and Death? Brutus answered, When I was young, Cassius, and unskilful in Affairs, (1) I was engaged, I know not how, into an Opinion of Philosophy, which made me accuse Cato for killing himself, as being an irreligious Act in itself, and unworthy a Man to quit the Post in which Providence had placed him, and fly with Ignominy upon the first Provocation. (2) But the Situation I am in at present has made me alter my Opinion; so that if Providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our Wishes, I resolve to try no farther Hopes, nor make any more Preparations for War, but will die contented with my Fortune. (3) For I gave up my Life to the Service of my Country on the Ides of March; in Recompence for which I have ever since lived with Liberty and Honour.

Cassius at these Words smiled, and embracing Brutus, said, With these Resolutions let us go on upon the Enemy; for either We our selves shall conquer, or have no cause to fear Those who do. After This they discoursed among their Friends about the Or-

(1) That was the only true, and found Doctrine which had been taught Brutus in the School of the Academy, and He followed it because it was agreeable to the Light of Reason, and the Precepts of Truth itself. We shall see by what follows the fine Reasons he gives for this Change in Opinion.

(2) But why must this Change in Affairs make him alter his Opinion? Does Truth depend upon the Mutability of Fortune? Will that which is true to-day become false to-morrow, because an Alteration has happened in my Circumstances, and Fortune frowns upon me? This is weak reasoning indeed.

(3) Because by exposing his Life in that manner he delivered himself from the Yoke of Him whom he called Tyrant.
dering of the Battel: And Brutus desired of Cassius, that he might command the Right Wing, though it was thought a Post more fit for Cassius, in regard both of his Age, and his Experience: Yet even in This Cassius complied with Brutus, and placed Messala with the most valiant of all his Legions, in the same Wing. Brutus immediately drew out his Horse, excellently well equipped: and took the same Care of bringing up his Foot after them. Now Antony's Soldiers were casting a Trench from the Marsh by which they were encamped, to cut off Cassius's his Passage to the Sea. Caesar was at a distance in his Tent, not being able to be present Himself, by reason of his Sickness. And his Soldiers not expecting the Enemy would come to a set Battel, but only make some Excursions with their Darts and light Arms to disturb Those who were working in the Trenches, and not taking enough notice of Them, who were coming directly upon them, were amazed when they heard the confused Out-cry that came from the Trenches. In the mean while Brutus sent to all the Commanders Tickets, in which was the Word of Battel; and Himself riding through the Ranks, exhorted his Soldiers to do their Duty. There were but few of them who had Patience to stay for the Word, the greatest Part running, before it could be given, with loud Shouts upon the Enemy. This Disorder caused a great Confusion in the Army, and the Legions were scattered and dispersed one from another: That of Messala first, and afterwards the next went beyond the left Wing of Caesar; and without doing much more than putting some of the farthest Ranks in disorder, and killing a few of their Men, fell directly into Caesar's Camp. Octavius Himself (as his own Commentaries shew) had but just before been conveyed away, upon the Persuasion of Artorius, one of his Friends, who
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who had dreamt that he saw a Vision, which commanded Caesar to be carried out of the Camp. This made it believed for some time that he was slain; for the Soldiers had pierced his Litter, which was left empty, in many places with their Darts and Pikes. There was a great Slaughter in the Camp, and two Thousand Lakedemonians who were newly come to the Assistance of Caesar, were cut off. The rest of the Army that had not gone round by the left Wing of Caesar, but had engaged his Front, easily overthrew them, being in great Contermination for the Loss of their Camp, and flew upon the place three Legions; and being carried on with the stream of Victory, pursuing Those, who fled, fell into the Camp with the Runaways, Brutus himself being among them. But the Conquered took the Advantage of what was unperceived by the Conquerors. They observed the left Wing of the Enemy, where Cassius commanded, to be naked, and separated from the Right, which had engaged too far in the Pursuit, wherefore they fell with great Fury upon the Flank, which was left open, and unguarded; so that tho' notwithstanding all their Efforts, they could make no Impression upon the main Body, which received them with great Courage and Resolution, they soon routed that Wing, as well by reason of the Disorder into which it fell, as from their Ignorance of what had passed in the Right under the Command of Brutus. The Enemy pursued them so close that they entered with them into their Camps, which they pillaged and destroyed, though neither of their Generals were present. For Antony, as they say, to avoid the Fury of the first Onset, had retired into the Marsh that was hard by; and Caesar, who, by reason of his Sickness had been conveyed out of the Camp, was no where to be found. This induced some of the Soldiers to present themselves
selves to Brutus, and tell him that They had killed Cæsar, in Confirmation of which they shewed him their Swords all bloody, and described to him his Age, and Person.

The main Body of the Army where Brutus commanded had routed all Those who opposed them, so that he was evidently Conqueror on his side at the same time that Cassius was vanquished on the Other. And this one Mistake was the Ruin of their Affairs, That Brutus did not come to the Relief of Cassius, thinking that He, as well as Himself, was Conqueror; and that Cassius did not expect the Relief of Brutus, thinking that He too was overcome. For a Proof that the Victory was on Brutus's side, Messeala urges his taking of three Eagles, and many Ensigns of the Enemy, without losing Any of his own. Brutus now returning from the Pursuit, after having destroyed Caesar's Camp, wondered that he could not see the Tent of Cassius, standing high, as it was wont, and appearing above the rest, nor any of the Others round about it. For they were most of them overturned, and pillaged by the Enemy upon their first falling into the Camp. But Some who had a more quick and discerning Sight than the rest, acquainted Brutus that they saw a great deal of shining Armour, and Silver Targets moving to and fro about Cassius's Tents; they thought, that by their Number and their Armour, they could not be Those they had left to guard the Camp; but yet, that there did not appear so great a number of dead Bodies thereabouts, as is probable would have been after the Defeat of so many Legions. This first made Brutus suspect Cassius's Misfortune; and leaving a sufficient Guard in the Enemies Camp, he called back Those who were in the Pursuit, rallied them together, and lead them to the Relief of Cassius, who was now in this condition: First,
he was angry at the first Onset that Brutus his Sol-
diers made without the Word of Battel, or Com-
mand to charge. Then, after they had overcome,
he was as much displeased to see them all rush on
to the Plunder and Spoil, and neglect to surround
and encompass the rest of the Enemy. Besides
This, by his own Delay and Slowness, more than
by the Briskness and Conduct of the Captains of
the other side, he found himself hemmed in by the
Right Wing of the Enemy, and all his Horse
making with all haste their Escape, and flying to-
wards the Sea; the Foot also began to fly, which
he perceiving, laboured as much as ever he could
to hinder their Flight, and bring them back; and
snatching an Ensign out of the Hand of one that
fled, he stuck it at his Feet, though he could
hardly keep even his own Praetorian Band togeth-
er: So that at last he was forced to fly with a
few about him to a little Hill that over-looked all
the Plain. But He Himself being weak-sighted,
discovered nothing, only the Destruction of his Camp,
and even That with much Difficulty; but They
who were with him saw a great Body of Horfe,
sent by Brutus, moving towards him. Cassius be-
lieved These to be a Party of the Enemy, sent in
Pursuit of him. However he ordered out Titinius,
one of Those who attended him, to go, and get
more certain Intelligence. As soon as Brutus's
Horse saw him coming, and knew him to be a
Friend, and a faithful Servant of Cassius, Those of
them who were his more familiar Acquaintance
shouting out for Joy, and alighting from their
Horses, saluted and embraced him; and the rest
rode round about him in great Triumph and
Noife, through their Excess of Gladness at sight
of him. But This proved fatal to Cassius, who
could not comprehend what it all meant, but con-
cluded that they were the Enemy who had thus
fur-
surrounded Titinius, and made him their Prisoner. Hereupon he cried out, Through too much Fondness of Life, I have lived to see my Friend taken by the Enemy before my Face. When he had said this he retired into a private Tent, taking with him only Pindarus, one of his Freed-men, whom he had reserved for such an Occasion ever since the unhappy Battle against the Parthians, where Crassus was slain. He escaped That Misfortune; but now wrapping his loose Garment about his Head, he made his Neck bare, and held it forth to Pindarus, commanding him to strike; and his Head was found lying severed from his Body; but no Man ever saw Pindarus after this Murther, from which some suspected, that he had killed his Master without his Command. Soon after, they perceived who the Horse-men were, and saw Titinius crowned with Garlands, making what haste he could towards Cassius. But as soon as he understood, by the Cries and Lamentations of his afflicted Friends, the unfortunate Error and Death of his General, he drew his Sword, and having very much accused and upbraided his own long Stay, that had caused it, he slew himself. Brutus, as soon as he was assured of the Defeat of Cassius, made haste to him; but heard nothing of his Death, 'till he came near his Camp: Then having lamented over his Body, calling him, The last of all the Romans, saying, That it was impossible that the City should ever produce another Man of so great a Spirit; he sent away the Body to be buried at Thassus, lest celebrating his Funeral within the Camp, it might possibly breed some Disorder. He then gathered his Soldiers together, and comforted them, and seeing them destitute of all things necessary, he promised to every Man two thousand Drachmas, in recompence of what they had lost.
They at these Words took Courage, and were astonished at the Magnificence of the Gift, and waited upon him at his parting, with Shouts and Praises, magnifying Him for the only General of all the Four, who was not overcome in the Battle. And indeed he proved by his Actions that it was not without Reason he believed he should Conquer; for with a few Legions he overthrew all that resisted him, and if all his Soldiers had fought, and most of them had not passed beyond the Enemy in Pursuit of the Plunder, it is very likely that he had utterly defeated them All. There fell of his side eight thousand Men, reckoning the Servants of the Army, (1) whom Brutus called Ireges: And on the other side, Mollatu says, his Opinion is, that there were slain above twice that number; for which reason they were more out of Heart than Brutus, till a Servant of Cassius, named Demetrius, came in the Evening to Antony, and brought to him the Garment which he had taken from his Master's dead Body, and his Sword: At the sight of which they were so encouraged, that as soon as it was Morning they drew out their whole Force into the Field, and stood in Battle-Arry against Brutus. But Brutus found both his Camps wavering and in Disorder; his Own being filled with Prisoners, required a Guard more strict than ordinary over them; and That of Cassius was much discontented at the Change of their General; besides They who had been beaten were seized with a secret Envy, and Indignation against Those who had conquered, wherefore he thought it convenient to put his Army in Array, but to abstain as much as he could from fighting.

(1) Brutus called them Bryges; instead of Phryges, Phrygia he terms the Armies. Who, like our black Guards, sold instead of Phryges, Phrygia, became those barbarous Nations usually applied that Sort of Servants, Bαρβαρος.
The LIFE of

All the Slaves that were taken Prisoners, of which there was a great number who by their Behaviour towards the Soldiers gave him reason to suspect they were tampering with them, he commanded to be slain; but of the Free-men and Citizens, Some he dismissed, saying, That they had before been taken by the Enemy, that with them they were Captives and Slaves indeed, but with Him Free-men and Citizens of Rome. Others he was forced to hide, and help them to escape privately, perceiving that some of his Friends and Commanders were implacably bent upon Revenge against them. Among the Captives there was one Volumnius, a Mimick, and Sacculus, a Buffoon; of these Brutus took no manner of notice, but his Friends brought them before him, and accused them, that even then in that Condition they did not refrain from their abusive Jests and Scurrilous Language. Brutus having his Mind taken up with other Affairs, said nothing to their Actuation; but the Judgment of Messala Corvinus was. That they should be whip-ped publickly upon a Scaffold, and so sent naked to the Captains of the Enemy, to shew them what sort of Fellow-Drinkers and Companions were fit for such Warriors. At this Some who were present laughed; but Publius Casca, He who gave the first Wound to Caesar, said, That it was not decent to jest and make so merry at the Funeral of Cassius. But you, O Brutus, says he, will show what Esteem you have for the memory of that General, in punishing or preserving Those who cannot forbear scoffing, and speaking abusively of him. To this Brutus, with great Indignation, replied, Why then, Casca, do you tell Me of this, and not do your self what you think fitting? This Answer of Brutus was taken for his Consent to the Death of these wretched Men; so they were carried away and slain.

After
Marcus Brutus.

After this he gave the Soldiers the Reward he had promised them; and having slightly reproved them, for falling upon the Enemy in disorder, without waiting either the Word of Battle or Command: He promised them, that if they behaved themselves bravely in the next Engagement, he would give them up two Cities to spoil and plunder, Thessalonica and Lacedaemon. This is the only inexcusable Fault in the Life of Brutus. For if in the End Antony and Caesar were much more cruel in the Rewards they gave their Soldiers after Victory; if they drove out almost all the old Inhabitants of Italy, to put their Soldiers in possession of other Mens Lands and Cities; it is well known that Their only Design and End in undertaking the War, was to obtain Dominion and Empire. Whereas the great Opinion the World had conceived of Brutus on Account of his Virtue would not allow Him either to overcome, or save himself, but by means truly just and honourable; especially after the Death of Cassius, who was generally accused of putting Brutus upon several violent and cruel Actions. But now, as in a Ship, when the Rudder is broken by a Storm, the Mariners fit and nail on some other piece of Wood instead of it; striving against the Danger not so well as before, but as well as in that Necessity they can; so Brutus being at the Head of so great an Army, and engaged in such weighty Affairs, and having no Commander equal to Cassius, was forced to make use of Such as he had, and to do and to say many things according to their Advice; which he chiefly followed in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of Cassius's Soldiers into better Order. For they were grown very head-strong and intractible, bold and insolent in the Camp for want of their General, but in the Field cowardly and fearful, remembering that they had been beaten. Neither
Neither were the Affairs of Caesar and Antony in any better Posture; for they were freightened for want of Provisions, and the Camp being in a low Ground, they expected to endure a very hard and sickly Winter. For being encompassed with Marshes, and a great quantity of Rain, as is usual in Autumn, having fallen after the Battel, their Tents were all filled with Mire and Water, which through the Coldness of the Weather froze immediately.

While they were in this condition, there was News brought to them of their Loss at Sea. For Brutus's Fleet fell upon their Ships, which were bringing a great Supply of Soldiers out of Italy; and to entirely defeated them, that even very few escaped, and They were forced by Famine to feed upon the Sails and Tackle of the Ships. As soon as they heard this, they made what haste they could to come to the Decision of a Battel, before Brutus should have notice of his good Success. For it happened, that the Fight both by Sea and Land was on the same Day, but by some Misfortune, rather than the Fault of his Commanders, Brutus knew not of his Victory 'til twenty Days after. For had he been informed of it, he would never have come to a second Battel, since he had sufficient Provisions for his Army for a long time, and was very advantageously posted, his Camp being safe from the Injuries of the Weather, and almost inaccessible to the Enemy: And his being absolute Master of the Sea, and having at Land overcome on that side wherein He Himself was engaged, would have mightily encouraged him. (1) But

(1) For the Empire was no 606. So long as there were no longer able to support itself. It many Competitors on Foot, so was necessary for it to come under the Dominion of a single Per- tition
MARCUS BRUTUS

(it seems) the State of Rome not enduring any longer to be governed by many, but necessarily requiring a Monarchy, Providence, that it might remove out of the way the only Man who was able to resist Him who was destined to it, prevented Brutus from receiving Intelligence of that important Victory, till it was too late. For the very Evening before the Fight, Claudius, a Deserter from the Enemy, came to tell him, that Caesar had received Advice of the loss of his Fleet, and for that reason was in such haste to come to a Battle. This Relation met with no Credit, neither would Brutus so much as admit him to his Presence, but utterly despised him, as one who had received no good Information, or had invented Lies on purpose to please Him, and bring himself into Favour.

The same Night, they say, the Vision appeared again to Brutus, in the same Shape that he did before, but vanished away without speaking. But Publius Volumnius (a Man given to the Study of Philosophy, and one who had from the beginning born Arms with Brutus), makes no mention of this Apparition, but says, that the first Standard was covered with a Swarm of Bees; and that there was one of the Captains, whose Arm of it self sweated Oil of Roses; and though they often dried and wiped it, yet it would not cease. And

The Vision would be an inexhaustible Source of civil War and Dissention, and nothing was more incompatible with Monarchy than Brutus. Brutus therefore was of necessity to be removed. All this strongly proves the Truth of Plato's Sentiment, who maintains that all Governments Monarchy is the most perfect; but then the Monarch must govern according to Law. He must consider himself as God's Vicegerent, the Servant and Minister of Him alone, from whom he received the Law; and the Scepter; the Moment he withdraws himself from that Authority he degenerates into a Tyrant, and governs his People not with a Scepter, but a Rod of Iron, which was not put into his Hands by the Almighty.

13 that
that immediately before the Battel, two Eagles falling upon each other, fought in the space between the two Armies; that the whole Field kept incredible Silence, and all were intent upon the Spectacle, till at last That which was on the side of Brutus yielded and fled. But the Story of the Ethiopian is very famous, who meeting the Standard-bearer at the opening the Gate of the Camp, was cut to pieces by the Soldiers, who interpreted that Circumstance as an unlucky Omen. Brutus having brought his Army into the Field, and set them in Array against the Enemy, paused a long while before he gave the Word. For as he was visiting the Ranks he grew suspicious of Some, and met with Accusations against Others. Besides he perceived the Horse were not disposed to begin the Fight with any Vigour or Resolution, but still expecting what the Foot would do; then suddenly, Camulatus, a very good Soldier, and one whom for his Valour he highly esteemed, riding close by Brutus Himself, went over to the Enemy, the sight of which grieved him exceedingly. So that partly out of Anger, and partly out of fear of some greater Treason and Defection, he immediately drew on his Forces upon the Enemy, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon. Brutus on his side had the better, violently charging the Enemy's left Wing, which gave way and retreated, and the Horse too fell in together with the Foot, when they saw them amazed and in Disorder. But the other Wing, when the Captains ordered them to march on to the Fight, fearing to be encompassed, being fewer in number than their Adversaries, spread themselves, and widened the middle of their Battel, by which being weakened, they could not withstand the Charge, but at the first Onset fled. After their Defeat, the Enemy immediately surrounded Brutus, who performed all that was possible.
Marcus Brutus.

able for an expert General and valiant Soldier; shewing in the greatest danger a Courage and Conduct that deserved to overcome. But That which gained him the Victory in the first Engagement made him lose it in the Second. For in the first Fight, that Part which was beaten was cut in pieces upon the Spot; but in This, where Brutus broke through everything that opposed him, of all the Troops in Cassius’s Army, which were overthrown in the left Wing, very few were slain, and They who escaped being still terrified with their first Defeat infected the rest of the Army, where-ever they came with Despair and Confusion. Here Marcus the Son of Cato was slain fighting, and behaving himself with great Bravery in the midst of the Youth of the greatest Quality and Valour. He would neither fly nor give Ground, but still fighting and declaring who he was, and naming his Father’s Name, he fell upon a heap of dead Bodies of the Enemy. Many Others of the bravest Men in the Army who ran in to save Brutus were likewise slain at the same time, as they endeavoured to defend and preserve Him. Among the rest was one Lucilius, an Excellent Man, and a Friend of Brutus, who seeing some of the Barbarian Horse taking no notice of any other in the Pursuit, but directly making towards Brutus, resolved to stop them, though with the hazard of his own Life; and being left a little behind, told them, that He was Brutus. They believed him the rather, because he prayed to be carried to Antony, pretending that he feared Caesar, but durst trust Him. They overjoyed with their Prey, and thinking themselves wonderfully fortunate, carried him along with them in the Night, having first sent Some of their own Body with an Account of this good News to Antony. They had no sooner imparted it to him, but transported with Joy he went out to meet
meet them. 'And all the rest,' when they heard that Brutus was taken and brought alive, flocked together to see him; Some pitying his Fortune, Others accusing him of a Meaness unbecoming his former Glory, that out of too much love of Life, would suffer himself to be a Prey to Barbarians.

As they approached towards him Antony halted a little, and considered with himself in what manner he should receive Brutus. By this time Lucilius was brought up to him, and with a generous Confidence said, Be assured, Antony, that no Enemy either has, or ever shall take Marcus Brutus alive, (forbid it, ye Gods, that Fortune should ever so much prevail above Virtue!) But let him be found, alive or dead, he will certainly be found in such a State as is worthy of him. As for Me, I am come hither by a Cheat which I put upon your Soldiers, and am ready, upon this occasion, to suffer whatsoever Torments you will inflict, without demanding or expecting any Quarter. Lucilius having thus delivered himself, whilst all that heard him were amazed at him, Antony, turning himself to Those who brought him, said, I perceive, my Fellow-soldiers, that you are concerned, and full of Resentment, for having been thus imposed upon by Lucilius. But be assured that you have met with a Booty better than that you sought: For you were in search of an Enemy, but you have brought me here a Friend. For indeed I am uncertain how I should have used Brutus, if you had brought Him alive, but of This I am sure, that it is better to have such Men as Lucilius our Friends, than our Enemies. Having said this, he embraced Lucilius, and for the present commanded him to the Care of one of his Friends, and ever after found him firm and steady to his Interest.

Brutus having passed a little Brook, encompassed with Rocks, and shaded with Trees, and being overtaken by the Night, made a Stop in a hollow place
place at the Foot of a great Rock, with a few of his Captains and Friends about him. There casting his Eyes up to Heaven, which was at that time full of Stars, he repeated two Verses, one of which, Voluunnius writes, was the following (out of the Medea of Euripides.)

Punish, great Jove, the Author of these Ills.

The Other, he says, he has forgot. Soon after, naming severally all his Friends that had been slain before his Face in the Battel, he fetched a deep Sigh, especially at the mentioning of Flavius and Labio, whereof One was his Lieutenant, and the Other Master of his Workmen. In the mean time, one of his Companions who was very thirsty, and saw Brutus in the same Condition, took his Helmet, and ran to the Brook for Water, when a Noise being heard from the other side of the River, Voluunnius taking Dardanus, Brutus's Armour-bearer with him, went out to see what it was. They returned in a short space, and asked what was become of the Water? Brutus very calmly smiling, said to Voluunnius, It is all drunk, but you shall have some more fetched immediately. But He who had brought the first Water being sent again had like to have been taken by the Enemy, from whom he escaped with much Difficulty, not without being wounded dangerously.

Brutus conjecturing that he had not lost many of his Men in the Fight, Statilius undertook to pass through the Enemy, (for there was no other way) and to see what was become of their Camp; and promised, that if he found all things there safe, to hold up a Torch for a Signal, and then return. Statilius got safe to the Camp and held up the Torch, but not returning so soon as he was expected, Brutus said, If Statilius be alive, he will come back.
back. But it happened, that in his Return he fell into the Enemies Hands, and was slain. The Night now being far spent, Brutus, as he was sitting, leaned his Head towards his Servant Clitus, and whispered something to him in his Ear. Clitus returned him no Answer but fell a weeping. After That, he drew aside his Armour-bearer, Dardanus, and had some Discourse with Him in private: At last, speaking to Volumnius in Greek, he conjured him by their common Studies and former Conversation, to take hold of his Sword and thrust it thorough him: Volumnius refus’d it, as did several Others, and one of them saying, that there was no staying there, but they must fly: Brutus, rising up, said, Yes indeed, we must fly, but not with our Feet, but with our Hands. Then taking each of them by the Hand, with a cheerfull Countenance he said, That he found an infinite Satisfaction in This, That none of his Friends had been false to him. That as for Fortune, he was angry with That, only for his Country’s sake. As for Himself, he thought he was much more happy than They who had overcome; not only in regard of what was past, but even in his present Condition, since he was now leaving behind him such a Reputation of his Virtue, as none of the Conquerors, with all their Arms and Riches, should ever be able to acquire, no more than they could hinder Prosperity, from believing and saying, that being unjust and wicked Men, they had destroyed the Just and the Good, and usurped an Empire to which they had no Right. After This, having exhorted and beseeched All about him to provide for their own Safety, he withdrew from them with two or three only of his peculiar Friends: Strato was One of These, with whom he had contracted an Acquaintance when they both studied Rhetorick together. Him he placed next to himself, and taking hold of the Hilt of his Sword, and directing it with both his Hands, he
he fell upon it, and killed himself. Some say, That not
He himself, but Strato, at the earnest entreaty of
Brutus, turning aside his Head, held the Sword, upon
which Brutus flung himself with so much violence
that it pierced his Breast and he expired immediately.
Some time after This, Messala One of Brutus’s
Friends and Companions having made his Peace
with Caesar, One day when he found him most at
leisure presented this Strato to him, and with Tears
in his Eyes, said, This, O Caesar, is the Man that
did the last friendly Office to my beloved Brutus. Upon
which Caesar received him kindly, and had good
Use of his Service among the rest of the Valiant
Greeks, who served him in the Battel of Actium.
It is reported of Messala Himself, that when Ce-
sar once gave him this Commendation, ‘That tho’
he was his fiercest Enemy at Philippi, in the Cause
of Brutus, yet he had thweded himself his most ent-
tire Friend in the Fight of Actium’. He answered,
(1) You shall always find me, Caesar, on the best and
justest Side. When Antony had found the Body of
Brutus, he commanded the richest Coat that he
had to be thrown over it; and afterwards the Coat
being stolen, he found the Thief, and had him put
to Death; and then sent the Ashes and Relicks of
Brutus to his Mother Servilia, As for Porcia, his
Wife, (2) Nicolas the Philosopher, and Valerius
Maximus write, That being desirous to die,
but hindered by her Friends, who continually

(1) This is a bold Answer; by which Messala gave Augustus
to understand that he thought
Brutus’s Party the more just and
honourable, and that consequently
he would never have quitted it
whilst Brutus was alive. But at
the same time he told him that
Brutus being dead he thought
Caesar’s Cause better, and more
honourable than That of Antony,
that for that very reason he had
embraced it, and had served him
faithfully.

(2) This was Nicolas Damon-
scenus a Peripatetic Philosopher,
and an intimate Friend of Au-
gustus. He wrote an universal
History in a hundred and forty
Books, or Chapters.

watched
The Comparison of Brutus with Dion.

Seeing then that these Mengrew so very famous, especially in that with inconsiderable Helps they attained to such Power and Greatness; on this Score Dion has by far the Advantage: For he had no Partner, none to share the Glory, as Brutus had in Cassius; who was not indeed of that Reputation for Virtue and Honour, yet was he not inferior to him in Diligence, Courage, and Experience in the Toils of War.

Some there are who impute to Him the Rise and Beginning of the whole Action, laying, that if it had not been for Him Brutus would never have undertaken any thing against Caesar.

(a) It appears by this Epistle that Porcia was dead before her Husband, and that consequently the History of the live Coals is no better than a Fable. But on the other Hand if this Epistle was genuine how could Nicolaus Damascenus write that Porcia died after Brutus, and That in so extraordinary a manner, when there was a Letter from Brutus to his Friends complaining of her Death, in being to contradict him? It follows of course that either the Letter was forged, or that Nicolaus had never seen it. The first seems to be most probable.

Whereas
Whereas Dion seems not only of Himself to have provided Arms, Ships, and Soldiers, but likewise Friends and Partners for the Enterprize.

(1) Neither did He, as Brutus, gather to himself from the War any Strength or Riches; but laid out of his own Substance, and employed his private Subsistence during his Exile for the Liberty of his Country.

(2) Besides all This, Brutus and Cassius, when They fled from Rome, knowing they could live no where in Repose and Safety, but that they were condemned and pursued, were forced to have Recourse to War as to a Refuge and Sanctuary, and to take up Arms, and hazard their Lives in their own Defence, and to save Themselves rather than their Country.

On the contrary, Dion enjoyed more Ease, was more safe, and his Life more pleasant in his Banishment, than was the Tyrant's who had banished him; notwithstanding which he flies to Action, and runs the Risk of all to save Sicily.

(3) Besides, it was not the same thing to deliver the Romans from Caesar, and free the Syracusians from

(1) In this Particular Dion has a considerable Advantage over Brutus. For He who aggrandizeth and enricheth himself by the War may be thought to have engaged in it for the sake of That alone. Whereas He who spends his own Estate in the Support and Maintenance of it will be allowed to have in View something more great and noble, and to be influenced by a higher Principle.

(2) This Advantage in favour of Dion is of more Weight than the former, for it proceedeth from the highest Degree of Magnanimity. Brutus under Sentence of Death is forced to betake himself to the War, as to his last and only Refuge; whereas Dion took up Arms against Dionysius from a true Spirit of Magnanimity, and purely for the sake of his Country. Now whatever we do for the sake of Others is certainly more great and noble than what we do for our Own.

(3) We are to judge of the Actions of Men by the Effects they produce, and the Springs which first set them in Motion. In this View Dion has considerably the Advantage of Brutus. For what were the Ends of both their
from Dionysius. For he owned himself a Tyrant, and vexed Sicily with a thousand Oppressions. Whereas Caesar, whilst he was forming and establishing his Government did indeed at first cruelly injure and oppress all those who opposed him, but so soon as he had made himself Master, and had got every thing in his Power, it appeared that the Government he aimed at was in Name only, and not in Fact a Sovereignty, upon which not one Act of Tyranny or Cruelty could be charged; but on the contrary he made it evident that the necessity of Affairs requiring a Monarch, Providence had put the Empire into his Hands as into the Hands of a Physician, who alone was capable of healing, and restoring it. (1) Accordingly the Moment Caesar was murdered the common People missed him, and grew incensed and implacable against those that killed him. On the contrary, Dion was hotly prosecuted by the Commons, for having let Dionysius escape; and for not having dug up the former Tyrant’s Grave.

(2) In all Actions of War, Dion was a Com-

their Actions? Brutus was for delivering Rome from a King, and Dion’s Aim was to redeem Sicily from a Tyrant. Now these two Benefits are very unequal, or rather Brutus had done a great Injury to the Romans, if he had hindered the young Caesar from reigning. Whereas Dion brought an unspeakable Blessing upon Sicily in delivering Her from Dionysius. So that in this respect Brutus comes far short of Dion.

(1) This is a sure Token that the Romans were accustomed to the Government of a single Person, whereas the Reproach the Sicilians flung upon Dion was a certain sign of their Detestation of the Tyrant.

(2) As to Personal Valour Brutus did not in any Degree come short of Dion, but he was far behind him in point of Prudence and Contrivance, which make a compleat General. Brutus is very justly taxed here with two Errors. The First was in coming to a Second Engagement where he flaked all at once, at a time when his Enemies would have been defeated to his Hands from the ill Situation they were in, and their Want of Provisions; the Other was, that after he had lost the Battle he knew not how to repair that Loss, tho’ he had still an Army under his Command, and was Master at Sea.
mander without Fault, improving to the utmost those Counsels which Himself gave, and where Others failed, correcting and turning every thing to the best. Whereas Brutus shewed a Weakness of Conduct in coming to a second Engagement when all was at Stake, and when he had lost it he knew not how to play an After-Game, but grew helpless and dispirited, and had not, like Pompey, the Courage to make head against Fortune, tho' he had still Ground enough to relieve his Troops, and his Fleet made him absolute Master at Sea.

(1) The greatest and indeed the justest Reproach that can be fastened upon Brutus is, that tho' he owed his Own Life to Caesar's Bounty, and had obtained from him the Liberty of all his Fellow-Prisoners, and their Pardon too; that tho' he was treated by him with the Intimacy and Tenderness of the most sincere Friendship, being at all times in a particular manner honoured and distinguished by him, yet notwithstanding all this with his own Hands he assassinated him. Nothing like this could be objected against Dion; but the quite contrary. Whilst he was of Dionysius's Family, and his Friend, he did him good Service, and was useful to him; but when he was driven from his Country, wronged in his Wife, and had been deprived of his Estate, he openly entered upon a War, in itself both just and honourable.

(2) But even this very Point, if we turn the Tables,

(1) This Reproach is well founded: for what could be more horrid and abominable in Brutus, than thus to assassinate his Benefactor, the Person to whom he owed his Liberty, his Life, all his Honours and Preferments? Here he is far inferior to Dion, who never declared War against Dionysius till he had been provoked to it by all sorts of Injuries, and most outrageous Treatment. But this very Reproach will turn to the Advantage of Brutus, if Plutarch's Word may be taken.

(2) From this very Reproach which is flung upon Brutus, Plutarch draws some plausible Reasons to give him the Advantage over Dion. In Truth nothing can be
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Tables, will prove to the Advantage of Brutus. For the chief Glory of both consists in their Hatred of Tyranny, (1) and Abhorrence of their Wickedness: This was clear and sincere in Brutus; (2) for he had no private Quarell with Caesar, but put all to the Risk (3) for the Liberty of his Country. (4) The Other, had he not been piqued, had not fought: This is plain from Plato's Epistles, where it is showed, that he was sound out, and did not forsake the Court, but was banished from it before he would wage War upon Dionysius. Moreover, the Consideration of the Publick Good reconcileth Brutus, and of an Enemy made him a Friend to Pompey, and the same Consideration of a Friend made him Caesar's Enemy; so that He proposed for his Hatred and his Friendship no other

be more heroic than for a Man to sacrifice his highest Obligations to the Good of the Publick, and expose his Person for the Benefit of his Country. Whereas there is nothing extraordinary in Him, who is influenced only by his own resentment to revenge himself for personal Injuries, and Abruots. Besides, Brutus and Caesar considered the Murder of Caesar as most just, and holy. Now there can be nothing more great and worthy than to break through all Obligations, and stifle the tenderest Sentiments for the sake of such an Action. But they ought first to have proved that the Murder of Caesar was such an Action, which they can never do, it being repugnant to all the Principles of sound Morality. The Reasons produced here by Plutarch in Defence of Brutus may do well enough in the Schools and Exercises of Rhetoricians, but they are far from being fundamental Truths, and such Rules by which we are to judge our Actions. Imperial Judges will always prefer Dion's Undertaking to that of Brutus,

(1) These are big Words, but wherein did this Wickedness appear in Caesar?

(2) So far indeed was he from having any private Quarell with Caesar, that he was under the strongest Obligations to him; by which his Guilt was highly aggravated.

(3) He put All to the Risk to satisfy his own melancholy Temper, and did more Mischief to the Empire in two Years than Caesar could have done in a hundred.

(4) How doth This appear? It is certain that Dion did all he could to reclaim Dionysius by the Principles of Reason, but it is not so certain that when at last Dionysius had filled up the Measure of his Iniquities, Dion would not have declared himself, and armed against him.

End,
Dion with Brutus.

End and Standard, but Justice. (1) Dion was very serviceable to Dionysius, whilst in Favour; but the moment he was in disgrace he grew angry, and took up Arms against him. Hereupon his Friends were not all of them satisfied with his Undertaking, left having overcome Dionysius, he might not seize the Government into his own Hands, and cheat the People by some milder and more popular Name than That of Tyranny. But as for Brutus, his very Enemies confessed that of all Those who conspired against Caesar, He was the only Person, who had no other View than to restore to the Romans their antient Form of Government.

Notwithstanding what has been said, the Adventure against Dionysius was nothing equal to That against Caesar; For of all Those, who were familiarly conversant with Dionysius, there was not a Man but despised him in his Heart for spending all his Time in Debauchery, Wantonness, and Gaming. (2) Whereas it was an Argument of an uncommon Courage and Bravery to entertain so much as a Thought against Caesar, and not to stand in Awe of his consummate Experience, profound Sense, and unparalleled Prosperity; a Man, the bare Mention of whose Name alone put the Parthian and

(1) Dion did many things in favour of Dionysius, but he was never guilty of any unjust Action in his Behalf, and he hoped that his Confidence in him would one day awaken in him a sense of Moderation and Justice, quell that Charybdis that Monster of Tyranny, and teach him to be a merciful and gracious Prince. But after his Banishment, and when he had received at his Hands all the injurious Treatment imaginable, then seeing there was no hopes of reclaiming him he did not affront him, but generously took up Arms against him. So that in this whole Procedure of Dion we do not find the least Deviation from Justice.

(2) This is not to be denied. But both Plutarch reckon for nothing that bold Resolution of Dion, who with no more than eight hundred Men on board two Transports undertook openly the formidable Power of a Tyrant, who had under his Command four hundred Gallies, a hundred thousand Foot, ten thousand Worses, Fortresses, Allies, and Riches without Number?

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Indian Kings in a Fright, and kept them waking. Accordingly Dion was no sooner seen in Sicily, but thousands ran into him, and joined him against Dionysius; whereas the Renown of Caesar, even when dead, gave Heart to his Friends: And his very Name to heightened the Person that took it, that from a simple Boy he in an instant became the Chief of the Romans. And he used it for a Spell against the Malice and Popularity of Antony.

(1) But if it shall be objected, That it cost Dion great Trouble and Difficulties to overcome the Tyrant; whereas Brutus slew Caesar naked and unprovided: (2) This shews a Work of vast Policy and Conduct to bring it about, that a Man so guarded round, and so fortified at all Points, should be taken naked and unprovided. For it was not on the sudden, nor alone, nor with a Few that he fell upon and killed Caesar; but after long concerting the Plot, and Confidence in a great many Men, not One of Whom deceived him: For he either discerned the best of Men, at the first View, or by confiding in them, made them good. Whereas Dion confided in Men of ill Principles, which was owing either to his injudicious Choice, or for that

(1) Indeed it is, and ever will be objected. For sure there is a great deal of difference between dispossessing a Tyrant by Force of Arms, and overpowering him by Numbers, and assassinating him naked, and unguarded.

(2) I think This is not answering the Objection. I will venture to say that I am of the contrary Opinion. It is indeed a Work of Capacity, Prudence, and Intrepidity, but it is not the Prudence and Capacity of the most renowned Generals. We have met with Actions of the same Stamp performed by Persons, who were not reputed the most experienced Commanders. Nay more, we can produce an Action of greater Hazard and Hardiness perpetrated by the vilest Monster that Hell ever produced. This Murder of Caesar ought not to be imputed to the Courage, but the gloomy choleric Temper, which was predominant in Brutus and Cassius. We hear of two Men, who were capable of assassinating Caesar, but we meet with None, who had Courage enough to kill Marius, or Sulla, two horrible Monsters, who made Rome groan under the most cruel of Tyrannies. They
they grew worse upon his Hands, for his want of knowing how to make a right use of them when he had engaged them; neither of which is the property of a wise Man. Accordingly Plato severely reproves him in his Letters for making Choice of such for his Friends, as in the end assassinated him.

(1) We may add to This that when Dion was killed no one appeared to revenge his Death, whereas Brutus received even from his Enemies the friendly Office of Burial, and Caesar took care that all the Honours that had been paid him in his Life-time should be preserved inviolable to him; among Others, a Statue erected at Milan a Town in Gallia Cisalpina. Some time after This Caesar passing through that Place, and observing the Statue, which was of excellent Workmanship, and strongly resembled the Original, made a Halt, and in the Presence of Many who accompanied him, and were within Hearing, called the Magistrates before him, and told them that their Town had broken the League, and harboured one of his Enemies. At first the Magistrates, as it may easily be imagined, denied the Fact, and not knowing what he drove at feared upon one another as Men under an inexpressible Surprize. When He, pointing to the Statue, asked them with a Frown, is not That my Enemy whom you have received into the very Heart of your City? At these Words the Mag-

(1) And did not the Sicilians then revenge his Death, when they refused to receive Calippus his Murderer, but banished him as a Villain too wicked to enjoy the Privilege of Sanctuary? Did not Lepidus and Polyarchus revenge his Death, when they assassinated that Monarch? Did not Timoleon revenge it, when he put to Death the perfidious Leetus? In a Word, did not the Gods Themselves revenge it, when they almost that very instant caused all the Zacynthians who had been siding to Calippus to Perish? These are Honours more substantial than Those of Burial which Antony paid to Brutus, or Those preserved to him by Caesar.
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Strates being still more astonished were struck Dumb, without a Word to say for themselves. Upon This Caesar smiled, and commended the Gauls for their Constancy to their Friends, tho' in Adversity; and so commanded that the Statue should remain standing, as he found it.
THE LIFE OF ARTAXERXES.

The first of the Persian Kings, who bore the Name of Artaxerxes was distinguished above other Princes for his Goodness and Magnanimity, and was surnamed (1) Longimanus, because his Right Hand was longer than his Left. He was the Son of Xerxes. The Second, whose Story I am now writing, being

We are now come to the End of all the Parallel Lives that remain written by Plutarch. The Four which follow, and conclude this great Work, are of another kind, bearing no Resemblance, or Comparison One with the Other. Plutarch wrote many Others in the same Manner, viz. The Lives of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, and Vitellius, with Those of Hercules, Hesiod, Pindar, Crato, Diogenes and Aristomenes.

(1) It has been a Custom in all Ages to give Princes Surnames alluding not only to such Disposition of the Mind as was predominant in them, but even to their personal Deformities, or Perfections, of which we have frequent Examples. This Artaxerxes was surnamed Longimanus because he had one Hand longer than the other, or because, as Strabo will have it, lib. xv. his Arms were so long that when he stood upright and extended them downwards they reached to his Knees.
for his vast Memory stiled Mnemon, was his Grandson by his Daughter Parsatis: Who brought Darius four Sons, the Eldest Artaxerxes, the next Cyrus, and two younger than These, Oftanes and Oxathres. Cyrus received his Name from the ancient Cyrus, as they say He had His from the Sun, (1) which in the Persian Language is called Cyrus. Artaxerxes was at first called Arsicas, though Dinon says his first Name was Oartes. But it is highly improbable that (2) Ctesias (though otherwise he has cast into his Book an universal Rhapsody of incredible and senseless Fables) should be ignorant of the Name of the King, (3) He who was Physician in ordinary to Him, his Wife, his Mother, and Children. Cyrus even from his Infancy seemed to be of a Nature violent and impetuous, Artaxerxes on the contrary appeared moderate, and gentle in all his Actions and Behaviour. He married a Fair and Virtuous Lady with the Consent of his Parents, but in the long run kept her as expressly against it. For King Darius having put her Brother to Death, was projecting how to destroy Her likewise. But Arsicas throwing himself at his Mother's Feet, and having moved her with whole Streams of Tears, at last with much ado persuaded her that they should neither put her to Death, nor divorce her from him. However Cyrus was the Queen's

(1) The Persians called the Sun Cyrus, and the Egyptians Orus, that is Lord and Master. I am of Opinion that upon this Persian Word Cyrus the Grecians formed their Kopios, which carries with it the same Signification. Certain it is that many foreign Words are to be found in the Greek Language.

(2) This Ctesias was born at Cnidus, and wrote a History of the Persian and Affirmative Affairs.
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Darling, and the Son whom she most desired to settle in the Throne. Wherefore Darius being taken dangerously ill she recalled her Son from his Government in Lydia, and he returned to Court, full of Hopes, that by her Means he should be declared his Father's Successor in the Empire. For Parysatis urged this specious Plea in his behalf, which Xerxes by the Advice of Demaratus had of old made use of, viz. that she had brought him Articas when he was a Subject, but Cyrus when a King. Notwithstanding all which she could not prevail with Darius, so the eldest Son was declared King under the Name of Artaxerxes, and Cyrus was confirmed in his Government of Lydia, and the maritime Provinces.

Soon after the Death of Darius, the new King set out from his Capitol for the City of (1) Pasiargades, in order to be crowned there according to Custom, by the Priests of Persia. In that City is a Temple of a Goddess, who presides in War, and who is conjectured to be the same with Minerva. The Person who is to be crowned enters into this Temple, where he divests himself of his own Robe, and puts on That which was worn by Cyrus the First before he attained the Monarchy. Then he eats a Bunch of Figs, chaws some Turpentine, and drinks a Draught composed of Milk and Vinegar. To which if they add any other Rites, they are unknown to all but Those who are present at them. Just as Artaxerxes was disposing himself for the Performance of this Ceremony Tisaphernes arrived, and brought with him a Priest, who had

(1) This City was built by Cyrus the Great, who graced it many Prigileges, because in that Place he defeated Alyaeus, and acquired the Crown as the Fruits of his Victory. Ptolemy calleth it it Pasa-
canda. It has not quite lost its old Name in That by which it is distinguished by the Moderns, for according to Father Lubin it is at present called Darabgird, or by the Arabs Palasgarb.
been Preceptor to Cyrus in his Infancy, had taught him the Doctrine of the Magi, and was more concerned than any when his Pupil was excluded from the Throne. For this Reason his Veracity was the less questioned when he accused Cyrus of having laid a Design to seize his Brother in the Temple, to fall upon him as he was pulling off his Robe, and assassinate him. Some affirm that he was apprehended upon this Accusation, Others that he had entered the Temple and was pointed out there, as he lay lurking, by the Priest. But as he was going to Execution his Mother clasped him in her Arms, and having bound him with the Tresses of her Hair, she joined his Neck close to her Own, and by her bitter Lamentations, Tears, and Entreaties obtained his Pardon, and got him remanded back to his Government, where he sat very uneasy, and forgetting his Brother's Mercy towards him thought only of the Affront put upon him when he was taken Prisoner, insomuch that his Anger and Resentment made him more desirous of the Kingdom than before. Some say he revolted from his Royal Brother, because he had not a Revenue proportionable to the daily Expence he was at in the Support of his Family, proclaiming him in That no less Fool than Rebel. For had he had nothing else, yet he had a Mother ready with an open Hand to supply him with whatever he could desire, whether for his Use or Grandeur. Besides, what greater Evidence can there be of his immense Wealth than the Numbers of foreign Troops which he maintained in several Parts by the Means of his Friends and Confidents, both Foreign and Domestick, as we are informed by Xenophon. For the better to conceal his mighty Preparations, and keep his Levies secret, he did not hold his Forces in one Body, but had his Emissaries abroad, who under several Pretensions lifted foreign Soldiers into
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to his Service, and Parsaitis, who resided constantly at Court with the King her Son, removed all Jealousies, whilst Cyrus on his Part wrote in most Submissive Terms to Artaxerxes, sometimes soliciting him for some Acts of Favour and Bounty, and at Others (1) drawing up a Counter-Charge against Tisaphernes, as if all his Designs were against Him, and He was the only Object of his Envy, and Emulation. Moreover there was a certain natural Dilatoriness in the King, which was mistaken by Many for Clemency. And indeed in the beginning of his Reign he seemed to imitate the Gentleness of the first Artaxerxes, being more accessible in his Person, and excessive in the Distribution both of Honours and Rewards to the Deserving. He was obliging even in his Punishments, taking out the Sting and Contumely of them, and in the Intercourse of Gifts he delighted no other-wise in Those who offered them to, than in Those who received them from him, appearing still when he gave cheerful and generous. Nor truly was there any thing, however inconsiderably, given him, which he did not deign kindly to accept of; insomuch that when one Omifas had presented him with a very large Pomegranate, By this Light, said he, this Man were he entrusted with it, would soon turn a small City into a great one. Afterwards Some offering him one thing, Some another, as he was in his Progress, a certain poor Labourer having got nothing in readiness to present to him ran straight to the River side, and taking up Water in his Hands he presented him with That by way of Offering. Artaxerxes was so well pleased with the Thing, that he sent him a large Goblet of

(1) He had taken from him the principal Towns in his Government Artaxerxes, who believed the
in Ionia, all except Miletus, which Levies Cyrus was making were
he was then besieging. This gave designed against Tisaphernes.
Maffie Gold, and a thousand Darii, in Return. When Euclidas the Lacedemonian had spoken many things against him with great Insolence and Scur- rility, he only told him by the Captain of his Guards, Thou hast Liberty to speak against the King what thou wilt, but the King has it in his Power not only to Speak, but Do what He pleaseth.

One day as he was a hunting Tiribazus shewed him a large Rent in his Robe, and when the King asked him what he would advise him to do on that Occasion, he answered, It may please your Majesty to put on Another, and give me That; It shall be so, said the King, I give it Thee, but at the same time charge thee never to wear it. Tiribazus did not give much heed to this Injunction, not that he was an ill man, but something empty, and half-witted. He was so indiscreet as to put it on immediately, and as if That was not sufficient he adorned it with fine Trimings, and Jewels of Gold, such as the Queens of Persia only had a Right to wear. All the Court were provoked at this Insult, for it was expressly contrary to Law; but the King only laughed at him, and told him, Thou hast my leave to wear those Golden Toys as a Woman, and the Robe of State as a Fool.

And whereas none usually sate down to eat with the King beside his Mother and Wife, the former being placed above, the other below him; Artaw- erses invited also to his Table his two younger Brothers, Ostanes and Oxathres. But the Chariot of his Wife Statira presented the Persians with the most taking Sight, being always drawn with its Curtains open; allowing the Ladies of the Country both to salute and approach her. Which thing endeared his Government to the People. Yet some over-busie, factious Men, who delighted in Innovations, gave it out, as their Opinion, that Cyrus, being a Man of a great Spirit, an excellent Warrior,
ritor, and a generous Master, was in those Circum-
stances more desirable, and that the largeness of their
Empire absolutely required a daring and ambitious
Prince. Wherefore Cyrus relying upon the Dis-
position the Court was in towards him, as much as
upon the good Will and Affection of Those in the
maritime Provinces where he commanded, resolved
upon the War. In the first place He wrote to
the Laconianians, exciting Them to his Assis-
tance, and to supply him with some four Men, af-
suring them that to the Foot-men that should ap-
pear he would give Horfes, and to the Horse-men
Chariots; that upon Those who had Farms he
would bestow Lordships, that Those who were
Lords of Villages should receive Cities. To all
This he added that the Pay assigned to the Sol-
diers should not be stinted by Account, but should
be distributed by Heaps and Measure. At the same
time speaking very extravagantly of Himself he
said he was informed with a greater Soul, that
he was more a Philosopher, and a better Magician,
and that he could both drink and bear more Wine
than his Brother Artaxerxes. He said farther that
his Brother was naturally so fearful, and had been
bred up with so much Effeminacy, that he could
not sit his Horse when a hunting, nor in his Cha-
riot when in Action, without tottering. The La-
donianians, upon reading his Letters, sent a Scytale
to Clearchus, commanding him to obey Cyrus in all
things. So Cyrus marched towards the King, hav-
ing under his Conduct a numerous Host of Barba-
rians, and but little less than thirteen thousand Sti-
pendiary Græcians; assigning first one Cause, then
another for his Expedition. Yet the true reason
lay not long concealed, for Tisaphernes went to the
King in Person to declare it. Thereupon the
Court was all in an Uproar and Tumult, the Queen
Mother bearing almost the whole blame of the
Enter-
Enterprize, and her Retainers being not only sus-
pected but accused. But she who gave her the
most disturbance was Statira, who passionately re-
sented this War, and cried out; What is now be-
come of your Promises? What of your Intercessions?
By which having freed Him who was guilty of Trea-
sion against his Brother, you have embroiled us in War
and unspeakable Calamities? For these Words Pary-
satis hated Statira, and being naturally Implacable
and Savage in her Anger and Revenge, she con-
sulted how she might destroy her. Dion the Histo-
rian tells us that her wicked Purpose had its effect
during the War; but Ctesias affirms that it was
some time after; and it is not likely that He should
be ignorant of the time when such a hellish De-
sign was accomplished, He who was an Eye-wit-
ness of every thing that passed at that Court, and
had no reason to provaricate, or relate the Fact
otherwise than as it happened; for which Reason
I shall refer the Account of this Tragedy to the
time wherein He has placed it: though on other
Accounts this Author frequently makes Excursions
from Truth to mere Fiction and Romance.

Now as Cyrus was upon the March towards the
Court, Tidings were brought him from all Parts
that the King was not in haste to come to Action,
but determined to wait in the Heart of Persia, 'till
there should be a general Confluence of his Forces
from all Parts of his Dominions, and that in order
to This he had caused a Retrenchment to be cast
up cross the flat Country ten Fathom wide and as
many deep, and extending in length for the space
of four hundred Furlongs from the River of Eu-
phrates to the Medan Wall. Between the Euphra-
tes, and this Retrenchment was left a Passage
twenty Foot broad through which Cyrus marched
with his Army; whilst the King forbore to oppose
him,
him, and suffered him to continue his March to-wards Babylon. We are told that Tiribazus was the First who had Courage enough to represent to him that he ought not to abandon Media, Ba-
bylon, and Susa to the Enemy, and lie skulking in Persia, since he had an Army far more numerous than that of the Enemy, and ten thousand Sa-
trape, and other Officers, all of them equal to Cy-
rus both in the Field, and in the Closet.

These Words made the King resolve upon fight-
ing, wherein he used so much Diligence that all on a sudden he was at the Head of an Army of nine hundred thousand Men, all well-disciplined and prepared for Action. This extreamly startled and surprized the Rebels, who with a Boldness equal to their Contempt, marched against him in such a confused disorderly manner that they had their Arms carried for them; insomuch that Cyrus found it almost impossible to draw up, and form, so great was the Noise, and Tumult; whilst the King lead on his Men leisurely, and in great Silence. This Sight very much surprized the Gracians, who expected to have found nothing but Disorder and Confusion in so great a Multitude, and to have heard the Heavens echo with the Cries of the Bar-
barians. Artaxerxes covered the Front of his Pha-
lanx which was opposite to the Gracians with his armed Chariots, that by the fierceness of their On-
set they might cut down their Ranks before they closed with them.

Many Historians have given us a Description of this Action, but no one with so much force as Xenophon, for in Him we do not read it, we see it. He possesseth his Reader so strongly with it that he is as sensibly touched as if He Himself was engaged, and shared in the Danger; in such lively Colours has he represented it. It must therefore be a Piece of the utmost Folly to attempt a Nar-
ration
ration of it after Him; so that I shall content my self with relating some Particulars worthy of Memory, which He hath forgotten, or omitted. The Place then in which the two Armies engaged was called Cunaxa, being about five hundred Furlongs distant from Babylon. A little before the Fight Clearchus advised Cyrus not to expose his Person, but retire behind the Macedonian Battalions, whereupon Cyrus is said to have replied, What Advice is Fbis thou givest me, Clearchus? Must I, at the same time that I am aiming at the Royalty, shew to all the World that I am unworthy of it?

Cyrus committed a great Error in rushing headlong into the Midst of Danger without any Precaution, and Clearchus was guilty of another as great, if not greater, (1) when he refused to draw up his Greeks against the main body of the Enem-

(1) This Charge brought by Plutarch against Clearchus who commanded the Right Wing in Cyrus his Army, deserves some Consideration. When both Armies were drawn up, Cyrus, who was marching along the Line with his Interpreter, and three or four Persons more, told Clearchus aloud that He ought to change to the Center, where the King was posted, because there lay the first of the Battel. But forasmuch as the Enemy were so numerous that One of their Wings extended beyond the whole Front of Cyrus his Army, Clearchus was afraid of being outflanked, and cut off by the Persians, if he quitted his Post near the River, and therefore returned for Anfwer. He might be satisfied that he would do every thing for the best. Plutarch therefore accuses Clearchus of being guilty of a great Fault in not following the Orders of his General, and the Event of the Battel showed he was in the Right. And yet M. d'Abbeville is for justifying Clearchus in his Notes upon this Part of the History in Xenophon. Plutarch, saith he, blames him in his Life of Artaxerxes, as if he had renounced Cyrus. But Clearchus was not answerable for the Event, and sure he was a better Soldier than Plutarch. These are two very weak Reasons. An Officer does, in some degree, make himself answerable for the Event when he acts contrary to his Orders. Clearchus was a better Soldier than Plutarch, we will allow it, but Plutarch was as good a Soldier as M. d'Abbeville, and what is still more, Cyrus was as good a Soldier as Clearchus, and forewarned that the Success of the Battel depended upon that Attack. So that Plutarch has justified his Censure of Clearchus with very solid Reasons.
my where the King stood, and charge there as Cyrus had desired him, but joined his right Wing to the River for fear of being surrounded. For if he had nothing else in View but his own Safety, and desired nothing more than to sleep in a whole Skin, it had been best for him to have kept at home. But now after a March of so many Leagues even from the Sea to the Plains of Babylon, which had been undertaken without any other Inducement than to settle Cyrus in the Throne of the Persians, that he should now chuse to draw up his Men not in a Place where he might be able to defend his General whose Pay he received, but where he might engage at Ease, and with Safety, This is the Action of One who was so shocked at the Sense of the present Danger as to abandon all at once, and forget the very end and design of his Engagement. For it is certain that none of Thoε who were posted near the King's Person would have stood the Grecians if they had chargd them; and it is as certain that if they had been broken, and the King either slain, or put to Flight, Cyrus must have been Conqueror, and that his Victory would have procured to him the Crown is not to be doubted, (1) as was manifest from the Event. And therefore Clearchus is more to be condemned for his Caution, which was manifestly the Destruction of the Life and Fortune of Cyrus, than he could be for his Heat and Rashness. For if the King Himself had been to make choice of a place for the Grecians, where it would be in their Power to do him the least Mischief he could not have chosen one more commodious for his Purpose than That where Clearchus drew up near the River, from whence he could neither per-

(1) For the Greeks were victorious on their side, and Cyrus was had followed the Directions of Xerxes, which wouldCyrum.
ceive the Defeat of Artageres, nor the Death of Cyrus, who fell before he could receive any Benefit from the Victory of Clearchus. It is certain that Cyrus before the Battle begun knew very well what Measures were proper to be taken to warrant the Success, and accordingly ordered Clearchus to charge in the middle, where the King was posted, and Clearchus, after he had assured him that he would do every thing for the best, ruined the whole Affair. For the Greeks soon overthrew the Barbarians, with whom they engaged, and pursued them for a great way together. Cyrus being mounted on a headstrong unruly Horse called Pasacas, was met, as Ctesias relates it, by Artageres General of the Cadujians, who seeing him at a distance galloped up to him, crying aloud, O thou most unjust and senseless Wretch, Thou who art a Reproach to the Name of Cyrus, the most August and Honourable of all Names among the Persians, thou hast betrayed the valiant Greeks into a fatal Expedition to abandon to them the Plunder of thy Country, and vainly hopes to destroy the King thy Lord and Brother, who has Numbers of faithful Slaves, and Servants about his Person, all of them more valiant than Thyself, as thou shalt soon find to thy sorrow, for here shalt thou this Instant lose thy Head, before thou hast so much as beheld the Face of his Majesty. At these Words he lanced his Javelin at him with all his force; but his Coat of Mail was so strongly tempered that the Weapon could make no Impression upon it; however the Violence of the Blow was so great that it made him stagger as he sat on his Horse, but as Artageres was turning his about Cyrus let fly at him so luckily that the Weapon pierced his Neck near the Shoulder-bone. For that Artageres was slain by Cyrus is what is generally acknowledged by almost all the Historians. But as for the Death of Cyrus, since Xenophon faith very little of it, because he was not upon the Spot when it
ARTAXERXES.

It happened, it will not be amiss to relate here the manner of it as it is represented by Dinon, and then subjoin the Account of it as we find it in Ctesias.

Dinon tells us that immediately upon the Death of Artageres, Cyrus having violently attacked the Van-guard of Artaxerxes, wounded his Horse, and dismounted him; that when Tiribazus beheld the King a-foot he mounted him on another Horse, and said to him, Sir, remember this Day, which ought never to be forgotten; that Cyrus attacked the King a second time, and staggered him, and that at the third Charge the King full of Indignation said to Some who were near him, I had better die than suffer such Insolence, and making up to Cyrus, who was blindly rushing into a shower of the Enemy's Darts, wounded him with his Javelin at the same time that he was assaulted from every Quarter. Thus fell Cyrus, Some say by the Blow he received from the King, and Others that he was slain by a Carian Soldier, to whom the King in Recompence of that glorious Action granted the Privilege of bearing a golden Cock on the point of his Spear at the Head of the Army. For the Persians call those of Caria Cocks, by reason of the Crests with which they adorn their Helmets. Thus is this Matter reported by Dinon, and That which follows is briefly extracted out of Ctesias.

After Cyrus had slain Artageres, he spurred up towards the King, and the King advanced to meet Him, without exchanging a Word on either side. Arius, a Friend of Cyrus, first attacked the King without wounding him, then the King lanced his Javelin at Cyrus, whom he missed, but wounded (1) Tisaphernes a Person of great Merit in the In-

(1) Tisaphernes was one of the Error in the Text, and that the principal Officers in the Army of principal Officers in the Army of Artaxerxes; did Another of the same Name serve under Cyrus? I am of Opinion that there is an Error in the Text, and that the right Reading is as it stands in the St. Germain MS., where we find Satiphernes instead of Tisaphernes.

Vol. VIII. L terest
trest of Cyrus, and slew him. Upon This Cyrus directed his Javelin against his Brother, with so sure and strong a Hand, that the Weapon pierced his Cuirass, entered two Fingers deep into his Breast, and made him tumble from off his Horse. This terrified his Troops, who fled, whilst the King recovering his Legs, got off with a few of his Followers, among Whom was Ctesias, and making to a little Hill not far off he there repose himself. But Cyrus's Horse being high mettled, carried him a great Way into the midst of his Enemies, the approaching Night making it hard for Them to know him, or his Followers to find him. However being flushed with Victory, and withal naturally bold and violent, he passed through them, crying out, in the Persian Language, Make way Slaves, make way. As he repeated these Words almost every Moment, most of them did make way for him, and suffered him to pass with great Tokens of Respect. But his Tiara, which he wore on his Head, unhappily falling off, a young Persian named Mithridates by chance passing by wounded him with his Javelin in the Temple near his Eye, without knowing who he was. His Wound bled so fast that he was immediately seized with a Dizziness, and fell in a Swoon off his Horse, which having lost his Rider ran up and down the Field at large; but a Person belonging to Him who had wounded Cyrus, found the Furniture upon the Ground, and took it up all stained with Blood.

As Cyrus began to recover out of his Fit, some of his Eunuchs, who attended him, endeavoured to mount him upon another Horse, and so to convey him safe away; but finding himself in no Condition to get a Horsback, he thought it better to walk, whilst his Eunuchs taking him by each Arm with much Difficulty supported him. His Head was so stunned with the Blow that it hung on
on his Shoulder, and being exceeding faint from
the loss of Blood he staggered at every step he took.
But his Spirits were revived with an Imagination
of the Victory, which he thought his Own, for
he heard the Runaways from every side calling Cy-
rus King, and crying out for Quarter.

In this Instant some Caunians, a miserable Crew
who followed the Royal Army, where they gained
a Livelyhood from the vilest Employments, hap-
pened to be in the Number of Those who were
attending about Cyrus. But having at last perceived
the red Cloathing, which his Soldiers wore, they
found they were got among their Enemies, for the
King's Livery was White. One of These had the
Baldness to strike him with his Spear behind, with-
out knowing who he was. The Blow happened
to light upon his Ham, and cut the Sinew, at
which he fell flat on the Ground, and in his fall
dashed his wounded Temple against a Stone, and
expired that Moment. This is Ctesias's Account,
wherein with a dull Knife he seems to hack Cyrus
to death, and has much ado to shu[t up the Tra-
gedy.

Cyrus was just expired when Artosyras, who was
called (1) the Eye of the King, passt that way on

(1) The Persian Monarchs had
a Sett of Ministers, who were
called the Eyes of the King, and
whose Business it was to report to
him whatever they saw in his
Dominions; and Others were
called the Ears of the King, be-
cause They informed him of what-
ever they heard. For it was impos-
sible for them to see and hear all that
passt with their own Eyes, and
Ears, wherefore Aristophanes
commends this Custom in the sixteenth
Chap. of the third Book of his
Republic. It is perhaps absurd,

faith be, to think that One Man
can see more with two Eyes, hear
more with two Ears, and do more
with two Hands, and two Feet, than
many Men together. For this
Reason we find those Monarchs pro-
vide themselves with many Eyes,
many Ears, many Feet, and many
Hands, and associate to them Those
whom they find well affected to
their Person, and their Country,
&c. And yet Aristophanes makes
himself merry with this Title of
the Eye of the King, in his Achar-
namenes, Act. i. Sc. ii. and iii.
Horseback; He knew the Eunuchs, who were full of Grief and Lamentation, and, addressing Himself to Him whom he took to be the most faithful, Tell me, said he, Pariscas, Whom art thou so tenderly lamenting? O Artosyras, replied the Eunuch, are You to be told that my Master Cyrus is dead? Artosyras at these Words expressed a great Concern, exhorted the Eunuch to be of good Cheer, and look well to the Corps, immediately after which he made off with full speed to Artaxerxes, who began to think his Affairs in a desperate Condition, and was ready to faint with Thirst as well as from the Anguish of his Wound, when Artosyras came up; and with a loud Voice told him, Cyrus is dead, I am Eye-witness of it. The first Impression the King received upon this Intelligence was an Impatience to see the dead Body Himself, and accordingly he commanded Artosyras to conduct him to it. But when he observed a general Confuision spread around, and it was credibly reported that the Grecians had prevailed on their side, that they were in Pursuit of Those who fled, and put All to the Sword, he considered better, and chose rather to send out a stronger Party, who were to inquire into the Truth of it, and make their Report to Him. In that Interval, he being upon the Point of expiring for want of something to allay his Thirst, Satibarzanes one of his Eunuchs hurried up and down in search of Water, for the Plain where they lay afforded None, and they were at a great Distance from their Camp. After a long Search he at last luckily met with one of those poor Caunian Slaves, who had in a nasty leather Bottle about four Pints of base flaming Water; which he took and presented to the King, who drank it all off at one Draught. The Eunuch asked him, if he did not find it a nauseous Potion, and the King swore by all his Gods, that he never found the
the most delicious Wines so grateful to his Palate, nor Water taken from the clearest and most limpid Streams so refreshing. I am so thoroughly pleased with it, continued he, that if I have not the good Fortune to see and reward Him who gave it thee, I pray the Gods to make him both rich and prosperous. No sooner had he said this, but his Scouts arrived with Joy and Triumph in their Looks, bringing him the Tidings of his unexpected Fortune. And now he was encouraged by the great Number and Confluence of his Soldiers who flocked to him, and descended into the Plain by the Light of an infinite Number of Flambeaus. As soon as he was come to the Place where the Corps of his Brother lay, he ordered his right Hand and Head to be cut off, according to the Law of the Persians, and commanding the Head to be brought to Him, he took it in his Hands, and grasping it by the Hair, which was long and bushy, he shewed it to his Men, as they were wavering, and still upon the Wing. They were all astonished at the sight, paid him their Adorations according to the Custom of their Country, and joined his Troops, so that in the space of a few Hours he had rallied and got together a Body of seventy thousand Men, and returned with them to the Camp.

Ctesias writes that Artaxerxes had not in that Engagement above four hundred thousand effective Men. But Dinon and Xenophon make the Number much greater. As to the Number of the Slain, Ctesias laith the Accounts given in of them to the King made them amount to no more than nine thousand, tho' they appeared to Him to be no less than Twenty, but this Article is subject to Controversy. That which Ctesias adds, that He was sent by the King with Phayllus the Zacynthian, and some Others, to offer Terms to the Grecians, is a notorious Falsity. For Xenophon knew very well, that
that Ctesias was in the King's Service, and makes mention of him in his History. It is not therefore likely that if Ctesias had been sent to the Greeks on the Part of the King, and had been employed in so important a Service, Xenophon would have omitted naming Him in the Embassy, any more than he did Phayllus. But Ctesias (as it is evident) being strangely vain-glorious, and a great Favourer of the Lacedaemonians and Clearchus, never fails to assume to Himself some Province in his Narrative, which gives him an Opportunity of speaking many things to the Advantage of Clearchus, and Lacedaemon. When the Battle was over, Artaxerxes sent many magnificent Presents to the Son of Artageres, who had been slain by Cyrus. He conferred likewise high Honours upon Ctesias and Others, and having found out the Caunian, who gave him the Bottle of Water, he made him of a poor obscure Fellow a Person of great Wealth and Consideration. As for the Punishments he inflicted upon Delinquents, there was a kind of Harmony betwixt Them and their Crimes. He gave Order that one Arbas a Mode, who during the Fight had deserted to Cyrus, and after his Death returned back to his Post in the Army, should take up a Whore stark naked, and carry her hanging by his Neck a whole Day round about the Marketplace, therein cenfuring his Cowardice and Effeminacy, rather than his Treason and Malignity. Another, not content with having deserted, bragged with as much Impudence as Falsity that he had with his own Hands killed two of the Enemy: Whereupon the King ordered his Tongue to be bore through with three Awls.

As he verily believed that He had slain Cyrus with his own Hand, and being desirous that all the World should believe and say so too, he sent very rich Presents to Mithridates, who first wounded him,
him, and ordered Thos by Whom they were sent to tell him, The King has honoured thee with these Presents, because when thou hadst found the Trappings belonging to the Horse of Cyrus thou didst deliver them to his Majesty. And when the Carian, who wounded Cyrus in the Ham, upon which he fell, sued likewise for His Reward, the King granted it, and commanded Thos who carried it to him to say in His Name, The King makes thee a Present of This for being the second Messenger of the good News, for Artalyras was the First who brought him an Account of the Death of Cyrus, and Thou the Second.

As for Mithridates, He retired in Discontent and Silence. But the unfortunate Carian suffered himself to be drawn by his Folly into a Passion of all Others the most incident to human Frailty, and that is Vanity. Being ravished with the sight of the Princely Gifts that were before him, and tempted thereupon to aspire to things infinitely above him, he would not have these Royal Presents considered as a Recompense for his good News, but fell into a Passion, made a great Noise, and called all the World to Witness that He, and only He had killed Cyrus, and complained of the great Injustice the King did him in depriving him of the Glory. The King being informed of this Insolence was so highly exasperated that he ordered him that Instant to be beheaded. The Queen Mother happening to be present at that time, said, Sir, do not discharge this pernicious Carian upon such easy Terms, leave him rather to my Vengeance, and let Me deal out to him the Chastisement due to such insolent Boastings. When the King had consigned him over to the Mercy of Parysatis, she charged the Executioners to seize him and stretch him upon the Rack for ten Days, then to punch out his Eyes, and drop molten Brass into his Ears 'till at length he expired with the very Anguish of his Tortures.

Mithridates
Mithridates also within a short time after miserably perished by his own Folly: for being invited to a Feast where the King and Queen Mother's Eunuchs were present, he came arrayed in the Robe and other Ornaments, with which the King had presented him. When they were at Table, and began to grow warm with Wine, Parysatis the Queen Mother's chief Eunuch said, Ab! Mithridates, how beautiful is this Robe! how fine those Chains, and Bracelets! and what a Symetar is there! How happy has the King made thee! Thou art the Admiration and Envy of All that see thee. Mithridates, who was by this time grown Pot valiant, replied, These are all Trifles, my dear Sparamixes, if compared to what I made it appear I deserved in the Day of Battle. At these Words Sparamixes smiling said, I do not speak to thee out of Envy, good Mithridates, but as the Greeks have a Proverb among them signifying that when the Wine is in Truth will out, let me ask thee freely, and without Offence, was it such a mighty matter to find the Trappings of the Horse of Cyrus, and carry them to the King?

This he spoke not because he was ignorant of the Truth, but because he had a Mind to pump him before Witnesses. Accordingly this Reproach provoked the Vanity of the Man, who was naturally talkative in his Cups, wherefore being now no longer Master of his Tongue, You may, said he, talk what you please of Horse Trappings, and such Trifles, but I must take the Liberty to tell you in plain terms that by this Hand fell Cyrus. For I did not cast a random Dart at him, as did Artagerses, but smote him with my Javelin near the Eye in his Temple, and That with so much Force, that it penetrated quite through his Head, so that I brought him to the Ground, and of that single Wound be died. All who were at Table foretold with dejected Looks the Destiny of the
the indiscreet and unfortunate Mithridates, when He who gave the Entertainment turning the Discourse said to him, Let Us adore the Fortune of the King, and drink, and be merry, without meddling with Points which are so far above us.

As soon as Supper was ended the Eunuch went, and acquainted Parysatis with all that had passed, and she as readily informed the King, who was exceedingly enraged at it, as having the Lye given him, by which he was to be deprived of the most glorious and delightful Circumstance of his Victory. For it was his Ambition to have all Men, both Greeks and Barbarians, verily believe that in the several Conflicts between Him and his Brother, he had been slightly wounded by Cyrus, and that in Return he had wounded Him mortally. Wherefore it was decreed that Mithridates should die, and the King ordered him to be boated. This is a Punishment inflicted after the following Manner. They make choice of two Boats of the same size, framed to fit each other exactly. In One of these they place the Criminal flat on his Back, and cover it with the Other in such a Manner that the Trunk is close shut up, and only the Head left bare at one End, and the Feet at the Other. In this Condition they offer him Food, and if he refuse to eat they force him to it, by running Needles into his Eyes. When he has fed they drench him with a Mixture of Milk and Honey, which they pour likewise upon his Face, and keep it turned to the Sun, that he may have it always in his Eyes, so that his Countenance is covered all over with Flies, which settle upon it for the sake of the Milk and Honey. As he is forced to evacuate, and make such Discharges within, which They who eat and drink are of necessity subject to, great Plenty of Vermine spring out of the Corruption and Rottenness of his Excrements, which
which gnaw his Flesh, and penetrate to his very Bowels. As soon as it appears that he is dead, they take off the uppermost Boat and find his Flesh devoured, and swarms of those noisome Creatures still preying upon, and, as it were, growing to his Inwards. Mithridates languished under this cruel and inhuman Punishment for seventeen days together, and then expired.

The only Person remaining who was to feel the Vengeance of Parysatis was Mesabates, one of the King's Eunuchs, who by his Master's Command had cut off the Head and Hand of Cyrus. But whereas he was so circumspect in his Behaviour that he gave her no Advantage against him, she framed the following Snare to intrap him. She was a very ingenious Woman upon all other Accounts, but especially an excellent Artist at Dice, and before the War had often played with the King, (1) as she did likewise after it was concluded, as soon as she was received into Favour. She made One in almost all his Parties of Pleasure, was admitted into the Secrets of his Amours, and was serviceable to him with his Mistresses. In a word, she was as little out of his sight as possible, and regretted every Hour Statira had him to her self. For she mortally hated her, and was for being always First in her Son's Favour.

One day therefore when she found the King at Leisure she proposed to play at Dice with him for

(1) Here are three or four Lines wanting in the Text, which are supplied from the St. Germain MS. The entire Passage is as follows, μετά δὲ τὸν πόλεμον [διαλυθένδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ θεοῦν τὰς τιλοφρονύς, ἀλλὰ ἡ συνέτατες, μὴ τὰς ἐρυθέντιν ἐκοινώνῃς συμματάτησα, ἡ σηιράδα, ἡ ὀλος μικρώτατον αὐτῷ. τῇ Στατηρᾷ μετῆδειν ἢρξοις, ὑσύσα τε μάλιστα πάλιν ἰκείνην ἢ μέγιτον αὐτῆς εἰς χρήσιν ἢράδες λαβᾶσα] ἢ πὸς τὸν, &c. But what is very extraordinary is that the Latin Interpreter has translated all this Passage, the it is not to be found in the Greek Text.
A R T A X E R X E S.

A thousand Darii. The King took her up, beat her, and was paid upon the Nail; but pretending to be concerned for her Loss, she pressed him to begin a new Game, and offered to play with him for an Eunuch; in which he complied with her. It was agreed between them, that each of them might except five of the most trusty Eunuchs, and that out of the rest the Lofer should yield up any the Winner should make choice of. Upon these Conditions they played. Thus being vigorous upon her Design, and intent on her Game, and the Dice running luckily for her, she won, and pitched upon Mesabates, who was not in the number of the five that had been excepted. As soon as she had got him in her Power, and before the King could conceive the least suspicion of the Vengeance she designed, she delivered him up to the Executioners, commanded them to flea him alive, to set his Body upon three sharp Stakes, and to stretch his Skin upon Stakes separately from it.

When the King came to be informed of what she had done he was highly incensed at it, but she without the least Concern turned it into a Jest, and told him laughing, You are a fine Gentleman indeed to be thus concerned for an old decrepid Eunuch, when I, after I had lost a thousand Darii paid them honestly, without the least Murmur, or Token of Discontent.

Artaxerxes was nettled at the Trick she had plaid him, and vexed to find himself so over-reached by her, but took no farther Notice of it. But Statira did both upon other Accounts openly oppose her, and was irreconcilably angry with her for This, that she did against all Law and Humanity sacrifice the Eunuchs, and the King's most Loyal Subjects, to the Ghost of her darling Cyrus.

(1) When
When Tisaphernes had betrayed Clearchus, and the other Grecian Leaders, in breach of the most Solemn Oaths and Promises, and clapt them in Irons, Ctesias tells us that Clearchus requested of Him to procure a Comb for him, which when he had obtained, and used, he was so pleased with it that in Return he presented him with a Ring, to the end that if ever he had Occasion to go to Sparta he might produce it to his Friends and Relations, as a Token of the great Friendship and Respect he had for him, and that the Sculpture on the Beazil represented (2) the Dance of the Caryatides. He adds, that the other Grecians, who were his Fellow-Prisoners, intercepted the daily Provisions appointed for Clearchus, and retaining the greatest Share to Themselves allowed him but a poor Pittance; that he put a stop to that Abuse by causing a larger allowance to be sent to Clearchus, and as for the rest he provided that every Man should have his particular Dole; that all this was done by the Ap-

(1) Xenophon in his eleventh Book relates at large all that passed at the Interview between Clearchus and Tisaphernes, and the Treachery of the Persian: Clearchus, going to the Tent of Tisaphernes attended by four of his principal Officers and twenty Captains, He and the Officers were called in, and Arrested, at the same Time that the twenty Captains were cut to Pieces. Some time afterwards the King commanded Clearchus, and the four Officers. All except Menon, to be beheaded.

(2) All that read this Passage must be desirous to know what this Dance of the Caryatides could be which was thus engraven on the Ring of Clearchus. Pausanias has described it at large in his Laconicks, where he tells us that the third Turning on the right Hand as they come down from the Place called Hormes leads to Carya, and the Temple of Diana, for the whole Borough of Carya is dedicated to Diana, and the Nymphs; that in the Court before the Temple stands a Statue of Diana Caryatis; and that the Spartan Virgins come once a Year to dance round it. It is very plain therefore that this Dance of the Caryatides represented on the Ring of Clearchus is the Dance mentioned by Pausanias. Lucan in his Treatise of Dancing speaks of this Dance, which received its Name from the Town of Carya, and was peculiar to it, as we now-a-days find several Places famous for certain Dances. Natives, if we may so call them, of those Places.
pointment and at the Expence of Parthesis; he
faith farther, that it being his Custom to send him
every day a Gammon of Bacon among his other
Provisions, Clearchus insinuated to him, and ear-
nestly intreated him to bury a short Knife in the
Flesh of one of those Gammons, and send it to
him, that his Life might be not longer subject to
the arbitrary Will of Artaxerxes. He goeth on,
and faith he refused to grant him that Request for
fear of the King’s Displeasure, and the rather be-
cause Artaxerxes had bound himself under an Oath
to his Mother, who earnestly interceded for him,
to spare Clearchus; notwithstanding which at the
Instigation of his Queen Statira he put every Man
of them to Death but Menon. That from that
Moment Parthesis watched her Opportunity to
get shut of Statira, and to remove her by Poison.
But in This he gives us great Reason to suspect his
Veracity; for how is it to be believed that Par-
thesis should expose her self to the Danger of so
hazardous an Enterprize as that of Poisoning a
Princes, her Son’s lawful Wife, a Wife by whom
he had Issue, which was one day to succeed him,
and all for the sake of Clearchus? But it is evident
that This is nothing better than an Invention of
the Historian, an imaginary Obelisk raised up by
him to the Memory of Clearchus. For he would
have us believe, that when the other Generals
were executed, they were torn in Pieces by Dogs
and Birds; but as for the Remains of Clearchus,
that a violent Gust of Wind drove before it a
vast Heap of Sand, which covered His Body, and
gave it the Honour of a Monument; that Date-
trees sprung up round about it, and throve to that
degree that in a short time they formed a lovely
Grove, which scattered its shade all over the
Place; that the King was so touched with the
Miracle that he heartily repented of what he had
done
done to Clearchus, whom he considered as a Favourite of the Gods.

It was not therefore in Revenge of Clearchus that Parysatis had entertained a Design of poisoning Statira; she was provoked to it by the Hatred and Jealousy she had long before conceived against her, because she perceived that what Credit she had with the King her Son was the effect only of the Consideration and Respect he had for her, as for his Mother, but that Statira's Interest in him was founded in Love and Afection, which rendered it more strong and lasting. This Consideration only determined her to throw at All, and at once get shut of so formidable a Rival. Among her Maids of Honour there was one who was in the highest Esteem with her, whose Name was Gigis. Dinon faith that she assisted her in preparing the Poison. But Ctesias affirms she was only privy to it, and that it was much against her Approbation. She who administered the Poison is called Melantias by Ctesias, and by Dinon Belitaras.

These two Princesses having seemingly forgot their antient Piques and Jealousies, were reconciled in Appearance, visited as heretofore, and eat at each other's Tables. But as their mutual Distrust still subsisted, they continued to keep upon their Guard, eat of the same Dish, (1) and even of the same Slices.

(1) Thus in my Opinion the Words following are to be transliterated, τοῖς ἀδύσεις σίτιοι, τῶν αὐτῶν σπανίο. They did not only eat of the same Meats, that Precaution was not thought sufficient, but they eat of the very same Pieces, which were divided between them. That this was the Case will appear from what follows.

(2) It was a Bird like the French Ortolan. And this is a proof of the Explication given to Plutarch's Text in the preceding Remark; for it plainly appears that those Princesses did not think it safe enough to eat of the same Meats, unless they partook like-wise of the same Bits, or Morfela. It is not usual to divide, or cut up an Ortolan. They are eaten Whole, but the mutual Disidence and Jealousie of the Queens obliged them to divide it.

which
which are without Excrement, and the Inside of it wholly fat; so that they suppose the little Creature lives upon Air and Dew. It is call'd Rynctaces. Ctesias affirms, that Parysatis dividing this Bird with a Knife rubbed with Poison on the one side, and free from it on the other, eat the untouch'd wholesome Part Herself, and gave Statira That which was infected. But Dinon will not have it to be Parysatis, but Melantas who cut up the Bird, and presented the envenomed Part to Statira, who dying with horrid Agonies and Convulsions, was both her self sensible of the virulent Drug she had taken, and intimated her Suspicion of the Queen Mother to the King, who knew her brutish Fierceness, and implacable Temper. As soon as Statira was dead he made a strict Inquiry into the whole Affair. He cau'sd all his Mother's Officers and domestick Servants who attended at her Table to be seiz'd, and put upon the Rack. Parysatis kept Gigos safe in her own Apartment, and tho' the King often sent to demand her she still refused to produce her. At last Gigos requested the Queen to let her steal home by Night to her own House, of which the King being advertised he had her intercepted by some of his Guards, who lay in wait for her, and pass'd Sentence of Death upon her. The Punishment inflicted by the Laws of Persia on Poisomers is as followeth. They have a very broad Stone prepared for that purpose, upon which they place the Head of the Criminal, and continue to knock and squeeze it with another 'till it is bruised to Pieces, and nothing of the Figure is left remaining. And this Punishment was inflicted on Gigos. As for Parysatis, the King neither said or did any thing severe against Her, farther than to confine her at her own Request to the City of Babylon, which he declared he would never visit whilst She resided in it. This was the situation of Artaxerxes's domestick Affairs.
During all these Transactions, the King omitted nothing so he might get into his Power those adventurous Grecians, who came with Cyrus, and defied him almost under the Walls of his Capital; it was what he desired with as strong a Passion, as he had before desired to overthow Cyrus, and maintain himself in his Dominions. But This was not to be effected; for they after they had lost Cyrus their General, and the rest of the Commanders, forced their way as it were through the Gates of his very Palace, retired in Safety through the Heart of his Dominions in defiance of his Power, and made it appear to all the World (1) that Artaxerxes and his Persians excelled only in Wealth, Luxury, Women, Vain-glory, and Ofsentation. This instilled into the Grecians a marvellous Confidence in their own Forces, and a Contempt of the Barbarians. Insomuch that the Lacedemonians thought it a shame not to lay hold on the present Conjuncture, now whilst they had an Opportunity of breaking the Yoke of Servitude, which called the Asiatick Grecians, and free them from the contumelious Outrages of their insolent Masters. Their first Essay was with an Army under the Command of Thimbron, the next they tryed was Dercyllidas, but when they found all their Efforts ineffectual they at last committed the whole Conduct of the War to Agesilaus. That Prince passed into Asia with a powerful Fleet, performed at first many gallant Exploits, and acquired much Reputation, for he defeated Tisaphernes the King's Lieutenant in a pitched Battel, and caused several of the Cities to revolt from the Persians.

(1) This was very manifest, for all the Forces the King had could not hinder those ten thousand Greeks from traversing Sword in Hand through the Heart of his Dominions, and making a Retreat, which will ever be remembered to the Honour of Greece and the Ignominy of Persia.

These
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These great Achievements taught Artaxerxes in what manner he was to carry on the War against the Gracians. He sent Hermocrates of Rhodes into Greece with vast Treasures of Gold, commanding him by a free Distribution of it to corrupt the leading Men in the Cities, and to stir up the rest of the Gracians to an united Engagement against Sparta. Hermocrates succeeded wonderfully in his Commission; most of the leading Cities conspired against Lacedemon, and all Peloponnesus was put into a Ferment, insomuch that the Council of Sparta were constrained to recall Agesilaus out of Asia. Upon this we are told that as he was embarking he said to some of his Friends, who were near him, that Artaxerxes had driven him out of Asia with thirty thousand Archers, the Persian Coin having an Archer stamped upon it. Artaxerxes likewise gained the Dominion of the Sea from the Lacedemonians by the Assistance of Conon Admiral of the Athenians, who acted in Conjunction with his own Admiral Pharnabazus. For Conon, after he had been beaten by the Spartans at Ægos Potamos, kept close in Cyprus, not only for the safety of his own Person but to watch the turn of Affairs, as Mariners do the Turn of the Tide when they are to embark. Perceiving therefore that the Schemes he had formed wanted a Power to set them in Motion, and that the Power of the Persians wanted some experienced Head to direct, and conduct it, he wrote to the King, and sent him a Plan of his Designs, commanding the Person, with whom he entrusted his Letters, to contrive it so as to have them presented to his Majesty either by Zeno of Crete or by Polycritus the Mendeian, the First of which was his Dancing-Master, and the Other a Physician; and in case they were both absent from Court he was then to apply to Ctesias.
It is said that Ctesias had the Delivery of these Letters in the Absence of the other Two, and that before he presented them to the King he added a Clause wherein he made Conon desired of his Majesty to send Ctesias to him as a Person who could be very useful to his Service, particularly on Account of his great Skill in Maritime Affairs. But Ctesias' Faith, the King sent him of his own Motion, without any Intimation either from Him, or Conon.

After Artaxerxes had defeated them by his Lieutenants, Conon and Pharnabazus, in the naval Engagement near Cnidos, and stripped them of their Dominion by Sea, he drew all Greece over to his Interest, and imposed what terms he pleased upon them in that celebrated Peace, which was called the Peace of Antalcidas. This Antalcidas was a Spartan, the Son of Leon, and so great a Stickler for the King's Interest that he prevailed with the Lacedaemonians to give up all the Cities in Asia, and the adjacent Islands, which were to remain tributary to the Persians in Vertue of the Peace, if we may give the venerable Name of Peace to That which was the Reproach and Ruin of Greece; a Peace more inglorious in its Consequences than an entire Defeat could have been in the Process of a long destructive War. And therefore Artaxerxes, though he always abominated other Spartans, and looked upon them (as Dinon says) to be the most impudent Men living, did yet put a strange Value upon Antalcidas, when he came to him into Persia: Insomuch that one day he took a Garland of Flowers, dip'd it in an Ointment of Inestimable Value, which He Himself made use of at his Table, and sent it to Antalcidas, whilst the whole Court were astonishe'd at so particular a Mark of Favour and Distinction. Indeed Antalcidas was a Person fit to be treated with so much Softness.
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and Effeminacy, (1) who could make one at a Persian Ball, and had the Impudence to mimick in a wanton Dance Leonidas and Callicratidas, Two of the most worthy Men in Sparta. Wherefore when a certain Person in the Hearing of Agesilaus lamented the Fate of Greece, which had brought it so low that the Spartans were turning Medes, that Prince replied (2) smartly, Say rather the Medes are turning Spartans. And yet the Smartness of the Repartee could not wipe off the Infamy of the Action. Soon after This they entirely lost their Preeminence in Greece (3) by the fatal Defeat they received at Leuctra, which totally broke their Power, as this infamous Peace had before eclipsed their Honour.

Whilst Sparta held the first Rank in Greece Artaxerxes careless Antalcidas, professing to him all the Obligations of Friendship, and Hospitality; but when this Battle at Leuctra had humbled them they found themselves distressed for want of Money, which made them send Agesilaus into Egypt, and order Antalcidas to return to the Court of

(1) This is a severe but just Reflection upon Antalcidas, who deserved to be distinguished by such a Crown which was a Token of the Persian Softness and Luxury, since he was so mean-spirited, as to scoff in Publick at the Severity of the Spartan Discipline, and bid defiance to all the Principles of Honour and Modesty. How did he sacrifice the Honour of his Country to the Pride of the Barbarians, when in his Dance he pretended to ridicule two Persons such as Leonidas and Callicratidas, Men of that Virtue and Dignity in Sparta, the Terror and Scourge of the Barbarians!

(2) Agesilaus by this Answer was for obviating the Notion of Inferiority, which that Saving fixed upon Sparta, for it is usual for the Vanquished to receive the Customs and Manners of the Conquerors. If he be not taken in this Sense his Answer was neither smart nor pertinent.

(3) Where the Thebans, under the Conduct of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeated the Lacedaemoneans commanded by Cleombrotus, who fell in the Action. This happened in the eleventh Year of the hundred and second Olympiad, 369 Years before the Incarnation, and fourteen Years after the Peace of Antalcidas, which he had been mentioning just before,
Persia to press for Supplies from thence. But the King received him so coldly, and treated him with so much Indifference and Contempt, that he returned back in great Confusion to Sparta, where being scorned by his Enemies, and in Fear of the Ephori, he starved himself to death. About the same time Iphimenas the Theban, and Pelopidas, who overthrew the Spartans at Leuctra, arrived at the Court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas did nothing mean, or dishonourable; but Iphimenas being commanded to adore the Prince, let his Ring fall upon the Ground before him, and as he stooped to take it up he made That pass for an Act of Adoration. Timagoras the Athenian one day sent the King a Letter of secret Intelligence, which was delivered to him by Beluris a Secretary, with the Contents of which the King was so well pleased that he immediately sent him a thousand Darii. The same Timagoras falling into a languishing Distemper, and being prescribed the use of Cow's Milk, Artaxerxes immediately made him a Present of fourscore milch Cows, which were constantly to attend him for that Service. He moreover sent him a Bed with every thing belonging to it, and with Valets to make it, (1) because the Greeks were not expert in that sort of domestick Service, (2) and Chairmen to carry him in a Sedan to the Sea-side by Reason of his Indisposition, to all

(1) This is a farther Instance of the Persian Softness and Effeminacy. They thought the Græci too impolite to be capable of that domestick Service. Wherefore Agamemnon faith in the first Book of the Iliad, that he will detain Chryseis in his Palace on purpose to deck, or make his Bed, an Office wherein the Asiatics were exceeding skilful.

(2) We shall hardly find another Instance of so long a Journey performed in a Chair, for it is a great Distance from the Persian Court to the Sea-side. Plutarch, who has given us a full Account of this Historical Fact in the Life of Pelopidas, tells us there that the Chairmen received of the King four Talents as a Reward of their Service, which
which we may add the sumptuous Allowance for
his Table all the while he resided at Court, which
made Ofanes the King's Brother say to him one
day, Timagoras, you ought never to forget how mag-
nificently you are entertained, such costly Treatment is
not for nothing, which he spoke rather to reproach
him for his Treason, than to inspire him with Gra-
titude. Accordingly Timagoras was some time
after his Return condemned to dye by the Atheni-
ans, for having been corrupted by Bribes from the
King of Persia.

Artaxerxes did one thing, which was extreamly
agreeable to the Grecians, and seemed a sort of
Atonement for the many Injuries he had done
them. He caused Tisaphernes, the most implacable
of all their Enemies, to be put to Death, wherein
Parysatis was likewise instrumental, adding many
Articles to the Charge brought against him. For
the King persisted not long in Wrath with his
Mother, but was reconciled to her, and sent for
her, being assured that she had Wisdom and
Courage fit for an Empire, and there was now
no Cause discernable, but that they might con-
verse together without Suspicion or Offence.
From that time she humoured the King according
to his Hearts Desire, said and did every thing he
would have her, and so got an absolute Ascendant
over him. She perceived he was desperately in
Love with Atossa, one of his own Daughters, and
that he concealed and checkt his Passion chiefly
out of regard to Her, though some Authors say
he had before That made his Addressses in secret
to her, and enjoyed her. As soon as Parysatis
suspected the Intrigue, she grew more fond of
her Grand-daughter than before, and extolled her
to Artaxerxes both for her Virtue and Beauty,
which, she said, made her worthy of the imperial
Dignity. In short she persuaded him to espouse
her,
her, and declare her his lawful Wife, in spite of the Laws and Opinions of the Greeks. For You, said she, are a Law to the Persians, appointed by God, to be the only Rule to Them of what is honest, or dishonest, virtuous, or vicious. Some Historians, among whom is Heraclides of Cuma, farther affirm, that Artaxerxes did not only marry Atossa, but likewise another of his Daughters named Amestris, of which mention will be made hereafter. His Love for Atossa was so ardent and sincere, that though the Leprosy had spread itself over her whole Body, it gave him not the least Distaste or Coolness towards her, on the contrary he spent whole days in the Temple of Juno, adoring Her alone, prostrate on his Face before her Statue, grasping the Earth, and pouring out his Prayers to the Goddess for her Recovery. At the same time he caused so many Offerings to be made her by his Officers and Favourites, that all the Road leading from the Palace to the Temple for two Miles together was choaked up with Presents of Gold, Silver, Stuff of Purple, (1) and Horses, which they were continually sending to her.

He declared War against the Egyptians, committing it to the Conduct of his Lieutenants, Pharnabazus and Iphicrates; but this Expedition proved unfortunate in the Event, by reason of a Misdunderstanding between those two Generals. He went in Person against the Cadusians with an Army of three hundred thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. Their Country is by Nature,

(1) I am a little doubtful of the Word Ἰππαρχος, Horses. Did they send Horses to Juno's Temple? to what end did they send them? were they to be sacrificed there? They never offered Horses in Sacrifice to Juno. Besides, how come Horses to be enumerated among Presents of Gold, Silver, and Stuff of Purple? I am of Opinion that instead of Ἰππαρχος it ought to be Ἰππαρχος, precious Stones, for since they sent her presents of Gold, Silver, and rich Stuff, it may reasonably be imagined that Jewels were not forgotten.
rough, and almost impassable, continually covered with thick Clouds, producing neither Corn nor Fruit for the Sustenance of the Inhabitants, a robust warlike People, who are forced to live upon Pears and Apples, which grow wild and uncultivated. Into this inhospitable Region did the unwary Prince penetrate, and exposed himself to infinite Distress and Danger; for nothing was to be got to subsist his Forces in that desert Place, and it was impossible to be supplied from any Other through the Badness of the Roads, which were utterly impracticable. The whole Camp were forced to live on Beasts of Burden, which soon became so scarce, that the Head of an Ass was sold for sixty Drachmas. The King's own Table began to be in Want; few Horses were left, the rest having been spent for Food.

In this Exigency Tiribazus, a Person who was often in the highest favour with his Prince in respect to his Valour, and as often degraded on account of his Levisity, and who at this very time was the Laughing-stock of the whole Army, preserved the King, and all his Forces, by the following Stratagem. There were two Kings of the Cadusian, both of them in separate Camps with their respective Forces. Tiribazus having first communicated his Design to Artaxerxes, went to One of those Princes Himself and sent his Son to the Other. Each of them cheated the Prince he had to deal with, telling him that the Other was sending, unknown to Him, his Ambassadors to Artaxerxes to negotiate a separate Alliance exclusive of Him, and to His Prejudice. If you are wise, said he, you will lose no time but be beforehand with your Rival, and enter First into a Treaty. For my Part, added he, you may depend upon all the Assistance that lies in my Power. These Words imposed upon the two Princes, so that each of them believing his Companion was betraying M 4
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traying him, they both dispatched away their Ambassadors in great haste to Artaxerxes, Tiribazus attending those who were sent on the one Part, and his Son accompanying the Ministers of the Other.

As this double Negotiation required some time to perfect it, Artaxerxes began to suspect Tiribazus, and his Enemies making use of so favourable a Conjuncture, did all they could to irritate the King against him, so that he repented his having confided so much in him, and gave Ear to those who were the most forward to calumniate him. In this Nick of time Tiribazus returning on one side, and his Son on the Other, each bringing his Ambassadors with him, and the Peace being concluded, and signed on all sides, he now got into greater Credit and Authority than ever, and so marched back with Artaxerxes, who made it appear on that Occasion, (1) that Cowardice and Effeminacy do not necessarily arise from Luxury, Pomp, and Superfluity, as is generally believed, but are the Effects of a base degenerate Nature, mis-led by erroneous Principles. For notwithstanding his Jewels of Gold, his Robe of State, and the rest of his costly Attire, worth no less than twelve thousand Talents, with which he was constantly clad, his Labours and Toils were no less than those of the meanest Persons in his Army. For with his Quiver flung over his Shoulder, and his Arm braced to his Buckler, he would dismount upon Occasion, and lead them in Person through

(1) This is an undeniable Truth. Luxury, Pomp and Superfluity do not necessarily engender Softness and Effeminacy, for in that Case what Prince is there who would not be soft and effeminate? Those Vices flow from a poor, degenerate Principle, and may be said to be born in the Man. But it must be allowed that if they do not engender, they do at least feed and strengthen them, and hinder a Soul naturally weak and infirm from gathering Strength. They keep it down when once it is down.
craggy difficult Passes. Insomuch that the Soldiers charmed with the Patience, Strength and Courage which they saw him exert, were animated by his Example, and grew so nimble that they seemed to have Wings, and marched one day with another upwards of two hundred Furlongs. At last he arrived at one of his own Royal Palaces, where he had Gardens kept in the nicest order, and a Park of a large Extent; both the Park and the Gardens were extremely beautiful, and appeared more especially so in a Country, which of itself was naked, barren and uncultivated. They were then in the Depth of Winter, and the Weather was exceeding cold, wherefore he gave full Commission to his Soldiers to cut down as much Wood as they wanted, without excepting even his Pines and Cypress; and when they were at a stand, and made a Conscience of cutting down Trees remarkable for their Size and Beauty, the King Himself took an Ax, and began to fell one, which seemed to Him to be the tallest and straightest of them All. This made the Soldiers less scrupulous; they handled their Hatchets, and kindled so many Fires as made them pass the Night very comfortably.

Thus ended this Expedition, wherein the King lost many gallant Soldiers, and almost all his Horses. And as he imagined that this would make him look little in the Eyes of his People, who would despise him for his ill Success, he grew jealous of the most eminent Men in his Court, Some of whom he flew in his Rage, and More out of Fear, which is a Passion the most cruel and bloody of Any in Tyrants, whereas true Courage is gentle, merciful, and void of all Suspicion. Thus those Brutes which by Nature are most fearful and timorous, are hardest to be tamed, whereas the Brave and Generous among them placing a Confidence in their innate
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innate Boldness and Courage do not shun the Kindness and Society of Man.

Artaxerxes being now in Years perceived that two of his Sons were contending which should succeed him, to which end they were forming Cabals, and making separate Interests, by which the whole Court was divided. The most prudent and reasonable among them thought that as Artaxerxes had succeeded in right of Birth, so ought the Succession to devolve upon his eldest Son Darius. But the Younger, named Orobes, a Man of a hot violent Temper, had likewise His Party, which was very numerous and considerable. He flattered himself with the Hopes that his Father would declare for Him by the means of Atossa, to whom he made all His Court, and promised to espouse her, and make her his Partner in the Throne, if she would so contrive it that He might succeed Artaxerxes. Indeed there went a Report that he had already been familiar with her, but it was unknown to his Father, who thinking it prudent to nip his Hopes in the Bud, left following the Example of his Uncle Cyrus he might involve the State in a civil War, after his Decease, he openly declared Darius for his Successor, (1) who was then in his fiftieth Year, and permitted him to wear the Point of his Citaris or Turban erect, which was the Mark of Royalty.

It is a Custom among the Persians for Him who is declared next Heir to the Crown, to demand of the Prince who has named him for his Successor, some Gift or Boon which he is not to refuse, provided it be in his Power to grant it. Darius therefore demanded Aspasia, of all his Mistresses the best.

(1) How can that be? Phlegarch Fifty. Instead of πέντενατων it in the following Page calls him ought to be read as it is found in πέντενατων a Youth, a Term by a certain Mf. πέντενατων κοινοτος, by no means suitable to a Man of in his twenty fifth Year.
beloved of Cyrus, and at this time one of the King's Concubines. She was by Birth of Phoecea a City in Ionia, of good Parentage, and (1) of a virtuous, liberal Education. When she was first introduced to Cyrus it was among other Ladies whilst he was at Supper. The rest placed themselves without Reserve near to his Person, and when he began to talk wantonly to them, to touch them, and behave indecently towards them, they were so far from resenting such Usage that they seemed delighted with it. Awpasa in the mean time stood in a profound Silence, with a Countenance as modest as beautiful, at some Distance from the Table. Cyrus invited her in engaging Terms to come nearer, but she refused; and when some of his Officers who attended in his Chamber went to compel her, she cried aloud, Whoeuer has the Insolence to lay his Hands upon me shall surely repent it. This made all who were present look on her as a raw ill-bred Creature. But, Cyrus was charmed with her Behaviour, and told the Person who had provided him with those Women, Of the whole Parcel This Woman only is truly Wise, and Virtuous. From that time forward he attached himself to her, loved her above all the rest, and called her Awpasa the Wise.

When Cyrus fell in the Battle she was taken among the other Spoils of the Camp, and delivered to Artaxerxes. Darius having therefore demanded her of his Father he was much afflicted at it, for those Barbarians are excessive jealous in their Amours, so that it is Death for a Man not only to speak to one of the King's Concubines, or touch

(1) But this Education could not long hold out against the Allurements of Pomp and Magnificence, against which it proved little better than a momentary

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defence. It must indeed be confessed that the Pa
is where-
in her Virtue was foiled, was a little too slippery for one of her Sex and Years.
her, but even to cross the Road, or come near the Chariots in which they are travelling. And though to gratify his Lust he had against all Law married his Daughter Atossa, and had beside Her a Seraglio of three hundred and sixty the most exquisite Beauties in his Dominions; yet being importuned for that One by Darius, he urged that she was a Free-woman, and allowed him to take her if she had an Inclination to go with him, but by no means to force her away against it. Aspasia therefore being sent for, (1) and, contrary to the King’s Expectation, making choice of Darius, he gave him her indeed, being constrained to it by Law; but deprived him of her soon after, for he made her a Priestess in the Temple of Diana, surnamed (2) Anitis, at Ecbatane, to the end she might spend the Remainder of her Days in strict Chastity, thinking thus to punish his Son, not with Rigour but Moderation, by a Revenge chequered with Jeft and Earnest. But Darius was extremly netled at this Proceeding, either for that his Love to Aspasia made him more sensible of it, or because he thought it designed on purpose to insult and injure him.

Tiribazus perceiving him in this Temper of Mind, took Pains to exasperate him still more, observing in the Injustice done Darius a Representation of what he had received Himself. Artaxerxes had many Daughters, One of which named Apama he had promised to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to

(1) Artaxerxes was a Fool for expecting anything else. This was Woman all over. Who would imagine it! Aspasia prefers the Son to the Father, the young Galant to the Old one. Thus this Lady, notwithstanding her virtuous, liberal Education, was by turns at the Service of the Father, the Son, and the Uncle. (2) Judging by a Priestess of the Sun. This Diana, called Anitis in this Place by Paraspare, is named Anitis by Pausanias, who faith the Lydians have in their Territories the Temple of Diana Anatis, Ἀρτάξερξης, Ἄρταξερξης, Ἀρτάγης, Ἀρτάξερξης.
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(1) Oronces, and Amestris to Tiribazus. He kept his Word with the two First, but disappointed Tiribazus by marrying Amestris Himself, and promising to give him his youngest Daughter Atossa. But here he deceived him too, for he afterwards fell passionately in love with Atossa, and married Her likewise, as we have already observed.

This Usage exceedingly provoked Tiribazus, and made him conceive an irreconcilable Hatred to Artaxerxes, not that he was naturally inclined to Sedition and Revolt, but he was of a wavering, inconstant, unthinking Temper. Wherefore, being sometimes advanced to the highest Degrees of Honour, and at others degraded to the lowest Pitch of Infamy, he knew not how to comport himself as he ought in either of those States; for when in Favour, his Infolence and Vanity made him insupportable, and when in Disgrace he knew not even then how to humble himself as became him, but was more fierce and haughty if possible than in the times of his greatest Prosperity. Tiribazus therefore was to the young Prince as Oyl thrown upon a Flame, ever urging him, and saying, That it was a poor Prerogative That of wearing the Point of the Citaris exalted and aloft, if He who wore it did not labour to exalt his Interest and Affairs likewise; that he would find himself much mistaken if he thought himself secure of the Succession whilst his Brother was strengthening his Party by the Interest he had among the Women, and his Father, who was now in his Dotage, changed every Moment his Sentiments and Intentions:

(1) This Oronces the Son in-law of Artaxerxes fell afterwards into Disgrace, and was stripped of all he was worth, whereupon he had this memorable Saying, That the Favourites of Princes properly resemble the Fingers of Those, who count or reckon with their Fingers, for as sometimes they make them stand for a Unite, and sometimes for Ten thousand, thus a Favourite is every thing to-day, and tomorrow just nothing.
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For it cannot be expected that He, who for the sake of a Græcan Strumpet could violate a Law the most sacred among the Persians, should ever continue faithful in the Performance of the most important Promises: That the Case was quite different between His Pretensions, and Those of Ochus; for as for Ochus, no one would hinder Him from living happy in a private Station; but as for Darius, who had been declared King, Death or the Throne was the only Alternative. In short it appeared on this Occasion that Socrates judged rightly when he said,

Ill Counsel soon is at its Journey's End.

For the Path which leads us to what we are inclined is smooth, and of an easy Descent; for Man is naturally prone to Folly and Vice, because he is a Stranger to the Loveliness of Wisdom and Virtue. Beside all this, the large Extent of the Persians Dominions, and the Jealousy Darius had entertain'd of Ochus, furnished Tiribazus with other Arguments, which he made use of to irritate and inflame the discontented Prince; but what may be thought to affect him most of all were (1) the Injurings of the Cyprian Goddess for the Rape of Aspasia. Thus Darius delivers himself up to Tiribazus, and enters into a Conspiracy against his Father. The Number of the Conspirators was very great, and the Hour fixed for the Execution of their Treason, when an Eunuch detected their Plot to the King, and all the Measures they had been taking; for he had received certain Intelligence that they resolved to break into his Apartment.

(1) He means Love was a stronger Incitement than Ambition, or Revenge. This Passage is so elegant and poetick in the Original, that I am persuaded Plutarch borrowed the Expression from some Poet, as he often does imperceptibly to his Readers.
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by Night, and assassinate him as he lay in his Bed.

Upon this Discovery, Artaxerxes thought it would
be a great Piece of Madness in him to despise a
Danger of such Consequence and not sift it to the
Bottom, (1) and a greater to give Credit to it
without the strongest Conviction. To come there-
fore to the Truth of the Fact he commanded the
Eunuch who had made the Discovery to herd him-
selvewith the Conspirators, and follow them where-
ever they went; at the same time he broke down
the Wall of his Chamber, which was behind his
Bed, where he made a false Door, and covered it
with Tapistry.

When the Hour named by the Eunuch was ap-
proaching he laid himself on his Bed, and did not
stir 'till he had a full Sight of the Faces of the
Assassins, so as to distinguish and know them.
As soon as he saw them drawing their Swords,
and making towards the Bed, he drew back the
Tapistry, and made his Retreat into an inner Cham-
er, where he bolted the Door, and alarmed the
Court. The Russians seeing themselves discovered,
and their Design defeated, took to their Heels, and
exhorted TIRIBAZUS to do the same because He was
so near that he must certainly be discovered.

They all separated, and each of them provi-
ded for Himself, but TIRIBAZUS was surprised,
by the Guards. He defended himself for some
time with great Courage, and slew many of Those
who were sent to seize him, 'till at last he was
wounded by a Javelin, which was lanced at a Di-
fance, for none of them had Courage enough to

(1) This is a prudent Maxim, and ought to be held inviolably by Princes. It is a great Piece of Im-
prudence to neglect the Information of a Conspiracy, but still a
greater to give Credit to it with-
out Proofs the most strong and
convincing, and to run into Extre-
mities upon what may possibly
prove a false Information.
come near him, and so he fell. Darius was likewise taken in his Flight, and made a Prisoner with his Children. The King appointed some Lords of his Council to be his Judges, and chose not to assist at the Tryal in Person, nor appear to accuse him, but appointed Others to prosecute and form the Charge against him; at the same time he commanded his Notaries to write down the Opinion of every one of the Judges singly, and bring them All to Him. They having All of them agreed in their Verdict the Officers removed him to an adjacent Prison, and sent for the Executioner to do his Office. As soon as he was entered with the Razor used in beheading capital Offenders, and beheld Darius, he recoiled to the Door, and turned his Back, as having neither Strength nor Courage enough to lay violent Hands upon his Sovereign. But the Judges who were attending without, threatened Him with Death if he did not put the Sentence in Execution immediately. Being terrified with this Menace he re-entered, and seizing the Prince by the Hair he flung him on the Ground and performed his Office. Some write that Darius was tried in the King’s Presence, and that as soon as he was convicled by undeniable Evidence, he fell prostrate on the Ground, and most earnestly implored the King’s Pardon; That the King in great Fury drew his Cimeter, with which he wounded him in many Places and killed him upon the Spot, and that after the Performance of so horrid an Execution he returned to his Palace, where he worshipped the Sun, and said to Thofe who had attended him, Return in Triumph, O ye Persians, every Man to his own House, and let it be published abroad among your Fellow-Subjects (1) that

(1) Besides the Sun, which the Persians adored as a God, they acknowledged two other Deities, One of which called Oromazes was the Author of Good, and the Other named Arimanius the Author of Evil.
the great Oromazes has punished those who had contrived the most unheard, and impious of treasons. This was the Event of that Conspiracy.

Oebus was now grown big with expectation, and promised himself much from the Interest he had in Aias. Notwithstanding this he was jealous of his Brother Aias, who was the only Male surviving besides Himself of the Legitimate Offspring of Artaxerxes, and of his Bastard Brothers he stood much in fear of Arsames. Aias was not so much feared because he was elder than Oebus, but being a Prince of a meek, gentle, and benevolent Temper, all the Persians had their Eyes upon Him. As for Arsames, He was a Person of great Judgment and Understanding, and Oebus was not insensible that He was the Favourite of his Father. He therefore laid his Snares against them both, and being no less treacherous than bloody, he made use of the Cruelty of his Nature against Arsames, and of his Craft and Wiliness against Aias. For he suborned the King's Eunuchs and Favourites to convey to him menacing and harsh Expressions from his Father, as though he had decreed to put him to a cruel and ignominious Death. When they seemed daily to communicate these things as Secrets, and said one while the King would do This to him e'er long, at another, something else within a few Moments, they so astonished the good Prince, and cast such a Confusion and Anxiety upon his Thoughts, that having prepared some fatal Drugs he drank them, that he might be delivered from his hated Life. The King knowing what kind of Death he died, heartily lamented him, and gave a shrewd Guess at the Cause of it. But being disabled by his Age to search into and prove it, he was after the Loss of his Son more indulgent to Arsames, manifestly placed his greatest Confidence in Him, and made him privy to all his
his Designs. Whereupon Ochus had no longer patience to defer the Execution of his Purpose, but having procured Arsaces, Tiribazus's Son, for the Undertaking, he killed Arsames by His Hand. Artaxerxes at that time had but a little while to live, by reason of his very old Age, so that when he heard of the Fate of Arsames, (1) he could not bear up under the Affliction, but being oppressed with the Load of his Grief expired, after he had lived ninety four Years, and reigned Sixty too. He had the Character of a good and gracious Prince, but what contributed most to that Character was the Comparison betwixt Him and his Son Ochus, who out-did all his Predecessors in Blood and Cruelty.

(1) He did not dye of the Grief he conceived for the Death of Arsaces the last Survivor of his legitimate Sons, but died of Grief for the Death of Arsames, who was illegitimate. We are not to imagine that this last Affliction was the only and immediate Cause of his Death. It was indeed the last stroke, which finished what had been begun, forwarded, and almost compleated by many Others that had preceded it.
THE
LIFE
OF
ARATUS.

The philosopher Chrysippus, or Polycrates, quotes an ancient Proverb, (1) not as really it should be, but so as he thought it ought to be; in these Words,

Who Fathers praise, except their generous Sons?

But Dionysodorus the Træzenian correcting him, restores the true one, which is thus,

(1) When Chrysippus inverted the Proverb it was not for want of knowing the Sense it had before been received in, or for want of perceiving the Scope and Truth of it, but he did it with a design to accommodate it to another Meaning equally true and useful, he meant by it that virtuous Children are the Glory of their Parents; for generally speaking the Child's Virtue springs from his Father's, which is the Root, or Fountain, and is nourished and improved by a good Education. As virtuous Parents are the Glory of their Children, so are virtuous Children of their Parents. It is a wise Son who heareth his Father's Institutions, saith Solomon, cap. xiii. v. 1.
The LIFE of

(1) Who Fathers praise, except degenerate Sons?

Telling us, that this Proverb was made to stop the Mouth of Those, who having no Merit of their own, deck themselves with the Virtues of their Ancestors, and are puffed up with their Praises. But,

They who happily inherit
Their brave Forefathers noble Spirit,

to make use of Pindar's Words, like You, who copy after the bright Originals left you by your Ancestors, may take great Satisfaction in often hearing and speaking of the best of their Progenitors; for they assume not the Glory of other Mens Praises for want of Worth of their Own, but uniting Both in One, celebrate them, as the Authors both of their Descent and Manners; wherefore I have sent unto you the Life of your Fellow-Citizen and Progenitor Aratus, whom you come no way short of either in Esteem or Power. I do not lend it upon an Imagination that you have not your self been most diligently careful to be informed better than Any of all his Actions, but that your Sons Polycrates and Pythocles may be bred up by Doemetick Examples, by hearing and reading such things as are fit for their Imitation. (2) For it is a

(1) For They only who have no good Qualities of their Own to recommend them are always preaching up the Virtues of their Ancestors, and the Antiquity of their Families, as if They were to be honoured and esteemed for Virtues to which they are perfec't Strangers.

(2) This is a sure Maxim. Nothing but Self-love can raise in us so high an Opinion of Our selves. Whereas true Virtue, and Modesty, which lead us to admire those Excellencies in Others, discover to us our own Imperfections, and put us upon correcting and reforming them. They who are true Lovers of Goodness and Virtue, look on those Qualities in Others with infinite more Pleasure than they do on the Paintings of the most excellent Makers.
piece of Self-conceit, not noble Emulation, to think ones self already arrived at the highest pitch of Improvement.

The City of Sicyon, from the time that it first fell off from a (1) downright Dorick Aristocracy, (its Harmony being thereby quite confounded in the Seditions and Contests of the Demagogues) continued to be distempered and unsettled, changing from one Tyrant to another, till Cleon being slain, Timocidas and Clinias, Men of the most Repute and Power amongst the Citizens, were chosen Governors. Under their Administration the Constitution began to reassume its antient Form and Vigour, in which it continued 'till the Death of Timocidas.

Abantidas the Son of Paseas thinking This a proper Opportunity to seize on the Tyranny killed Clinias, and of his Friends and Relations flew Some, and banished Others. The Tyrant would likewise have murdered Aratus the Son of Clinias, who was then but seven Years of Age, if he could have found him. But during the Trouble and Confusion the Family was in upon the Death of his Father, the Child stole out in Company with Those who fled, and wandering about the City helpless and in great fear, by chance got undiscovered into the House of a Woman named Sofo. She was the Sister of Abantidas, but had been married to Propontus, the Brother of Clinias. She being of a generous Temper, and believing the Boy had by

(1) This is a Figure borrowed from the different Modes or Measures observed in the Compositions of the Gracian Musick, among which the Dorick had the Preference, being esteemed the most perfect, insomuch that Plato, Preferring the Dorick, he only desired the Name of Gracian Harmony. This has been mentioned in some former Remark. When Plutarch calls the Aristocracy in this Place downright Dorick, he has a particular regard to the the City of Sicyon, which was of Dorick Extraction.
The Life of

some special Providence fled to Her for Shelter, hid him in the Houle, and at Night conveyed him away secretly to Argos. Aratus thus delivered, and secured from so imminent a Danger, immediately conceived, and ever after nourished a vehement and fervent Hatred against Tyrants. He was educated by the Care, and at the Expence, of his Father's Friends and Acquaintance; And being of a strong robust Constitution and Stature, he addicted himself to the Exercises of the Palaistra, wherein he excelled to that degree, that he contended in the publick Games, and came off Conqueror; and indeed in his Statues one may observe a certain kind of Athletick cast, and in the Gravity and Majesty of his Countenance may be perceived (1) a keen Appetite, and the Champion's Mattock. From hence it came to pass (2) that he studied Eloquence less than perhaps became a Man bred up to the Administration of Civil Affairs; and yet that he was more Polite in speaking than Many do believe, Some collect from those Commentaries which he hath left, tho' penned carelessly and extemporary, and in such Words as first came to his Mind. Some time after this, Dinias and Aristote the Logician killed Abantidas.

(1) For the Champions were great Feeders, and the Mattock was one of the Instruments they made use of in their Exercises, with which they broke up the Ground, on purpose to confirm and enforce their Strength by such intense Labour. Theocritus has expressed in one Verse in his fourth Idyllium both the Mattock, and Virtuosity of these Athleticks.

εὑρετε εὔχαριταν τε ἐναφερείτε μάλα.

He is gone with his Mattock, and

twenty Sheep.

(2) For too intense an Application to the Exercises of the Body is an Enemy to the Operations of the Mind; and so on the other hand, He who is over-curious in the Cultivation of his Mind neglects That of his Body. One may see This Truth set in a clear Light by Plato in his Dialogue called the Rivals. The Medium to be observed in this Case is to give a moderate Exercise both to the One, and the Other, allowing something more of it to the Mind than to the Body.
ARATUS.

who used to be present in the publick Hall at their Disputes, and to make One in them, they having insensibly accustomed him to this Practice, and so had at last an opportunity to lay an Ambush for him. After Him Paseas the Father of Abansidas taking upon him the Government was slain by the Treachery of Nicoetes, who Himself set up for Tyrant. It is reported that he was extremally like to Periander the Son of Cypselus, as it is said Orontes the Persian did much resemble Alcmaeon the Son of Amphiaras; and a Lacedemonian Youth, the renowned Hector, and Myrsilus tells us the Youth was trod to Pieces by the Crowd of Those who came to see him upon that Report.

When Nicoetes had governed about four Months, during which time he exceedingly plagued his City, he was upon the Point of being displaced by a Stratagem of the Aetolians. Aratus was by this time growing towards a Man, and was already highly esteemed both on Account of his Birth, and Disposition, wherein nothing mean or unactive appeared, but a Gravity and Sedateness uncommon in one of his Age, accompanied with a great deal of Spirit, and a stead Judgment. These Qualities, which could not be concealed, made the Exiles of Sicyon fix their Eyes upon Him as their Sheet-Anchor, and Nicoetes had his Spies about him, who watched him narrowly, and observed all his Motions. Not that he was Apprehensive of any Action so bold, any Enterprise so hazardous as That he undertook; he only suspected him of carrying on a Correspondence with the Kings who had been his Father’s Friends and Acquaintance. And indeed Aratus first attempted this Way; But finding that Antigonus, who had promised fair, neglected him and delayed the Time, and that his Hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were too
too remote, he determined to cut off the Tyrant
by himself, without any foreign Assistance.

The First to whom he communicated his Design
were Aristomachus and Ecdelus, Aristomachus an
Exile of Sicyon, and Ecdelus an Arcadian banished
from Megalopolis, a Person passionately addicted to
Philosophy, but to that Philosophy which prompts
to Action, for he had studied at Athens under the
Direction of Archelaus the Academick. These
readily consenting, he communicated himself to
the other Exiles, whereof some few being ashamed
to seem to despair of Success, ingaged in the Design,
but most of them endeavoured to divert him from
his Purpose, telling him, that his want of Expe-
rience and Insight into Affairs made him engage
in so desperate an Undertaking, without the least
Appearance of Success.

Whilst he was deliberating on the properest
Means for securing some Post in the Territory of
Sicyon, which he might make as it were a Place of
Arms, and from thence war upon the Tyrant, a
certain Sicyonian, just escaped out of Prison, arrived
at Argos. This Man was the Brother of Xenocles,
one of the Exiles, who carried him immediately
to Aratus, to whom he gave a brief Account of
his Adventures, and told him farther that that Part
of the Wall over which he had made his Escape
was almost level with the Ground on the Inside
adjoining to a rocky elevated Quarter of the City,
and that on the Outside the Wall was not so high
but it might easily be scaled. Upon this Report
Aratus dispatched away Xenocles, with two of his
Servants Seuthas and Teclimon to view the Wall, re-
solving, if he could do it secretly and with one
Risque, to hazard All at a Push, rather than as a pri-
vate Person oppose the Tyrant by a long War and
open Force.

Xenocles
**ARATUS.**

Xenocles and his two Companions having taken the Height of the Wall, returned, and reported that the Place was in it self neither inaccessible, nor even difficult, but that the Approach to it was dangerous, and would be discovered by a Parcel of Dogs belonging to a Gardener hard by, which were small indeed, but very fierce and noisy. *Aratus* that Moment resolved upon the Enterprize. It was an easy Matter for them to provide themselves with Arms, without giving the least Ursrage or Jealousy, because of the frequent Robberies that were committed, and the Incursions made by one State upon Another, which obliged every one to go armed for his own Security. The Ladders were prepared by Eupbranor one of the Exiles, who was a Carpenter by Trade, and might work at it without Suspicion. He railed his Men among his Friends at Argos, of whom they who had the fewest to spare supplied him with Ten a-piece, to whom he added Thirty of his own Domesticks. Besides these he hired a small Party of Xenophilus, chief Captain of the Banditti, to whom it was given out, that they were to march into the Territories of Sicyon to seize the King's Stud, and many of them were sent before by different Ways to the Tower of Polygnotus, with Orders to wait there for his Arrival. Capheias likewise was sent before with four of his Companions, who were to get as far as the Gardener's House by that time it was dark, and pass themselves upon him for Travellers, who were benighted, and so getting a Lodging in his House, under that Pretence they were to confine both Him and his Dogs, for there was no other Way to that part of the Wall; and as for the Ladders, which were made to take in Pieces, they were packed up in Chests, and sent before in Waggons prepared for that Purpose.
In the mean time some of the Tyrant's Spies arrived at Argos, and it being buzzed about that they were sent to dog Aratus. He appeared early the next Morning upon the Exchange, where he conversed with his Friends, then he went to the Gymnasion, where he performed his Exercises, and anointed himself, and taking with him several young Gentlemen who were his Bottle-Companions, he returned home. A few Moments after his Servants were seen in the Market-place, Some carrying Garlands, Some buying Flambeaus, and Others discoursing with the Singing-Women, who used to sing and play to him whilst he was at Dinner: When all these Things were observed by the Spies who were sent to watch him they were deceived, and said laughing One to Another, It is very plain that nothing can be more timorous than a Tyrant; since even Nicocles, who is Master of so large a City, a Man of such Power and Authority, cannot forbear standing in Fear of a Youth who waftes the poor Pittance he has to subsist on in his Exile in Wantonness, and Day-Debauches, and thus deluding themselves with this false way of reasoning they returned home.

But Aratus as soon as Dinner was over set out from Argos, and hastened to join the Soldiers, who waited for him at Polycrates. As soon as they were joined he led them to Nemea, where he discovered to them his true Design. He began with Exhortations, and many fair Promises, and when he had given the Word, which was propitious Apollo, he led them strait to Sicyon, proportioning his March to the Motion of the Moon, so as to have the Benefit of her Light upon the Way, and to be at the Gardener's House, which was close to the Wall, just as he was set. Here Capheus came up to him and told him he could not secure the Dogs because they had been let out before his Arrival, but
but that he had made sure of the Gardener. This put most of the Company out of Heart, so that they pressed him to give over his Enterprize, and return; but He continued to encourage them, and at the same time promised that in case the Dogs grew troublesome he would retire. He caused Those who carried the Ladders to march in the Front, under the Conduct of Ecdelus and Mnastheus, whilst He followed gently with the rest in the Rear. The Dogs began to bark very loud, baying at Ecdelus, and his Companions; notwithstanding which they got safe to the Wall, and planted their Ladders. But as the foremost Men were mounting, the Captain of the Watch that was to be relieved by the Morning-Guard, passed by that way at the Sound of a little Bell, with many Torches, and a great deal of Noise; whereupon they clapt themselves close to the Ladders, and so were unobserved, but the other Watch coming to relieve the former they were in extrem Danger of being discovered. But having escaped That also, immediately Mnastheus and Ecdelus got upon the Wall, and possessiong themselves of the Passages on each side, they sent away Tychmon to Aratus, desiring him to make all the haste he could. Now there was no great Distance from the Garden to the Wall, and a certain Tower in which a great Grey-hound was placed to keep Watch: Yet he heard them not as they marched forward, whether it was because he was naturally drowsy, or for that he had been over-wearied the day before, but the Gardener's Curs yelping below awakened him. He first answered them with a sort of Growl, which was little observed; but when he heard the Exiles marching near the Tower he then opened and barked so loud that the Centinel called out to the Dog-keeper, and asked him, what it was made his Dog bark at that rate, and if any thing extraordinary had
bad happened to occasion it? The Dog-Keeper replied, there was nothing worth Notice; that only the Light of the Torches belonging to the Guard, and the Noise of the Bell, had set him a barking. This Reply much encouraged Aratus's Soldiers, who thought the Dog-keeper was privy to their Design, and therefore concealed what was passing; and that many Others in the City were of the Conspiracy. But when they came to scale the Wall, the Attempt then appeared both to require Time, and to be full of Danger, for the Ladders shook and bent extremity if they mounted them not leisurely, and one by one, and Time pressed, for the Cocks began to crow, and the Country-people that used to keep the Market were upon the Road to Town. Wherefore Aratus hastened to get up Himself, forty only of the Company being already upon the Wall, and staying but for a few more of Those who were below, he made strait to the Tyrant's Palace, and the main Guard where his mercenary Soldiers kept Watch; and coming suddenly upon them, and taking them Prisoners without killing any one of them, he immediately sent to all his Friends, desiring them to quit their Houses, and join Him, which they did from all Quarters. By this time the Day began to break, and the Theatre was full of the Multitude that were held in Suspence by uncertain Reports, and knew nothing distinctly of what had happened, untill a publick Crier advancing forward proclaimed aloud, that Aratus the Son of Clinias invited the Citizens to recover their Liberty; then believing that what they had so long wished for was now come to pass, they pressed in Throng to the Tyrant's Palace to set it on Fire, and so great was the Flame, that it was seen as far as Corinth; so that the Corinthians wondering what the Matter should be, were upon the Point to have come to their Assistance.
Assistance. Nicocles fled away secretly by means of certain subterraneous Passages, and the Soldiers helping the Sicyonians to quench the Fire plundered the Palace. This Aratus hindered not, but divided also the rest of the Tyrant's Wealth amongst the Citizens. In this Exploit not one of those engaged in it was slain, nor any of the contrary Party, Fortune so ordering the Action as to be clear and free from Civil Bloodshed.

Aratus restored all the Exiles, not only those who had been banished by Nicocles, who were four-score in Number; but likewise those who had been expelled by the former Tyrants, no fewer than five hundred, who had, some of them, led a wandering vagabond Life in foreign Parts for the Space of fifty Years. These poor Wretches returning home in a miserable indigent Condition were impatient to enter upon their former Possessions, and recover their several Country Farms and Houses, which was the Occasion of great Perplexity to Aratus. For he saw that from abroad Antigonus cast an envious Eye upon the City, and endeavoured to get it into his Possession ever since it had been restored to its Liberty, and (1) at home it was full of Disorder and Sedition; wherefore as things stood, (2) he thought it best to associate it to the Achaean Community; for being Dorians, they willingly took upon them the Name and Polity of the Achaians, who at that time had no great

(1) For the Exiles immediately upon their Return were for getting into Possession of their Estates and Houses, which was highly Stomached by those who had been so long in Possession. All this gave the greater Uneasiness to Aratus, because he knew Antigonus lay upon the Watch, and it was to be feared, that they who were dispossessed for the sake of the Exiles, would invite Him into the City, and join with him.

(2) It was indeed the best thing he could do, for there were no other means of preserving the City at once from the Ambition of Antigonus, and the Disorders arising from the Distention of the Inhabitants.

Power
The Life of

Power or Authority. For most of them lived in small Towns, and their Territory was neither large nor fruitful, and the neighbouring Sea was without Ports, entering the Land for the most part in rocky Creeks. (1) And yet even these make it evidently appear that the Gracian Force was invincible, whenever it met with Order and Concord within itself, and a General of Wisdom and Experience.

In Fact, these very Achaeans, who made up but a most inconsiderable Part of the ancient Gracian Power, whose whole Strength was hardly equal to the Value of an ordinary City, yet by Prudence and Unanimity, and because they knew how not to envy and malign but to obey and follow Him amongst them, who was most eminent for Virtue, they not only preferred their own Liberty in the midst of so many great and powerful Cities and Dominions, and in spite of so many Tyrants, but delivered the greatest Part of Greece from Slavery.

(3) As for Aratus, he was in his Behaviour exceedingly

(1) This Passage contains a very important Precept. Order, Union, and good Discipline render even the smallest Bodies invincible. Whereas Division, and Discord, enervate the most powerful, and render them a Prey to their Enemies. This is what Homer has endeavoured to inculcate in the Fable of the Iliad. Order, and Discipline will not do alone: without Union All will run to Ruin.

(2) Disorder, bad Discipline, and Divisions are not the only fatal and destructive Evils in States, or Communities, there is still another equally pernicious, and That is Envy, which is commonly raised against good Men, when placed at the Head of Affairs. Envy is always factional, incites the Subject to Disobedience, prompts him to break in upon the wisest Measures, and undermine the best-concerted Designs. Whenever She prevails, the Ruin of that State is inevitable. History and Experience furnish us with a thousand Examples of this great Truth, among which if we please we may meet with some domestick Injustices.

(3) This Character of Aratus in Plutarch agrees exactly with That which we find of him in the fourth Book of Polibinus, which may not be unacceptable to the Reader. Aratus was a Person exceedingly well qualified to be as the Head of Affairs, for
ceedingly well-bred and polite, open, generous, more intent upon the publick than his private Concerns, a bitter Hater of Tyrants, making the common Good the Measure of his Friendships and Enmities, so that he seemed not to have been so true a Friend, as a courteous and gentle Enemy, suiting himself to all opportunities for the sake of the Commonwealth.

In a Word, all Nations and Communities, Senates, Theatres, they All with one Voice proclaimed that Aratus loved, and fought after nothing but what was just and honest; that as to open Wars, and pitcht Battels, he was indeed in that respect diffident and fearful, but in the Execution of any secret Design, and concealing it from the Enemy, in surprizing of Towns, and dethroning of Tyrants, he was the most Enterprizing and Crafty.

Hence it was that after he had succeeded in many difficult Enterprizes, contrary to all Probability of Success, and had exerted the highest Courage and Bravery in the Execution, yet he left many Others for he thought wisely, and spoke properly, and no man knew better how to conceal what he had once resolved upon. He bore with great temper, the Heats, and Fights, that usually arise in Debates, and had a peculiar Talent in gaining Friends, and forming Alliances. He was very dexterous in his Enterprizes upon the Enemy, in laying his Designs wary, and execusing them successully, which was owing to his great Prudence, and Audacity. This is manifested by a thousand of his Actions, &c. And yet this very Aratus, whenever any thing was to be performed openly, and above board was slow in coming to a Resolution, and diffident in the Execution of it. He was intimated in the Presence of the Enemy, and terrified at the Appearance of Danger. Hence it was that all Peloponnesius abounded with Trophies of his Defeats, and that in the Field he was easily vanquished. Thus Nature has infused different and contrary Qualities, not only into the Bodies of Men, but more especially into their Minds. Infomuch that the same Man casts to be the Same, not only in different Operations, but even in the very same, in those to which he seems happily disposed by Nature. For sometimes he is very alert and frizil in Invention, at Others as heavy and sluggishick; to-day bold and enterprizing, to-morrow a downright Coward and Paltrick. This Description may serve as a Comment upon Plutarch.
unattempted, no less considerable, and much more feasible than the Former, which was owing to his Over-Caution and Timidity. For as among Animals there are some who see very clearly by Night; and are blind in the Day-time; the Dryness and Subtlety of the aqueous Humours not suffering them to bear the Light; so amongst Men the most hardy and courageous, we meet with Some who shrink and grow fearful in Dangers which are to be encountered openly and in publick View, and who on the contrary shew a wonderful Boldness and Resolution in secret and covert Enterprizes. (1) This Inequality is occasioned in noble Minds for want of Philosophy, (2) whence is produced a certain wild and uncultivated Virtue without true Knowledge, as may be made out by many Examples.

Aretus therefore having associated himself and his City to the Acheans, served in the Cavalry, and was much beloved by his Officers for his exact Obedience; for though he had made so large an Addition to the Community, as That of his own Credit, and the Power of his Country, yet he was as ready to be commanded by any of the Achean Generals, whe-

(1) Plutarch ommits no Occasion of making it appear that our Faults and Defects proceed from our Ignorance, when Reason is not enlightened by Philosophy, which is most certain. Philosophy teacheth us to know the Nature of Things, and a Mind well-instructed seeth in Conformity to those Truths of which it has received Conviction. Of This we have an Example before us; Philosophy tells us what is really terrible, and what is not so. Now if Aretus had been let into that Knowledge, he would not have been bold by Night, and cowardly in the Day-time, but his Courage would have been fixed, and uniform.

(2) This Passage in Plutarch may serve to decide a famous Question often debated. Which are preferable, Natural Parts or Those acquired by Study? The Productions of Nature unassisted by Education are wild and savage, but when ennobled by Science they then bloom in their utmost Beauty and Perfection.
ARATUS.

ther of (1) Dyme or Trita, or though of never so mean a City, as the most common Soldier. When the King of Egypt sent him a Present of five and twenty Talents, he received it, but distributed all among his needy Fellow-Citizens, Part of it being applied to relieve their Necessities, and the Remainder to redeem the Prisoners. But the Exiles being by no means to be satisfied, disturbing continually Those who were in Possession of their Estates, the City was in great danger of falling into civil Dissentions. Having therefore no hope left him, but from the Kindness of Ptolemy, he resolved to sail thither, and to beg so much Money of the King as would satisfy all Parties. So he set sail from Methone above the Foreland of Malea, as designing to pass through the Channel there. But the Pilot not being able to keep the Vessel up against the strong Wind and high Seas, he was turned from his Course, and with much ado got to Adria, an Enemy's Town, for it was possessed by Antigonus, who had a Garrison in it. To avoid falling into their Hands he immediately landed, and leaving the Ship went up into the Country a good way from the Sea, having along with him only one Friend called Timantus, so hiding themselves in a certain woody place, they had but an ill Night's Rest of it. He was scarce got out of the Ship before the Governour came, and inquired for Aratus; but he was deceived by his Servants, who had been instructed to say their Master was just Sailed, and that he shaped his Course for the Island of Eu-

(1) Two of the most inconsiderable Towns in all Achais. This is not added without good reason; for it is not an easy thing for Men to suffer themselves to be commanded by Officers sent from obscure Communities.

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tuné a Roman Ship happened to put in just in the
Place where he skulked, sometimes peeping out
to discover the Coast, sometimes keeping close.
This Ship was bound for Syria, and Aratus agreed
with the Master to land him in Caria. In this
Voyage he ran as great Risks, and escaped as nar-
rowly as he had done in the former.

He was a long time in passing from Caria into
Egypt, where when he was arrived he was immedi-
ately admitted to Audience, and found the King
very favourably disposed to him, because he used to
make his Court to him by sending him Paintings
and Drawings out of Greece. For Aratus, who had
a fine Taste and Judgment in such Curiosities, made
many valuable Collections of Pieces done by the
best Masters, (1) especially by Pamphilus and Mel-
anthus, and sent them to Ptolemy.

For the Sicyanian Pieces were even then in great
Esteem, as being the only Paintings whose Colours
were lasting, so that Apelles Himself, that great
Master, so much admired for his Pencil, went
to Sicyon, and gave them a Talent to be admit-
ted into their School, not so much to learn of
them, as to be a Sharer with them in their Repe-
tutation. For this Reason, Aratus, as soon as he had
restored the City to her Liberty, destroyed all the
other Portraiture of the Tyrants, but when he
came to That of Aristatus who flourished in the
days of Philip, he was in a doubt for a considerable
time, for it was the joint Performance of all the
Scholars of Melanthus, who had drawn him standing
in a Chariot of Victory, and Apelles himself had a
Hand in it, as we are told by Polemon the Geo-

(1) Two of the most celebrated of all the Painters. Pamphilus
had been brought up under Eumol-
pus, and was the Master of Apelles
and Melanthus. The most valuable
of his Pieces were a Fraternity, the
Victory of the Athenians, and Uly-

ges, in his Cockboat. The Paintings
of Melanthus were invaluable. Phil.
lib. vii. c. vii.

This
This Piece was so perfect in its kind that Aratus could not forbear being touched with it, but being on a sudden transported with his implacable Aversion to Tyrants, he commanded it to be destroyed.

(1) It is said that Neales the Painter, a Friend of His, happening to be present when that Order was given, intreated him with Tears in his Eyes to spare that Picture, and finding him inflexible, Aratus, said he, We will allow you to be continually at War against the Tyrants Themselves, but never with their Pictures. At least spare the Chariot, and the Victory, and you shall soon see Aristrasus vanish out of the Piece. Aratus consenting to it, Neales effaced the Figure of Aristrasus, and painted a Palm-tree in its stead, without presuming to add any thing else of his own Invention. But it is said the Feet of Aristrasus remained untouched at the Bottom of the Chariot.

This Taste for Painting had already recommended Aratus to Ptolemy, but after he had made himself better known to him by his Conversation, the King was exceedingly taken with him, and presented him with a hundred and fifty Talents, for the Relief of his City. Of these Aratus took Forty with him, when he returned to Peloponnesus; the King divided the Remainder into several Portions, and confided them to him by so many different Payments. This was a great and glorious Action in Aratus, to procure in this manner so considerable a Sum for the Benefit of his Fellow-Citizens, whereas there was nothing more common in those days than to see Commanders, Governors, and Demagogues, for

(1) This Neales was a Painter of great Reputation, especially for a Venus, which was much admired, and wherein he shewed an excellent Taste as well as Judgement. He painted likewise the naval Fight of the Egyptians against the Persians, and to shew that the Action was on the Nile, the Water whereof is in Colour like That of the Sea, he supplied That by a Symbol, which was not within the Comps of his Art delineate, he drew an Asa watering on the Shore, and a Crocodile near him upon the Watch, and ready to fasten upon him. Elin. lib. xxxv. c. xi.
The Life of
much smaller Sums fell and betray to the Kings their Cities and Communities. But That which was still greater, and far more considerable, was that by means of this Money he effected a Reconciliation between the Rich and the Poor, composed all their Differences, and established a perfect Harmony among the People.

He was still more illustrious for his Moderation, in the Exercise of that great Power and Authority to which he was advanced, for being declared sole Arbitrator and Plenipotentiary for composing the Differences of the Exiles, he would not accept the Commission alone, but associating fifteen of the Citizens to him, He with great Pains and Trouble adjusted Matters, and settled Peace and Friendship in the City, for which good Service not only all the Citizens in general bestowed extraordinary Honours upon him, but the Exiles, apart by themselves, erected his Statue in Brasis, bearing the following Inscription.

Greece, freed from foreign and domestic Foes,
To Thee her Honour and her Safety owes.
For This, Illustrious Chief, thy bright Renown
Spreads from the Rising to the setting Sun.
Wiltst We, in Token of unfeigned Praise,
This Statue to our great Deliverer raise.
Here midst our Saviour Gods triumphant stand,
The Ornament and Guardian of our Land.
What less can Sicyon, or can We afford?
She to Herself, and We to Her restor'd.

Aratus acting in this manner, got above the Envy of the Citizens, by the many good Offices he had done them; but Antigonus being uneasy at his Success, and resolving either to fix him in His Interest, or at least render him suspected to Ptolemy, gave him several extraordinary Marks of his Favour and Affection, tho' he neither desired, or did any thing to deserve them.
them. Among Others, having one Day performed a Sacrifice at Corinth, he sent Portions of the Victim to Aratus. And in the midst of the Feast, when the Table was full of Company, he said aloud that All might hear him, I at first looked on this Youth of Sicyon no otherwise than as an open generous-hearted Person, and a true Stickler for the Liberty of his Country, but I now look upon him as a good Judge of the Manners and Actions of Princes. For formerly he despised Us; and fixed his Hopes and Dependance in foreign Parts, admiring the Riches of Egypt, her Elephants, and Fleets, and the Magnificence of her Palaces; but now, after having taken a nearer View, and finding all that Pomp to be nothing but Shew and Pageantry, he is come over to Us: And for my part I willingly receive him, and resolving to make great use of him My self, command You to look upon him as a Person joined in Friendship with you.

These Words were not spoken in vain, but gave Those, who envyed and malign'd him, a fair handle against him. They All strove who should be the first to charge him with the heaviest Calumnies, in their Letters to Ptolemy, who wrote to him, and expostulated the Matter with him. Thus we may observe in the flagrant Friendships of those Princes, who, like jealous and passionate Lovers, contended and quarrelled for Aratus, a strong Tincture of Envy and Malignity.

Aratus being for the first time chosen General of the Achaens, went and ravaged the Country of Locris, which lies just over-against the Gulf of Corinth, and plundered the Territories of Calydon. But marching with ten thousand Men to the Succour of the Boeotians, he could not come up 'till after the Battel near (1) Charonea, where

(1) We are not to confound by Philip, which happened in the this Action with that famous Battel third Year of the hundred and tenth of Charonea, where the Thebans Olympiad, sixty six Years before and Athenians were overthrown the Birth of Aratus.
they were beaten by the Etolians, and lost A-
baecoritus their General, and a Thousand of their
best Soldiers. (1) The Year following being again
elected General, he made that famous Attempt
of retaking the important Fortress of Accro-Corin-
thus; not so much for the Advantage of the Si-
cyonians or Achaeans, as considering that by driving
thence the Macedonian Garrison, he should take the
Yoke from off the Neck of all Greece. Chares the
Athenian having the good Fortune to get the bet-
ter in a certain Battle against the King of Persia's
Lieutenants, wrote to the People of Athens, and
told them, that this Victory was Sister to That at
Marathon; and so may this Action of Aratus be
well termed Sister to That of Pelopidas the Theban,
and Thrasybulus the Athenian, when they slew the
Tyrants; except perhaps it may be said to exceed
them on this Account, because this was not un-
dertaken against natural Grecians, but against a for-
ign Power and Domination. The Isthmus of Cor-
inth which runs between the two Seas unites the
Continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus, and
whenever the Castle of Corinth, which is built on
a high Hill exactly in the Middle between those
two Continents, is well garrisoned, it can cut off
the Communication with Peloponnesus, prevent the
Passage of Troops, and prohibit all manner of Com-
merce both by Sea and Land, insomuch that it
makes Him who is possessed of it Master of all
Greece. Wherefore the younger Philip King of
Macedon was not in jest, but with great Truth cal-
lled the City of Corinth the Setters of Greece. It is
no wonder therefore if this Post was earnestly con-
tended for by All, especially by Kings and Princes.

(1) Polybius, who followed Ara-
tus his Memoirs, and begun his
History, where the Other left off,
tells us there were eight Years be-
tween Aratus his first Generalship,
and That wherein he surprized
the Citadel of Corinth.
The Passion with which Antigonus desired to get it into his Possession was so strong that it equalled the violent Transports of a frantic Lover. His Thoughts were continually upon the Rack, and he was contriving day and night how to take it by Surprize from Those who were Masters of it, for he despaired of doing it by open Force.

Alexander, who was possessed of it, being taken off by Poison, and, as it is said, by His Direction, it fell into the Hands of his Wife Nicée, who took upon her the Administration of Affairs, and was particularly careful of that important Fortress. Antigonus immediately sent to her his Son Demetrius, alluring her with the pleasing Hopes of making him marry her; and it was no disagreeable Bait to a Woman somewhat advanced in Years, to think of being married to a Young Prince so amiable as Demetrius. This Lure brought her to his Hand, for she wanted Strength to resist so powerful a Temptation. However for all This she would not deliver up the Place, but held it with a very strong Garrison, which He seeming to take no notice of, celebrated the Wedding in Corinth, entertaining them with Shows and Treats every Day, as one who had nothing else in his Mind but Mirth and Pleasure.

One day, when the famous Musician Amoebus was to perform on the Theatre for Her Entertainment, He waited in Person on Nicée, who was carried thither in a Chair royally adorned, and being exceedingly elated with the great Honour done her, little thought of the Danger which hung over her. As soon as they were come to a Turning which led up to the Citadel, He bid the Chairmen go on before to the Theatre; then bidding farewell to Amoebus, and all the wedding Fopperies, he hastened up to the Castle with more speed than could be expected from one of his Years. Finding
the Gate shut, he knock'd with his Staff, and commanded it to be opened. The Soldiers who were in Garrison being surprized to see him, did as he commanded them. In this manner he made himself Master of the Citadel, at which he was so transported with joy that he could not contain himself, but fell a drinking and revelling in the open Streets, and Places of publick Resort, attended with She-Minstrels, and crowned with Garlands. When we see a Man of his Age, who had experienced so many Turns of Fortune, play such wanton Tricks, abandon himself to Debauch like a giddy Youth, stopping every one he met, saluting and carressing them, We must confess that when an unexpected joy seizes on the Heart of a Man void of Discretion, it hath a stronger Impression upon him than either Fear or Sorrow.

Antigonus having in this manner possessed himself of Acre-Corinthus, put a Garrison into it, consisting of Those in Whom he chiefly confided, and made Persaüs the Philosopher Governor. Aratus, even in the life-time of Alexander, had laid a Design of seizing on that Fortress, and securing it for the Benefit of his Country, but when an Alliance was formed betwixt Him and the Acheans, and this very Alexander was comprehended in it, he desisted from the Execution. But now he could not resist a fresh Opportunity, which offered itself in this Manner. There were in Corinth four Brothers, Syrians by Birth, One of Whom named Diocles served as a Soldier in the Garrison; but the other Three having seized on Some of the King's Treasure, retreated to Sicily, and applied themselves to one Ægias a Banker, whom Aratus made use of in all Money Transactions. Part of this Treasure they immediately fold, or pawned to Him; and Ergines, one of the Three, going often to see him, made the rest over to him by Parcels; and this Commerce created
created by degrees a Familiarity betwixt Him and the Banker.

One day Ægias led him into a Discourse of the Citadel, and the Garrison that was in it. Erginus among other Things told him that as he often went thither to visit his Brother, he had observed on that side which was steepest, a small winding Path forced through the Rock, leading to a Part of the Wall belonging to the Castle, which was much lower than any of the rest. Upon this Ægias said to him with a Smile, And will you, my Friend, venture to provoke the King for the sake of a paltry Sum of Money, when it is in your Power to purchase immense Riches, with no more than one Hour's Service? Do you not know that if you are taken you will be punished as severely for this petty Theft as if you had betrayed the Citadel? At these Words Erginus smiled in his Turn, and promised Ægias to found his Brother Diocles, for, said he, I cannot confide much in the other Two.

Within a few days after this he returned, and undertook to conduct Aratus to that Part of the Wall where it was no more than fifteen Foot high, and to assist him in the Execution of his Enterprise, with the Concurrence of his Brother Diocles. Aratus on his Part agreed to give them three score Talents, in case he succeeded; and if they miscarried, and returned all safe back to Sicyon, he then would give each of them a House, and a Talent. Now the three score Talents being to be lodged in the Hands of Ægias for the use of Erginus and his Partner, and Aratus neither having so much by him, nor willing to give any Grounds of Suspicion by taking it up of Others, he pawn'd his Plate and his Wife's Jewels to Ægias for the Money. For so great was his Soul, and so strong a Passion had he for great Exploits, that remembering that Phocion and Epaminondas were esteemed the best and justest of
of all the Grecians, because they scorned the greatest
Presents, and would not prostitute their Honour
for Money, (1) He strove even to out-do them
in Generosity, and chose to be at all the Charge
Himself in promoting of an Enterprize, in which
he ran all the Hazard, for the sake of the rest, who
did not so much as know what he was undertaking
for them. And is there any one among us even in
This degenerate Age who will not sympathize with
him in this great Exploit, (2) who will not fight,
if the Expression may be allowed, with that great
Man, who so dearly purchased so great a Danger,
and mortgaged almost all he was worth for an Op-
portunity of exposing his Life in the midst of his
Enemies in the dead of Night, without receiving
any other Pledge or Security on his Part than the
Hopes of performing a galant Action.

Now this Exploit, though dangerous enough
in itself, was made much more so by an Error hap-
pening through Mistake in the very beginning.
For Technon, one of Aratus’s Servants, was sent
away to Diocles, that they might together view
the Wall. Technon had never seen Diocles, but
made no question of knowing him by the Marks
Erginus had given him of him, namely, that he
had curled Hair, was of a swarthy Complexion,
and had no Beard. Being come therefore to the

(1) There is a great deal of Dif-
fERENCE between refusing Presents
when they are offered, and spend-
ing a Man’s own Estate for the
Service of his Country. This
ACTION of Aratus is great and he-
roick in all its Circumstances. He
parts with his Substance, be parts
with it secretly, unknown to any
Man, and parts with it for the
forwarding of an Undertaking,
wherein He was to run the great-
eft Danger. This Circumstance
cannot be put in a stronger Light
than it is here by Plutarch.

(2) Plutarch is so transported
with this heroick Action, the
Thoughts of which have flung
him into a sort of Enthusiasm,
that he would infuse it into the
Minds of his Readers, and inflame
Them with the same Spirit, so as
to interest them in the Adventure,
and in a manner make them fight
under the Conduct of that re-
nowned Grecian.

appointed
appointed Place, he stayed waiting without the Gates for Erginus and Diocles. The Place was called Ornis. In the mean time Dionysius, Elder Brother to Erginus and Diocles, who knew nothing at all of the Matter, but much resembled Diocles, happened to pass by. Now Technon, incouraged by the likeness of his Features, asked him, if he was any thing related to Erginus, who answered he was his Brother; Technon, fully persuaded that he talked to Diocles, without so much as asking his Name, or staying for any other Token, gave him his Hand, and began to discourse with him and ask him Questions about Matters agreed upon with Erginus. Dionysius cunningly laying hold of his Mistake, seemed to understand him very well, and returning towards the City, held him on in Discourse insensibly. And being now near the Gate, he was just about to seize on him, when by chance Erginus met them, and apprehending the Cheat and the Danger, beckened to Technon to make his Escape, and immediately Both of them, betaking themselves to their Heels, ran away as fast as they could to Aratus, who for all this despaired not, but immediately sent away Erginus to Dionysius to bribe him to hold his Tongue, and he not only effected That, but brought him along with him to Aratus. As soon as they had got him in their Power they thought it not safe to part with him, but bound him, and confined him close, whilst They prepared for the Execution of their Enterprise.

When all things were in a Readiness, Aratus commanded his Troops to be in Arms all Night, and taking with him four hundred choisen Men, few of Whom knew what they were going about, he led them ftrait to the Gates of the City by the Temple of Juno. It was about the midst of Summer, when the Moon was at full, and the Night clear without any Clouds, so that their Arms glittering
The LIFE of

Glistening by Moon-light made them run a great Hazard of being discovered. But as the foremost of them came near the City, a great Mist came off from the Sea, and darkened the City and the Parts adjacent. There all the Troops sat down to put off their Shoes, as well to prevent their making a noise, as because they would be less subject to slip if they mounted the Ladders bare-footed. But Ergius taking with him seven young Men habited like Travellers, got unobserved to the Gate, and killed the Sentry and the Guards that were upon the Watch. At the same time the Ladders were clapped to the Walls, and Aratus having in great haste got up a hundred Men, he commanded the rest to follow as well and as soon as they could, and immediately drawing up his Ladders, he marched through the City with his hundred Men towards the Castle, being overjoyed and in a manner sure of Success, because he had proceeded thus far undiscovered.

As they were advancing they met four of the Watch with a Light, which gave Aratus and his Party a full and timely View of Them, whilst They remained undiscovered. At first they lay as it were in Ambush among some old Ruins, but when they saw the Watch abreast they falled out, and killed Three of Them, but the Fourth having been wounded by a Sword in the Head ran away bawling as loud as he could, that the Enemy were got into the City. Immediately upon This the Trumpets sounded an Alarm, and the whole City was in an Uproar. The Streets were in a Moment full of People running Some one way and Some another, and illuminated by an infinite Number of Lights which were kindled in the City, and on the Ramparts of the Castle, and a confused Noise was heard from every Quarter.
ARATUS.

In the mean time Aratus kept on his way, and laboured to get up the Rocks, at first slowly, and with much Difficulty, having lost the Path, which lay deep, and was overshadowed with Craggs, leading to the Wall with many Windings and Turnings; but the Moon immediately, and (1) as it were by Miracle, dispersing the Clouds, gave Light to the most difficult part of the way, till he got to the Wall, and there the Clouds as miraculously reunited, hid the Face of the Moon, and once more involved every thing in Obscurity.

The three hundred Soldiers Aratus had left without the Gates near Juno's Temple entering the Town found it full of Tumult, Confusion, and Illuminations, and not being able to find the Way Aratus had taken, or any Footsteps of him, they shrowded themselves under the shady side of a rocky Precipice, where they waited in the utmost Distress and Perplexity. By this time Aratus was engaged upon the Ramparts of the Citadel, from whence a Noise descended like That of Persons in a Fight; but as it was echoed and repeated from the adjacent Mountains, it was not known from whence it first proceeded. Whilst the three hundred Soldiers were in a doubt which way to turn themselves, Archelatus Captain of the King's Guard taking a good Number of Soldiers with him made up towards the Castle, with great Shouts, and Trumpets sounding, to charge Aratus in the Rear, and marched by those three hundred Men without

(1) Poetry; which is said to keep all the Miracles in the World concealed. They disperse when he under her Thumb, never employed them better or more to the Purpose than History doth in this Passage, and once more unite when Place. The Clouds gather on a sudden in the midst of a clear Serene Night, when it was necessary to perceiv-
perceiving them. (1) He had no sooner passed them but they rose, as from an Ambuscade, fell upon him, and killing the first they encountered, they so terrified the rest together with Archemus Himself, that they put them to Flight, and pursued them 'till they were quite broken and dispersed.

By that time this Action was over Erginus arrived, being sent from the Party under Aratus, to acquaint them that they were engaged with the Enemy, who defended themselves with much Resolution, and that Aratus stood in great need of their speedy Assistance. They immediately desired him to lead them on without delay, and as they marched up they signified their Approach by loud Shouts, on purpose to encourage them. The Moon, which happened then to be at full, shining on their Armour, made them appear to the Enemy at that Distance more in Number than they really were, and the Silence of the Night rendering the Echos more strong and sensible, they concluded them to be the Shouts of a much more considerable Party. In short, when they were all joined they charged so violently that they drove off the Enemy, took post upon the Wall, and by break of day were Masters of the Citadel, so that the first Rays of the rising Sun illustrated their Glory. By this time the rest of the Army came up to Aratus from Sicily, the Corinthians joyfully receiving them at their Gates, and helping them to secure the rest of the King’s Forces.

(1) Chance oftentimes brings Way, contributed more to the Victory than if they had followed Aratus up to the Citadel, They could have been no where better posted than where Fortune had disposed them, to prevent the Succours from the Town.

As
ARATUS.

As soon as Aratus had made himself sure of his Victory he came down from the Citadel to the Theatre, where all the People were assembled out of Curiosity to hear what he would say to the Corinthians. After he had drawn up his Achaean on each side of the Avenues to the Theatre, he appeared armed as he was from behind the Scenes, with his Countenance extremly altered through Excess of Toil, and Over-watching, so that the Joy with which his Heart exulted, and that Alacrity with which his great Success had inspired him, were clouded and depressed through extreme Toil and Weakness. The People, as soon as they beheld him, broke out into loud Applauses and Congratulations, and He taking his Spear in his right Hand, resting his Knee a little bent, and his Body against it, stood a good while in that Posture, silently receiving the Shouts and Acclamations of Those who extolled his Valour, and applauded his Fortune. When these first Transports of the People were over, and the Theatre grew calm, recollecting the little Strength he had left, he began an Oration in the Name of the Achaean, suitable to the late Action, persuading the Corinthians to associate themselves into the League, and at the same time delivered up to them the Keys of the City, which had never been in their Possession since the time of King Philip. As for the Officers of Antigonus, he dismissed Archelaus, whom he had taken Prisoner; Theophrastus refusing to quit the City he caused to be slain; and Perseus, when he saw the Castle was lost, got away to Cenchrea. It is reported that not long after as He was amusing himself with some disputable Point in Philosophy, and was told by some one present, that in his Opinion none but a wise Man was fit to be a General, he replied, The Gods know that none of Zeno's Maxims once pleased me.
The LIFE of

me better than This, (1) but now I am quite of another Opinion, having been corrected by that young Blade of Sicyon. This is by Many related of Persians.

Aratus immediately made himself Master of the Temple of Juno, and Haven of Lechaum, where he seized upon five and twenty of the King's Ships, together with five hundred Horses, and four hundred Syrian Slaves which he held. The Lechaum also put a Garrison of four hundred Soldiers, and fifty Dogs with as many Keepers into Acteo-Corinthus.

The Romans, in full Admiration of Philopoemen, called him the last of the Græcians, as if no great Man Had ever since his time been bred amongst them; but I may well say that This was the last of the Græcean Exploits, being comparable to the best of them, both for the Daringness of it, and the Success, as the Consequences declared; for the Megarians revolting from Antigonus took part with Aratus, and the Trazenians and Epidaurians ingrafted themselves into the Actean Community. His first Inroad was into Attica, and passing over into Salamis he plundered the Island, turning the Actan force every way, as now let loose, and set at liberty. Those Prisoners that were Freemen he sent home to Athens without Ransome, which was the first Foundation of their Revolt from Antigonus. He drew Ptolemy likewise into the Actean League, by resigning to him the Management of the War, and getting him to be declared Captain-General

(1) He means that Zeno's Principle, asserting the wife Man to be the best Commander, was contradicted by Experience in that Action when Aratus made himself Master of the Citadel of Corinth. Experience then produced a double Proof to the contrary, for Persians who was a wise Man, and a great Philosopher, was not Soldier good enough to prevent Aratus from surprizing him; and Aratus, a young Man, and consequently not a very wise Man, who had engaged in a very unpromising hazardous Enterprise, succeeded notwithstanding the Execution.

both
both by Sea and Land. This gained him so great a Reputation and Credit among the Acheans, that since he could not by Law be chosen their General every Year, yet every other Year he was, and by his Counsels and Actions was in effect always so. For they perceived that neither Riches nor Reputation, nor the Friendship of Kings, nor the private Interest of his own Country, nor any thing else, was so dear to him as the increase of the Achean Power and Greatness. For he believed that small Cities could be preserved by nothing else, but a continual and combined Force, united by the Bond of common Interest; and as the Members of the Body live and breath by their mutual Communication and Connexion, and when once separated pine away and putrify, in the same manner are Cities ruined by being dismembered from one another, as well as preserved when linked together into one great Body, which makes them enjoy the Benefit of that Providence and Counsel that governs the whole.

Aratus therefore observing that all the neighbouring Cities of any Figure were free, and lived under their own Laws, except Argos, and being uneasy to see her continue in Bondage, he resolved to dispatch the Tyrant Aristomachus who held her in Servitude, and made it a Point of Honour to restore that City to her Liberty where he had received his Education, and at the same time associate so powerful a Member to the League of the Acheans. Nor were there Men wanting who had the Courage to undertake such an Enterprize, Eschylius and Charimenes the Soothsayer being at the Head of them; but they had no Swords, for the Tyrant had prohibited the keeping of them under a severe Penalty.

To remedy this Inconvenience Aratus caused several small Daggers to be prepared at Corinth, and...
hiding them in the Pack-saddles of some Carrier's
Horses that were carrying a Parcel of ordinary
Ware to Argos, he got them by that Stratagem
congrayed to them. But Charimenes admitting
another Person as a Partner in the Design, without the
Knowledge or Consent of Aeschylus and his Associates,
they were so enraged at it that they excluded Him,
and resolved to execute the Design by Themselves.
As soon as Charimenes perceived their Drift he went
in a Rage, and discovered the whole Plot the very
Moment the Conspirators were upon the Point of
Execution. When they found themselves detected
most of them made a Shift to escape to Corinth.

(1) Not long after Aristomachus was slain by his
Servants, and Arisippus a worse Tyrant then He
seized the Government, (2) upon which Aratus
mustered all the Achaean that were of Age, hasted
away to the Aid of the City, believing that he
should find the Argives very ready to join with
him; but the People being accustomed to Slavery,
and none appearing to receive him, he retreated,
giving thereby occasion to accuse the Achaeans of
committing Acts of Hostility in the midst of
Peace; upon which Account they were sued in
the Court of the Mantinæaus, and Aratus not
making his appearance, Arisippus cast them, and
had Colts given him to the value of thirty Mine.

(1) This Aristomachus, who was killed by his Servants, is not
to be confounded with Him, who
was hung into the Sea at Cor-
thrae. The First had Arisippus
for his Successor, the Second
succeeded Arisippus, and surpassed
all his Brother Tyrants in Cruelty. I
wonder Polybius takes no Notice
of this Arisippus, who seized on
the Tyranny upon the Death of
the first Aristomachus.

(2) I doubt Plutarch has not
in this Place observed the Order
of Time. According to Polybius
This was not undertaken by Arat-
us then when Arisippus succee-
decl Aristomachus, but during the
Tyranny of the second Aristoma-
chus; unless it be allowed that Ar-
atus made the same Attempt
upon Argos at two different
times, and both times with the
same Success. See Polyb. lib. 11.

And
ARATUS.

And now both hating and fearing Aratus, he sought to kill him, having the Assistance and good Wishes of King Antigonus; so that he was perpetually dogged and watched by those who waited for an opportunity to dispatch him. But the surest Guard of a Prince is the good Will of his Subjects; for where the Nobility and common People are not afraid of, but for their Governor, he sees with many Eyes, and hears with many Ears whatsoever is a doing; wherefore I cannot but here digress a little from the Course of my Narrative, to describe that manner of Life which the so much envied, Arbitrary Power, and the celebrated Pomp of uncontrolled Government obliged Aristeippus to lead. This Tyrant, who had Antigonus for his Friend and Ally, who maintained so many Troops for the Security of his Person, and who had taken care not to leave one of his Enemies alive in the City, would not suffer his Guards to do Duty in the Palace, but in several Stations without, and round about it. As soon as Supper was over he constantly turned out all his Dometicks, fastened the Doors Himself, and then mounted with his Harlot into an upper Chamber through a Trap-door, on which he placed his Bed, and slept (if a Man in his Condition may be supposed to sleep) always in Fear, Terror, and Anxiety. The Mother of his Harlot every Night removed the Ladder by which he mounted into his Bed-Chamber, and locked it up in Another Room. In the Morning she brought it again, and called up this wonderful, this happy Tyrant, who came crawling out like a Serpent from his lurking Hole. Whereas Aratus, who, not by the Force of Arms but by his Virtue, and the Authority of the Law, obtained a firm perpetual Command, appeared in view of the whole World in a plain Vest, and home-spun Cloak, and manifesting himself on every Occasion to be an impla-
implacable Enemy to all Tyrants in general, (1) has left behind him a Posterity, which remains in great Honour and Esteem among the Grecians to this day. But of all Those, who usurped strong Castles, maintained Life-guards, fenced themselves with Arms, Gates, and Barricadoes, how few were there, who did not, (2) like timorous Hares, die a violent Death, without either Family, or Honourable Monument to preserve their Memory?

*Aratus* made several Attempts both open and secret to surprize *Aristippus*, and recover *Argos* out of his Hands, but always miscarried. One Night particularly he proceeded so far as to plant his Ladders, and mount the Wall with a small Number of his Followers, exposing himself to the utmost Danger. At first he flew all Those who took the Alarm, and had the Courage to oppose him; but as soon as Day appeared the Tyrant attacked him on every side, whilst the *Argives*, as if it had not been for their Liberties that *Aratus* was fighting, and they were only presiding at the *Nemeian Games*, fate with their Arms a-crofs like fair and candid Spectators. However *Aratus* defended himself with great Resolution, and had his Thigh run thorough with a Lance, notwithstanding which he kept his Ground all that Day, and could he have maintained it the following Night he had carried his Point; for the Tyrant thought of nothing but flying, and had already sent a-board his Ships most of his Wealth and Treasure. But no one gave *Aratus* Intelligence of it; besides, he wanted Water, and

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(1) *Polycrates*, to whom *Plutarch* addresseth this Life, was a Descendant of *Aratus*, and left two Sons, who continued the Race down still lower, tho' it had already subsisted three hundred and fifty Years from the Death of *Aratus*.

(2) He chuseth to Instance Hares because they are the most fearful of all Animals, and lye always hid under Cover. And yet notwithstanding all their Fear and Caution, most of them die a violent Death.
was disabled by his Wound, which grew very painful. This constrained him to draw off, and despairing to succeed by way of Surprize he had recourse to open Force, and fell with his Army into the Territories of Argos, which he wasted.

This brought on a general Engagement betwixt Him and the Tyrant near the River Chares, where he is accused of withdrawing himself too soon out of the Fight, and thereby abandoning the Victory. For whereas one Part of his Army had apparently got the better on their side, and pursued the Enemy to a great Distance, He on his part retreated in great Disorder into his Camp, not so much because he was overpressed by the Enemy, as despairing of Success, and through a Panick Fear. When the other Wing were returned from the Pursuit they were extremally vexed to find that tho’ they had routed the Enemy, and killed a great many more of their Men than they had lost Themselves, yet They who were vanquished claimed the Trophy, which might have been Theirs of Right as they were Conquerors.

Aratus netled at this Reproach resolved to bring it to a second Engagement purely for the sake of the Trophy. Wherefore having allowed his Men a day’s time to refresh themselves, early the next Morning he drew up in order of Battel. But perceiving that the Enemy were reinforced with fresh Troops, and came on with better Courage than before, he durst not hazard a Fight, but desiring a Truce to bury his Dead, retreated. However this false Step was obliterated by his obliging Carriage, and courteous Behaviour, as well as by his dextrous Management in the Administratation, for he soon after brought the Inhabitants of Cleone into the Achaean Alliance, and caused the Nemean Games to be celebrated in that City, where they may be said to have been first instituted, and so
they belonged more properly to Them than any Other. These Games were also celebrated by the Argives at the same time, which gave the first Occasion to the Violation of the Privilege of safe Conduct always granted to Those who appeared as Combatants on that Occasion, the Achaeans selling as Enemies as Many as they could catch going through their Country to the Games at Argos. So vehement and implacable was the Hate Aratus had conceived against Tyrants.

Not long after Aratus having Notice that Aristippus had a Design upon Cleone, but was afraid of Him, because he then resided in Corinth, he assembled his Army by publick Proclamation, and commanding them to take along with them Provision for several Days he marched to Cenchrea, hoping by this Stratagem to entice Aristippus to fall upon Cleone, when he supposed Him far enough off, and so it happened, for he immediately marched his Army against it from Argos. But Aratus returning that very Night from Cenchrea to Corinth in the Dusk of the Evening, and besetting all the Passages, he led on the Achaeans, who followed him in so good Order and with so much Speed and Alacrity, that they were not discovered by Aristippus, not only whilst upon their March, but even when they were drawn up in Order of Battel. As soon as it was Morning the Gates being opened and the Trumpets sounding, he fell upon the Enemy with great Fury, and routing them followed the Pursuit, especially that Way where Aristippus endeavoured to make his Escape, through a Country full of Windings and Turnings. The Pursuit lasted as far as Mycena, where the Tyrant was slain by a certain Cretan, called Tragites, as Dinas reports, and of the common Soldiers above fifteen hundred. Yet tho' Aratus had obtained so great a Victory without the loss of a Man, he could not make
make himself Master of Argos, nor restore it to its Liberty; because Ægias and the younger Aristo-
meckus got into the Town with the King's Forces, and seized upon the Government. But by this
Exploit he silenced the Scoffs and Jefts of those who flattered the Tyrants, and in their Rallery
would say, That the Achaean General was usually troubled with a Looseness when he was to fight a
Battle, that the Sound of a Trumpet struck him with a Drowsiness and a Giddiness, and that when
he had drawn up his Army, and given the Word, he used to ask his Lieutenants and Officers, What
further need there could be of his Presence since the Dye was cast, and then went a-loof to expect
the Event. And so much did these Reports gain Credit, that when the Philosophers disputed whether
to have one's Heart beat, and to change Colour upon any Danger, be an Argument of Fear,
or rather of Weakness and coldness of Constitution, Aratus was always quoted as a valiant Captain,
but subject to be so affected in time of Battle.

Having thus dispatched Arisippus, he devised with himself how to ruin Lydiades the Megalopolis-
ton, who tyrannized over his Country. This Person was naturally of a generous Temper, and not
insensible of true Honour. He was induced to usurp the Government, not by the ordinary Mo-
tives of other Tyrants, Licentiousness and Avarice, (1) but being young, and stimulated with the
Desire of Glory, suffred his generous Mind to be unwarily prepossessed with the vain and false Ap-

(1) This Lydiades was of the
tame Temper with Alcibiades, as he is represented by Plato, who
faith his Ambition prompted him
t be Tyrant of Athens, and not
only of Athens but of the whole
World, upon which Socrates laid
before him the Dangers that al-
ways accompany so unreasonable
an Ambition. The Reader may
find more of This in the second
Alcibiades. Those who grasp at
an illegal Power out of Views of
Ambition and Glory are more
easily reclaimed than They who
pursue it upon other Motives, and
This we see was the Case of Ly-

P 4

plausus
plauses given to Tyranny, as some happy and glorious thing; but he had no sooner seized on the Government, than he grew weary of the Weight of it; and at once emulating the Tranquillity, and fearing the Policy of Aratus, he took a noble Resolution first to free himself from Hatred and Fear, from Soldiers and Guards, and then to be a publick Benefactor to his Country. Sending therefore immediately for Aratus he resigned the Government, and incorporated his City into the Achæan Community. The Achæans applauding this generous Action chose him General, upon which, desiring to outstrip Aratus in Glory, amongst many other improper Things he declared War against the Lacedæmonians, which Aratus opposing was thought to do it out of Envy; but Lydiades was the second time chosen General, tho’ Aratus appeared against him, and laboured to have that Charge conferred upon Another; for Aratus Himself had that Command every other Year, as has been said before: and Lydiades succeeded so well in his Pretensions that he was thrice chosen General, governing alternately, as did Aratus; but at last declaring himself his professed Enemy, and accusing him frequently to the Achæans, he was rejected; for it appeared plainly that with counterfeit and adulterated Merit he contested against true and sincere Virtue; and, as Aesop tells us, that the Cuckoo one day asking the little Birds, Why they flew away from her, was answered, Because they feared she would some time or other prove a Hawk all on a sudden, without giving them any Warning; Thus it fell out with Lydiades. His former Tyranny made the World still entertain a strong suspicion of him, (1) that his Change was not sincere, that his Mind

(1) If this Change had been sincere, and that Spirit of Tyranny had been quelled in him, would he have declared against a Person of Aratus his great Worth and Virtue, the professed Enemy of Tyrants?
was still tainted with the same Principle, and that he would declare himself upon the first Occasion.

Aratus acquired new Glory in the War against the Etolians, for as the Achaeans were by all means for giving them Battel on the Confinies of Megara, in which they were seconded by Agis King of Lacedaemon, who had been called in to their Assistance, Aratus very warmly opposed it, and endured with great Patience the Injuries and Reproaches flung upon him on that Occasion, as if he acted upon a Principle of Fear and Cowardice, preferring the Good of the Publick, and the Common Interest, to his own Credit and Reputation. He retired before the Enemy, suffered them to pass over Mount Gerania, and enter Peloponnesus, without giving them the least Disturbance. But as soon as he understood they had seized on the City of Pellene in their March, he was then quite another Man; without loss of time, or waiting for the rest of his Troops, he took Such as he had with him, and marched instantly against the Enemy, who were weakened by their Victory, which had flung them into Insolence and Disorder. For indeed they were no sooner got within the Walls of Pellene, but the Soldiers disbanded, dispersed themselves into the several Houses, where they fell together by the Ears for the Plunder, whilst the Commanders seized on the Wives and Daughters of the Pellenians, every Man putting his Helmet upon the Head of his Prize, to denote to whom she belonged, and prevent her falling into the Hands of Another.

They were in this Posture when News was brought that Aratus was at hand, and ready to fall upon them. This flung them into a terrible Con
ternation, as may reasonably be expected in so great a Confusion; and before the Hindmost could hear of the Danger, They who were nearest to the
The Life of

the Gates, and in the Suburbs, skirmishing with the Atheans were soon routed, and running away in the utmost disorder, struck a Consternation into Those who were rallying, and marching to their Assistance, so that they were at a loss upon what to determine. In this Tumult and Confusion one of the Captives, the Daughter of Epigetes, a Lady remarkable for her singular Beauty, and Majestic Stature, was sitting in the Temple of Diana, where the Officer, whose Prize she was, had secured her, having put his Helmet with three lofty Plumes upon her. She, alarmed at the great Noise she heard, arose in a Fright in order to fly, but when she was got to the Gate of the Temple, and from the Top of the Steps cast her Eyes down upon the Combatants with the Helmet still upon her Head, she seemed to the Citizens to be something more than human, and the Enemy believed her to be some Deity, at which they were seized with so much Fear and Astonishment that they had no Power to defend Themselves.

The Pellenians tell us that the Statue of Diana stands usually locked up, and untouched, but that when the High Priests removes it, and it is born in Procession, every one turns his Eyes away from it, without daring to look towards it; for that the sight of it is not only terrible, and dangerous to Mankind, but where-ever she passeth the Trees become Barren, and the Fruit is blasted. This Image therefore, they say, the Priests produced at that time, and holding it directly in the Faces of the Etolians, made them lose their Reason and Judgment. (1) But Aratus mentions no such thing in his Commentaries. He only says, That having put to Flight the Etolians, and falling in Pell-mell

(1) Aratus was too wise to only in the Mouths of old Wom-

stuff his Memoirs with such fab-

bulous Narratives, which were

with
A R A T U S.

with them into the City, he drove them out by main Force, and killed seven hundred of them. This Exploit was highly cried up, and has been esteemed as one of the most famous Actions that ever was performed. (1) Timanthes the Painter described it with so much Strength and Energy, that They who beheld the Piece could not look on it as a Picture, but as the very thing itself, so naturally and with so much Life is it there represented.

In the mean time many Princes and States confederating against the Achæans, Aratus thought it best to clap up a Peace with the Ætolians. On this Occasion he made use of the Assistance of Pausани昂, One of the most powerful among them, and of the greatest Interest and Authority in his Country. By his means he not only struck up a Peace with them, but concluded an offensive and defensive Alliance between the two Nations. Being still very desirous to free the Athenians also, he was censured and accused by the Achæans, for that notwithstanding the Truce and Suspension of Arms agreed upon between Them and the Macedonians, he had attempted to take the Haven of Piræus. But he denies this Fact in his Commentaries, and lays the Blame on Erginus, by whose Assistance he had taken the Citadel of Corinth, alleging that He upon his own private Account endeavoured to scale the Piræus, and that his Ladders happening to break, and He being hotly pursued, called out several times upon

(1) I wonder to find Play take no Notice of This among the other Pieces he mentions of Timanthes and I as much wonder that no modern Painter, excellent in his Art, has thought of the Subject, for it would certainly make a fine Picture. Play saith of this Timanthes that he had a lively Fancy; that more things were discovered in his Works than were painted; that tho' his Art and Knowledge were great, he was still greater in his Genius, and that in drawing a Hero he exhausted all the Force of which Painting is capable, lib. xxxv. x.

Aratus
The Life of

Aratus as if he had been present, by which means he deceived the Enemy, and got safely off. But methinks this Excuse is very weak and improbable; (1) for it is not very likely that Erginus, a private Man, and a Syrian Stranger, should conceive in his Mind so great an Attempt, without the Instigation and Assistance of Aratus; nor was it twice or thrice, but very often, that like obstinate Lovers he discovered a Design to be Master of Piræus, and was so far from being discouraged by his Disappointments, that his missing his Hopes but narrowly, was an Incentive to him to proceed the more boldly in his Design. One time amongst the rest, making his Escape through Thriasum, he put his Leg out of Joint, and was forced to sacrifice it in Order to his Cure, so that for a long time he was carried in a Litter to the Wars. And as soon as Antigonus was dead, Demetrius succeeding him in the Kingdom, he was more bent than ever upon setting Athens at Liberty; and more openly despised the Macedonians. Wherefore being overthrown in a Battel near Phylacia, by Bythis, Demetrius's General, and there being a very strong Report, that he was either taken or slain, Diogenes, the Governor of the Piræus, sent Letters to Corinth, commanding the Achaæans to depart that City, seeing Aratus was dead. When these Letters came to Corinth, Aratus happened to be there in Person, so

(1) This Argument in Plutarch is indeed very solid; and yet it may be said in Justification of Aratus that this Erginus having been well rewarded for his Service when Aratus reduced the Citadel of Corinth, might be tempted to lay out his Money in raising some Forces, and strike a bold Stroke, for which he was sure to be thoroughly gratified in Case he succeeded. The many Attempts Aratus made afterwards upon that very Haven indeed witness something against him, but the Proof is not incontestable. Aratus might have thought of the same Project as well as Erginus, and have desired to execute it.
that Diogenes's Messengers being sufficiently mocked and derided, were forced to return to their Master. King Demetrius also sent a Ship, wherein Aratus was to be brought to him in Chains. But the Athenians exceeding all Bounds of Flattery to the Macedonians, crowned themselves with Garlands upon the first News of his Death; wherefore invading their Territories in a Rage, he pierced as far as the Academy, but then suffering himself to be pacified, he did no further Act of Hostility. This among other things raised in the Athenians a great Veneration for his Virtue; so that when afterwards upon the Death of Demetrius they attempted to recover their Liberty they called Him to their Assistance. Although at that time another Person was General of the Achaens, and Aratus Himself was confined to his Bed by a Diftemper, which had hung long upon him, yet rather than fail the City in that time of need he was carried thither in a Litter.

As soon as he was arrived he prevailed with Diogenes the Governor to deliver up the Haven of Pireus, the Fortress of Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians, in Consideration of a hundred and fifty Talents, whereof Aratus Himself furnished Twenty out of his own Pocket. Upon this the Aegeate and the Hermonians joined themselves to the Achaens, and the greatest part of Arcadia became Tributary to them, so that the Macedonians ceasing to molest them, by reason of their Wars with other Neighbouring Nations, and the Etolians being their Allies, the Achaean Power increased very considerably. Now Aratus, desirous to effect a Design he had long had in his Mind, and impatient that Tyranny should still nestle itself in to near a City as Argos, he sent to Aristomachus to persuade him to restore Liberty to that City, and to associate it to the Achaens,
The LIFE of

ans, and that following Lygad's Example (1) he
should rather choose to be the General of a great Nation,
with Esteem and Honour; than the Tyrant of one
City, with continual Hatred and Danger. Arisomac-
bus slighted not the Message, but desired Aratus
to send him fifty Talents, with which he might
pay off the Soldiers. In the mean time whilst the
Money was providing, Lygad being then Gene-
ral, and extremely ambitious that this Advantage
might seem to be of His procuring for the Achae-
ans, he accused Aratus to Arisomachus, as one
who bore an irreconcileable Hatred to the Tyrants,
insinuating that he ought rather to trust himself in
His Hands, than in Those of an implacable Ene-
my. Arisomachus gave Credit to what was sug-
gested to him, and so Lygad had all the Honour
of bringing the Tyrant into the League of the
Achæans. But here the Achean Council gave a
manifest Proof of the great Credit Aratus had with
them, and the good Will they bore him. For
when He spake against Arisomachus's being admitt-
ted into the Association, they rejected him with
great Anger, but as soon as he had changed his
Opinion, and began to appeal for it, they cheer-
fully and readily decreed that the Argives and
Phliasians should be incorporated into their Com-
mon-wealth, and the next Year they chose Aris-
omachus General.

Arisomachus finding himself highly honoured
and esteemed by the Acheans, was very desirous to
Invade Laconia, and for that purpose sent for Ara-
tus from Athens. Aratus wrote to him to diffusade

(1) This is a strong Reason-
frame, founded upon a true
Principle; but I will venture to
say further that it is better, and
more glorious, for a Prince to be
chosen the Arbitrator of Nations
in regard of his Justice, than to
make himself their Master by the
Force of Arms and Usurpation.
him all he could from that Expedition, being very unwilling the Acheans should be engaged against Cleomenes, a young Man full of Mettle and Resolution, and upon whom the greatest Dangers had no other Effect than to augment his Power and Reputation. But Arisomachus resolving to go on, Aratus obeyed his Summons, and repaired to the Army. Cleomenes offered them Battel near Pallantium, but Aratus prevailing upon Arisomachus not to engage, Lygades laid a heavy Accusation against him before the Acheans, and the Year following contended with him for the Command, but Aratus had the Majority of Voices, and was for the twelfth time declared General.

This Year being defeated by Cleomenes near Mount Lyceum he fled, and wandering up and down the whole Night it was said that he was slain. This is the second time the Report of his Death was spread, and believed by the Grecians. But He having escaped this Danger and rallied his Forces, was not content to march off in Safety, but making use of the present Conjuncture, when no Body dreamed any such thing, fell suddenly upon the Mantineans, Allies of Cleomenes, and when he had taken the City he put a good Garrison into it, and declared all those Strangers free of the City, who had settled in it, acquiring hereby greater Advantages to the Acheans when vanquished, than they could have hoped for, if they had been Conquerors.

The Lacedemonians invading a second time the Territories of the Megalopolitans, Aratus marched to their Assistance, but refused coming to an Engagement with Cleomenes, tho' he did all he could to provoke him to it, nor would he be prevailed upon by the Megalopolitans, who most earnestly pressed him. For besides that by Nature he was averse to set Battels, he was then much inferior in number
number of Men, and was to deal with a daring Man, and in his Prime, Himself being now in the Declension of his Ambition as well as Courage. (1) He considered also that He ought to maintain that Glory he was now in Possession of, by Caution, which the Other aspired to by Forwardness and Daring.

However the light-armed Infantry having made a Sally, and pushed the Lacedemonians as far as their Camp, and even to their Tents, Aratus could not be provoked even by that Advantage, but post- ing himself in a Hollow hindered his Troops from advancing. Lydiades extremly vexed at this Con- duct, and calling Aratus a thousand Cowards, en- treated the Horle to second Those who had the Enemy in Chace, and not let a certain Victory slip out of their Hands, or forfake Him, who was going to venture his Life in the Service of his Coun- try. When he had drawn together a good Body of chosen Troops he charged the Enemy's right Wing with so much Vigour that he soon broke them and put them to Flight. But pursuing them with an inconsiderate Heat, and too impatient a Desire of Glory, he hurried himself into crooked Passes, woody, and full of broad Ditches, where Cleomenes turning upon him, and attacking him, he fell in the most glorious of all Actions, fighting valiantly at the very Entrance into his Country. The rest of the Cavalry taking to their Heels bore back upon the main Body, where they broke the Ranks, communicated their Fears in every Quarter, and made the whole Army share with them in their Defeat, and Flight.

(1) This contains in it a very useful Lesson. Such Generals as have not yet made themselves fa- mous, or acquired Renown, may court it in Actions full of Boldness and Temerity; but They who are already in Possession of it, ought rather to be careful to preserve it with Prudence, and Precaution, and trust nothing to Hazard, or Uncertainty.
The greatest Share of this Misfortune and Disgrace was charged upon Aratus, who was suspected of having betrayed Lydiades. The Achaens, who retired in great Indignation, constrained him to follow them as far as Egium, where calling a Council it was decreed that he should no longer be furnished with Money, nor have any more foreign Soldiers hired for him, but that, if he would make War, he should do it at his own Expense. He resented this Affront so heinously that he was upon the point of delivering up the Seal, and laying down the Office of General; but considering well of the Matter he thought it best to bear it with Patience, and soon after leading the Achaens to Orthomenum he fought Megisbonus the Father-in-law of Cleomenes; overthrew him, killed three hundred of his Men, and took Him Prisoner.

Now whereas he used to be chosen General every other Year, when his turn came he was called to take upon him that Charge, but refused it; and Timoxenus was chosen in his stead. The Reason alleged for this Refusal; (his being discontented, and offended at the People for their late Ulage) was not the real Cause, but the ill Circumstances of the Achaean Affairs. For Cleomenes did not now Invade them coldly and cautelously as formerly, as one curbed by the Magistrates, but having killed the Epbori, equally divided the Lands, and made many Strangers free of the City, he was become absolute in his Government; fell in good earnest upon the Achaens; and peremptorily demanded to be declared General of the League. Wherefore Aratus was much to be blamed, for that in so terrible a Storm, when All was at Stake; and the whole Community was in danger of Sinking, He who was Pilot should quit the Helm, and that at a time when he ought rather to have Seized on it by Force if it had been in the Hands of Another, and have
provided for the common Safety even at the Hazard of his own Life. Or if he thought the Affairs of the Acheans to be in a desperate Condition, and out of His Power to retrieve them, (1) he ought to have yielded All up to Cleomenes, rather than to barbarize Peloponnesus once more with so many Macedonian Garrisons, to fill the Citadel of Corinth with Illyrian and Galatian Soldiers, and join with Those, whom he had so often overcome in the Field by Force of Arms, and been too hard for by superior Strokes of Policy in Treaties, and under the specious Name of Confederates give Them Admission into all his Towns and Fortresses, whom he had branded with so many Calumnies in his Commentaries.

It may be said Cleomenes was Arbitrary and Tyrannical; supposing That to be true, yet was he descended from the Heraclids, and Sparta was his Country, the meanest Citizen whereof deserved to have been preferred to the Generalship of the League, before the First in Rank of the Macedonians, at least by Those who were never so little concerned for the Honour and Dignity of Greece. Besides, Cleomenes lay'd Claim to that Command for no other end but to have it in his Power to be serviceable and beneficent to the Acheans, in Gratitude and Acknowledgment of so glorious a Title. Whereas Antigonus was no sooner declared Commander in Chief by Sea and Land, but before he would accept of that Charge he insisted upon having the Citadel of Corinth delivered into his Hands, as the Hire of the Service he was to per-

(1) For it would have been more honourable and glorious for the Acheans to have bad the King of Sparta General of the League, than with their Dissensions to uncivilize Peloponnesus, by crowding it with so many Garrisons of Macedonians, Gauls, Illyrians, &c.
form; (1) imitating herein Æsop's Huntsman, who would not mount his Horse 'till he had first bridled him: Neither would Antigonus get up, and ride the Achaean's, 'till they had offered their backs to him, and courted him to it by their Decrees, and Embassies, and 'till he had bridled them by the Garrison he placed in the Citadel, and the Hostages he exacted from them. It is true Aratus endeavours to justify himself from the Necessity he was under: But we are assured by Polybius that long before this, being jealous of the enterprising Genius of Cleomenes, he had entered into a secret Treaty with Antigonus, and prevailed upon the Megalopolitans to demand in the Council of the Achaeans that He might be called in to their Assistance. For the Megalopolitans were the most exposed of any to the Incursions and Depredations of Cleomenes. Phylarchus writes the same Thing; but we are not to give much Credit to that Historian, where he is not backed by the Testimony of Polybius. For whenever he mentions Cleomenes his Zeal flings him into a Fit of Enthusiasm, and as if he was rather Pleading, than writing a History, his whole Business is to accuse the One, and justify the Other.

The Achaean's therefore left the City of Mantinea, which Cleomenes took from them a second time, and being beaten in a great Fight near Hecatombaum, so general was the Consternation, that they immediately sent to Cleomenes to desire him to come to Argos, and take the Government upon him. But Aratus, as soon as he understood that he was coming, and was got as far as Lerna with his Army, fearing

(1) This is the same Fable with that so well told by Horace, Ep. 2. lib. 1., Cervus Equum, pia nitet matior, communibus herbis

This Fable is in Æsop's Collection, but it is said that before him the Poet Stephanus applied it to the Himarians, who were going to raise a Guard for Phalaris.
the worst sent Ambassadors to him, to intreat him to come accompanied with three hundred only, as to Friends and Confederates, and if he mistrusted anything, he should receive what Hostages he demanded. Cleomenes looking on this Entreaty as no better than a piece of Mockery, and an Affront, drew back immediately, and sent a Letter to the Council of the Achaens full of Complaints and Inveigles against Aratus. Aratus wrote one likewise in the same Style against Cleomenes, and they were both transported with so much Bitterness and Rancor on this Occasion, that the Reputation even of their Wives and Families was brought into the Quarrel.

Hereupon Cleomenes being highly incensed sent a Herald to declare War against the Achaens, and in the mean time miss'd very narrowly of taking Sicyon by Treachery. Turning from thence he storm'd Pellene, and took the City, deserted by the Achaen General, as he did Pheneon and Penteleon not long after; upon which the Argives voluntarily joined with him, and the Phliafians received a Garrison, and in short nothing held firm for the Achaens, but an universal Confusion surrounded Aratus, who beheld all Peloponnesus shaken, and the Cities revolting by the Practices of Innovators; for no Place was quiet or satisfied with the present Condition; so that amongst the Sicyonians and Corinthians Themselves, Many were detected to have carried on a private Correspondence with Cleomenes, out of a Desire to make Themselves Masters, having of a long time before been disinclined to the present Establishment.

Aratus receiving a Commission to try and condemn them without Appeal, passed Sentence of Death upon as Many as were found guilty at Sicyon. And as he was proceeding with the same Rigour at Corinth also, he irritated the People, who were grown sick
sick and weary of the Achaean Government: Wherefore running tumultuously to the Temple of Apollo, they sent for Aratus, resolving to take or kill him before they broke out into open Rebellion. He came accordingly, leading his Horse in his Hand, as if he suspected nothing. As soon as he appeared at the Gate of the Temple Several stood up and accused him with great Warmth and Bitterness, when He with a steady settled Countenance, and Words full of Mildness and Complacency, desired them to sit down, and not behave themselves in that irregular Manner, with so much Disorder and Confusion. At the same time he caused all Thos to enter into the Temple who were standing at the Gate, whilst He drew back by little and little, as if he wanted somebody to hold his Horse. Clearing himself thus insensibly of the Crowd, and speaking without any Emotion or Concern to as many of the Corinthians as he met, and pressing them to go to the Temple, as soon as he saw himself near the Citadel, before any one could have the least suspicion of his Design, he leaped upon his Horse, and having injoined Cleopater, who commanded in the Garrison, to be careful of his Charge, he rode away full speed to Sicyon, followed by no more than thirty of his Soldiers, the rest leaving him, and shifting for Themselves.

As soon as it was known that he was fled, the Corinthians sent out a Party after him to apprehend him; but failing of their Design, they immediately sent for Cleomenes, and delivered up the City to Him. He did not think the Possession of the City an Equivalent for the Loss of Aratus, whom they had suffered to slip out of their Hands. However as soon as They who inhabited that Quarter near the Sea called Aeta had joined him, and surrendered their Towns to him, he made a Wall and Circumvallation round the Citadel of Corinth.
In the mean time, as soon as Aratus was arrived at Sicyn, many of the Achaens came into him, and in a General Assembly he was once more declared Commander in Chief with absolute Power and Authority, but had only a Guard of his own Citizens appointed to attend him. After having governed the Affairs of the Achaens for thirty Years together, and been all that time the first Man in Greece both in Power and Reputation, he now found himself abandoned, indigent, persecuted, and born as it were on a Plank saved out of the Shipwrack of his Country, in the midst of the most outrageous Tempest and impendent Dangers; for the Eolians refused to assist him in his Distress, when he sent to Them for Aid; and the Athenians, who were well affected to him, were diverted from sending him any Succour, by the Authority of Euclides and Micon. Now whereas he had a House and Treasure in Corinth, Cleomenes meddled not with it, nor suffered any body else to touch it, but sending for his Friends and Domesticks, he commanded Them to take Care of his Concerns, as those who were to give an Account of them to Aratus: He also privately sent Tripylus unto him, and afterwards Migistonus his Father-in-law, to offer him, besides several other Things, a yearly Pension of twelve Talents, which was twice as much as Ptolemy allowed him, for he gave him but six; and all that he demanded in return was only to be declared General of the Achaens, and together with Them have the keeping of the Citadel of Corinth: To which Aratus returned for Answer that He did not so much govern the Affairs of the Achaens, and he was governed by them.

Cleomenes taking this Answer for an Evasion and Affront, fell immediately into the Territories of Sicyn, which he plundered and wasted, under his Name, and kept the City blocked up for three Months together; all which time Aratus was debating with himself.
himself whether he should bribe Antigonus to come to his Assistance with the Surrender of the Citadel, for no Aid was to be expected from him without it. In the mean time the Athenians held a Council at Egium, to which they called Aratus: but it was very hazardous for him to pass thither, because the City was invested on every Side; besides, the Citizens endeavoured to stop him by their Intreaties, protesting that they would not suffer him to expose himself to so evident Danger, the Enemy being so near; the Women also and Children hung about him, weeping and embracing him as their common Father and Defender. But having comforted and encouraged them as well as he could, got on Horse-back, and being accompanied with ten of his Friends, and his Son, then a Youth, got away to the Sea-Side, and finding some Vessels there, which rode at Anther, went on the Board of them, and sailed to Egium, to the Council, in which it was decreed that Antigonus should be called in to their Aid, and should have the Citadel of Corinth delivered to him, to whom Aratus sent his Son with the other Hostages. The Corinthians were extremely offended at this Proceeding, seized on his Treasure, and gave his House to Cleomenes. Antigonus being now near at hand with his Army, in which were twenty thousand Foot, and one thousand four hundred Horse, Aratus (1) with the other Magistrates went to meet him by Sea, the Enemy inspecting nothing of it, as far as Pega, tho' he had no great Confidence either in Antigonus or the

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(1) It is in the Greek μετα των Δευκαρυων, for that was the Name the Dorians gave their Magistrates. Ἀντιγονοὶ παρὰ τοῖς Δωριστικοῖς ὀς ἄρχοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἂν Ἀράτου παρὰ τοῖς Δαμαρχοῖς ἤκουσι.
Macedonians; for he was very sensible that he had built His Greatness upon Their Loss, and that the first Pretension he had to the Management of Affairs was founded upon the Enmity between Him and Antigonus the Elder. But perceiving the present Necessity and Juncture unavoidable, to which Those who seem to command are constrained to obey, he resolved to put all to the Venture. So soon therefore as Antigonus was told that Aratus was coming up to him, he saluted the rest of the Company after the ordinary Manner, but Him he received at the very first in an honourable Way, and finding him upon Tryal to be a good and discreet Man, he admitted him into his most private Familiarity: for Aratus was not only useful to him in the Management of Affairs, but agreeable also in private Conversation; and therefore, though Antigonus was young, yet as soon as he observed the Temper of the Man to be proper for a Prince’s Friendship, he made more Use of Him than of any Other, not only of the Achaens, but also of the Macedonians who were about him, so that the Thing fell out to him just as the Gods had foretold it. For it is reported, That as Aratus was not long before offering Sacrifice, there were found in the Liver two Gall-bags inclosed in the same Caul, whereupon the Soothsayer assured him that two Persons, who at present seemed to be irreconcilable, would soon be united in the strictest ties of Friendship. Aratus at first despised this Prediction, having no great Faith in the Prognostications drawn from Victims, and chusing rather to make use of his Reason; but some time after, when the War had taken a favourable Turn, and was far advanced, Antigonus made an Entertainment at Corinth, to which a great Number of Guests were invited, and Aratus was placed next above him. Whilst they were at Table Antigonus called for a Cloak to fling over him;
him, and asked Aratus if he did not find it very cold, and He replying that he was never colder in his Life, Antigonus pressed him to come still nearer, and the Servants flung the Cloak over both their Shoulders. (1) Then Aratus remembering the Sacrifice fell a laughing, and told the King what happened to him on that Occasion, and the Interpretation that was put upon it. But this did not fall out 'till after the Times of which we are now speaking.

As soon as they had Both plighted their Faith to each other at Pege, they marched against the Enemy. There happened many warm Actions under the Walls of Corinth, where Cleomenes was entrenched, and the Corinthians defended themselves with great Courage and Resolution.

In the mean time Aristotie the Argive, one of Aratus his most intimate Friends, sent privately to him, to let him know, that he would cause Argos to rebel, if he would come thither in Person with some Soldiers. Aratus acquainted Antigonus therewith, and taking fifteen hundred Men with him, he sailed immediately from the Isthmus to Epidaurus. But the Argives had not Patience 'till he could arrive, but making a sudden Insurrection fell upon Cleomenes's Soldiers, and drove them into the Citadel. Cleomenes having Notice of This, and fearing lest if the Enemy should possess themselves of Argos, they might cut off his Retreat home, quitted the Citadel of Corinth that very Night, and marched to the Assistance of his Friends in Argos. He got thither before Aratus, and repulsed the Enemy; but He appearing not long after, and the King ap-

(1) No Token of Prediction can ever meet with a more complete Accomplishment. Antigonus and Aratus united under the same Covering were the two Gaul-bags enclosed in the same Caul. This was enough to have cured the Insidelity of Aratus, and yet it only set him a laughing; an Instance of good natural Sense in a Man who was a Stranger to the Precepts of Philosophy.
proaching with his Forces, he thought it the safest way to retreat to Mantinea.

Immediately upon this all the Cities in Peloponnesus declared for the Achaeans. Antigonus seized on the Citadel of Corinth, and Aratus being chosen General by the Argives persuaded them to present Antigonus with the Estates and Forfeitures of the late Tyrants, and all the Traitors. After they had put Aristomachus to the Question at Cenchrea (1) they flung him into the Sea, upon which (2) Aratus was

(1) Phylarchus the Historian highly exaggerates the Death of this Tyrant, as if they had made him suffer the most cruel Torments; but this is very fully refuted by Polybius. lib. ii.

(2) Plutarch seems here to give into the Prejudices of Phylarchus, who was a great Stickler for Aristomachus. He ought rather to have followed Polybius, who in his Second Book makes it appear that this Aristomachus did not only deserve a much severer Punishment than that of being cast into the Sea; but that if he had suffered even more than what is complained of by Phylarchus, all would not have been insufficient to expiate the Evil he was Author of in the Camps of one day, when Aratus having got secretly into Argos at the Head of some few of his Achaeans, exposing his Person to imminent Danger, and fighting bravely for the Liberty of Argos, he was forced to retire because not one of the Citizens appeared to assist him, so great and general was their Dread of the Tyrant. Aristomachus laying bold on this Opportunity to satiate his Cruelty, pretended that several of the Argives were in Confederacy with the Achaeans, and caused fourscore of the most considerable Men in the City to be murdered, after he had first tortured them in the presence of their Parents, and nearest Relations. Was not this the Action of a very wicked Person? It is true he afterwards abdicated the Tyranny at the Persuasion of Aratus. Upon which the Achaeans forgave him all his past Crimes, gave him a Share in the Administration, and made him Ven General of their Forces. But the Moment he saw a Glimpse of more favourable Expectations from Cleomenes, he forgot this Humanity of the Achaeans, separated Himself and his Country from the League, in the day of their greatest Distresses, and declared for their Enemies, so that when once they had taken him they thought it reasonable to carry him up and down throughout Peloponnesus, and having in that manner exposed him to the whole World, they condemned him to an open publick Punishment. And yet wicked as this Man was he suffered no other Punishment than to be drowned in the Sea for something he had done at Cenchrea. This is Aratus's Apology, and deferred to have been taken Notice of by Plutarch.

highly
highly blamed for suffering a Person to dye unjustly, who was no ill Man, with whom he had had many Dealings, and who at His Persuasion had abdicated the Tyranny, and prevailed upon his City to unite itself to the Achaean Community. He was charged likewise with several other Things, as that it was at His Instigation that the Achaeans delivered up the Citadel of Corinth to Antigonus with as little concern as if it had been an inconsiderable Village; that after they had sacked Orchomenus, he suffered them to put into it a Garrison of Macedonians; that they made a Decree importing that no Letters nor Embassies should be sent to any other King, without the Consent of Antigonus; that they were forced to maintain the Macedonian Garrison; that they made Sacrifices, Feasts, and Games in Honour of Antigonus, His Citizens setting the first Example, receiving Antigonus into the City at the Instigation and Advice of Aratus, who entertained him in his own House. All these Miscarriages they charged him with, not considering, that having once put the Reins into Antigonus’s Hands, he was now hurried along by the Imperiousness of the Regal Power, being Master of nothing but his Tongue, the Liberty of which it was not very safe for him to exercise. For it was very plain, that Aratus was much troubled at several Things, especially at That which related to the Statues. Antigonus restored all Those of the Tyrants in Argos, which had been displaced by Aratus, and on the contrary removed all the Statues of Such, who had at any time surprised the Citadel of Corinth; That only of Aratus Himself excepted, nor could all his Remonstrances and Entreaties divert him from that Resolution. Besides the Usage of the Mantineans, by the Achaeans, seems not to favour of the Grecian Moderation and Humanity; for being Masters of their City by the Help of Antigonus, they put to Death the
The Life of

the chief and most noted Men amongst them: And for the rest, Some of them they sold, Others they sent bound in Fetters into Macedonia, and made Slaves of their Wives and Children. The Money raised hereby was a third part of it divided amongst Themselves, and the other two Thirds were distributed among the Macedonians. (1) But This seems to have been done by a certain sort of Legal Revenge; for although it be a barbarous thing for Men of the same Nation and Blood thus to butcher one another in their Fury, yet Necessity makes it, as Simonides says, sweet and something excusable, being the properest Remedy to appease and satisfy inflamed and exasperated Minds. But for what was afterwards done to that City, Aratus can never be excused upon any account, either of Reason or Necessity; for the Argives having the City freely bestowed on them by Antigonus, and resolving to People it, He being then chosen the Director of that Affair, and being General at that time, decreed, that it should no more be called Mantinea, but Antigonea, which Name it still bears. Thus it should seem that by His Means Mantinea, the Beautiful Mantinea, as Homer calls it, became ex-

(1) For the Mantineans had before That fort, and demanded a Garrison of the Achaens, to protect them from the Lacedemonians. Upon This the Achaens, sent them three hundred of their own Citizens, and two hundred foreign Soldiers. Some time after, the Mantineans in a most detestable perfidious manner murdered that very Garrison, which they had so earnestly begged of the Achaens. What is there such Miscreants did not deserve? And yet when the Achaens had retaken their City, they only suffered in the Plunder of their Goods, and the Sale of some of the Inhabitants. What Plutarch faith concerning the Death of the chief and most noted Men amongst them is a Falsity prevented by Phylarchus, who was resolved to blacken Aratus and the Achaens at the Expence of Truth itself. But allowing all be faith to be true, Polybius makes it appear that there was nothing Severe, or even Cruel, which the Mantineans had not deserved at the Hands of Aratus and the Achaens, and if they did not put their Revenge on to the utmost Extremity it was an Act of Moderation owing to their Humanity.
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tineft, (1) and that another City was erected in its Place, bearing the Name of Him who had destroyed and expelled her Inhabitants.

Some time after this Cleomenes being overthrown in a great Battel near Sellasia, forsook the City of Sparta and fled into Egypt, and Antigonus having shewn all manner of Civility and Kindness to Aratus retired into Macedonia, upon Advice that the Illyrians had made an Irruption into that Country; and falling sick there he declared Philip the Son of Demetrius, a very Youth, his Successor, sent him into Peloponnesus, and ordered him above all things to adhere to Aratus, and to be guided by his Direction and Advice in all his Transactions with the Cities, and when he had a mind to make himself known to the Achaeans. Aratus received him with the greatest Honour, and managed him with so much Wisdom and Judgment that he sent him back into Macedonia full of Sentiments of Affecti

on and Respect to Him, and in the most favourable Dispositions for the Interest of Greece.

After the Death of Antigonus (2) the Aetolians began to despise the Indolence and Inactivity of the Achaeans, for being accustomed to defend themselves by the Arms of Foreigners, and to crouch under the Macedonian Ensigns, they led an idle Life, without the least Regard to any manner of Discipline. (3) This encouraged the Aetolians to aim

(1) Plutarch takes all Occasions to manifest his Affection to Greece. No greater Indignity can be offered to a City than to deprive it of its own Name, and impose on it That of the Person who had been the chief Promoter of its Ruin.

(2) Polybius in his fourth Book tells us that after Cleomenes had been driven out of his Kingdom, the Peloponnesians, who were tired with the late Wars, and imagined the present Tranquility was to continue for ever, entirely neglected the use of Arms, and all military Occupations. By This it appears of what Importance it is to keep the People trained and exercised even in times of the greatest Tranquillity.

(3) The Aetolians had of a long time been Enemies to Peace, be...
aim at the Dominion of Peloponnese. They entered into it in an hostile manner, and in their March plundered the Territories of Patrae and Dyone, after which they fell upon Messene, and miserably wasted all the adjacent Country. Aratus, incensed at this Infolence and Treachery, (1) and perceiving that Timoxenes who was Captain-General for the Year acted dilatorily, and spun out the Time because his Authority was near expiring, He, who was to command for the ensuing Year, anticipated his Authority by five Days, on purpose to march to the Succour of the Messenians. Having therefore mustered the Achaeans; whose Bodies were neither trained and hardened in the Exercise of Arms, nor their Minds disposed for the War, (2) he was overthrown

cause in times of Peace they were forced to maintain themselves, whereas it was customary with them to live by Rapine. Anti
gonus kept 'em in Awe whilst he lived, but after his death they despised the Minority of Phi
lip, and sought a Pretence to fall out with the Peloponneseans. Polyb. lib. iv.

(1) Timoxenes was against this Expedition, because he expected little from the Achaeans, for the Reasons before mentioned; and as his Office of General was to expire in five days he was glad to spin out the time. But Aratus fired at this Infolence of the Achaeans, took up the Cudgels, and having received the Seals from Timoxenes he dispatched his Letters immediately to all the Cities, requiring all the Youth capable of bearing Arms to meet him by a day appointed at Megalopolis. Timoxenes is not to be blamed for declining to trust the Safety of his Country to Troops of whose Sloth and Cowardice he was so well assured, especially considering that at the end of five days he was of course to quit his Command.

(2) When the Reader is told that Aratus was beaten near Calyphe, and accused of acting with more Heat than Prudence, he is at a stand, and not a jot wiser than he was before. Plutarch, who was writing a Life only, did not think it incumbent on Him to be more particular, and to mention severally the Errors charged upon Aratus. But Polybius, who was writing a History, thought it became Him not to omit so material a Circumstance, which was so necessary to the Information of his Readers. After having given a particular Account of the Action he draws into one point of View the Errors imputed to Aratus, which may deserve to be laid before the Reader.

The first thing he is charged with
ARATUS.

thrown near Capbye; and being accused of having acted on that Occasion with more Heat than Prudence, he as soon ran into the other Extrem, Cooling and Desponding at that rate, that he let pass and overlooked all the fair Opportunities of Advantage given him (1) by the Aetolians, who now sported and junketed, as it were throughout Peloponnesus, with all manner of Insolence and Licentiousnefs. Wherefore praying once more the Assistance of the Macedonians, they drew in and in-

with is his taking upon him the Command before his time, and running headlong into an Enterprise the Event of which he could not but know was doubtful.

The second was disbarding the Achaeans and Lacedaemonians at an unseasonable time, when he saw the Aetolians in the Heart of Peloponnesus, upon a groundless Belief that they should soon retire, and return home.

The third Article, brought against him was his engaging with too few Troops, though he had it in his Power to draw off without any Hazard into the neighbouring Towns, where he might raise more Forces; and give the Enemy Battel when he found it expedient or necessary.

The last, and indeed the heaviest, was that after he had resolved upon fighting he acted with too little Conduct and a great deal of Imprudence, for he sent his Cavalry and light Arms to attack the Enemy's Rear after their Front had gained the Hill. Whereas he ought to have encountered the Front at first whilst they were, in the Plain, where he would have had the Advantage of them, and might have had reason to expect his heavy-armed Soldiers would have done him great Service.

These were the Heads of the Accusation, to which Aratus put his Answer, and proved that the Lofs, with which they charged him, ought not to be imputed to any ill Conduct in Him; adding, that if he had not acted in every Circumstance as became an experienced General he asked Pardon, and begged them to weigh his Actions with less Rigour than Indulgence. This Modesty turned the whole Assembly in his Favour, and directed the Edge of their Sentiment against his Accusers; so that they adhered to his Counsel and Advice in all their future Undertakings.

(1) Polybius observes in plain terms that ever after this he acted more like a grave Citizen than an experienced General; that the Memory of his late Loss made him keep aloof, without attempting anything; that he let the Aetolians live at Discretion, and suffered them to retire at their ease, though they made their Retreat through narrow Passes, where almost the very sound of a Trumpet would have defeated them.
troduced Philip to intermeddle in the Affairs of Greece, hoping that by means of his Confidence in Aratus, and the Friendship he had for him, they should find him very tractable, and to be managed as they pleased.

But the King being over-persuaded by Apelles, Megaleys, and other Courtiers, who endeavoured to ruin the Credit Aratus had with him, prevailed upon him to favour the contrary Faction, and get Eperatus chosen General by the Achaens; but this Eperatus falling into the lowest degree of Contempt, and Aratus taking no farther Care of Affairs, all things went to Rack; upon which Philip finding his Mistake, reconciled himself to Aratus, and was wholly His, and his Affairs increasing both in Power and Reputation, he depended upon Him for the Augmentation of Both. Aratus hereby giving a proof to the World that he was as good a Nurturing Father of a Kingdom, as he had been of a Republick; for the Actions of the King had in them the Touch and Colour of His Judgment and Temper, (1) for the Moderation shewed by this young

(1) The Lacedemonians being desirous to alter their Form of Government and reduce it to a Democracy, murdered Adimas one of their Ephori, and some Others who were in the King's Interest. The Ephori sent their Embassadors to Philip who was just come out of Macedonia, to justify the Action. These Embassadors met the King near Mount Parthenium. Philip ordered them to return to Lacedemon, and commanded the Ephori to send to meet him at Tegae some Persons qualified to confer with him on the present Pouture of Affairs. The Ephori sent to him ten of the principal Men in Sparta, who were introduced into the Council, where when they had accused Adimas of all the Disorders, and made great Protestations of their Fidelity to Philip, they were ordered to retire. The Council were divided in their Opinion of what was proper to be done in that Case. The major Part, convinced of the Disaffectation of the Lacedemonians, and knowing that Adimas was slain purely because he was in Philip's Interest, and that they were inclined to enter into Alliance with the Etolians, advised the King to make an Example of them, and treat them in the same Manner as Alexander had treated the Thes-
young Prince to the *Lacedemonians*, who had incurred his Displeasure, and his courteous Affability to the *Cretans*, by which in a few Days he brought over the whole Island to his Obedience, and his Expedition against the *Etolians*, so wonderfully successful, (1) brought *Philip* into great Reputation for knowing how to take good Advice, and to *Aratus* for giving it. This served only to aggravate the Envy and Jealousy of the Courtiers, who finding they could not prevail against him by their secret Practices, began openly to abuse and affront him in their Debauches, with extraordinary Petulancy and Impudence; so that once they threw Stones at him as he retired from Supper to his Tent. At which *Philip* being extremly offended, immediately fined them twenty Talents.

Others of the Council, among whom were the most Ancient, remonstrated that the Punishment was greater than the Crime deserved, and thought it would be sufficient if the King chastised the Authors of the Sedition; deprived them of their Offices, and gave them to some of his own Creatures. When it came to the King's turn to give his Opinion, he said, that he was no ways personally concerned in the Offences committed by the Allies against one another, and therefore it was fit for Him only to write to them, and exhort them to return to their Duty, and let them know he had an Eye upon their Behaviour. That if any thing was done in Prejudice of the Alliance in general, That being a common Concern, the Alliance in general were to resent and punish it. That as the *Lacedemonians* had done nothing openly in breach of that Alliance, and promising to submit to any Terms that shall be thought just and reasonable on their Part, it would not be well in Him to come to any violent Resolutions against them; but on the contrary it would look strange that when his Father, after he had conquered them as Enemies, dealt very graciously with them, if He who was their Ally should for so small a Cause execute so terrible a Vengeance upon them. This Answer, full of Wisdom and Humanity as we find it at large in *Polybius*, is attributed by that Author to *Aratus*, because it is not probable that a young Prince, no more than seventeen Years of Age, should be able to speak of Himself with so much Prudence and Moderation.

(1) *Homer* saith Somewhere in his *Iliad* that good Advice redounds as much to the Honour of the Man who follows it, as of Him who gives it.

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and finding afterwards that they still troubled and disturbed his Affairs, he put them to death. But not long after being puffed up with his Prosperity, the natural Depravity of his Temper, which had lain long concealed, began to break out like an Imposthume, discharging itself in all the odious Symptoms of an abandoned vicious Inclination. In the first place he injured in the highest degree Aratus the Younger, in corrupting his Wife. The Intrigue lay concealed for a long time, because he was lodged in the same House with them, upon the Invitation of Aratus.

After This he grew more intractable and severe to the several Cities and Communities, and it was easily seen that he intended no longer to be directed by Aratus, to whom he shewed great Coolness and Indifference. The Beginning of this Alienation was owing to a Misunderstanding in Messene, the Inhabitants of which City quarrelling among Themselves, Aratus marched upon the first Notice to put a Stop to the Sedition; but he got thither a day after Philip, who the Moment he arrived instead of appeasing the Inhabitants endeavoured to irritate them still more against one Another. On the one Hand he asked the Magistrates if they were not enabled by Law to keep the People in Obedience, and on the Other he asked the Ring-leaders of the Sedition if they wanted Hands to help themselves against their Oppressors. Thus both Parties placing their Confidence in Him, and thinking him safe to their Interest, the Magistrates attempted to seize the Heads of the Faction, and They stirring up the People against the Magistrates slew Them, and many more of the most considerable Persons in the City with them, insomuch that there were near two hundred slain in that Sedition.
ARATUS.

By that time Philip had perpetrated this Inhuman Action, and aggravated the Sedition, Aratus arrived. From the very first he plainly shewed that he resented this Proceeding in Philip, and suffered his Son, without silencing him, to reproach him with a great deal of Acrimony, and in very injurious Language. It appeared that this young Man was in love with Philip, but breaking out upon this Occasion he told him in plain terms that he no longer appeared beautiful to him after the Commission of so villainous an Action, but on the contrary very ugly. To all which Philip gave him no Answer, though he appeared much nettled, and muttered often to himself whilst he was speaking; but for the Elder Aratus, seeming to take all that He said in good part, being also by Nature crafty, and having a good Command of himself, he gave him his Hand and led him out of the Theater, and carried him with him to Ithome, to Sacrifice there to Jupiter, and take a view of the Place; for it is a Post as strong as the Citadel of Corinth, and with a good Garrison can command, and annoy the neighbouring Country, and is almost impregnable. Philip therefore went up into this Castle, to offer Sacrifice, and when the Priest presented him with the Entrails of the Ox he took them in both his Hands, and shewed them to Demetrius Pharius, and Aratus, asking first One, and then the Other what they judged by the Tokens in the Sacrifice it were best for him to do with the Fort, whether to keep it for himself, or restore it to the Messenians. Demetrius smiling answered him, (1) If you have in you the Soul of a Priest you will restore it, but if of a Prince you will

(1) As if none but Priests were to give heed to the Tokens appearing on the Entrails of the Victims, and That Prince must have the Soul of a Priest who can be true to his Word. However this Saying will always have its Weight among our Court Politicians.
hold the Ox by both the Horns. By which Ænigma he gave him to understand that Peloponnesus would be wholly at his Devotion, if he added Ithome to the Acró-corninthus. Aratus said not a word of a good while, but Philip entreating him to declare his Opinion, he spoke thus. There are (1) many and great Hills in Crete, and many Rocks in Boeotia and Phocis, and many inexpugnable Places are there both near the Sea, and in the Mid-land in Acarnania, none of which have you taken by main Force, and yet all these People pay you a voluntary Obedience. It is for Thieves to nest themselves in Rocks and Precipices, but the strongest Fort a King can have is Sweetness, Truth, and Humanity, which secure to him the Fidelity and Affection of the People. These Qualities have opened to you the Cretian Sea. These have made you Master of Peloponnesus, and by the help of These, young as you are, you are become Captain of the One, and Lord of the Other. (2) He was going on at this rate when Philip returned the Entrails to the Priest, and pulling Aratus along with him by the Hand, Come on then, said he, let us go as we came.  

(1) This Answer of Aratus is more confined in Polybius, who relates it in his own Terms, lib. vii. If you can keep it without violating your Faith given to the Messenians, keep it in God's Name; but if in leaving a Garrison here you lose all the other Citadels and Fortresses, and deprive yourself of the Garrison left you by Antigonus, which hath hitherto preserved your Allies firm and constant to you, meaning his observing his Word and Promise, consider well if it will not be more expedient for your Affairs to discharge this Garrison of Men, and leave it to be kept by Faith and Honesty, which will be able to make you sure not only of Messene but all the rest of your Allies. Plutarch has given a fuller Scope to this Answer, the better to enforce the Sense, and make it more instructive, by rendering it more intelligible.  

(2) Polybius observes that if Philip had pursued his own Sentiments he had violated his Faith, as it afterwards manifestly appeared, but he had not the Confidence to oppose this lively Remonstrance of Aratus. So true it is that a bold generous Saying can make an Impression even upon Persons the most prodigate and abandoned.
as if he thought himself forced by Him, and de-
prived of the Town.

From this time Aratus began to withdraw from
Court, and retired by degrees from Philip's Com-
pany; for when he was preparing to march into
Epirus, and desired Him to accompany him thir-
ther, he excused himself and stayed at home, ap-
prehending that he should get nothing but Discre-
dit by his Actions. But afterwards when he had
shamefully lost his Fleet in his War against the
Romans, and miscarried in all his Designs, he re-
turned into Peloponnesus, where he endeavoured
first to win the Messenians by his Artifices, but fail-
ing therein, he fell openly to spoil and waste
their Country; then Aratus fell out with him down-
right, and utterly renounced his Friendship. For
by this time he began to smell out the Injuries
done to his Son in his Wife, and though they vex-
ed him to the Heart, yet he concealed them from
Him, for he could only let him know he had been
abused, but could not help him to the Means of
Revenge; for strange and unexpected was the
Change made in Philip, who of a mild King, and
modest and chaste Youth, became a lascivious Man
and most cruel Tyrant. But this was not so much
a real Change in his Nature as a Manifestation of
his Vice, which Fear had obliged him to keep con-
cealed at first, and to which at last he gave full
Scope when he thought himself in a Condition to
act with Licence and Impunity. For that the Re-
spect he at first bore to Aratus had a great Allay
of Fear and Awe, appears evidently from what he
did to him at last. For being desirous to put him
to death, not thinking himself, whilst he was alive,
to be at liberty either as King or Tyrant, he
durst not attempt to do it by open Force, but com-
manded Taurion, one of his Captains and Fami-
liars, to make him away secretly, and That by Poi-
son.
son during his Absence. Taurion therefore contracted a Friendship with Aratus, and gave him a Dose not of strong and violent Poisons, but such as cause gentle hectic Hears, and a hollow Cough, and so by degrees bring on certain Death. Aratus perceived what was done to him, but knowing that it was to no purpose to complain, he bore it patiently and with silence, as if it had been some common and usual Distemper. Only once whilst a Friend of his was with him in his Chamber he spilt some Blood, which his Friend observing and wondering at, These, O Cephalon, said he, are the Fruits of the Friendship of Kings. Thus he died in Ægium, in his seventeenth Generalship. The Acheans were very desirous that he should be buried there, with a Funeral and Monument suitable to the Glory of his Actions; but the Sicyonians believing it a Dishonour to them, if he were interred any where but in Their City, prevailed with the Acheans to grant them the Disposal of the Body.

But there being an ancient Law forbidding any Person to be buried within the Walls of their City, which Law had been constantly observed by a superstitious Punctuality, they sent to Delphi to consult the Pythioness, who returned them this Oracle:

_Thou ask'st, Sicyon, Aratus' Resting-Place, If thee his Urn and Funeral Rites shall grace: Who grudges him the light Earth where he lies Is the Disgrace o'th' Sea, the Land, and Skies._

When this Oracle was known at Sicyon the whole Body of the Acheans rejoiced much at it, but especially the Sicyonians, who changing their Mourning into publick Joy, immediately removed the Body from Ægium, and in a kind of Solemn Procession brought it into the City, with Songs and
and Dances, crowned with Garlands, and arrayed in white Garments. As soon as they were arrived they made Choice of the most conspicuous Place in the City, where they interred Him, whom they considered as its Founder and Preserver. The Place is to this Day called Aratium, and there they yearly make two solemn Sacrifices to him, the One on the Day he delivered the City from Tyranny, being the fifth Day of the Month Daismum, which the Athenians call Antestesuron; and This Sacrifice they call Soteria; the Other on his Birth-day; now the first of these was performed by the Priest of Jupiter Soter, the second by the Priest of Aratus, wearing a Linnen Girdle not pure white but mingled with Purple. The Hymns were sung to the Harp by the Choir belonging to Bacchus; the Procession was led up by the Rector of the Gymnasion, with the Boys and young Men, These were followed by the Senate wearing Garlands, and other Citizens such as pleased, whereof some small Footsteps remain to this Day. But the greatest part of the Ceremonies hath through Time, and other intervening Accidents, been difused. And such as History tells us, was the Life and Manners of the Elder Aratus. And for the Younger, Philip, abominably wicked by Nature, and cruelly insulting, gave him such poisonous Medicines, as though they did not kill him outright, yet they made him run stark mad, and drove him upon most horrid and abominable Attempts, raising in him a strong Appetite to commit Actions, and gratify Passions the most absurd and infamous. Insomuch that though he was young, and in the Flower of his Age, his Death could not be looked upon as a Misfortune, but rather a Deliverance and the End of his Misery. But Philip paid dearly, all the rest of his Life, for these Violations of Friendship and Hospitality; for being overcome by the Romans he was
was forced to lie at their Mercy. By Them he was deprived of all the Kingdoms and Provinces he had added to his Paternal Dominions, and constrained to surrender all his Ships but five, obliged to pay a Fine of a thousand Talents, and to yield up his Son for an Hostage. Out of pure Compassion they left to him Macedonia and its Dependances, where continually putting to death the noblest of his Subjects, and the nearest Relations he had, he filled the whole Kingdom with Horror and Detestation of him. The only Comfort left him among so many Disasters was a Son, infinitely superior to all other Princes on the score of his Virtues, and of Him he deprived Himself. He caused him to be murdered out of Envy and Jealousy of the great Honours he received from the Romans, and left his Kingdom to his other Son Perseus, who, as Some say, was not legitimate, but born of a Semitress called Gnathenion. This was He whom Paulus Emilius led in Triumph, and in whom ended the Royal Race of Antigonus. But the Posterity of Aratus continues still in our Days at Sicyon and Pellene.
Phicrates, General of the Athenians, supposed that a Soldier of Fortune ought to be covetous and sensual, to put him upon bold Adventures, to lay in a stock to gratifie his Lusts; but Most were of Opinion, that the Body of an Army, as well as the natural one (tho' never so strong) should make no Efforts apart, but in compliance with their Head. Wherefore they tell us, that Paulus Æmilius recruiting his Forces in Macedonia, and finding them talkative, and impertinently busie, as though they were all Commanders, issued out his Orders that they should have only ready Hands, and keen Swords, and leave the rest to His Care and Conduct. But Plato observing nothing succeed well under a brave General, unless the Army were also sober and tractable, judged, that to obey orderly, as well as to command judiciously, required a generous Temper, with constant Discipline and Exercise, chiefly to allay their hot Spirits.
Spirits and active Humour, with Gentleness and Civility: And indeed sundry sad Instances elsewhere, as well as amongst the Romans, after the Death of Nero, are plain Proofs, that nothing is more dangerous than a Military Power, unskilfully managed; therefore Demades, after the Death of Alexander, compared the Macedonian Army to the Cyclops Polyphemus, after his Eye was out, seeing their many disorderly and giddy Motions. (1) But the Roman Empire fell into all the mad convulsive Motions of the Titans, such as they are represented to us by the Poets, broken in Pieces by Rebellion, and turning her Arms into her own Bowels, not so much by the Ambition of the Emperor, as the Covetousness and Extravagancy of the Soldiers, which made them push out One after Another for their own Advantage.

Dionysius the Tyrant of Sicily, speaking of Phereus, who was murdered after he had reigned in Thessaly for the space of Ten Months only, calls him the Tyrant of a Tragedy, comparing the sudden Change of his Condition to That of a Scene on the Stage. But the Imperial Palace of the Caesars in Rome had no less than four Emperors in a shorter space, the Soldiers forcing an Exit upon the One, and giving an Entrance to the Other, as if they had been real Actors on the Theatre. It is true that the Romans, who were great Sufferers by their Changes, had at least this Conflation, that they wanted no other Vengeance upon the Authors of all their Miseries than what they executed upon Themselves. It must be some sort of Pleasure to behold them Butcher one another, and see Him fall the first, as he well deserved, who first seduced

(1) This is a lively Image, and the State of the Roman Empire exact to the Purpose. Tacitus in at that time, and of the extrav- the first Book of his History gives gant Commotions with which it us an admirable Description of was agitated.
them, and made them hope for all he could promise by a Change, at the same time blackening and disgracing an Action so glorious in itself, as was the Revolt against Nero, (1) which he debased into Treason by the Pay he received for it. For Nymphidius Sabinus, who, (2) as we have observed before, was joined in Commission with Tigillinus, as Captain of the Praetorian Cohorts, observing the Affairs of Nero to be in a desperate Condition, and that Nero Himself was upon the point of flying into Egypt, persuaded the Army to declare Galba Emperor, as if Nero had already abdicated, promised every Soldier of the Praetorian Cohorts seven thousand five hundred Drachmas, and to the rest of the Army that lay quartered up and down in the Provinces twelve hundred and fifty a-piece. Which amounted to a Sum so immense that it would have been impossible to have raised it without burdening the Subject infinitely more than even Nero had done during the whole Course of his Reign. This presently dispatched Nero, and soon after Galba too. They murdered the First, in Expectation of the promised Sum; and not long after the Other, because he did not make good what had been promised to them. Thus whilst they were in search after a Man, who would give them as much as they had been made to expect, they wasted themselves, and consumed away insensibly in Revolts and Treasons. But to relate in order every particular Fact and Incident as it happened is the Business of a Person who is writing

(1) This Sentiment of Plutarch is very just. A Revolt against a Tyrant is never allowable but when it is undertaken for the sake of the People, and to free them from his Cruelty. It becomes Treason when it is influenced and promoted by Views purely mercenary.

(2) We find no mention of it in any of his Writings that remain. Without doubt it was in the Life of Nero, which was written by Plutarch, and is now lost.
The L I F E of

a compleat History; but for Me, who am no other than a Biographer, it will suffice if I lay before the Reader some of the most remarkable Circumstances that occur in the Lives of these Caesars.

It is a thing known, and confessed by all Historians, that Sulpitius Galba was, of a private Man, the most wealthy of any that ever aspired to the Imperial Dignity. And tho' he valued himself much upon his Birth, being descended from the Family of the Servii, yet he valued himself much more upon his Relation to Q. Catulus Capitolinus, who was the first Man in his time for Virtue and Reputation, tho' he voluntarily resigned to Others the first Rank in Power and Authority.

Galba was somewhat a-kin to Livia the Wife of Augustus, by whose Interest he was preferred from the Station he held in the Palace to the Dignity of Consul. It is said of him that he honourably discharged his Command in Germany, (1) and being made Proconsul in Libya, he distinguished himself even among Those who had gained the greatest Reputation in that Province. But his narrow par- cimonious Way of living, his Aversion to all Superfluity and Excess, passed for Avarice as soon as he became Emperor, and the Pride he took in his Temperance and Oeconomy was unsealional. He was entrusted by Nero with the Government of Spain, before that Prince had learnt to revere Those who had the greatest Power and Authority in the City. And as Galba appeared naturally to be of a soft gentle Temper, it was expected from his Age that he would distinguish himself no less by his

(1) He governed Africk two Years in quality of Proconsul, having been extraordinarily named to it as the fittest Person to be sent to compose the Affairs of that Province, which had been afflicted by intestine Divisions, and the Inroads of the Barbarians. He restored it to its former Order and Tranquility, with a great deal of Prudence, and necessary Severity.

Judgment
Judgment and Prudence. (1) The Emperor's Officers, a most pernicious Race of Men, oppressed the Provinces with the utmost Cruelty; and it was not in Galba's Power to redress them, but he gave them manifest Tokens of his tender Concern for their Sufferings, wherein he sympathized with them; and This at least was some sort of Comfort and Consolation to those poor Wretches, even when they were stripped of all they had, and sold into Slavery.

At that time when there were several bitter Lampoons handed about against Nero, and sung everywhere, Galba took no care to suppress them, or prosecute the Authors and Promoters of them, which those Officers did with great Severity. This made him still more beloved by the Natives, with some of whom he had contracted a sort of Friendship and Familiarity during the time of his Government among them, which held for Eight Years, till Junius Vindex, who commanded in Gaul, revolted against Nero.

We are told that before the Design was thoroughly ripe, Vindex communicated it to Galba, who neither countenanced nor discovered it, as did several of the Governors in the other Provinces, to whom Vindex had likewise communicated it by his Letters, which they immediately sent to Nero, and so as much as in them lay ruined the whole Undertaking, wherein they Themselves being afterwards proved Accomplices they were forced to confess that they had betrayed Themselves as well as Vindex.

But when Vindex had openly declared War against Nero he wrote once more to Galba, and exhorted him to take the Government upon him, and

(1) These were called Procurares Principis; Officers sent by the Emperors into the several Provinces to collect the Tribute and all the other Duties belonging to the Revenue.
place himself at the Head of the Gauls, who wanted a Leader, and were already a Body of a Hundred thousand armed Men, and were able to raise a greater Force upon Occasion.

Galba called a Council of his Friends, to advise with them upon this Overture; most of them were of Opinion that he ought to wait, and see how Rome stood inclined, before he declared. But Titus Vinius, Captain of one of the Praetorian Cohorts, stood up, and said, What room is there here for De-liberation? (1) It is the highest Act of Infidelity even to question whether we shall remain faithful to Nero. There is no Medium; you must either embrace the Proposition of Vindex, and look on Nero as your declared Enemy, or accuse him this Instant, and march to suppress him, since he had rather have Galba for Emperor of the Romans, than Nero for your Tyrant. Thereupon Galba by an Edict appointed a certain Day for enfranchising all Those who requested it. The Rumour of this Publication soon brought together a great Crowd of Men so readily inclined to Innovations, that he could scarce mount the Tribunal before he was with an universal Acclamation saluted Emperor. He refused to take the Title upon him at first; but after he had bitterly inveighed against Nero, and bemoaned the loss of those brave Men who had been destroyed by him, he declared that he devoted himself to the Service of his Country, not under those specious Titles of Caesar, or Emperor, but only as Lieutenant to the Senate and People.

(1) According to this Maxim in Tacitus, *Qui deliberant deservunt*. For if we once deliberate whether we shall be true to our Oath or not we in that very instant break it. It is a fine Answer Agrippinus returned to Florus, who asked him, Shall I go with Nero to the Theatre, and dance on the Stage with him? Go, replied Agrippinus. And you, said Florus, why do not you go too? Because, said Agrippinus, I never deliberated about it. Epičt. ii. Maxim. lib. i. Max. xiii.
G A L B A.

Now that Vindex did wisely in inviting Galba to the Empire, Nero himself bore Testimony; for though he seemed to despise Him, and to be in no degree apprehensive of the Gauls, yet he no sooner heard of Galba's Motions, of which he happened to receive Intelligence just as he had bathed, and was fat down to Supper, but in great Fury he overturned the Table. But the Moment the Senate had declared Galba an Enemy to the State, he grew witty upon the Subject, and with an Air of Confidence said to his Friends, This is what I wanted. I have been long at a loss for a Pretence of raising Money, and now I have it. I have no sooner conquered the Gauls, but all their Wealth is Mine; in the mean time I will lay my Hand upon Galba's Estate, since He is a declared Enemy, and dispose of it as I think fit. Accordingly he that instant commanded it to be put up to Auction.

The Moment Galba was informed of This He likewise exposed to Sale Nero's Estate in Spain, and found a greater Number of Buyers. Nero being thus forsaken by all the World, who declared for Galba, there was only Clodius Macer, who commanded in Africa, and Virginius Rufus General of the Army in Germany, who acted separately, and with different Views, for they were not both determined to the same Point. Clodius, who was conscious of many Enormities, and knew himself guilty of Rapine and Murder, to which his unbounded Avarice and cruelty had prompted him, knew not what Measures were fitting for him to take; wherefore in that Uncertainty he neither would accept, nor reject the Imperial Title: and Virginius, who had under his Command some of the best Legions in the Empire, and had been often pressed by them to take upon him the Title of Emperor, declared, that he would not only re-
fuse it Himself, but suffer no one else to assume it, who was not elected to it by the Senate.

These things at first exceedingly perplexed Galba, but after the two Armies of Virginius and Vindex had forced their Chiefs, like two Charioteers who have no longer the Reins at their Command, to come to a Battel, and Vindex after the Los of twenty thousand Gauls, who were killed upon the Spot, had laid violent Hands on Himself, it was reported that the victorious Army importuned Virginius to accept of the Empire, threatening in case of a Refusal to return to Nero.

Galba, who was terribly alarmed at this Report, wrote to him, exhorting him to join with Him for the Preservation of the Empire, and the Liberty of the Romans. At the same time he retired with his Friends to a City in Spain called Colonia, where he resided for some days, rather repenting of what he had already done, and desiring a Life of Ease and Privacy, to which he had been accustomed, than considering what was fit to be done for the future. It was now in the Summer Season, when one day one of his Freedmen, a Native of Sicily, arrived in seven days from Rome at Colonia, and learning at his Arrival where Galba was reposeing himself, he went up to the Room, opened the Door, and entering in spite of the Grooms, who would have opposed him, he told him, that the Nero was then living, yet upon his not appearing, first the Army, and after Them the Senate, and the People, had declared Him Emperor, and that some time after the News was current of the Tyrant's Death. He added, that He would not trust to common Report, but went Himself to see where he lay, and with his own Eyes beheld him a lifeless Lump extended on the Ground, and then hastened away to bring Him an Account of it.
Galba was extremly revived at this Intelligence. At the same time his Door was crowded with a Number of People, to whom he communicated the News he had received, and assured them of the Truth of it, tho' the Expedition used by the Messenger made it seem almost incredible. But two days after Titus Vinius arrived with several Others from the Camp, and gave him a particular Account of the whole Proceedings. For this good News, (1) Titus was advanced to a very honourable Employment, his Freeman had conferred on him the Privilege of wearing the Gold Ring, was named Marcianus, instead of Viciellus, and had more Credit and Authority with Galba than any of his Brethren.

In the mean time Nymphidius Sabinus usurped all the Authority at Rome, not leisurely and by Degrees, but all on a sudden, looking on Galba as an infirm Man, and who by reason of his extreme Age (for he was seventy three years old) was unfit for such a Journey, and would never be able to reach Rome. Besides, the Praetorian Cohorts had of a long time been well-affected to him, and now especially they were at His Beck, and placed all their Hopes in him, looking on Him as their Benefactor, by reason of the immense Sums he had promised them, whilst they considered Galba only as their Debtor.

(1) Tacitus faith only that he advanced him to a higher Rank, meaning that he made him Consul. He was of a Praetorian Family, and passed through all the Offices without Blemish. Upon the Expiration of his Praetorship he was made Tribune of a Legion, and served honourably. He was afterwards made Governor of Gallia Narbonensis, in which Province he carried himself with great Justice, and Integrity. But at last becoming a Favourite of Galba, and one of his first Ministers, he made an ill use of his Authority, and exposed his Master to publick Scorn and Indignation. He was slain in the END, and received the last Offices from the Hands of his Daughter. Tacit. Hist. lib. 1.

Vol. VIII.
In the first Place, presuming upon his Interest, he commanded (1) Tigellinus, who was joined in Command with him, to lay down his Commission. After This he made several magnificent Feasts for the Entertainment of Those who had been Consuls, or had commanded in the Army, who were all invited in the Name of Galba. At the same time he prevailed upon Many in the Camp to address Galba that Nymphidius might be sole Commander.

Moreover what the Senate acted, out of Respect to him, styling him their Benefactor, attending daily at his Gates, and giving him the Compliment of confirming their Acts, carried him on to a greater degree of Arrogance, so that in a short time he became not only to be envied, but even dreaded by his very Adorers. Once when the Consuls had made use of the State Messengers to convey the Decrees of the Senate to the Emperor, and had sealed the Dispatches with their own Signets, upon sight of which the Magistrates in the several Towns through which they were to pass were obliged to furnish them with Post Chaises to quicken their speed, he highly resented it because His Seal was not made use of, and none of His Soldiers employed in the Service. Nay, it is farther said, that he once had it in his Head to depose the Consuls for that Affront, but upon their Apology and Submission he was appeased. To ingratiate himself with the People he suffered them to knock out the Brains of as many of Nero's Party as fell into their Hands. Among Others, they

(1) This Tigellinus was a Person of obscure Birth, who from his Infancy had wallowed in Sin and Infamy. After having by his Crimes obtained in haste those Recompences, which are the slow Rewards of Virtue, and been advanced from Captain of the Watch to be Commander in Chief of the Praetorian Cohorts, he then dipped deeper into all sorts of Wickedness, and aggravated his Debauches with Avarice and Cruelty. Tacitus gives us an Account of his ignominious Death in the first Book of his History.
fastened *Spisillus* a Gladiator under Nero’s Statues, which they dragged along the Streets, and crushed him to Pieces in the Forum. They laid a celebrated Informer named *Aponius* flat on the Ground, and drove Carts heavy laden with Stones over him. Many Others they seized, and tore in Pieces, among whom were several who were innocent. Insomuch that *Mauriscus*, who was deservedly esteemed one of the best Men in the City, declared in full Senate, that he was afraid they should soon have Cause to wish for Nero.

Thus *Nymphidius* advancing every day nearer to the Completion of his Hopes, suffered it to be reported that he was the Son of *Caius Caesar*, who succeeded Tiberius. For that Prince in his Youth had some Correspondence with the Mother of *Nymphidius*, a Woman beautiful enough, the Daughter of *Callibus*, Caesar’s Freeman, by a Sempistres who was his kept Mistress. But it is evident that Caesar’s Commerce with his Mother was posterior to the Birth of *Nymphidius*; it is more likely that he was the Son of a Gladiator named *Martianus*, with whom his Mother *Nymphidia* was taken upon the Report of his great Performances; and the perfect Resemblance there was between Him and that Gladiator is a strong Proof of that Conjecture. However he acknowledged that he was the Son of *Nymphidia*, and valuing himself as the only Author of Nero’s Death, he did not think he was sufficiently rewarded in the Honours he received, and the Wealth he enjoyed, and not content with having *Sporus* to gratify his infamous Pleasures, that Minion of Nero’s, whom he took from the Funeral Pile whilst his Master’s Corps was still a burning, (1) used him as his Wife, and

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(1) That Monster might well, that Title by Nero; but it is plain past for the Wife of *Nymphidius*, from that Quality that instead of after he had been owned under *Poppaea*, as it stands in the Text,
called him *Poppea*, but he aspired to the Empire also, and to that end carried on his Cabals in *Rome* by the help of his Friends, a parcel of intriguing Women, and some Persons of Senatorial Dignity who were won over to his Interest. He likewise sent one of his Creatures named *Gellianus* into *Spain* to be a Spy upon *Galba’s* Motions, and send Him an Account of Affairs there.

But every thing succeeded to *Galba’s* Wish after the Death of *Nero*; only *Virginius Rufus* remaining undetermined gave him some Uneasiness. He was afraid that finding himself at the Head of so powerful an Army, having acquired great Honour in the Defeat of *Vindex*, and commanding so considerable a Part of the *Roman Empire*, as *Gaul* was esteemed, which was then fluctuating, and ripe for a Revolt, he might give Ear to Those who invited him to the Empire. And no Man surely had a greater Name and Reputation than *Virginius*, no Man had acted a greater Part in those Revolutions, or contributed so much to deliver the *Romans* from Tyranny, and at the same time preserve them from a *Gallick* War. But He continuing firm to his first Resolutions, referred to the Senate the power of electing an Emperor; and even after there was a certainty in the Army of the Death of *Nero*, tho’ the Soldiers crowded about his Tent, and pressed him to assume the Title, tho’ one of the Tribunes forced his way into his Tent with his Sword drawn, requiring him to receive That, or the Empire, he still persisted in a Denial.

*it ought to be Poppea. Nymphi- dius called him Poppea, which is the Name of a Woman, as Nero had before called him Sabina. This monstrous Marriage of Nero with Sporus gave Occasion to that fine Saying of a Roman, who declared that it had been happy for Mankind if Demetrius the Father of Nero had never been married but to such a Woman.*

*But*
But as soon as Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the Legions, had taken the Oath of Fidelity to Galba, and they had received Letters from Rome containing an Account of the Resolutions of the Senate, it was with much Difficulty that he then persuaded the Army to acknowledge Galba for Emperor. And Galba having soon after sent Flaccus Hordeonius to succeed him in the Command, he received him with great Respect; and as soon as he had resigned the Army to him, he went to meet Galba, and attended on him in his Journey to Rome, without receiving from him the least Mark of Thanks on the one side, or Resentment on the Other. Galba did not shew him any Marks of Resentment for what had been done, because he had a personal Value and Esteem for him; nor on the contrary did he countenance and cares him, because he was diverted from it by his Friends, especially by Titus Vinius, who was jealous of him, and endeavoured to put a stop to his Promotion. Herein he was more his Friend than he intended, and contributed to that Happiness, which he thought he was opposing. For by keeping him out of the Way of Preferment, he preserved him from all the Hardships and Calamities, in which the other Officers of the Army were afterwards involved, and secured to him a quiet serene State of Life, which he lived to enjoy to a good, old Age.

The Ambassadors sent to Galba from the Senate met him near Narbon, a City in Gaul, where they made their Compliments to him, and beseeched him to make what haste he could to shew himself to the People, who impatiently longed for his Presence. Galba received them very graciously, discoursed them with great Openness and Familiarity, and invited them to an Entertainment; where tho’ Nymphidius had sent him many Services of Plate, both
of Gold and Silver, and other costly Furniture, which belonged to Nero, he never used any of it, but contented himself with his Own, wherein he appeared truly Great, and shewed he had a Soul above those Fopperies. But Titus Vinius soon made him believe that that Magnanimity, that Meekness, and Simplicity, was a way of courting the People beneath his Grandeur and Dignity, and persuaded him to make use of Nero's Riches, without sparing for any thing that might serve to make his Feasts appear truly royal and magnificent. Insomuch that the old Man soon made it appear that he was entirely governed by Vinius, the most covetous of all Men, and the most addicted to Women. For when he was but young, and making his first Campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, he had one Night the Impudence to bring into the Camp disguised in a Soldier's Habit his General's own Wife, a Woman of a wanton Appetite, and used her like a Leaguer Lady (1) in that Part of the Camp which the Romans call Principia. For this insidious Fact he was imprisoned by Caius Cæsar, but was fortunately delivered by his Death; And being one Night invited to Supper by the Emperor Claudius, he stole a Silver Cup; when the Emperor came to be informed of it, he sent to invite him to Supper the next day, and commanded the Officers who waited at the Table to serve Vinius in nothing but earthen Ware: By this mild Reproof the Emperor made it appear he thought the Fact deferred to be laughed at, rather than punished. But the Robberies he committed afterwards, when he governed Galba as he pleased, and made every thing truckle to his private Profit and Interest, were

(1) This Action, exceeding insolent and shameful in itself, was still aggravated in respect to the Place where it was committed, the Altars of their Gods.
the Occasion of many tragical Events, and a Pretence for More. For when Nympbidius was informed by Gellianus, upon his Return out of Spain, whither he had sent him as a Spy upon Galba, that Cornelius Laco was declared Praetorian Praefect, and that Vinius was prime Favourite at Court, and when he saw there was no opportunity for Him to get near the Emperor, and discourse with him in private, but was continually watched by the Favourite, and His Creatures, he found himself under the greatest Perplexity. Hereupon he summoned all the Officers of the Praetorian Cohorts, and told them that Galba of Himself was an honest harmless old Man, full of Moderation and Humanity, but that he did not make use of his own Reason, but suffered himself to be guided by Vinius, and Laco, who made an ill Use of the Power they had over him: His Opinion therefore was, that without giving them time to establish themselves, unknown to Them, and acquire the same Power and Authority which had been usurped by Tigellinus, they ought to send Ambassadors to the Emperor, in the Name of the whole Army, and remonstrate to him that if he only removed those Two from his Service his Presence would be much more acceptable to the Romans, than if he continued them near his Person. But when he saw the Officers did not relish the Motion, but that on the contrary they thought it strange and absurd to prescribe Rules to an Empe- ror of his Age and Experience, as if he had been a Boy just come to taste the Sovereignty, and tell him who of his Friends were to be trusted, and who to be discarded, he changed his Measures. He wrote to Galba, to terrify him, by advising him sometimes that a pestilent Spirit prevailed in the City tending to a Revolt; at Others, that Clodius Ma- cer was providing large Magazines in Africk; Now,
the Armies in Germany were mutinying; and now, the Troops in Syria and Judea were in the same Disposition. But when he found that Galba slighted this Intelligence, and gave no credit to what he had written, he resolved to be beforehand with him, and seize the Imperial Dignity to Himself, contrary to all the Remonstrances that could be made him by Clodius Celsus of Antioch, a Man of good Understanding, and his intimate Friend, who continually represented to him that there was not one Ward, or Company in Rome, who would ever be brought to give Nymphidius the Title of Caesar. Notwithstanding this, most People despised and derided Galba, among the rest Mithridates of Pontus, who making himself merry with his withered Face and bald Pate, said, At present whilst he is at some Distance the Romans entertain mighty Expectations of him, but the Moment he arrives, and they cast their Eyes upon him, they will own it a Scandal and Disgrace to the present Age that ever He was named Caesar.

At last it was resolved to convey Nymphidius by Night into the Camp, and there proclaim him Caesar; but Antonius Honoratus, first of the Tribunes, assembling in the Evening the Soldiers under his Command, condemned Himself, and condemned Them, forasmuch as in so short a time they had changed Hands so often, not upon any Diatribes of Reason, or to make a Change for the better, but because they were agitated by some evil Genius, which hurried them on from one Treason to Another; that indeed there was some colourable Pretence for what they had done against Nero, who had provoked them to it by his Cruelty and Tyranny; But now, said he, what is it prompts you to abandon and betray Galba? Can you reproach Him with the Murder of his Wife, and Mother? Did He ever disgrace the Imperial Dignity by exposing himself, and
and acting the Fool's Part on the Stage? Nay, notwithstanding all the Provocations he had given us, we thought it not fit to abandon even that Monster till we were persuaded by Nymphidius that he had abandoned Us first, and was fled into Ægypt. What therefore are we a doing? Must Galba fall a Victim to appease the Ghost of Nero? Must we remove One of Livia's Family, as we have already cut off the Son of Agrippina, on purpose to make way for the Son of Nymphidia? Shall we not rather in the first Place call Him to an Account for the Death of Nero, and in the next approve our selves the faithful Soldiers of Galba?

This Discourse of the Tribune brought All that heard him over to His Sentiments, so that they immediately went to their Companions, and exhorting them to maintain inviolable the Oath they had taken to the Emperor, a great Number joined with them. At the same time Nymphidius hearing a loud Shout, which seemed to proceed from the whole Army in general, and either imagining, as Some conceive, that he was then called upon to be proclaimed Emperor, or rather to prevent an Insurrection, and fix Those who might still be wavering, he hastened thither attended by a great Number of Lights, and holding a Speech in his Hand composed by Ciconius Varro, which he had got by Heart in order to pronounce it to the Army. But when he found the Gates of the Camp shut upon him, and observed the Walls manned with armed Soldiers, he began to be afraid; however advancing nearer, he asked them, what they were about, and by whose Direction they were thus under their Arms? They answered One and All, We acknowledge no other Person for Emperor but Galba. He pretending to be of the same Sentiment commended them for their Fidelity, and commanded Those who accompanied him to follow his Example.
They who were posted at the Gates admitting Him and some Few of his Followers into the Camp, he was immediately saluted with a Dart, which Septimius, who was marching before him, received on his Shield. But when several Others began to attack him with their drawn Swords he took to his Heels, and was followed into a Soldier’s Hut, where they massacred him. His Body was dragged through the Camp, where they made a sort of Enclosure for it, and exposed it to public View the next Morning.

Nymphidius being in this manner removed, Galba, as soon as he was informed of it, commanded all his Accomplices, who had not prevented him by killing Themselves, to be put to Death. Among These was Ciconius Varro, who had composed his Speech for him, and Mithridates of Pontus. But This Proceeding seemed to be arbitrary and illegal, and though it might be just, yet was it by no means popular, to take off Men of their Rank and Quality without a fair hearing. Every one expected another Scheme of Government, being deceived, as it is usual, by the first plausible Pretences; but That which concerned them more than all the rest was his Usage of Petronius Turpilianus, a Person of Consular Dignity, who was commanded to dispatch Himself, because he had been faithful to Nero. Indeed there was some Colour of Pretence for the Death of Macro, who was slain in Africa by Trebonianus, and for That of Fonteius Capito, who fell by the Hands of Valens in Germany, because They were in Arms, at the Head of Legions, and might for that Reason be dangerous. But a Man in Turpilianus’s Circumstances, broken with Age, naked and defenceless, He surely might have expected at least to have been heard by a Prince who resolved to observe that Moderation in his Actions, which he had promised in his Speeches. These Things reflected much upon Galba.
GALBA.

When he was come within five and twenty Furlongs of the City he was accosted by a disorderly Rabble of Seamen, who beset him in his Passage. These were Sailors whom Nero had enrolled in the Army, and formed into a Legion. And now they addressed themselves in a very tumultuous manner to Gaiba, requiring to have their Establishment confirmed, stopping up the Way to all Others, who came to wait upon the Emperor, not suffering them to approach his Person, see him or salute him, but with a licentious Noise insisted upon having Colours and Legionary Quarters assigned to them. Gaiba put them off to another time, which They taking for a Denial grew enraged and mutinous, and Some of them having the Insolence to draw their Swords, Gaiba commanded the Horse to charge them. They made no manner of Resistance, but were routed at the first Onset. Many of them being killed upon the Spot, and the Rest in their Flight. This could not but be looked upon as an ill Omen for Gaiba, who thus made his Entrance into the Capital City of the Roman Empire, through so much Blood and Slaughter. And if he was before commended for his Age and Infirmities by Some, he now appeared to All most horrid and terrible.

Besides, whilst he was endeavouring to reform the profuse Donatives and prodigious Expences that had prevailed in the Reign of Nero, he ran into the other Extrem, and fell so short of State that he came not within the Compass of Decency. When Canus an excellent Musician had entertained him once all Supper-time with his Flute, and he could not but highly commend the Excellence of the Performance, he sent for his Purse, and made him a Present (1) of a few Pieces of Gold, tell-

(1) Suetonius in his Account of this Piece of History faith that Gaiba gave him no more than five Denarii. Cano autem Ca-
ing him that he made him That Present out of his own Privy-Purse, and not out of the Money which belonged to the Publick. He caused a strict Enquiry to be made into all the Money Nero had lavishly bestowed upon Players, Wrestlers, and such sort of Cattle, (1) and resumed it, suffering them to enjoy only a Tenth. But as they were a dissolute Set of People, living from Hand to Mouth, and spending as fast as it came in, he was no great Gainer by that Act of Resumption; wherefore he extended his Inquiry even to Those who had trafficked with them, and bought or received any thing from them, and forced Them to refund. And forasmuch as This was an Affair without Bounds, and Many were affected by it, the Ignominy of All fell upon the Emperor, and the Ill-will and Resentment upon Vinius. For it was evident that He made the Emperor stingy and close-fisted to Others, that He might have an Opportunity of feathering his own Nest, and gratify his infatiate Avarice by taking with both Hands, and putting every thing up to Sale. In short, according to Hesiod's Precept, whilst the Vessel is up to the Brim, or when it is going towards the Bottom, be sure to drink your Fill, Vinius being sensible that the Emperor was old and broken, determined to make Hay whilst the Sun of his Fortune shined, which he beheld in the same Instant (2) both rising and setting. In all those Proceedings he wonderfully imposed upon the aged Emperor; for on the one hand he was a most corrupt Steward in the Management of the Re-

(1) This Action was infinitely beneath the Dignity of an Emperor, and proceeded rather from an Excess of Avarice than the Spirit of Reformation. It ought to have extended only to such exorbitant Grants as had been made to that unworthy Tribe, and had not yet been satisfied.

(2) It was rising, in that he had the immense Wealth of Galba within his Gripe; and setting, with the declining Age of that Emperor.
venue, and on the other he either condemned or defeated his best Intentions, particularly in calling Those to Account who had been employed by Nero in the Administration. The Emperor had caused several of those Miscreants to be put to Death as they deserved, among whom was Elias, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. The People were in a Rapture when they beheld them led through the Forum to the Place of Execution, calling it a most beautiful and holy Procession; but then they added, that both the Gods and Men demanded that grand Author, and Promoter of the Tyranny, Tigellinus. But that worthy Minister had been before-hand with them; he had purchased the Grace and Favour of Vinius by most extravagant Bribes, which he would have him consider as no other than Pledges of more substantial Acknowledgements. Turpilianus, who was hated only because he could neither hate nor betray so wicked a Master, without having been guilty of any notorious Iniquity, or been polluted with the Crimes of Nero, was nevertheless put to Death; whereas He, who first plunged his Prince into that Guilt, for which he deserved to dye, and afterwards forsook and betrayed him, was not only suffered to enjoy his Life, but a very considerable Fortune with it into the Bargain, by which it was evident that no Man had reason to despair whilst he had Money to give Vinius. For there was nothing the People of Rome desired with so much Passion as to behold Tigellinus led to Execution. It was what they daily insisted upon in the Theatre and Circus, which at last constrained the Emperor to check them by the Publication of an Edict, wherein he assured them that Tigellinus could not live long, being much waisted with a Consumption, and desired that they would not make his Government appear Cruel and Tyrannical.

This
This Proceeding very much displeased the People, who were only laughed at for their Pains; both by Tigellinus, who that very day made a Sacrifice to the Gods for his Recovery, which was followed by a magnificent Entertainment; and by Vinius, who when he had fussed with the Emperor went to revel it with Tigellinus, carrying with him his Daughter, who was then a Widow. As soon as Tigellinus saw him he called for a Cup, and drinking the Lady's Health he at the same time made her a Present of two hundred and fifty thousand Drachmas, and commanding the chief of his Concubines to take from her own Neck a Necklace valued at a hundred and fifty thousand more, he ordered her to present That likewise to the Widow.

From that very Moment every thing the Emperor did, though never so mild and moderate, was condemned and cenjured; such was his Lenity to the Gauls, who had been in the Conspiracy with Vindex; for the People looked upon their being made free of the City, and the Abatement of their Taxes, not to proceed from the Clemency of the Prince, but to have been purchased at a high rate of Vinius. Hence Many began to malign the Government. But the Soldiers were kept quiet a while, in Expectation of the Donative which had been promised them, supposing that if they did not receive the full, yet at least they should receive as much as had been given them by Nero; but when Galba was told that they began to murmur and complain, he replied, as a truly heroic Prince ought to do, that His Custom was to oblige, and not buy his Soldiers. This Saying made them conceive an implacable Hatred against him; for they would have it that he did not only defraud them Himself, and blast their present Expectations, but gave an
an ill Precedent to his Successors, and instructed Them to do the like.

There was a Tendency to a Revolt among the Praetorian Bands at Rome, but the Reverence they bore Galba, who was present among them, somewhat retarded their Motions, and abated of their Edge, and finding no probable Ground for Disturbance, they curbed their Discontents for the present. But the Armies, which had served formerly under Verginius, and were then commanded by Flaccus in Germany, presuming upon their late Victory over Vindex, for which they had received no Recompence, would not suffer themselves to be restrained by their Officers, nor paid any Respect to that General Himself, who was rendered infirm by the Gout, and was at the best a Person of no great Experience in military Affairs.

At one of their solemn Festivals, when it was customary for the Officers of the Army to wish all Health and Happiness to the Emperor, the common Soldiers began to Mutiny; but when the Officers repeated their good Wishes, they had the Impudence to add, as a Buffon to the Song, provided be be worthy.

The Legions under the Command of Tigillinus were all of them guilty of the like Insolence, of which Galba was fully informed by his Procuring; whereupon suspecting that he might be despised, not only for his old Age, but also for want of Issue, he determined to adopt some young Man of Quality, and declare Him his Successor.

There was at that time in Rome a young Man called Otho, a Person of no mean Extraction, but who from his Infancy had been so thoroughly addicted to Lewdness and Debauchery, that few or none of the Romans could excel him in those Articles. And as Homer often calls Paris, fair Helen's Husband, because he had nothing in Himself to recommend him, so was Otho talked of at Rome chiefly
chiefly for being the Husband of Poppæa, with whom Nero fell in love whilst she was the Wife of Crispinus, but having not then thrown off all the Respect due to his own Comfort, and being under some Fear of offending his Mother, he concealed his Passion, and engaged Otho under-hand to solicit her in his Behalf. For Otho's Debauchery had recommended him to Nero, who was so much taken with his Conversation that he received a sensible Delight in his drolling Humour, and suffered him with Pleasure to ridicule Him for his Niggardliness and Avarice.

We are told that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with an Essence of extraordinary Value, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. The next day Otho invited the Emperor to Supper, and as soon as he was entered, some gold and silver Pipes he had prepared for that Purpose dispersed an Essence of as great a Value throughout the whole Room, and that in so great abundance that it fell like a Mist upon all that were present. Having therefore first debauched Poppæa in the Name of Nero, by making her hope to have that Prince for her Galant, he at last persuaded her to part with her Husband, and took her home as his own Wife. But he was not so well pleased that he enjoyed her, as he was uneasy at his having her only by Halves, and sharing her with so powerful a Rival. It is said Poppæa was so far from being concerned at this Jealousy in Otho, that she refused even to admit Nero when Otho was absent; whether it was with a Design to keep Nero's Appetite sharp and eager, which might otherwise be blunted by too easy an Access, or for that, as Some say, she had no Inclination for Nero as a Husband, but chose rather to keep him as a Galant, which Quality was most agreeable to her wanton Appetite. Otho's Life was in great Danger upon his marrying
ing this Woman; and it was something astonishing that Nero, who had sacrificed his Wife and Sitter for the sake of Poppea, would spare Otho, who was a greater Obstacle to his Designs than both the Former. But Seneca had a Friendship for Otho, (1) and it was Seneca who importuned and prevailed with Nero to send his Friend Pro-Prætor to the Sea-Coast in Lusitania, where he behaved himself with so much Prudence and Moderation in his Government, that he was neither burdensome nor disagreeable to the Inhabitants, being sensible that this Command was conferred upon him as a more honourable Exile.

Upon Galba’s Revolt from Nero He was the First of all the Governours in the Provinces who declared for him, and taking with him all the Plate he had, whether of Gold or Silver, he presented it to him, in order to have it coined for his Service. At the same time he made him a Present of such of the Officers of his Household, as were best qualified to serve a Prince in a manner suitable to his Dignity. In every thing else he acted with great Fidelity to Galba, and soon made it appear that no one about him had more Experience, or was better qualified to serve him in the Administration. He accompanied him during the whole Journey to Rome, travelling with him sometimes in the same Chariot for many days together; in all which time he was zealous in his Courtship to Vinius, recommending himself to him by his Fidelity and Presents, but in nothing more than in yielding to him the first Degree in his Prince’s Favour, by which means He Himself got possessed

(1) This Honourable Exile, which put Nero in full Possession of his Mistress, was thought insufficient; a more severe Punishment would have discovered the Plot, which was designed to be kept secret; but notwithstanding all,

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of the Second, with this Advantage over Vinius, that he was neither envied nor hated by any man, but was free of his good Offices, without any Benefit or Reward; being affable, and easy of Access to All, who had any Business with him. But above all he was a sure Friend to the Officers in the Army, many of whom he got preferred to the highest Posts, some by the Emperor Himself, and the rest by the means of Vinius, and Galba's freed-men Icelus and Asaticus, for they were the Persons of the greatest Credit and Authority in the Court. As often as he entertained Galba at his own House he worked himself into the Favour and Good-will of the Cohort upon Guard, by presenting every Soldier with a Piece of Gold. Thus under a Pretence of doing Honour to his Prince by these Donations, he established his Interest in the Pretorian Bands, to be made use of by him upon Occasion.

Whilst Galba was deliberating upon the Choice of a Successor, Vinius proposed Otho, which he did for his own private Ends, because Otho had promised to marry his Daughter whenever he should be adopted by Galba, and declared his Successor. But Galba made it appear very visibly that He preferred the Interest of the Publick to his own private Views and Inclinations, and desired to adopt not the Person who was most agreeable to Him, but such a One as was likely to be most serviceable to the Romans. Besides it is very plain that he had no Thoughts of declaring Otho Heir to his Paternal Estate, for he knew him to be so dissolute, debauched and extravagant, and so dipp'd in Debt, that he owed no less than five Millions of Drachmas. Wherefore after having given Vinius a favourable Hearing, without returning any decisive Answer, he referred the farther Consideration of the Affair to another time, only at present he appointed Otho and Vinius Consuls for the Year ensuing.
ensuing. This made it generally believed that Otho would be declared Successor in the beginning of the Year, which was exceedingly grateful to All, especially to the Gentlemen of the Army.

But whilst Galba was deliberating upon the Choice he was to make, and put it off from day to day without coming to any final Determination, he received Intelligence that the German Forces had mutinied. It is true that all the Forces throughout the Empire had to a Man an Aversion to Galba, because they had not received the Donatives that had been promised them; but the Troops in Germany urged farther in their Justification, That Ver- ginius Rufus had been removed with Disgrace and Ignominy; that the Gauls, who had fought against them, were the only People who were rewarded; that all Those who had not declared for Vindex had been punished; and that Vindex only was the Person to whom Galba seemed to have the greatest Obligation, continuing to honour his Memory with funeral Oblations, and other publick Solemnities, as if he owed it to Vindex only that he was created Emperor.

Whilst these Discourses were held with Impunity throughout the Camp, on the first day of the Year, called by the Romans the Calends of January, Flac- cus summoned them to appear according to custom, and take the anniversary Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor; but They, having first demolished the Statues of Galba, instead of taking the Oath to the Emperor, swore to be true and faithful to the Senate and People, and then retired. Upon This their Officers, who dreaded Anarchy as a greater Evil than Rebellion, endeavoured to reclaim them, and one of them delivered himself to them in the manner following: What are We about now, Fellow-Soldiers? We are not appointing another Emperor, tho' We are resolved not to retain Him we have at present, as if our
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our Intention was not so much to rescue ourselves from Galba, as to decline all Subjection, and be under no Command. As for Hordeonius Flaccus, who is no better than a Cypher, a meer Shadow, and Image of Galba, let us use Him as such. But Vitellius, chief Commander of the lower Germany, is but one Day's March distant, whose Father was Censor, and thrice Consul, and as I may say, in a manner Co-Emperor with Claudius Cæsar. The Poverty of this Man, for which he is so unworthily reproached by Some, is however a generous Proof of his Bounty and Magnanimity. For Him, my Fellow-Soldiers, let us All declare, and make it appear to the whole World that we know how to choose an Emperor, better than either the Spaniards or Lusitanians.

Whilst this Motion was approved by Some, and rejected by Others, an Ensign slip out of the Camp, and that very Night went and carried an Account of it to Vitellius, who received it at a time when he was treating a great Number of his Officers. News of this Importance could not but spread apace, and was soon communicated to the whole Army; whereupon Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the Legions, went the next day at the Head of a strong Body of Horse, and saluted Vitellius Emperor. He had some days before refused to accept of the Empire, as of a Burden too weighty for his Shoulders, but being now over-fed, and full of Wine, which he had been guzzling from Noon 'till that time, he received the News joyfully, appeared in Publick, and accepted of the Title of Germanicus, conferred upon him by the Troops, instead of That of Cæsar, which he had rejected. At the same time the Soldiers under Flaccus, notwithstanding their Professions of Obedience to the Senate, which favoured so strong a Democracy, took the Oath of Allegiance to Vitellius, and obliged themselves faithfully to obey His Orders. In this
this Manner was Vitellius proclaimed Emperor in Germany.

When Galba came to be informed of this Revolt, he no longer delayed to name a Successor, and knowing that his Friends were divided upon the Point, that Many of them were for Dolabella, but More for Otho, neither of which he approved, all on a sudden, without communicating his Design to Any, he sent for Piso, the Son of Crassus, and Grandson of Piso who was slain by Nero, a Youth virtuously inclined by Nature, and who to that natural Disposition had joined a Modesty, and Chastity of Manners, becoming the most illustrious of the ancient Romans. This Youth he took immediately with him to the Camp, named him Cesar, and declared him his Successor. But many Signs and Prodigies accompanied him in his Passage thither. And in the Camp, just as he was beginning a Speech to the Soldiers, part of which he was to read, and the other part repeat by Heart, the frequent Claps of Thunder and Flashes of Lightning, and a dismal black Storm which covered both the Camp and the City, were plain Discoveries that the Heavens did not favour this Adoption. The Soldiers also seemed dissatisfied by their fallen Looks; seeing nothing of the wonted Distributions on such Occasions. Those who were present, and observed Piso's Countenance and Voice, admired to see him no more surprized, tho' he seemed not insensible of so great a Favour.

On the other hand, Otho appeared full of Sadness and Disturbance at his Disappointment, as being once thought worthy, and even ready to be invested in his good Fortune, and now to be put by, was a shrewd sign of the Displeasure and Ill-will of Galba towards him. This filled him with Fears and Jealousies, and grievously perplexed his Mind, whilst he dreaded Piso, hated Galba, and was full of
of Wrath and Indignation against Vinius. But the Chaldeans and Sooth-sayers about him would not permit him to lay aside his Hopes, or quit his Design, chiefly Ptolomeus; relying much upon a Prediction of His, implying that Nero should not murder Him, but He Himself should die first, and that Otho should not only survive him, but be in time advanced to the Empire. Now the Event having justified the first Part of this Prediction, he thought he ought not to distrust the rest; but none exasperated him more, than those who seemed privately to pity his hard Fate, to be so ungratefully dealt with by Galba; especially the Creatures of Nymphidius and Tigillinus, who were now cast off, and reduced to their former State. These seemed highly to resent the Indignity put upon him, and egged him on to a Spirit of Resentment.

In the Number of These were Veturius, and Barbius Proculus, of whom the First was Serjeant of a Company, and the other Tesserarius, that is one of those Inferior Officers who receive the Word from the Tribune taken down in Writing, and carry it to the Tents of the Soldiers. Onomastus, one of Otho’s Freedmen, joined himself to them, and all Three of them corrupted as many as they could, Some by Bribes, and Some by mighty Promises of future Rewards and Advantages. They found it no difficult Point to gain, so ripe were they All in general for a Revolt, waiting only for a fair Opportunity to declare themselves: For if the Army had been well-inclined, so sudden a Change could not have been so easily effected, for there was no more than the Space of four days between the Adoption, and Assassination, Piso and Galba being both murdered the Sixth day after, which happened to be on the fifteenth of January. That day in the Morning Galba offered a Sacrifice in the Palace, at which several of his Friends assisted.
Umbricius the Diviner had no sooner taken the Entrails of the Victim into his Hands, but he declared that the Tokens did not obscurely and Enigmatically, but clearly and positively denounce that Treason was a-foot, and the Emperor threatened with some imminent Danger. Thus Otho hardly escaped being delivered as it were by the Finger of God into the Hands of Galba, for he was close behind him, diligently listening to Umbricius his Lecture. He was strangely disconcerted at the Discovery, so that his Countenance changed, and he was in the utmost Confusion, when Onomaetius told him the Master-Builders were at home, and waited for him. Now that was the Signal, by which Otho was to understand that the Soldiers were ready, and every thing ripe for Execution. He retired therefore, pretending to the Emperor that he had been purchasing an old House, which he was going to survey, that a Report might be made of its Defects to Thofe of whom he had bought it; and passing by that which was called the Palace of Tiberius, he proceeded to the Forum, near (1) the Golden Column where all the several High-ways in Italy terminate. There, the first Party of the Guards to whom he presented himself, received him, and proclaimed him Emperor. They were not above three and twenty in all; and tho' he was neither so weak or effeminate as might reasonably be expected from the Delicacy of his Constitution, but on the contrary resolute and determined in all hazardous Adventures, yet he was so discouraged at the Smallness of their Number, that he desired to recede, and drop his Pretensions. This the Soldiers would not suffer, but

(1) This Column was erected by Augustus at the Entrance into the Forum, when he was Curator Via-rga, and had engraved upon it all the Highways in the several Parts of Italy, with their Distances distinguished by Miles.
with their drawn Swords (1) surrounded the Chair, and commanded the Bearers to march on, at the same time He pressed them to make all the haste they could, crying out every Moment I am a lost Man. This was overheard by Many, who seemed rather to be in Admiration, than concerned when they saw how Few they were who had engaged in so desperate an Undertaking.

As they carried him cross the Forum, much such another Party came up, and joined him. These were followed by Others, who came in, Three and Four at a time, till at last they made up a considerable Body, and then drawing their Swords, and saluting him Cesare, they conducted him to the Camp. Julius Marciatis, who happened that day to be upon Guard, and was not, as it is reported, let into the Secret, surprized at an Event so unexpected, and seized with Fear, suffered him to enter. When he was got into the Camp he met with no Resistance, for They who were Strangers to the Design being p]urposely encompassed by Those who were the Contrivers of it, and mingled by One and Two together among them, followed the rest at first out of Fear, and at last out of Choice, and by Persuasion.

This News was soon carried to Galba in the Palace, and he received it whilst Umbricius was still standing by him, and as yet holding the Entrails in his Hand; so that even They, who were the most incredulous in Matters of this Nature, and, for want of knowing better, despised the Gift of Divination, were now convinced, and acknowledged the Efficacy of it, which wonderfully appeared in so sudden an Accomplishment. Immediately upon this Report the People thronged together in the Forum,

(1) Suetonius saith he bid him castra contendit. He calls it a cell in a Woman's Sedan. Tunc a Woman's Sedan, because it was abatius propere multiebris sella in close.
and hurried up to the Palace; where Vinius, Laco,
and some of Galba's Freedmen stood with their Swords
drawn near his Person, in readiness to protect him.
Piso hastened to the Life-guard; to prompt them
to their Duty; and Marius Celsus, a Person of great
Worth and Bravery, was sent to secure the Illyrian
Cohort; which was quartered in the Vipsania Port-
tico.

Whilst Galba was hesitating whether he should
go forth and shew himself to the Troops, or remain in the Palace, Vinius was positive for remain-
ing where he was, and Celsus and Laco as pos-
tive to the contrary, bitterly inveighing against
Vinius, for opposing them. In the mean time it
was buzzed about that Otho was slain in the Camp,
and that very instant appeared Julius Atticius one of
the Guards, a Person of great Reputation, who
came postling in, and proclaimed aloud that He
was the Man who had killed great Caesar's Enemy, and
pressing through the Crowd presented himself with
his bloody Sword to the Emperor. Galba looking
carelessly upon him, demanded to know who com-
manded him to do it? to which he instantly re-
plied, My Fidelity, and the Oath I have taken to be
true to the Emperor. Whereupon all the People
cryed out it was bravely done, and clapped their
Hands in token of Approbation.

Soon after This Galba went forth in his Chair,
to offer up a Sacrifice to Jupiter, and shew him-
self to the People; but he was scarce got into the
Forum before the Tide turned; and on a sudden it
was noised every where that Otho was become
Master of the Camp, and the Army. Upon This,
as it always happens in a confused Multitude, Some
were for having Galba return, and Others insisted
that he should proceed; These encouraged him to
be bold, and to fear nothing, whilst Those cauti-
oned him to be circumspect and wary. In this
Contest, as in a Storm, his Chair was born sometimes
one
one way, and sometimes another, always in danger of being overturned; when on a sudden appeared first a Party of Horse, and then a Body of Foot issuing from the Hall of Paulus, and crying out with one Voice Away with this no-Emperor. On every side were to be seen People running, not with design to disperse, but to possess themselves of the Porticos, and other eminent Places about the Forum, as if some Shews were to be exhibited. Attilius Vergilius having given the Signal, by demolishing the Statues of Galba, they immediately fell to open Hostilities, and Darts poured like Hail upon the Chair of Galba; but when they found none of them had wounded him, they fell on him with their Swords, whilst no one stood by him, or had the Courage to offer himself in his Defence. Among so many Millions the Sun that day beheld only whose Bravery declared him a Person truly worthy of the Roman Empire. That was a Centurion named Sempronius Indifrus, who, without having received any particular Favour from Galba, but only from (1) a Principle of Honour, and in Obedience to the Law, and the Oath he had taken to him, placed himself before the Chair, and raising aloft the Vine Branch with which the Centurions correct the Soldiers when they deserve to be punished, he cried out, and commanded them who were attacking Galba to spare the Emperor; and when, instead of obeying his Orders, he found Himself assaulted by them, he drew out his Sword, and made a glorious Defence till he received a Wound in the Ham, upon which he fell flat to the Ground. When they had overturned Galba's Chair near the

(1) Here we meet with three Obligations, which require a Subject to be true to his Prince, and expose his Life in his Defence; Honour, the Law, and his Oath of Allegiance. This was the Sentiment of a Heathen, and We Christians lie under even stronger Obligations, for We are bound to it by the divine Law, which is much more cogent than all human Institutions whatever.

Curtian
G A L B A.

Curtian Lake, and beheld Him tumbling in the Mud, they fell at once upon him, and wounded him in many Places. At the same time he presented his Throat to them, and said, Strike, if it be for the Good of the Publick. He had a Cuirass on, which preserved his Body, so that the Wounds he received were in his Arms and Legs, which were run thorough in many Places. Some say Camurius, a Soldier in the fifteenth Legion, was the Person who cut his Throat; Some ascribe it to Terentius, Some to Arcadius, and Others to Fabius Fabulus. The last say farther that when Fabius had cut off his Head he was forced to wrap it up in the Skirt of his Garment, because it was so bald that he could take no hold of it; but his Associates not suffering him to conceal so brave an Action, he fixed it upon the Point of his Spear, and marched on, twirling the Head of a venerable old Man, a meek and gracious Prince, Chief Priest, and Consul, and like the Priests of Bacchus bearing the Head of Pentheus, he brandished his Spear discoloured with the Blood, which trickled from it.

When the Head was presented to Otho he cried out, This is nothing, my Fellow-Soldiers, unless you shew me That of Piso too. The Head of Piso was likewise presented to him soon after, for that Prince having received a Wound retreated towards the Temple of Vesta, whither he was pursued by Statius Marcus, who slew him near the Gate of the Temple. At the same time they massacred Vinius, who protested that He was in the Conspiracy, and cried out that if they killed Him it was contrary to Otho's Order. They cut off his Head, as they did likewise that of Laco, and presenting them to Otho, required of him to be rewarded for their Service; for, as Archilocus saith, Seven Men ly dead upon the Spot, who were overtaken and slain, and no fewer than a thousand of us claim the Honour of the Action; so Many, who had not the least Share in this
this Murder, shewed their bloody Hands and Swords to Otho, and petitioned for a Gratuity. Vitellius found out afterwards among the Archives a Hundred and twenty Petitions of this Nature, presented in one day to the new Emperor, and causing a diligent Search to be made after the Authors, he punished them with Death, as they deferved. Marius Celsus found a means of getting into the Camp, where the Cry immediately ran strong against him; for he was accused of having encouraged the Soldiers to assist Galba, and the Rabble bawled out for Justice, tho' Otho was desirous to save him, but not daring to refuse them in plain terms, he pretended it was not for his Interest to take him off so soon, because he had many things to sift out of him. He therefore commanded him to be clapt in Irons, and committed him to the Custody of Some in whom he had an entire Confidence.

Immediately after This the Senate was convened, and as if they were not now the same Men, or had other Gods to swear by, they took the same Oath to Otho, (1) which Otho Himself had not long before taken to Galba, and had just then violated; and conferred on him the Title of Cæsar and Augustus; even whilst the headless Carkasses of the Slain lay yet in their Robes of State in the Forum. As for their Heads, when they could make no other use of them, they sold That of Vinius to his Daughter for two thousand five hundred Drachmas. Piso's was begged by his Wife Verania. Galba's was given to the Servants of Patrobius and Vitellius, who, after they had used it with the utmost Disgrace and Ignominy, flung it into the Place were they throw the Bodies of Those who are slain by order of the Emperors, called Septium.

(1) This Reflection is very just. when he was Himself so notorious, How can Otho depend upon the Oaths of Others taken to Him, not long before taken to Galba?
G A L B A.

Galba's Corps was conveyed away by Priscus Helvidius, with the Allowance of Otho, and buried in the Night by his Freeman Argius. Thus have I laid before you the History of Galba, who in Point either of Wealth, or Nobility, came behind few of the Romans his Contemporaries, and in Both together surpassed them All; who had lived under the Reign of five Emperors with great Honour and Reputation, insomuch that he got the better of Nero by the Strength of That rather than by the Force of Arms. Of all Those, who conspired against that Tyrant, Some could find out no one whom they thought worthy to succeed, and Others thought Themselves only worthy. But Galba was invited, and called upon to accept of the Empire, and did no more than yield an Obedience to Those who proclaimed him. Vindex borrowing only the Name of Galba to colour his Rashness, it so happened that That which in Vindex passed for a Revolt, was considered no other than as a Civil War when such a Man as Galba, a Man fit to govern, was at the Head of it. Wherefore it could not be said of him that he seized the Empire to Himself, but resigned Himself up to the Empire, and in that View vainly hoped to reclaim and reduce those Romans, who had been corrupted by the Flatteries of Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus did the Armies in their days. And tho' he was despised for his Age, he nevertheless shewed himself an Emperor truly worthy of antient Rome in every thing relating to Armies, and military Operations. It is true that by giving Himself blindly up to Vinius, Laco, and his Freemen, who made Sale of every thing, as Nero had done before him to His insatiable Leeches, he lost himself to that Degree that tho' Many pitied his Fate, no one desired to live under his Government.
THE LIFE OF OTHELLO

This new Emperor went (1) early in the Morning to the Capitol, and sacrific'd; and having commanded Marius Celsus to be brought, he saluted him, and with obliging Language desired him, rather to forget his Confinement than remember his Release; to which Celsus answered, neither meanly nor ungratefully, that his very Crime ought to recommend his Integrity, since he had been true to Galba, from whom he had never received any personal Obligations. Upon which they were Both of them admired by all who were present, and applauded by the Soldiers.

(1) These Words, which join this Life with the Former, make it evident that they are Both written upon a Plan different from that observed by Plutarch in his Parallels. The Author here is writing a Continuation of the History of the Ceasars. This seems to justify the Conjecture that these two Lives are written by some other Hand.
In the Senate Otho made many obliging and popular harangues; and the time which still remained unexpired of his Consulship he shared with Ver- ginius Rufus, and displaced none who had been preferred to that dignity by Nero or Galba. Those who were remarkable for their age and gravity, he promoted to the priesthood; and restored the Remains of their fortune, to all those Senators who had been banished by Nero, and recalled by Galba: so that the Nobility and chief of the People, who were at first apprehensive that no human creature, but some Pelt or Devil, had seized the Empire, begun now to flatter themselves with the hopes of an auspicious Government.

Besides, nothing gratified or gained the People more than his justice in relation to Tigellinus, who was a person not only actually punished by the very apprehension of that punishment, which the whole City required as a just debt; but with several diseases too which he had contracted by conversing with lewd women: and tho' the ill consequences to which this course of life exposed him, were generally looked upon as punishment enough; yet the People thought life itself too great a benefit for him to enjoy, who had occasioned the death of so many.

Wherefore Otho order'd him to be sent for, just as he was contriving his escape by means of some vessels that lay ready on the coast near Sinope. At first he endeavoured to corrupt the messenger to favour his design; but when he found it was to no purpose, he made him a considerable present, as if he had really connived at it; only entreat- ing him to stay 'till he had shaved; so took that opportunity, and with his razor dispatched himself.

By this management Caesar endeared himself to the People, without seeming to have any regard to his
his own private Injuries. Besides, that he might be more popular, he refused not to be called Nero in the Theatre, and encouraged the exposing of that Emperor's Statues to publick view. (1) Claudius Rufus faith, he dispatched Letters Patents into Spain, with the celebrated Name of Nero affixed to That of Otho; but as soon as he perceived this gave Offence to the Nobility, it was omitted.

After he had modelled the Government in this manner, the Praetorian Bands endeavoured to make him suspect and discountenance the Nobility; which they did either out of a concern for his Safety, or to involve the Publick in confusion. (2) One time when the Emperor Himself had sent Orders to Crispinus to march the seventeenth Cohort from Ostia where it then lay in Garrison, Crispinus, that he might with more ease put the Emperor's Order in Execution, began as soon as it grew dark to pack up the Arms in the Baggage Waggon. Upon This Some of the most turbulent cry'd out that Crispinus was disaffected, that the Senate was practising something against the Emperor, and that

(1) The Writer of whom Plutarch speaks in this place, was not called Claudius Rufus, but Crispinus Rufus. M. Crispinus Rufus, who was substituted Consul in the Year of Rome six hundred seventy nine. He wrote the History of his own Times. This Passage may serve to explain That in Suetonius. In quo quidem tradidere eosam diplomaticum primisque epistolis suis ad quo plures Provinciarum Praefites Neronis Cognomen adiectit.

(2) This Passage is corrupted as it stands in the Text, where the Words are ad stives id Ostra, which have been translated to take up some People. This was not Plutarch's meaning. We ought to restore this Text by That in Tacitus, and read it id Ostra dOstra. For the Emperor had sent Orders to Varus Crispinus to March the seventeenth Legion from Ostia, which had been the ordinary Station assigned to it by the Emperor Claudius. Sueton. Claud. cap. xxv. Puteolis & Ostia singulas Cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit. And These are the Words in Tacitus, Hist. lib. 1. Septimam decimam Cohortem colonia Ostianis in urbem acciri Otho jussit, armande ejus Curia Vario Crispino Tribuno Praetorianis data, &c.
those Arms were to be employed Against him, and not For him.

When this Report began to spread, many of the Guards mutinied; some seized the Waggoners, and others slew Crispinus and two Centurions that opposed them; and encouraging one another to stand by the Emperor, they marched to Rome with Sword in hand.

As soon as they heard that Eighty of the Senators were at Supper with Otho, they flew to the Palace, and declared it was a fair Opportunity to take off Caesar's Enemies at one stroke. This alarmed the City with the expectation of an approaching Defolation. All were in Confusion about the Palace, and the Emperor Himself was in no small Conternation, being not only concerned for the Senators (some of whom had brought their Wives to Supper thither) but also afraid for Himself, perceiving their Eyes fixed on Him in Silence and Confusion. Whereupon he gave Orders to some of the superior Officers to compose the Tumult, and then privately dismissed his Guests.

They were no sooner gone, but the Soldiers rushed into the Room, and enquired what was become of the Emperor’s Enemies: Then Otho rising from his Couch, and making use both of Arguments and Entreaties, and even of Tears at last, with great Difficulty persuaded them to desist.

The next Day, he went to the Camp, and distributed a Bounty of fifteen hundred and fifty Denarii a Man amongst them; then he commended them for the regard they had to his Safety, but told them, that some of them were disaffected towards him, and had not only abused his Clemency, but had also misrepresented Their Loyal Intentions and Fidelity, and therefore he desired their Assistance in doing Justice upon them: To which they all consented, and his Resentment was

Vox VIII. U satisfied
The Life of

satisfied with the Execution of Two only, who were un lamented by the whole Army. Some who were inclined to think favourably of him, and to put a Confidence in his Actions, rejoiced at so unexpected a change; Others looked upon his Behaviour as a Stratagem to gain the Inclinations of the People towards the Support of the War. For now it was believed that Vitellius had assumed the Sovereign Authority, and frequent Expresses brought an Account of Parties going over to him; but that the Pannonian, Dalmatian, and Myrian Legions, with their Officers, adhered to Otho.

About this juncture, Letters were sent from Mucianus and Vespasian, both of them Generals of two formidable Armies, the One in Syria, the Other in Judea, to assure him of their Firmness to his Interest: In confidence whereof he was so exalted, that he advised Vitellius by Letter, not to attempt any thing beyond his Post; and offered him a Sum of Mony and a City, where he might end his Days in Eafe and Security.

These Overtures at first were returned with equivocating Civilities, which ended after in ridiculous Reproaches; upbraiding each other with the Follies of which they were Both too guilty. For it was hard to determine which of them had been most profuse, most effeminate, which of them was most raw in Military Affairs, and most involved in Poverty and Debt.

As to the Prodigies and Apparitions that happened about this time, there are many differing and doubtful Accounts, tho' it be agreed that the Statue of Victory Triumphant in the Capitol let the Reins of her Chariot fall out of her Hands, as if she were grown too weak to hold them any longer. That Julius Caesar's Statue, in the Island of Tyber, about the time that Vespasian publickly assumed the Government, turn'd from West to East, tho'
there was no Earthquake nor any Concusser in the Air to occasion it. But That Omen which the People were most apprehensive of, was an Inundation of the Tyber, which, tho' it happened at the time when Rivers usually overflow, yet it then so far swelled above its Banks, and made such a waste (great part of the City being under Water, and especially the Corn-Market) that it occasioned a Dearth for several Days.

As soon as it was known that Cecina and Valens, two Captains belonging to Vitellius, had possessed themselves of the Alps, Dolabella a Patrician, who was suspected by the Guards of some ill Design (the Emperor also having a Jealousie of Him and some Others) was sent to Aquinum, with Assurances of Otho's friendly Intentions. Caesar then chose some of the Magistrates to go with him to the War, and amongst the rest, Lucius, the Brother of Vitellius, without distinguishing him by any new Marks either of his Favour or Displeasure. He also shewed a tender Regard to the Mother and Wife of Vitellius, thereby to take off all colour of Jealousie and Suspicion. He made Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's Brother, Governor of Rome, either in honour to the Memory of Nero, who had advanced him formerly to that Command, which Galba had taken away; or else to shew his Confidence in Vespasian, by his Favour to his Brother.

After he came to Brixillum, an Italian Town near the River Eridanus, he halted Himself, but ordered the Army to march under the Conduct of Marius Celsus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus and Spurina, all Men of Experience and Reputation, but unable to enforce their Orders by reason of the ungovernable Obstinacy of the Army, which was resolved to be commanded by none but the Emperor Himself. Nor was the Enemy under better Discipline, being stubborn and disobedient upon the same
fame account, tho' they were more experienced and patient of Labour: For Otho's Men were totally dissolved in Sloath, minding nothing but Shows and Stage-plays, and so insolently arrogant, that they would often refuse to obey Orders; not because they were unable to do the thing commanded, but because they thought themselves above it; so that Spurina had like to have been cut in pieces for attempting to force them to their Duty; for they went so far as to treat him with insolent Language, accusing him of a Design to betray Caesar's Interest; nay, some of them who were in drink forced his Tent, and demanded a Pass, telling him they must go to the Emperor to complain of him.

However the contemptuous Treatment the Garrison met with at Placentia, did no Dis-service to Spurina, nor the present posture of Affairs; for Vitellius's Men marched up to the Walls, and upbraided Otho's upon the Ramparts, calling them Players, Dancers, idle Spectators of Pythian and Olympick Games; but Novices, and unpractised in the Art of War; mean Souls, that triumphed in the Beheading of Galba, a naked old Man, but were not very forward to look their Enemies bravely in the Face. Which Reproaches so inflamed them, that they fell at Spurina's Feet, entreated him to head them, and assured him no Enterprize should be too difficult for them. Whereupon when Vitellius's Forces gave a vigorous Attack to the Town, the Besieged bravely repulsed them, and by a mighty Slaughter kept Possession of one of the most flourishing Cities in Italy.

Besides, it was observed, that Otho's Officers were much more inoffensive, both towards the Publick and every private Man, than Those of Vitellius; among whom was Cicina, a Man not only disagreeable in Speech and Address, but monstrous and
and singular, of a Gigantick Stature, and always dressed in Tunick and Breeches, after the manner of the Gauls, even whilst he conversed with the Romans. His Wife too with a magnificent Equipage of Attendants on Horseback, moved with the Army. On the other hand, Fabius Valens, the other General, was so covetous, that neither the Spoil of his Enemies, nor the Contributions of his Friends could satisfy him. That he might have time to raise Money, he marched so slowly, that he could not be present at the first Engagement. It is true Cecina is blamed by Some for falling on before Fabius could join him, that he might have no Partner in the Glory of the Victory: This Action of Cecina had in it a great many Faults of lesser Consequence; but his unseasonable engaging had almost quite broken the Measures of his own Party. When he found himself beat off at Placentia, he Besieged Cremona, a large and rich City. In the mean time Annius Gallus marched to join Spurina at Placentia; but having Intelligence that the Siege was raised, and that Cremona was invested, he hastened to its Relief, and encamped just by the Enemy, where he was daily reinforced. Now Cecina had posted a strong Party of Foot in the Defiles, commanding the Horse to advance, and if the Enemy should charge them, then to make a slow Retreat, and so draw them into an Ambush; but his Stratagem was discovered to Celsus by some Deserters, who fell upon them with the Horse, but advanced so cautiously, that he circumvented and scattered the Ambuscade; and if the Legions he had detached from the Camp had come up soon enough to sustain the Horse, Cecina's whole Army, in all appearance, had been totally routed; (i) but Paulinus

(i) Tacitus tells us that this unresolved, that he chose rather Paulinus was naturally slow, and to owe his Safety to his Conduct, than
The L I F E of

Paulinus moving too slowly, was accused of more caution than was necessary, or indeed consistent with the common Rules of War. So that the Soldiers incensed Otho against him, accused him of Treachery, pretended the Victory was in their Power, and that if it was not compleat, it was owing to the Mismanagement of their General. Now Otho did not so much believe these Accusations, as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore sent his Brother Titianus, with Proculus, the Captain of his Guards, to the Army, where the latter was General in reality, and the former but in appearance. Celcus and Paulinus had the Title of Friends and Counsellors, but not the least Authority in things of any Moment. At the same time there were nothing but Heats amongst the Enemy, especially where Valens Commanded; for They being informed of what happened at the Ambuscade, were enraged because they were not permitted to be present to save the Lives of several brave Men who dyed in that Action. Valens being apprehensive of his Life, found it so difficult to lay the present Storm, that he was forced to quit the

than the Victory to Hazard, and charges him with two material Oversights on this Occasion; the First was, instead of founding the Charge, and supporting his Cavalry by falling briskly upon Caucina, he spent his time in filling up the Trenches, and levelling the Ground, that he might enlarge his Battalions, thinking it too early to begin to conquer till he had provided against being conquered. This gave the Enemy time to retire into some Vineyards, from whence they renewed the Charge, and killed the Foremost of the Praetorian Bands, among whom was King Epiphanes, who received a mortal Wound as he was fighting with great Courage and Bravery. The Second was, his not making a right use of the Disorder the Enemy were in, and causing a Retreat to be founded very unreasonably. It is incumbent on a General to act with Prudence, and to trust as little to Hazard as possible; but even Prudence itself requires him to lay immediate

Hold on every Opportunity offered by Fortune, a Diety too slippery to allow much Room for Deliberation.

Camp.
Camp, and join Cocina. About this time Otho came to Bebriacum near Cremona, and called a Council of War, where Procclus and Titianus declared for giving Battel, both because the Soldiers were flush’d with their late Success, and left, by attempting nothing, they should grow enervated, and also because Vitellius was suddenly expected out of Gaul. But Paulinus was of Opinion that the Enemy’s whole Force was present, and that there was no Body of Reserve behind; but that Otho, if he would not be too precipitate, might expect a Reinforcement out of Myzia and Pannonia, not inferior to those Troops that were then present. He thought it probable too, that the Soldiers who were then in Heart before they were joined, would be more so, when the Forces were all come up. Besides, the deferring Battel could not be inconvenient to Them who were sufficiently provided with all Necessaries: But the Others being in an Enemy’s Country, must needs be exceedingly straitened in a little time.

Marius Celsus was of Paulinus’s Opinion: Annianus Gallus being absent, and under the Surgeon’s Hands through a Fall from his Horse, was consulted by Letter, and advised Otho to stay for those Legions that were marching from Myzia; but after all, the Opinion of Those, who declared for a Battel, prevailed.

There are several Reasons given for this Determination, but the most apparent is This; that the Emperor’s Guards not relishing the strict Military Discipline they were then under, and longing for the Diversions and Shews of Rome, would not be Commanded, but were eager for a Battel, imagining that upon the first Onset they should carry all before them. But Otho Himself seemed doubtful and irresolute, being bred up effeminately, and not used even to the thoughts of Danger; and therefore
fore he was so uneasie at the apprehension of it, that he shut his Eyes, and, like one going to leap from a Precipice, left every thing to Fortune.

This is the Account Secundus the Orator, his Secretary, gives of the Matter; but Others say it was proposed that the Armies on both sides should meet, and if there was any probability of their being Unanimous, they should proceed to chuse one of the most experienced Officers that was present; if not, they should convene a Senate, and invest Them solely with the Power of Election. And it is not improbable that neither of these reputed Emperors had Interest enough (1) among the more thinking and intelligent part of the Soldiers to prevent such a Design.

For what could be more odious and unreasonable, than that a civilized People should fall out and destroy one another, as in the time of Sylla and Marius, and Caesar and Pompey, and sacrifice the Empire for no other reason than to satisfy the Gluttony and Intemperance of Vitellius, or the Looseness and Effeminacy of Otbo? It is thought that Caesar, upon such Reflection, protracted the time in order to an Accommodation; and that Otbo pushed on things to an extremity to prevent

(1) They could not indeed have Interest enough to prevent it among Men of Uprightness and Integrity, who defied nothing more ardently than to make a Change of War for Peace, and to part with two bad Emperors for the sake of One good one. But, as Tacitus well observed, Paulinus was too wise a Man to imagine that the Soldiers, who had voluntarily kindled up a Civil War, would be for extinguishing a Fire of their own raising, for the sake of Peace, in a Age of so much Depravity and Corruption; nor that two Armies so different in Manners, Language, and Interest should ever come to agree upon a Point of such Importance. Besides, the Leaders in Both being deeply involved in Debt, and answerable for Crimes without Number, would take Care to make choice of such an Emperor as was most like Themselves, and who should be obliged to Them for his Election.
it. (1) He indeed returned to Brixillum, but very indifferently, both because he withdrew himself from Those who were cordially his Friends, and because he weakened the Army, by detaching some of his best Troops for his Horse and Foot Guards.

About this Juncture there happened a Skirmish on the Po. As Cecina was laying a Bridge over it, the Emperor's Forces fell upon him, and where they could not advance, they threw some certain Composition of Wild-fire into his Boats, which, by the help of the Wind, much annoyed his Men; for the Smoke rising, and the Flame breaking out upon it, they leaped into the River, overfet their Boats, and were shamefully at the Mercy of their Enemies.

In the mean time the Germans charged Otho's Gladiators upon a small Island in the River, and routed them. Whereupon the Emperor's Forces, in Quarters at Bebriacum, marched under Proculus, to a Place fifty Furlongs off, where a Camp was marked out; but so unadvisedly, that the Soldiers suffered extremely for want of Water, though it was in the Spring time, and in a Country full of running Streams. The next Day there was a Design of moving about a hundred Furlongs nearer the Enemy, but This was contradicted by Paulinus, who thought it more advisable to keep their Post, than upon a Fatigue to engage Those who had leisure to draw up in Order, whilst They Themselves were encumber'd with their Train and Baggage.

(1) When a Fight was resolv-ed upon, it was debated in Coun-cil if the Emperor should be pre-sent in the Action, or retire. Paulinus and Marius Celius dared not oppose his Departure, for fear it should be thought they had a mind to expose his Person. Whereupon he retired to Brixil-lum, which was the Cause of his Ruin, as Plutarch observes in this Place.
As the Generals were arguing about this Matter, a Numidian Courier came from Otho, (1) with Orders immediately to give Battel; and accordingly they all consented and moved. As soon as Cecina had notice, he was surprized, and quitted his Post on the River to hasten to the Camp. In the mean time Valens ordered his Men to their Arms, and gave the Signal to Engage, posting his best Horse in the Front 'till they were all drawn up. At first Otho's foremost Troops were of Opinion, upon a groundless Rumour, that the Officers on the other side would come over; and accordingly upon their first approach, they saluted them by the familiar Title of Fellow-Soldiers; but the Others returned the Compliments with Anger and disdainful Words, which not only disheartened them, but also gave occasion to the rest to suspect their Fidelity.

This caused a Confusion at the very first Onset; immediately all manner of Order was at an end, and the lumber of the Baggage, as well as the Nature of the Ground, did very much contribute towards it; the Ditches and Inequalities were so many, that they were forced to break their Ranks, and Fight without Order, and in small Parties. There were but two Legions, one of Vitellius's, called The Ravenous, and another of Otho's, called The Assistant, that kept the Plain, and fought it out. The Latter were finey and vigorous, but raw in the Trade of War; the Former were experienced, but battered and declining. Where-

(1) Such Orders as These, sent by Princes who are at a distance, requiring their Generals peremptorily to engage without loss of time, are commonly most fatal. Of This we have Examples innumerable; and the Reason is very obvious. No Man can see where he is not; it is impossible for Him to make a right Choice of the Ground, the Opportunity, and friendly Moment for engaging. This is as much as can be expected from the most able Commanders who are upon the Spot.
fore Otho's Legion charged briskly, broke the first Rank, with great Slaughter, and took an Eagle; whilst the Other, full of Rage and Shame, returned the Charge, flew Orpudius, an old and experienced Officer, and took several Standards. Varus Alphenus, with his Belgians, who are the Natives of the Isle of the Rhine, and are esteemed the best of the German Horse, fell upon the Gladiators, who had a great Reputation for their Valour and manner of Fighting hand to hand. Some of the latter did their Duty, but the greatest part of them made towards the River, and falling in with the Cohorts, were cut off. But none of them behaved themselves so ill as the Praetorian Bands; who, without ever Facing the Enemy, ran away, broke through their own Body that stood, and put them into Disorder. Notwithstanding This, many of them bore down all that stood before them, and forced their way to the Camp through the very middle of their Conquerors.

But neither Procilius nor Paulinus durst take the same way, out of an apprehension of the Soldiers, who had already charged the Miscarriage upon their Commanders. Anius Gallus received into the City and rallied the scattered Parties, and encouraged them with an assurance that the Defeat was not total, but that on the contrary, the Victory was, in some measure, on their side. Marius Celsus called a Council of War, and proposed, That Regard should be had to the Publick Safety; pretending that if Otho had the least Humanity, he would not, after such an Expence of Roman Blood, attempt any thing further; and especially since Cato and Scipio (though the Liberty of Rome was at Stake) were accused of being too prodigal of so many brave Mens Lives as were lost in Africa, rather than submit to Cæsar, after the Battel of Pharsalia had gone against them. For though all Persons are equally subject to
the Caprice of Fortune; yet all good Men have one Advantage she cannot deny, which is This, To act reasonably under Misfortunes.

These Proposals were accepted of amongst the Officers, who founded the private Soldiers, and found them desirous of a Cessation; therefore Titianus urged that Commissioners should be named in order to a Treaty; and accordingly it was agreed that the Conference should be managed by Celsus and Gallus on one part, and Valens with Cecina on the Other. As the two first were upon their Expedition, they met some Centurions, who told them the Army of the Enemy was marching for Bebriacum, and that They Themselves were deputed by their Generals to carry Proposals for an Accommodation. Celsus approved of the matter, and prevailed upon them to return with him to Cecina. Upon his Approach he was in some danger from the Out-Guards, who were some of the Horse that had suffered at the Ambush: For as soon as they saw him they hollowed, and were coming down upon him; but the Centurions interposed, and some of the Officers commanded them to desist. In the mean time Cecina came up to inform himself of the Tumult, which he dispersed; and after a Compliment to Celsus, went with him to Bebriacum.

Titianus grew dissatisfied he had proposed a Mediation, and therefore posted his best Men upon the Walls, requiring their Fellow-Soldiers to stand by them; but when Cecina appeared, and offered his Hand, there was a total Suspension of Arms; his Men were saluted from the Wall, the Gates opened, both Parties united, and instead of Acts of Hostility, there was nothing but mutual Congratulations, every one taking the Oaths, and submitting to Vitellius.

This
OTHO.

This is the Account which Many that were present at the Battel give of it, yet own, the Disorder they were in would not give them leave to be clear in every Particular.

As I went afterward over the Field of Battel, Mestrius Florus, a Person of Consular Dignity, shewed me an old Man (1) who in his Youth had, with many Others of the same Age with Himself, been forced to bear Arms under Otbo: He likewise told me, that as he went that way after the Battel, he observed a vast heap of Bodies piled up after an odd and unusual manner; but could not guess at the meaning of it Himself, nor hear any Other give a tolerable Account of it. Indeed in Civil Wars it generally happens, that fewer are taken Prisoners than are killed in Fight; for such Captives are of no Advantage to the Conquerors: But why the Carcasses should be heaped up after that manner is not easy to determine.

At first Otbo (as it frequently happens) met with uncertain Accounts of the Issue of the Battel. But when some of the wounded Soldiers, who

(1) One may without any great Absurdity conclude from this Passage that the Life of Otbo was not written by Plutarch, but by one of his Sons. For at the only time when Plutarch could have passed over the Field of Battel, the young Man, who was in that Action, could not be very old. That Battel was fought An. Dom. LXIX. Now it is certain that Plutarch retired into his own Country towards the End of Domitian's Reign, when he was about forty four or forty five Years of Age, An. Dom. XCIII. or XCIV. The Soldier mentioned here, who was very young when he was in that Action, could not

be an old Man twenty four or twenty five Years after, when Plutarch returned to Charones, and this cannot be understood of some other Voyage he made afterwards into Italy, because it is well known that after his first Retreat he never removed, but ended his Days in his native City. This must therefore relate to a Voyage made some Years after by one of his Sons, and not by Plutarch. From whence it follows that these two Lives were not written by Him, who was the Author of the Parallels. If to This we add the Difference we find in the Style, we must allow that there are just Grounds for this Conjecture.
The Life of

returned from the Field, informed him rightly of it; it is not to be imagined what Pains his Friends took to support him under his Concern. But the Fidelity of some of the Soldiers exceeds all belief; they would neither go over to the Conqueror to make Terms for themselves, nor quit the Conquered in his extremity of ill Fortune; but, on the contrary, crowded his Gates, and gave him the Title of Emperor. As soon as he appeared, their Acclamations were such as if he had triumphed. They kissed his Hand, (1) fell at his Feet, and with all the moving Language of Tears and Persuasion, entreated him to stand by them, and to accept of that Duty and Fidelity which could never expire but with their last Breath; so urgent was their zealous Importunity: But above all, the affectionate Resolution of an obscure and private Soldier is most memorable, who, after he had drawn his Sword, address himself thus to Otho: By This, Cæsar, judge our Fidelity; for there's not a Man among us but would strike thus to serve Thee; and so stabbed himself. Notwithstanding This, Otho stood serene and unshaken, and with Looks full of Constancy and Composure, spoke thus:

This Day, my Fellow-Soldiers, which gives me such Proofs of your Affection, is preferable even to That on which you saluted me Emperor; deny me not therefore the Satisfaction of laying down my Life for the Preservation of so many brave Men; in This at least let me be worthy of the Empire, that is, to dye for it. I am of Opinion the Enemy has neither gained

(1) The Expression in the Text is very singular, and remarkable, of which I believe we can meet with no Example, εγέροντα τροπαία. Word for Word they became Trophies, meaning that they fell at his Feet, as we see Figures expressed in an humble supplicating Posture placed at the Feet of Trophies. It is the Expression of a juvenile Writer. Plutarch would not have ventured upon so bold a Figure.

an
an entire nor a decisive Victory; I have Advice that the Mysian Army is not far off; that the African, Syrian, and the Egyptian Forces are near the Adriatic; that the Legions in Judæa declare for us; the Senate is also in our Power, as well as the Wives and Children of our Enemies: But alas! it is not with Hannibal, with Pyrrhus, with the Cimbri we fight, but it is Eagle against Eagle, and Rome against Rome; and Italy bleeds both through the Victors and the Vanquished, whilst even He that Triumphs ought to Mourn: Believe me therefore, (1) I think it not so glorious to Reign, as to dye for my Country: nor can I see how Rome can gain so much by my Victory, as by my Death, since it is that must seal our Peace, and secure Italy from such another unhappy Day.

As soon as he had done, he resolved against all manner of Persuasion, and taking leave of his Friends and the Senators that were present, he writ to Those who were absent, and sent them Passports, ordering that they should not be stopped at any Place in their Journey: Then he sent for young Coccoius, his Brother's Son, and bid him be in no apprehension of Vitellius, whose Family he had hitherto treated with the same Tenderness as his Own; and also told him that his Adoption

(1) Indeed nothing can be more glorious in a Man than to sacrifice his Life for the Good of his Country. But I question whether every Body will judge so favourably of this Action in Otho. I am certain that Many will be surpriz'd to find a Prince, who had so prominent an After-game, an Army on the March out of Mysia, the Forces of Asia, Egypt, and Syria, together with the Troops that were than carrying on the War in Judæa, and, what is still more considerable, who had the Affections of so many thousands, determined to live and dye by him, should chuse rather to kill himself than make another Puss, and once more try his Fortune. One would, think his private Interest, the Publick Interest of Rome, and his own Glory, should have warned him not to act so weak a Part, and give himself up to Despair. But This Question I leave to be discussed by better Judges.

was
was deferred in regard to his Safety, since Caesar could have been glad his Nephew had shared with him the good Fortune of a Conqueror, but not in the Infamy and Disgrace of one that was Vanquished: Then said he, Take notice, my Son, of these my last Words, That you neither too negligently forget, nor too zealously remember, that Caesar was your Uncle. By and by he heard a Tumult amongst the Soldiers at the Door, who were treating the Senators with Menaces, for offering to withdraw themselves from the Emperor's Presence; upon which, out of regard to their Safety, he appeared again, but not with a gentle Aspect, and in a persuading manner as before; but with a Countenance that discovered Indignation and Authority, he commanded such as were disorderly to leave the Place.

After he had quenched his Thirst in the Evening with a little Water, he took two Daggers, and when he had sufficiently examined their Points, he laid one of them down and hid the other in his Sleeve; then called his Servants, and graciously distributed some Money amongst them, but not inconsiderately, nor like one too lavish of what was not his Own; for to Some he gave more, to Others less, most judiciously distinguishing every one's particular Merit. When This was done he dismissed them, and passed the rest of the Night in so profound a Sleep, that the Officers of his Bed-chamber heard him snore. In the Morning he called for one he had infranchised, whom he had appointed to attend the Senators, and bid him bring him an account if they were safe; being informed they were all well, and wanted nothing, Go then, said he, and shew your self to the Soldiers, lest they should cut you to pieces for being accessory to my Death. As soon as he was gone, Otho directed his Dagger with both his Hands to his Breast, kil-
led himself (1) at one Stroke, and with one Groan expired.

Those who waited without heard him groan, and lamented him in so passionate a manner, that neither Soldiers nor Citizens could forbear weeping; the mournful Cries of the Former were immediately heard at the Gates, accusing themselves with the deepest Concern that they had been so negligent in looking after that Life which was laid

ferre non posse. Qui se morsu ultero offerant exitius referuntur, quam qui dolorem passim fervent. And That of Demosthenes, Fortissim vivorum est magis mortem consenisse, quam odisse vitam. Sapio laboris ad ultiamem sum compellantur ignes, and then he adds, These have all drunk out of Aristotle’s Cup, who has this maxim in his Morals τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ζωὴ πλακατάκει, καὶ σφοτά, καὶ τὶ λυπεῖ συνάπτον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τέλει. The Man that kills himself because he is oppressed with Poverty, disappointed in Love, or to get rid of some other grievous Calamity, is not a Man of Bravery, but a Coward. If These have all drunk out of Aristotle’s Cup, we may say that Aristotle filled that Cup out of the Fountain of Truth. But. This is not all. Lysias concludes his Remark with these two Words Ημέναι! ταῦτα, which declare an obdurate Adherence to this Maxim of the Stoicks, notwithstanding what Religion teacheth to the contrary; it is the forced Silence of a Man who unwillingly holds his Tongue, and thinks himself capable to dispute with the Almighty. How fatal is such Learning! how pedilient his Dogmē!
The Life of

down to preserve Theirs. Nor would a Man of
them quit the Body to secure themselves against
the approaching Enemy; but having raised the
Funeral Pile, and magnificently attired the Impe-
rial Relicks, they bore them thither with the sat-
sfactory Pride of doing their last Duty. Some
of them knelted and kissed his Wound, Others
grasped his Hand, and Many who were at distance
paid him Divine Honours. Several, after the Pile
was lighted, sacrificed their Lives, tho' neither (as
it is believed) in return of personal Obligations
from Him, nor out of Apprehension of ill Usage
from Vitellius; for certainly no Tyrant did ever so
vociferously contend to command Others, as These
coveted to obey Otho. Nor was their Love greater
to the Memory of the Dead Emperor, than their
Hate to the Living one, as will be shown in its
proper place.

They built him a Tomb, which was not to be
envied either for the Stateliness of its Structure,
or the Pomp of its Inscription. I myself have
seen it at Brixillum; it seemed very plain, and the
Epitaph was only this:

To the Memory of Marcus Otho.

He died in his thirty seventh Year, after a short
Reign of about three Months; his Death being so
much applauded as his Life was censtrued; for He
who in some things lived like Nero, has left this
Character behind him. None ever died like Otho.
The Soldiers could never forgive Pollio, an Officer
of the Guards, for advising them to swear Allegi-
ance immediately to Vitellius; but when they un-
derstood that some of the Senators were upon the
spur, they only addressed Verginius Rufus with an
Offer of the Government; and moving in one
Body to his House in Arms, they first intreated
him,
him, and then urged him to accept of the Empire, or at least to be their Mediator. But He that refused to Command them when Conquerors, thought it ridiculous to pretend to it now they were defeated; besides, he was unwilling to treat with the Germans, with whom he had no good Correspondence, and therefore slipped away through a private Door. As soon as the Soldiers perceived this, they owned Vitellius, so got their Pardon, and served under Cecina.
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