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# ANTONY

by Plutarch

translated by John Dryden

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THE grandfather of Antony was the famous pleader, whom Marius put to

death for having taken part with Sylla. His father was Antony,

surnamed of Crete, not very famous or distinguished in public life,

but a worthy good man, and particularly remarkable for his liberality,

as may appear from a single example. He was not very rich, and was for

that reason checked in the exercise of his good nature by his wife.

A friend that stood in need of money came to borrow of him. Money he

had none, but he bade a servant bring him water in a silver basin,

with which, when it was brought, he wetted his face, as if he meant to

shave, and, sending away the servant upon another errand, gave his,

friend the basin, desiring him to turn it to his purpose. And when

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there was, afterwards, a great inquiry for it in the house, and his wife was in a very ill-humour, and was going to put the servants one by one to the search, he acknowledged what he had done, and begged her pardon.

His wife was Julia, of the family of the Caesars, who, for her discretion and fair was not inferior to any of her time. Under her, Antony received his education, she being, after the death of his father, remarried to Cornelius Lentulus, who was put to death by Cicero for having been of Catiline's conspiracy. This, probably, was the first ground and occasion of that mortal grudge that Antony bore Cicero. He says, even, that the body of Lentulus was denied burial,

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till, by application made to Cicero's wife, it was granted to Julia.

But this seems to be a manifest error, for none of those that suffered

in the consulate of Cicero had the right of burial denied them. Antony

grew up a very beautiful youth, but by the worst of misfortunes, he

fell into the acquaintance and friendship of Curio, a man abandoned to

his pleasures, who, to make Antony's dependence upon him a matter of

greater necessity, plunged him into a life of drinking and

dissipation, and led him through a course of such extravagance that he

ran, at that early age, into debt to the amount of two hundred and

fifty talents. For this sum Curio became his surety; on hearing which,

the elder Curio, his father, drove Antony out of his house. After

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this, for some short time he took part with Clodius, the most insolent and outrageous demagogue of the time, in his course of violence and disorder; but getting weary before long, of his madness, and apprehensive of the powerful party forming against him, he left Italy and travelled into Greece, where he spent his time in military exercises and in the study of eloquence. He took most to what was called the Asiatic taste in speaking, which was then at its height, and was, in many ways, suitable to his ostentatious, vaunting temper, full of empty flourishes and unsteady efforts for glory.

After some stay in Greece, he was invited by Gabinius, who had been consul, to make a campaign with him in Syria, which at first he

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refused, not being willing to serve in a private character, but

receiving a commission to command the horse, he went along with him.

His first-service was against Aristobulus, who had prevailed with

the Jews to rebel. Here he was himself the first man to scale the

largest of the works, and beat Aristobulus out of all of them; after

which he routed in a pitched battle, an army many times over the

number of his, killed almost all of them and took Aristobulus and

his son prisoners. This war ended, Gabinius was solicited by Ptolemy

to restore him to his kingdom of Egypt, and a promise made of ten

thousand talents reward. Most of the officers were against this

enterprise, and Gabinius himself did not much like it, though sorely

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tempted by the ten thousand talents. But Antony, desirous of brave

actions and willing to please Ptolemy, joined in persuading Gabinius

to go. And whereas all were of opinion that the most dangerous thing

before them was the march to Pelusium, in which they would have to

pass over a deep sand, where no fresh water was to be hoped for, along

the Acregma and the Serbonian marsh (which the Egyptians call

Typhon's

breathing-hole, and which is, in probability, water left behind by, or

making its way through from, the Red Sea, which is here divided from

the Mediterranean by a narrow isthmus), Antony, being ordered

thither with the horse, not only made himself master of the passes,

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but won Pelusium itself, a great city, took the garrison prisoners,  
  
and by this means rendered the march secure to the army, and the way  
  
to victory not difficult for the general to pursue. The enemy also  
  
reaped some benefit of his eagerness for honour. For when Ptolemy,  
  
after he had entered Pelusium, in his rage and spite against the  
  
Egyptians, designed to put them to the sword, Antony withstood him,  
  
and hindered the execution. In all the great and frequent skirmishes  
  
and battles he gave continual proofs of his personal valour and  
  
military conduct; and once in particular, by wheeling about and  
  
attacking the rear of the enemy, he gave the victory to the assailants  
  
in the front, and received for this service signal marks of



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distinction. Nor was his humanity towards the deceased Archelaus

less taken notice of. He had been formerly his guest and acquaintance,

and, as he was now compelled, he fought him bravely while alive, but

on his death, sought out his body and buried it with royal honours.

The consequence was that he left behind him a great name among the

Alexandrians, and all who were serving in the Roman army looked upon

him as a most gallant soldier.

He had also a very good and noble appearance; his beard was well

grown, his forehead large, and his nose aquiline, giving him

altogether a bold, masculine look that reminded people of the faces of

Hercules in paintings and sculptures. It was, moreover, an ancient

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tradition, that the Antonys were descended from Hercules, by a son  
of his called Anton; and this opinion he thought to give credit to  
by the similarity of his person just mentioned, and also by the  
fashion of his dress. For, whenever he had to appear before large  
numbers, he wore his tunic girt low about the hips, a broadsword on  
his side, and over all a large coarse mantle. What might seem to  
some very insupportable, his vaunting, his raillery, his drinking in  
public, sitting down by the men as they were taking their food, and  
eating, as he stood, off the common soldiers' tables, made him the  
delight and pleasure of the army. In love affairs, also, he was very  
agreeable: he gained many friends by the assistance he gave them in

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theirs, and took other people's raillery upon his own with  
  
good-humour. And his generous ways, his open and lavish hand in  
  
gifts and favours to his friends and fellow-soldiers, did a great deal  
  
for him in his first advance to power, and after he had become  
  
great, long maintained his fortunes, when a thousand follies were  
  
hastening their overthrow. One instance of his liberality I must  
  
relate. He had ordered payment to one of his friends of twenty-five  
  
myriads of money or decies, as the Romans call it, and his steward  
  
wondering at the extravagance of the sum, laid all the silver in a  
  
heap, as he should pass by. Antony, seeing the heap, asked what it  
  
meant; his steward replied, "The money you have ordered to be given to

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your friend." So, perceiving the man's malice, said he, "I thought the

decies had been much more; 'tis too little; let it be doubled."

This, however, was at a later time.

When the Roman state finally broke up into two hostile factions, the aristocratical party joining Pompey, who was in the city, and the popular side seeking help from Caesar, who was at the head of an army in Gaul, Curio, the friend of Antony, having changed his party and devoted himself to Caesar, brought over Antony also to his service. And the influence which he gained with the people by his eloquence and by the money which was supplied by Caesar, enabled him to make Antony, first, tribune of the people, and then, augur. And

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Antony's accession to office was at once of the greatest advantage to Caesar. In the first place, he resisted the consul Marcellus, who was putting under Pompey's orders the troops who were already collected, and was giving him power to raise new levies; he, on the other hand, making an order that they should be sent into Syria to reinforce Bibulus, who was making war with the Parthians, and that no one should give in his name to serve under Pompey. Next, when the senators would not suffer Caesar's letters to be received or read in the senate, by virtue of his office he read them publicly, and succeeded so well, that many were brought to change their mind; Caesar's demands, as they appeared in what he wrote, being but just

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and reasonable. At length, two questions being put in the senate,

the one, whether Pompey should dismiss his army, the other, if

Caesar his, some were for the former, for the latter all, except

some few, when Antony stood up and put the question, if it would be

agreeable to them that both Pompey and Caesar should dismiss their

armies. This proposal met with the greatest approval, they gave him

loud acclamations, and called for it to be put to the vote. But when

the consuls would not have it so, Caesar's friends again made some few

offers, very fair and equitable, but were strongly opposed by Cato,

and Antony himself was commanded to leave the senate by the consul

Lentulus. So, leaving them with execrations, and disguising himself in

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a servant's dress, hiring a carriage with Quintus Cassius, he went straight away to Caesar, declaring at once, when they reached the camp, that affairs at Rome were conducted without any order or justice, that the privilege of speaking in the senate was denied the tribunes, and that he who spoke for common fair dealing was driven out and in danger of his life.

Upon this, Caesar set his army in motion, and marched into Italy; and for this reason it is that Cicero writes in his Philippics that Antony was as much the cause of the civil war as Helen was of the Trojan. But this is but a calumny. For Caesar was not of so slight or weak a temper as to suffer himself to be carried away, by the

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indignation of the moment, into a civil war with his country, upon the

sight of Antony and Cassius seeking refuge in his camp meanly

dressed and in a hired carriage, without ever having thought of it

or taken any such resolution long before. This was to him, who

wanted a pretence of declaring war, a fair and plausible occasion; but

the true motive that led him was the same that formerly led

Alexander and Cyrus against all mankind, the unquenchable thirst of

empire, and the distracted ambition of being the greatest man in the

world, which was impracticable for him, unless Pompey were put down.

So soon, then, as he had advanced and occupied Rome, and driven

Pompey



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out of Italy, he proposed first to go against the legions that

Pompey had in Spain, and then cross over and follow him with the fleet

that should be prepared during his absence, in the meantime leaving

the government of Rome to Lepidus, as praetor, and the command of

the troops and of Italy to Antony, as tribune of the people. Antony

was not long in getting the hearts of the soldiers, joining with

them in their exercises, and for the most part living amongst them and

making them presents to the utmost of his abilities; but with all

others he was unpopular enough. He was too lazy to pay attention to

the complaints of persons who were injured; he listened impatiently to

petitions; and he had an ill name for familiarity with other

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people's wives. In short, the government of Caesar (which, so far as he was concerned himself, had the appearance of anything rather than a tyranny) got a bad repute through his friends. And of these friends, Antony, as he had the largest trust, and committed the greatest errors, was thought the most deeply in fault.

Caesar, however, at his return from Spain, overlooked the charges against him, and had no reason ever to complain, in the employments he gave him in the war, of any want of courage, energy, or military skill. He himself, going aboard at Brundisium, sailed over the Ionian Sea with a few troops and sent back the vessels with orders to Antony and Gabinius to embark the army, and come over with all

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speed to Macedonia. Gabinius, having no mind to put to sea in the rough, dangerous weather of the winter season, was for marching the army round by the long land route; but Antony, being more afraid lest Caesar might suffer from the number of his enemies, who pressed him hard, beat back Libo, who was watching with a fleet at the mouth of the haven of Brundisium, by attacking his galleys with a number of small boats, and gaining thus an opportunity, put on board twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse, and so set out to sea. And, being espied by the enemy and pursued, from this danger he was rescued by a strong south wind, which sprang up and raised so high a sea that the enemy's galleys could make little way. But his own ships were

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driving before it upon a lee shore of cliffs and rocks running sheer  
to the water, where there was no hope of escape, when all of a  
sudden the wind turned about to south-west, and blew from land to  
the main sea, where Antony, now sailing in security, saw the coast all  
covered with the wreck of the enemy's fleet. For hither the galleys in  
pursuit had been carried by the gale, and not a few of them dashed  
to pieces. Many men and much property fell into Antony's hands; he  
took also the town of Lissus, and, by the seasonable arrival of so  
large a reinforcement, gave Caesar great encouragement.

There was not one of the many engagements that now took place one  
after another in which he did not signalize himself; twice he

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stopped the army in its full flight, led them back to a charge, and  
  
gained the victory. So that now without reason his reputation, next to  
  
Caesar's, was greatest in the army. And what opinion Caesar himself  
  
had of him well appeared when, for the final battle in Pharsalia,  
  
which was to determine everything, he himself chose to lead the  
  
right wing, committing the charge of the left to Antony, as to the  
  
best officer of all that served under him. After the battle, Caesar,  
  
being created dictator, went in pursuit of Pompey, and sent Antony  
  
to Rome, with the character of Master of the Horse, who is in office  
  
and power next to the dictator, when present, and in his absence the  
  
first, and pretty nearly indeed the sole magistrate. For on the

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appointment of a dictator, with the one exception of the tribunes, all

other magistrates cease to exercise any authority in Rome.

Dolabella, however, who was tribune, being a young man and eager for change, was now for bringing in a general measure for cancelling debts, and wanted Antony, who was his friend, and forward enough to promote any popular project, to take part with him in this step.

Asinius and Trebellius were of the contrary opinion, and it so happened, at the same time, Antony was crossed by a terrible suspicion that Dolabella was too familiar with his wife; and in great trouble at this, he parted with her (she being his cousin, and daughter to

Caius Antonius, colleague of Cicero), and, taking part with Asinius,

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came to open hostilities with Dolabella, who had seized on the  
  
forum, intending to pass his law by force. Antony, backed by a vote of  
  
the senate that Dolabella should be put down by force of arms, went  
  
down and attacked him, killing some of his, and losing some of his own  
  
men; and by this action lost his favour with the commonalty, while  
  
with the better class and with all well-conducted people his general  
  
course of life made him, as Cicero says absolutely odious, utter  
  
disgust being excited by his drinking bouts at all hours, his wild  
  
expenses, his gross amours, the day spent in sleeping or walking off  
  
his debauches, and the night in banquets and at theatres, and in  
  
celebrating the nuptials of some comedian or buffoon. It is related

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that, drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias, the comedian, on  
  
the morning, having to harangue the people, he came forward,  
  
overcharged as he was, and vomited before them all, one of his friends  
  
holding his gown for him. Sergius, the player, was one of the  
  
friends who could do most with him; also Cytheris, a woman of the same  
  
trade, whom he made much of, and who, when he went his progress,  
  
accompanied him in a litter, and had her equipage not in anything  
  
inferior to his mother's; while every one, moreover, was scandalized  
  
at the sight of the golden cups that he took with him, fitter for  
  
the ornaments of a procession than the uses of a journey, at his  
  
having pavilions set up, and sumptuous morning repasts laid out by



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river sides and in groves, at his having chariots drawn by lions,  
  
and common women and singing girls quartered upon the houses of  
  
serious fathers and mothers of families. And it seemed very  
  
unreasonable that Caesar, out of Italy, should lodge in the open  
  
field, and with great fatigue and danger, pursue the remainder of a  
  
hazardous war, whilst others, by favour of his authority, should  
  
insult the citizens with their impudent luxury.

All this appears to have aggravated party quarrels in Rome, and to  
  
have encouraged the soldiers in acts of licence and rapacity. And,  
  
accordingly, when Caesar came home, he acquitted Dolabella, and, being  
  
created the third time consul, took not Antony, but Lepidus, for his

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colleague. Pompey's house being offered for sale, Antony bought it, and when the price was demanded of him, loudly complained. This, he tells us himself and because he thought his former services had not been recompensed as they deserved, made him not follow Caesar with the army into Libya. However, Caesar, by dealing gently with his errors, seems to have succeeded in curing him of a good deal of his folly and extravagance. He gave up his former courses, and took a wife, Fulvia, the widow of Clodius the demagogue, a woman not born for spinning or housewifery, nor one that could be content with ruling a private husband, but prepared to govern a first magistrate, or give orders to a commander-in-chief. So that Cleopatra had great

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obligations to her for having taught Antony to be so good a servant,  
  
he coming to her hands tame and broken into entire obedience to the  
  
commands of a mistress. He used to play all sorts of sportive,  
  
boyish tricks, to keep Fulvia in good-humour. As, for example, when  
  
Caesar, after his victory in Spain, was on his return, Antony, among  
  
the rest, went out to meet him; and, a rumour being spread that Caesar  
  
was killed and the enemy marching into Italy, he returned to Rome,  
  
and, disguising himself, came to her by night muffled up as a  
  
servant that brought letters from Antony. She, with great  
  
impatience, before received the letter, asks if Antony were well,  
  
and instead of an answer he gives her the letter; and, as she was

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opening it, took her about the neck and kissed her. This little story,

of many of the same nature, I give as a specimen.

There was nobody of any rank in Rome that did not go some days' journey to meet Caesar on his return from Spain; but Antony was the best received of any, admitted to ride the whole journey with him in his carriage, while behind came Brutus Albinus and Octavian, his niece's son, who afterwards bore his name and reigned so long over the Romans. Caesar being created, the fifth time, consul, without delay chose Antony for his colleague, but designing himself to give up his own consulate to Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. But Antony opposed it with all his might, saying much that

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was bad against Dolabella, and receiving the like language in return, till Caesar could bear with the indecency no longer, and deferred the matter to another time. Afterwards, when he came before the people to proclaim Dolabella, Antony cried out that the auspices were unfavourable, so that at last Caesar, much to Dolabella's vexation, yielded and gave it up. And it is credible that Caesar was about as much disgusted with the one as the other. When some one was accusing them both to him, "It is not," said he, "these well-fed, long-haired men that I fear, but the pale and the hungry-looking;" meaning Brutus and Cassius, by whose conspiracy he afterwards fell.

And the fairest pretext for that conspiracy was furnished, without

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his meaning it, by Antony himself. The Romans were celebrating their festival, called the Lupercalia, when Caesar, in his triumphal habit, and seated above the rostra in the market-place, was a spectator of the sports. The custom is, that many young noblemen and of the magistracy, anointed with oil and having straps of hide in their hands, run about and strike, in sport, at every one they meet. Antony was running with the rest; but, omitting the old ceremony, twining a garland of bay round a diadem, he ran up to the rostra, and, being lifted up by his companions, would have put it upon the head of Caesar, as if by that ceremony he was declared king. Caesar seemingly refused, and drew aside to avoid it, and was applauded by

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the people with great shouts. Again Antony pressed it, and again he declined its acceptance. And so the dispute between them went on for some time, Antony's solicitations receiving but little encouragement from the shouts of a few friends, and Caesar's refusal being accompanied with the general applause of the people; a curious thing enough, that they should submit with patience to the fact, and yet at the same time dread the name as the destruction of their liberty.

Caesar, very much discomposed at what had passed got up from his seat, and, laying bare his neck, said he was ready to receive a stroke, if any one of them desired to give it. The crown was at last put on one of his statues, but was taken down by some of the tribunes, who were

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followed home by the people with shouts of applause. Caesar,

however, resented it, and deposed them.

These passages gave great encouragement to Brutus and Cassius, who in making choice of trusty friends for such an enterprise, were thinking to engage Antony. The rest approved, except Trebonius, who told them that Antony and he had lodged and travelled together in the last journey they took to meet Caesar, and that he had let fall several words, in a cautious way, on purpose to sound him; that Antony very well understood him, but did not encourage it; however, he had said nothing of it to Caesar, but had kept the secret faithfully.

The conspirators then proposed that Antony should die with him,



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which Brutus would not consent to, insisting that an action undertaken in defence of right and the laws must be maintained unsullied, and pure of injustice. It was settled that Antony, whose bodily strength and high office made him formidable, should, at Caesar's entrance into the senate, when the deed was to be done, be amused outside by some of the party in a conversation about some pretended business.

So when all was proceeded with, according to their plan, and Caesar had fallen in the senate-house, Antony, at the first moment, took a servant's dress, and hid himself. But, understanding that the conspirators had assembled in the Capitol, and had no further design upon any one, he persuaded them to come down, giving them his son as a

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hostage. That night Cassius supped at Antony's house, and Brutus

with Lepidus. Antony then convened the senate, and spoke in favour

of an act of oblivion, and the appointment of Brutus and Cassius to

provinces. These measures the senate passed; and resolved that all

Caesar's acts should remain in force. Thus Antony went out of the

senate with the highest possible reputation and esteem; for it was

apparent that he had prevented a civil war, and had composed, in the

wisest and most statesmanlike way, questions of the greatest

difficulty and embarrassment. But these temperate counsels were soon

swept away by the tide of popular applause, and the prospect, if

Brutus were overthrown, of being without doubt the ruler-in-chief.

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As Caesar's body was conveying to the tomb, Antony, according to the custom, was making his funeral oration in the market-place, and perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he had said, he began to mingle with his praises language of commiseration, and horror at what had happened, and, as he was ending his speech, he took the under-clothes of the dead, and held them up, showing them stains of blood and the holes of the many stabs, calling those that had done this act villains and bloody murderers. All which excited the people to such indignation, that they would not defer the funeral, but, making a pile of tables and forms in the very market-place, set fire to it; and every one, taking a brand, ran to the conspirators'

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houses, to attack them.

Upon this, Brutus and his whole party left the city, and Caesar's friends joined themselves to Antony. Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, lodged with him the best part of the property to the value of four thousand talents; he got also into his hands all Caesar's papers wherein were contained journals of all he had done, and draughts of what he designed to do, which Antony made good use of; for by this means he appointed what magistrates he pleased, brought whom he would into the senate, recalled some from exile, freed others out of prison, and all this as ordered so by Caesar. The Romans, in mockery, gave those who were thus benefited the name of Charonites,

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since, if put to prove their patents, they must have recourse to the papers of the dead. In short, Antony's behaviour in Rome was very absolute, he himself being consul and his two brothers in great place; Caius, the one, being praetor, and Lucius, the other, tribune of the people.

While matters went thus in Rome, the young Caesar, Caesar's niece's son, and by testament left his heir, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he was when his uncle was killed. The first thing he did was to visit Antony, as his father's friend. He spoke to him concerning the money that was in his hands, and reminded him of the legacy Caesar had made of seventy-five drachmas of every Roman

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citizen. Antony, at first, laughing at such discourse from so young  
  
a man, told him he wished he were in his health, and that he wanted  
  
good counsel and good friends to tell him the burden of being executor  
  
to Caesar would sit very uneasy upon his young shoulders. This was  
  
no answer to him; and, when he persisted in demanding the property,  
  
Antony went on treating him injuriously both in word and deed, opposed  
  
him when he stood for the tribune's office, and, when he was taking  
  
steps for the dedication of his father's golden chair, as had been  
  
enacted, he threatened to send him to prison if he did not give over  
  
soliciting the people. This made the young Caesar apply himself to  
  
Cicero, and all those that hated Antony; by them he was recommended to

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the senate, while he himself courted the people, and drew together the soldiers from their settlements, till Antony got alarmed, and gave him a meeting in the Capitol, where, after some words, they came to an accommodation.

That night Antony had a very unlucky dream, fancying that his right hand was thunderstruck. And, some few days after, he was informed that Caesar was plotting to take his life. Caesar explained, but was not believed, so that the breach was now made as wide as ever; each of them hurried about all through Italy to engage, by great offers, the old soldiers that lay scattered in their settlements, and to be the first to secure the troops that still

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remained undischarged. Cicero was at this time the man of greatest influence in Rome. He made use of all his art to exasperate the people against Antony, and at length persuaded the senate to declare him a public enemy, to send Caesar the rods and axes and other marks of honour usually given to proctors, and to issue orders to Hirtius and Pansa, who were the consuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The armies engaged near Modena, and Caesar himself was present and took part in the battle. Antony was defeated, but both the consuls were slain. Antony, in his flight, was overtaken by distresses of every kind, and the worst of all of them was famine. But it was his character in calamities to be better than at any other time. Antony,



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in misfortune, was most nearly a virtuous man. It is common enough for people, when they fall into great disasters, to discern what is right, and what they ought to do; but there are but few who in such extremities have the strength to obey their judgment, either in doing what it approves or avoiding what it condemns; and a good many are so weak as to give way to their habits all the more, and are incapable of using their using minds. Antony, on this occasion, was a most wonderful example to his soldiers. He, who had just quitted so much luxury and sumptuous living, made no difficulty now of drinking foul water and feeding on wild fruits and roots. Nay, it is related they ate the very bark of trees, and, in passing over the

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Alps, lived upon creatures that no one before had ever been willing to touch.

The design was to join the army on the other side the Alps, commanded by Lepidus, who he imagined would stand his friend, he having done him many good offices with Caesar. On coming up and encamping near at hand, finding he had no sort of encouragement offered him, he resolved to push his fortune and venture all. His hair was long and disordered, nor had he shaved his beard since his defeat; in this guise, and with a dark coloured cloak flung over him, he came into the trenches of Lepidus, and began to address the army. Some were moved at his habit, others at his words, so that Lepidus, not

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liking it, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might be heard no

longer. This raised in the soldiers yet a greater pity, so that they

resolved to confer secretly with him, and dressed Laelius and

Clodius in women's clothes, and sent them to see him. They advised him

without delay to attack Lepidus's trenches, assuring him that a strong

party would receive him, and, if he wished it, would kill Lepidus.

Antony, however, had no wish for this, but next morning marched his

army to pass over the river that parted the two camps. He was

himself the first man that stepped in, and, as he went through towards

the other bank, he saw Lepidus's soldiers in great numbers reaching

out their hands to help him, and beating down the works to make him

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way. Being entered into the camp, and finding himself absolute master, he nevertheless treated Lepidus with the greatest civility, and gave him the title of Father, when he spoke to him, and though he had everything at his own command, he left him the honour of being called the general. This fair usage brought over to him Munatius Plancus, who was not far off with a considerable force. Thus in great strength he repassed the Alps, leading with him into Italy seventeen legions and ten thousand horse, besides six legions which he left in garrison under the command of Varius, one of his familiar friends and boon companions, whom they used to call by the nickname of Cotylon.

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Caesar, perceiving that Cicero's wishes were for liberty, had ceased to pay any further regard to him, and was now employing the mediation of his friends to come to a good understanding with Antony. They both met together with Lepidus in a small island, where the conference lasted three days. The empire was soon determined of, it being divided amongst them as if it had been their paternal inheritance. That which gave them all the trouble was to agree who should be put to death, each of them desiring to destroy his enemies and to save his friends. But, in the end, animosity to those they hated carried the day against respect for relations and affection for friends; and Caesar sacrificed Cicero to Antony, Antony gave up

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his uncle Lucius Caesar, and Lepidus received permission to murder his

brother Paulus, or, as others say, yielded his brother to them. I do

not believe anything ever took place more truly savage or barbarous

than this composition, for, in this exchange of blood for blood,

they were guilty of the lives they surrendered and of those they took;

or, indeed, more guilty in the case of their friends for whose

deaths they had not even the justification of hatred. To complete

the reconciliation, the soldiery, coming about them, demanded that

confirmation should be given to it by some alliance of marriage;

Caesar should marry Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia, wife to Antony.

This also being agreed to, three hundred persons were put to death

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by proscription. Antony gave orders to those that were to kill

Cicero to cut off his head and right hand, with which he had written

his invectives against him; and, when they were brought before him, he

regarded them joyfully, actually bursting out more than once into

laughter, and, when he had satiated himself with the sight of them,

ordered them to be hung up above the speaker's place in the forum,

thinking thus to insult the dead, while in fact he only exposed his

own wanton arrogance, and his unworthiness to hold the power that

fortune had given him. His uncle, Lucius Caesar, being closely

pursued, took refuge with his sister, who, when the murderers had

broken into her house and were pressing into her chamber, met them

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at the door, and spreading out hands, cried out several times. "You

shall not kill Lucius Caesar till you first despatch me who gave

your general his birth;" and in this manner she succeeded in getting

her brother out of the way, and saving his life.

This triumvirate was very hateful to the Romans, and Antony most

of all bore the blame, because he was older than Caesar, and had

greater authority than Lepidus, and withal he was no sooner settled in

his affairs, but he turned to his luxurious and dissolute way of

living. Besides the ill reputation he gained by his general behaviour,

it was some considerable disadvantage to him his living in the house

of Pompey the Great, who had been as much admired for his temperance



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and his sober, citizen-like habits of life, as ever he was for

having triumphed three times. They could not without anger see the

doors of that house shut against magistrates, officers, and envoys,

who were shamefully refused admittance, while it was filled inside

with players, jugglers, and drunken flatterers, upon whom were spent

the greatest part of the wealth which violence and cruelty procured.

For they did not limit themselves to the forfeiture of the estates

of such as were proscribed, defrauding the widows and families, nor

were they contented with laying on every possible kind of tax and

imposition; but hearing that several sums of money were, as well by

strangers as citizens of Rome, deposited in the hands of the vestal

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virgins, they went and took the money away by force. When it was manifest that nothing would ever be enough for Antony, Caesar at last called for a division of property. The army was also divided between them, upon their march into Macedonia to make war with Brutus and Cassius, Lepidus being left with the command of the city.

However, after they had crossed the sea and engaged in operations of war, encamping in front of the enemy, Antony opposite Cassius, and Caesar opposite Brutus, Caesar did nothing worth relating, and all the success and victory were Antony's. In the first battle, Caesar was completely routed by Brutus, his camp taken, he himself very narrowly escaping by flight. As he himself writes in his Memoirs, he

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retired before the battle, on account of a dream which one of his friends had. But Antony, on the other hand, defeated Cassius; though some have written that he was not actually present in the engagement, and only joined afterwards in the pursuit. Cassius was killed, at his own entreaty and order, by one of his most trusted freedmen, Pindarus, not being aware of Brutus's victory. After a few days' interval, they fought another battle, in which Brutus lost the day, and slew himself; and Caesar being sick, Antony had almost all the honour of the victory. Standing over Brutus's dead body, he uttered a few words of reproach upon him for the death of his brother Caius, who had been executed by Brutus's order in Macedonia in

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revenge of Cicero; but, saying presently that Hortensius was most to blame for it, he gave order for his being slain upon his brother's tomb, and, throwing his own scarlet mantle, which was of great value, upon the body of Brutus, he gave charge to one of his own freedmen to take care of his funeral. This man, as Antony came to understand, did not leave the mantle with the corpse, but kept both it and a good part of the money that should have been spent in the funeral for himself; for which he had him put to death.

But Caesar was conveyed to Rome, no one expecting that he would long survive. Antony, purposing to go to the eastern provinces to lay them under contribution, entered Greece with a large force. The

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promise had been made that every common soldier should receive for his  
  
pay five thousand drachmas; so it was likely there would be need of  
  
pretty severe taxing and levying to raise money. However, to the  
  
Greeks he showed at first reason and moderation enough; he gratified  
  
his love of amusement by hearing the learned men dispute, by seeing  
  
the games, and undergoing initiation; and in judicial matters he was  
  
equitable, taking pleasure in being styled a lover of Greece, but,  
  
above all, in being called a lover of Athens, to which city he made  
  
very considerable presents. The people of Megara wished to let him  
  
know that they also had something to show him, and invited him to come  
  
and see their senate-house. So he went and examined it, and on their

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asking him how he liked it, told them it was "not very large, but extremely ruinous." At the same time, he had a survey made of the temple of the Pythian Apollo as if he had designed to repair it, and indeed he had declared to the senate his intention so to do.

However, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he crossed over into Asia, and there laid his hands on the stores of accumulated wealth, while kings waited at his door, and queens were rivalling one another, who should make him the greatest presents or appear most charming in his eyes. Thus, whilst Caesar in Rome was wearing out his strength amidst seditions and wars, Antony, with nothing to do amidst the enjoyments of peace, let his passions carry him easily back to the old

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course of life that was familiar to him. A set of harpers and  
  
pipers, Anaxenor and Xuthus, the dancing-man, Metrodorus, and a  
  
whole Bacchic rout of the like Asiatic exhibitors, far outdoing in  
  
licence and buffoonery the pests that had followed him out of Italy,  
  
came in and possessed the court; the thing was past patience, wealth  
  
of all kinds being wasted on objects like these. The whole of Asia was  
  
like the city in Sophocles, loaded, at one time-

"-----with incense in the air,

Jubilant songs, and outcries of despair."

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When he made his entry into Ephesus, the women met him dressed up  
like Bacchantes, and the men and boys like satyrs and fauns, and  
throughout the town nothing was to be seen but spears wreathed about  
with ivy, harps, flutes, and psalteries, while Antony in their songs  
was Bacchus, the Giver of joy, and the Gentle. And so indeed he was to  
some but to far more the Devourer and the Savage; for he would deprive  
persons of worth and quality of their fortunes to gratify villains and  
flatterers, who would sometimes beg the estates of men yet living,  
pretending they were dead, and, obtaining a grant, take possession. He  
gave his cook the house of a Magnesian citizen, as a reward for a  
single highly successful supper, and, at last, when he was



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proceeding to lay a second whole tribute on Asia, Hybreas, speaking on behalf of the cities, took courage, and told him broadly, but aptly enough for Antony's taste "if you can take two yearly tributes, you can doubtless give us a couple of summers and a double harvest time;" and put it to him in the plainest and boldest way, that Asia had raised two hundred thousand talents for his service: "If this has not been paid to you, ask your collectors for it; if it has, and is all gone, we are ruined men." These words touched Antony to the quick, who was simply ignorant of most things that were done in his name; not that he was so indolent, as he was prone to trust frankly in all about him. For there was much simplicity in his character; he

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was slow to see his faults, but when he did see them, was extremely  
repentant, and ready to ask pardon of those he had injured prodigal in  
his acts of reparation, and severe in his punishments, but his  
generosity was much more extravagant than his severity; his raillery  
was sharp and insulting, but the edge of it was taken off by his  
readiness to submit to any kind of repartee; for he was as well  
contented to be rallied, as he was pleased to rally others. And this  
freedom of speech was, indeed, the cause of many of his disasters.  
He never imagined those who used so much liberty in their mirth  
would flatter or deceive him in business of consequence, not knowing  
how common it is with parasites to mix their flattery with boldness,

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as confectioners do their sweetmeats with something biting, to prevent the sense of satiety. Their freedoms and impertinences at table were designed expressly to give to their obsequiousness in council the air of being not complaisance, but conviction.

Such being his temper, the last and crowning mischief that could befall him came in the love of Cleopatra, to awaken and kindle to fury passions that as yet lay still and dormant in his nature, and to stifle and finally corrupt any elements that yet made resistance in him of goodness and a sound judgment. He fell into the snare thus.

When making preparation for the Parthian war, he sent to command her to make her personal appearance in Cilicia, to answer an accusation

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that she had given great assistance, in the late wars, to Cassius.

Dellius, who was sent on this message, had no sooner seen her face,

and remarked her adroitness and subtlety in speech, but he felt

convinced that Antony would not so much as think of giving any

molestation to a woman like this; on the contrary, she would be the

first in favour with him. So he set himself at once to pay his court

to the Egyptian, and gave her his advice, "to go," in the Homeric

style, to Cilicia, "in her best attire," and bade her fear nothing

from Antony, the gentlest and kindest of soldiers. She had some

faith in the words of Dellius, but more in her own attractions; which,

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having formerly recommended her to Caesar and the young Cnaeus Pompey,

she did not doubt might prove yet more successful with Antony. Their

acquaintance was with her when a girl, young and ignorant of the

world, but she was to meet Antony in the time of life when women's

beauty is most splendid, and their intellects are in full maturity.

She made great preparation for her journey, of money, gifts, and

ornaments of value, such as so wealthy a kingdom might afford, but she

brought with her her surest hopes in her own magic arts and charms.

She received several letters, both from Antony and from his friends,

to summon her, but she took no account of these orders; and at last,

as if in mockery of them, she came sailing up the river Cydnus, in a

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barge with gilded stern and outspread sails of purple, while oars of  
silver beat time to the music of flutes and fifes and harps. She  
herself lay all along under a canopy of cloth of gold, dressed as  
Venus in a picture, and beautiful young boys, like painted Cupids,  
stood on each side to fan her. Her maids were dressed like sea  
nymphs and graces, some steering at the rudder, some working at the  
ropes. The perfumes diffused themselves from the vessel to the  
shore, which was covered with multitudes, part following the galley up  
the river on either bank, part running out of the city to see the  
sight. The market-place was quite emptied, and Antony at last was left  
alone sitting upon the tribunal; while the word went through all the

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multitude, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the common

good of Asia. On her arrival, Antony sent to invite her to supper. She

thought it fitter he should come to her; so, willing to show his

good-humour and courtesy, he complied, and went. He found the

preparations to receive him magnificent beyond expression, but nothing

so admirable as the great number of lights; for on a sudden there

was let down altogether so great a number of branches with lights in

them so ingeniously disposed, some in squares, and some in circles,

that the whole thing was a spectacle that has seldom been equalled for

beauty.

The next day, Antony invited her to supper, and was very desirous to

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outdo her as well in magnificence as contrivance; but he found he was altogether beaten in both, and was so well convinced of it that he was himself the first to jest and mock at his poverty of wit and his rustic awkwardness. She, perceiving that his raillery was broad and gross, and savoured more of the soldier than the courtier, rejoined in the same taste, and fell into it at once, without any sort of reluctance or reserve. For her actual beauty, it is said, was not in itself so remarkable that none could be compared with her, or that no one could see her without being struck by it, but the contact of her presence, if you lived with her, was irresistible; the attraction of her person, joining with the charm of her



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conversation, and the character that attended all she said or did, was something bewitching. It was a pleasure merely to hear the sound of her voice, with which, like an instrument of many strings, she could pass from one language to another; so that there were few of the barbarian nations that she answered by an interpreter; to most of them she spoke herself, as to the Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, and many others, whose language she had learnt; which was all the more surprising because most of the kings, her predecessors, scarcely gave themselves the trouble to acquire the Egyptian tongue, and several of them quite abandoned the Macedonian.

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Antony was so captivated by her that, while Fulvia his wife maintained his quarrels in Rome against Caesar by actual force of arms, and the Parthian troops, commanded by Labienus (the king's generals having made him commander-in-chief), were assembled in Mesopotamia, and ready to enter Syria, he could yet suffer himself to be carried away by her to Alexandria, there to keep holiday, like a boy, in play and diversion, squandering and fooling away in enjoyments that most costly, as Antiphon says, of all valuables, time. They had a sort of company, to which they gave a particular name, calling it that of the Inimitable Livers. The members entertained one another daily in turn, with all extravagance of expenditure beyond measure or belief.

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Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time a student of medicine in Alexandria, used to tell my grandfather Lamprias that, having some acquaintance with one of the royal cooks, he was invited by him, being a young man, to come and see the sumptuous preparations for supper. So he was taken into the kitchen, where he admired the prodigious variety of all things; but particularly, seeing eight wild boars roasting whole, says he, "Surely you have a great number of guests." The cook laughed at his simplicity, and told him there were not above twelve to sup, but that every dish was to be served up just roasted to a turn, and if anything was but one minute ill-timed, it was spoiled; "And," said he, "maybe Antony will sup just

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now, maybe not this hour, maybe he will call for wine, or begin to talk, and will put it off. So that," he continued, "it is not one, but many suppers must be had in readiness, as it is impossible to guess at his hour." This was Philotas's story; who related besides, that he afterwards came to be one the medical attendants of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, and used to be invited pretty often, among other companions, to his table, when he was not supping with his father. One day another physician had talked loudly, and given great disturbance to the company, whose mouth Philotas stopped with this sophistical syllogism: "In some states of fever the patient should take cold water; every one who has a fever is in some state of fever;

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therefore in a fever cold water should always be taken." The man was quite struck dumb, and Antony's son, very much pleased, laughed aloud, and said, "Philotas, I make you a present of all you see there," pointing to a sideboard covered with plate. Philotas thanked him much, but was far enough from ever imagining that a boy of his age could dispose of things of that value. Soon after, however, the plate was all brought to him, and he was desired to get his mark upon it; and when he put it away from him, and was afraid to accept the present. "What ails the man?" said he that brought it; "do you know that he who gives you this is Antony's son, who is free to give it, if it were all gold? but if you will be advised by me, I would counsel you to

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accept of the value in money from us; for there may be amongst the  
rest some antique or famous piece of workmanship, which Antony would  
be sorry to part with." These anecdotes, my grandfather told us,  
Philotas used frequently to relate.

To return to Cleopatra; Plato admits four sorts of flattery, but she  
had a thousand. Were Antony serious or disposed to mirth, she had at  
any moment some new delight or charm to meet his wishes; at every turn  
she was upon him, and let him escape her neither by day nor by  
night. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him;  
and when he exercised in arms, she was there to see. At night she  
would go rambling with him to disturb and torment people at their

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doors and windows, dressed like a servant-woman, for Antony also went in servant's disguise, and from these expeditions he often came home very scurvily answered, and sometimes even beaten severely, though most people guessed who it was. However, the Alexandrians in general liked it all well enough, and joined good-humouredly and kindly in his frolic and play, saying they were much obliged to Antony for acting his tragic parts at Rome, and keeping comedy for them. It would be trifling without end to be particular in his follies, but his fishing must not be forgotten. He went out one day to angle with Cleopatra, and, being so unfortunate as to catch nothing in the presence of his mistress, he gave secret orders to the fishermen to

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dive under water, and put fishes that had been already taken upon

his hooks; and these he drew so fast that the Egyptian perceived it.

But, feigning great admiration, she told everybody how dexterous

Antony was, and invited them next day to come and see him again. So,

when a number of them had come on board the fishing-boats, as soon

as he had let down his hook, one of her servants was beforehand with

his divers and fixed upon his hook a salted fish from Pontus.

Antony, feeling his line give, drew up the prey, and when, as may be

imagined, great laughter ensued, "Leave," said Cleopatra, "the

fishing-rod, general, to us poor sovereigns of Pharos and Canopus;

your game is cities, provinces, and kingdoms."



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Whilst he was thus diverting himself and engaged in this boy's play,  
  
two despatches arrived; one from Rome, that his brother Lucius and his  
  
wife Fulvia, after many quarrels among themselves, had joined in war  
  
against Caesar, and having lost all, had fled out of Italy; the  
  
other bringing little better news, that Labienus, at the head of the  
  
Parthians, was overrunning Asia, from Euphrates and Syria as far as  
  
Lydia and Ionia. So, scarcely at last rousing himself from sleep,  
  
and shaking off the fumes of wine, he set out to attack the Parthians,  
  
and went as far as Phoenicia; but, upon the receipt of lamentable  
  
letters from Fulvia, turned his course with two hundred ships to  
  
Italy. And, in his way, receiving such of his friends as fled from

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Italy, he was given to understand that Fulvia was the sole cause of the war, a woman of a restless spirit and very bold, and withal her hopes were that commotions in Italy would force Antony from Cleopatra.

But it happened that Fulvia as she was coming to meet her husband, fell sick by the way, and died at Sicyon, so that an accommodation was the more easily made. For when he reached Italy, and Caesar showed no intention of laying anything to his charge, and he on his part shifted the blame of everything on Fulvia, those that were friends to them would not suffer that the time should be spent in looking narrowly into the plea, but made a reconciliation first, and then a partition of the empire between them, taking as their boundary the

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Ionian Sea, the eastern provinces falling to Antony, to Caesar the western, and Africa being left to Lepidus. And an agreement was made that everyone in their turn, as they thought fit, should make their friends consuls, when they did not choose to take the offices themselves.

These terms were well approved of, but yet it was thought some closer tie would be desirable; and for this, fortune offered occasion.

Caesar had an elder sister, not of the whole blood, for Attia was his mother's name, hers Ancharia. This sister, Octavia, he was extremely attached to, as indeed she was, it is said, quite a wonder of a woman. Her husband, Caius Marcellus, had died not long before,

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and Antony was now a widower by the death of Fulvia; for, though he

did not disavow the passion he had for Cleopatra, yet he disowned

anything of marriage, reason as yet, upon this point, still

maintaining the debate against the charms of the Egyptian. Everybody

concurred in promoting this new alliance, fully expecting that with

the beauty, honour, and prudence of Octavia, when her company

should, as it was certain it would, have engaged his affections, all

would be kept in the safe and happy course of friendship. So, both

parties being agreed, they went to Rome to celebrate the nuptials, the

senate dispensing with the law by which a widow was not permitted to

marry till ten months after the death of her husband.

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Sextus Pompeius was in possession of Sicily, and with his ships,  
under the command of Menas, the pirate, and Menecrates, so infested  
the Italian coast that no vessels durst venture into those seas.

Sextus had behaved with much humanity towards Antony, having  
received his mother when she fled with Fulvia, and it was therefore  
judged fit that he also should be received into the peace. They met  
near the promontory of Misenum, by the mole of the port, Pompey having  
his fleet at anchor close by, and Antony and Caesar their troops drawn  
up all along the shore. There it was concluded that Sextus should  
quietly enjoy the government of Sicily and Sardinia, he conditioning  
to scour the seas of all pirates, and to send so much corn every

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year to Rome.

This agreed on, they invited one another to supper, and by lot it fell to Pompey's turn to give the first entertainment, and Antony, asking where it was to be, "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley, a ship of six banks of oars. "that is the only house that Pompey is heir to of his father's." And this he said, reflecting upon Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. Having fixed the ship on her anchors, and formed a bridgeway from the promontory to conduct on board of her, he gave them a cordial welcome. And when they began to grow warm, and jests were passing freely on Antony and Cleopatra's loves, Menas, the pirate, whispered

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Pompey, in the ear, "Shall I," said he, "cut the cables and make you master not of Sicily only and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire?" Pompey, having considered a little while, returned him answer, "Menas, this might have been done without acquainting me; now we must rest content; I do not break my word." And so, having been entertained by the other two in their turns, he set sail for Sicily.

After the treaty was completed, Antony despatched Ventidius into Asia, to check the advance of the Parthians, while he, as a compliment to Caesar, accepted the office of priest to the deceased Caesar. And in any state affair and matter of consequence, they both behaved themselves with much consideration and friendliness for each other.

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But it annoyed Antony that in all their amusements, on any trial of skill or fortune, Caesar should be constantly victorious. He had with him an Egyptian diviner, one of those who calculate nativities, who, either to make his court to Cleopatra, or that by the rules of his art he found it to be so, openly declared to him that though the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by Caesar's; and advised him to keep himself as far distant as he could from that young man; "for your Genius," said he, "dreads his; when absent from him yours is proud and brave, but in his presence unmanly and dejected;" and incidents that occurred appeared to show that the Egyptian spoke truth. For whenever they cast lots for



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any playful purpose, or threw dice, Antony was still the loser; and

when they fought game-cocks or quails, Caesar's had the victory.

This gave Antony a secret displeasure, and made him put the more

confidence in the skill of his Egyptian. So, leaving the management of

his home affairs to Caesar, he left Italy, and took Octavia, who had

lately borne him a daughter, along with him into Greece.

Here, whilst he wintered in Athens, he received the first news of

Ventidius's successes over the Parthians, of his having defeated

them in a battle, having slain Labienus and Pharnapates, the best

general their king, Hyrodes, possessed. For the celebrating of which

he made public feast through Greece, and for the prizes which were

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contested at Athens he himself acted as steward, and, leaving at

home the ensigns that are carried before the general, he made his

public appearance in a gown and white shoes, with the steward's

wands marching before; and he performed his duty in taking the

combatants by the neck, to part them, when they had fought enough.

When the time came for him to set out for the war, he took a garland

from the sacred olive, and, in obedience to some oracle, he filled a

vessel with the water of the Clepsydra to carry along with him. In

this interval, Pacorus, the Parthian king's son, who was marching into

Syria with a large army, was met by Ventidius, who gave him battle

in the country of Cyrrhestica, slew a large number of his men, and

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Pacorus among the first. This victory was one of the most renowned achievements of the Romans, and fully avenged their defeats under Crassus, the Parthians being obliged, after the loss of three battles successively, to keep themselves within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia. Ventidius was not willing to push his good fortune further, for fear of raising some jealousy in Antony, but turning his aims against those that had quitted the Roman interest, he reduced them to their former obedience. Among the rest, he besieged Antiochus, King of Commagene, in the city of Samosata, who made an offer of a thousand talents for his pardon, and a promise of submission to Antony's commands. But Ventidius told him that he must send to Antony,

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who was already on his march, and had sent word to Ventidius to make  
  
no terms with Antiochus, wishing that at any rate this one exploit  
  
might be ascribed to him, and that people might not think that all his  
  
successes were won by his lieutenants. The siege, however, was long  
  
protracted; for when those within found their offers refused, they  
  
defended themselves stoutly, till, at last, Antony, finding he was  
  
doing nothing, in shame and regret for having refused the first offer,  
  
was glad to make an accommodation with Antiochus for three hundred  
  
talents. And, having given some orders for the affairs of Syria, he  
  
returned to Athens; and, paying Ventidius the honours he well  
  
deserved, dismissed him to receive his triumph. He is the only man

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that has ever yet triumphed for victories obtained over the Parthians;

he was of obscure birth, but, by means of Antony's friendship,

obtained an opportunity of showing his capacity, and doing great

things; and his making such glorious use of it gave new credit to

the current observation about Caesar and Antony, that they were more

fortunate in what they did by their lieutenants than in their own

persons. For Sossius, also, had great success, and Canidius, whom he

left in Armenia, defeated the people there, and also the kings of

the Albanians and Iberians, and marched victorious as far as Caucasus,

by which means the fame of Antony's arms had become great among the

barbarous nations.

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He, however, once more, upon some unfavourable stories, taking  
offence against Caesar, set sail with three hundred ships for Italy,  
and, being refused admittance to the port of Brundisium, made for  
Tarentum. There his wife Octavia, who came from Greece with him,  
obtained leave to visit her brother, she being then great with  
child, having already borne her husband a second daughter; and as  
she was on her way she met Caesar, with his two friends Agrippa and  
Maecenas, and, taking these two aside, with great entreaties and  
lamentations she told them, that of the most fortunate woman upon  
earth, she was in danger of becoming the most unhappy; for as yet  
every one's eyes were fixed upon her as the wife and sister of the two

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great commanders, but, if rash counsels should prevail, and war ensue,

"I shall be miserable," said she, "without redress; for on what side

soever victory falls, I shall be sure to be a loser." Caesar was

overcome by these entreaties, and advanced in a peaceable temper to

Tarentum, where those that were present beheld a most stately

spectacle; a vast army the up by the shore, and as great a fleet in

the harbour, all without the occurrence of friends, and other

expressions of joy and kindness, passing from one armament to the

other. Antony first entertained Caesar, this also being a concession

on Caesar's part to his sister; and when at length an agreement was

made between them, that Caesar should give Antony two of his legions

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to serve him in the Parthian war, and that Antony should in return

leave with him a hundred armed galleys, Octavia further obtained of

her husband, besides this, twenty light ships for her brother, and

of her brother, a thousand foot for her husband. So, having parted

good friends, Caesar went immediately to make war with Pompey to

conquer Sicily. And Antony, leaving in Caesar's charge his wife and

children, and his children by his former wife Fulvia, set sail for

Asia.

But the mischief that thus long had lain still, the passion for

Cleopatra, which better thoughts had seemed to have lulled and charmed

into oblivion, upon his approach to Syria gathered strength again, and



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broke out into a flame. And, in fine, like Plato's restive and  
rebellious horse of the human soul, flinging off all good and  
wholesome counsel, and breaking fairly loose, he sends Fonteius Capito  
to bring Cleopatra into Syria. To whom at her arrival he made no small  
or trifling present, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, Cyprus, great part of  
Cilicia, that side of Judaea which produces balm, that part of  
Arabia where the Nabathaeans extend to the outer sea; profuse gifts  
which much displeased the Romans. For although he had invested several  
private persons in great governments and kingdoms, and bereaved many  
kings of theirs, as Antigonus of Judaea, whose head he caused to be  
struck off (the first example of that punishment being inflicted on

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a king), yet nothing stung the Romans like the shame of these  
honours paid to Cleopatra. Their dissatisfaction was augmented also by  
his acknowledging as his own the twin children he had by her, giving  
them the name of Alexander and Cleopatra, and adding, as their  
surnames, the titles of Sun and Moon. But he, who knew how to put a  
good colour on the most dishonest action, would say that the greatness  
of the Roman empire consisted more in giving than in taking  
kingdoms, and that the way to carry noble blood through the world  
was by begetting in every place a new line and series of kings; his  
own ancestor had thus been born of Hercules; Hercules had not  
limited his hopes of progeny to a single womb, nor feared any law like

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Solon's or any audit of procreation, but had freely let nature take

her will in the foundation and first commencement of many families.

After Phraates had killed his father Hyrodes, and taken possession

of his kingdom, many of the Parthians left their country; among the

rest Monaeses, a man of great distinction and authority, sought refuge

with Antony, who, looking on his case as similar to that of

Themistocles, and likening his own opulence and magnanimity to those

of the former Persian kings, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa,

and Hierapolis, which was formerly called Bambyce. But when the King

of Parthia soon recalled him, giving him his word and honour for his

safety, Antony was not unwilling to give him leave to return, hoping

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thereby to surprise Phraates, who would believe that peace would  
continue; for he only made the demand of him that he should send  
back the Roman ensigns which were taken when Crassus was slain, and  
the prisoners that remained yet alive. This done, he sent Cleopatra to  
Egypt, and marched through Arabia and Armenia; and, when his forces  
came together, and were joined by those of his confederate kings (of  
whom there were very many, and the most considerable, Artavasdes,  
King  
of Armenia, who came at the head of six thousand horse and seven  
thousand foot), he made a general muster. There appeared sixty  
thousand Roman foot, ten thousand horse, Spaniards and Gauls, who

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counted as Romans; and, of other nations, horse and foot thirty thousand. And these great preparations, that put the Indians beyond Bactria into alarm, and made all Asia shake, were all we are told rendered useless to him because of Cleopatra. For, in order to pass the winter with her, the war was pushed on before its due time; and all he did was done without perfect consideration, as by a man who had no power of control over his faculties, who, under the effect of some drug or magic, was still looking back elsewhere, and whose object was much more to hasten his return than to conquer his enemies.

For, first of all, when he should have taken up his winter-quarters in Armenia, to refresh his men, who were tired with

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long marches, having come at least eight thousand furlongs, and then

having taken the advantage in the beginning of the spring to invade

Media, before the Parthians were out of winter-quarters, he had not

patience to expect his time, but marched into the province of

Atropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and laid waste all

that country. Secondly, his haste was so great that he left behind the

engines absolutely required for any siege, which followed the camp

in three hundred wagons, and, among the rest, a ram eighty feet

long; none of which was it possible, if lost or damaged, to repair

or to make the like, as the provinces of the Upper Asia produce no

trees long or hard enough for such uses. Nevertheless, he left them

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all behind, as a mere impediment to his speed, in the charge of a

detachment under the command of Statianus, the wagon officer. He

himself laid siege to Phraata, a principal city of the King of

Media, wherein were that king's wife and children. And when actual

need proved the greatness of his error, in leaving the siege-train

behind him, he had nothing for it but to come up and raise a mound

against the walls, with infinite labour and great loss of time.

Meantime Phraates, coming down with a large army, and hearing that the

wagons were left behind with the battering engines, sent a strong

party of horse, by which Statianus was surprised, he himself and ten

thousand of his men slain, the engines all broken in pieces, many

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taken prisoners, and among the rest King Polemon.

This great miscarriage in the opening of the campaign much discouraged Antony's army, and Artavasdes, King of Armenia, deciding that the Roman prospects were bad, withdrew with all his forces from the camp, although he had been the chief promoter of the war. The Parthians, encouraged by their success, came up to the Romans at the siege, and gave them many affronts; upon which Antony, fearing that the despondency and alarm of his soldiers would only grow worse if he let them lie idle taking all the horse, ten legions, and three praetorian cohorts of heavy infantry, resolved to go out and forage, designing by this means to draw the enemy with more advantage to a



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battle. To effect this, he marched a day's journey from his camp,  
  
and finding the Parthians hovering about, in readiness to attack him  
  
while he was in motion, he gave orders for the signal of battle to  
  
be hung out in the encampment, but, at the same time, pulled down  
  
the tents, as if he meant not to fight, but to lead his men home  
  
again; and so he proceeded to lead them past the enemy, who were drawn  
  
up in a half-moon, his orders being that the horse should charge as  
  
soon as the legions were come up near enough to second them. The  
  
Parthians, standing still while the Romans marched by them, were in  
  
great admiration of their army, and of the exact discipline it  
  
observed, rank after rank passing on at equal distances in perfect

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order and silence, their pikes all ready in their hands. But when  
  
the signal was given, and the horse turned short upon the Parthians,  
  
and with loud cries charged them, they bravely received them, though  
  
they were at once too near for bowshot; but the legions coming up with  
  
loud shouts and rattling of their arms so frightened their horses  
  
and indeed the men themselves, that they kept their ground no  
  
longer. Antony pressed them hard, in great hopes that this victory  
  
should put an end to the war; the foot had them in pursuit for fifty  
  
furlongs, and the horse for thrice that distance, and yet, the  
  
advantage summed up, they had but thirty prisoners, and there were but  
  
fourscore slain. So that they were all filled with dejection and

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discouragement, to consider that when they were victorious, their advantages were so small, and that when they were beaten, they lost so great a number of men as they had done when the carriages were taken.

The next day, having put the baggage in order, they marched back to the camp before Phraata, in the way meeting with some scattering troops of the enemy, and, as they marched further, with greater parties, at length with the body of the enemy's army, fresh and in good order, who defied them to battle, and charged them on every side, and it was not without great difficulty that they reached the camp.

There Antony, finding that his men had in a panic deserted the defence of the mound, upon a sally of the Medes, resolved to proceed against

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them by decimation, as it is called, which is done by dividing the soldiers into tens, and, out of every ten, putting one to death, as it happens by lot. The rest he gave orders should have, instead of wheat, their rations of corn in barley.

The war was now become grievous to both parties, and the prospect of its continuance yet more fearful to Antony, in respect that he was threatened with famine; for he could no longer forage without wounds and slaughter. And Phraates, on the other side, was full of apprehension that if the Romans were to persist in carrying on the siege, the autumnal equinox being past and the air already closing in for cold, he should be deserted by his soldiers, who would suffer

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anything rather than wintering in open field. To prevent which, he had

recourse to the following deceit: he gave orders to those of his men

who had made most acquaintance among the Roman soldiers, not to pursue

too close when they met them foraging, but to suffer them to carry off

some provision; moreover, that they should praise their valour, and

declare that it was not without just reason that their king looked

upon the Romans as the bravest men in the world. This done, upon

further opportunity, they rode nearer in, and, drawing up their horses

by the men, began to revile for his obstinacy; that whereas Phraates

desired nothing more than peace, and an occasion to show how ready

he was to save the lives of so many brave soldiers, he, on the

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contrary, gave no opening to any friendly offers, but sat awaiting the arrival of the two fiercest and worst enemies, winter and famine, from whom it would be hard for them to make their escape, even with all the good-will of the Parthians to help them. Antony, having these reports from many hands, began to indulge the hope; nevertheless, he would not send any message to the Parthian till he had put the question to these friendly talkers, whether what they said was said by order of their king. Receiving answer that it was, together with new encouragement to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand once more the standards and prisoners, lest if he should ask nothing, he might be supposed to be too thankful to have leave to

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retreat in quiet. The Parthian king made answer that, as for the standards and prisoners, he need not trouble himself: but if he thought fit to retreat, he might do it when he pleased, in peace and safety. Some few days, therefore, being spent in collecting the baggage he set out upon his march. On which occasion, though there was no man of his time like him for addressing a multitude, or for carrying soldiers with him by the force of words, out of shame and sadness he could not find in his heart to speak himself but employed Domitius Aenobarbus. And some of the soldiers resented it, as an undervaluing of them; but the greater number saw the true cause, and pitied it, and thought it rather a reason why they on their side

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should treat their general with more respect and obedience than ordinary.

Antony had resolved to return by the same way he came, which was through a level country clear of all trees; but a certain Mardian came to him (one that was very conversant with the manners of the Parthians, and whose fidelity to the Romans had been tried at the battle where the machines were lost), and advised him to keep the mountains close on his right hand, and not to expose his men, heavily armed, in a broad, open, riding country, to the attacks of a numerous army of light horse and archers; that Phraates with fair promises had persuaded him from the siege on purpose that he might



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with more ease cut him off in his retreat; but if so he pleased, he

would conduct him by a nearer route, on which moreover he should

find the necessaries for his army in greater abundance. Antony upon

this began to consider what was best to be done; he was unwilling to

seem to have any mistrust of the Parthians after their treaty; but,

holding it to be really best to march his army the shorter and more

inhabited way, he demanded of the Mardian some assurance of his faith,

who offered himself to be bound until the army came safe into Armenia.

Two days he conducted the army bound, and, on the third, when Antony

had given up all thought of the enemy, and was marching at his ease in

no very good order, the Mardian, perceiving the bank of the river

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broken down, and the water let out and overflowing the road by which

they were to pass, saw at once that this was the handiwork of the

Parthians, done out of mischief, and to hinder their march: so he

advised Antony to be upon his guard, for that the enemy was nigh at

hand. And sooner had he begun to put his men in order, disposing the

slingers and dart-men in convenient intervals for sallying out, but

the Parthians came pouring in on all sides, fully expecting to

encompass them, and throw the whole army into disorder. They were at

once attacked by the light troops, whom they galled a good deal with

their arrows; but being themselves as warmly entertained with the

slings and darts, and many wounded, they made their retreat. Soon

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after, rallying up afresh, they were beat back by a battalion of

Gallic horse, and appeared no more that day.

By their manner of attack Antony, seeing what to do, not only placed the slings and darts as a rear guard, but also lined both flanks with them, and so marched in a square battle, giving order to the horse to charge and beat off the enemy, but not to follow them far as they retired. So that the Parthians, not doing more mischief for the four ensuing days than they received, began to abate in their zeal, and, complaining that the winter season was much advanced, pressed for returning home.

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who had a considerable command in the army, came to Antony, desiring of him some light infantry out of the rear, and some horse out of the front, with which he would undertake to do some considerable service. Which when he had obtained, he beat the enemy back, not withdrawing, as was usual, at the same time, and retreating upon the mass of the heavy infantry, but maintaining his own ground, and engaging boldly. The officers who commanded in the rear, perceiving how far he was getting from the body of the army, sent to warn him back, but he took no notice of them. It is said that Titius the quaestor snatched the standards and turned them round, upbraiding Gallus with thus leading so many brave men to destruction. But when he

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on the other side reviled him again, and commanded the men that were about him to stand firm, Titius made his retreat, and Gallus, charging the enemies in the front, was encompassed by a party that fell upon his rear, which at length perceiving, he sent a messenger to demand succour. But the commanders of the heavy infantry, Canidius amongst others, a particular favourite of Antony's, seem here to have committed a great oversight. For, instead of facing about with the whole body, they sent small parties, and, when they were defeated, they still sent out small parties, so that by their bad management the rout would have spread through the whole army, if Antony himself had not marched from the van at the head of the third legion, and, passing

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this through among the fugitives, faced the enemies, and hindered them from any further pursuit.

In this engagement were killed three thousand, five thousand were carried back to the camp wounded, amongst the rest Gallus, shot through the body with four arrows, of which wounds he died. Antony went from tent to tent to visit and comfort the rest of them, and was not able to see his men without tears and a passion of grief.

They, however, seized his hand with joyful faces, bidding him go and see to himself and not be concerned about them, calling him their emperor and their general, and saying that if he did well they were safe. For, in short, never in all these times can history make mention

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of a general at the head of a more splendid army; whether you consider strength and youth, or patience and sufferance in labours and fatigues; but as for the obedience and affectionate respect they bore their general, and the unanimous feeling amongst small and great alike, officers and common soldiers, to prefer his good opinion of them to their very lives and being, in this part of military excellence it was not possible that they could have been surpassed by the very Romans of old. For this devotion, as I have said before, there were many reasons, as the nobility of his family, his eloquence, his frank and open manners, his liberal and magnificent habits, his familiarity in talking with everybody, and, at this time

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particularly, his kindness in visiting and pitying the sick, joining  
in all their pains, and furnishing them with all things necessary,  
so that the sick and wounded were even more eager to serve than  
those that were whole and strong.

Nevertheless, this last victory had so encouraged the enemy that,  
instead of their former impatience and weariness, they began soon to  
feel contempt for the Romans, staying all night near the camp, in  
expectation of plundering their tents and baggage, which they  
concluded they must abandon; and in the morning new forces arrived  
in large masses, so that their number was grown to be not less, it  
is said, than forty thousand horse; and the king had sent the very



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guards that attended upon his own person, as to a sure and

unquestioned victory, for he himself was never present in any fight.

Antony, designing to harangue the soldiers, called for a mourning

habit that he might move them the more, but was dissuaded by his

friends; so he came forward in the general's scarlet cloak, and

addressed them, praising those that had gained the victory, and

reproaching those that had fled, the former answering him with

promises of success, and the latter excusing themselves, and telling

him they were ready to undergo decimation, or any other punishment

he should please to inflict upon them, only entreating that he would

forget and not discompose himself with their faults. At which he

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lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed the gods that, if to balance  
the great favours he had received of them any judgment lay in store,  
they would pour it upon his head alone, and grant his soldiers  
victory.

The next day they took better order for their march, and the  
Parthians, who thought they were marching rather to plunder than to  
fight, were much taken aback, when they came up and were received with  
a shower of missiles, to find the enemy not disheartened, but fresh  
and resolute. So that they themselves began to lose courage. But at  
the descent of a bill where the Romans were obliged to pass, they  
got together, and let fly their arrows upon them as they moved

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slowly down. But the full-armed infantry, facing round, received the  
light troops within; and those in the first rank knelt on one knee,  
holding their shields before them, the next rank holding theirs over  
the first, and so again others over these, much like the tiling of a  
house, or the rows of seats in a theatre, the whole affording sure  
defence against arrows, which glanced upon them without doing any  
harm. The Parthians, seeing the Romans down upon their knees, could  
not imagine but that it must proceed from weariness; so that they laid  
down their bows, and, taking their spears, made a fierce onset, when  
the Romans, with a great cry, leaped upon their feet, striking hand to  
hand with their javelins, slew the foremost, and put the rest to

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flight. After this rate it was every day, and the trouble they gave made the marches short; in addition to which famine began to be felt in the camp, for they could get but little corn, and that which they got they were forced to fight for; and, besides this, they were in want of implements to grind it and make bread. For they had left almost all behind, the baggage horses being dead or otherwise employed in carrying the sick and wounded. Provision was so scarce in the army that an Attic quart of wheat sold for fifty drachmas, and barley loaves for their weight in silver. And when they tried vegetables and roots, they found such as are commonly eaten very scarce, so that they were constrained to venture upon any they could

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get, and, among others, they chanced upon an herb that was mortal,  
  
first taking away all sense and understanding. He that had eaten of  
  
it remembered nothing in the world, and employed himself only in  
  
moving great stones from one place to another, which he did with as  
  
much earnestness and industry as if it had been a business of the  
  
greatest consequence. Through all the camp there was nothing to be  
  
seen but men grubbing upon the ground at stones, which they carried  
  
from place to place. But in the end they threw up bile and died, as  
  
wine, moreover, which was the one antidote, failed. When Antony saw  
  
them die so fast, and the Parthians still in pursuit, he was heard  
  
to exclaim several times over, "O, the Ten Thousand!" as if in

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admiration of the retreat of the Greeks, with Xenophon, who, when they had a longer journey to make from Babylonia, and a more powerful enemy to deal with, nevertheless came home safe.

The Parthians, finding that they could not divide the Roman army, nor break the order of their battle, and that withal they had been so often worsted, once more began to treat the foragers with professions of humanity; they came up to them with their bows unbent, telling them that they were going home to their houses; that this was the end of their retaliation, and that only some Median troops would follow for two or three days, not with any design to

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annoy them, but for the defence of some of the villages further on.

And, saying this, they saluted them and embraced them with a great

show of friendship. This made the Romans full of confidence again, and

Antony, on hearing of it, was more disposed to take the road through

the level country, being told that no water was to be hoped for on

that through the mountains. But while he was preparing thus to do,

Mithridates came into the camp, a cousin to Monaeses, of whom we

related that he sought refuge with the Romans, and received in gift

from Antony three cities. Upon his arrival, he desired somebody

might be brought to him that could speak Syriac or Parthian. One

Alexander, of Antioch, a friend of Antony's, was brought to him, to

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whom the stranger, giving his name, and mentioning Monaeses as the

person who desired to do the kindness, put the question, did he see

that high range of hills pointing at some distance. He told him,

yes. "It is there," said he, "the whole Parthian army lie in wait

for your passage; for the great plains come immediately up to them,

and they expect that, confiding in their promises, you will leave

the way of the mountains, and take the level route. It is true that in

passing over the mountains you will suffer the want of water, and

the fatigue to which you have become familiar, but if you pass through

the plains, Antony must expect the fortune of Crassus."

This said, he departed. Antony, in alarm calling his friends in



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council, sent for the Mardian guide, who was of the same opinion. He

told them that, with or without enemies, the want of any certain track

in the plain, and the likelihood of their losing their way, were quite

objection enough; the other route was rough and without water, but

then it was but for a day. Antony, therefore, changing his mind,

marched away upon this road that night, commanding that every one

should carry water sufficient for his own use; but most of them

being unprovided with vessels, they made shift with their helmets, and

some with skins. As soon as they started, the news of it was carried

to the Parthians, who followed them, contrary to their custom, through

the night, and at sunrise attacked the rear, which was tired with

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marching and want of sleep, and not in condition to make any  
considerable defence. For they had got through two hundred and forty  
furlongs a night, and at the end of such a march to find the enemy  
at their heels put them out of heart. Besides, having to fight for  
every step of the way increased their distress from thirst. Those that  
were in the van came up to a river, the water of which was extremely  
cool and clear, but brackish and medicinal, and, on being drunk,  
produced immediate pains in the bowels and a renewed thirst. Of this  
the Mardian had forewarned them, but they could not forbear, and,  
beating back those that opposed them, they drank of it. Antony ran  
from one place to another, begging they would have a little

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patience, that not far off there was a river of wholesome water, and

that the rest of the way was so difficult for the horse that the enemy

could pursue them no further; and, saying this, he ordered to sound

a retreat to call those back that were engaged, and commanded the

tents should be set up, that the soldiers might at any rate refresh

themselves in the shade.

But the tents were scarce well put up, and the Parthians

beginning, according to their custom, to withdraw, when Mithridates

came again to them, and informed Alexander, with whom he had before

spoken, that he would do well to advise Antony to stay where he was no

longer than needs he must, that, after having refreshed his troops, he

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should endeavour with all diligence to gain the next river, that the Parthians would not cross it, but so far they were resolved to follow them. Alexander made his report to Antony, who ordered a quantity of gold plate to be carried to Mithridates, who, taking as much as he could well hide under his clothes, went his way. And, upon this advice, Antony, while it was yet day, broke up his camp, and the whole army marched forward without receiving any molestation from the Parthians, though that night by their own doing was in effect the most wretched and terrible that they passed. For some of the men began to kill and plunder those whom they suspected to have any money, ransacked the baggage, and seized the money there. In the end, they

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laid hands on Antony's own equipage, and broke all his rich tables and cups, dividing the fragments amongst them. Antony, hearing such a noise and such a stirring to and fro all through the army, the belief prevailing that the enemy had routed and cut off a portion of the troops, called for one of his freedmen, then serving as one of his guards, Rhamnus by name, and made him take an oath that whenever he should give him orders, he would run his sword through his body and cut off his head, that he might not fall alive into the hands of the Parthians, nor, when dead, be recognized as the general. While he was in this consternation, and all his friends about him in tears, the Mardian came up and gave them all new life. He convinced them, by

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the coolness and humidity of the air, which they could feel in

breathing it, that the river which he had spoken of was now not far

off, and the calculation of the time that had been required to reach

it came, he said, to the same result, for the night was almost

spent. And, at the same time, others came with information that all

the confusion in the camp proceeded only from their own violence and

robbery among themselves. To compose this tumult, and bring them  
again

into some order after their distraction, he commanded the signal to be

given for a halt.

Day began to break, and quiet and regularity were just

reappearing, when the Parthian arrows began to fly among the rear, and

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the light-armed troops were ordered out to battle. And, being seconded  
by the heavy infantry, who covered one another as before described  
with their shields, they bravely received the enemy, who did not think  
convenient to advance any further, while the van of the army, marching  
forward leisurely in this manner, came in sight of the river, and  
Antony, drawing up the cavalry on the banks to confront the enemy,  
first passed over the sick and wounded. And, by this time, even  
those who were engaged with the enemy had opportunity to drink at  
their ease; for the Parthians, on seeing the river, unbent their bows,  
and told the Romans they might pass over freely, and made them great  
compliments in praise of their valour. Having crossed without

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molestation, they rested themselves awhile, and presently went

forward, not giving perfect credit to the fair words of their enemies.

Six days after this last battle, they arrived at the river Araxes,

which divides Media and Armenia, and seemed, both by its deepness

and the violence of the current, to be very dangerous to pass. A

report, also, had crept in amongst them, that the enemy was in ambush,

ready to set upon them as soon as they should be occupied with their

passage. But when they were got over on the other side, and found

themselves in Armenia, just as if land was now sighted after a storm

at sea, they kissed the ground for joy, shedding tears and embracing

each other in their delight. But taking their journey through a land



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that abounded in all sorts of plenty, they ate, after their long want,

with that excess of everything they met with that they suffered from

dropsies and dysenteries.

Here Antony, making a review of his army, found that he had lost

twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, of which the better half

not by the enemy, but by diseases. Their march was of twenty-seven

days from Phraata, during which they had beaten the Parthians in

eighteen battles, though with little effect or lasting result, because

of their being so unable to pursue. By which it is manifest that it

was Artavasdes who lost Antony the benefit of the expedition. For

had the sixteen thousand horsemen whom he led away, out of Media,

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armed in the same style as the Parthians, and accustomed to their

manner of fight, been there to follow the pursuit when the Romans

put them to flight, it is impossible they could have rallied so

often after their defeats, and reappeared again as they did to renew

their attacks. For this reason, the whole army was very earnest with

Antony to march into Armenia to take revenge. But he, with more

reflection, forbore to notice the desertion, and continued all his

former courtesies, feeling that the army was wearied out, and in

want of all manner of necessaries. Afterwards, however, entering

Armenia, with invitations and fair promises he prevailed upon

Artavasdes to meet him, when he seized him, bound him, and carried him

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to Alexandria, and there led him in a triumph; one of the things which most offended the Romans, who felt as if all the honours and solemn observances of their country were, for Cleopatra's sake, handed over to the Egyptians.

This, however, was at an after time. For the present, marching his army in great haste in the depth of winter through continual storms of snow, he lost eight thousand of his men, and came with much diminished numbers to a place called the White Village, between Sidon and Berytus, on the sea-coast, where he waited for the arrival of Cleopatra. And, being impatient of the delay she made, he bethought himself of shortening the time wine and drunkenness, and yet could not

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endure the tediousness of a meal, but would start from table and run to see if she were coming. Till at last she came into port, and brought with her clothes and money for the soldiers. Though some say that Antony only received the clothes from her and distributed his own money in her name.

A quarrel presently happened between the King of Media and Phraates of Parthia, beginning, it is said, about the division of the booty that was taken from the Romans, and creating great apprehension in the Median lest he should lose his kingdom. He sent, therefore, ambassadors to Antony, with offers of entering into a confederate war against Phraates. And Antony, full of hopes at being

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thus asked, as a favour, to accept that one thing, horse and archers, the want of which had hindered his beating the Parthians before, began at once to prepare for a return to Armenia, there to join the Medes on the Araxes, and begin the war afresh. But Octavia, in Rome, being desirous to see Antony, asked Caesar's leave to go to him; which he gave her, not so much, say most authors, to gratify his sister, as to obtain a fair pretence to begin the war upon her dishonourable reception. She no sooner arrived at Athens, but by letters from Antony she was informed of his new expedition, and his will that she should await him there. And, though she were much displeased, not being ignorant of the real reason of this usage, yet

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she wrote to him to know to what place he would be pleased she should send the things she had brought with her for his use; for she had brought clothes for his soldiers, baggage, cattle, money, and presents for his friends and officers, and two thousand chosen soldiers sumptuously armed, to form praetorian cohorts. This message was brought from Octavia to Antony by Niger, one of his friends, who added to it the praises she deserved so well. Cleopatra, feeling her rival already, as it were, at hand, was seized with fear, lest if to her noble life and her high alliance, she once could add the charm of daily habit and affectionate intercourse, she should become irresistible, and be his absolute mistress forever. So she feigned

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to be dying for love of Antony, bringing her body down by slender  
diet; when he entered the room, she fixed her eyes upon him in a  
rapture, and when he left, seemed to languish and half faint away. She  
took great pains that he should see her in tears, and, as soon as he  
noticed it, hastily dried them up and turned away, as if it were her  
wish that he should know nothing of it. All this was acting while he  
prepared for Media; and Cleopatra's creatures were not slow to forward  
the design, upbraiding Antony with his unfeeling, hard-hearted temper,  
thus letting a woman perish whose soul depended upon him and him  
alone. Octavia, it was true, was his wife, and had been married to him  
because it was found convenient for the affairs of her brother that it

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should be so, and she had the honour of the title; but Cleopatra, the sovereign queen of many nations, had been contented with the name of his mistress, nor did she shun or despise the character whilst she might see him, might live with him, and enjoy him; if she were bereaved of this, she would not survive the loss. In fine, they so melted and unmanned him that, fully believing she would die if he forsook her, he put off the war and returned to Alexandria, deferring his Median expedition until next summer, though news came of the Parthians being all in confusion with intestine disputes. Nevertheless, he did some time after go into that country, and made an alliance with the King of Media, by marriage of a son of his by



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Cleopatra to the king's daughter, who was yet very young; and so

returned, with his thoughts taken up about the civil war.

When Octavia returned from Athens, Caesar, who considered she had been injuriously treated, commanded her to live in a separate house;

but she refused to leave the house of her husband, and entreated

him, unless he had already resolved, upon other motives, to make war

with Antony, that he would on her account let it alone; it would be

intolerable to have it said of the two greatest commanders in the

world that they had involved the Roman people in a civil war, the

one out of passion for, the other out of resentment about, a woman.

And her behaviour proved her words to be sincere. She remained in

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Antony's house as if he were at home in it, and took the noblest and most generous care, not only of his children by her, but of those by Fulvia also. She received all the friends of Antony that came to Rome to seek office or upon any business, and did her utmost to prefer their requests to Caesar; yet this her honourable deportment did but, without her meaning it, damage the reputation of Antony; the wrong he did to such a woman made him hated. Nor was the division he made among his sons at Alexandria less unpopular; it seemed a theatrical piece of insolence and contempt of his country. For assembling the people in the exercise ground, and causing two golden thrones to be placed on a platform of silver, the one for him and

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the other for Cleopatra, and at their feet lower thrones for their

children, he proclaimed Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and

Coele-Syria, and with her conjointly Caesarion, the reputed son of the

former Caesar, who left Cleopatra with child. His own sons by

Cleopatra were to have the style of king of kings; to Alexander he

gave Armenia and Media, with Parthia, so soon as it should be

overcome; to Ptolemy, Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. Alexander was

brought out before the people in Median costume, the tiara and upright

peak, and Ptolemy, in boots and mantle and Macedonian cap done about

with the diadem; for this was the habit of the successors of

Alexander, as the other was of the Medes and Armenians. And as soon as

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they had saluted their parents, the one was received by a guard of Macedonians, the other by one of Armenians. Cleopatra was then, as at other times when she appeared in public, dressed in the habit of the goddess Isis, and gave audience to the people under the name of the New Isis.

Caesar, relating these things in the senate, and often complaining to the people, excited men's minds against Antony, and Antony also sent messages of accusation against Caesar. The principal of his charges were these: first, that he had not made any division with him of Sicily, which was lately taken from Pompey; secondly, that he had retained the ships he had lent him for the war; thirdly, that,

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after deposing Lepidus, their colleague, he had taken for himself

the army, governments, and revenues formerly appropriated to him;

and lastly, that he had parcelled out almost all Italy amongst his own

soldiers, and left nothing for his. Caesar's answer was as follows:

that he had put Lepidus out of government because of his own

misconduct; that what he had got in war he would divide with Antony,

so soon as Antony gave him a share of Armenia; that Antony's

soldiers had no claims in Italy, being in possession of Media and

Parthia, the acquisitions which their brave actions under their

general had added to the Roman empire.

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immediately sent Canidius with sixteen legions towards the sea; but he, in the company of Cleopatra, went to Ephesus, whither ships were coming in from all quarters to form the navy, consisting, vessels of burden included, of eight hundred vessels, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred, together with twenty thousand talents, and provision for the whole army during the war. Antony, on the advice of Domitius and some others, bade Cleopatra return into Egypt, there to expect the event of the war; but she, dreading some new reconciliation by Octavia's means, prevailed with Canidius, by a large sum of money, to speak in her favour with Antony, pointing out to him that it was not just that one that bore so great a part in the

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charge of the war should be robbed of her share of glory in the  
carrying it on; nor would it be politic to disoblige the Egyptians,  
who were so considerable a part of his naval forces; nor did he see  
how she was inferior in prudence to any of the kings that were serving  
with him; she had long governed a great kingdom by herself alone,  
and long lived with him, and gained experience in public affairs.

These arguments (so the fate that destined all to Caesar would have  
it) prevailed; and when all their forces had met, they sailed together  
to Samos, and held high festivities. For, as it was ordered that all  
kings, princes, and governors, all nations and cities within the  
limits of Syria, the Maeotid Lake, Armenia, and Illyria, should

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bring or cause to be brought all munitions necessary for war, so was it also proclaimed that all stage-players should make their appearance at Samos; so that, while pretty nearly the whole world was filled with groans and lamentations, this one island for some days resounded with piping and harping, theatres filling, and choruses playing. Every city sent an ox as its contribution to the sacrifice, and the kings that accompanied Antony competed who should make the most magnificent feasts and the greatest presents; and men began to ask themselves, what would be done to celebrate the victory, when they went to such an expense of festivity at the opening of the war.

This over, he gave Priene to his players for a habitation, and set



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sail for Athens, where fresh sports and play-acting employed him.

Cleopatra, jealous of the honours Octavia had received at Athens

(for Octavia was much beloved by the Athenians), courted the favour of

the people with all sorts of attentions. The Athenians, in requital,

having decreed her public honours, deputed several of the citizens

to wait upon her at her house; amongst whom went Antony as one, he

being an Athenian citizen, and he it was that made the speech. He sent

orders to Rome to have Octavia removed out of his house. She left

it, we are told, accompanied by all his children, except the eldest by

Fulvia, who was then with his father, weeping and grieving that she

must be looked upon as one of the causes of the war. But the Romans

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pitied, not so much her, as Antony himself, and more particularly

those who had seen Cleopatra, whom they could report to have no way

the advantage of Octavia either in youth or in beauty.

The speed and extent of Antony's preparations alarmed Caesar, who

feared he might be forced to fight the decisive battle that summer.

For he wanted many necessities, and the people grudged very much to

pay the taxes; freemen being called upon to pay a fourth part of their

incomes, and freed slaves an eighth of their property, so that there

were loud outcries against him, and disturbances throughout all Italy.

And this is looked upon as one of the greatest of Antony's oversights,

that he did not then press the war. For he allowed time at once for

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Caesar to make his preparations and for the commotions to pass over.

For while people were having their money called for, they were

mutinous and violent; but, having paid it, they held their peace.

Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity and friends to Antony,

having been ill-used by Cleopatra, whom they had most resisted in

her design of being present in the war, came over to Caesar and gave

information of the contents of Antony's will, with which they were

acquainted. It was deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins, who

refused to deliver it up, and sent Caesar word, if he pleased, he

should come and seize it himself, which he did. And, reading it over

to himself, he noted those places that were most for his purpose, and,

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having summoned the senate, read them publicly. Many were

scandalized at the proceeding, thinking it out of reason and equity to

call a man to account for what was not to be until after his death.

Caesar specially pressed what Antony said in his will about his

burial; for he had ordered that even if he died in the city of Rome,

his body, after being carried in state through the forum, should be

sent to Cleopatra at Alexandria. Calvisius, a dependant of Caesar's,

urged other charges in connection with Cleopatra against Antony;

that he had given her the library of Pergamus, containing two

hundred thousand distinct volumes; that at a great banquet, in the

presence of many guests, he had risen up and rubbed her feet, to

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fulfil some wager or promise; that he had suffered the Ephesians to salute her as their queen; that he had frequently at the public audience of kings and princes received amorous messages written in tablets made of onyx and crystal, and read them openly on the tribunal; that when Furnius, a man of great authority and eloquence among the Romans, was pleading, Cleopatra happening to pass by in her chair, Antony started up and left them in the middle of their cause, to follow at her side and attend her home.

Calvisius, however, was looked upon as the inventor of most of these stories. Antony's friends went up and down the city to gain him credit, and sent one of themselves, Geminius, to him, to beg him to

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take heed and not allow himself to be deprived by vote of his

authority, and proclaimed a public enemy to the Roman state. But

Geminius no sooner arrived in Greece but he was looked upon as one

of Octavia's spies; at their suppers he was made a continual butt

for mockery, and was put to sit in the least honourable places; all of

which he bore very well, seeking only an occasion of speaking with

Antony. So at supper, being told to say what business he came about,

he answered he would keep the rest for a soberer hour, but one thing

he had to say, whether full or fasting, that all would go well if

Cleopatra would return to Egypt. And on Antony showing his anger at

it, "You have done well, Geminius," said Cleopatra, "to tell your

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secret without being put to the rack." So Geminius, after a few days, took occasion to make his escape and go to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven from him by the insolent usage they had from Cleopatra's flatterers, amongst whom were Marcus Silanus and Dellius the historian. And Dellius says he was afraid of his life, and that Glaucus, the physician, informed him of Cleopatra's design against him. She was angry with him for having said that Antony's friends were served with sour wine, while at Rome Sarmentus, Caesar's little page (his delicia, as the Romans call it), drank Falernian.

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made declaring war on Cleopatra, and depriving Antony of the authority which he had let a woman exercise in his place. Caesar added that he had drunk potions that had bereaved him of his senses, and that the generals they would have to fight with would be Mardion the eunuch, Pothinus, Iras, Cleopatra's hairdressing girl, and Charmion, who were Antony's chief state-councillors.

These prodigies are said to have announced the war. Pisaurum, where Antony had settled a colony, on the Adriatic sea, was swallowed up by an earthquake; sweat ran from one of the marble statues of Antony at Alba for many days together, and though frequently wiped off, did not stop. When he himself was in the city of



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Patrae, the temple of Hercules was struck by lightning, and, at

Athens, the figure of Bacchus was torn by a violent wind out of the

Battle of the Giants, and laid flat upon the theatre; with both

which deities Antony claimed connection, professing to be descended

from Hercules, and from his imitating Bacchus in his way of living

having received the name of young Bacchus. The same whirlwind at

Athens also brought down, from amongst many others which were not

disturbed, the colossal statues of Fumenes and Attalus, which were

inscribed with Antony's name. And in Cleopatra's admiral-galley, which

was called the Antonias, a most inauspicious omen occurred. Some

swallows had built in the stern of the galley, but other swallows

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came, beat the first away, and destroyed their nests.

When the armaments gathered for the war, Antony had no less than five hundred ships of war, including numerous galleys of eight and ten banks of oars, as richly ornamented as if they were meant for a triumph. He had a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse.

He had vassal kings attending, Bocchus of Libya, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace; all these were with him in person. Out of Pontus Polemon sent him considerable forces, as did also Malchus from Arabia, Herod the Jew, and Amyntas, King of Lycaonia and Galatia; also the Median king sent some troops to join

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him. Caesar had two hundred and fifty galleys of war, eighty thousand foot, and horse about equal to the enemy. Antony's empire extended from Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and the Illyrians; Caesar's, from Illyria to the westward ocean, and from the ocean all along the Tuscan and Sicilian sea. Of Africa, Caesar had all the coast opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and Antony the provinces from Cyrene to Aethiopia.

But so wholly was he now the mere appendage to the person of Cleopatra that, although he was much superior to the enemy in land-forces, yet, out of complaisance to his mistress, he wished the

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victory to be gained by sea, and that, too, when he could not but

see how, for want of sailors, his captains, all through unhappy

Greece, were pressing every description of men, common travellers

and ass-drivers, harvest labourers and boys, and for all this the

vessels had not their complements, but remained. most of them,

ill-manned and badly rowed. Caesar, on the other side, had ships

that were built not for size or show, but for service, not pompous

galleys, but light, swift, and perfectly manned; and from his

headquarters at Tarentum and Brundisium he sent messages to Antony

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to protract the war, but come out with his forces; he would give him

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secure roadsteads and ports for his fleet, and, for his land army to disembark and pitch their camp, he would leave him as much ground in Italy, inland from the sea, as a horse could traverse in a single course. Antony, on the other side, with the like bold language, challenged him to a single combat, though he were much the older; and, that being refused, proposed to meet him in the Pharsalian fields, where Caesar and Pompey had fought before. But whilst Antony lay with his fleet near Actium, where now stands Nicopolis, Caesar seized his opportunity and crossed the Ionian sea, securing himself at a place in Epirus called the Ladle. And when those about Antony were much disturbed, their land-forces being a good way off, "Indeed," said

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Cleopatra, in mockery, "we may well be frightened if Caesar has got

hold of the Ladle!"

On the morrow, Antony, seeing the enemy sailing up, and fearing lest

his ships might be taken for want of the soldiers to go on board of

them, armed all the rowers, and made a show upon the decks of being in

readiness to fight; the oars were mounted as if waiting to be put in

motion, and the vessels themselves drawn up to face the enemy on

either side of the channel of Actium, as though they were properly

manned and ready for an engagement. And Caesar, deceived by this

stratagem, retired. He was also thought to have shown considerable

skill in cutting off the water from the enemy by some lines of

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trenches and forts, water not being plentiful anywhere else, nor

very good. And again, his conduct to Domitius was generous, much

against the will of Cleopatra. For when he had made his escape in a

little boat to Caesar, having then a fever upon him, although Antony

could not but resent it highly, yet he sent after him his whole

equipage with his friends and servants; and Domitius, as if he would

give a testimony to the world how repentant he had become on his

desertion and treachery being thus manifest, died soon after. Among

the kings, also, Amyntas and Deiotarus went over to Caesar. And the

fleet was so unfortunate in everything that was undertaken, and so

unready on every occasion, that Antony was driven again to put his

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confidence in the land-forces. Canidius, too, who commanded the  
  
legions, when he saw how things stood, changed his opinion, and now  
  
was of advice that Cleopatra should be sent back, and that, retiring  
  
into Thrace or Macedonia, the quarrel should be decided in a land  
  
fight. For Dicomus, also, the King of the Getae, promised to come  
  
and join him with a great army, and it would not be any kind of  
  
disparagement to him to yield the sea to Caesar, who, in the  
  
Sicilian wars, had had such long practice in ship-fighting; on the  
  
contrary, it would be simply ridiculous for Antony, who was by land  
  
the most experienced commander living, to make no use of his  
  
well-disciplined and numerous infantry, scattering and wasting his



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forces by parcelling them out in the ships. But for all this,

Cleopatra prevailed that a sea-fight should determine all, having

already an eye to flight, and ordering all her affairs, not so as to

assist in gaining a victory, but to escape with the greatest safety

from the first commencement of a defeat.

There were two long walls, extending from the camp to the station of

the ships, between which Antony used to pass to and fro without

suspecting any danger. But Caesar, upon the suggestion of a servant

that it would not be difficult to surprise him, laid an ambush, which,

rising up somewhat too hastily, seized the man that came just before

him, he himself escaping narrowly by flight.

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When it was resolved to stand to a fight at sea, they set fire to  
  
all the Egyptian ships except sixty; and of these the best and  
  
largest, from ten banks down to three, he manned with twenty  
  
thousand full-armed men and two thousand archers. Here it is related  
  
that a foot captain, one that had fought often under Antony, and had  
  
his body all mangled with wounds, exclaimed, "O my general, what  
  
have our wounds and swords done to displease you, that you should give  
  
your confidence to rotten timbers? Let Egyptians and Phoenicians  
  
contend at sea, give us the land, where we know well how to die upon  
  
the spot or gain the victory." To which he answered nothing, but, by  
  
his look and motion of his hand seeming to bid him be of good courage,

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passed forwards, having already, it would seem, no very sure hopes,

since when the masters proposed leaving the sails behind them, he

commanded they should be put aboard, "For we must not," said he,

"let one enemy escape."

That day and the three following the sea was so rough they could not

engage. But on the fifth there was a calm, and they fought; Antony

commanding with Publicola the right, and Coelius the left squadron,

Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius the centre. Caesar gave the charge

of the left to Agrippa, commanding in person on the right. As for

the land-forces, Canidius was general for Antony, Taurus for Caesar;

both armies remaining drawn up in order along the shore. Antony in a

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small boat went from one ship to another, encouraging his soldiers,  
  
and bidding them stand firm and fight as steadily on their large ships  
  
as if they were on land. The masters he ordered that they should  
  
receive the enemy lying still as if they were at anchor, and  
  
maintain the entrance of the port, which was a narrow and difficult  
  
passage. Of Caesar they relate that, leaving his tent and going round,  
  
while it was yet dark, to visit the ships, he met a man driving an  
  
ass, and asked him his name. He answered him that his own name was  
  
"Fortunate, and my ass," says he, "is called Conqueror." And  
  
afterwards, when he disposed the beaks of the ships in that place in  
  
token of his victory, the statue of this man and his ass in bronze

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were placed amongst them. After examining the rest of his fleet, he went in a boat to the right wing, and looked with much admiration at the enemy lying perfectly still in the straits, in all appearance as if they had been at anchor. For some considerable length of time he actually thought they were so, and kept his own ships at rest, at a distance of about eight furlongs from them. But about noon a breeze sprang up from the sea, and Antony's men, weary of expecting the enemy so long, and trusting to their large tall vessels, as if they had been invincible, began to advance the left squadron. Caesar was overjoyed to see them move, and ordered his own right squadron to retire, that he might entice them out to sea as far as he could, his design being

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to sail round and round, and so with his light and well-manned galleys  
to attack these huge vessels, which their size and their want of men  
made slow to move and difficult to manage.

When they engaged, there was no charging or striking of one ship  
by another, because Antony's, by reason of their great bulk, were  
incapable of the rapidity required to make the stroke effectual, and  
on the other side, Caesar's durst not charge head to head on Antony's,  
which were all armed with solid masses and spikes of brass; nor did  
they like even to run in on their sides, which were so strongly  
built with great squared pieces of timber, fastened together with iron  
bolts, that their vessels' beaks would easily have been shattered upon

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them. So that the engagement resembled a land fight, or, to speak yet more properly, the attack and defence of a fortified place; for there were always three or four vessels of Caesar's about one of Antony's, pressing them with spears, javelins, poles, and several inventions of fire, which they flung among them, Antony's men using catapults also, to pour down missiles from wooden towers. Agrippa drawing out the squadron under his command to outflank the enemy, Publicola was obliged to observe his motions, and gradually to break off from the middle squadron, where some confusion and alarm ensued, while Arruntius engaged them. But the fortune of the day was still undecided, and the battle equal, when on a sudden Cleopatra's sixty

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ships were seen hoisting sail and making out to sea in full flight,

right through the ships that were engaged. For they were placed behind

the great ships, which, in breaking through, they put into disorder.

The enemy was astonished to see them sailing off with a fair wind

towards Peloponnesus. Here it was that Antony showed to all the

world that he was no longer actuated by the thoughts and motives of

a commander or a man, or indeed by his own judgment at all, and what

was once said as a jest, that the soul of a lover lives in some one

else's body, he proved to be a serious truth. For, as if he had been

born part of her, and must move with her wheresoever she went, as soon

as he saw her ship sailing away, he abandoned all that were fighting



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and spending their lives for him, and put himself aboard a galley of five banks of oars, taking with him only Alexander of Syria and Scellias, to follow her that had so well begun his ruin and would hereafter accomplish it.

She, perceiving him to follow, gave the signal to come aboard. So, as soon as he came up with them, he was taken into the ship. But without seeing her or letting himself be seen by her, he went forward by himself, and sat alone, without a word, in the ship's prow, covering his face with his two hands. In the meanwhile, some of Caesar's light Liburnian ships, that were in pursuit, came in sight.

But on Antony's commanding to face about, they all gave back except

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Eurycles the Laconian, who pressed on, shaking a lance from the deck, as if he meant to hurl it at him. Antony, standing at the prow, demanded of him, "Who is this that pursues Antony?" "I am." said he, "Eurycles, the son of Lachares armed with Caesar's fortune to revenge my father's death." Lachares had been condemned for a robbery, and beheaded by Antony's orders. However, Eurycles did not attack Antony, but ran with his full force upon the other admiral-galley (for there were two of them), and with the blow turned her round, and took both her and another ship, in which was a quantity of rich plate and furniture. So soon as Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to his posture and sate silent, and thus he remained for three days,

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either in anger with Cleopatra, or wishing not to upbraid her, at the end of which they touched at Taenarus. Here the women of their company succeeded first in bringing them to speak, and afterwards to eat and sleep together. And, by this time, several of the ships of burden and some of his friends began to come in to him from the rout, bringing news of his fleet's being quite destroyed, but that the land-forces, they thought, still stood firm. So that he sent messengers to Canidius to march the army with all speed through Macedonion into Asia. And, designing himself to go from Taenarus into Africa, he gave one of the merchant ships, laden with a large sum of money, and vessels of silver and gold of great value, belonging

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to the royal collections, to his friends, desiring them to share it

amongst them, and provide for their own safety. They refusing his

kindness with tears in their eyes, he comforted them with all the

goodness and humanity imaginable, entreating them to leave him, and

wrote letters in their behalf to Theophilus, his steward, at

Corinth, that he would provide for their security, and keep them

concealed till such time as they could make their peace with Caesar.

This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who had such interest

with Antony, who was the first of all his freedmen that went over to

Caesar, and who settled afterwards at Corinth. In this posture were

affairs with Antony.

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But at Actium, his fleet, after a long resistance to Caesar, and  
  
suffering the most damage from a heavy sea that set in right ahead,  
  
scarcely at four in the afternoon, gave up the contest, with the  
  
loss of not more than five thousand killed, but of three hundred ships  
  
taken, as Caesar himself has recorded. Only a few had known of  
  
Antony's flight; and those who were told of it could not at first give  
  
any belief to so incredible a thing as that a general who had nineteen  
  
entire legions and twelve thousand horse upon the seashore, could  
  
abandon all and fly away; and he, above all, who had so often  
  
experienced both good and evil fortune, and had in a thousand wars and  
  
battles been inured to changes. His soldiers, however, would not

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give up their desires and expectations, still fancying he would appear

from some part or other, and showed such a generous fidelity to his

service that, when they were thoroughly assured that he was fled in

earnest, they kept themselves in a body seven days, making no

account of the messages that Caesar sent to them. But at last,

seeing that Canidius himself, who commanded them, was fled from the

camp by night, and that all their officers had quite abandoned them,

they gave way, and made their submission to the conqueror. After this,

Caesar set sail for Athens, where he made a settlement with Greece,

and distributed what remained of provision of corn that Antony had

made for his army among the cities, which were in a miserable

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condition, despoiled of their money, their slaves, their horses, and  
  
beasts of service. My great-grandfather Nicharchus used to relate that  
  
the whole body of the people of our city were put in requisition to  
  
carry each one a certain measure of corn upon their shoulders to the  
  
seaside near Anticyra, men standing by had made them with the lash.  
  
They had made one journey of the kind, but when they had just measured  
  
out the corn, and were putting it on their backs for a second, news  
  
came of Antony's defeat, and so saved Chaeronea, for all Antony's  
  
purveyors and soldiers fled upon the news, and left them to divide the  
  
corn among themselves.

When Antony came into Africa, he sent on Cleopatra from

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Paraetonium into Egypt, and stayed himself in the most entire solitude

that he could desire, roaming and wandering about with only two

friends, one a Greek, Aristocrates, a rhetorician, and the other a

Roman, Lucilius, of whom we have elsewhere spoken, how, at Philippi,

to give Brutus time to escape, he suffered himself to be taken by

the pursuers, pretending he was Brutus, Antony gave him his life,

and on this account he remained true and faithful to him to the last.

But when also the officer who commanded for him in Africa, to

whose care he had committed all his forces there, took them over to

Caesar, he resolved to kill himself, but was hindered by his

friends. And coming to Alexandria, he found Cleopatra busied in a most



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bold and wonderful enterprise. Over the small space of land which divides the Red Sea from the sea near Egypt, which may be considered also the boundary between Asia and Africa, and in the narrowest place is not much above three hundred furlongs across, over this neck of land Cleopatra had formed a project of dragging her fleet and setting it afloat in the Arabian Gulf, thus with her soldiers and her treasure to secure herself a home on the other side, where she might live in peace far away from war and slavery. But the first galleys which were carried over being burnt by the Arabians of Petra, and Antony not knowing but that the army before Actium still held together, she desisted from her enterprise, and gave orders for

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the fortifying all the approaches to Egypt. But Antony, leaving the city and the conversation of his friends, built him a dwelling-place in the water, near Pharos, upon a little mole which he cast up in the sea, and there, secluding himself from the company of mankind, said he desired nothing but to live the life of Timon; as indeed, his case was the same, and the ingratitude and injuries which he suffered from those he had esteemed his friends made him hate and distrust all mankind.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived much about the Peloponnesian war, as may be seen by the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, in which he is ridiculed as hater and enemy of mankind.

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He avoided and repelled the approaches of every one, but embraced with

kisses and the greatest show of affection Alcibiades, then in his

hot youth. And when Apemantus was astonished, and demanded the reason,

he replied that he knew this young man would one day do infinite

mischief to the Athenians. He never admitted any one into his company,

except at times this Apemantus, who was of the same sort of temper,

and was an imitator of his way of life. At the celebration of the

festival of flagons, these two kept the feast together, and Apemantus,

saying to him, "What a pleasant party, Timon!" "It would be," he

answered, "if you were away." One day he got up in a full assembly

on the speaker's place, and when there was a dead silence and great

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wonder at so unusual a sight, he said, "Ye men of Athens, I have a

little plot of ground, and in it grows a fig-tree, on which many

citizens have been pleased to hang themselves; and now, having

resolved to build in that place, I wish to announce it publicly,

that any of you who may be desirous may go and hang yourselves

before I cut it down." He died and was buried at Halae, near the

sea, where it so happened that, after his burial, a land-slip took

place on the point of the shore, and the sea, flowing in, surrounded

his tomb, and made it inaccessible to the foot of man. It bore this

inscription:-

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"Here am I laid, my life of misery done.

Ask not my name, I curse you every one."

And this epitaph was made by himself while yet alive; that which is more generally known is by Callimachus:-

"Timon, the misanthrope, am I below.

Go, and revile me, traveller, only go."

Thus much of Timon, of whom much more might be said. Canidius  
now

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came, bringing word in person of the loss of the army before Actium.

Then he received news that Herod of Judaea was gone over to Caesar

with some legions and cohorts, and that the other kings and princes

were in like manner deserting him, and that, out of Egypt, nothing

stood by him. All this, however, seemed not to disturb him, but, as if

he were glad to put away all hope, that with it he might be rid of all

care, and leaving his habitation by the sea, which he called the

Timoneum, he was received by Cleopatra in the palace, and set the

whole city into a course of feasting, drinking, and presents. The

son of Caesar and Cleopatra was registered among the youths, and

Antyllus, his own son by Fulvia, received the gown without the

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purple border given to those that are come of age; in honour of

which the citizens of Alexandria did nothing but feast and revel for

many days. They themselves broke up the Order of the Inimitable

Livers, and constituted another in its place, not inferior in

splendour, luxury, and sumptuosity, calling it that of the Diers

Together. For all those that said they would die with Antony and

Cleopatra gave in their names, for the present passing their time in

all manner of pleasures and a regular succession of banquets. But

Cleopatra was busied in making a collection of all varieties of

poisonous drugs, and, in order to see which of them were the least

painful in the operation, she had them tried upon prisoners

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condemned to die. But, finding that the quick poisons always worked with sharp pains, and that the less painful were slow. She next tried venomous animals, and watching with her own eyes whilst they were applied, one creature to the body of another. This was her daily practice, and she pretty well satisfied herself that nothing was comparable to the bite of the asp, which, without convulsion or groaning, brought on a heavy drowsiness and lethargy, with a gentle sweat on the face, the senses being stupefied by degrees; the patient, in appearance, being sensible of no pain but rather troubled to be disturbed or awakened like those that are in a profound natural sleep.

At the same time, they sent ambassadors to Caesar into Asia,



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Cleopatra asking for the kingdom of Egypt for her children, and

Antony, that he might have leave to live as a private man in Egypt,

or, if that were thought too much, that he might retire to Athens.

In lack of friends, so many having deserted, and others not being

trusted, Euphronius, his son's tutor, was sent on this embassy. For

Alexas of Laodicea, who, by the recommendation of Timagenes, became

acquainted with Antony at Rome, and had been more powerful with him

than any Greek, and was, of all the instruments which Cleopatra made

use of to persuade Antony, the most violent, and the chief subverter

of any good thoughts that from time to time might rise in his mind

in Octavia's favour, had been sent before to dissuade Herod from

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desertion; but betraying his master, stayed with him and, confiding in

Herod's interest, had the boldness to come into Caesar's presence.

Herod, however, was not able to help him, for he was immediately put

in chains and sent into his own country, where, by Caesar's orders, he

was put to death. This reward of his treason Alexas received while

Antony was yet alive.

Caesar would not listen to any proposals for Antony, but he made

answer to Cleopatra, that there was no reasonable favour which she

might not expect, if she put Antony to death, or expelled him from

Egypt. He sent back with the ambassadors his own freedman, Thyrsus,

a man of understanding, and not at all ill-qualified for conveying the

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messages of a youthful general to a woman so proud of her charms and possessed with the opinion of the power of her beauty. But by the long audiences he received from her, and the special honours which she paid him, Antony's jealousy began to be awakened; he had him seized, whipped, and sent back; writing Caesar word that the man's busy, impertinent ways had provoked him; in his circumstances he could not be expected to be very patient: "But if it offends you," he added, "you have got my freedman, Hipparchus, with you; hang him up and scourge him to make us even." But Cleopatra, after this, to clear herself, and to allay his jealousies, paid him all the attentions imaginable. When her own birthday came, she kept it as was suitable to

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their fallen fortunes; but his was observed with the utmost

prodigality of splendour and magnificence, so that many of the

guests sat down in want, and went home wealthy men. Meantime,

continual letters came to Caesar from Agrippa, telling him his

presence was extremely required at Rome.

And so the war was deferred for a season. But, the winter being

over, he began his march, he himself by Syria, and his captains

through Africa. Pelusium being taken, there went a report as if it had

been delivered up to Caesar by Seleucus, not without the consent of

Cleopatra; but she, to justify herself, gave up into Antony's hands

the wife and children of Seleucus to be put to death. She had caused

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to be built, joining to the temple of Isis, several tombs and  
  
monuments of wonderful height, and very remarkable for the  
  
workmanship; thither she removed her treasure, her gold, silver,  
  
emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, cinnamon, and, after all, a great  
  
quantity of torchwood and tow. Upon which Caesar began to fear lest  
  
she should, in a desperate fit, set all these riches on fire; and,  
  
therefore, while he was marching toward the city with his army, he  
  
omitted no occasion of giving her new assurances of his good  
  
intentions. He took up his position in the Hippodrome, where Antony  
  
made a fierce sally upon him, routed the horse, and beat them back  
  
into their trenches, and so returned with great satisfaction to the

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palace, where, meeting Cleopatra, armed as he was, he kissed her,  
  
and commended to her favour one of his men, who had most signalized  
  
himself in the fight, to whom she made a present of a breastplate  
  
and helmet of gold; which he having received went that very night  
  
and deserted to Caesar.

After this, Antony sent a new challenge to Caesar to fight him  
  
hand-to-hand; who made him answer that he might find several other  
  
ways to end his life; and he, considering with himself that he could  
  
not die more honourably than in battle, resolved to make an effort  
  
both by land and sea. At supper, it is said, he bade his servants help  
  
him freely, and pour him out wine plentifully, since to-morrow,

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perhaps, they should not do the same, but be servants to a new master,

whilst he should lie on the ground, a dead corpse, and nothing. His

friends that were about him wept to hear him talk so; which he

perceiving, told them he would not lead them to a battle in which he

expected rather an honourable death than either safety or victory.

That night, it is related, about the middle of it, when the whole city

was in a deep silence and general sadness, expecting the event of

the next day, on a sudden was heard the sound of all sorts of

instruments, and voices singing in tune, and the cry of a crowd of

people shouting and dancing, like a troop of bacchanals on its way.

This tumultuous procession seemed to take its course right through the

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middle of the city to the gate nearest the enemy; here it became the loudest, and suddenly passed out. People who reflected considered this to signify that Bacchus, the god whom Antony had always made it his study to copy and imitate, had now forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he marched his infantry out of the city, and posted them upon a rising ground, from whence he saw his fleet make up to the enemy. There he stood in expectation of the event; but as soon as the fleets came near to one another, his men saluted Caesar's with their oars; and on their responding, the whole body of the ships, forming into a single fleet, rowed up direct to the city.

Antony had no sooner seen this, but the horse deserted him, and went



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over to Caesar; and his foot being defeated, he retired into the city,

crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him to the enemies he had

made for her sake. She, being afraid lest in his fury and despair he

might do her a mischief, fled to her monument, and letting down the

falling doors, which were strong with bars and bolts, she sent

messengers who should tell Antony she was dead. He, believing it,

cried out, "Now, Antony, why delay longer? Fate has snatched away

the only pretext for which you could say you desired yet to live."

Going into his chamber, and there loosening and opening his coat of "I

am not," said he, "troubled, Cleopatra, to be at present bereaved of

you, for I shall soon be with you; but it distresses me that so

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great a general should be found of a tardier courage than a woman." He

had a faithful servant, whose name was Eros; he had engaged him

formerly to kill him when he should think it necessary, and now he put

him to his promise. Eros drew his sword, as designing to kill him,

but, suddenly turning round, he slew himself. And as he fell dead at

his feet, "It is well done, Eros," said Antony; "you show your

master how to do what you had not the heart to do yourself;" and so he

ran himself into the belly, and laid himself upon the couch. The

wound, however, was not immediately mortal; and the flow of blood

ceasing when he lay down, presently he came to himself, and

entreated those that were about him to put him out of his pain; but

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they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and

struggling, until Diomede, Cleopatra's secretary, came to him,

having orders from her to bring him into the monument.

When he understood she was alive, he eagerly gave order to the servants to take him up, and in their arms was carried to the door of the building. Cleopatra would not open the door, but, looking from a sort of window, she let down ropes and cords, to which Antony was fastened; and she and her two women, the only persons she had allowed to enter the monument, drew him up. Those that were present say that nothing was ever more sad than this spectacle, to see Antony, covered all over with blood and just expiring, thus drawn up, still

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holding up his hands to her, and lifting up his body with the little

force he had left. As, indeed, it was no easy task for the women;

and Cleopatra, with all her force, clinging to the rope, and straining

with her head to the ground, with difficulty pulled him up while those

below encouraged her with their cries, and joined in all her efforts

and anxiety. When she had got him up, she laid him on the bed, tearing

all her clothes, which she spread upon him; and, beating her breast

with her hands, lacerating herself, and disfiguring her own face

with the blood from his wounds, she called him her lord, her

husband, her emperor, and seemed to have pretty nearly forgotten all

her own evils, she was so intent upon his misfortunes. Antony,

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stopping her lamentations as well as he could, called for wine to  
  
drink, either that he was thirsty, or that he imagined that it might  
  
put him the sooner out of pain. When he had drunk, he advised her to  
  
bring her own affairs, so far as might be honourably done, to a safe  
  
conclusion, and that, among all the friends of Caesar, she should rely  
  
on Proculeius; that she should not pity him in this last turn of fate,  
  
but rather rejoice for him in remembrance of his past happiness, who  
  
had been of all men the most illustrious and powerful, and in the  
  
end had fallen not ignobly, a Roman by a Roman overcome.

Just as he breathed his last, Proculeius arrived from Caesar; for  
  
when Antony gave himself his wound, and was carried in to Cleopatra,

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one of his guards, Dercetaeus, took up Antony's sword and hid it; and, when he saw his opportunity, stole away to Caesar, and brought him the first news of Antony's death, and withal showed him the bloody sword. Caesar, upon this, retired into the inner part of his tent, and giving some tears to the death of one that had been nearly allied to him in marriage, his colleague in empire, and companion in so many wars and dangers, he came out to his friends, and, bringing with him many letters, he read to them with how much reason and moderation he had always addressed himself to Antony, and in return what overbearing and arrogant answers he received. Then he sent Proculeius to use his utmost endeavours to get Cleopatra alive into his power; for he was

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afraid of losing a great treasure, and, besides, she would be no small addition to the glory of his triumph. She, however, was careful not to put herself in Proculeius's power; but from within her monument, he standing on the outside of a door, on the level of the ground, which was strongly barred, but so that they might well enough hear one another's voice, she held a conference with him; she demanding that her kingdom might be given to her children, and he binding her to be of good courage, and trust Caesar in everything.

Having taken particular notice of the place, he returned to Caesar, and Gallus was sent to parley with her the second time; who, being come to the door, on purpose prolonged the conference, while

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Proculeius fixed his scaling-ladders in the window through which the women had pulled up Antony. And so entering, with two men to follow him, he went straight down to the door where Cleopatra was discoursing with Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up in the monument with her cried out, "Miserable Cleopatra, you are taken prisoner!"

Upon which she turned quick, and, looking at Proculeius, drew out her dagger which she had with her to stab herself. But Proculeius ran up quickly, and seizing her with both his hands, "For shame," said he, "Cleopatra; you wrong yourself and Caesar much, who would rob him of so fair an occasion of showing his clemency, and would make the world believe the most gentle of commanders to be a faithless and



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implacable enemy." And so, taking the dagger out of her hand, he

also shook her dress to see if there were any poison hid in it.

After this, Caesar sent Epaphroditus, one of his freedmen, with orders

to treat her with all the gentleness and civility possible, but to

take the strictest precautions to keep her alive.

In the meanwhile, Caesar made his entry into Alexandria, with Areius

the philosopher at his side, holding him by the hand and talking

with him; desiring that all his fellow-citizens should see what honour

was paid to him, and should look up to him accordingly from the very

first moment. Then, entering the exercise ground, he mounted a

platform erected for the purpose, and from thence commanded the

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citizens (who, in great fear and consternation, fell prostrate at his feet) to stand up, and told them that he freely acquitted the people of all blame first, for the sake of Alexander, who built their city, then for the city's sake itself, which was so large and beautiful; and, thirdly, to gratify his friend Areius.

Such great honour did Areius receive from Caesar; and by his intercession many lives were saved, amongst the rest that of Philostratus, a man, of all the professors of logic that ever were, the most ready in extempore speaking, but quite destitute of any right to call himself one of the philosophers of the Academy. Caesar, out of disgust at his character, refused all attention to his entreaties. So,

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growing a long white beard, and dressing himself in black, he followed

behind Areius, shouting out the verse,

"The wise, if they are wise, will save the wise."

Which Caesar hearing, gave him his pardon, to prevent rather any odium

that might attach to Areius, than any harm that Philostratus might

suffer.

Of Antony's children, Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, being betrayed by

his tutor, Theodorus, was put to death; and while the soldiers were

cutting off his head, his tutor contrived to steal a precious jewel

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which he wore about his neck, and put it in his pocket, and afterwards

denied the fact, but was convicted and crucified. Cleopatra's

children, with their attendants, had a guard set on them, and were

treated very honourably. Caesarion, who was reputed to be the son of

Caesar the Dictator, was sent by his mother, with a great sum of

money, through Ethiopia, to pass into India; but his tutor, a man

named Rhodon, about as honest as Theodorus, persuaded him to turn

back, for that Caesar designed to make him king. Caesar consulting

what was best to be done with him, Areius we are told, said,

"Too many Caesars are not well."

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So, afterwards, when Cleopatra was dead he was killed.

Many kings and great commanders made petition to Caesar for the body

of Antony, to give him his funeral rites; but he would not take away

his corpse from Cleopatra by whose hands he was buried with royal

splendour and magnificence, it being granted to her to employ what she

pleased on his funeral. In this extremity of grief and sorrow, and

having inflamed and ulcerated her breasts with beating them, she

fell into a high fever, and was very glad of the occasion, hoping,

under this pretext, to abstain from food, and so to die in quiet

without interference. She had her own physician, Olympus, to whom

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she told the truth, and asked his advice and help to put an end to herself, as Olympus himself has told us, in a narrative which he wrote of these events. But Caesar, suspecting her purpose, took to menacing language about her children, and excited her fears for them, before which engines her purpose shook and gave way, so that she suffered those about her to give her what meat or medicine they pleased.

Some few days after, Caesar himself came to make her a visit and comfort her. She lay then upon her pallet-bed in undress, and, on his entering, sprang up from off her bed, having nothing on but the one garment next her body, and flung herself at his feet, her hair and

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face looking wild and disfigured, her voice quivering, and her eyes  
sunk in her head. The marks of the blows she had given herself were  
visible about her bosom, and altogether her whole person seemed no  
less afflicted than her soul. But, for all this, her old charm, and  
the boldness of her youthful beauty, had not wholly left her, and,  
in spite of her present condition, still sparkled from within, and let  
itself appear in all the movements of her countenance. Caesar,  
desiring her to repose herself, sat down by her; and, on this  
opportunity, she said something to justify her actions, attributing  
what she had done to the necessity she was under, and to her fear of  
Antony; and when Caesar, on each point, made his objections, and she

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found herself confuted, she broke off at once into language of entreaty and deprecation, as if she desired nothing more than to prolong her life. And at last, having by her a list of her treasure, she gave it into his hands; and when Seleucus, one of her stewards, who was by, pointed out that various articles were omitted, and charged her with secreting them, she flew up and caught him by the hair, and struck him several blows on the face. Caesar smiling and withholding her, "Is it not very hard, Caesar," said she, "when you do me the honour to visit me in this condition I am in, that I should be accused by one of my own servants of laying by some women's toys, not meant to adorn, be sure, my unhappy self, but that I might have



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some little present by me to make your Octavia and your Livia, that by their intercession I might hope to find you in some measure disposed to mercy?" Caesar was pleased to hear her talk thus, being now assured that she was desirous to live. And, therefore, letting her know that the things she had laid by she might dispose of as she pleased, and his usage of her should be honourable above her expectation, he went away, well satisfied that he had overreached her, but, in fact, was himself deceived.

There was a young man of distinction among Caesar's companions named

Cornelius Dolabella. He was not without a certain tenderness for

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Cleopatra and sent her word privately, as she had besought him to do, that Caesar was about to return through Syria, and that she and her children were to be sent on within three days. When she understood this, she made her request to Caesar that he would be pleased to permit her to make oblations to the departed Antony; which being granted, she ordered herself to be carried to the place where he was buried, and there, accompanied by her women, she embraced his tomb with tears in her eyes, and spoke in this manner: "O, dearest Antony," said she, "it is not long since that with these hands I buried you; then they were free, now I am a captive, and pay these last duties to you with a guard upon me, for fear that my just griefs and

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sorrows should impair my servile body, and make it less fit to  
  
appear in their triumph over you. No further offerings or libations  
  
expect from me; these are the last honours that Cleopatra can pay your  
  
memory, for she is to be hurried away far from you. Nothing could part  
  
us whilst we lived, but death seems to threaten to divide us. You, a  
  
Roman born, have found a grave in Egypt; I, an Egyptian, am to seek  
  
that favour, and none but that, in your country. But if the gods  
  
below, with whom you now are, either can or will do anything (since  
  
those above have betrayed us), suffer not your living wife to be  
  
abandoned; let me not be led in triumph to your shame, but hide me and  
  
bury me here with you since, amongst all my bitter misfortunes,

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nothing has afflicted me like this brief time that I have lived away

from you."

Having made these lamentations, crowning the tomb with garlands

and kissing it, she gave orders to prepare her a bath, and, coming out

of the bath, she lay down and made a sumptuous meal. And a country

fellow brought her a little basket, which the guards intercepting

and asking what it was the fellow put the leaves which lay uppermost

aside, and showed them it was full of figs; and on their admiring

the largeness and beauty of the figs, he laughed, and invited them

to take some, which they refused, and, suspecting nothing, bade him

carry them in. After her repast, Cleopatra sent to Caesar a letter

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which she had written and sealed; and, putting everybody out of the monument but her two women, she shut the doors. Caesar, opening her letter, and finding pathetic prayers and entreaties that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, soon guessed what was doing.

At first he was going himself in all haste, but, changing his mind, he sent others to see. The thing had been quickly done. The messengers came at full speed, and found the guards apprehensive of nothing; but on opening the doors they saw her stone-dead, lying upon a bed of gold, set out in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dying at her feet, and Charmion, just ready to fall, scarce able to hold up her head, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. And when one

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that came in said angrily, "Was this well done of your lady,

Charmion?" "Extremely well," she answered, "and as became the

descendant of so many kings;" and as she said this, she fell down dead

by the bedside.

Some relate that an asp was brought in amongst those figs and

covered with the leaves, and that Cleopatra had arranged that it might

settle on her before she knew, but, when she took away some of the

figs and saw it, she said, "So here it is," and held out her bare

arm to be bitten. Others say that it was kept in a vase, and that

she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle till it seized her arm.

But what really took place is known to no one, since it was also

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said that she carried poison in a hollow bodkin, about which she wound her hair; yet there was not so much as a spot found, or any symptom of poison upon her body, nor was the asp seen within the monument; only something like the trail of it was said to have been noticed on the sand by the sea, on the part towards which the building faced and where the windows were. Some relate that two faint puncture-marks were found on Cleopatra's arm, and to this account Caesar seems to have given credit; for in his triumph there was carried a figure of Cleopatra, with an asp clinging to her. Such are the various accounts. But Caesar, though much disappointed by her death, yet could not but admire the greatness of her spirit, and gave order that her body

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should be buried by Antony with royal splendour and magnificence.

Her women, also, received honourable burial by his directions.

Cleopatra had lived nine-and-thirty years, during twenty-two of been

she had reigned as queen, and for fourteen had been Antony's partner

in his empire. Antony, according to some authorities, was fifty-three,

according to others, fifty-six years old. His statues were all

thrown down, but those of Cleopatra were left untouched; for

Archibius, one of her friends, gave Caesar two thousand talents to

save them from the fate of Antony's.

Antony left by his three wives seven children, of whom only

Antyllus, the eldest, was put to death by Caesar; Octavia took the



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rest, and brought them up with her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by

Cleopatra, was given in marriage to Juba, the most accomplished of

kings; and Antony, his son by Fulvia, attained such high favour

that, whereas Agrippa was considered to hold the first place with

Caesar, and the sons of Livia the second, the third, without

dispute, was possessed by Antony. Octavia, also, having had by her

first husband, Marcellus, two daughters, and one son named

Marcellus, this son Caesar adopted, and gave him his daughter in

marriage; as did Octavia one of the daughters to Agrippa. But

Marcellus dying almost immediately after his marriage, she, perceiving

that her brother was at a loss to find elsewhere any sure friend to be

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his son-in-law, was the first to recommend that Agrippa should put away her daughter and marry Julia. To this Caesar first, and then Agrippa himself, gave assent; so Agrippa married Julia, and Octavia, receiving her daughter, married her to the young Antony. Of the two daughters whom Octavia had borne to Antony, the one was married to Domitius Ahenobarbus; and the other, Antonia, famous for her beauty and discretion, was married to Drusus, the son of Livia, and stepson to Caesar. Of these parents were born Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius reigned later; and of the children of Germanicus, Caius, after a reign of distinction, was killed with his wife and child; Agrippina, after bearing a son Lucius Domitius, to Ahenobarbus, was

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married to Claudius Caesar, who adopted Domitius, giving him the  
  
name of Nero Germanicus. He was emperor in our time, and put his  
  
mother to death, and with his madness and folly came not far from  
  
ruining the Roman empire, being Antony's descendant in the fifth  
  
generation.

THE END