

Maximus 9. 3. 8. Granius would have been one of the chief magistrates of the city, a *duumvir iure dicundo*.

215 *funeral arrangements*: see c. 34 and note, *made war on Pompey*.

*another of a lictor*: that is, the statues of Sulla as magistrate, no doubt dictator, with his official attendant.

*a part in the funeral*: in a detailed description of the funeral, Appian (*BC* 1. 105–6) mentions neither the rain nor the wind. Plutarch wishes to bring out the divine fortune which followed him his whole life.

*more harm to his enemies*: Sulla's is a traditional wish, expressed also in the fifth century by Cyrus the Younger (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1. 9. 11). Cyrus did not live to accomplish his wish; Sulla did. He may have imitated the verse of Ennius for Scipio Africanus the Elder: 'Here lies one whom no citizen or enemy was able to repay for what he did.' The pair of Lives continues with the Comparison of Lysander and Sulla.

#### POMPEY

223 'I . . . love this son of his': from Aeschylus' lost *Prometheus Unbound*: Heracles' father, Zeus, had fastened Prometheus to a rock, but Heracles freed him.

*and abused it*: Cn. Pompeius Strabo, consul in 89, captured the rebel town of Asculum in Picenum (mod. Ascoli Piceno), thus helping end the Social War (on which, cf. *Sull.* 6). He made enemies by keeping the spoils, and by not defending Rome against Cinna and Marius in 87 (cf. c. 3).

*fond of an Alexander*: Plutarch notes a resemblance to the representations of Alexander the Great (cf. *Alex.* 4), with the same 'mobility . . . about the eyes', which was often remarked upon. L. Marcius Philippus, consul in 91 and censor in 86, was a supporter (cf. c. 17). Alexander's father was also named Philip. From the beginning, Plutarch establishes Pompey as a kingly figure.

224 *grief and longing*: Pompey's relation with Flora (cf. c. 53, but otherwise unknown) is indicative of a weakness in his character, yielding too easily to his friends, against his own best interests.

*his wives*: Pompey married five times (Antistia, Aemilia, Mucia, Julia, and Cornelia), but Plutarch thinks especially of the last two, and the influence of their fathers Caesar and Metellus Scipio, cf. cc. 47, 55. On Demetrius, cf. c. 40.

*later in his life*: Lucullus and Pompey fought over the Mithridatic command, cf. cc. 20, 30.

225 *allegiance to their commander*: in 87, Strabo was cautiously opposing Cinna. The story is doubtful, but both Pompey and L. Terentius were on Strabo's council of advisers, as we learn from an inscription set up after

the siege of Asculum in 89 (*ILS* 8888, text in Latin and English in J. Leach, *Pompey the Great* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 218–20).

*arbitrator of these disputes*: Pompey was defended by L. Philippus (cf. c. 2 and note, *fond of an Alexander*), the great orator Hortensius, and Cn. Papirius Carbo, who would be consul for 85. P. Antistius was not a praetor, but presided over the court.

226 *about Talasius*: Plutarch knows other explanations too: cf. *Rom.* 15, *Roman Questions* 271f–272a, and Livy 1. 9. The legendary rape (more correctly, snatching) of the Sabine women occurred soon after the foundation of Rome in 754, and was engineered by Romulus to get women for the exclusively male settlers.

*form of slavery*: Plutarch passes quickly over the years after L. Cornelius Cinna along with Marius captured the city in 87 (cf. *Mar.* 41–4), then ruled along with Carbo until his death early in 84, while Sulla was in the East. Sulla's rule was to prove no better, cf. *Sull.* 30.

*he had estates there*: these large estates in Picenum (covering parts of modern Marche and Abruzzo) provided a source both of money and of men.

227 *Auximum, a large city*: modern Osimo. This recruitment by a private citizen rather than an authorized magistrate is extraordinary. Sulla had invaded Italy in early 83: for the civil war which followed in 83 and 82, cf. *Sull.* 27–30. The decision to gather the army and ally himself early with Sulla was the foundation of his future career.

228 *weapons and horses*: the chapter gives a whirlwind account of Pompey's first battles in north and central Italy, which established his fame as a general, and deserved the accolade of Sulla in the following chapter. Cf. also Appian, *BC* 1. 87–8, 90, 92. It is difficult to reconstruct the movements of the armies in this area in 83 and 82: Carbo seems based in the north, at Ariminum (mod. Rimini). C. Carrinas was praetor in 82; Coelius is probably C. Coelius Antipater (cf. C. Tuplin, 'Coelius or Cloelius', *Chiron*, 9 (1979), 137–45); Brutus may be M. Iunius Brutus (praetor in 88) or more likely L. Iunius Brutus Damasippus (praetor in 82). L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus also lost an army to Sulla at Teanum through fraternization (*Sull.* 28): this could be the same occasion, ascribed to Pompey, but more likely Scipio lost a second army. Pompey fought Carbo at the Aesis (just north of Ancona). Some have suggested that this refers to a battle where he supported Metellus (cf. c. 8 and Appian, *BC* 1. 87) and that Plutarch displaced events from after the meeting with Sulla (c. 8) to this chapter, but our knowledge is insufficient to prove this.

*addressed him as 'Imperator'*: on this salutation to victorious commanders—but only those holding legal *imperium*—see note on p. 213, 'Don't worry, Imperator'. We do not know exactly when or where Pompey met Sulla. Expecting much, and getting more, is the leitmotif for

- Pompey's treatment by the Romans in the first half of the Life. Diod. 38–39. 10 give another example of Sulla's praise.
- 228 *had fought . . . Scipio and Marius for it*: Sulla seduced Scipio's army at Teanum, and defeated the younger Marius at Sacriportus in early 82. But Sulla was already Imperator because of his victories in the East.
- 229 *inviting him to come*: Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (praetor in 89, and pro-consul 88–82) was sent to Cisalpine Gaul by Sulla in 83.
- his character particularly well*: the comparison with Metellus, and the athletic imagery, highlight Pompey's youth and brilliance. Plutarch apologizes, but he regularly uses early events (childhood or first campaigns) to establish basic traits of his protagonist. In fact, chapters 10–15, the Sullan years 82–79, continue the detailed account of how Pompey built up his position, enjoying Sulla's patronage but maintaining a certain independence.
- 230 *in Pompey's house*: the short-lived marriage put Pompey in an élite circle: a son-in-law of Sulla and of M. Aemilius Scaurus (consul for 115, censor in 109, and *princeps senatus* from 115 until his death in 89 or 88) and with connections to the Metelli. Antistius had been murdered with others in the senate-house on the orders of young Marius in 82, before Sulla could enter the city.
- to deal with these situations*: Pompey was sent as propraetor with six legions against M. Perperna Veiento, the Marian governor of Sicily, who fled to Sertorius in Spain, and Carbo, who was captured, and then later (c. 11) against Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
- companion of Caesar*: cf. p. 300 above.
- 231 *the city of Himera*: on the north coast of Sicily.
- and became tyrant*: cf. *Mar.* 41–3.
- 232 *the earlier incident*: i.e. when he was not recognized and almost killed.
- only 24 years old*: Pompey restored the Numidian throne to Hiempsal, who had opposed Marius when he was in Africa (*Mar.* 40). Pompey was born in 106.
- 233 *very brink of disaster*: referring to the young Marius.
- stopped arousing resentment*: Plutarch carefully orchestrates the appreciation of Pompey's achievement (as Pompey himself had), noting his ability to seem to yield, but still get his way. Sulla's decision to greet him as 'Magnus' is a sign of Pompey's imposing victories and potential political influence.
- 234 *thanks to their wealth*: the digression on M'. Valerius Maximus, who ended the secession of the plebs in 494, and Q. Fabius Maximus Rullus, who as censor in 304 ruled that freedmen should be enrolled only in the four urban tribes, makes an implicit comparison between their action in resolving tension in the state and Pompey's behaviour, both now and in the future. Livy (9. 46. 14–15) mentions Fabius' limitation of

- freedmen to the urban tribes, but not the freedmen's expulsion from the senate.
- 235 *classified as a knight*: Pompey triumphed on 12 March, though the year is uncertain: 81 or 80. Cf. R. Seager, *Pompey: A Political Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell 1979), 12. Plutarch notes that he could have been made a senator if he chose.
- honourable burial*: the consuls elected for 78 were M. Aemilius Lepidus, an opponent of much of Sulla's legislation, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, a solid supporter of the senate. Sulla died in January 78.
- 236 *with an army*: Lepidus began his rebellion while still consul. M. Iunius Brutus was his legate in Cisalpine Gaul in 77. Some scholars accuse Pompey of supporting Lepidus' election, so that he would then be able to step in and save the day.
- sent to do the job*: Pompey besieged Brutus at Mutina (mod. Modena). Geminus is the friend to whom Pompey gave up Flora (c. 2). Catulus, meanwhile, defeated Lepidus outside Rome (Appian, *BC* 1. 107).
- totally dissimilar*: Plutarch refers to his *Brutus*, which presents the younger Brutus as acting from philosophic motives, up to his suicide after his defeat at Philippi.
- his looming menace*: Q. Sertorius, an associate of Marius and Cinna, fled Sulla in 83 and established himself in Spain as governor. He was expelled in 81, but returned at the invitation of Lusitanians and anti-Sullan exiles in 80. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, after serving as consul for 80, was named proconsul of Further Spain, and tried to expel him. Cf. the full-scale treatment in Plutarch's *Sertorius*, our chief source, with C. F. Konrad, *Plutarch's Sertorius: A Historical Commentary* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), and P. O. Spann, *Quintus Sertorius and the Legacy of Sulla* (Fayetteville, Ark.: University of Arkansas Press, 1987).
- 237 *gave him the command*: again Pompey manages to circumvent those who would block him from command. He was given Nearer Spain, where he arrived in spring 76. For L. Philippus, cf. c. 2 and note, *fond of an Alexander*.
- the simplicity of his lifestyle*: the portrayal of Metellus as weak and hedonistic does not reflect the difficulties of the guerrilla warfare Sertorius conducted or the successes Metellus had. Nevertheless, by 77 Sertorius had control of most of Roman Spain. Again, Plutarch's comparison shows Pompey's greater energy (or his better propaganda).
- 238 *expert tacticians*: Lauron (mod. Lauro) is on the coast south of Saguntum (cf. *Sert.* 18). Perperna had joined Sertorius after being driven out of Sicily by Pompey (c. 10).
- and lost him*: Appian (*BC* 1. 110) has Metellus and Pompey fight the battle of the Sucro (mod. Jucar, south of Valencia) together, but this seems mistaken. Cf. *Sert.* 19 and Konrad, *Sertorius*, 167–8.

238 *lower their fasces*: lictors were the official attendants of magistrates with *imperium*; they each carried a bundle of rods with an axe in the centre (fasces) as a sign of the power to punish.

239 *in other provinces*: Metellus spent the winter in Gaul.

*if they did not send it*: Sallust's version of the letter Pompey sent to the senate is preserved (*Histories* 2. 98). There, the threat seems quite clear that if supplies were not sent, he would bring his army to Italy, and the war would come with him.

*easy to handle*: L. Licinius Lucullus, consul for 74, in fact received the command he wanted. Mithridates had made a treaty with Sulla (cf. *Sull.* 24), but after Nicomedes IV willed his kingdom to the Romans in 76 or 75, Mithridates prepared to oppose the Roman takeover, and even asked Sertorius for an alliance.

*brought to him afterwards*: Sertorius was killed in autumn 73; Pompey captured and executed Perperna probably early in 72. Cf. Konrad, *Sertorius*, 217.

*without even reading them*: some suggested that Pompey should be easy on Perperna because he had not fought him in Sicily (cf. c. 10). Plutarch admires instead Pompey's statesmanlike act in not publicizing Sertorius' correspondence, which might have led to more civil war: cf. the similar situation when Agesilaus did not publish the conspiracy that Lysander had been planning (*Ages.* 20). Pompey set up a trophy in the Pyrenees, listing 876 towns that he had captured.

240 *at its peak*: Pompey made a significant reorganization of Spain, granting Roman citizenship to many, thus building a strong *clientela* there. The Thracian slave Spartacus escaped from a gladiatorial camp at Capua and raised a Servile War in 73. In 72 he defeated two consular armies, and command was given to M. Licinius Crassus, who had almost completed the war by early 71 (Appian, *BC* 1. 121): 'at its peak' is Plutarch's exaggeration.

*every last trace of war*: the senate summoned Pompey to help. Hearing of Pompey's arrival (cf. *Cras.* 11), Crassus forced the last battle, but Pompey was still able to share the glory. Moreover, the senate's summons gave Pompey an excuse for keeping his army intact in Italy. Thereafter Crassus never trusted Pompey, though they made alliances.

*forestalled him in this*: more than expressing gratitude, Pompey wished to win the support of the people (here including the knights) by restoring the full force of the tribunate, and giving them a means of controlling in some way the senate. In 75 the consul Cotta had removed the Sullan restriction on ex-tribunes holding other offices in the *cursus honorum*; Pompey and Crassus intended to restore the tribune's right to present legislation to the people. This was done without difficulty once they were elected.

*elected consul*: Pompey was elected consul for 70, together with Crassus, after the senate exempted him from the Sullan law regulating accession to the consulship (he had still held no other regular magistracy, and was only 36). Pompey celebrated his second triumph on the last day of 71, and entered office the next day.

241 *try cases in court*: besides restoring the tribunes' legislative powers, the consuls supported a tribunician proposal to change the composition of juries for extortion (*repetundae*) trials from senators only to equal groups of senators, knights, and a group called *tribuni aerarii* (apparently a special class of knights). This ended the senate monopoly established by Sulla, which had caused scandal, both earlier and in the trial of Verres, which Cicero successfully prosecuted this year.

*accompanied them on their way*: the censors for 70, the first since 86, held the standard review of the knights with a public horse (cf. *CMaj.* 16 and *Aem.* 38), but the scene described looks specially staged for Pompey. Plutarch uses every opportunity to show how unusual Pompey's career was, and the effect it had on the populace. Pompey moved directly from knight to consul. However, his military career meant that Pompey had not built up the experience in working within the structures of government and the senate which other senators had earned, and this was to hamper him in political life in Rome.

242 *Pompey's life*: retirement gave him a chance to work on political relationships quietly, meeting with senators and building up his *clientela*. It was to pay off in his appointment against the pirates, and then against Mithridates.

243 *to the present day*: an important notice on the introduction of the ancient Iranian god Mithras into the Roman empire. Mithraic rites flourished in Plutarch's day.

244 *and drown him*: this long digression, fascinating in itself, serves also to augment the significance of Pompey's suppression of piracy, which brought peace to the provinces, temples, and Rome itself. Cf. also Appian, *Mith.* 92-3. *Mith.* 63 gives a slightly different list of temples sacked. The capture of the praetors is mentioned by Cicero, *For the Manilian Law* 32. M. Antonius, consul in 99, whose daughter was captured, had held a three-year command in Cilicia against the pirates, and had celebrated a triumph in 100. *Calcei* were the boots worn by upper-class Romans: Plutarch elsewhere associates them with senatorial governors (*Rules for Politicians* 813e). Caesar also was captured by pirates, but was of different mettle: see *Caes.* 2.

*all our sea*: that is, the whole Mediterranean. The most dangerous shortage, one at its height in winter 68/67, was that of grain from Sicily and Africa to feed the Roman populace.

*four hundred stades from the coast*: A. Gabinius was tribune of the people for 67. Four hundred stades is about 75 km. (47 mi.).

245 *win their support*: C. Iulius Caesar, the future dictator, at this time was at

- the beginning of his career: he was quaestor in Spain in 69 and 68, but had also been seized by pirates. Cf. *Caes.* 2, 5.
- 245 *same end as Romulus*: that is, in one version, torn to pieces by the senators: *Rom.* 27; Livy 1. 16. The consul is C. Calpurnius Piso.
- to go with him*: Catulus was the consul for 78 (c. 15); L. Roscius Othos was a tribune, not the famous actor. Cf. also Cassius Dio 36. 24–36.
- strikes the birds*: Plutarch likes this sort of scientific digression (cf. *Flam.* 10), but it also confirms the strength of the crowd's support for Pompey.
- 246 *commanding officers*: historians note the excess of forces, but Pompey did not do things by halves. His first effort was to clear the waters off Italy, to protect the grain supply. Cf. also Appian, *Mith.* 95–6.
- 247 *on your way*: the Athenians both honour him and remind him of his mortality.
- 248 *a lot of good land*: this is an unusually far-sighted measure, perhaps related to the social status of some of the pirates (cf. c. 24). Contrast Caesar's crucifixion of his captors, *Caes.* 2. Plutarch, continuing the philosophic note, suggests that his own ideas on man's natural bent towards a civilized life were also Pompey's. The settlements in eastern Cilicia were not in fact in Roman territory, suggesting Pompey had decided that Rome must annex this area.
- he come second*: cf. Homer, *Iliad* 22. 205–7.
- the whole army*: Pompey had command over land up to 75 km. (47 mi.) inland; the proconsul Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus had command over Crete, with a similar responsibility to deal with pirates. Octavius apparently fought against Metellus' troops. It is not clear whether Pompey had a superior *imperium*, but in any case Metellus did not recognize it. Cassius Dio (36. 18–19) gives more details. Pompey's thirst for glory causes him to deny others their own glory (cf. c. 19, with Metellus Pius, and 21, with Crassus), a dangerous situation in an oligarchic government.
- 249 *same terms as before*: C. Manilius, a tribune for 66, proposed the law, which was supported in a major speech to the people by Cicero (*For the Manilian Law*). In 70 Lucullus had driven Mithridates west into Armenia, and then fought the Armenian king, Tigranes, but since then he had had trouble with his troops and with Roman business interests in Asia. Cf. *Luc.* 5–35. In 67 Pontus and Bithynia had been assigned to M. Acilius Glabrio.
- preserve their freedom*: the reference seems to be to the various secessions of the plebs, when they were oppressed by the senate—such as to the Mons Sacer (cf. *Cor.* 6).
- 250 *no authority at all*: Pompey wished to establish his own authority, and keep the patronage of these rulers and cities for himself. Plutarch also wishes to draw the parallel with Agesilaus' harsh treatment of Lysander, who had been commander on the coast of Asia Minor before him: *Ages.* 7.

- 252 *Pompey's approach*: on dreams in Plutarch, cf. F. E. Brenk, 'The Religious Spirit of Plutarch', *ANRW* II. 36.1 (1987), 248–349, at 322–7.
- and the camp was captured*: it is difficult to follow movements in Pompey's campaign from our sources: Pompey pushed Mithridates back to the river Euphrates, but the king kept escaping. Our accounts of this decisive battle are conflicting: cf. Appian, *Mith.* 100; Cassius Dio 36. 49.
- 253 *and through Colchis*: Tigranes was his son-in-law and king of Armenia. Mithridates came down to the Black Sea and to Colchis, a territory at its eastern end.
- at the hands of Lucullus*: cf. *Luc.* 25–9.
- at Pompey's feet*: the *kitaris* was the traditional Iranian head-dress. In the Comparison of Cimon and Lucullus c. 3, Plutarch credits this humility to the drubbing Lucullus had given him.
- 254 *one that was fair*: for the Parthian empire, cf. note to p. 179, *friendship and alliance*. Pompey had already negotiated with Phraates III, the current king, before attacking Mithridates: cf. Livy, *Per.* 100; Cassius Dio 36. 45. 3.
- set off against Mithridates*: chapters 34–7 follow Pompey's course on the edges of the Black Sea and the Caucasus mountains. Plutarch creates an exotic narrative of strange names and battles, recalling the adventures of Alexander the Great, Pompey's model. Leaving behind Armenia (extending from the Euphrates to the Caspian), Pompey went into Iberia (mod. Georgia) and Albania (Azerbaijan), fighting the Albanians on the river Cynrus (Kura), then down to Colchis on the Black Sea. The inhabitants were (and are) fiercely independent mountain tribes.
- left Hyrcania in a hurry*: Alexander had not come into this area, although he came to Hyrcania on the south shore of the Caspian.
- 255 *far from easy to pursue him*: Mithridates had fled to the Bosporan kingdom in Crimea, near the Sea of Azov, which was a part of his empire. Later, his son Phraates revolted against him, and he committed suicide (cf. c. 41).
- live by themselves*: this territory was the legendary home of the Amazons, whose queen was said to have met Alexander (*Alex.* 46).
- snakes in the region*: arrival at the Caspian Sea would have been a fine feather in Pompey's cap.
- 256 *back to Arbelitis*: after returning west of the Euphrates into Lesser Armenia, Pompey received delegations from Darius, king of Media Atropatene, to the south of Armenia, and the Elymaeans, from south-west Iran (though some have suggested a small kingdom of that name in the north). Phraates hoped to profit from the Roman attack on Tigranes to annex Gordyene, a vassal state. Afranius repulsed him.
- parents and families*: Alexander, too, had refused to touch the captured wife and family of Darius (*Alex.* 21).

256 *'family background and stock'*: Plutarch ends this folk-tale with an ironic quote from the speech of the hero Glaucus on his genealogy, Homer, *Iliad* 6. 211. Perhaps we are meant to think of the new riches Pompey is acquiring so rapidly.

*fortress of Caenum*: at an uncertain spot in the Lycus (mod. Kelkit) valley.

257 *back to her*: Alcaeus is known from inscriptions as one of the leaders of his home city of Sardis. Monime was a Milesian woman, Mithridates' wife, and fiercely independent: see *Luc.* 18.

*an utter villain*: on Theophanes of Mytilene, see p. 220 above. Rutilius Rufus was renowned for his integrity, while Plutarch considered Theophanes a scoundrel (cf. c. 49). On Rutilius' history, see p. 120 above. For Mithridates' massacre, cf. note to p. 186, *kingdoms to his friends*.

*went to Amisus*: Pompey came to Amisus (mod. Samsun), on the Black Sea coast and one of Mithridates' residences, in spring 64, and reorganized Pontus as a Roman province.

*the Hyrcanian Sea*: the once great Seleucid empire had by now been reduced to roughly modern Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, with weak kings supported by the Romans. Arabia here means especially the Nabataean kingdom centred in Petra; the Red Sea is the Indian Ocean. For Pompey in Africa, cf. c. 12 (though with no mention of getting to the Atlantic); in Spain, cc. 18–20; near the Caspian Sea, c. 36. The weakness of Syria both created a power vacuum and made it attractive for conquest.

258 *reasons for his unpopularity*: Lucullus had failed to bury the seven thousand soldiers, including 150 centurions and 24 military tribunes, of his legate C. Valerius Triarius who had fallen at Zela in 67 in a battle with Mithridates. Cf. *Luc.* 35.

*Aristobulus, his prisoner*: Judaea had been set up as a separate state by the Maccabees. At this time (autumn 63) Aristobulus was fighting for the throne against his brother Hyrcanus, who was supported by the Nabataean leader Aretas. Pompey installed Hyrcanus.

*settle the quarrel*: Phraates had reinvaded Gordyene and Tigranes had asked for help. The judges awarded the territory to Tigranes.

259 *response to his questions*: Demetrius was from Gadara, in the Decapolis, south of the Sea of Galilee. M. Porcius Cato was known for his uncompromising Stoic ideals, and became a leading optimiate, as we shall see. Here Plutarch again wishes to make a point about the use and display of wealth, which will later be applied to Pompey. Cf. *C.Min.* 13.

*covering his ears*: this way of wearing the toga was considered careless and rude.

*to cause offence*: Pompey celebrated his third triumph in 61 (cf. c. 45), bringing back all his wealth from the East, and completed his theatre in 55.

*lived around Petra*: Plutarch treats as separate Pompey's march against

Petra, capital of Aretas and the Nabataeans, although it was closely tied to the conquest of Judaea.

260 *and invade Italy*: that is, coming around the Black Sea and through the Balkans.

*and the Romans*: Pharnaces took control of the Bosporan kingdom in the Crimea, under Roman supervision, in 63. Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities* 14. 53–4) reports that Pompey heard the news at Jericho, not Petra, and therefore did not leave at once.

*the intervening provinces*: for Amisus, cf. note to p. 257, *went to Amisus*. Plutarch passes over the enormous number of administrative measures taken by Pompey during his command, which reshaped the face of Asia Minor and the Levant from this time on.

*to avert divine retribution*: Pompey wishes to respect the body, sending it to the city where others of the family were interred. Plutarch reminds his readers of powers greater than men, even as Pompey looks at Mithridates' corpse.

261 *for the sake of Theophanes*: for Theophanes of Mytilene, cf. p. 220 above. Mytilene had been severely punished by Lucullus for aiding Mithridates (*Luc.* 4).

*principles of investigation*: the talk of Posidonius, the philosopher and historian (cf. p. 219 above) may have responded to the arguments of Hermagoras of Temnos, active in the mid-second century, the famous author of a book on rhetoric which focused on the question of 'invention', the search for suitable arguments for a case. Some authors report that Pompey also met Posidonius during the Pirate War. Pompey probably invited him to write a history of his deeds, as Cicero did (cf. *Letters to Atticus* 2. 1. 2). According to Strabo (11. 1. 6), Posidonius undertook a history of Pompey, of which we have no trace.

*its restoration fund*: restoration was needed after Sulla's siege (cf. *Sull.* 12–14).

*Cicero's letters*: Pompey had married Mucia, the daughter of Q. Mucius Scaevola and sister of Q. Metellus Celer and Q. Metellus Nepos, and had by her three children, Gnaeus, Sextus, and Pompeia. Caesar was said to have seduced her (Suetonius, *Caesar* 50. 1). Cicero's extant letters mention the divorce (*Letters to Atticus* 1. 12. 3), but do not give a reason for it.

262 *contemplating at the time*: the welcome by large crowds and fears that he would march on Rome are similar to the occasions when he returned from Africa and Spain (cc. 13, 21). Plutarch is silent on events in Rome during Pompey's absence, which included various attacks on his supporters and the conspiracy of Catiline, put down by Cicero in 63. Pompey found himself disconnected from events in Rome. Cf. Seager, *Pompey*, 56–71.

*Cato's opposition to it*: Pompey wished to support his long-time legate, L.

Afranius, for the consulship of 60. This is the first of Cato's opposition tactics which Plutarch records. In the name of tradition and the independence of the senate (the optimate ideal), Cato drove the great men into each other's arms. His decision not to let Pompey marry his niece was incredibly short-sighted, though principled (cf. *CMin.* 30).

263 *subdued by his three triumphs*: the triumphal procession took place on 28–9 September 61, coinciding with Pompey's forty-fifth birthday. Cf. also the account in Appian, *BC* 1. 116–17. The amount of wealth brought into the city was incredible: the treasury received some 480,000,000 sesterces, plus the enormously increased revenue from the new provinces. Pompey had also gained immense private wealth. He was at the high point of his career.

*he was almost 40*: actually, he was born in 106 and was now 45.

264 *the luck of Alexander!*: some even said that he triumphed wearing Alexander's cloak (Appian, *BC* 1. 117).

*more powerful than everyone else*: Plutarch diagnoses Pompey's chief weakness as yielding what properly should be his to his friends, as he had done for Geminus (c. 2), and as he was to do for Caesar. Agesilaus had been fatally hurt when, out of friendship, he defended Sphodrias after he attacked Athens; Pompey repeats the mistake on a much larger stage.

*esteem in which Pompey was held*: there was a strong movement in the senate to limit Pompey's overwhelming influence as much as possible. Lucullus, though reluctant, was pressed into service (cf. *Luc.* 38, 42).

*too frightened . . . to stay*: pursuing Pompey's need for support, Plutarch moves to his friendship with P. Clodius, culminating in Clodius' infamous tribunate in 58, during which Clodius, pursuing a personal vendetta, had Cicero exiled.

265 *greatest evil for the city*: Caesar returned from his province of Spain in 60, before the consular elections, but was blocked by Cato from standing for office until he had disbanded his army. Forgoing his triumph, Caesar ran for, and was elected to, the consulship for 59 along with M. Calpurnius Bibulus; then he arranged his compact with Crassus and Pompey (cf. *Caes.* 13), called the first triumvirate, although it had no official standing. The historian of the Civil Wars, Asinius Pollio, began his history at this point. At this time Caesar was by far the weakest of the three.

*'against their threat of swords'*: Caesar's agrarian bill had been blocked in the senate, and again when he brought it before the people. According to their agreement, Pompey expressed his willingness to use his veterans to make sure that the legislation passed.

266 *daughter of Piso*: Pompey's acceptance of the pact and his marriage to Julia (April 59) is for Plutarch evidence of his passivity in relationships. Q. Servilius Caepio, who had intended to marry Julia, married Pompeia instead; Caesar married the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, who would be consul for 58.

*were wounded*: this was on the day of voting for the agrarian law (cf. *CMin.* 32, Cassius Dio 38. 6. 1–3).

*Pompey's flatterers*: Pompey's numerous measures in the East had never been ratified by the senate: now they were ratified by a single law. Caesar was given the provinces he wanted for an extended period and a large army. Crassus' business interests were satisfied by remitting one-third of the contracts which tax farmers had undertaken in Asia. Gabinius was the tribune who had proposed giving Pompey the pirate command. Cf. *Caes.* 14.

*off to Gaul*: Clodius, as tribune for 58, exiled Cicero (cf. c. 46) and had Cato appointed by a special tribunician law to be quaestor *pro praetore* in Cyprus.

267 *testing Pompey's power*: after relying on Pompey's support in 59 and 58, Clodius made a number of moves which hurt Pompey. Cato's mission to Cyprus interfered with Pompey's eastern settlement; Tigranes was taken by force from house arrest; Clodius killed a friend of Pompey's who tried to retrieve him; and his band of ruffians attacked Gabinius (not mentioned by Plutarch).

*shouted out . . . 'Pompey!'*: Plutarch cites an example of Clodius' impudence, from his prosecution in 56 of T. Annius Milo, who as tribune in 57 had proposed Cicero's recall. Scratching the head with one finger was a sign of effeminacy: cf. Plutarch's *How to Profit from Your Enemies* 89c, citing none other than Pompey.

*get the better of Clodius*: the assassination attempt by Clodius' slave was on 11 August 58. Cicero, with the help of his brother Quintus, was recalled in June 57; he returned to Rome on 4 September (cf. *Cic.* 33). Pompey's adviser is a tribune for 58, Q. Terentius Culleo.

268 *instead of Spinther*: the question of who was to restore Ptolemy XII Auletes to the throne in Egypt involved much political wrangling in 56, detailed in Cicero's correspondence. The consul for 57, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, wanted the assignment, in connection with his pro-consulship in Cyprus, but Pompey thought to take the job. Others became involved, including Clodius and a tribune, C. Caninius (not Canidius) Gallus. Pompey lost interest, and Ptolemy was finally restored in 55 by Gabinius, who was governor of Syria. See Seager, *Pompey*, 115–20, 132.

*Pompey's character*: Timagenes of Alexandria, a rhetorician and historian—and later a friend of Antony (*Ant.* 72), Augustus, and Asinius Pollio—was brought to Rome from Egypt as a prisoner by Gabinius in 55. For Theophanes, see p. 220 above. Plutarch criticizes the story on the basis of his own estimate of Pompey's character.

*with such abundance*: Plutarch rhetorically embellishes his report of Pompey's last major external command.

269 *to obstruct Pompey's plans*: for Caesar's actions in Gaul, see *Caes.* 18–20.

269 *proconsuls and praetors*: the consuls and proconsuls each had twelve lictors carrying fasces, praetors six.

*period of five years*: at the 'conference of Luca' (mod. Lucca in Tuscany, which was in Cisalpine Gaul) in April 56 Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar patched up their pact, which had almost broken down, and they again decided which provinces each would be assigned, depending on the joint consulship of Crassus and Pompey in 55 and on Pompey's troops to enact their measures. Cf. *Caes.* 21; *Cras.* 14. The meeting showed the emptiness of the idea of senatorial government. Crassus had met Caesar earlier at Ravenna (Cicero, *Letters to Friends* 1. 9. 9), and some scholars doubt whether he was present at Luca, since Cicero does not mention it, and Crassus and Pompey were not on speaking terms. Cf. Seager, *Pompey*, 122–4.

270 *had been starving*: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus was consul for 56; earlier he had been one of Pompey's legates against the pirates. In *Cras.* 15, he speaks in the senate, not the popular assembly.

*protecting Domitius*: this consular election was quite irregular: see Seager, *Pompey*, 127–8. Cato, now back in Rome, encouraged his brother-in-law, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, to run for consul, as if it were the old days. Pompey's men disabused him. Plutarch uses Cato to indicate how far Pompey had moved from the old senatorial system. The dynasts could not control elections without violence, but control them they did.

*for the war in Gaul*: Pompey and Crassus were first elected consuls for 55, then conducted the elections for the other offices, which allowed them to exclude Cato, using violence and bribery. C. Trebonius' law gave Crassus and Pompey five-year terms as proconsuls in Syria and the two Spains respectively. Caesar's commands were continued for another five years. Pompey apparently did not receive Africa, although the error appears also in *Caes.* 28, *CMin.* 43, and Appian *BC* 2. 18. Pompey lent Caesar only one legion: Caesar, *Gallie War* 8. 54; the error also appears at *Caes.* 25.

*a battle between elephants*: Pompey's theatre, the first stone theatre in Rome, also had a temple of Venus Victrix at the top of the auditorium and a magnificent portico adorned with statues. The battle of the elephants (although Cassius Dio 39. 38. 2 says there were eighteen, not two as might be thought) suggests to the reader the upcoming conflict between Caesar and Pompey: 'a truly terrifying sight'.

271 *the courtesan, Flora*: cf. c. 2.

*a few days later*: Julia died in August or early September 54.

*Crassus had died in Parthia*: at Carrhae, on 9 June 53. Cf. *Cras.* 31.

272 *the Roman empire*: Plutarch's commentary removes the reader from the events of the moment, giving a more distant perspective of the approaching contest, in particular the relation of fortune to human nature. Excess of ambition was already a major factor in Marius and Sulla: see especially

*Mar.* 45–6. The quotations from an unknown comedy and from Homer (*Iliad* 15. 189) heighten the style and distance the perspective. In the Homeric passage, Poseidon laments that Zeus does not recognize his right under their agreement to intervene in the fighting at Troy.

*the tribune Lucilius*: C. Lucilius Hirrus, tribune in 53, a cousin of Pompey.

*created consuls*: the elections for 53 were delayed, and Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala took office only in July 53.

*the best tyrant*: the elections for 52 were again delayed, by rioting and the murder of Clodius Bibulus, Caesar's colleague as consul in 59, proposed the sole consulship to avoid a dictatorship.

273 *acting as interrex*: Pompey was elected sole consul for 52. Sex. Sulpicius Rufus served as interrex, the officer who conducted elections if the consuls had died or left office before new ones were appointed.

*speak his mind in public*: this meeting was held at Pompey's home outside the city: *CMin.* 48.

*lineage or reputation*: Cornelia, the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica (whom Pompey was to take as his consular colleague in August 52), appears a paragon. She reappears, significantly, in c. 74 and thereafter.

274 *on that score*: T. Munatius Plancus Byrsa, tribune for 52, was successfully prosecuted by Cicero under Pompey's law against violence. Pompey probably sent a letter rather than speaking: see *CMin.* 48. P. Plautius Hypsaeus was not an ex-consul, but an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship in 53.

*maintain and supply his forces*: this continuation meant that Pompey would legally keep his army after Caesar's command had expired, a major cause of the coming conflict. It was probably for five years (Cassius Dio 40. 56. 2).

275 *returned them*: Plutarch skims over the various manoeuvres of 51 between Caesar, Pompey, and the *optimates*. Pompey asked for these troops (cf. note to p. 270, *for the war in Gaul*) in 50.

276 *horsemen will arise*: Plutarch finds Pompey's 'boundless confidence' in his own prestige involves a serious underestimation of the difficulties of the imminent confrontation. An important factor would be the loyalty of Caesar's troops to him. Plutarch's accounts in *Pomp.* 57–9, *Caes.* 29–31, and *Ant.* 5 are among our most important sources for the events immediately preceding Caesar's invasion of Italy (others are Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 7. 3–9; Caesar, *BC* 1. 1–7; Appian, *BC* 2. 30–3; Cassius Dio 40. 64–6, 41. 13; [Caesar,] *BG* 8. 55; and Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 29–33). His accounts use the same sources, but differ significantly (see C. B. R. Pelling, 'Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source-Material', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 100 (1980), 127–40, at 139–40 (repr. in B. Scardigli (ed.), *Essays on Plutarch's Lives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 125–54, at 151–4)). *Pomp.* 57–9 selects as important the mental states and

- preparation of Pompey (confident, unprepared) and Caesar (actively engaged, at the gates of Italy), the apparently fair and reasonable proposals of Caesar, the actions of Marcellus and Lentulus to support Pompey, and the breakdown of Cicero's attempt at compromise. Curio and Antony appear as means for Caesar to make his proposals and win the support of the people, weakening Pompey's ability to recruit an army. Cf. notes to p. 326, *new basilica*, and to p. 368, *whom they call 'augurs'*.
- 276 *his friend Curio*: the individuals listed here are L. Aemilius Paullus, consul for 50, C. Scribonius Curio, a tribune for 50, and Mark Antony (M. Antonius), a tribune for 49. For Curio and Antony, see *Ant.* 2 and 5.
- 277 *in defence of his country*: C. Claudius Marcellus was the other consul for 50; L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus was a censor in this year. Marcellus dismissed the senate before it could vote on Curio's second motion.
- 278 *came to nothing*: according to Caesar himself, his letter was read in the senate on 1 January 49, as well as in the popular assembly. Cicero returned from Cilicia, where he had been governor, on 4 January. Caesar under his proposal was also to have Cisalpine Gaul. L. Cornelius Lentulus was consul for 49. For Plutarch's compression, which causes some distortion, see note to p. 327, *schism in the state*. Plutarch combines the two senate meetings of 1 December 50 and 1 January 49 into one. Caesar's own account is in his *Civil War (BC)*, 1. 1–6.
- across the river*: the small river Rubicon, near Ariminum (mod. Rimini), marked the border of Cisalpine Gaul and Italy at that time; crossing it with an army was an invasion of Italy. Cf. *Caes.* 32; Caesar, *BC* 1. 7–13 (with no mention of the Rubicon).
- he had promised*: the speakers here are L. Volcarius Tullus, consul in 66, and M. Favonius, praetor in 49.
- 279 *preserve their freedom*: Cato's suggestion was rejected, and Pompey was given no greater power than he already had, so that he had no legal power over the consuls and the other provincial governors until he was named commander-in-chief at the end of the year. He declared a *tumultus*, or 'civil disturbance' (cf. *Caes.* 33).
- 280 *a few soldiers on board*: on 19 February Pompey left Rome for Brundisium (mod. Brindisi). Caesar pursued him there first (before going to Rome, not after, as Plutarch says). Caesar arrived at Brundisium on 9 March, but could not get at Pompey, who sailed on 17 March to Dyrrhachium (mod. Durrës or Durazzo) on the other side of the Adriatic. Caesar then returned to Rome (arriving probably on 31 March), confronted the tribune L. Caecilius Metellus, and then headed for Spain. For these events, see *Caes.* 34–5; Caesar, *BC* 1. 15–33.
- found himself in*: Cicero in a letter (*Letters to Atticus* 7. 11. 3) laments Pompey's decision, and compares Themistocles' strategy in 480 of abandoning Athens to the Persians with Pericles' in 432 of confining the Athenians in the city until the Spartans left. But Pompey had control of the sea, and Caesar had no ships to follow him.

- countless Liburnian*: Liburnian ships were lighter, faster-sailing ships than the standard warship.
- 281 *in Beroea*: in Macedonia, modern Veria. Appian (*BC* 2. 49) gives a list of the various contingents.
- killed in Gaul*: T. Labienus, one of Caesar's best commanders, had joined Pompey in Italy. For M. Iunius Brutus and his father, cf. c. 16 and accompanying notes.
- defence of their country*: Cicero joined Pompey after an anguished decision, apparent in his letters (cf. *Cic.* 37–8).
- his own service*: the senate met in Greece, as a kind of government in exile. Cato had abandoned Sicily to Caesar's legates when he heard Pompey had left Italy (*CMin.* 53). Caesar, in Spain, defeated Pompey's two legates, L. Afranius and M. Petreius, but allowed them to join Pompey in Greece.
- 282 *landed at Oricum*: Caesar stopped at Rome long enough to be proclaimed dictator and hold the consular elections for 48, in which he was chosen consul along with P. Servilius Isauricus (*Caes.* 37). Crossing the Adriatic, he landed at Oricum and Apollonia, south of Dyrrhachium.
- as a prisoner*: Juvius is Plutarch's or a copyist's error for (Q.) Vibullius (Rufus): cf. Caesar, *BC* 3. 9. 8.
- 'if they had a winner for a commander'*: Pompey established himself at Dyrrhachium, placing Caesar in a difficult position until Antony was able to break Pompey's blockade and bring across the rest of Caesar's army, after which Caesar pressed a siege. But when Pompey broke the line, he did not press his gains. Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3. 59–71.
- 284 *in provinces themselves*: Favonius laments not eating figs from Tusculum near Rome; Afranius (cf. note to p. 281, *his own service*) reproaches Pompey for not attacking Caesar.
- on the battlefield*: Plutarch laments the lack of backbone in Pompey (contrast e.g. Pericles' resistance to Athenian pressure, *Per.* 33), comparing his duty with that of a doctor, but also criticizes the thoughtlessness of the senators. Years before, Pompey had defeated both Tigranes and Aretas, the Nabataean king (cc. 33, 41).
- plain of Pharsalus*: in Thessaly, modern Farsala.
- 285 *plenty of spoils*: Pompey dreams of his theatre at Rome, in which the tiers of seats served as steps to a temple of Venus Victrix (cf. note to p. 270, *a battle between elephants*). According to Appian (*BC* 2. 76), the Caesarian password at Pharsalus was Venus Victrix.
- Scotussa*: north of Pharsalus, in Thessaly.
- held the left wing*: Cn. (not Lucius) Domitius Calvinus had Caesar's centre; and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus Pompey's left wing. Pompey's father-in-law was Metellus Scipio (cf. note to p. 273, *lineage or reputation*).



- 286 *straight at their eyes*: cf. *Caes.* 45; Appian, *BC* 2. 76. This tactic is not mentioned by Caesar in his account.  
*cooled their ardour*: Caesar, *BC* 3. 92.4–5, cf. *Caes.* 44.
- 287 *lacking in genuine friendship*: once again, Plutarch uses the device of the thoughtful bystander to distance the reader from the action and reflect on the implications of the battle. Scythia (that is, the Ukrainian steppe) had been a goal of King Darius of Persia; India of Alexander the Great. There are similar reflections in Appian, *BC* 2. 77; they may already have been in Asinius Pollio's account.  
*back of his neck*: Crassianus' loyalty and bravery, coming straight at the opposing weapons, so that he is gruesomely struck in the mouth, contrasts with Pompey's cavalry's fear of being hit in the face. See *Caes.* 44 and note, *the back of his neck*.
- 288 *being surrounded themselves*: as usual in Plutarch, the battle itself is described only briefly.  
*Pompey the Great*: Plutarch plays on the name, which before had seemed so appropriate: see chapter 13. Pompey, however, unlike his predecessors called 'Maximus', did not resolve civic disputes, but fought a civil war.  
*among the throng*: Homer, *Iliad* 11. 544–6: the great warrior Ajax, beset by the Trojan troops, feels fear, and retreats, much against his will. Cf. Appian, *BC* 2. 81.
- 289 *lost their lives*: on Pollio, see p. 220 above.  
*went out to war*: cf. the same scene in Caesar, *BC* 3. 96. 1.  
*drank from the river*: the river Peneius, which runs through Tempe. The narrative takes a novelistic turn as it follows Pompey's escape.
- 290 *on board as well*: the two Lentuli were the consuls for 57 (Lentulus Spinther) and for 49 (Lentulus Crus): cf. cc. 49 and 59. King Deiotarus of Galatia had been with Pompey's army at Pharsalus.  
*'Ah . . . everything that noble people do!'*: a tragic verse, probably from Euripides.  
*Cornelia and his son*: Amphipolis was at the mouth of the river Strymon on the north coast of the Aegean. His wife, Cornelia, was at Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, probably with Sextus, his younger son, by Mucia. Caesar was in hot pursuit: cf. Caesar, *BC* 3. 102.
- 291 *Publius' death*: her first husband, P. Crassus, died with his father in Parthia: cf. c. 55.  
*'must be left as it is'*: Pompey is aware of the mutability of fortune, but laments to Cratippus of Pergamum, a leading Peripatetic philosopher of his day. Imagining Cratippus' possible response, Plutarch gives his own thoughts on divine Providence and especially on Rome's need for autocracy at this time. Pompey's defeat did much to ensure the establishment of monarchy at Rome.

- 292 *Attalia in Pamphylia*: on the south coast of Asia Minor.  
*over to Africa*: Cato would resist in Africa until, besieged by Caesar in 46, he chose to commit suicide rather than surrender to him.  
*help from the sea*: Pompey had made this mistake by allowing himself to be pressured by the other senators: cf. cc. 66–7.  
*three days away by sea*: given Plutarch's low opinion of Theophanes (cf. cc. 37, 49) it is probable that he found his advice sophistic and poorly thought out. Once more, Pompey is seen yielding his own opinion to a friend's. The same reasoning is found in Appian, *BC* 2. 83. Other cities and provinces refused to receive the fugitives.  
*shown to his father*: through the agency of Gabinius, Pompey had helped to restore Ptolemy Auletes, the father of the present 15-year-old king. Young Ptolemy was the brother of Cleopatra, with whom he was presently at war at Pelusium, a port on the easternmost mouth of the Nile.
- 293 *shelter him*: this may refer to the empty promise by Surenas, Arsaces' general, to let Crassus and his men go away safely, *Cras.* 30.  
*Achillas of Egypt*: Achillas was the commander of Ptolemy's army. The narration of this debate and Pompey's death is very similar in Appian (*BC* 2. 84–5), including the verse in c. 78. Cf. also Caesar, *BC* 3. 104.
- 294 *'Dead men don't bite'*: again, a rhetorician delivers bad advice eloquently argued: at *Brut.* 33 Plutarch explicitly castigates Theodotus' desire to show his wit by proving both sides wrong.  
*Septimius*: he had been a military tribune under Gabinius in Syria. Appian (*BC* 2. 84) calls him Sempronius.  
*saluted Pompey . . . as Emperor*: a sad reminder of Sulla's salutation of the young Pompey (c. 8), not mentioned by Appian.  
*even if he goes there free*: from an unknown play of Sophocles.
- 295 *his birthday*: his actual age was 58, and he died exactly thirteen years after his third triumph—also on his birthday—in 61.
- 296 *'there has ever been'*: in death, Pompey receives from an anonymous Roman the title he craved: he is 'the greatest', *maximus*.  
*put to death*: this Lentulus is the consul of 49, who had fled Pharsalus with Pompey, c. 73. Note the refrain-like repetition, 'Pompey the Great'.  
*on the Nile*: for Caesar and Ptolemy's murderers, cf. *Caes.* 48 and Appian, *BC* 2. 90. Caesar (*BC* 3. 106–12) relates that he also was attacked by Pothinus and Achillas.  
*every kind of torture*: Cf. *Brut.* 33, though Appian says it was Cassius (*BC* 2. 90). The Agesilaus–Pompey pair continues with the Comparison of the two men.