# MARCUS PORCIUS CATO
# A CONSERVATIVE STATESMAN
# IN THE SECOND CENTURY B. C.

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

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ABSTRACT

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO
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by Richard S. Williams

This thesis is a historical biography of Marcus Porcius Cato based on the accounts of ancient authors, particularly Plutarch and Livy, and on the fragments of Cato's speeches which are still extant. Attention has also been given to the interpretations of modern authors.

As a young man, Marcus Porcius Cato began his political career at the urging of a wealthy patrician neighbor, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a member of the Fabian party. Allying himself with the Fabians to gain the political support which his family lacked, Cato rapidly held the succession of magistracies in the cursus honorum, culminating in the consulship in 195 B. C. which he shared with Flaccus. Cato had already developed the conservative outlook which would characterize him in later years, although it was not so static nor so strongly anti-Greek as Plutarch would have us believe. As praetor in Sardinia, Cato reduced the oppression of usurers and lived a frugal life in order to reduce the burden to the state and to provide an example to the provincials. In the beginning of his consulship, Cato stoutly, although unsuccessfully, opposed the repeal of the sumptuary Oppian Law.

Cato's province as consul was Nearer Spain, where he rapidly subdued the rebellious tribes and afterwards gave some aid of dubious value to the governor of Farther Spain. Although ancient authors generally lauded his military achievements, Cato's chief accomplishment in Spain was his organization of the provincial administration.

Cato saw further military service in 192 B. C., when he accompanied the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio to Greece as a military tribune. Employing the stratagem of the Persians, Cato precipitated the rout of Antiochus the Great at Thermopylae by attacking his unprotected rear. Thereupon, Cato returned to Rome to announce the victory.

During the next eight years, Cato occupied himself with political quarrels with various members of the Scipionic party. These prosecutions not only had the effect of embarassing his political enemies, but established Cato's image as a defender of Roman tradition against Hellenistic incursions--the platform on which Cato based his campaigns for the censorship.

After an unsuccessful bid in 189, Cato was elected censor in 184 B. C., with Lucius Valerius Flaccus against the combined opposition of the other candidates. Cato fulfilled his campaign promises of a harsh censorship and the punishment of all wrong-doers. He not only expelled a large number of senators and <u>equites</u> but also delivered public denunciations of them. Cato also attempted to

restore earlier simplicity by levying confiscatory taxes on luxury goods and slaves. His construction program emphasized practical improvement rather than lavish beautification: two markets, Rome's first basilica, and an extensive expansion of the sewage system. But Cato's program for reform was unsuccessful because his measures were unpopular and his concern for Roman tradition was shared by few in Rome.

After his censorship Cato, lacking the support of a party, was an independent critic of Roman morals and politics. From the extant fragments of his speeches, Cato appeared to be a champion of ancient Roman virtues, especially the dignity of the state at home and in foreign affairs. His one glaring inconsistency was his insistence on the destruction of Carthage, a position motivated more by memories of Hannibal than by reason.

In addition to his political and military careers, Cato was an excellent orator and author. Cato's published speeches were crisp and full of his biting wit and acrimonious invective. Cato also wrote the earliest history of Rome in Latin, the Origines, which was based on Hellenistic models and so brought the Greek tradition of history to Rome. Finally, Cato wrote a handbook on agriculture which alone of his works has survived as the earliest extant Latin prose composition.

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R. S. W.

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# INTRODUCTION

Marcus Porcius Cato was one of the central figures of Roman history during the first half of the second century B.C. In addition to his distinguished political career, Cato's military and literary achievements were well-known in antiquity. However, Cato has been relatively neglected by English-speaking authors. There has been some research on Cato by German scholars, particularly a biography by D. Kienast;[1] but at this stage in my work toward a Master's degree, I do not possess a reading knowlege of that language. Facets of Cato's life have been treated by various authors, most often in connection with another topic; but there has been no detailed study of Cato himself. This paper is intended to investigate Cato's achievements and contributions in a biographical setting. The major emphasis is on his political career since Cato was, after all, primarily a politician and since most of our information about Cato from ancient sources is political in content.

The researches of Lily Ross Taylor[2] and Ronald

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[1] Cato der Zensor: Sein Personlichkeit und seine Zeit (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1954).

[2] Party Politics in the Age of Caesar ("Sather Classical Lectures," Vol. XXII; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).

Syme[3] have well established the role of the powerful senatorial families in Roman politics of the later Republic. Their work has been invaluable to H. H. Scullard[4] in his research on the political alignments of the second century B.C., a period which lacks the first-hand evidence of the first century. These authors all acknowledge a debt to the German historians M. Gelzer and F. Munzer for their studies of the relations of the great Roman families.[5]

The researches of these scholars have shown that in the late third century, when Marcus Porcius Cato first held political office, the most prominent political groups were the Fabians and the Scipios. Although the political "parties" did not have platforms, under the leadership of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the Scipionic group consistently favored Roman involvement in the East and were usually among the promoters of Greek culture. Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the head of the Fabian gens, disapproved of Africanus' Greek manners[6] and was probably opposed to the extension of Roman power in the East. However, the Fabian group included those who favored

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[3]The Roman Revolution (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939).

[4]Roman Politics: 220-150 B.C. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951).

[5]M. Gelzer, Die Nobilitat der römischen Republik (1912); F. Münzer, Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien (1920).

[6]Livy xxix. 19. 1-4. The editions of classical authors consulted may be found in the bibliography.

involvement as well as those who opposed it. It was the Fabian group, through the conservative Lucius Valerius Flaccus, which gave the young Cato support as he followed the cursus honorum.[7]

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[7]The philhellenism of Scipio is well-documented in Livy(xxix. 19. 1-4), Nepos (Cato 1), Plutarch (Cat. Mai. 3. 5-8, and elsewhere. The attitudes of Fabius are more difficult to determine. He gave orders that the statues and pictures of the gods should not be removed from Tarentum when he captured the city, but he himself brought a colossal statue of Hercules to Rome (Plutarch Fab. 22. 2). His opposition to Scipio's African venture (Plutarch Fab. 24. 3) may have been more a matter of military policy than anything else. All things considered, Fabius did seem to to have been at least concerned about Roman tradition.

# CHAPTER I

## THE CURSUS HONORUM

Marcus Poricus Cato was born in 234 B.C.,[1] at Tusculum, a town ten miles south of Rome on the Latin Way, and was reared on his father's estate in Sabine country. Although his family had never held public office in Rome, he was nevertheless proud of his ancestors. He praised his father, Marcus, for his bravery and claimed that his grandfather, Cato, had often received rewards for his valor, including the cost of five horses lost under him in battle.[2] Since Cato did not mention a praenomen for his grandfather, and the Fasti Consulares also failed to mention one at Cato's consulship,[3] it would seem that Cato's grandfather was not a full Roman citizen. Cato probably owed his citizenship to that valor of the grandfather he so often praised.

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[1]Cicero Sen. 10

[2]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 1.1.

[3]Theodor Mommsen (ed.), Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, (2d ed.; Berlin, George Reimer, 1893), I, Part I, 25. The entry for 559 A.U.C. reads, "M·PORCIVS·M·F CATO." In the entry for 570, the censor Cato is listed, "M·PORCIVS·M·F·[M.N]·CATO." The "M.N" has been chiselled out as an error.

Plutarch stated that his cognomen was originally Priscus, but that later he acquired the name of Cato for his wisdom and prudence.[4]

Our information about Cato's personal life is meagre. He married a wife who was from a good but not wealthy family. Plutarch attributed the match to Cato's sentiments that her nobility would make her more obedient and fearful of disgrace,[5] but the marriage probably reflected the status of his family. Cato had one son by her, Marcus, who married a sister of Scipio Aemilianus[6] and died in 152 while he was praetor-elect.[7] Very fond of his son, Cato took a personal hand in his education and training; and after his death, Cato lavished praise upon him.[8] When his wife died, Cato married the daughter of Salonius, one of his clients, by whom he had a son Marcus surnamed Solonianus.[9]

Few of Cato's friendships are known. His only known lasting friendship was with Lucius Valerius Flaccus with whom he held the consulship and censorship. When Cato was

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[4]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 1. 1.

[5]Ibid. 20. 2.

[6]Plutarch Aem. 5. 6; Cat. Mai. 20. 8.

[7]Livy Per. xlvii; Aulus Gellius xiii. 20. 9.

[8]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 20. 2-5, 24. 6; Cicero Sen. 68. 84.

[9]Aulus Gellius xiii. 20 8, 13; Plutarch Cat. Mai. 24. 2-6. Plutarch disapproved of the match and said that Cato's son and daughter-in-law were opposed.

in Sardinia as quaestor, he met the poet Ennius and brought him to Rome.[10] Ennius made a great impression on Cato and taught him Greek.[11] However, Cato severely criticized Marcus Fulvius Nobilior for taking Ennius to Aetolia in 189. In his later life, Cato became friendly enough with the father of Scipio Aemilianus, Lucius Paullus, to marry his son into that family. Aemilianus later sought Cato's aid in the debate to allow Polybius and the other Achaean hostages to return home[12] and supported the war against Carthage. Cato, for his part, urged the senate to return the Achaeans and later complimented Aemilianus' actions during the war.

Cato's wealth has often been discussed. His Sabine farm was substantial and run for the most part by slave labor.[13] He was famous for his parsimony and ran his farm accordingly.[14] In his later years, however, Cato turned to investment as a source of wealth. He invested only in "safe" businesses and did so through a freedman.[15] Plutarch disapproved of his business ventures and declared that his profits were large. However, when Cato's elder son died, he was too poor to afford more than a modest funeral.[16] It would appear that Cato's entry into business was more an

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[10]Nepos Cato 1.

[11][Aurelius Victor] De Vir. Ill. 47. 1.

[12]Polybius xxxv. 6.

[13]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 21. 1.

[14]Ibid., 1-4.

[15]Ibid., 5-6.

[16]Livy Per. xlviii.

effort to hedge against sagging farm products than a desire to accumulate vast wealth.

Cato's early life was marked by the development of the austere personal habits which he maintained throughout his life. He gained his early military experience in the Second Punic War fighting mostly in Italy against the hated Hannibal. He fought in the army of Fabius Maximus as a cavalryman at Cannae in 216, where he was said to have been rescued from the hands of the enemy by Lucius Aemilius Paulus. He may have served with Fabius again at Capua in 214 and again in 209 at Tarentum;[17] but he was more likely with Marcellus in Sicily from 214 to 207, serving as military tribune.[18] His courage as a soldier was widely proclaimed. Plutarch stated that while he was still a youth, Cato had his breast covered with honorable wounds.[19] When marching, he carried his own weapons and drank only water while he was with the army.[20]

When he was not serving in the army, Cato worked his farm with his own hands and developed his speaking abilities by pleading cases in local courts. The young man

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[17]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 21. 1.

[18]Nepos (Cato 1) said he was with Marcellus until he returned to Italy just in time to join the battle of the Metaurus. Plutarch and Cicero probably used an earlier biography of Cato which emphasized his connections with Fabius. See R. E. Smith, "Plutarch's Biographical Sources in Roman Lives," CQ, XXXIV (1940), 4-5.

[19]Cat. Mai. 1. 5.

[20]Ibid., 1. 7.

was an advocate for all who requested his services and earned the reputation of being a zealous pleader and a capable orator.[21] Thus, the rigors of war and the natural conservatism of the Italian countryside helped to mold the young Marcus Cato's austere and admirable character.

Cato might never have become involved in Roman politics had not his neighbor Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a patrician member of the Fabian party taken an interest in him. Plutarch claimed that Flaccus "had the power to discern excellence in the bud, and the grace to cultivate it and bring it into general esteem."[22] In any case, Flaccus befriended his young neighbor and, since he was convinced of his potential, urged him to engage in public life. Through Valerius' patronage, Cato was made a military tribune and soon entered the cursus honorum.

The friendship of the two men increased as they both grew older. Flaccus had probably been attracted to Cato as much by his conservative outlook as by his potential

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[21] Ibid., 1. 4. If Cato did indeed do much pleading in the courts and worked his own farm, besides fighting in the war, he was certainly a very busy young man! Since his estate produced enough wealth to allow him to serve in the cavalry, Cato's field work on the farm was probably not extensive. With the demands of war, he probably did not plead in the courts to any great extent, either.

[22] Cat. Mai. 3. 1. "ἀρετὴν δὲ φυομένην μὲν αἰσθάνεσθαι δεινός, εὐμενὴς δὲ καὶ θρέψαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν."

abilities, for when Cato was a candidate for the censorship he argued that Flaccus was the only man in Rome with whom he could carry out a conservative reform. Their relationship proved beneficial to both: Cato received the support of the Fabian party through Flaccus, and Flaccus found a younger and more charismatic man to espouse the political views of which he approved. It was no accident that Cato and Flaccus held their highest magistracies, the consulship and the censorship, together.

Very little is known about Cato's election to the office of quaestor in 204,[23] except that he was aided by Flaccus. Cato seemed to have been influenced in this early part of his career by Fabius Maximus, although the actual contacts between the two were probably minimal. Plutarch said that he attached himself to Fabius in order to set Fabius' character and life before himself as the fairest examples.[24] It is improbable that Cato had any direct contacts with Fabius; just as Plutarch falsely emphasized his earlier contacts with Fabius, so these later contacts were probably fictitious. However, Cato was supported by the Fabian party and undoubtedly returned that support, especially when he opposed its rivals the Scipios.

Cato's antagonism toward the Scipios probably began

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[23]Cicero Brut. xv; Livy xxix. 15.

[24]Cat. Mai. 3. 4.

in his quaestorship when he came into contact with Scipio Africanus' phil-Hellenism during the African expedition at the end of the Second Punic War. The young quaestor feared that Scipio's adoption of Greek customs and his lavish expenditure of funds would corrupt the native simplicity of the soldiers. According to Plutarch, the audacious Cato informed his commander of his apprehensions. Scipio replied that he had no use for a parsimonious quaestor when the winds were bearing him under full sail to the war; he owed the city an account of his achievements, not of its moneys.[25] Although improbable, the conversation demonstrated the attitudes of the two men rather well.[26]

Cato's second political office, the plebeian aedileship, was won in the election of 199. We know virtually nothing of his activities in this office, which he held with Gaius Helvius, except that the Plebeian Games were repeated by them and a banquet to Jupiter was held on the occasion of the games.[27] While still holding this office, both men

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[25] Cat. Mai. 3. 4.

[26] Plutarch further asserted that Cato joined in Fabius Maximus' attack on Africanus. However, this would necessitate placing Cato's quaestorship in 205, the year in which Fabius lost his attempt to prevent Africanus from sailing to Africa. Although Nepos (Cato 1. 3) also placed his quaestorship in 205, the date of 204 is firmly established by both Cicero and Livy. Plutarch would have placed Cato with Fabius in his attack on Scipio to strengthen the alleged ties between Cato and Fabius. See R. E. Smith, CQ, XXXIV (1940), 4-5.

[27] Livy xxxii. 7. 13.

stood for the praetorship and were elected along with Lucius Cornelius Merula and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Since the elections were held soon after the celebration of the games, a popular device of the time was for the plebeian aediles to secure their election to the praetorship by means of their lavish expenditures. Of the twenty-eight plebeian aediles holding office between 210 and 197, "no less than 17, including Cato, stood for the praetorship while actually holding the aedileship . . . ."[28] Cato's backers undoubtedly realized the value of this and provided for his games accordingly.

The praetors drew lots for their provinces; Sardinia fell to Cato. Two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry were levied at the same time so that the troops serving there could be sent home.[29] In the administration of the island, Cato showed the same austerity and self-restraint that characterized his personal life. Livy said that he was honest and upright in his administration of the island, but was considered too harsh in his restraint of usury. "The usurers were expelled from the island, and the expenses which the allies were accustomed to incur for the comfort of the praetor were cut down or abolished."[30]

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[28]H. H. Scullard, p. 25.

[29]Livy xxxii. 8. 5-8.

[30]Ibid., 27. 2-4. "fugatique ex insula faeneratores et sumptus, quos in cultum praetorum socii facere soliti erant circumcisi aut sublati."

Cato himself never charged anything to the public expense, and he even walked to the various cities accompanied only by a single public official to carry his robe and a chalice for sacrifices. Although he was mild to those under his authority in the above matters, he rigorously administered justice and carried out the edicts of the government directly and masterfully, "so that the Roman power never inspired its subjects with greater fear or affection."[31] During his praetorship the Porcian law was passed which protected the persons of the citizens, and thereby the dignity of Roman citizenship, by imposing a heavy penalty on anyone who scourged or put a Roman citizen to death.[32]

In the year 195, a lull in military operations in the East allowed Roman attention to focus briefly on the problems that had been developing in the West. Titus Quinctius Flamininus had concluded the war with Philip of Macedon the previous year and had proclaimed the freedom of the Greeks at the summer Isthmian Games.[33] Flaminus

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[31]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 6. 2-3. "ὥστε μηδέποτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκείνοις μήτε φοβερωτέραν μήτε προσφιλεστέραν γενέσθαι."

[32]Livy x. 9. 4. Livy included this law in a discussion of the events of 299 B. C. The law was passed in 198 at the instigation of Cato. An alternate, but less probable, date is 195 during Cato's consulship. See B. O. Foster (ed.), Livy ("Loeb Classical Library"; Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1963), IV, p. 338, n. 4.

[33]Livy xxxiii. 44. 5-9.

was kept in Greece, however, to check the power of the Lacedaemonian tyrant Nabis and to maintain surveillance of Antiochus the Great, king of the Seleucid Empire, who was suspected of having designs upon the Greeks. In the West the military situation was more pressing. Two hostile tribes, the Boi and the Insubres, had been defeated in large battles the previous year in Gaul; but they were still strong enough to require the presence of two legions to protect the province of Gaul.[34] Of greater concern was the deterioration of Roman control in Spain that had led to a general insurrection by the Spanish tribes.[35]

Spain had come into Roman possession during the Second Punic War due to the military achievements of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus. Little has survived of his arrangements for organizing the government of the province, but they were rather hasty and probably were not very thorough. Polybius wrote that he was anxious to return to Rome for the consular elections of 206. In such a frame of mind, he hastily arranged for the government of Spain; and, having put the army under the command of Junius Silanus and L. Marcius, he embarked with Caius Laelius and his other friends for Rome.[36] Soon after Scipio departed, there was a brief revolt of the tribes north of the Ebro

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[34]Livy xxxiii. 36. 4-37. 12; 43. 4.

[35]Appian Hisp. 8.

[36]Polybius xi. 33.

River, but the military commanders quickly suppressed the disturbance.[37] There was no attempt to organize a provincial government or to exploit the natural wealth of Spain, and the province enjoyed a period of tranquility until 198.[38]

In that year, Rome finally decided to organize Spain into two separate provinces and elected two additional praetors to govern these provinces.[39] When the first praetors assigned to Spain took office in 197, they were ordered by the Senate to fix the boundaries between the nearer and farther provinces.[40] The result of this attempted organization of Spain was a general rebellion of the Spanish tribes. Late in 197, Marcus Helvius, the first governor for Farther Spain, sent a dispatch to the Senate informing it of the war which had broken out. In addition to two petty kings and the seventeen towns and two cities which had joined in the war, Helvius' letter stated that "the Malacini and Sexetani and all Baeturia and other states

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[37]C. V. H. Sutherland, The Romans in Spain: 217 B.C.-A.D. 117 (London: Methuen & Co., 1939), pp. 54, 64.

[38]E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae: 264-70 B.C. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 120.

[39]Livy xxxii. 27. 6.

[40]Ibid., 28. 11. Livy did not record the boundary between the two Spanish provinces. Perhaps one was not firmly established until the wars in Spain were concluded.

which had not yet disclosed their intentions would soon rise to join the revolt of their neighbors."[41]

In 196, Quintus Fabius Buteo and Quintus Munic ius Thermus were assigned to Spain, each with one legion and 4,000 allied troops. So little had been accomplished by the next year's elections that the Senate felt compelled to dispatch a consular army to re-establish Roman control.

In the consular elections for 195, Marcus Porcius Cato was chosen together with Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his patron and close friend. Attaining the consulship was a great achievement for Cato. In the first half of the second century, just sixteen "new men" achieved consular rank. Of these only four men from families which had never held a curule office reached the consulship, as did Cato.[42]

Marcus Cato, like all the new men in Roman politics,

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[41]Livy xxxiii. 21. 7-9. "Malacinos Sexetanosque et Baeturiam omnem et quae nondum animos nudaverant ad finitimorum motus consurrectura." It is unlikely that a mere delineating of borders would incite such a widespread rebellion. The more probable explanation is that the Romans began to collect a permanent tribute from the new provinces. Badian, (pp. 120-21), is of this view, maintaining that only thus can the sudden increase in precious metals brought to Rome from Spain be explained. In 198, Lucius Manlius Acidnus deposited 1200 pounds of silver in the treasury after being denied an ovation by a tribune's veto. In 196, when he returned from Nearer Spain, Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio carried 1500 pounds of gold, 20,000 pounds of silver, and 34,500 denarii of coined silver. Lucius Stertinius deposited 50,000 pounds of silver from Further Spain that same year without asking for an ovation. (Livy xxxii. 7. 4; xxxiii. 27. 1-4). Badian says that Livy never thereafter recorded an amount as low as that of Acidnus coming from Spain.

[42]H. H. Scullard, p. 11.

reached the consulship not entirely on his own merit, but through the patronage and support of a powerful noble family. As Scipio Africanus aided and sponsored Gaius Laelius and Manius Acilius Glabrio, so Valerius Flaccus undoubtedly aided Cato. To be sure, Cato spent the three years between his praetorship and consulship demonstrating his oratorical abilities; but virtually nothing is known about this period of his life. It is therefore unsound to conjecture how much influence Cato's rigid morality and rural conservatism had on his election. His very election with Flaccus makes it certain that patronage also played a strong, if not overwhelming, part.[43]

When the newly elected consuls took office on March 15, the senate decided that the war in Spain warranted a consular army. Accordingly, the senate decreed that one consul should receive Nearer Spain as his province while the other, receiving Italy, was charged with defending the province of Gaul against the Boi and the Insubres. Those tribes had been defeated in battle the previous year, but, nevertheless, remained a serious threat on the northern frontier. When the consuls drew lots for provinces, Cato received Spain; and Flaccus obtained Italy. Each was authorized to levy two fresh legions to prosecute his war.[44]

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[43]H. H. Scullard (p. 113) declares that Cato won the consularship by the support of the agricultural classes for his "stern uprightness." But, nevertheless, he maintains throughout the book that Cato was a member of the Fabian party together with Flaccus.

[44]Livy xxxiii. 43. 1-5.

Before Cato could set out for Spain with his troops, an incident occured which soon embroiled the whole city and much of the surrounding countryside. Two of the tribunes of the people had proposed to the assembly that the Oppian law, a sumptuary measure passed during the rigors of the Second Punic War,[45] probably in 213, be repealed. The law provided "that no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold or wear a parti-coloured garment or ride in a carriage in the City or in a town within a mile thereof, except on the occasion of a religious festival."[46] Since two other tribunes declared that they would forbid the repeal, a great public debate on the issue developed, drawing huge crowds to the Forum. Women blocked the streets, begging the men to restore their former honors with a most un-Roman lack of matronly modesty. As the crowds grew larger and the women bolder, the matrons began to approach the public officials, even the consuls themselves. Cato found their display repugnant and delivered a harsh speech denouncing those who would repeal the law.[47]

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[45]Livy xxxiv. 1. 2. Here Livy stated that the law was passed during the consulship of Ti. Sempronius and Q. Fabius (probably the son of Cunctator).

[46]Livy xxxiv. 1. 3. "ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haveret neu vestimento versicolori uteretur neu iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppodove aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veheretur." A semuncia equals 1/24 Roman libra or about .03 U. S. pound.

[47]Ibid., 4-7.

The display of the women merely confirmed his conservatism and demonstrated the need to retain the Oppian law.

Cato's speech in support of the law is found only in Livy. It is Livy's composition, not Cato's, and forms an elaborate rhetorical exercise when taken with its counterpart by the tribune Lucius Valerius opposing the Oppian law. Like all of Livy's speeches, the purpose of this speech is to characterize the speaker. "It must be admitted, however, that the psychology of Cato is more cleverly presented than his style, for critics find little trace of the real Cato in the speech."[48] While the speech does not capture Cato's style of speech, his attitudes on luxury and his distrust of women as a group are presented well.[49]

In the Livian speech, Cato complained that the crowds of women were interfering with public affairs because their husbands were not exercising proper control over them. The women desired nothing short of complete licence; and if they were not controlled, they would soon break all their bonds and become, not the equals, but the superiors of the men. Finally, Cato condemned the growing avarice and luxury. In the former times there had been no such law

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[48]Evan T. Sage (ed.), Livy ("Loeb Classical Library"; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), IX, pp. 438-39, n. 2.

[49]H. H. Scullard, (p. 257) expresses doubt that the speech ever existed. He is certainly correct in maintaining that the Livian speech did not derive from Cato's speech. It is difficult, however, to imagine that Cato would have kept silent on such a volatile issue as this.

because there had been no extravagance, but the days when women would be modest without the restraint of law had passed. Therefore, he argued, the law should by no means be repealed.

Extant fragments of another speech by Cato indicate that Livy's composition must have approximated Cato's feelings toward women.[51] He felt that they should definitely be subservient to their husbands. When a husband divorced his wife, he passed judgement on her. "She is severely punished if she has drunk wine; if she has committed unchaste acts with another man, she is condemned."[52] However, if a man were caught committing adultery by his wife, "she would not dare to lay a finger on you, nor is it lawful."[53]

Nevertheless, even the advice of Cato was not sufficient to deter the repeal of an unpopular law. The crowd of women besieged the homes of the tribunes who had declared that they would block the passage of the bill, and the women persisted until the threat of the veto was withdrawn. After that there was no question that all

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[50]Livy xxiv. 2. 1-4. 20.

[51]H. Malcovati (ed.) Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta Liberae Rei Publicae: Iteratis Curis Recensuit Collegit (2d ed.; Turin: Paravia, 1955), I, 89-90. The speech, De Dote, was delivered on an unknown occasion.

[52]Malcovati, pp. 89-90, frg. 221. "mulitatur, si vinum bibit, si cum alieno viro probri quid fecit, condemnatur." My translation.

[53]Ibid., frg. 222. "dignito non auderat contingere neque ius est." My translation.

the tribes would vote to repeal the law.[54]

As soon as the repeal of the Oppian law was passed, Cato set out for the harbor of Luna where he had arranged for his army to meet before setting sail for Spain. In addition to his two legions, Cato had been authorized to levy 15,000 infantry and 300 cavalry from the Latin Confederacy.[55] Having regrouped his forces at Pyrenaeus and driven out a Spanish garrison from nearby Rhoda, Cato finally disembarked at Emporiae, on the eastern coast of Spain.[56] The Greek inhabitants of the city received him well, for they mistrusted the Spaniards with whom they traded and relied on Roman friendship and protection as well as their own vigilance to maintain their security.

Cato delayed at Emporiae for a few days while he gathered intelligence about the Spanish forces and planned his strategy. His basic plan seemed to be to attack and defeat the united army of the Spanish tribes and then quickly effect the surrender of the separate tribes before they could reunite and mount an effective defense. Cato's province consisted of the Ebro River valley and a rather narrow coastal strip on either side. Since there had been little Roman penetration of the interior south of the Ebro, Cato's principal concern would be the narrow wedge between

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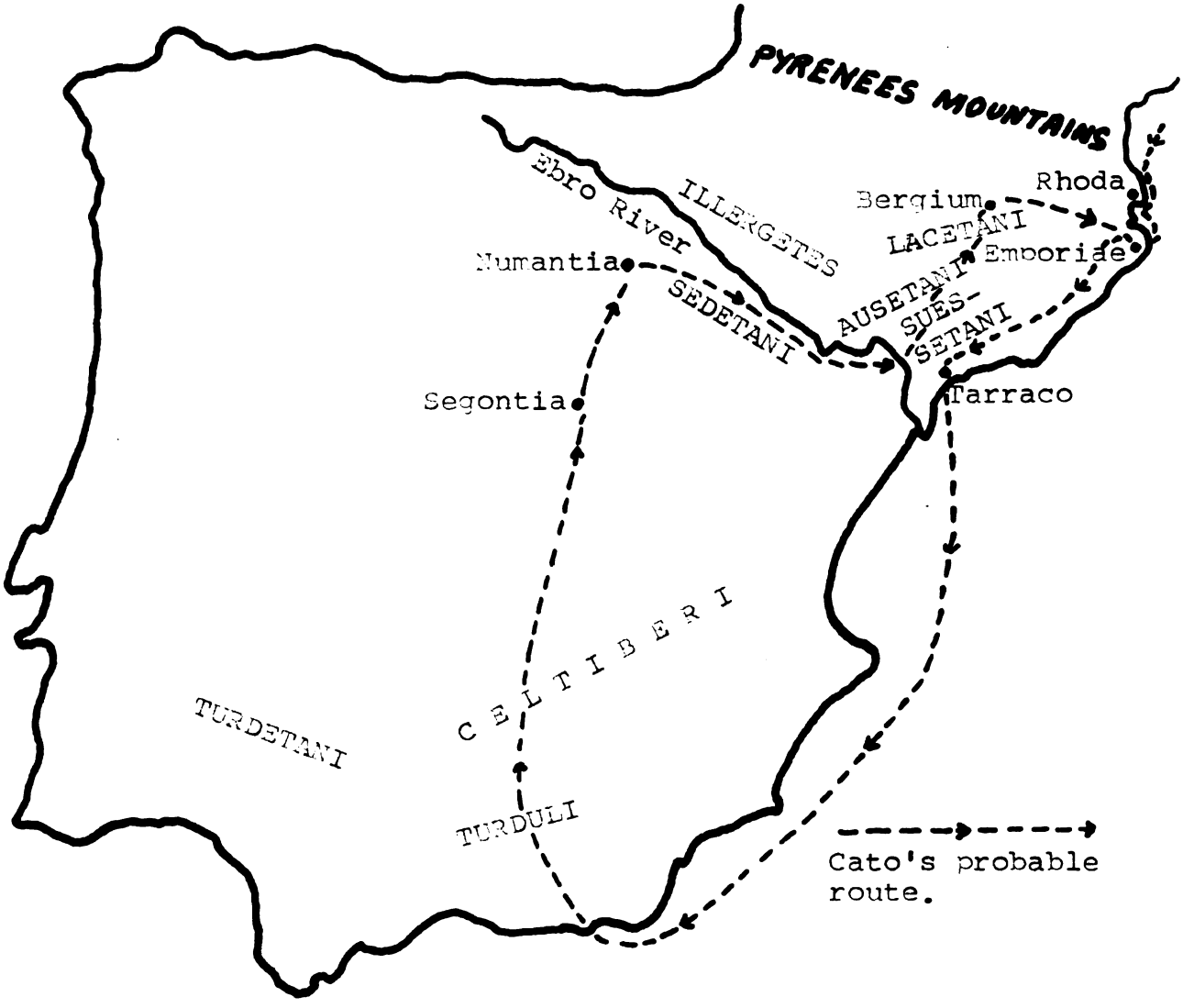
[54]Livy xxiv. 8. 1-3.

[55]Ibid., xxxiii. 43. 3.

[56]Ibid., xxxiv. 8. 4-7.




Map 1.--Spain in 195 B.C.

the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

Cato also used his stay at Emporiae to begin the training of his troops and to complete arrangements for provisioning the army. The troops were mostly new recruits, and Cato used the relative security of Emporiae to drill them in the arts of Roman warfare. Before the contractors had purchased grain for the army, Cato found that he had arrived during the Spanish harvest. He, therefore, forbade the contractors to buy any and sent them back to Rome with a message for the senate: "This war will support itself."[57]

Leaving Emporiae, Cato established a camp a few miles from the city and began to test his soldiers in small operations, burning and pillaging the countryside.[58] In one of the rare surviving passages from Cato's own works, he furnished an insight into his methods for conditioning the troops.

> Meanwhile I tested each separate squadrom, maniple, cohort, to gauge its capabilities. By little combats I found out the calibre of each man; if a soldier had done gallant service I rewarded him handsomely, that others might have a mind to the same, and in my address to the soldiers I was profuse in his praise. Meanwhile I made a few encampments here and there, but when the season of the year came around, I established winter quarters . . . .[59]

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[57] Ibid., 9. 11-12. "Bellum inquit se ipsum alet."

[58] Ibid., 13.

[59] Fronto Ad Verum Imp. ii. 1; Loeb Classical Library edition, II, 150. "Interea unamquamque turman manipulum cohortem temptabam, quid facere possent; proeliis levibus spectabam cuiusmodi quisque esset; si quis strenue fecerat, donabam hoseste, ut alii idem vellent, atque in contione verbis multis laudabam. Interea aliquot pauca castra feci sed ube anni tempus venit, castra hiberna [constitui] . . ."

While Cato's army was still encamped near Emporiae, three ambassadors arrived from Bilistages, chief of the Ilergetes,[60] one of the few tribes loyal to the Romans, requesting aid against the hostile forces besieging his tribe's fortresses. Cato did not want to divide his army since he expected that the Spaniards would offer battle soon, and yet he did not want to lose his allies. Cato resolved this dilemma by a clever deceit designed to aid the Ilergetes with hope, not troops. He promised that he would sent aid and ordered a third of his army to prepare rations and board ships to impress the ambassadors, who reported to their chief that they had actually seen the Romans setting out.[61] When the ambassadors had left, Cato ordered the soldiers to disembark and establish a winter camp about three miles from Emporiae in preparation for the rapidly approaching campaigning season.[62]

From his camp, Cato began to ravage further into the enemy's territory, increasing the range of his troops by night marches. "By this means he hardened his recruits and

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[60]An island tribe near the Ebro. To reach them Cato would have had to sail up the river since there were hostile tribes between his position on the coast and the territory of the Ilergetes. See map I.

[61]Livy (xxxiv. 11. 8) said that the envoys spread the news of the approaching Romans to both their own people and the enemy.

[62]Livy xxxiv. 11. 1-13. 1. Livy did not specify what happened to the Ilergetes, but stated (xxiv. 12. 4) that the man who believed that help was at hand would act as if he already had it and would thus be saved by that very confidence. It may thus be assumed that they were successful.

captured a great number of the enemy; no longer did they venture to go outside the fortifications of their stations."[63] Thinking his own troops sufficiently seasoned to withstand the rigors of battle, Cato decided to attack the main camp of the combined, and now rather demoralized, forces of the rebellious Spaniards.

Cato's intention was to surprise the enemy to prevent them from making a coordinated plan of battle. By means of a night march beginning at midnight, the Roman army was in position beyond the Spanish camp before dawn. This position not only enabled Cato to attack the camp from an unexpected direction but also reduced the danger of panic among his inexperienced troops; for their only hope of safety lay not to the rear, but directly ahead. Livy put this policy into Cato's speech of exhortation preceding the battle. "Nowhere, soldiers, is there any hope except in your courage, and I deliberately acted so that there should be none. Between us and our camp is the enemy, and in the rear is the enemy's country. What is most glorious is also the safest: to place our hopes in valour."[64]

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[63]Livy xxxiv. 13. 3. "Et exercebat ea res novos milites et hostium magna vis excipiebatur; nec iam egredi extra munimenta castellorum audebant."

[64]Ibid., 14. 3-4. "nusquam nisi in virtute spes est, milites, inquit it ego sedulo ne esset feci. Inter castra nostra et nos medii hostes et ab tergo hostium ager est. Quod pulcherrimum idem tutissimum: in virtute spem positam habere."

The battle[65] began when three cohorts which had been stationed close to the fortifications of the enemy's camp withdrew in pretended flight upon being "discovered" by the Spaniards. The feint which was not particularly brilliant was nevertheless successful, for the Spanish troops eagerly rushed out of the camp to attack the fleeing Romans. While the enemy was still forming its array, the Roman cavalry suddenly attacked both flanks. However, the Spaniards repulsed the cavalry on the Roman right which fled in panic, causing a great deal of confusion in the ranks of the infantry directly behind them. In order to prevent the confusion from developing into a general panic, Cato sent two cohorts of the reserves to attack the enemy's rear while he rushed to the right to take charge personally. Although he was able to reform the ranks, often turning confused soldiers around to face the enemy himself, the Roman right was hard pressed to withstand the Spanish attack. However, the Romans were fighting successfully on the left and center; and the forces which Cato had sent to harass the rear were terrifying the barbarians with showers of missiles.

As the Romans closed in on the enemy for hand-to-

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[65]The following account is from Livy xxiv. 14. 5-15. 8, with exceptions as noted. Livy's source for the entire Spanish campaign was probably from Cato himself, but he may have used an annalistic account which was taken from Cato. See F. Walsh, Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) pp. 134-35; E. T. Sage, p. 470.

hand combat, the Spaniards fought with renewed courage; and the battle was again in doubt. But Cato had held his second legion in reserve, and he now committed some of these to battle. Appian said that he led the three cohorts, now committed, into battle himself from a hill where he had been observing the progress of the battle. "Seeing the center of his own line sorely pressed he sprang to their relief, exposing himself to danger, and broke the ranks of the enemy with a shout, and began the victory with his own hand."[66] As the defeated Spanish fled to their camp, where they desperately fought the pursuing Romans from the ramparts, Cato ordered the remainder of the second legion to make an ordered march and join the battle. Leading the principes and hastati[67] of this legion himself, Cato broke through a poorly defended gate. The panic-stricken barbarians were slaughtered by the Romans as they attempted to force their way out of their own camp by the gates. Livy related Valerius Antias' account that over forty thousand of the

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[66]Appian Hisp. 40. "ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἰδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλουμένους, ὥρμησεν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων ἔργῳ τε καὶ βοῇ συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πρῶτος κατῆρξε τῆς νίκης."

[67]The first and second lines of a Roman legion, each 1200 men strong. See H. M. D. Parker, "Legion," Oxford Classical Dictionary.

enemy fell, but added, "Cato himself, a man not much inclined to begrudging in his own praise, says that many were killed, but does not give a definite number."[68] While Valerius undoubtedly exaggerated the number killed,[69] Cato did score a well-executed and overwhelming victory, for with the combined Spanish army defeated and scattered, the insurrection was effectively broken.

Cato did not rest with this victory. Having led his troops laden with booty back to camp, he gave them a few hours rest and set out to plunder the countryside on a much wider scale than he had dared earlier. Livy stated that this had as much influence on the Spaniards as the results of the battle. The Spaniards of Emporiae were the first to surrender to Cato, and soon after their neighbors and many other states sent ambassadors to him. He treated all who came to him kindly; and wherever he marched, he found ambassadors ready to surrender their states. "By the time he reached Tarraco, all Spain on this side of the Ebro had been subdued . . . ."[70]

While Cato remained at Tarraco, he faced the problem of keeping the conquered Spaniards pacified. On a rumor that Cato had set out for Turdetania in Further Spain,

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[68]Livy xxxiv. 15. 9. "Cato ipse, haud sane detrectator laudum suarum, multos caesos ait, numerum non adscribit."

[69]Appian (Hisp. 40) gave 40,000 troops as the total complement of the Spanish forces. He said only that the Romans killed a vast number.

[70]Livy xxxiv. 16. 3-7. "iam omnis cis Hiberum Hispania perdomita erat . . . ."

seven forts of the Bergistani[71] revolted but were subdued with little effort.

When Cato had returned to Tarraco, the tribe again revolted and the consul again was forced to subdue them. Cato showed no mercy the second time and had the entire population sold into slavery lest they would disturb the peace too frequently.[72]

The Bergistani resistance had been eliminated, but the possibility of revolt by the subdued tribes disturbed Cato. He therefore ordered all the Spaniards north of the Ebro to disarm. He summoned their leaders to a conference at which he explained that it was in their interest as well as the Romans' interest not to rebel. He asked for their counsel on the matter. When they had remained silent at two meetings, "on one day he destroyed the walls of all the towns . . . ."[73] Appian offered an account of the stratagem which Cato used to accomplish the fantastic feat of demolishing all the walls on the same day. Having determined the distance to each town, Cato sent messengers with letters to the towns so they would arrive at each town on the same day. The letters commanded the magistrates of each town to demolish their walls on the same day they received the order. If they

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[71]The location of this tribe has not been determined.

[72]Livy xxiv. 16. 9-10.

[73]Ibid., 17. 5-11. "uno die muris omnium dirutis."

attempted to delay, he threatened to sell them into slavery.[74] Not knowing whether they had been singled out or whether all the towns had been so ordered and having no time for delay, the people of each town decided to comply with the order. "Thus the towns along the river Ebro in one day, and thanks to a single stratagem, levelled their own walls."[75] His rear thus secured, Cato easily subdued the remaining states in that region.

While Cato was quieting the rebellion in Hither Spain, the praetor assigned to Further Spain, Publius Manlius, was having difficulty subduing the Turdetani who had hired ten thousand Celtiberi mercenaries to aid them. Cato hastened to Manlius' aid when his presence was requested. Finding the enemy forces encamped separately, the consul attempted to deal with the Celtiberi alone. He offered them twice the pay the Turdetani were giving them or safe conduct and amnesty if they would desert. If these proposals were not pleasing, Cato offered to meet them in battle wherever and whenever they chose. The Turdetani, however, prevented them from making a decision; and no amount of Roman provocation could draw them from their camp.

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[74]Appian Hisp. 41.

[75]Ibid., "οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμὸν μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὑφ' ἑνὸς στρατηγήματος αὐταὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθῄρουν. . . ."

Seeing this, Cato paid his troops; and leaving all but seven cohorts with Manlius, he returned to the Ebro.[76]

On his return to the Ebro, Cato set about subduing the tribes farther inland, particularly in the Ebro valley. He apparently had returned to the Ebro overland through the territory of the Celtiberi. On the way he laid seige to Segontia[77] but could not induce the inhabitants to fight, and he also attacked Numantia where he had occasion to admonish his cavalry to be brave since dishonorable acts would remain with them forever.[78] Apparently, Cato did not fully trust his cavalry after their flight early in the first major engagement with the Spaniards near Emporiae. Marching down the river, Cato subdued the Sedetani south of the river and the Ausetani, the Suessetani,and the Lacetani to the north. The Lacetani were a fierce and remote tribe in the foothills of the Pyrenees who often attacked the more civilized tribes. Cato easily defeated them with the aid of auxiliaries from the Spanish allies.[79]

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[76]Livy xxxiv. 19. 1-10. The account of Cato's actions in Farther Spain is rather vague and leaves some important questions unanswered. Did Cato do any fighting at all? Was his offer to the Celtiberi mainly an attempted bribe or an insulting challenge to fight? Why was Cato in such a hurry to get back to the Ebro? Perhaps the account is unclear because Cato did not wish to publicize the details of his activities. His offer of a bribe was somewhat un-Roman, and he may have felt chagrined when the Celtiberi did not accept it.

[77]Livy (xxiv. 19. 9) recorded "Saguntia" but Sutherland (p. 57, n. 4) feels that Segontia was meant.

[78]Aulus Gellius xvi. 1. 3-4.

[79]Livy xxxiv. 20. 1-9.

The consul then attacked the fort of Bergium which was used by robbers. When Cato had stormed the fort, he had ended the resistance to the Romans in his province, at least for the time being.[80]

Cato's military operations had insured the safety of his province, particularly the coastal road from the Pyrenees to Tarraco which linked Rome to Spain. This was probably the purpose of his quick march along the coast to Tarraco during the early part of the war. His final operations in the more remote areas of the province crushed the last remaining pockets of Spanish resistance in Nearer Spain. His operations in Farther Spain, however, were not particularly successful; and he may have increased the hostility of the Celtiberi and other tribes in that region.

With his province pacified, Cato was free to turn his attention toward its administration. His efforts in this direction were not deemed very important by the ancient authors, so little has survived. Livy said that "he arranged for the collection of large revenues from the iron and silver mines, and as a result of the regulations made at that time the wealth of the province increased every day."[81] Beyond this tempting statement, we know

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[80] Ibid., 21. 1-6.

[81] Ibid., 7. "vectigalia magna instituit et ferrariis argentariisque quibus tum institutis locupletior in dies provincia fuit."

only that the senate voted that no change be made in what Cato had ordered and arranged.[82]

The consulship of Marcus Cato was successful in the eyes of his contemporaries. Three days of thanksgiving were declared in Rome when word was sent of his achievements.[83] Upon his return to Rome, the consul was honored with a triumph for his conquests in Spain. Livy recorded the booty he brought back to Rome. He carried twenty-five thousand pounds of silver bullion, one hundred and twenty-three thousand silver denarii, five hundred and fifty silver coins of Osca, and one thousand four hundred pounds of gold in his triumph.[84]

However, the military achievements of Cato seem to be rather glorified. The chief account, Livy's, is wholly laudatory; and "there seems to be nothing in this passage which Cato would not have regarded as a compliment and would not have been willing to say about himself."[85] But even as related by Livy, Cato's achievements are not overly impressive. He showed himself to be a daring and

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[82]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 11. 1.

[83]Livy (xxxiv. 21. 8.) was not clear as to what event merited the thanksgiving, but one would assume that it was the occasion of the end of the war.

[84]Livy xxxiv. 46. 2. Cato delivered a speech to the people concerning his triumph, but the only surviving fragment does not permit any serious speculation about the speech. See Malcovati, p. 19, frg. 20.

[85]E. T. Sage, p. 351, 1. 1.

competent general, but he fought only in one major battle and had little success in Further Spain against the Celtiberi. Finally, his military settlement did not outlast his consulship. His successor, the praetor, Sextus Digitius, "fought battles, numerous rather than memorable, with the tribes which had, in great numbers, revolted after the departure of Marcus Cato."[86]

Cato's consulship in Spain was, in truth, more significant for his provincial administration than for his military achievements. Badian maintains that "it is only after Cato that we can speak of a stable provincial organization in Spain."[87] From his consulship on, Spain became a steadily increasing source of wealth to Rome, both from her mines and from the tribute she was assessed. Badian concludes that although the sources fail to give us any details of Cato's organization, "we must not join them in failing to see its importance."[88]

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[86]Livy xxv. 1. 1. "cum civitatibus iis, quae post profectionem M. Catonis permultae rebellaverant, crebra magis quam digna dictu proelia fecit . . . ."

[87]Foreign Clientelae, p. 121.

[88]Ibid.

## CHAPTER II

## AFTER THE CONSULSHIP

Following his consulship, Cato returned to the law courts where he was always ready to plead the case of a friend.[1] He resumed his public career in the midst of the preparation for the Syrian War in 192.[2]

The Syrian War was the result of the inability of either Rome or Antiochus to reduce their increasing mutual antagonism. Antiochus had aroused Roman suspicion with his invasion of Thrace since Rome considered all of Southern Europe her legitimate sphere of influence. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the Roman commander in Greece in 196, persuaded the senate to adopt a policy of cold war diplomacy and power politics to counter Antiochus.[3] The liberation of the Greeks followed by the evacuation of

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[1]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 11. 3.

[2]Plutarch (Cat. Mai. 12. 1) claimed that Cato accompanied the consul Ti. Sempronius Longus on a military expedition to Thrace in the vicinity of the Danube in 194. This is wrong, for Livy recorded no such expedition and stated that both consuls that year were assigned to Italy to fight the Gauls (xxxiv. 44. 1-58. 8).

[3]See E. Badian, "Rome and Antiochus the Great: A Study in Cold War," CPhil, LIV (1959), 81-99, for the relations with Antiochus in the period preceding the war.

the Roman army was an essential part of this policy. It demonstrated Rome's good will to the Greeks and assured the friendship, or at lease the neutrality, of most of the Greek cities. It also provided Rome with some justification for its demand that Antiochus free the Greek cities of Asia as well.

Antiochus' inability to judge Roman intentions accurately or to control his newly acquired allies, the Aetolians, precipitated the outbreak of the war that neither he nor the Romans wanted. Early success in negotiations with Roman ambassadors[4] and the Roman evacuation of Greece led the Syrian king to believe that he could force the Romans to accept his positions in Thrace.[5] He had totally misjudged the Roman evacuation as a surrender of influence in Greece and was alarmed to learn of the public proclamation that Rome would free the Greeks of Asia as she had freed the Greeks of Europe.[6] The proclamation was for propaganda purposes, but the Aetolians continued to press Antiochus to break the precarious peace by "liberating" Greece from Rome.

Roman policy toward Greece after Flamininus' proclamation of freedom in 196 was to allow the Greeks full freedom restrained only by their debt of gratitude. At the

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[4]Polybius xviii. 50.

[5]Livy xxiv. 57. 1-59. 3.

[6]Ibid., 59. 4-8.

same time Rome acted as a paternal protector of the city-states against one another and particularly against Antiochus. However, not all Greeks appreciated the Roman influence in their homeland. The cities of the Aetolian League had been troublesome allies to Rome in the Second Macedonian War and were extremely dissatisfied with the peace settlement. In particular, Flanininus had not allowed them to take control of several cities in Thessaly which had been promised them. From that time onward, the Aetolians grew exceedingly hostile to Rome and finally succeeded in convincing Antiochus that he should "liberate" the Greeks from Rome.[7]

When Antiochus crossed into Greece in the fall of 192, he caused a great deal of unrest in Greece as anti-Roman factions tried to stir up hostile reactions to Rome. Plutarch wrote that Greece was a stormy sea of hopes and fears being corrupted by her demagogues with expectations of bounty from Antiochus.[8] Titus Flamininus himself was sent to Greece to stabilize those cities in which loyalty to Rome was in doubt. Cato was also sent, presumably as an aid to Flamininus. Plutarch stated that Flamininus and Cato were both sent by the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio;[9]

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[7]Polybius, the principal source for the Second Macedonian War, had much to say about the Aetolians, none of it favorable. A strikingly hostile passage is found in iv. 3. For Aetolian-Roman relations during the Second Macedonian War, see xviii. 34-39.

[8]Cat. Mai. 12. 2.

[9]Ibid., 3.

however, Glabrio was not consul until the following year. More likely the senate sent Flamininus to quell the disturbances because of his great experience in dealing with the Greeks. Plutarch's difficulty probably arose from the fact that Cato did indeed serve as a military tribune under Glabrio in the following year.[10]

While Flamininus quieted most of the Greek cities, Cato secured Corinth, Patrae, Aegium, and Athens where he spent much of his time.[11] Plutarch stated that a speech which was purported to be one delivered by Cato in Greek praising the Athenians and their city was extant. But he disputed the authenticity of the speech, declaring that Cato, clinging stubbornly to Roman habits, always spoke through an interpreter although he could speak Greek himself. Cato himself was said to have remarked that the Athenians were astonished at the speed and pungency of his discourse. "For what he himself set forth with brevity, the interpreter would repeat to them at great length and with many

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[10]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 12. 1; Cicero Sen. 32; Appian Syr., 18; and [Aurelius Victor] De Vir. Ill. 47. 3 all maintained that Cato (and Flaccus) served as a military tribune in Greece. However, Livy (xxxvi. 17. 1) stated that he was a consularis legatus. Perhaps Livy was confused by the fact that Cato was a legatus (envoy) over the winter to various Greek cities, or he may have upgraded Cato in order to add to his glory.

[11]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 12. 3-4. There was no mention of any military actions in Plutarch. Presumably, the function of the two men was to assure pro-Roman factions in the various cities of Rome's continued support.

words."[12]

There is a fragment from a speech delivered to the Athenians at this time which ridicules Antiochus' ineffectual campaigning and alludes to the propoganda campaign he undoubtedly indulged in to pull the Greeks away from Rome. Cato said, "Antiochus wages war with letters, he fights with pen and ink."[13] This fragment is the only indication of Cato's attitude toward Antiochus. Cato certainly held the king in contempt, but this one sarcastic remark is insufficient to determine the amount of counter-propoganda in this speech.

In view of his fame as a rigid anti-Hellenist, it is rather amazing that Marcus Porcius Cato was in Greece on a rather sensitive diplomatic mission. Cato's anti-Hellenism, if it was anything more than a political pose, must not have been very strong during his younger life. There is no report of his attitudes toward Greece or toward Flamininus' policies in the years before or after his consulship. His connection with Flamininus would indicate that he probably supported the liberator of Greece, perhaps in order to oppose Scipio Africanus who favored Roman intervention in Greece long before the rest

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[12]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 12. 4-5. "ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξέφερε βραχέως τὸν ἑρμηνέα μακρῶς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀπαγγέλλειν."

[13]Malcovati, p. 19, frg. 20. "Antiochus epistulis bellum gerit, calamo et atramento militat." My translation.

of the senate was willing to extend it. In any case, Cato must have performed his task adequately without antagonizing the Greeks to any great extent; for he did secure four cities.

With his diplomatic mission completed, Cato joined the army which had probably already landed in northern Greece.

While the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio was proceeding across Northern Greece to Larisa with 22,000 troops, Antiochus began to prepare for the summer campaign. He sent word to the Aetolians to assemble their troops at Lamia on the Malian Gulf and proceeded there himself with an army of 100,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. To his dismay he discovered that a scant 4,000 Aetolians were prepared to join the campaign against the Romans. Thus discovering the unreliability of his allies, Antiochus retreated to Thermopylae with his own troops where he pitched his camp and began to fortify the pass. Having constructed a double wall and ditch across the pass and considering his position impregnable, the king sent the Aetolians to Hypata and Heraclea to aid in their defense.[14]

When Glabrio approached Thermopylae, Antiochus, suddenly doubting the security of his position, appealed to the Aetolians to support him by occupying the nearby mountains to prevent the Romans from crossing by means

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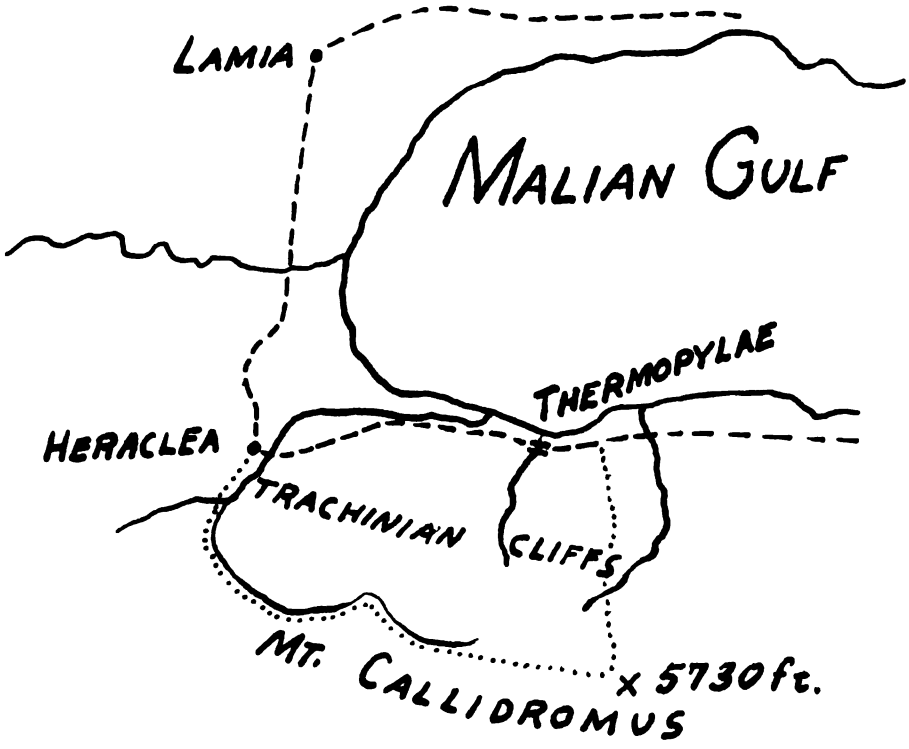
[14]Livy xxxvi. 14. 1, 15. 1-5, 16. 1-3.

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Path through the mountains
used by Cato.

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Main road.

Map 2.--Thermopylae, 191 B. C.

of mountain trails. The Aetolians responded with only half their troops and seized the peaks of Callidromus, Rhoduntia, and Tichius. When Glabrio found these high positions held by the Aetolians, he sent Marcus Cato and Lucius Valerius Flaccus, each with two thousand picked men, against the strong points. Flaccus, who was serving as military tribune along with Cato, was sent to Rhoduntia and Tichius while Cato was assigned Callidromus. Meanwhile, the consul exhorted the main body of troops and prepared to attack Antiochus the next morning at dawn.[15]

When Antiochus saw that Glabrio had lined up his troops in battle formation, he too led his troops out of the camp to give battle. The natural defensive qualities of the pass at Thermopylae were increased by the formation of the Macedonian phalanx. The great strength of the Roman legion was its mobility and ability to be used on virtually any terrain without sacrificing order.[16] As the Romans were unable to maneuver in the narrow pass, Glabrio was forced to make a frontal assault.

> Then, as a greater and more irresistable pressure was placed on them [Antiochus' first line] by the enemy, driven from their places they gradually withdrew their ranks and fell back inside the fortifications; thence from the rampart they almost made another rampart of the spears held out in front of them.

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[15] Ibid., 16. 6-18. 2.

[16] Polybius (xviii. 28-32) compared the phalanx with the Roman legion. He concluded that the flexibility of the legion enabled Roman generals consistently to defeat the naturally stronger phalanx.

> And the height of the rampart was so moderate that it both offered its defenders higher ground from which to fight and held the enemy within thrusting-distance below on account of the length of the spears.[17]

With the main battle stalemated, the deciding factor was the sudden appearance of Marcus Cato on the hill overlooking the enemy camp. Livy recorded simply that he had dislodged the Aetolians, catching them off their guard and many of them asleep.[18] Plutarch's account of Cato's maneuvers portrayed them far more colorfully. Having set out the previous evening under the cover of darkness, Cato's troops began to ascend Mount Callidromus, being led by a prisoner of war. However, the guide lost the way, filling the troops with dejection and fear.[19] Cato halted the troops; and with a companion skilled in mountain climbing, he went ahead through the wild olive trees and rocky peaks, until he discovered a path. Thinking this path led to the enemy's camp, Cato returned to the soldiers and led them to the trail. The path soon failed them, and once more Cato found himself lost in the mountains on the edge of a ravine. As daylight began to break, Cato found that he had led his men virtually into the Aetolian camp, for the

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[17]Livy xxvi. 18. 6-8. "deinde, ut maior nec iam toleranda vis hostium inferebat se, pulsi loco intra munimenta subductis ordinibus concesserunt; inde ex vallo prope alterum vallum hastis prae se obiectis fecerunt. Et ita modica altitudo valli erat, ut et locum superiorem suis ad pugnandum praeberet, et propter longitudinem hastarum subiectum haveret hostem."

[18]Ibid., 8.

[19]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 13. 1-2.

outposts could be seen and heard at the bottom of the ravine. One of the outposts, who was captured in a sudden raid,[20] informed Cato that the entire camp consisted of only six hundred men. When he discovered their small numbers and their carelessness, he led his troops against them, leading the charge himself. But when the Aetolians saw Cato's troops descending upon them from the cliffs, they fled panic-stricken to the main army with the Romans close on their heels.[21]

The appearance of Cato's forces approaching from behind threw Antiochus' forces into great disarray; for they discovered too late to mount an effective resistance that the marching column was not Aetolians coming to their aid, but Roman legionaries. "Such terror all at once seized them that they threw away their arms and fled."[22] Of the more than ten thousand troops that Antiochus had fielded against the Romans at Thermopylae, only five hundred escaped with the king and reached Euboea safely.[23]

The battle of Thermopylae ended the effective resistance to Roman power south of Thermopylae. As Glabrio's legions marched through Boeotia and prepared to

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[20]Frontinus (i. 2. 5) mentioned this strategem in connection with the Spanish campaign.

[21]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 13. 1-2.

[22]Livy xxxvi. 19. 10-12. "tantus repente pavor omnes cepit ut abiectis armis fugerent."

[23]Ibid., 10-12.

cross Euboea, Antiochus abandoned his headquarters at Chalcis and retreated to Asia Minor and the safety of his kingdom. Finding no resistance on Euboea, the consul accepted the surrender of the cities and returned with the troops to Thermopylae to deal with the Aetolians. From Thermopylae "the consul sent Marcus Cato to Rome, that from him, a thoroughly trustworthy source, the senate and the Roman people might learn what had happened."[24]

Cato sped to Rome with all possible haste. Sailing from Creusa on the Gulf of Corinth, he skirted the coast of Northern Greece to Corcyra and crossed to the east coast of Italy at Hydruntum. From there he covered more than four hundred miles to Rome in five days. Arriving in the city before dawn, Cato prevailed upon the praetor Marcus Junus to summon the senate at daybreak to hear the news of victory.[25]

The reason for Cato's haste on his journey was

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[24]Ibid., 21. 1-4. "Inde consil M. Catoem, per quem quae gesta essent senatus populusque Romanus haud dubio auctore sciret, Romanam misit." Plutarch (Cat. Mai. 14. 4) said that Cato was sent immediately after the battle.

[25]Livy xxxvi. 21. 5-7. Plutarch (Cat. Mai. 14. 4) differed slightly from the route given in Livy. He gave the landing point in Italy as Brundisium and gave more details of the route through Italy, saying that Cato went by way of Tarentum. If one accepts Livy's account, Cato probably travelled north to Brundisium and then followed the route given by Plutarch in order to make use of the Appian Way. E. T. Sage, p. 222, n. 1, says that the details of Livy's account "might almost have been taken from some eulogistic biography (or autobiography?) of Cato."

given by Livy who stated that "Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had been sent on some days before by the consul, learning on his arrival that Cato had reached there first and was in the senate, came in while he was recounting what had happened. Then the two legates by order of the senate were taken before the assembly and there told the same story as in the senate about the events in Aetolia."[26]

However, Plutarch's account makes no mention of a second messenger; and Livy did not mention Lucius Scipio previously in connection with the expedition to Greece. H. H. Scullard in Roman Politics: 220-150 B. C. accepts the Livian account and explains the episode as the result of petty political intrigue between Fabian and Scipionic groups. "Acilius had sent the friendly L. Scipio first, perhaps secretly, and then in view of Cato's contribution to the victory had perhaps been unable to refuse his request to be allowed to report at Rome."[27] He makes no mention of Plutarch's differing account, nor does he try to reconcile Livy's earlier remark that Glabrio sent Cato so that the senate and people would learn of the events

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[26]Livy xxxvi. 21. 7-8. "quo L. Cornelius Scipio, aliquot diebus ante a consule dimissus, cum adventiens audisset praegressum Catonem in sentu esse, supervenit exponenti quae gesta essent. Duo inde legati iussu senatus in contionem sunt producti, atque ibi eadem quae in senatu de rebus in Aetolia gestis exposuerunt."

[27]P. 125.

from a "thoroughly trustworthy source." [28]

Evan T. Sage gives what would seem to a more likely explanation. "There is no further reference to his [L. Scipio] presence in Greece, and Livy may have confused his visit to Rome with one of Publius Scipio [Nasica, the other consul that year] to announce a victory in Gaul."[29] But this leaves the problem of Cato's rapid journey unanswered.

Perhaps the answer is implied in Plutarch. After a eulogistic account of Thermopylae in which he placed Cato in the center of the events, Plutarch rebuked him for his boastfulness. "Cato, who was ever rather generous it would seem, in his own praises, and did not hesitate to follow up his great achievements with boastings equally great, is very pompous in his account of this exploit."[30] Cato rushed to Rome simply to insure that he would be the first to arrive with the news of the victory and, even more important, of his own glorious deeds.

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[28]Livy xxxvi. 21. 4. "haud dubio auctore . . ." Scullard does hedge somewhat in a footnote (p. 125, n. 5). "It is conceivable that the two messengers derive from two separate analistic accounts which have been combined."

[29]E. T. Sage, p. 222-23, n. 2.

[30]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 14. 2. "ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀεὶ μέν τις ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδὴς καὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς μεγαλαυχίαν ὡς ἐπακολούθημα τῆς μεγαλουργίας οὐκ ἔφευγε, πλεῖστον δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι ταύταις ὄγκον περιτέθεικε."

Cato's report to the people, as reported by Plutarch, was exceedingly pompus. He said that those who saw him pursuing the enemy and cutting them down, felt convinced that Cato owed less to Rome than Rome to Cato. Cato also said that Glabrio himself threw his arms about him and embraced him a long time, "crying out for joy that neither he himself nor then whole Roman people could fittingly requite Cato for his benefactions."[31] However distasteful to Plutarch, Cato's announcement of the victory had the desired effect on the Roman people. "He filled the city full of joy and sacrifices, and the people with the proud feeling that it was able to master every land and sea."[32] Livy reported that a thanksgiving of three days was proclaimed, and forty full-grown victims were sacrificed to appropriate gods by the praetor in charge of the city.[33]

Remaining in Rome after reporting the victory at Thermopylae to the senate, Cato vigorously entered into

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[31] Ibid., 3. "καὶ βοᾶν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, ὡς οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς οὔθ' ὁ σύμπας δῆμος ἐξισώσειε τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ταῖς Κάτωνος εὐεργεσίαις."

[32] Ibid., 4. "καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνέπλησεν εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυσιῶν, φρονήματος δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὡς πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης κρατεῖν δυνάμενον."

[33] xxxvi. 21. 9. The sacrificing of full-grown victims was an indication that the Romans considered a victory especially significant. See Livy xxxvi. 38. 7.

political disputes. In his younger life, his rural conservatism and personal integrity had served him well. During these years he formulated a political philosophy based on Roman traditions and a severe morality. In the role of champion of these values, Cato began to attack the introduction of Hellenistic culture because it poured luxury into Rome and undermined traditional values. Cato used his oratorical skill and sharp tongue as extremely effective weapons in his effort to curb evil and prosecute those who failed to live up to his standards. Plutarch wrote that Cato put forth his most zealous efforts in impeaching malefactors.[34] Cato not only brought prosecutions himself, but also aided others in their prosecutions and instigated still others to bring accusations for him. His opponents included men from all parties, but most often Cato attacked the members of the Scipionic group.

The Scipios openly avowed an imperialistic policy in the East. Cato was thus bound inevitably to come into conflict with them. In fact, Cato's antagonism toward Scipio Africanus may have begun during Cato's quaestorship. In the seven years after Thermopylae, Cato would engage in a virtual political feud with the Scipios in righteous defense of his values.

The first member of the Scipionic group to feel the lash of Cato's vitriolic tongue was Quintus Munícius Thermus.

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[34]Cat. Mai. 15. 1.

He had received a triumph for his victory in Spain in 196. As consul in 193 he was sent to fight the Ligurians in northern Italy where his command was extended for two years. Thermus returned to Rome in 190, declaring the area pacified, and petitioned the senate for his second triumph; but Cato was on hand to prevent it.[35]

Cato's attack on Thermus centered on the actual significance and extent of victory in the major battle which Thermus had fought with the Ligurians.[36] To merit a triumph, 5,000 of the enemy must have been killed in a single battle;[37] but since Cato attacked Thermus, his claim of 9,000 dead Ligurians must have been greatly inflated.[38]

Marcus Cato was not content to attack Thermus solely on the grounds of inflated casualty figures. In this speech and in another closely related speech,[39] Cato

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[35]Livy (xxxvii. 46. 2) said simply that when Thermus applied for a triumph, he was refused. No mention of Cato's part in the affair was made by Livy. The fragments of Cato's speeches are the only surviving indication of his role in the refusal of Thermus' triumph.

[36]The title of one of the two speeches shows this: De Falsis Pugnis. See Malcovati, pp. 26-27.

[37]Valerius Maximus ii. 8. 1.

[38]Livy (xxxv. 21. 7) gave this figure without comment. It is not evident that he was aware that the disputed casualty figure must have been the central reason why Thermus was denied a triumph.

[39]De Decem Hominibus. Malcovati, pp. 28-29. These two speeches are possibly parts of the same speech since there is no surviving evidence that Thermus was ever prosecuted, thus making a second speech unnecessary.

berated Thermus for his shameful treatment of freeborn allies. "He said that his provisions had not been satisfactorily attended to by the decemvirs. He ordered them to be stripped and scourged. The Bruttiani[40] scourged the decemvirs, many men saw it done. Who could endure such insult, such tyranny. such slavery? No king has ever dared to act thus; shall outrages be inflicted upon good men, born of a good family, and of good intentions? Where is the protection of our allies? Where is the honour of our forefathers?"[41] But Cato charged Thermus of a greater crime than even the public scourging of allies. "You seek to cover your abominable crime with a still worse crime, you slaughter men like swine, you commit frightful bloodshed, you cause ten deaths, slay ten freemen, take life from ten men, untried, unjudged, uncondemned."[42] Despite his eloquent and passionate

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See H, H. Scullard, p. 258. However, Aulus Gellius gave the two different titles, and he probably had possession of the speeches in one form or another.

[40]The floggers who are accompanied by the magistrates. They were so called after the Brutti who had gone over to Hannibal and were forced to serve in the army performing the duties of slaves.

[41]De Falsis Pugnis, from Aulus Gellius x. 3. 17. "Dixit a decemviris parum bene sibi cibaria curata esse. Iussit vestimenta detrahi atque flagro caedi. Decemviros Bruttiani verberavere, videre multi mortales. Quis hanc contumeliam, quis hoc imperium, quis hanc servitutem ferre potest? Nmeo hoc rex ausus est facere; eane fieri bonis, bono genere gnatis, boni consultis? Ubi societas? ubi fides maiorum?

[42]De Decem Hominibus, from Aulus Gellius xiii. 25. 12. "Tuum nefarium facinus peiore facinore operire

denunciation of Thermus, Cato was not able to obtain a conviction of the proconsul. He probably was unable even to bring the charge to court, for the next year Thermus was included in a commission sent to Asia to settle disputes arising out of the recently concluded war with Antiochus.[43]

The Scipios fought back, bringing Cato into court not as the prosecutor but as the defendant. Plutarch recorded that Cato was the defendant in nearly fifty cases because his political enemies seized every available opportunity to prosecute him.[44] However, Cato's enemies were never able to achieve the satisfaction of seeing him successfully prosecuted. Undoubtedly, his oratorical skills were as valuable to Cato in his defense as were his honesty and austere life.[45]

In 190, possibly in connection with his candidacy for the censorship of 189, an accusation was brought against Cato concerning his consulship.[46] The exact nature

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postulas, succidias humanas facis, tantam trucidationem facis, decem funera facis, decem capita libera interficis, decem hominibus vitam eripis, indicta causa, iniudicatis, incomdemnatis." It is tempting to link these ten men with the ones scourged, but the emphasis on the insult of the scourging makes this somewhat doubtful. There is no other identification of these men.

[43]Livy xxxvii. 40. 7.

[44]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 15. 5.

[45]Pliny HN vi. 13; Plutarch Comparison of Aristides and Cato 2. 4.

[46]A reference to Thermopylae (Malcovati, p. 24, frg. 49) fixes the time of the dispute after 191. A reference

of the charge against Cato is unknown, but a charge of extravagance or personal benefit derived from his consulship could not have been possible. He fed his army on spoils from the countryside,[47] he took no part of the booty himself,[48] and even left his horse in Spain rather than charge the state for its transportation![49] Whatever the charges, the source of the attack was undoubtedly the Scipionic group whose policies Cato bitterly opposed.

In the speech Dierum dictarum do consulatu suo, Cato defended himself brilliantly. He replied with righteous indignation to the charges brought against him. "And I have long since known and understood and perceived that to administer the commonwealth with care is the greatest danger."[50] With contempt and scorn he described his accusers. "And although my enemies have performed many extraordinary wonders; nevertheless, I am unable to cease to be astonished at their audacity and shamelessness."[51]

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to the laxity of previous censors (Ibid., frg. 50) suggests that there may be some connection to the hotly debated censorial elections of 190. See Malcovati, p. 20; H. H. Scullard, pp. 134, 258.

[47] Livy xxxvii. 9..12.

[48] Plutarch Cat. Mai. 12. 4.

[49] Ibid., 5. 6.

[50] Malcovati, p. 20, frg. 21. "egoque iam pridem cognovi atque intellexi atque arbitror rem publicam curare industriae summum periculum esse." My translation.

[51] Ibid., frg. 22. "atque quamquam multa nova

He continues, "They work hard at this, to abuse me falsely."[52] But the main emphasis of the speech was not a strict defense against the charges, but a paean of the achievements of his consulship. Thus he related the entire Spanish campaign in detail without any pretense of modesty.[53] Finally, Cato declared that "those who are after this made censors will strive more terribly and more slowly and more timidly for the republic."[54] He thus seemed to be promising a harsh censorship if he were elected and criticizing Aelius Paetus and Gaius Cethegus whose censorship in 194 had been very mild.[55]

Cato's eloquence served him well, for he was acquitted on the charges before the end of the proceedings.[56]

In 189, Marcus Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus were

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miracula fecere inimici mei, tamen nequeo desinere mirari sorum audaciam atque confidentiam." My translation.

[52] Ibid., frg. 23. "ei rei dant operam, ut mihi falso maledicatur." My translation.

[53] Ibid., pp. 20-24, frgs. 24-49.

[54] Ibid.,p. 24, frg. 50. "censores qui posthac fiunt, formidulosius atque segnius atque timidius pro re publica nit entur." My translation.

[55] They were both members of the Scipionic group. See Livy xxiv. 44. 4-5.

[56] It seems rather curious that Livy made no mention of these proceedings. This speech was undoubtedly incorporated into Cato's history, which was used by Livy for his account of Cato's Spanish campaign either directly, or indirectly through a laudatory account of an annalist.

candidates for the most powerful regular magistracy in Rome, the censorship. Of the six candidates in this hotly contested election, the leading contender was Manius Acilius Glabrio, Cato's commander at Thermopylae. His great popularity was enhanced by his many largesses, with which he had placed a large part of the voters under obligation.[57] When many nobles had become aware of the popular support of Glabrio, a "new man," they jealously persuaded two tribunes of the people to press charges against him that "some of the king's money and much of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus had neither been displayed by him in the triumph nor turned in to the treasury."[58] The testimony of Glabrio's lieutenants and military tribunes conflicting, Cato eagerly joined in the attack on a member of the Scipionic circle. Livy stated, "Marcus Cato was conspicuous as a witness before the rest; but the honour gained in the whole course of his life was diminished by his candidate's dress."[59] Cato did achieve his immediate goal, for Glabrio withdrew his candidacy; but this attempt to inject scandal into the election backfired. For, as Glabrio withdrew, he delivered a stinging rebuke

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[57]Livy xxxvii. 57. 11.

[58]Ibid., 12. "quod pecuniae regiae praedaeque aliquantum captae in Antiochi castris neque in triumpho tulisses, neque in aerarium rettulisset."

[59]Ibid., 13. "M. Cato ante alios testis conspiciebatur; cuius auctoritatem perpetuo tenore vitae partam toga candida elevabat."

at Cato, saying that while the nobles kept silent, though indignant, he was attacked with detestable perjury by one who was as much a new man as himself.[60] Glabrio's speech found its mark, for Cato was passed over as Titus Quinctius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were elected censors. Livy said that Glabrio's case was also dropped since the nobility had achieved their objective in his withdrawal, and the people were unwilling to cast a ballot on the amount of the fine to be imposed.[61]

Soon after Cato's unsuccessful bid for the censorship, probably in 187, two tribunes of the people, both named Quintis Petillius attacked the Scipios at Cato's instigation.[62] The tribunes demanded that Lucius Scipio make a public accounting of the spoils and tribute exacted from Antiochus in the Syrian War. P. Scipio Africanus, who had served as a lieutenant to his younger and inexperienced brother, replied for Lucius by tearing the account books to shreds on the Senate floor, expressing his indignation that he should be held responsible for a small fraction of the total when he had given Rome Asia, Libya, and Spain.[63]

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[60] Ibid., 15.

[61] Ibid., 58. 1.

[62] Aulus Gellius (iv. 18. 7) and Livy (xxxviii. 54. 2) both claimed that Cato was involved.

[63] Livy xxxviii. 55. 10-12; Aulus Gellius iv. 18. 7-12; Polybius xxxiii. 14.

Thus thwarted in the senate, Cato pressed his attack on Lucius Scipio in the Assembly, where another tribune, Gaus Mincius Augurinus, brought the question of the accounts of the war to the people. Lucius was arrested, probably because he refused to give surety when appealing the fine which Minucius had levied against him. When he was rescued by another tribune of the people, Cato probably allowed the matter of the fine to drop, having achieved his goal of discrediting the Scipios.[64]

The final attack on Scipio Africanus came in 184[65] when Cato persuaded the tribune Marcus Naevius to bring him to trial on charges relating to his conduct in the war against Antiochus. Neither the nature of the charge nor the exact time of the prosecution is known, but the attack may well have been part of Cato's attempt to discredit his brother, Lucius Scipio, who was a candidate for the censorship that year as was Cato,[66] Africanus replied to the charges with an appeal to the honor and glory which he had

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[64]The basic account is that of Aulus Gellius vi. 19. There is an opposing account given by Livy (xxxviii. 58. 1-60. 10) whose source was Valerias Antias. The trials of the Scipios are extremely confused and muddled. It is not evident just what role Cato played, beyond his instigation and support of the Petillii. For accounts of the trials, see A. H. McDonald, "Scipio Africanus and Roman Politics in the Second Century B. C.," JRS XXVIII (1938), 153-64; and H. H. Scullard pp. 290-203.

[65]Livy (xxxviii. 56. 1) admitted that there was much confusion and contradiction among his sources, although following Valerias Antias, he placed Africanus' trial in 187. However, P. Naevius, who brought Africanus to trial, was tribune in 184.

[66]Livy xxxix. 40. 2.

bestowed upon Rome; and scorning his attackers, he left the assembly followed by the huge crowd that had flocked to see the proceedings. When L. Scipio pleaded illness for Africanus' absence on the following day, the attackers attempted to convict him for his absence; but one tribune announced that he would not allow a conviction of Scipio.

Cato did not press his attack on Africanus, for he had obtained his objective of discrediting the Scipios. Furthermore, his chief enemy in Rome withdrew into self-imposed exile at Liternum where he remained until his death which occured shortly thereafter.[67]

In 186, the senate moved to suppress the Bacchic cult not only in Rome but throughout all of Italy.[68] The tone of the accusations against the cult demonstrated the influence of Cato on the proceedings.[69] Secret societies and meetings, especially those in which slaves and freedmen participated, had long been prohibited by the suspicious

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[67] Ibid., 51. 1-54. 11, 56. 1-8; Polybius xxiii. 14. In Livy's account there was the implication that Africanus died in 187, the date which Valerius Antias gave. However, in xxxix. 52. 1, Livy placed the date as 184, rejecting Polybius and Rutillius who, according to Livy, placed the date in 183.

[68] Livy (xxxix. 8. 1-19. 7) gave a detailed account of the affair.

[69] T. Frank, in The Cambridge Ancient History, edited by S. A. Cook, et. al. (New York: Macmillan, 1922-32), VIII, 351, said that Livy's account is from Cato's speech. I find this unlikely since Cato was not mentioned in the account. Elsewhere where Livy used Cato, he figured prominently in the section.

Romans who feared slave uprisings. But the charges against the Bacchic cult were criminal and moral, not political. Livy vividly described the charges against the cult. There was not only the promiscuous mating of free men and women, but also perjured witnesses, forged seals and wills and evidence. There were even poisonings and secret murders, so that at times not even the bodies were found for burial. "Much was ventured by craft, more by violence."[70]

When the senate was informed of the crimes by the consul Spurius Postumius Albinus, it ordered the cult disbanded and the members arrested and prosecuted for their crimes.[71] But suppression in the city alone was insufficient. Since the cult had come to Rome from Greece by way of Etruria and southern Italy,[72] the senate realized that the cult could not be eradicated in Rome unless drastic measures were taken to destroy it throughout all of Italy as well. By declaring the widespread secret organization a conspiracy, the senate had ample justification for

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[70]Livy xxxix. 8. 7-8. "Multa dolo, pleraque per vim audebantur."

[71]Ibid., 14. 4-9.

[72]Ibid., 9. 1. T. Frank, "The Bacchanalian Cult of 186 B. C.," CQ XXI (1927), 128-32, places great emphasis on southern Italy as the origin of this particular cult. F. Altheim, A History of Roman Religion, trans. H. Mattingly (London: Methuen & Co., 1938), pp. 293-94, also acknowledges the importance of southern Italy and defends Livy's claim that Etruria was involved; but elsewhere (pp. 310-11, 314-15) he stresses that the ultimate origin of the cult is Greece.

issuing a harsh decree which outlawed the Bacchic cult in all allied towns and provided capital punishment for violators.[73]

This harsh suppression of the Bacchic conspiracy has been attributed to "the narrow traditionalism of Cato and his friends, who were willing to infringe the treaty rights of the allies in their determination to oppose non-Roman cults and customs."[74] The obliteration of the cult was interpreted as part of Cato's continuing attack on the Scipionic circle.[75] Certainly there can be no doubt that Cato vigorously supported the suppression of the cult, and it is probable that he led the attack. Cato's speech de coniuratione demonstrated his concern.[76] However, Cato did not command a great deal of support on moral issues in a senate filled mostly with supporters of Greek culture.

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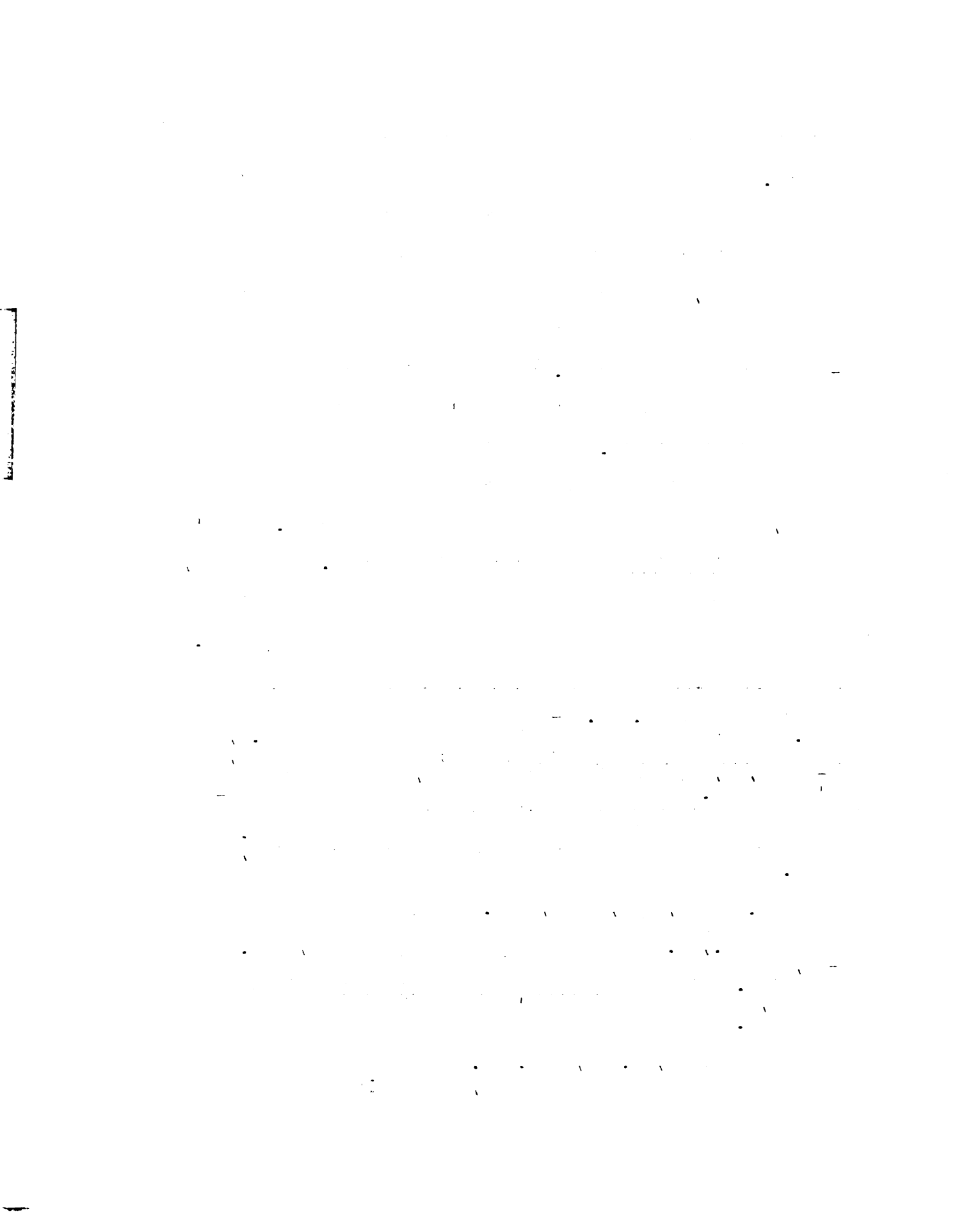
[73]Livy (xxxix. 14. 8-9) gave the provisions of the decree. An inscription found in Calabria (Dessau (ed.), Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (2d ed; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954-1955), I, 5) containing the decree, agrees with Livy's account. The senate needed a good reason to override the treaties with the Latin and Italian allies which gave the allies considerable autonomy in local affairs. The safety of Rome would have precedence over treaties, however.

[74]T. Frank, CAH, VIII, 374.

[75]Ibid., p. 352; in "The Bacchanalian Cult," pp. 131-32, Frank only briefly mentions the motives for the suppression. Since The Cambridge Ancient History is not footnoted, the basis for Frank's conclusions is unknown to this author.

[76]Malcovati, p. 31, frg. 68. The title offers the only basis for speculation about the speech. The one fragment consists of a single word, "precem."



Nor could he have exerted enough effort to persuade an unwilling senate to act so swiftly and harshly on behalf of his political feud with the Scipios. The senate acted because the secret mysteries of the Bacchic cult were outside the state religion and thus beyond control.[77] The senate could allow nothing so potentially dangerous to Rome (and to its own power) to exist during such a period of social unrest.[78] It would be a mistake to transfer Cato's motives (which are not clear to us) to a senate in which so few members shared his political and social views.

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[77]Altheim, p. 316.

[78]A. H. McDonald, "Rome and the Italian Confederation," JRS, XXIV (1944), 26-33. This article contains an excellent account of the Bacchic Conspiracy.

## CHAPTER III

## THE CENSORSHIP

The struggle for the censorship in 184 was perhaps even more vicious than that of 189. In 189 there were six candidates for that most important office, but in 184 the censorship was sought with intense rivalry by no less than nine men.[1] Five patricians sought the honors: L. Valerius Flaccus, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, L. Cornelius Scipio, Cn. Manlius Vulso, and L. Furius Purpurio. There were four plebeian candidates: M. Porcius Cato, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Ti. Sempronius Longus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus.[2] Livy reported that all the candidates except Flaccus formed a combination against Cato to prevent him from attaining this office. They were not moved by their jealousy of the popularity of a "new man," as they had been in 189 against Glabrio; nor did personal ambition for office dictate this combination. Cato was opposed because the other candidates

> anticipated a stern censorship dangerous to the reputation of many, from a man who had both been injured by others and was eager to do injury. For even then he was canvassing by means of threats, charging that he was being opposed by men who feared a free and courageous censorship. At the same time he canvassed for Lucius Valerius also: with him alone as his colleague could he chastise the new vices and revive the

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[1] Livy xxxix. 40. 2. [2] Ibid., 2. 3.

ancient character.[3]

If Cato's final attack on Africanus came either before or during the campaign, it undoubtedly compromised Lucius Scipio and probably was sufficient to discredit all the Scipionic candidates. Nevertheless, the Scipios entered this election in a weakened position by fielding four candidates, three of them patricians.[4] Lucius Scipio probably stood for election to vindicate his reputation which was somewhat tarnished by Cato's attack in 187; and H. H. Scullard suggested that Furius Purpurio may have "insisted on standing mainly in order to keep up his old feud against Manlius Vulso."[5] This failure to agree on their strongest patrician candidate indicated that there was a lack of unity and leadership in the Scipionic group. Thus with a vigorous campaign stressing the moral degeneracy of his opponents and his own righteousness, Cato (perhaps aided by his own attack on Africanus) was able to capitalize on his opponents' weaknesses and secure not only his own election but also that of Flaccus.

The censorship was probably the most powerful

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[3]Ibid., 41. 2-4. "tristem censuram periculosamque multorum famae et ab laeso a plerisque et laedendi cupido exspectabant. Etenim tum quoque minitabundus petebat, refragari sibi, qui liberam et fortem censuram timerent, criminando. Et simul L. Valerio suffragabatur: illo uno collega castigare se nova flagitia et priscos revocare mores posse."

[4]Since one censor was required to be a plebeian, the three patrician candidates were all competing against one another!

[5]P. 150.

regularly elected office in Rome in the second century and the only major post whose functions were not primarily military. Elected every five years for a term of eighteen months, the censors were the overseers of public morals; and they possessed a wide range of powers to enforce their authority. They revised the roll of citizens, assessed personal property and levied taxes upon it, removed senators and knights from their positions if they were deemed unfit or had neglected their responsibilities, let public contracts, and constructed public works with state funds. The powers of the office were so extensive that Cato's opponents were justified in their fear of a stern censorship. He would have ample opportunity to attack the luxury and Greek influences which, in his eyes, were corrupting the youth and were destroying the traditional moral fabric of Rome.

Cato had campaigned for the censorship with promises that he would not imitate the mildness of his predecessors, and he had threatened wrong-doers in his speeches and proclaimed that Rome needed a great purification.[6] By electing his old friend and patron Lucius Valerius Flaccus as **his** colleague, the people of Rome had given Cato a clear mandate for reform; for Flaccus was the one candidate who would not hinder Cato's actions. Cato's principal aim while censor was to stop the spread of Hellenistic culture in order to return Rome to her traditional morality. He

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[6]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 16. 5.

would attempt to eliminate luxury, the chief imported evil, by taxation and would attack those who had succumbed to the accompanying corruption with all the powers which were available to him. Thus would Cato reform Roman society.

As his opponents undoubtedly knew, Cato was not a man of idle threats; hence there must have been a great deal of apprehension as the two censors prepared the new roll of senators. Their selection was harsh, for they excluded seven men including Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, a man of consular rank[7] Cato also departed from the tradition of simply placing the censor's nota, or mark of disgrace, by the names of expelled senators. Not content with this mute punishment, Cato delivered "bitter orations" against both those expelled from the senate and those expelled from the cavalry. His attack on Lucius Flamininus was by far the most vehement; and, as Livy stated, "if he had made this speech as an accuser before the branding rather than as censor after the branding, Lucius Quinctius [Flamininus] could not have been kept in the senate even by his brother Titus Quinctius, had he been censor then."[8]

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[7]Livy (xxxii. 7. 2-3) indicated that not even one citizen was reduced in rank in 199, and in 194 (xxxiv. 44. 4-5) only three senators who had never held a curule office were excluded. The censors for 189 (xxxviii. 28. 1-2) passed over four senators who had not held curule office. Livy mentioned in all three passages that the censorships were lenient.

[8]Livy xxxix. 42. 5-7. "qua si accusator ante notam, non censor post notam usus esset, retinere L. Quinctium in senatu ne frater quidem T. Quinctius, si tum censor esset, potuisset."

Cato's principal charge against Lucius Flamininus stemmed from an incident which had occurred when Flamininus had been consul in 192. At that time the consul had attracted a young Carthaginian named Philippus, a notorious male prostitute, to his province with the promise of gifts. The boy had reproached Flamininus that he had missed a gladiatorial combat to be with him. Cato charged that when a noble Boian deserter who wished a pledge of safety from the consul was brought to his tent during dinner, the drunken Flamininus killed him for the boy.[9] At the end of his speech, Cato offered to make a judicial wager (sponsio) with Lucius on the merits of his charges but was turned down. Plutarch mentioned the involvement of Titus Flamininus in the dispute.[10] Whether or not he was involved, the incident certainly increased the enmity between Titus Flamininus and Cato which would show itself during the rest of Cato's censorship.

One other senator who was expelled by Cato was mentioned by Plutarch. A certain Manilius, who apparently had good prospects for the consulship, was excluded from

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[9]Ibid., 8-12. In xxxix. 43. 1-4, Livy gave the version of Valerius Antias who reported that Flamininus killed a condemned prisoner at a banquet to satisfy a notorious woman whom he loved. However, Livy indicated that his own account was based on Cato's speech. Cicero (Sen. 12. 14) followed the account of Antias. Plutarch (Cat. Mai. 17. 2-4) gave a hybrid version with the boy and a condemned prisoner. He stated that this was the most common version. In any version, the deed seems fully sufficient to warrant Flamininus' expulsion from the senate.

[10]Cat. Mai. 17. 5.

the senate because he embraced his wife in open day in front of his daughter.[11] Plutarch added that Cato stated that he never embraced his wife unless it thundered loudly; and that he wittily added that he was a happy man when it thundered.[12] Such a remark seems to cast some doubt on the validity of this story, for it seems unlikely that Cato would have indulged in such levity in a speech which attacked a man he was ejecting from the senate. But this anecdote does demonstrate the severity of the traditional Roman modesty and Cato's attempt to check Greek inroads upon it. Cato once said that the presence of his son put him on guard against coarse speech as much as the presence of the Vestal Virgins and that he never bathed with him.[13] Indeed, Plutarch added that his attitude was common among the Romans and that their modesty was so great that even fathers-in-law avoided bathing with their sons-in-law.[14] Thus, Cato's attack was perhaps severe and old-fashioned, but it was not out of step with conservative Roman

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[11] *Ibid.*, 7. Since there is no mention of a Manilius in the Praetorian Fasti in the thirty years before or after 184, the name is probably a corruption of either Mamilius or Manlius if this anecdote is true. There are no good candidates among the Mamilii; but L. Manlius Vulso (praetor in 197), P. Manlius (praetor in 195 and again in 182 after Cato's censorship), and A. Manlius Vulso (*praetor suffectus* in 189 and consul in 178) are possibilities among the Manlii.

[12] *Cat. Mai.* 17. 7. [13] *Ibid.*, 20. 5.

[14] *Ibid.*, 6. However, Plutarch concluded this passage with a statement that in later times the Romans had learned the custom of going naked so well from the Greeks that they in turn infected the Greeks with the practice even when women were present.

traditions.

In the review of the equites, Cato found another opportunity to attack the Scipios directly by expelling Lucius Cornelius Scipio from the order,[15] although without ignominia since he was not expelled from the senate. Although Cato may have removed Lucius only because of age, the censor's motives were not above suspicion; for Plutarch reported that he was bitterly censured for the act. "He was thought to have done this as an insult to the memory of Scipio Africanus,"[16] said Plutarch; but the expulsion must have been sweet revenge for the heated campaign which Lucius had waged against Cato in the censorial elections.

Despite the political implications of Scipio's removal from the equites, Cato seemed to be seeking genuine reform of the Roman cavalry both in quality and in the number of men. Having been faced with a cavalry panic in Spain which nearly provoked a disaster,[17] he appreciated the value of a strong cavalry arm. Cato removed Lucius

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[15]Livy xxxix. 44. 1; Plutarch Cat. Mai. 18. 1. The equites were the members of the eighteen centuries of cavalry provided with a public horse and voting separately in the Comitia Centuriata. Those who were too old for service were retired by the censors, but senators were often retained although unfit for actual cavalry service. The equites did not merge into the equestrian Middle Class until after 125. There was no official equester ordo until the latter part of the second century. See H. Hill, The Roman Middle Class in the Republican Period (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 1-50.

[16]Cat. Mai. 18. 1. "ἔδοξε γὰρ οἷον ἐφυβρίζων Ἀφρικανῷ Σκιπίωνι τεθνηκότι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι."

[17]Livy xxxiv. 14. 1-11.

Venturius from the equites because he was too fat; this in itself was a rather common procedure followed by the censors which did not normally involve a loss in rank. But Cato vigorously attacked Venturius for neglecting some religious sacrifice and, more importantly, for his corpulence. Therefore, he made the latter "a somewhat serious charge, thus apparently indicating that it was attended with disgrace."[18] Cato also urged the senate in a speech to increase the size of the cavalry from 1800 to 2200 men,[19] but he was unsuccessful in this attempt. Thus, Cato's efforts toward reform of the equites were only partially successful.

The effects of Cato's policies in assessing the personal property of citizens and levying taxes were felt by all classes. In an obvious effort to curb extravagance and ostentatious wealth, he ordered the assessors to list jewels,, women's dresses, and vehicles worth more than 15,000 asses[20] at ten times their actual value. He also directed that slaves less than twenty years of age bought since the previous lustrum for more than 10,000 asses should be evaluated at ten times their actual value. Cato then levied a tax of three asses per thousand on these articles.[21]

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[18]Aulus Gellius vi. 22. 1-3. "obicit hanc rem criminosius, uti magis videri possit cum ignominia fuisse." See also Plutarch Cat. Mai. 9. 6.

[19]Malcovati, p. 37, frgs. 85, 86.

[20]Plutarch (18. 2) said 1500 drachmas.

[21]Livy xxxix. 44. 2-3.

This was in effect a tax of three per cent on the true value of these items: a three thousand per cent increase over the usual tax of one ass per thousand!

These assessments and taxes were clearly intended to be confiscatory. Cato had been appalled at the lavish display of wealth in Rome and had strongly opposed the repeal of the Oppian law when he was consul. Although he could not prevent the repeal of the sumptuary law, he could and did make excessive luxuries too expensive to maintain. The tax on slaves, however, was not to discourage slavery, but to reduce the importation of highly educated slaves from Greece who might corrupt young Romans with their philosophies and morals. Farm slaves would not be affected by Cato's measure since their cost was generally about 5,000 asses. Cato himself said that he never paid more than 1,500 drachmas for a slave, since he did not want them to be delicately beautiful, but strong workers.[22]

However well the agricultural and poor citizens of Rome may have received Cato's measures, the reaction among Rome's wealthy was one of hostility. Plutarch said that both those who endured the taxes to preserve their luxury, and those who sacrificed luxury to avoid the taxes were incensed at Cato.[23]

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[22]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 4. 4. By Plutarch's reckoning (see note 19 above) this would be 15,000 asses. Presumably this would be a skilled artisan since the price was well above the cost of a farm laborer and above Cato's limit for young slaves.

[23]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 18. 3.

Having completed his grand assault on the widespread luxury in the city, Cato turned his attention to abuses of the public water supply. All water lines which tapped the public aqueducts for private dwellings or gardens were cut off.[24] To illustrate his point, Cato delivered an oration against Lucius Furius, who was irrigating poorly watered lands, which he had bought up cheaply. "Oh at what price he bought the fields to which he drew the water!"[25]

Cato also took a dim view of the encroachments of private dwellings onto public property. All such buildings on public lands were ordered to be torn down on thirty days' notice.[26] This seems to have been a recurring problem in Rome, for in 179 the censors were again required to remove private dwellings from public areas.[27]

A speech by Cato attacking a tribune, Marcus Caelius, was probably related to Cato's efforts to remove the private buildings from the public lands. Caelius probably threatened to use his veto to halt the proceedings against some of the victims.[28] Cato counter-attacked with a vicious diatribe. He declared:

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[24]Livy xxxix. 44. 4; Plutarch Cat. Mai. 19. 1.

[25]Malcovati, p. 43, frg. 102. "o quanti ille agros emit, qua aquam duceret." My translation.

[26]Livy xxxix. 44. 4; Plutarch Cat. Mai. 19. 1.

[27]Livy xl. 51. 8.

[28]Censorial acts relating to public works could be vetoed by the tribunes, although not those related to the census or the rolls of senators and equites.

> That man is never silent who is afflicted with the disease of talking, as one in a lethargy is afflicted with that of drinking and sleeping. For if you should not come together when he calls an assembly, so eager is he to talk that he would hire someone to listen. And so you hear him, but you do not listen, just as if he were a quack. For a quack's words are heard, but no one trusts himself to him when he is sick.[29]

Cato further upbraided Caelius, saying, "For a crust of bread he can be hired either to keep silence or to speak."[30] The censor's invective must have had its desired effect, for the reforms were successfully carried out.

Cato and Flaccus were eager to drive hard bargains for the state, since they farmed the revenues at the highest rates they could obtain and let public contracts at the lowest rates.[31] But the publicani who had accepted these tough contracts immediately appealed to the senate that the terms were too harsh. Moved by the contractors' tearful pleas, the senate cancelled the contracts and ordered the censors to let new ones.[32] But the senate may not have been moved by the pleas alone, for Plutarch stated that Titus Flamininus headed a party in opposition to Cato which persuaded the senate to annul his contracts.[33] If Plutarch was correct, Flamininus was probably attempting

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[29]Aulus Gellius i. 15. 9. "Numquam tacet, quem morbus tenet loquendi tamquam veternosum bibendi atque dormiendi. Quod si non conveniatis, cum convocari iubet, ita cupidus orationis conducat, qui auscultet. Itaque auditis, non auscultatis, tamquam pharmacopolam."

[30]Ibid., 10. "Frusto panis conduci potest, vel uti taceat vel uti loquatur."

[31]Livy xxxix. 44. 7. [32]Ibid. 8.

[33]Cat. Mai. 19. 2.

some measure of revenge on behalf of his brother who had so recently been expelled from the senate. Cato and Flaccus were not intimidated by this, however; for they excluded the bidders who had evaded the original contracts from the new bidding and let the revised contracts at only slightly less favorable figures.[34]

One of the duties of the censors was the construction of whatever public works they thought were necessary or beneficial to the state. The censors would let contracts for the various projects after they persuaded the senate to appropriate the necessary funds. Customarily some of the projects were built in both their names; others were built under separate supervision. Together, Cato and Flaccus let contracts for paving fountain basins with stone, for cleaning of existing sewers, and for construction of new sewers on the Aventine and wherever none had yet been built.[35] Flaccus built a dike at the Neptunian waters in order to provide a footpath and a road at Formiae. Cato built two markets, the Maenium and the Titium, near the Lautumiae[36] and also built what was probably the first basilica on land purchased for that purpose between the comitium and the Northern slope of the Capitoline.[37] Cato

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[34]Livy xxxix. 44. 8. [35]Ibid., 5.

[36]A prison on the north-east slope of the Capitoline which was originally a stone quarry, hence its name.

[37]Livy xxxix. 44. 8. According to Livy (xxvi. 27. 3) there was no basilica in Rome in 210. This is the earliest mentioned basilica in Rome.

was able to obtain the funds for his basilica only after a struggle in the senate.

These public works, especially the Basilica Porcia and the sewer construction, were probably the most significant accomplishments of Cato's censorship, at least in terms of permanence. The form of the basilica and even its name came from Greece, although Cato may have also seen the buildings in Magna Graecia. Cato's hatred for things Greek did not extend to what he saw would be a useful and practical building well-suited to Roman needs. Evidently, those who had opposed the erection of the Basilica Porcia soon saw the value of this type of building; for the censors of 179 built the Basilica Aemilia,[38] and those of 169 constructed the Basilica Sempronia,[39] both flanking the Forum.

The construction of the sewers was an even greater accomplishment than the introduction of the basilica. In a passage which certainly referred to Cato and Flaccus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus cited Gaius Acilius, who said that at one time when the sewers had become impassable through neglect, the censors let contracts for cleaning and repairing them at a cost of a thousand talents.[40] This

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[38]Livy xl. 51. 4-5. [39]Ibid., xliv. 16. 10-11.

[40]Dionysius of Halicarnassus Ant. Rom. iii. 67. 5. Acilius was a senator-historian and almost a contemporary of Cato. His history, written in Greek, was published c. 142 B.C. A thousand talents (6,000,000 denarii) was precisely the annual tribute from Antiochus (Livy xxvi. 45. 14) which explains the source of the funds for this project.

sum was enormous: the senate appropriated a year's revenue (vectigal) to the censors of 179 for their entire building program[41] and only half a year's revenues to the censors of 169.[42] While Livy gave no indication of the amount of a year's revenue, the vectigal for 179 was no more than 2,000,000 denarii and probably a great deal less.[43] Indeed, the entire cost of the Basilica Aemilia, which was much larger than the Basilica Porcia, has been shown to be less than 12,000 denarii![44] Thus, this project was was far more than a mere cleaning of the sewers; its cost indicated that it was nothing less than a thorough reconstruction and extension of the sewage system of Rome. Although the Romans of later times believed that their magnificent sanitation system was built during the regal period, what they saw was largely the work of Cato and Flaccus.[45]

In 183, probably near the end of Cato's censorship, his old enemy Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus died.

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[41]Livy xl. 46. 16. [42]Ibid., xliv. 16. 9.

[43]The first definite sum of a vectigal which we have is for 62 B.C. when Rome was deriving a huge income from the empire. Plutarch (Pompey 45. 3) gave the sum as 50,000,000 denarii. The estimate for 179 from T. Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome (2 vols; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), I, 152-53, is based on estimates of the costs of labor and materials in the period.

[44]Frank, Economic Survey of Rome, p. 153.

[45]According to Livy, Tarquinius Priscus drained the Forum (i. 38. 6); and Tarquinius Superbus built the Cloaca Maxima (i. 56. 2). It is quite possible that even the Cloaca Maxima was nothing more than an open ditch during the early periods.

since Africanus had been _princeps senatus_, the censors were obligated to appoint a successor. Cato thereupon appointed his colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus to that place of honor[46]

In 183, two citizen colonies were founded in northern Italy. Two modern authors, Tenny Frank and Frank Abbott, have attempted to connect the colonies, Parma and Mutina, to Cato's censorship. They argued that Cato was responsible for the founding of the two colonies, which were far different from the citizen colonies established previously by Rome. They were indeed, for both colonies were much larger than earlier colonies which had been settled with only a few hundred citizens. But Parma and Mutina had two thousand settlers each. They were also the first citizen colonies founded not in coastal regions, but far inland.

Tenny Frank charged that Rome began a new policy of selfishness at this time by excluding Latins from the two colonies.[47] He attributed the policy to Cato, who by his influence as censor reversed the previous liberal policy of the Scipios.[48] However, there is no evidence that the allies were ever excluded from citizen colonies. Non-citizens were definitely admitted to the colonies of Pisarum and Potentia in 184, when Cato's influence would

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[46]Livy xxxix. 52. 1-3. Since Livy's narrative of the censorship did not include the appointment, Scipio was probably still alive when the roll of the senate was selected. Since the censors' duties lasted 18 months, his death could have occurred at anytime before September, 183.

[47]_CAH_, VIII, 332. [48]_Ibid._, p. 374.

have been equally strong.[49] There is also no evidence that Cato, even if he were involved in the founding of the colonies, was opposed to the inclusion of Latins in citizen colonies.[50]

Frank Abbott suggested that Parma and Mutina were founded by Cato as part of his program of social reform.[51] The very size of the colonies indicated to Abbott that they were intended to provide for the needy of Rome who would be given a chance to escape the poverty they had experienced in the capital.[52] But Abbott offered no support for his contention that 4,000 Roman citizens would be willing to leave the City to migrate to colonies almost on the frontier of Roman control. In fact, it would have been difficult for the Romans to raise such a large group of colonists from all classes at this time. The Roman population was showing no signs of great growth and had even declined since 234 due in part to the drain of constant warfare.[53] In the face of the population decline, E. T.

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[49]Cicero Brut. 79.

[50]E. T. Salmon, "Roman Colonisation from the Second Punic War to the Gracchi," JRS, XXVI (1936), 65-67.

[51]"The Colonizing Policy of the Romans from 123 to 31 B.C.," CPhil., X (1915), 266.

[52]Ibid., Abbott is clearly suggesting that these colonies were the precedents for the agrarian colonies of the Gracchi.

[53]The population of 234 (Livy Per. xx) was 270,713; that of 189 (Livy xxxviii. 36. 10) was 258,318; that of 179 (Livy Per. xli) was between 258,294 and 263,294 (the manuscripts vary).

Salmon[54] felt that the best explanation for the large size of the colonies was that the Romans were actually attempting to increase the number of citizens by enrolling allies in the colonies. The position of the colonies indicated the purpose for which they were founded: defence against the Ligurians.[55]

There is no firm basis for either Mr. Frank's or Mr. Abbott's speculations linking the colonies to Cato's censorship. Cato certainly could not have had the necessary backing in the senate, which tended to be hostile to his severe measures, to be responsible for a conservative policy toward the Italians.[56] Nor is there any evidence to indicate that that Cato had the revolutionary foresight to institute a program to aid Rome's needy. The founding of Parma and Mutina should not be linked with Cato in either a derogatory or a complimentary way.

Marcus Porcius Cato performed the lustrum which marked the end of his censorship probably feeling that he had accomplished his goals. He had succeeded in reducing the show of luxury and had not only removed many unworthy

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[54]Pp. 66-67.

[55]In 177, the Ligurians indeed ravaged the fields around Mutina and captured the colony itself by a surprise attack (Livy xli. 14. 2).

[56]Frank (CAH, VIII, 375) claims that Cato's evil precedent in discriminating against Italians was followed in the land distribution of 173 (Livy xlii. 4. 3-4) because larger plots of land were given to citizens than to allies. However, Sage, Livy, XII, 302, n. 1, says that the very inclusion of allies in such distributions seems to have been unprecedented.

individuals from the senate and equites but had also denounced them to the citizens. In addition, he had ended the abuses of the public water system and the public lands; and he had overcome senatorial hostility in letting the contracts for taxes and services at rates very favorable to the state. In caring for the material well-being of Rome, he had built two new markets, and a magnificent basilica, and had overhauled and extended the sanitation system of the entire city. He was justifiably proud when the people erected a statue in his honor with an inscription proclaiming that by his helpful guidance, wise restraints, and sound teachings, Cato had restored the state when it was about to fall.[57]

But Cato's methods were not sufficient to bring about the permanent reforms he desired. Rome was rapidly becoming the mistress of the Mediterranean; she was no longer a simple Italian town, but the center of an expanding empire. The luxury Cato sought to curb was only a symptom of the deeper problems which faced Rome, problems which Cato's parochial outlook could not comprehend. Ironically, the most enduring of all Cato's accomplishments were not his reforms but his public works.[58]

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[57]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 19. 3.

[58]To be fair to Cato, it must be pointed out that he was not alone in his inability to solve Rome's problems. Cato's censorship was the last attempt at reform until the Gracchi, a half-century later. It seems that most of the Roman ruling class were not even aware that there were problems.

## CHAPTER IV

## AFTER THE CENSORSHIP

After the censorship, Marcus Porcius Cato maintained his vigilant watch over Roman society from the floor of the curia. The extent of his political influence is difficult to determine. He certainly did not wield the extensive control which Africanus, with extensive family and party connections, had held. Cato exerted his influence mainly through his prestige as a former consul and censor and through his skill as an orator. His views of many issues are completely unknown, but enough fragments of his speeches have survived to indicate his continuing concern for political and moral issues.

In 181, Cato delivered a speech, de ambitu,[1] in support of a law introduced by the consul Marcus Baebius Tamphilus. The law apparently dealt with election reforms,[2] and it provided that in alternate years only four praetors would be elected instead of the usual six.[3]

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[1]Malcovati, p. 54, frg. 136.

[2]H. H. Scullard (p. 172) suggests that the law established the death penalty for electoral corruption. See Polybius vi. 56.

[3]By electing only four praetors in alternate years, the terms of those assigned to Spain would be lengthened to two years, giving Spain a more stable administration.

Soon after, in 179 or 178, Cato again spoke for the law (dissuasio ne lex Baebia derogaretur).[4] His argument that the provision for electing only four praetors in alternate years not be repealed was in vain, however; since in 178 and thereafter, six praetors were elected each year.[5]

Again in 181, when the tribune Gaius Orchius proposed a sumptuary measure limiting the number of guests that could be entertained, Cato certainly would have supported it. Soon after, however, the law was in danger of being repealed. Cato came to the defense of the law as he had for the lex Baebia.[6] The results of Cato's speech are not known; but the lex Orchia, like the lex Baebia, is thought to have been repealed or allowed to lapse into oblivion.[7]

Cato's displeasure at the mildness of the censors of 179 showed itself in a speech he delivered against Marcus Fulvius Nobilior.[8] The charges Cato made against Fulvius' censorship dealt in part with the aqueduct which he had

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[4]Malcovati, p. 54, frgs. 137-38.

[5]Livy xli. 8. 1. Only four praetors should have been elected in 178 according to the law.

[6]Malcovati, pp. 54-55, frgs. 139-46.

[7]The common argument for repeal is from a statement in Aulus Gellius (xii. 11. 2) that the ideal number of guests at a banquet was between the number of graces and the number of muses. Since no legal limit was mentioned, an argument ex silentia would indicate that the law had been repealed. However, this does not seem particularly convincing.

[8]Malcovati, pp. 57-58, frgs. 148-51.

attempted to build with his colleague Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.[9] But Cato expanded the attack on Fulvius to include his consulship as well. He charged that Fulvius had awarded crowns to his soldiers for the sake of popularity: "Now to begin with, who ever saw anyone presented with a crown, when a town had not been taken or an enemy's camp burned?"[10] Gellius added contemptuously that Fulvius had given crowns to his soldiers for industry in building ramparts and digging wells.[11] Cato's motives for this attack probably went beyond his annoyance at a mild censorship. In 184, Fulvius had run for the censorship against Cato; and there was surely a good deal of animosity between them arising from the election. Further, in 189, Fulvius had taken the poet Ennius with him to his province to record the consul's deeds.[12] Cato had befriended the poet when he was quaestor and had brought him to Rome.[13] Thus, jealousy may have been an underlying factor in this attack.

Spanish envoys from the two provinces in Spain registered a complaint in the senate against the greed and arrogance of Roman officials in 171. "They begged the

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[9]Ibid., p. 58, frg. 150. See also Livy xl. 51. 7.

[10]Aulus Gellius v. 6. 25. "Iam principio quis vidit corona donari quemquam, cum oppidum captum non esset aut castra hostium non incensa essent?"

[11]Ibid., 26. Crowns were usually awarded to the first soldier to enter the enemy's camp or to the first to scale the walls of an enemy city.

[12]Cicero Tusc. 1. 3.

[13][Aurelius Victor] De Vir. Ill. 47.

senate on bended knees that it would not permit them, its its allies, to be more wretchedly despoiled and harassed than its enemies."[14] The senate was moved by the pleas of the Spaniards and by the realization that there had been widespread extortion in the provinces. The praetor Lucius Canuleius was assigned to handle the investigation. The envoys, allowed to choose their own advocates, chose Cato, Scipio Nasica, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and Gaius Sulpicius Gallus. When the first defendant, Marcus Titinius, who had been praetor in Nearer Spain in 178, was acquitted, the envoys quarreled and decided to prosecute their cases separately. In the second case, Publius Furius Philus, praetor in 174, was prosecuted by Cato and Scipio Nasica on behalf of the people of Nearer Spain;[15] and Marcus Matienus, praetor in 172, was prosecuted by Lucius Paulus and Sulpicius Gallus for Farther Spain. "Both were accused on serious charges and the cases were adjourned; when the time came for a fresh trial, the defence reported that they had left Roman territory to go into exile."[16] The Spaniards were prevented from further accusations because the praetor Lucius Canuleius left for his province,

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[14]Livy xliii. 2. 1-2. "nixi genibus ab senatu petierunt ne se socios foedius spoliari vexarique quam hostes patiantur.

[15]Malcovati (p. 59, frgs. 154-55) gives the remains of Cato's speech."

[16]Livy xliii. 2. 3-10. "Gravissimis criminibus accusati ambo ampliatique; cum dicenda de integro causa esset, excusati exilii causa solum vertisse."

but the senate appeased the Spaniards by passing the reforms they had requested.[17]

Soon after his prosecutions on behalf of the Spaniards, Cato supported a law proposed by the tribune Quintus Voconius Saxa which forbade women to be made heirs of citizens of the highest property class and severely restricted the inheritance rights of women of all other classes.[18] The only fragment of Cato's speech which has survived related the abuses in which Rome's emancipated women engaged when provided with large sums of money.

> In the beginning the woman brought you a great dowry; then she holds back a large sum of money, which she does not entrust to the control of her husband, but lends it to her husband. Later, becoming angry with him, she orders a servus recepticius, or "slave of her own," to hound him and demand the money.[19]

Cato's arguments must have been effective, for the Voconian Law was enacted and retained well into the Empire.

In 167, Cato became involved in a controversy involving the Rhodians. The praetor Manius Juventius Thalna was stirring up the people against Rhodes and was attempting to persuade the Romans to declare war. The issue was that while the Rhodians had maintained a precarious

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[17]Ibid., 11-12.

[18]Cicero (Sen. 14) dated the law 169, but Livy (Per. xli) placed in 174. See Aulus Gellius vi. 13. 1-3, about the various classes.

[19]Aulus Gellius xvii. 6. 1. "Principio vobis mulier magnam dotem adtulit; tum magnam pecuniam recipit, quam in viri potestatem non conmittit, eam pecuniam viro mutuam dat; postea, ubi irata facta est, servum recepticium sectari atque flagitare virum iubet."

neutrality during the Roman war with Perseus, they had tried to negotiate a peace settlement in 168 just as the Romans were successfully concluding the war. The senate was incensed at the Rhodians since they had come with this proposal so late in the war when Perseus was so closely beleaguered. It seemed obvious to the Romans that the Rhodians had sent the embassy, not to help end the war, but to save Perseus from destruction.[20]

Cato was not an imperialist with respect to the Greek-speaking East; he felt that the best way to avoid the inundation of Hellenistic corruption was to avoid involvement in Eastern politics as far as possible. With this intent he had recently opposed the annexation of Macedonia to the empire.[21]

Now when the Rhodians, fearing Roman conquest, were pleading to be accepted as Roman allies, Cato came to their aid. Livy said that although Cato had a harsh temperament, on that occasion he played the part of a tolerant and mild senator.[22] Cato began his speech with an admonition to his fellow senators to avoid becoming too arrogant in their good fortune.

> Adversity subdues and shows what ought to be done; prosperity, since it inspires joy, commonly turns men

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[20]Polybius xxxix. 19. See books xxvii and xxviii for Rhodian policies during the war and xxix. 11 for the Rhodian decision to propose peace.

[21]Malcovati, p. 61, frgs. 161-62. Cato's speech was entitled de Macedonia Liberanda.

[22]xlv. 25. 2.

> aside from wise counsel and right understanding. Therefore it is with the greater emphasis that I advise and urge that this matter be put off for a few days, until we regain our self-command after so great rejoicing.[23]

Cato admitted that the Rhodians may not have wished the Romans to win a total victory, for that would possibly endanger their freedom. Some might even have wished that the Romans would lose, but throughout the war Rhodes maintained her neutrality. He asked, "Shall the Rhodians suffer, not because they did wrong, but because they are said to have wished to do wrong?"[24] Cato's defense of the Rhodians was at least partially successful, for the senate's reply to the Rhodians was ambiguous, neither declaring them enemies nor granting them the status of allies.[25] The Rhodians, who feared that the senate would declare war, received the reply joyously.[26]

In 164, Cato was charged with extravagance,[27]

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[23]Aulus Gellius vi. 3. 14. "Advorsae res edomant et docent quid opus siet facto, secundae res laetitia transvorsum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intellegendo. Quo maiore opere dico suadeoque uti haec res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus." Thanks to Aulus Gellius we have more of this speech extant than of any other work of Cato except the De Agri Cultura. The extant portions of the speech are contained in vi. 3. 14-50.

[24]Aulus Gellius vi. 3. 38. "Rodiensibus oberit, quod non male fecerunt, sed quia voluisse dicuntur facere?"

[25]Livy xlv. 25. 4. [26]Ibid., 6.

[27]A passage from Aulus Gellius (xiii. 24. 1) mentions that Cato was frugal up to his seventieth year. Since Gellius knew that Cato lived for over ninety years, this provides a probable date for this episode.

probably by the censors. The basis for the charge may have been the dinners which he gave for his friends at his country estate. Plutarch mentioned that he often invited congenial neighbors for plentiful banquets.[28] Perhaps Cato was accused of violating the lex Orchia. But Cato defended himself admirably against the charges. He had a servant read the speech he had prepared, outlining his frugality and virtues, while he frequently interrupted, sarcastically protesting that the people did not want to hear it.[29] The defense must have been successful, for Cato was never convicted in the nearly fifty charges brought against him during his lifetime.[30]

In 152, Marcus Claudius Marcellus was elected consul for the third time. His election undoubtedly aroused a great deal of opposition in the senate, for a law was passed shortly thereafter prohibiting a second consulship. Cato supported this law with a speech, ne quis iterum consul fieret, suggesting that some men used their office to build luxurious homes.[31] Perhaps as part of this speech, Cato said that those who sought high office frequently were like men who did not know the road; they wished to be always attended by lictors so they would not go astray.[32]

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[28]Cat. Mai. 25. 2.

[29]Fronto, Loeb Classical Library edition, pp. 45-46.

[30]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 15. 4; Pliny HN vii. 27.

[31]Malcovati, p. 75, frg. 75.

[32]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 8. 5.

He also rebuked the people for choosing the same men over and over: "You will be thought . . . not to deem your offices worth much or else not to deem many men worthy of your offices."[33]

The final political attack by Cato came in his last year, 149, when the tribune Lucius Scribonius proposed a resolution that the Lusitanians sold into slavery by Servius Galba should be restored to freedom.[34] Cato spoke in favor of the bill vigorously, in spite of his old age.[35] He opened his speech thus: "Many things have disuaded me from appearing here, my years, my time of life, my voice, my strength, my old age; . . ."[36] In the speech Cato used the same argument he had used on behalf of the Rhodians:

> Yet they say that they [the Lusitanians] wished to revolt. I myself at the present moment wish a thorough knowledge of the pontifical law; shall I therefore be taken as chief pontiff? If I wish to understand the science of augury thoroughly, shall anyone for that reason take me as augur?[37]

But Cato's eloquence was not to succeed, for Galba, seeing himself clearly defeated, appealed to sympathy. He "spoke

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[33]Ibid., 6. "δόξετε γάρ . . . ἢ μὴ πολλοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ πολλοὺς τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀξίους ἡγεῖσθαι."

[34]Livy Per. xlix. [35]Cicero Brut. 89.

[36]Aulus Gellius xiii. 25. 15. "Multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, aetas, vox, vires, senectus; . . ."

[37]Ibid., i. 12. 17. "Tamen dicunt deficere voluisse. Ego me nunc volo ius pontificium optime scire; iamne ea causa pontifex capiar? Si volo augurium optime tenere, ecquis me ob eam rem augurem capiat?"

in his own defense so pitiably, clasping his two young sons and the sons of Sulpicius Gallus, whose guardian he was, that the resolution was defeated."[38] As a result of Galba's actions, however, a law was passed, probably at Cato's urging, prohibiting the use of children in court to excite pity.[39]

The most famous (or infamous) accomplishment of Marcus Cato was his incitement of the Roman senate to launch the Third Punic War. Plutarch said that it was largely due to Cato's counsel and advice that the Romans declared war.[40] Cato's role may have been exaggerated, for he was not the only Roman who hated and feared Carthage. When the Carthaginians recalled Hannibal from exile to bring about democratic reforms in the city, the senate was quick to intervene. His subsequent flight to Antiochus merely confirmed the opinions of those who were convinced that he had been plotting with Antiochus all along.[41] In the several border disputes between Carthage and Masinissa, the senate had shown its hostility toward Carthage by

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[38]Livy Per. xlix. "complexus duos filios praetextatos et Sulpicii Galli filium, cuius tutor erat, ita miserabiliter pro se locutus est, ut rogatio antiquaretur."

[39]Cicero Brut. 89; Fronto, Loeb Classical Library edition, p. 173.

[40]Cat. Mai. 26. 1.

[41]Livy xxxiii. 45. 6-49. 8. The blind hatred of many Romans prevented them from seeing that Hannibal would have checked the power of the city's oligarchs, keeping the government weak. Hannibal fled to Antiochus because he was the only one who could be trusted not to hand him over to the Romans. See Scullard, p. 114.

consistently favoring the ambitious Numidian king. Masinissa was encouraged to make ever greedier territorial demands by the provisions of the treaty ending the Second Punic War which forbade the Carthaginians to wage war without Rome's consent and ordered them to restore to Masinissa all homes, territory, and cities which had belonged to him or his ancestors.[42] Whenever such a dispute was submitted to Rome for resolution, the Carthaginians always got the worst of it, not on the merits of the case, but because the Romans considered such a policy in their interest.[43]

The Third Punic War developed out of the decision of the exasperated Carthaginians to defend their territory against the encroachments of Masinissa. In 157, Roman commissioners were sent to resolve territorial claims;[44] but the Numidian king, encouraged by favorable decisions, claimed additional territory in 153.[45] When Carthage requested Roman intervention, the senate sent a commission including Cato and Scipio Nasica. The Roman envoys suggested that both sides submit all their differences to them. Masinissa readily consented; but the Carthaginians, who remembered past unfair decisions all too well, were

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[42]Polybius xv. 18.

[43]Ibid., xxxii. 2. For individual disputes see Livy xxxiv. 42; xl. 17. 1-6, 35. 14; and Appian Pun. 68. See also A. E. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 49; and T. Frank, Roman Imperialism (New York; MacMillan, 1921), p. 233.

[44]Livy Per. xlvii. [45]Ibid.; Appian Pun. 68.

suspicious of Roman intentions. Therefore, they replied that there was no need for a correction of the treaty; they were only protesting Masinissa's transgressions of it.[46] The ambassadors, shocked by the spirit of the Carthaginians, would not accept their demand and so left without having accomplished anything. The envoys returned to Rome after viewing the Carthaginian countryside, and the Carthaginians resolved to defend themselves against Masinissa without Roman help.[47]

When the commission returned to Rome, they reported that Carthage had become a great and prosperous city and an object of apprehension. Cato, in particular, was insistent that Rome would not be safe until Carthage was destroyed. Appian declared that when the senate heard the report it resolved upon war but concealed the decision until a suitable pretext could be found.[48] However, considerable opposition to war existed in the senate. Scipio Nasica constantly argued against Cato, declaring that Carthage should be spared in order to preserve slackening Roman discipline through fear.[49] Scipio's counsel prevailed in the senate for three years until Rome finally declared war in 149.

Sometime after 153, Cato delivered a speech in the senate urging the Third Punic War.[50] He must have feared

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[46]Appian, Pun. 69. [47]Livy Per. xlviii.

[48]Pun. 69. [49]Ibid.

[50]Livy (Per. xlviii) said Cato urged war several times. Thus, the exact date of the speech is in doubt.

that the Carthaginian issue would be forgotten, for he was ending every speech with the phrase "Carthage must be destroyed."[51] Indeed, Cato was becoming impatient with virtually everything not concerned with Carthage. When a debate on the question of the return of the Achaean hostages was protracted, Cato declared, "As though we had nothing else to do, we sit here the whole day debating whether some old Greek dotards should be buried by Italian or Achaean undertakers!"[52] Cato's speech urging war was brutal. "The Carthaginians are already our enemies; for whoever prepares against me in all respects, so that he is able to make war against me in the time which he wishes, is already my enemy, although he does not yet act with arms."[53] Cato's speech and the probable reply from Nasica that there was no proper cause for war[54] indicated that

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[51]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 27. 1. The traditional words, "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam" apparently developed rather late. The earliest works still extant, including Plutarch, use the phrase, "must not exist." See C. Little, "The Authenticity and Form of Cato's Saying 'Carthago Delenda Est,'" CJ, XXIX (1934), 429-35.

[52]Polybius xxxv. 6. "ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες ... ὃ πράττωμεν, καθήμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην περὶ γεροντίων Γραικῶν ζητοῦντες, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι."

[53]Malcovati, p. 78, frg. 195. "Carthaginienses nobis iam hostes sunt; nam qui omnia parat contra me, ut quo tempore velit, bellum possit inferre, hic iam mihi hostis est, tametsi nondum armis agat." My translation.

[54]Livy Per. xlviii.

in spite of the impending war between Carthage and Masinissa, the Carthaginians had not yet broken the Treaty of 201.[55] Thus, Cato was forced to plead for a war of agression against Carthage under the guise of a preventive war.

Cato's arguments for a preventive war not only appear to exaggerate the potential threat of Carthage to Rome, but they also seem to contradict the benevolent attitude he had taken toward Rhodes in 167.[56] However, Cato's attitude toward the Greek East was probably motivated by a firm desire to keep Rome isolated from Hellenistic civilization. Roman legions in Rhodes would only make this more difficult to attain. In the West, however, where there were no dangers to Roman civilization, Cato supported Roman expansion.

Nevertheless, his approval of Roman imperialism in the West is not a sufficient explanation of Cato's savage insistence that Carthage be destroyed. Plutarch attributed Cato's motives to his concern for the danger of having a chastened enemy nearby while Rome was drunk and staggering with power.[57] Plutarch was probably exaggerating

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[55]In Livy Per. xlviii, it appears that Carthage had already broken the treaty by building a fleet and inviting a foreign army onto her soil. This would make Cato's arguments irrelevant since Rome would already have had a "just cause" for the war. Livy was perhaps following a patriotic account which tried to justify Rome's actions by fabricating a series of Carthaginian abuses of the Treaty of 201.

[56]At that time he had argued that the Rhodians should not be considered enemies just because they wished to join against Rome.

[57]Cat. Mai. 27. 3.

Cato's concern for Roman morals, but a deep fear and hatred of Carthage are the only satisfactory motives for his stand. Cato's impression of Carthage is demonstrated in the dramatic episode in which he dropped a large ripe Libyan fig from his toga and proclaimed to the senators who were admiring it that the fruit came from a country only three days' sail from Rome.[58] Cato had not expected to find a prosperous city in a bountiful land when he had been sent to Carthage. The independent spirit of the Carthaginians in rejecting the commision's demands was also unexpected and probably roused Cato's memories of the Hannibalic Carthage which had nearly conquered Rome in his youth. Thus, Cato did not see Carthage as a weakened small state, with Numidia on its flank, which could never presume to attack Rome. He saw only a potential enemy who could be at the gates of Rome within three days.

At some time after the return of the embassy, probably after Cato's speech, the senate came to adopt Cato's view that Carthage was too dangerous to be allowed to exist. Only a shadow of the senatorial controversy over the issue remains, making the senate's motives for wishing the destruction of Carthage even more difficult to assess than Cato's.[59] As the chief protagonist for the

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[58]Ibid., 27. 1.

[59]The chief source for the Third Punic War is Appian (Pun. 68-135). He followed Polybius to a certain extent but failed to give an analysis of the senatorial debate preceding the war. Polybius is fragmentary, and what has survived gives little insight into the beginning of the

war, Cato argued for the immediate destruction of Carthage. In opposition, Scipio Nasica argued that Rome could not attack Carthage without a just cause. This eventually became the position of nearly all the senate, for Polybius reported that the senators were looking for an opportune pretext to justify themselves in the eyes of the world.[60] If Nasica's intention had been to prevent the war, he nearly succeeded, for the senate was ready to abandon the war, because they could not agree on what would be a suitable pretext.[61]

But the motives of the senate remain in doubt. Surely they were not driven to war by the series of hostile acts as reported in Livy.[62] The most probable motive is that which prompted Cato: the irrational fear of the city which had so nearly destroyed Rome fifty years before.[63]

By attacking Masinissa in 150, Carthage provided the senate with the incident for which it had been waiting. Although the Carthaginian army demonstrated its weakness and was badly defeated, the senate, at Cato's urging,

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war. Only the summaries remain of Livy's account. Although they are sketchy, they seem to indicate that Livy built up Rome's case against Carthage.

[60] xxxvi. 2. [61] Ibid.

[62] Per. xlvii, xlix. Cato's speech indicates the falsehood of many of the statements.

[63] F. E. Adcock, "'Delenda Est Carthago,'" CHJ, VIII (1946), 118-128 examines and discusses several theories on the senate's decision to destroy Carthage. Adcock concludes that the decision marked the advent of a "phase of irrational impatience" in Roman foreign policy.

declared war since Carthage had clearly violated the Treaty of 201.[64] The Carthaginians surrendered to Rome immediately, but the senate's decision to destroy the city was not revoked.[65] The senate informed Carthage of its decision to destroy the city only after all weapons and hostages had been given over to the Roman army. Nevertheless, the Carthaginians were determined to resist; and they held the overwhelming might of the Roman army in check for four years.[66]

In the early part of the war, Cato uttered his only recorded words of praise for a Scipio. The young Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, serving as a military tribune, had distinguished himself in battle. Quoting Homer, Cato declared, "He alone has understanding; but the others flit about as shadows."[67] However, Cato did not live to see Aemilianus defeat the Carthaginians, for he died in 149, soon after the war had begun.

The issues in which Cato was involved during his later years were primarily those which dealt with good government at home and in the provinces and those which

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[64]Livy Per. xlix.

[65]The senate was legally justified in what it did, since the surrendering people gave up all their rights unconditionally. The action of the senate was, nevertheless, unusually harsh and severe.

[66]Appian Pun. 70-135.

[67]Polybius xxxvi. 8; from Odyssey 10. 495. "οἷος πέπνυται· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν."

dealt with personal corruption. Cato also showed an interest in restricting Roman imperialism in the East but not in the West.

Cato's desire to promote better government in Rome led him to support the Baebian Law in 181 which provided regulations for elections and a law in 152 which forbade re-election to the consulship. These laws not only helped to ensure better government but also tended to curb the power of the leaders of the large "parties" who did their best to prevent the rise of "new men" such as Cato. Cato was unsuccessful, however, in preventing the repeal of the section of the Baebian Law which limited the number of praetors to four in alternate years. Any measure which decreased the number of young men eligible to the consulship was bound to prove very unpopular.

Cato's involvement in the prosecutions of the Roman magistrates on behalf of the Spaniards in 174 and his prosecution of Servius Galba in 149 demonstrated his concern for good government in the provinces. It was probably not coincidental that both instances involved Spain. Nearer Spain had been Cato's consular province, and he had several clients there.[68] Both affairs had also been cases of public corruption which had involved the honor of Rome. Cato took the duties of Roman magistrates seriously as exhibited not only in his reactions against major

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[68]Badian, Foreign Clientelae, p. 318.

offenders such as Galba, but also in his personal attack on Fulvius Nobilior in 179 for the conduct of his censorship and consulship.

Cato's dislike for the excesses of luxury prompted his support of the Orchian Law in 181 and of the Voconian Law in 169. His ardor for simplicity was not shared by the majority of Roman citizens, however; and the Orchian Law was soon repealed or allowed to lapse into oblivion. Many Romans did, however, concur with Cato's opinions on the inability of women to handle monetary affairs; and the Voconian Law lasted into the Christian era.

In matters of foreign policy, Cato seemed to be guided by two principles. His distress at the breakdown of traditional Roman culture in the face of growing Hellenism caused him to oppose the extension of Roman power in the East. Cato also exhibited a desire for conducting foreign affairs on the basis of justice in his support of the Rhodians in 167. However, his policy toward Carthage showed a glaring inconsistency in his ideals. The demand for a preventive war against a small inoffensive state seemed to be part of a national paranoia on the issue. Thus Cato ended his life supporting an ignominious war for reasons totally without merit.

## CHAPTER V

## THE AUTHOR

In addition to being a successful politician and general, Marcus Porcius Cato was an accomplished author. His success as an orator prompted him to publish his speeches. Over one hundred fifty were known to Cicero,[1] and the titles and fragments of nearly eighty have been preserved by various ancient authors. Besides those which were published individually, Cato incorporated many of his speeches in the Origines, his history of Rome. His speeches, the Origines, a book on customs, and one on military science have survived only in a few fragments. However, a book on farming, De Agri Cultura, has survived to become the earliest extant specimen of connected Latin prose.

Since Cato published his speeches, his oratorical abilities were known as late as the second century after Christ. Cicero, Livy, Aulus Gellius, and Fronto were all familiar with his speeches. To later writers, Cato's style seemed exceedingly unpolished. Although oratory had long been practiced as a necessary part of Roman public life, Latin did not become a literary language until Cato's lifetime. The father of Latin poetry, Ennius, was a

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[1] Brut. 65.

contemporary of Cato and did not come to Rome until after Cato's quaestorship. Even Cicero stated with some amazement that although Cato died just eighty-six years before his own consulship, he could not name anyone earlier whose writings could be adduced.[2] He remarked further that Cato was so early that there was no piece of writing before him worth reading.[3]

Because he wrote in such an archaic and rough style, Cato's speeches were already generally neglected in Cicero's time. He lamented that contemporary orators did not read Cato and complained that they did not appreciate the same qualities in Cato's orations which they professed to admire in older Greek oratory. "The very men who find such pleasure in the early period of Greek letters, and in that simplicity which they call Attic, have no knowledge of the same quality in Cato."[4] If Cato's words were rearranged and his language and style refined, then Cicero felt that no one could be placed before Cato. "Whom will you find more weighty in commendation, sharper in censure, shrewder in aphorism, more subtle in presentation and proof?"[5]

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[2]Ibid., 61. [3]Ibid., 69.

[4]Ibid., 65-68. "quod hi ipse, qui in Graecis antiquitate delectantur eaque subtilitate, quam Atticam appellant, hanc in Catone ne noverunt quidem."

[5]Ibid., 65. "quis illo gravior in laudando? acerbior in vituperando? in sententiis argutior? in docendo edisserendoque subtilior?" See J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism: A Study in Tendencies (Reprinted ed.; New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962),

Other authors also thought highly of Cato's oratory. Livy considered Cato the most skilled in law and the most eloquent speaker of his time.[6] In a passage in which he was comparing Gaius Gracchus' style to that of Cicero, Aulus Gellius said that anyone who preferred the more concise and unstudied style of Gracchus should study the orations of Marcus Cato, whose vigorous style Gracchus could never hope to attain. "He will realize, I think, that Cato was not content with the eloquence of his own time, but aspired to do even what Cicero later accomplished."[7] Marcus Cornelius Fronto, who mentioned that he had read several of Cato's orations, instilled in Marcus Aurelius his own admiration for Cato.[8] Finally, St. Jerome declared that Cato was the most eloquent of the Romans.[9]

The political effects of Cato's speeches have already been demonstrated. His skill as an orator facilitated

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pp. 199-200 for an evaluation of Cicero as a critic of Cato. D'Alton interprets Cicero's praise as polemic against Atticists of his own time.

[6]xxxix. 40. 3-8.

[7]x. 3. 15-16. "Intelleget, opinor, Catonem contentum eloquentia aetatis suae non fuisse et id iam tum facere voluisse quod Cicero postea perfecit."

[8]Fronto, Loeb Classical Library edition, Vol. I, pp. 117, 151, 153, 301; Vol II, pp. 151, 201. For Cato's influence on the writers of the Silver Age, especially Pliny the Elder, see J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age: From Tiberius to Hadrian, ed. A. M. Duff (2d ed.; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1960), pp. 58, 238, 289-91, et passim.

[9]Select Letters of St. Jerome, trans. F. A. Wright ("Loeb Classical Library"; London: Heinemann, 1933), p. 195.

his rise in Roman politics and enabled him to wield considerable influence in the senate and in the law courts. But the fragmentary remains of his oratory are of further value to the modern reader, for they allow an intimate glimpse into Cato's personality. Plutarch too often forced him into a static image in the service of his moralistic biography;[10] Livy, in his passion for style, either entirely rewrote or invented speeches as he felt they ought to have been delivered. In these authors' works, Cato's personality tended to merge with the political positions which he came to represent. The remains of Cato's oratory help to compensate for this.

Cato's oration against Quintus Minucius Thermus demonstrated that he could be a harsh and relentless prosecutor. Cato brought the enormity of his charges vividly into the minds of his audience by the use of repetitious phrases or words with the same meaning.

> Who could endure such an insult, such tyranny, such slavery? . . . To think that you have dared to inflict signal wrongs, blows, lashes, stripes, these pains and tortures, accompanied with disgrace and extreme ignominy, since their fellow citizens and other men looked on! But amid how great grief, what groans, what tears, what lamentations have I heard that this was done![11]

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[10]See Smith, CQ, XXXIV (1940), 1-10, 105-12; and "Cato Censorius," Greece and Rome, IX (1940), 150-65.

[11]Aulus Gellius x. 3. 17. "Quis hanc contumeliam, quis hoc imperium, quis hanc servitutem ferre potest? . . . Insignitas iniurias, plagas, verbera, vibices, eos dolores atque carnificinas per dedecus atque maximam contumeliam, inspectantibus populariibus suis atque multis mortalibus, te facere ausum esse? Set quantum luctum, quantum gemitum, quid lacrimarum, quantum fletum factum audivi! "

On the contrary, when he was called upon to defend an individual or a state, Cato could argue with a restrained confidence in his ability as an eloquent lawyer. In a speech defending Lucius Turius in an obscure lawsuit about a private contract, Cato cited the legal tradition that the court should rule in favor of the defendant if there were no witnesses to the transaction. He concluded, "If Gellius is not better than Turio [sic], the one from whom the claim is made ought preferably to be credited."[12] When he spoke in the senate on behalf of the Rhodians, Cato argued for moderation with great skill and subtle logic. He conceded that the Rhodians had wished for Rome's defeat but demanded that they be judged only by their actions. "Shall the Rhodians suffer, not because they did wrong, but because they are said to have wished to do wrong?"[13]

Perhaps the most effective weapon in his oratory was the acidic invective with which he castigated his personal enemies. "This man's mother holds the wish that he may survive her to be no pious prayer, but a malignant curse."[14] Equally effective was his comment to a tribune

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[12] Ibid., xiv. 2. 21-26. "si non melior Gellius est Turio, potius oportet credi unde petitur."

[13] Ibid., vi. 3. 38. "Rodiensibus oberit, quod non male fecerunt, sed quia voluisse dicuntur facere?"

[14] Plutarch Cat. Mai. 8. 6. "ἡ τούτου μήτηρ ... κατάραν, οὐκ εὐχήν, ἡγεῖται τὸ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπολιπεῖν." Plutarch included a number of sayings in one section. Due to the wide variety of the sayings and the fact that several also appear in other sources it would appear that the sayings are as authentic as Plutarch's sources.

of the people who had been accused of using poison: "Young man, I know not which is worse, to drink your mixtures, or to enact your bills."[15] In an oration, Pro Se contra C. Cassium, Cato combined righteous indignation with his bitterness towards his accuser. "And so it happened, fellow citizens that in this insult which is going to be put upon me by the insolence of this man I also, fellow citizens (so help me!), pity our country."[16]

Cato's remarks were not confined to invective, however. When he applied his keen wit to his sharp remarks, Cato appeared to be a far warmer, if still sarcastic man. He could comment with a great deal of irony, "Those who commit private theft pass their lives in confinement and fetters; plunderers of the public in purple and gold."[17] When three ambassadors were sent to Bithynia, one of whom suffered from gout, another of whom had been struck on the head, and the third of whom was reputed to be a fool, he quipped that the embassy had neither head, feet, nor wits.[18] Cato also asked sarcastically about an obese knight, "Where can such a body be of service to the state, when everything

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[15]Plutarch Cat. Mai. 9. 7. "ὦ μειράκιον, . . . οὐκ οἶδα, πότερον χεῖρόν ἐστιν ὃ κίρνης πιεῖν ἢ ὃ γράφεις κυρῶσαι."

[16]Aulus Gellius x. 14. 13. "Atque evenit ita, Quirites, uti in hac contumelia quae mihi per huiusce petulantiam factum itur, rei quoque publicae medius fidius miserear, Quirites."

[17]Ibid., xi. 18. 18. "Fures, . . . privatorum furtorum in nervo atque in compedibus aetatem agunt, fures publici in auro atque in purpura."

[18]Livy Per. lx; Plutarch Cat. Mai. 9. 1.

between its gullet and its groins is devoted to belly?"[19] But Cato's humor could be warm on occasion. When Polybius had succeeded in obtaining the release of the Achaean hostages, largely through Cato's efforts, he was about to petition the senate for the restoration of their former honors. "Cato, however, remarked with a smile that Polybius, like another Odysseus, wanted to go a second time into the cave of the Cyclops, because he had forgotten his cap and belt."[20]

In his later life, Cato published a history of Rome written in Latin. This was a great achievement, for no one had previously attempted to write any literary prose in the vernacular. Although only fragments have survived, the comments of ancient authors and some of the fragments themselves have given us an adequate picture of the style and scope of the work.

The Origines was written in seven books, comprising at least two (and possibly three) distinct parts.[21] The first book dealt with the foundation and the early history

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[19]Plutarch Cat. Min. 9. 5. "ποῦ δ' ἂν . . . τῇ πόλει σῶμα τοιοῦτο γένοιτο χρήσιμον, οὗ τὸ μεταξὺ λαιμοῦ καὶ βουβώνων ἅπαν ὑπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς κατέχεται;"

[20]Polybius xxxv. 6. "ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον ὥσπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, βούλεσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐπιλελησμένον."

[21]Nepos (Cato 3) indicated two parts, but the first book may have been composed earlier as a primer for Cato's eldest son. See Plutarch Cat. Mai. 20. 5.

of Rome.[22] In the second and third books, Cato gave the origins of the various Italian cities, from which the entire history took its name. Book IV began a new section, for there Cato jumped to the First Punic War. In the fifth book, Cato began to write contemporary history: the Second Punic War and events at least through 167.[23] Books VI and VII continued through Cato's attack on Servius Galba in 149, only a few months before his death. These two books covered a much shorter period of time than the previous books and included many of his speeches. One of the more prominent features of the work was Cato's refusal to include the names of any of the military commanders in his account, probably to avoid glorifying the aristocratic families of his own time.[24]

This work, although written in Latin, was based on Hellenistic models. The Latin annalistic tradition, in the form of the tabulae pontificum, was clearly rejected as trivial. "I do not care to write what appears on the tablet of the high priest: how often grain was dear, how often darkness, or something else, obscurred the

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[22]Nepos (Cato 3) listed the contents of the individual books.

[23]Aulus Gellius (vi. 3. 7) mentioned that Cato's speech, Pro Rodiensibus, delivered in 167, was included in the fifth book of the Origines as well as published separately.

[24]Nepos Cato 3; Pliny HN viii. 11. Pliny added that Cato did give the name of a brave Carthaginian elephant, Surus. The extant fragments support Nepos' and Pliny's statements that no names were mentioned.

light of the sun or the moon."[25] P. G. Walsh stated that by rejecting the annals, Cato was demonstrating the effects of Hellenistic theories that history should be instructive and inspire men to defend the state.[26] Hellenistic influences are also evident in the scope of the work and particularly in Cato's emphasis on the Greek origins of Rome and the Italian cities.[27]

Cato's purposes in writing his history were probably didactic. Plutarch said that he wrote his history to instruct his first son in ancient Roman traditions.[28] In his dislike for the excessive reliance on Greek culture, Cato probably also saw the desirability of a Roman history written in Latin for Romans and Italians. Earlier histories, written in Greek to explain Rome to the Hellenistic East, were no longer satisfactory. Cato's message was addressed to his countrymen: "They had nothing to be

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[25]Aulus Gellius ii. 28. 6. "Non lubet scribere quod in tabula apud pontificem maximum est, quotiens annona cara, quotiens lunae aut solis lumine caligo aut quid obstiterit."

[26]Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 29.

[27]See E. Badian, "The Early Historians," Latin Historians, ed. T. A. Dorey (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1966), pp. 7-11. For the collection of fragments, see H. Peter, Historicorum Romanorum Reliquae (2d ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), Vol.I. See also W. S. Teuffel, History of Roman Literature, revised and enlarged by L. Schwabe, trans. G. C. W. Warr from the 5th German edition (London: George Bell and Sons, 1891), pp. 172-78; and J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome: From the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age, ed. A. M. Duff (3d ed.; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1960), pp. 183-84.

[28]Cat. Mai. 20. 5.

ashamed of, no need for a cultural inferiority complex, such as many of them were showing, much to his chagrin: modern Greece was not worth imitating."[29]

In the later books, Cato found another use for his history. By including his orations in increasing numbers, Cato added a measure of endurance to his political struggles. His history became largely polemic and *apologia*. This was the beginning of political biography and *ex parte* contemporary history, "a tradition that was to find many followers in the next few generations, some of them going back to Cato as a model."[30] Foremost among the imitators of Cato was Sallust. He used Cato's vocabulary as well as his vigorous and terse style, and even based some speeches on Catonian models.[31]

Cato, by daring to write in a Latin that was not yet a literary tongue, began the tradition of Latin history.[32] Latin would develop so rapidly that Cato could be praised by Polybius for his remark about the attempt of Aulus Postumius Albinus to write a formal history in Greek. In the preface of his book, he attempted to excuse himself for his inability to handle the Greek idiom more adequately.

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[29]Badian, *Latin Historians*, p. 9. [30]*Ibid*.

[31]Ronald Syme, *Sallust* ("Sather Classical Lectures," Vol. XXXIII; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 168, 262, 267-68.

[32]For a brief discussion of Cato's style and his contribution to literary Latin, see Badian, *Latin Historians*, pp. 10-11; and A. W. Duff, "The Beginnings of Latin Literature," *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), VIII, 420.

Cato scornfully declared that Albinus had no right to ask for tolerance, since no one had forced him to write in Greek.[33] Polybius attributed the fact that Greek had become offensive to the elder and most respected men in Rome to Albinus' immoderate pursuit of Greek.[34] More probably, the success of Cato's history was the cause of the decline of Greek prose; for no Roman would write a serious work in Greek again until Marcus Aurelius. Cato truly deserved to be called the father of Latin history.

The third major work of Cato, the De Agri Cultura, is the only one to survive in other than fragmentary form. It appears to be a sort of farmer's notebook and consists of a number of loosely connected passages giving a multitude of directions for purchasing and running a farm. It is based on Cato's own experience as a farmer. The work does not appear to be as well-written as Cato's lost works; and because it lacks any systematic arrangement, it "can hardly pass as literature."[35] The manuscript text of the De Agri Cultura has been preserved in a very imperfect form. The text is full of additions and repetitions, and the Latin has been modernized.[36]

The work is less significant for its content than

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[33]Polybius xxix. 12. [34]Ibid.

[35]W. D. Hooper, Marcus Porcius Cato: On Agriculture, Marcus Terentius Varro: On Agriculture, revised by H. B. Ash ("Loeb Classical Library;" Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. xiii.

[36]Ibid., p. xviii.

for its very existence, since it is the earliest surviving work of Latin prose and thus offers a unique view of early Italian farm life. Cato's advice soon became inadequate because changing farm conditions made the work obsolete, but it formed the basis for the more systematized works of Varro and Columella.[37]

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[37]Duff, Literary History of Rome, pp. 250-51; and Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age, p. 163.

# CONCLUSION

Marcus Porcius Cato's life spanned three generations. He reached manhood during the bitter struggle of the Hannibalic War. He held political office during the period when Rome was slowly becoming entangled in Hellenistic politics. In his later life he urged Rome into a war which made her the virtual mistress of the western Mediterranean basin.

During a period when Roman foreign policy seemed to be dictating her future, Marcus Porcius Cato was primarily interested in grappling with the vast internal problems which beset Rome. In an age which paid little heed to his warnings, Cato fought the intrusion of Greek culture and accompanying vice into Rome. Perhaps his solutions could not have produced the reforms which he desired, but he correctly assessed the breakdown of Roman values which most Romans refused to recognize.

In later generations, many would hold Marcus Cato as the ideal Roman of the Republic. Cicero would idealize him in the De Senectute, Livy would proclaim his excellence, Fronto and Marcus Aurelius would discuss his orations. But the philosophy of life he represented could not be recalled. When Rome could have chosen to solve the dangers to the Republic, the warnings of Marcus

Porcius Cato went unheeded. With him died part of the traditional heritage of the Roman Republic.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

In reconstructing the life of Marcus Porcius Cato, I have found that the most useful ancient writings might be put into three categories. The first of these were the biographies of Cato: Plutarch Cato Maior, Nepos Cato, and Cicero Cato Maior de Senectute. Cicero's work was not a biography of Cato but a philosophical work on old age; however, Cicero did use a considerable amount of biographical material which I made use of in the study of Cato's life. All of these were based on earlier biographies (to a large extent the same one) now lost and were written over a century after Cato's death. Both Nepos' and Cicero's works were rather brief and were consulted primarily in checking Plutarch and other sources, but each contained important information not found elsewhere. I found that Plutarch's life of Cato had several defects including his lack of understanding of Roman politics, his failure to provide an adequate dating system, and his tendency to portray character traits as static. However, without Plutarch's biography, any account of Cato would be extremely barren. Much of what we know about Cato's personal life, his character, and his family can be found only in the pages of Plutarch.

The historical accounts made up the second category

of ancient sources. Of these, the three most useful historians were Polybius, Appian, and Livy. Polybius was the one author who was a contemporary of Cato and was, thus, a primary source. Unfortunately, the parts of Polybius which would have dealt with Cato are extant only in fragmentary form. Therefore, we lack any long account of Cato's activities in Polybius. Appian based at least part of his history on Polybius and included information about several periods of Cato's life, especially the Third Punic War. The most valuable ancient author was Livy, who covered Cato's career in some detail and used Cato himself as an ultimate source for at least some of his account. Livy's chief fault was his attempt to minimize several of the disputes in which Cato was involved. Nevertheless, Livy provided the most accurate and complete account of Cato's political career through 167, after which only the summaries of Livy's history are extant.

The third category of ancient sources consisted of those writers who included various passages from Cato's speeches and other writings in their own works. By far the most valuable author in this category was Aulus Gellius, whose Attic Nights contained numerous fragments from Cato's works. In addition, Marcus Cornelius Fronto included several passages from Cato in his letters. For the many fragments of Cato's speeches found in other authors, many of whom were difficult to obtain individually, I found Henrica Malcovati, Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta, invaluable.

H. Peter, Historicorum Romanorum Reliquae, was likewise useful for the collection of the fragments of the Origines.

In general, the most useful modern work in the preparation of this paper was H. H. Scullard, Roman Politics, which explored the relations of the various political parties and families of Rome in the first half of the second century B. C. This book offered the basis for the discussion of Cato's political career and his relation to the powerful families.

P. G. Walsh, Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods, was useful in helping to determine the limitations of Livy's account of Cato, as were R. E. Smith's articles in The Classical Quarterly (1940), for Plutarch's biography.

Various books and articles were helpful in the preparation of specific parts of Cato's career. E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae, and C. H. V. Sutherland, Romans in Spain, were consulted in establishing the background of Roman control in Spain and the importance of Cato's political and military achievements in that province. E. Badian, "Rome and Antiochus the Great," aided me in the preparation of the background of the Syrian War of 192. F. E. Adcock, "Delenda Est Carthago," and A. E. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus, were instrumental in determining Cato's role in the tangled crisis preceding the Third Carthaginian War. Finally, E. Badian's chapter "Early Historians," in Roman Historians, edited by T. A. Dorey, provided the basis for the discussion of Cato's Origines.

Other ancient and modern works were useful in more specific areas or to a more limited extent, as is evident from their use in the text. A more complete bibliography of all works consulted and cited in the text follows.

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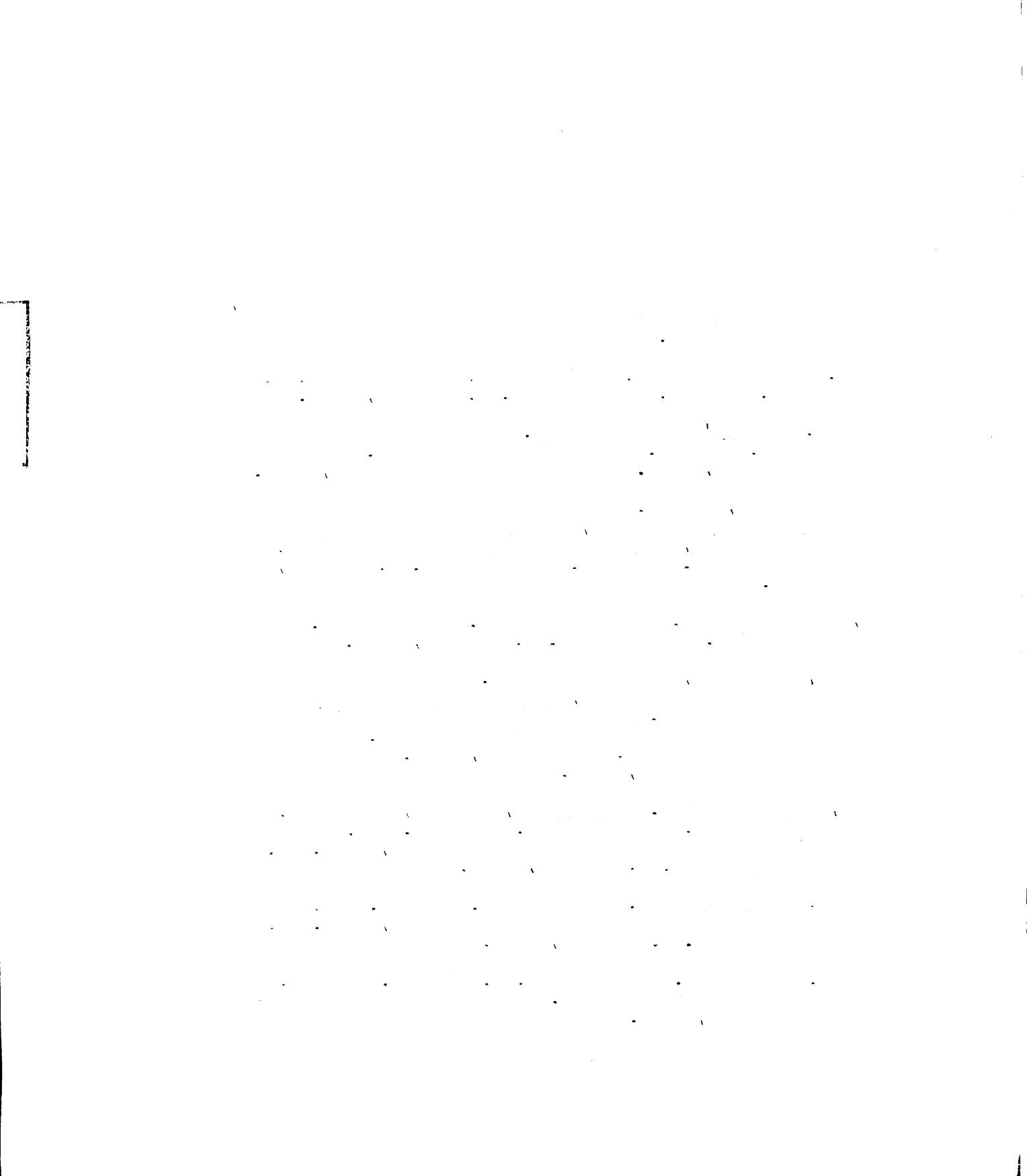

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