Human Development IV

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Edited by

Francisco Jose Sanchez Marin

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
CHAPTER ONE	
LEADERSHIP AND VALUES: THE CASE OF CATO UTICENSIS AND TH	e End
OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC (95–46 BC)	
MIGUEL PABLO SANCHO GÓMEZ	
1. Introduction	1
2. Early Life	
3. Marriage and Military Service	
4. Cato the Quaestor	
5. Catiline Conspiracy: Cato the Tribune of the Plebs	
6. Cyprus	
7. The End of the Triumvirate: Cato as Praetor	15
8. The Civil War	16
9. Cato's Death	
CHAPTER TWO	
THE FILM ADAPTATION OF A LITERARY WORK AND ITS VALUES:	
AN ADULT CHILD AS A PROTAGONIST	
BEATRIZ PEÑA ACUÑA, MIRIAM ROVIROSA MAIRLOT	
and Sonia Maria Martinez Castro	
CHAPTER THREE	
LOUISE BOURGEOIS: THE REAFFIRMATION OF IDENTITY AND OVER	
TRAUMA THROUGH ART	
Isabel Pagán García	
Introduction	
Conclusion	
Bibliography	55

CHAPTER FOUR	7
Emotional Intelligence and Social Intelligence:	
THE KEY ASPECTS FOR UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT	
Mª CARMEN FERNÁNDEZ VIDAL AND LINA Mª TOMÁS PASTOR	
CHAPTER FIVE	1
LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION AT THE SERVICE OF VALUES IN EARLY	
CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: AN EMOTIONAL EDUCATION PROPOSAL	
Ana María Aguilar López and María Antonia Lasso Rey	
CHAPTER SIX	37
COOPERATIVE LEARNING STRUCTURES IN HIGHER EDUCATION	
Ana Josefa Carmona Legaz and Sonia Maria Martinez Castro	
CHAPTER SEVEN)3
SPORTS LEADERSHIP AS AN EDUCATIONAL IMPELLER: A SOCIAL	
MOTIVATION FOR YOUNG PEOPLE	
PILAR VÍLCHEZ CONESA AND CRISTINA DE FRANCISCO PALACIOS	

PREFACE

This book responds to two mottos from the history of humankind: know thyself, and nothing in excess.

The Temple of Apollo at Delphi bore the inscriptions "know thyself" and "nothing in excess." I will write briefly about their importance for human development.

This inscriptions in the Temple of Apollo induced people to reflect on their limits and, above all, not desire what belongs to others, and what belonged to the gods. The Greco-Roman god Apollo was Zeus and Leto's son and Artemis' twin brother, and also one of the most influential gods after Zeus. He was variously recognized as a god of the sun and light, prophecy, and beauty.

Socrates is known for saying "know thyself," which is directly linked to human emotions. In the history of human thought, emotions were considered a psychophysiological reaction, an emotional state and a defensive mechanism.

Being aware of our emotions, knowing what is happening to us, is also a way of knowing your limits. Those who do not know themselves end up at the mercy of unrestrained emotions.

Being aware of one's own ignorance is a great step towards knowledge, and is a good condition for producing knowledge. For this reason, Socrates continuously examined and questioned his pupils.

In *The Symposium*, Plato illustrates the following: "Neither do the ignorant seek after Wisdom. For herein is the evil of ignorance, that he who is neither good nor wise is nevertheless satisfied with himself: he has no desire for that of which he feels no want."

Saint Augustine was also committed to the motto "know thyself," and encouraged the action of looking inward to discover our truth.

In his work *The Critic*, Gracian warns that those who ignore themselves will not be able to know everything, the world itself. Knowing everything is of no value if we do not know ourselves.

Knowing oneself is a challenging task, maybe the most difficult of them all.

This is the conclusion and aspiration – nothing in excess.

Preface

This book provides an introduction to self-knowledge, so I hope you get to know yourself well, and, as you already know – nothing in excess.

Maria del Mar Pintado Gimenez

Director of the "Montoro Aleman Chair" on socio-occupational inclusion for individuals with cognitive disabilities.

CHAPTER ONE

LEADERSHIP AND VALUES: THE CASE OF CATO UTICENSIS AND THE END OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC (95–46 BC)

MIGUEL PABLO SANCHO GÓMEZ (CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF MURCIA, SPAIN)

1. Introduction

Marcus Porcius Cato, also known as Cato the Younger or Cato Uticensis to distinguish him from his great-grandfather, Cato the Elder or Cato the Censor (234–149 BC) – is one of the most renowned and symbolic figures in the history of Ancient Rome.¹ Cato Uticensis became a very inspirational figure, who went down in history as a respected and celebrated man. Also, his customs and austere life, but especially his dramatic confrontation with Julius Caesar, turned him into a notorious character. It is alleged that even Augustus, the first ruler of the Roman Empire and Caesar's rightful heir, appreciated and respected Cato Uticensis greatly; for this reason, he allowed Virgil to include Cato's figure in his epic Aeneid, in which he is portrayed favourably. He is also present in Dante Alighieri's (1265-1321) Divine Comedy, in which Cato is courteously portrayed as the guardian of Purgatory. The figure of Cato has been an inspiration and consolation to people of different periods and nature, from the last Roman Republicans living under the rule of Claudius and Nero, to the Founding Fathers of the United States, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, as well as the Roman Emperor, Julian the Apostate, and the Stoic philosophers. Thanks to the theatre, his image

¹ For more information about the important historical figure of the first Cato, we recommend Corti's work (2008), a documented and entertaining biography of Cato, published as a novel. For Cato the Younger, Fehrle (1983) is possibly the first reference work in centuries, since Plutarch. See also Goodman and Soni (2012).

had a significant presence in France in the eighteenth century, and he was adored by the Jacobins – although we can say that Cato would have repudiated the atheistic, chaotic, and genocidal society after 1789.

As the aim of this volume is exploring values, we decided to include this historical figure as he had a crucial importance not only in Ancient Rome studies, but also in later medieval history. Moreover, Cato's presence left an indelible imprint in education due to the book *The Distichs of Cato* (or simply *Cato*), thought to be written by Cato Uticensis, which had huge importance in European education for countless generations.² In fact, this book remained through the years, being present during the Renaissance and the Baroque period or Enlightenment, reaching the Modern Age and continuing until our grandparents' and parents' time.

Even though Mommsen's view of Roman history (Mommsen and Dickson 1862), as a fervent worshipper of Julius Caesar, is still predominant at the present time, from Oman (1944) onwards, a fairer and more balanced image of Cato in historiography has been discerned, in which his actual merits are valued.

In this chapter we will see how our main character indelibly joined values and leadership as a political guide. Perhaps for that reason it is worth reconsidering our definition of leadership, so as to consider if such a definition can also be used to refer to those praised men from the past.

According to the Spanish definition of "leadership" [*liderazgo*], this word means "the office or position of a leader," defined in the RAE's dictionary³ as: (1) masc. & fem., Individual who runs or manages a political party, social group or any other group (also used in apposition); (2) masc. & fem., Individual or entity that holds the position of leader among the members of its class, especially in a sport competition (also used in apposition).

The Spanish word *lider* comes from the English word "leader," and thus this term has a great importance in Anglophone historiography. According to Covey (1993), leadership is the ability to apply principles to problems, which means a greater productivity and fruitful relationships for everybody. Also, the *Dictionary of Behavioral Science* (1956) describes the attributes of the leader as "personal qualities and abilities that promote the guidance and control of other individuals".

Chiavenato (1993) manifested that "leadership" is interpersonal influence applied in a situation, led by means of human communication in order to achieve one or several specific goals.

² See Masegosa (1997), Bizzarri (2002), and García Blanco (2007).

³ Online Dictionary of the Real Academy of the Spanish Language: http://dle.rae.es/?id=NGziyCV

Stogdill (1974) affirmed that there exists a great range of different leaderships, and he defines this term as "the process of managing and influencing the work activities of a group" – a definition with important significances. For the author, leadership implies the unequal distribution of power, as it always involves people obeying orders and sustaining the position of the leader.

2. Early Life

Cato was born in Rome in 95 BC, under the consulship of Lucius Licinius Crassus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the elected Pontifex Maximus. Significantly, both figures were also known as notable men from a cultural point of view – Crassus went down in history as the best orator of his time, and Mucius as compiler and legal expert with proverbial uprightness.⁴

Cato was the son of Marcus Porcius Cato Salonianus and Livia Drusa, who died when he was still very young. After the tragic loss of his parents, he was reared by his maternal uncle, Marcus Livius Drusus, a well-known Tribune of the plebs in 91 BC. He was a famous reformer and politician, a well-reputed orator who wanted to extend Roman citizenship to all the Italian allies [*socii*], a highly polemical proposal that caused a war. In this regard, we will describe a famous anecdote further on, whose protagonist is Cato when he was four years old.

Cato was living with his sister, Porcia, and three half-siblings, Servilius Caepio, Servilia Major, and Servilia Minor, the children of Drusus's brother-in-law, Quintus Servilius Caepio the Younger, praetor in 91 BC.⁵ After quarrelling with Drusus due to political differences, Caepio divorced Livia, Drusus's sister; in consequence, Livia married Cato Salonianus, with whom she had two children, Marcus Cato and Porcia.

⁴ Lucius Licinius Crassus was the father of the famous Marcus Licinius Crassus, a Roman general and politician who was part of the First Triumvirate, together with Caesar and Pompey. As it is known, his troops were defeated near Carrhae, where he perished in the battle against the Parthians (Syme 2010, 35). Scaevola, the elected Pontifex Maximus, was murdered in 82 BC and thrown into the Tiber river, which is one of most infamous and outrageous sacrileges in Rome's history.

⁵ Servilia Major became one of Caesar's mistresses (Syme 2010, 24). Porcia married Lucius Domitious Ahenobarbus, a sworn enemy of Caesar and consul with Appius Claudius Pulcher (the latter was raised together with Cato) in 54 BC (Syme 2010, 25). Servilia Minor, who was as unfaithful and licentious as her sister, married Lucius Licinius Lucullus, a hero of the wars against Mithridates. Although he bore Servilia's dalliances out of respect for Cato, her love affairs finally became so scandalous that he divorced her.

Livius Drusus adopted the young Appius Claudius Pulcher – who was renamed Marcus Livius Drusus Claudianus – a descendant of Appius Claudius Caecus, "the blind," a past censor. They were living together in harmony, especially Cato and Caepio, who were of the same age and had a very close friendship. According to Plutarch, when Cato, as a child, was asked who he loved the most, he replied: "I love my brother." And if he was asked who he loved the most next, he replied exactly the same, over and over again.⁶

From a very early age, Cato displayed a very firm attitude while playing or talking, accompanied by his unflappable and inflexible manners. Due to his distrustful nature, he was difficult to persuade and impossible to soften with compliments or flattering comments. As stated by Plutarch, Cato was extremely abrupt with adulators, but more surprising was his cold and disdainful attitude towards those who wanted to frighten or intimidate him. Despite his youth, he pursued goals with consistency and it seemed difficult to make him laugh, although when he was surrounded by his trusted people he could relax and let out a calm smile. In spite of all this, Cato did not usually get upset, although when he was furious he was implacable.

At a very early age, Cato's house was visited by a Socii delegation of elders, who wanted to lodge there for some time and address political matters with Marcus Livius Drusus. One of them, called Quintus Poppaedius Silo, had fraternised with Drusus during the Cimbrian War of Gaius Marius against the Cimbri and Teutones, and he also became familiar with the rest of the children – but not all of them. One day, he jokingly asked them if they could persuade Drusus and the Romans to allow the Italian allies to obtain Roman citizenship. The children, especially Caepio, smiled and nodded in agreement, but Cato remained serious and imperturbable, gazing upon them severely, with displeasure. Suddenly, Silo tried to frighten him by lifting him up through an open window, while he threatened repeatedly to throw Cato out if he did not comply with his requests. But Cato remained silent, staring at him. After this, Silo put the boy down and turning to his comrades, saying quietly⁷: "What a piece of good fortune it is for Italy that he is a boy; for if he were a man, I do not think we could get a single vote among the people."

⁶ See Plutarch's Lives, *The Life of Cato the Younger* III 2, 5.

⁷ This funny anecdote appears in Plutarch's Lives, *The Life of Cato the Younger* II, 6. Although Wiseman (1985, 23) considered that such anecdotes and stories about Cato as a child were "hagiographies," we are of the opinion that such allegations are without foundation, and that these testimonies cannot be considered as illegitimate.

The mistrust he displayed when dealing with others and his stubbornness when somebody tried to persuade him about something made him a slow learner, although he was not a bad student. Actually, his good memory allowed him to retain everything. Sarpedon, a Greek educator and Cato's teacher, was a reasoning and philosophical man whom Cato respected and faithfully obeyed, although he questioned all the tasks and lessons he was taught.

We should remember that, before the age of seven, Roman children (whether members of the nobility or not) remained with their mothers or maidservants or nursemaids, devoting their time to play. On reaching that age, and especially in Cato's case (a child of noble birth), there was a preceptor in charge of his education, who taught him reading and writing, calculus, oratory, philosophy, and law. Such preceptors were often of Greek origin because, since the fall of Corinth in 146 BC, most of them were taken to Rome as prisoners of war or slaves, but they lived comfortably at their masters' house and taught the children of the most important Roman citizens to earn a living.

Those who could not afford a private teacher usually sent their children to school, which was coeducational up to the age of twelve. As education was not free, deprived social classes could not access it.⁸

Another remarkable anecdote is the connection between Cato and Sulla – after gaining absolute power in Rome when defeating Marius's supporters, Lucius Cornelius Sulla started his dictatorship in 88 BC.⁹ At that time Cato was seven years old, and fourteen when Sulla voluntarily retired from politics in 79 BC. Given that both Cato and Caepio were his neighbours and came from a good family, Sulla, as a dictator who takes pride in his aristocratic lineage, tended to greet and treat them with deference – something unusual at that time.¹⁰ Sarpedon considered this friendship a convenient one, so he usually brought them to Sulla's home.

One day, Cato saw a group of prisoners entering Sulla's house, composed of senators, dignitaries, noblemen, and all sorts of people of lineage. He could also hear the moans and groans of people being tortured in the basement of the mansion.

⁸ See Bonner (2012) for more information about Roman education.

⁹ See Keaveney (2005) and Santangelo (2007) for more information about Sulla, an essential figure in understanding Rome's history.

¹⁰ Cornelia Sulla, the eldest daughter of the dictator, was married to Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, Cato's and Caepio's uncle. Mamercus was a renowned military commander, pontiff, and aristocrat who was very close to Sulla. He was also praetor in 81 BC and consul in 77 BC with Decimus Junius Brutus (father of the famous assassin of Julius Caesar).

Chapter One

As the inventor of proscriptions, Sulla initiated a barbaric and terrifying policy of repression to purge the Senate and eliminate his enemies from Rome. Over the years, such practices continued. When Cato was fourteen he was conscious of what was happening and, as he was filled with anger, he asked Sarpedon why no one could kill such a terrible tyrant. The Greek man told him that people hated Sulla, but they feared him more, to which Cato would reply: "Give me a sword, that I might free my country from slavery." Noticing the anger on the young man's face, Sarpedon became scared and stopped him from visiting Sulla's home. On the contrary, he kept him under close surveillance since he thought him capable of perpetrating such a temerarious deed – something that would have resulted in the immediate death of Cato, whether he succeeded or failed.¹¹

At the age of twenty, Cato and his half-brother Caepio were still inseparable. They did everything together – it is even said that Cato refused to dine without him. He inherited his family's legacy, which was a hundred and twenty talents (more than three million *sestertii*), a considerable fortune. In any case, Cato continued with his modest practices, according to the lifestyle that made his ancestors well-known. He received Apollo's priesthood and moved from the Drusus' house to live on his own. The stoic philosopher Antipater of Tyre, who lived in Rome, became another of his usual peers, and Cato began studying ethics and political education.

3. Marriage and Military Service

At that time, in order to strengthen and build his body, Cato started to subject himself to arduous exercise routines and long walks to the point of exhaustion. He got used to enduring extreme temperatures and followed an extremely strict diet, eating only what was necessary. Despite the fact that he could be considered a millionaire due to his inheritance, he did not indulge himself. He could perfectly afford to buy any of the most exquisite wines, but he preferred to buy the cheapest to avoid succumbing to pleasures. In this respect he was totally different from most Roman noblemen, renowned senators, and consuls of his time, who were especially known by their dissipation, bad habits, and passion for haute cuisine and feasts. It is true that Cato drank frequently but only for philosophical reasons, as he received distinguished guests at his house to talk about philosophy at night. It is worth mentioning that drinking wine

¹¹ Plutarch's Lives, the Life of Cato the Younger III, 4.

while talking with your fellows until inebriation was normal in Greek culture – actually, Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, had this habit. At that time, there were many Greek sages living in Rome who visited Cato's house.

His controversial relationship with Quintus Caecilius Metellus Scipio (who became Consul in 52 BC) started at this point. Cato was engaged to Aemilia Lepida, a Roman noblewoman, but her parents preferred her to marry Metellus Scipio – obviously, there were a great number of political, economic, and social considerations influencing the Lepidus family. Roman nobility was given to establish personal relationships of convenience, in which schemes, lies, and betrayal were common – valuable female heirs, even considered as genuine princesses, were used as pieces of a vast and complex social game of chess (Syme 2010). Due to his energetic character, Cato was willing to rise up against such infamy, but his friends persuaded him and calmed him down successfully; this way, the young lover vented his frustration by writing verse in the manner of Archilochus, using Metellus Scipio as his poetic target.¹²

Then he married a woman called Atilia, of whom little is known. They had two children, Marcus Porcius Cato and Porcia, who was the second wife of Brutus, the leader of the senatorial plot that led to the assassination of Julius Caesar.¹³ For unknown reasons, Cato divorced Atilia, accusing her of indecent behaviour. As a tribune ofthe plebs, Cato got married a second time to Marcia, Lucius Marcius Philippus's daughter, with whom he had two or three children (there are discrepancies in the sources). At this point, there took place the most controversial episode in Cato's life – he divorced Marcia so that his friend, the lawyer Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (114–50 BC), could marry her.

Cato volunteered for the army as his dear brother Caepio had been called up, and appointed as tribune of the war against Spartacus, leader of the slave revolt. As is well known, due to the Roman legions lack of training in contrast to the gladiators' skills, the rebels achieved significant victories at the beginning. Taking into account the bad general situation, Cato's army had the best results when fighting the rebels. He was under the orders of Lucius Gellius Publicola, Consul in 72 BC, who wanted to reward Cato's courage and diligence in combat with several prizes, emblems, and military awards, but the young man refused all of them,

¹² Plutarch's Lives, *The Life of Cato the Younger* VIII, 2. Naturally, he refers to Archilochus (712–664 BC), the famous lyric poet.

¹³ See Dillon and Garland's excellent work (2005) for a full description of this period.

claiming he did not deserve any of them as he had just fulfilled his duty as a soldier.¹⁴

At the age of twenty-eight, Cato was given command of a legion and sent to Macedon, which had been a Roman province for a century (67 BC). His exemplary way of life deeply touched the hearts of the soldiers – he shared the recruits' sufferings, tasks, and efforts; he wore their same clothing, and slept in tents very similar to those of the private troop. By doing so, he earned the respect of his men. He was strict and firm, but also very gentle, and therefore was worshipped as a commandant since he behaved like a partner and a father.

When his mandate expired and he had to leave his post in the army, the legionaries bid farewell to Cato with tears, kissing his hands and lining up to throw their tunics to the ground, forming a carpet on which he walked (note that, to date, no general had been sent off like this).

Taking into account Cato's strictness in discipline and punishment, this was extremely remarkable, although it is always omitted in the historiography of the Roman army. It is worth mentioning the details of his warrior side, since many recent authors, such as Goldsworthy (2013), unfairly describe Cato as a vain, untalented general who knew nothing about military science – something that has nothing to do with the truth. Maybe he was not like Caesar, but he was not interested in being like him either. In such false appreciations, there are still remnants of old Caesarean propaganda that has been perpetuated uncritically from Theodor Mommsen's time onwards, permeating modern historiography. Without a doubt, Cato as a soldier was fully competent (Oman 1944).

At that time, Cato received the very sad news that his brother Caepio, who was serving at a garrison in Thrace, was very ill. Together with a small group of faithful friends, Cato challenged inclement weather, seasons, and tempests to go to his dear brother. It was a terrible journey, full of dangers, which reached the point of costing them their lives in a shipwreck, but they finally reached their destination. Unfortunately, it was too late – Caepio had died that winter.

Contrary to his customs and overwhelmed by grief, Cato organized luxurious and impressive funerals, sparing no expense, as he thought this was the best way to honour his beloved brother for the last time. He welcomed all the presents and expressions of support received, but did not accept anything else once the funeral rites were finished.

¹⁴ Finally, Crassus, who was at the height of his power, quelled the rebellion violently. As a warning for potential future rebellions, he filled the way between Capua and Rome with hanged gladiators.

When his army service was finished he made a private journey to the Roman province of Asia with the aim of visiting significant and wellknown places for meeting with philosophers from the most important Greek cities (Bellemore 1995). Nevertheless, he did not deprive himself of reprehending boldly the greediest and most covetous Roman magistrates he found on his way. When he visited King Deiotarus of Galatia, a loyal ally of the Romans and a good friend of Cato's family, he felt overwhelmed by the excessive yet well-meaning attention, and the amount of presents he received. For this reason, Cato managed to stay with him for only one night, ordered the return of all his gifts, and left.¹⁵

4. Cato the Quaestor

On returning to Rome, Cato was elected Quaestor in 65 BC. In order to fulfil his functions, he studied everything related to it with special care, including the relevant laws. The result of his efforts was that Cato became an extremely well-known and admired quaestor in the city – he pursued any dishonourable quaestor who had used his position to get rich and forced them to pay for their misdeeds, and his exact and meticulous accountancy allowed him to collect all debts and pay all the money to taxpayers due to the state-wide arrears. This way, the state coffers were full again, and Cato manifested that it was possible for the treasury to have money enough without corrupting the citizens. Cato's zeal went up to the point that he pursued any illegal transaction, even punishing his own close friends in case they were involved in unlawful actions. Cato always kept true accounts in book copies thanks to his slaves and freedman. Even after leaving his post, Cato used his loyal servitors to monitor civil servants to ensure that everything was fine.¹⁶

Despite the fact that his co-workers opposed his modus operandi and were hostile to him at the beginning, all of them ended up supporting Cato, maybe due to a mix of fatalism and admiration towards his obstinacy.

Finally, he committed himself to persecuting any infamous informers from Sulla's times. Some of them had become wealthy at the expense of false reports about innocent people who ended up losing their properties and lives for it. This way, the Roman people felt that the crimes of the

¹⁵ Plutarch's Lives, *The Life of Cato the Younger* XV, 2. See Dmitriev (2005) for an overview of the lifestyle and key aspects of the Roman province of Asia.

 $^{^{16}}$ This should be understood as the measures Cato took – he voluntarily created a sensation of fear and respect by means of unfounded rumours and false threats to avoid further embezzlements. He was not likely to have an espionage network in Rome.

dictatorship were finally being punished in a fair manner. When Cato left office, he was bid farewell with adoration and popular fervour due to his brilliant management and exemplary stance. The "Catonian honesty" became proverbial.¹⁷

During that time, Cato attended assiduously all Senate meetings and publicly criticized all those colleagues who declined their rights and obligations because of laziness or negligence.¹⁸ Since all Roman issues were extremely important for him, the fact that relevant meetings or debates were sparsely populated was something that irritated him.

This thing from the past can be seen painfully in our present time, as the Spanish Chamber of Deputies is shamefully empty, day in, day out.

5. Catiline Conspiracy: Cato the Tribune of the Plebs

One of the most shocking political events that took place at that time was Lucius Sergius Catilina's conspiracy. Ruined by his debts, this Roman noble attempted to take advantage of popular discontent to seize power by means of a bloody revolution - he intended to burn down Rome to create confusion, assassinate the consuls, and go back to massive proscriptions and expropriation, focusing on the powerful families from the Roman nobility. For this purpose, he surrounded himself with all kinds of conspirers, from outlaws and thieves to young aristocrats in his same situation. But, from a military point of view, his main advantage was Sulla's veterans – despite the great amount of land they had been given by their master, including treasures and money from lootings in the Eastern Provinces, they were ruined after years of wasteful spending and dissipation. For this reason, they approved the Roman affray as they could take advantage of it and get rich through murder. The conspiracy, which connected more people than expected (Crassus and Caesar conspired with the schemers), was discovered and aborted thanks to good luck and fortune rather than zeal or Cicero's sagacity.¹⁹ It is also true that those people close to the aristocratic conspirers were of crucial importance, as they did not remain silent regarding the magnitude of the crimes afoot, so the Senate was aware of them shortly after.

Still, after capturing most of the conspirers in the night, the Conscript Fathers were fearful, doubtful, and indecisive in an extraordinary meeting

¹⁷ Plutarch's Lives, The Life of Cato the Younger XVI-XVIII.

¹⁸ Plutarch's Lives, *The Life of Cato the Younger* XIX.

¹⁹ See Lacey (1978), von Albrecht (1997), and Taplin (2001) for more information about such transcendental figure for both Roman history and literature.

of the Senate. Decimus Junius Silanus, who was appointed Consul for the next year, was the first person queried by Cicero. He demanded the supreme penalty, but Julius Caesar delivered a modest and merciful speech, suggesting eloquently the imprisonment of all the convicts in different Italian cities and towns for safekeeping. Silanus relented and obeyed Caesar's dictation.

But Cato's authority and speech were the most remarkable. Although he was just a mere quaestor, Cato excelled thanks to his strength of character at only thirty-three years old (Syme 2010).

Deploring Silanus's change of mind and attacking Caesar's arguments, Cato made an astounding speech, the only one preserved thanks to Sallust's immortal and eminent quill. In a heated defence of the Law and the Republic, Cato asked for capital punishment for the prisoners due to the serious danger of the situation and their reiterated acts of villainy. The whole Senate approved his proposal, referring to him as a magnificent man.²⁰ Then, a decree was drawn up in accordance with Cato's opinion, and, after this uncontested victory, he took his seat again.

The very act was extraordinary, and even Cicero later admitted this²¹ – thanks to his prestige, integrity, and values, the opinion of a mere exquaestor was elected over consular men who were legally above him. That was an extraordinary values-based leadership which obtained unexpected and excellent results.

At that moment, Sallust included a masterful description in his work *The Conspiracy of Catiline*. The passage known as *Caesar and Cato's portraits* is a gem of Roman literature, which is reproduced below²²:

Their birth, age, and eloquence, were nearly on an equality; their greatness of mind similar, as was also their reputation, though attained by different means. Caesar grew eminent by generosity and munificence; Cato by the integrity of his life. Caesar was esteemed for his humanity and benevolence; austereness had given dignity to Cato. Caesar acquired renown by giving, relieving, and pardoning; Cato by bestowing nothing. In Caesar, there was a refuge for the unfortunate; in Cato, destruction for the bad. In Caesar, his easiness of temper was admired; in Cato, his firmness. Caesar, in fine, had applied himself to a life of energy and activity; intent upon the interest of his friends, he was neglectful of his own; he refused nothing to others that

²⁰ Sallustius, The Conspiracy of Catiline 52, 7–53, 36.

²¹ Cicero, *Letter to Atticus* 12, 21 1. That is exactly what the old consul confessed to his best friend.

²² Sallustius, *The Conspiracy of Catiline*, 54. Translation cited at the end of this chapter by Mr. Alberto Jiménez Capilla, including minor modifications. See Earl's excellent work (1961) for a better understanding of Sallustius.

Chapter One

was worthy of acceptance, while for himself he desired great power, the command of an army, and a new war in which his talents might be displayed. But Cato's ambition was that of temperance, discretion, and, above all, of austerity; he did not contend in splendour with the rich, or in faction with the seditious, but with the brave in fortitude, with the modest in simplicity, with the temperate in abstinence; he was more desirous to be, than to appear, virtuous; and thus, the less he courted popularity, the more it pursued him.

As noted by Syme (2010), Cato extolled the virtues that made Rome a great empire, denounced indecent rich men, and made a great effort to let the aristocracy remember the duties of their status.

At that time, his popularity reached its peak as he was extremely admired and respected not only among the members of the Senate and the nobility, but also among citizens – it might not be surprising to know that he was carried upon shoulders when passing through the Roman streets. For this reason, Cato was elected tribune of the plebs in 63 BC, a new post in which he stood out in all his glory.

After defeating Caesar in the meeting of the Senate, the two men were in continuous dispute. Cato used the privilege of his post with implacable dexterity and determination to oppose to Caesar's illegal measures. Cato's heated resistance made him extremely powerful, as he had a great ability to mobilize the Senate and force its members to position; for this reason, Caesar had to seek allies and started to get close to Pompey and Crassus.

After achieving titanic feats, victories, and conquests, amassing wealth in Hispania, the Orient, and Gaul, the two dynasts (Pompey and Caesar) began to require special privileges, such as celebrating a Roman Triumph and standing for elections to the Consulate at the same time.²³ Cato ordered both of them to choose, while he forced the indulgent and undecided Senate to respect the laws of the Republic.

²³ A triumph (*triumphus*) was a spectacular ceremony and parade to celebrate the victorious return of a Roman general from war in a foreign land, who had inflicted at least five hundred casualties on the enemy. However, the victor's legions remained outside the city as they were forbidden to enter, so they had to wait by the Servian Wall. If it meant the end of the war, the senate has the prerogative for awarding such honours to an elect magistrate (with *imperium*). The victorious general, beautifully attired and with his face and hands painted in crimson, rode in a chariot until he reached the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, where he offered the triumphal laurel. Together with the protagonist, there was usually a slave in the chariot, whispering to him "respice post te, hominem te esse memento" ["look back and remember that you are just a man"]. Then, the general held a great party for the whole city, with entertainments and banquets.

When Pompey came back from the Orient in 61 BC, behaving like a Hellenistic monarch, surrounded by autocratic ways and oriental pretentiousness, Cato forced him to resign from the elections to celebrate his third Roman Triumph – a ceremony of gigantic proportions. In contrast to Pompey's decision and in view of Cato's heated resistance, Caesar, upset and resentful, had to renounce to his Triumph in 59 BC to be able to run for Consul; in fact, Caesar won the elections. It is usually stated that this date coincides with the beginning of the First Triumvirate, the alliance of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar to protect their common interests and political prerogatives. That same year, Cato's son-in-law, Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, was the other consul.²⁴

Bibulus was married to Porcia. Hortensius Hortalus, who admired and respected Cato, approached him and asked for the hand of his daughter, despite the fact that she was already married and he was thirty years older than her. Cato refused to comply with his unusual request for obvious reasons, but Hortensius's reply was even more shocking – he asked for the hand of Cato's wife by sustaining as positive and useful that such fertile women should be able to procreate and give birth to various sons, as honest and distinguished as they were, instead of bearing children for just one man (Marcia already had children with Cato).

Surprisingly, Cato accepted his request, probably due to Hortensius's philosophical and rational motivations rather than his proper feelings. He divorced his wife so his friend could have children with her. Nevertheless, Hortensius perished in 50 BC, so Marcia and her daughters returned to Cato's house, continuing their relationship and probably being remarried.

This scandalous episode in Cato's life served as "ammunition" for his enemies. Julius Caesar, in particular, wrote the *Anticato* to combat his memory in 45 BC, in which he used plenty of scabrous details – he accused Cato of procuring, hypocrisy, and avarice after selling his wife to receive a substantial inheritance from an elderly man, so that, after his death, he could come back to her. This text is not preserved, but we can find many of Caesar's negative arguments quoted in Plutarch's narrative.²⁵

Caesar's offensive against Cato came swiftly. Publius Clodius Pulcher (93–52 BC) was another of the most scandalous, lecherous, and depraved figures of the political sphere. He belonged to an ancient and noble family,

²⁴ See Holland's (2007), Santangelo's (2013), and Stevenson's (2014) works for more information about this historical period, which meant the end of the Roman Republic.

 $^{^{25}}$ See Peer (2016) for more information about Caesar's literary style, in which he displayed his intelligence, sagacity, and elevated rhetoric, as well as skills for persuasion.

but was a corrupted man characterized by bad habits and vices, who looked intensively for a place among the most powerful current networks of patronage. As a passionate Caesarian and tribune of the plebs at the time, he managed to banish Cicero and sent Cato to take office as governor in Cyprus; with such a master manoeuvre, he aimed to oblige the Hellenistic King of Cyprus to bequeath the island to the Roman Empire after his death. This way, Clodius attained his goal – removing Cato from Rome so he could not interfere in Julius Caesar's policy plans.

On the other hand, Clodius's despicable and opportunistic logic was not without foundation, as a fair, frugal, and honourable person was needed to make a cadastre and record the immense wealth to be moved to Rome. Thus, after legally voting at the plenary session, Cato was commended to manage and safeguard the Cypriot royal heritage. In fact, he was the most honest senator of the moment (Taylor 1971).

6. Cyprus

As was to be expected, Cato's management was exemplary during his stay in Cyprus. King Ptolemy committed suicide due to Roman pressure and harassment, so Cyprus became a province of the Empire. Cato, as *Quaestor Pro Praetore* [Quaestor with Praetorian Powers], remained as manager of the royal possessions and treasury of the island.

He made an honest and fair management, avoiding extortion, embezzlement, and corruption. As he did in Rome, Cato kept the accounts in a scrupulous and clean manner, raising seven thousand talents of silver for the treasury. He took every possible precaution to ensure that the taxes did not get lost, even taking shipwreck prevention methods (every coffer was tied to floating buoys made of cork). Despite all the accounting books and the copies being lost, this did not affect Cato's reputation – he was so remarkable that his bitterest enemies did not even dare to charge him with extortion. In fact, this was only attempted once in his life, and without success.

As he stayed in Cyprus for more than two years, Cato took the opportunity to develop and improve governance, as well as the role of Roman quaestor, by applying his stoic beliefs.

When Cato came back to Rome at the helm of ships full of wealth, the port of Ostia was crowded. He was received as in a Triumph, with public acclaim and signs of respect and affection until he reached the Senate of Rome (55 BC).

All seemed well, except for Pompey and Crassus, the two consuls of that year, who received him coldly and disrespectfully - they were

probably discontented with Cato's passionate reception, as they considered him a hindrance. Despite this, the Senate had to offer him a number of honours and privileges, which he duly rejected as usual, asserting that he was simply doing his duty and complying with legislation (Badian 1965, 110–21).

7. The End of the Triumvirate: Cato as Praetor

The wiles of his political enemies caused Cato's failure when he stood for the practorian elections that year. Nevertheless, he was elected as practor in 54 BC, exactly when the triumvirate broke due to internal dissidences among its ambitious members (Gordon 1933). Crassus set off for Syria with a special mandate, where he carried out a policy of despoilment, extortions, and wide-scale looting as a preamble to conquering Parthia, ambitions which would cost him his life at Carrhae in 53 BC. It should be noted that, despite the recent dispute and the seeming enmity between Caesar and Crassus, they respected each other in some way, as Caesar intended to avenge Crassus – when Caesar was murdered in 44 BC, his plan was to leave Rome for a long time in order to march to the Balkans and then to the East at the front of a great army to beat the Parthians.

Shortly after this tragic event for Rome, Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife, died, and thus the only existing connection between both men disappeared and they grew apart. The gap between them, together with the growing suspicion and jealousy, was a factor that Cato and his faction of the Senate (the *Optimates*, whom he wanted to return to their real Republican roots) attempted to use for their benefit. But Clodius continued inciting urban masses and creating a climate of instability, spurring on those in greatest need and making an inflammatory speech against aristocracy – the same one he disowned. In the meantime, Cato had to deal with all kinds of dirty, violent, illegal, and inadmissible tactics during Caesar's stay in Rome.

The notable and famous Julius Caesar did not refrain from ordering his men to drag Cato from the Senate stand, where he was beaten by armed guards – he also used mobs of gladiators to intimidate both senators and electors, and distributed gifts, wine, food, and coins among the local plebs so that they stoned and rebuked Cato's friends and supporters.

Being aware of the fact that the nation was corrupted, especially for the exasperating laziness, inactivity, and decline of the Roman Senate, the Dynasts – such as Caesar and Pompey – and demagogues – such as Clodius – could do and undo as they pleased (Marin 2009).

Given the inevitable war between them and fearing the absolute power they had, Cato decided to run for the Consul elections as a last resort in 51 BC. He was not willing to use violence, bribing, populist demagogy, and threats, and thus was already aware of his lost cause. Nevertheless, both his supporters and relatives worked diligently on his candidature, perhaps with satisfaction in the work done and good conscience. Although he was defeated, Cato upheld his stoic temper; calmed and resigned, he prepared for the political storm that was about to come. Thanks to the buying of votes and bribe payments, the elected consuls were Servius Sulpicius Rufus, Caesar's fellow, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Pompey's frenzied supporter. After this, Cato decided not to run for any other election and berated the Senate (its members belonged to Caesar's or Pompey's entourage) for its cowardice and for letting him be beaten up and dragged into the forum by a gang of criminals contrary to the law.

8. The Civil War

As Caesar's proconsular command was coming to an end, Cato thought it was the perfect opportunity to order his return to Rome, hold him to account, and prosecute him without his legal immunity. As might be expected, Caesar refused to give up the legions and provinces under his control, because that would mean losing his whole safeguard (his *dignitas*) and falling into enemy hands when returning to Rome as a common civilian (Fantham 2003).

In such circumstances, the members of the triumvirate protected one another thanks to their influence and rigged elections, which allowed them to appoint trusted individuals as tribunes, magistrates, or quaestors. Thanks to this, Pompey had been able to protect Caesar while he was in Gaul or Hispania.

But the situation was changing, as Caesar's political party was growing more and more powerful and his supporters were prospering significantly, as they controlled the plebs and their command and influence were evident. Although he was miles away from Rome, his shadow seemed terribly close and dark – thanks to the immense wealth he amassed in his conquests, he could bribe his enemies and suborn any senator he desired; moreover, apart from controlling the veteran legions, he had a covetous and fervent clientele in Rome.

Pompey feared his lack of supporters (Syme 2010), so he had to resort to Cato, with whom he had a difficult relationship due to several disagreements. Cato did not allow him to marry any of his daughters because of Pompey's illegal tendencies and monarchical tastes. On the one hand, the Senate needed Pompey since he was the only source of military force in case of confrontation. Cato was key to Pompey's alliance with the *optimates*, as Pompey controlled the East as a big Satrap or eastern monarch. He was the best general of them all, and also the most experienced in conducting long wars and large armies. It should be noted that Cato had only headed up one legion, and most of the consuls and nobles that supported him had equal or less experience.

Julius Caesar, knowing that he would have to face a trial and the end of his political career in accordance with the law, uttered his famous sentence "alea iacta est," and crossed the border of Gaul and Italy accompanied by a single legion in 49 BC. In the same way as Sulla, Caesar, in war gear and together with his troops, became an outlaw who advanced as the regions and levies submitted peacefully.

Caesar directed the war with his customary celerity, audacity, and improvisation. Pompey knew that the Italian territories were not prepared to resist, so he could only make use of his usual tricks and schemes to slow the enemy's advance. Ultimately, the two old soldiers rejected the idea of fighting on home soil due to the many possible scourges and destruction it posed, so Caesar did not raise many obstacles when the Roman Senate and Pompey's army crossed the Adriatic Sea and abandoned the peninsula.²⁶

Caesar had no fleet, so he would have had little chance of fighting them. On the other hand, Pompev had collected between five and six hundred war vessels - possibly all of the existing in the Mediterranean. Pompey managed to place the whole of Asia at his disposal. He received continuous reinforcements, weapons, horses, and troops from his clients; he had abundant supplies and everything necessary to maintain his army and prepare strongholds in view of Caesar's imminent arrival. A very valuable general and administrator. Pompey thought about the possibility of putting Cato in control of the fleet, although he did not sympathize with him at all. He was still young, zealous, trustworthy, capable, and meticulous. If it was necessary, he would not sleep for the sake of monitoring Caesar and impeding his plans. It would have been easy and bloodless if they had pushed Caesar further into the country so that exhaustion, sufferings, and low morale would wear him down in the medium and long term, as having the best legions would have been useless.

What happened at the end? Pompey, as a realistic and serious man, knew Cato perfectly well. He had become his occasional ally, but he had

²⁶ See Mackay (2004, 143–70).

not forgotten his fervent defence of legality and his Republican ideals. Caesar, as a greater evil, was the only reason they were together: once he disappeared, Cato would use the fleet to finish off Pompey. Cato would not let anyone come to be a tyrant and turn the Roman Republic into an autocracy, and thus Pompey abandoned his plan.²⁷

Instead, Bibulus was elected admiral, but his role was a very poor one. Although his naval superiority was far greater, Bibulus's instability and gullibility allowed Caesar to cross the Adriatic Sea in haste and reach Illyria with his army almost intact; Bibulus was only able to intercept and destroy the empty vessels, and therefore missed a great opportunity.

Nevertheless, all was not lost. Pompey won the first battle in Dyrrachium.²⁸ Thanks to his combined arms operations, the strengthening of the focal points in the tactical area, and the masterful usage of his fleet as support for the legions, he managed to defeat Caesar, who ended up fleeing disjointedly. Although Pompey sent his cavalry to pursue Caesar's troops, he then gave the order to stop the persecution – a controversial decision that was widely criticized.

There is speculation that, if Pompey had deployed an exhaustive attack, he would have beaten Caesar and ended the war,²⁹ but it is always easier to make ex-post judgments.

Cato's advice was clear and direct – prolong the war to the limit. Thus, if Pompey's army had followed his counsel, Caesar, who fled to Thessaly with a damaged and starving army, would have been in serious trouble. But the rest of the *optimates* put a great psychological pressure upon him, so he ended up reluctantly setting a pitched battle against Caesar, which meant betting everything against his own will and judgement. Apparently, he already felt pessimistic and discouraged before the battle. But despite his major achievements as a general, his desire to please a group of aristocrats whom he admired and envied was greater than his outstanding personality.

When his situation appeared almost hopeless, everything changed dramatically. Caesar's fortune and Venus Victrix, his goddess as well as Sulla, had not abandoned him. Their final battle took place in Pharsalus in 48 BC.

It is a known fact that Caesar achieved an outright victory, while the *optimates* dispersed and drew lots to see who gained the remaining provinces under their control in order to continue with resistance in a war that seemed almost finished, but ended up becoming more difficult. Pompey fled to Ptolemaic Egypt, where he was caught and arrested. After

²⁷ Plutarch's Lives, *The Life of Cato the Younger* LIV, 4.

²⁸ The current Dürres (in Albanian) or Durazzo (in Italian).

²⁹ Cato was in command of the city's port in that battle.

this, the Hellenistic monarch cruel servants delivered Pompey's head in a wicker basket to Caesar, as a kind of favour to the Roman dynast. It is also known that Caesar received the "gift" with tears in his eyes, and was extremely outraged by such a ruthless and cowardly crime. Despite the war, he certainly appreciated Pompey, his old comrade and son-in-law, and respected him for his great deeds and importance in Rome. Certainly, he would have wanted to forgive him.³⁰ Caesar punished Pompey's assassins and later restored his memory in different ways, which although depicted differently in Plutarch's and Appian's writings, let the feeling of a sincere intention.

Meanwhile, Cato inherited Sicily, the first overseas province achieved at the end of the First Punic War in 241 BC which was so Romanised that it received global citizenship from the consul Mark Antony soon afterwards. Noting the prosperity of farming and trade, and being aware of the importance of oil and wheat harvests for the state, Cato handed over the island peacefully to a Caesarean fleet that wanted to invade it. The island was inhabited by a large number of Roman and Italian citizens, so after a friendly settlement, Cato was allowed to move to Africa with his troops and cohorts intact. Thanks to the nobility of this action, the Sicilians were spared great slaughter and devastation.

After a long and tough walk through the desert, in which Cato proved to be an example of self-sacrifice and effort once again (he was leading the army on foot, refusing to ride any horse), he reencountered Metellus Scipio, to whom he had dedicated some harsh verses due to Lepida and their frustrated engagement. In spite of being part of the Scipio and Metellus family, Scipio had not inherited his ancestors' virtues, but had an armed contingent at his disposal and the military and logistical assistance of King Juba I of Numidia – he belonged to a vast dynasty composed by local kings who were friends with Rome, and whose Punic roots were imbued with Greek culture and Roman education.

The situation was not a desperate one, as they had enough water, provisions, safe strongholds well-equipped, and a large amount of troops. Once more, as time was on their side, Cato recommended prudence combined with a war of attrition – everyday, there were new uprisings and

³⁰ The despicable palace eunuchs were the ones who convinced King Ptolemy XIII Theos Philopator (51–47 BC) to kill Pompey in order to please Caesar. This was a terrible mistake. After all, none of them were familiar with the Roman mentality. Cassius Dio (XLII 4–5) was sceptical about Julius Caesar's mourning and grief, but we must bear in mind that Cassius was already a writer in an ungodly and disillusioned era, the third century AD, which was characterized by an existential agony and strong senatorial bias towards rulers.

defections as Caesar's enemies proliferated. Pompey the Younger was recruiting troops and Hispania had risen up. Given Cato's openness and common sense in his strategic plans, the legionnaires and the auxiliary forces in Africa asked him to lead the combined army.

But Cato remained faithful to himself, the law, and the Republic to the end. Scipio was an ex-consul, while Cato only had the rank of ex-praetor, so he handed over leadership following the usual procedure of the Roman army. The cruel and arrogant Scipio disregarded Cato's prudent and wise advice, and decided to fight Caesar in Thapsus.

In sight of Caesar's adversaries' cruel and covetous nature, Cato, resigned and hopeless, did not want to participate in the battle and went off to Utica. Once he was there, Cato prepared the city thoughtfully to withstand a siege, repaired the walls with wooden frames, and ordered a moat to be dug. He placed troops on the walls and looked after all the Roman senators who were accompanying him in order to allow them to escape to Hispania with the fleet if it was their will, or if it was absolutely necessary to reach shelter. Knowing that the Republic was lost, even if they were lucky enough and miraculously won the war, Cato was sure that the only honourable way to escape was by committing suicide.

At this point, however, Cato never doubted Caesar's victory in Thapsus as his adversaries were too foolish, arrogant and incompetent, and Caesar was a remarkable general and man of high intelligence. The best Roman legions, who worshipped him as a god, were under his command. Everything was lost.³¹

9. Cato's Death

After the Battle of Thapsus and Caesar's landslide victory, everyone fled in disarray. Scipio and King Juba were cornered, and both had to commit suicide. As all their supporters had abandoned them to join the enemy, they found themselves absolutely helpless. Moreover, both knew that they would not receive clemency, as the Roman prisoners from the defeated army were executed indiscriminately. Caesar was getting impatient, and thus abandoned his proverbial leniency (Syme 1979).

Once the Roman senators and traders had fixed the security of the city and made sure that everyone could embark at the port, Cato prepared a kind of "Last Supper," accompanied by his friends, son, and the philosophers who had escaped with him. He was well aware that the Punic

³¹ Consult Fields's work (2010) for more information about Caesar's military genius.

population was not willing to withstand Caesar's siege – although it could prolong the arrival to the bitter end – so, after philosophizing and drinking wine with his colleagues for the last time, Cato decided that it was time to end his own life.

His companions were suspicious about Cato's designs from the beginning and tried to prevent it in various ways (for example, they kept him under surveillance, and his most loyal servants tried to hide his sword), but in vain, as Cato's decision was extremely solid.

Thanks to Plutarch's tales, we know that Cato slapped one of his servants – for sure, despair played a dirty trick on him. When he was left alone he attempted to stab himself in his breast, but as his hand was injured he could not do it well enough, and his first suicide attempt was neutralized.³² When the doctor found out what he had done he managed to sew up the wound. After the shock, Cato came to his senses and, seeing that he was healed, pushed everyone away from him. Then, he tore his wound open and took out his bowels, dying instantly. It was the year 46 BC, and Cato was forty-eight years old.

Caesar, arriving in the town with his army, was not happy at all on hearing the news. Although he abhorred Cato and even wrote a document against him after seeing how his memory was honoured in Rome, during the peaceful redemption of Utica Caesar pronounced another of his famous statements: "Cato, I grudge you your death, as you have grudged me the preservation of your life."

10. Conclusions

In the times of the Roman Empire, when leaders enjoyed near-absolute power and the Senate role was merely consulting or testimonial duties, Marcus Porcius Cato became a symbol of the lost Republican virtue. His memory has pervaded in so many facets of life and in various ways. His style of discourse and oratory skills were admired for a long time. The Emporer Hadrian preferred Cato's austere style over others – it is noted that the sovereign received a cultivated education and had a vast knowledge about Greek and Roman culture, as well as in many other disciplines, so such a preference can be considered a compliment, especially coming as it does from a real, instructed expert. This is also a sign of the continuity of Rhetoric and Cato's memory in Rome in the second century AD.³³

³² Cato had been up all night, reading Plato's dialogue On the Soul.

³³ Augustan History, *Hadrian* 16, 6. The Roman Emperor Hadrian reigned from 117 to 138 AD.

Cato was still admired by the senatorial class. It was not in vain that, from Tiberius's until Theodosius's times, favourable references about him in different letters, speeches and works written by senatorial authors can be found, as evidenced by Gruen (1974) and Goar (1987).

When Late Antiquity led to the Middle Ages, Cato's austerity and integrity occasioned the creation of an educational book bearing his name, which contained clear, noble, and easy sentences, and whose function was to remind us of our obligations and to live an upright lifestyle. This way, we can see a Christianised Cato – a rather "aseptic" figure – from a religious point of view – who was mainly focused on the transmission of vital values by means of education (Hazelton 1957, 157–73).

The historic Cato started to reappear for the first time in the Renaissance period, which had a moderate reception among the most remarkable authors and artists from that time. But it was not until the eighteenth century that Cato emerged as a key figure linked to the new conceptions of human and mental categories associated with reason, freedom, and the emerging (or renascent) Republican ideology. The cradle and mother of every absolutism and the worst genocides, as stated at the beginning of our work, the new thinking that emerged from the French Revolution seems paradoxical if compared with its final "sprouts." Cato would have been astonished and upset to see his name mentioned in a civil war that ended with the extermination of half of the population of such a large country as France.

But, as in everything, the human proposes but God disposes – the historical perspective and the passing of time mould people's thoughts, who, despite the prevailing technology and modernity, look back and yearn for the past desperately, looking for a guide or a light that might illuminate their distressed and weak existence.

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