



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### **Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### **About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B 1,301,483







**THE TUDOR  
TRANSLATIONS**

**EDITED BY**

**W. E. HENLEY**

**XII**



Plutarchus  
=

# PLUTARCH'S

LIVES OF THE NOBLE  
GRECIANS AND ROMANS  
ENGLISHED BY  
SIR THOMAS NORTH

ANNO 1579

With an Introduction by  
GEORGE WYNDHAM

SIXTH VOLUME



LONDON  
Published by DAVID NUTT  
IN THE STRAND  
1896



GRAD

Graduate

Library

DE

7

.P733

1895

v.6

BUHR

Edinburgh: T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to Her Majesty

tr. to grad  
2-28-01

**THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE  
GRECIANS AND ROMANES**  
compared by **PLUTARKE** of **CHÆRONEA**

**VOLUME VI**

<b>DEMETRIUS . . . . .</b>	<i>see</i> <b>VOL. V.</b>	} <i>compared</i> <b>PAGE 89</b>
<b>ANTONIUS . . . . .</b>	<b>PAGE 1</b>	
<b>ARTAXERXES . . . . .</b>	<b>93</b>	
<b>DION . . . . .</b>	<b>128</b>	} <i>compared</i> <b>„ 236</b>
<b>MARCUS BRUTUS . . . . .</b>	<b>182</b>	
<b>ARATUS . . . . .</b>	<b>241</b>	
<b>GALBA . . . . .</b>	<b>293</b>	
<b>OTHO . . . . .</b>	<b>321</b>	
<b>ANNIBAL . . . . .</b>	<b>343</b>	} <i>compared</i> <b>„ 431</b>
<b>SCIPIO AFRICAN . . . . .</b>	<b>395</b>	



# THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS



ANTONIUS grandfather was that famous Antonius Orator whome Marius slue, bicause he tooke Syllaes parte. His father was an other Antonius surnamed \*Cretan, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the common wealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberall in giving, as appeareth by an acte he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his wife would not let him use his liberalitie and francke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to praye him to helpe him to some money, having great neede: Antonius by chaunce had no money to give him, but he commaunded one of his men to bringe him some water in a silver basen, and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he ment to have shaven it, and then found an arrant for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the silver basen, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great sturre in the house among the servaunts, seeking out this silver basen. Insomuch as Antonius seeing his wife marvelously offended for it, and that she would examine all her servaunts, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was Iulia, of the noble house and familie of Iulius Cæsar: who for her vertue and chastitie, was to be compared with the noblest Lady of her time. M. Antonius was brought up under her, being

Antonius parentage.

\*Bicause that by his death he ended the warre which he unfortunatly made against those of Creta.

The liberalitie of Antonius father.

Iulia, the mother of M. Antonius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

married after her first husbands death, unto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus, and others, for that he was of Catilines conspiracie against the common wealth. And this seemeth to be the originall cause and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate Antonius bare unto Cicero. For Antonius selfe sayth, that he would never give him the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went first to intreat Ciceroes wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lye. For Cicero denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a fayer younge man, and in the pryme of his youth: he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given over to all lust and insolencie, who to have Antonius the better at his commaundement, trayned him on into great follies, and vaine expences upon women, in rioting and banketing. So that in short time, he brought Antonius into a marvelous great det, and too great for one of his yeres, to wete: of two hundred and fifty talents, for all which summe Curio was his suretie. His father hearing of it, did put his sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great sturre and mischief in Rome: but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Græce, and there bestowed the most parte of his tyme, sometime in warres, and otherwhile in the studie of eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his speeche, called Asiatik, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolishhe braverie, and vaine ambition. After he had remayned there some tyme, Gabinius Proconsul going into Syria, perswaded him to goe with him. Antonius tolde him he would not goe as a private man: wherefore Gabinius gave him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So, first of all he sent him against Aristobulus, who had made the

Antonius  
corrupted  
by Curio.

Antonius  
used in his  
pleading  
the Asiatik  
phrase.

Antonius had  
charge of  
horsemen,  
under Gabi-  
nius Pro-  
consul, going  
nto Syria.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Iewes to rebell, and was the first man him selfe that got up to the wall of a castell of his, and so drave Aristobulus out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he overcame al the Iewes in set battel, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke Aristobulus him selfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards Ptolomy king of Ægypt, that had bene driven out of his contry, went unto Gabinius to intreate him to goe with his armie with him into Ægypt, to put him againe into his kingdom: and promised him if he would goe with him, tenne thowsand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to goe thither, and Gabinius him selfe made it daintie to enter into this warre: although the covetousnes of these tenne thowsand talents stucke sorely with him. But Antonius that sought but for oportunitie and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie Ptolomyes request: he went about to perswade Gabinius to goe this voyage. Now they were more affrayd of the way they should goe, to come to the citie of Pelusium, then they feared any daunger of the warre besides: bicause they were to passe through deepe sandes and desert places, where was no freshe water to be had all the marisses thorough, which are called the marisses Serbonides, which the Ægyptians call the exhalations or fume, by the which the Gyant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place, where it is devided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius was sent before into Ægypt with his horsemen, who did not onely winne that passage, but also tooke the citie of Pelusium, (which is a great citie) with all the souldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the hope of the victorie also certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies them selves feele the frutes of Antonius curtesie, and the desire he had to winne honor. For when Ptolomy (after he had entred into the citie of Pelusium) for the malice he bare unto the citie, would have put all the Ægyptians in it to the sword: Antonius withstoode him, and by no meanes would suffer him to doe it.

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**

Antonius acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius tooke Aristobulus prisoner.

Antonius acts in Ægypt under Gabinius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

And in all other great battells and skirmishes which they fought, and were many in number, Antonius did many noble actes of a valliant and wise Captaine: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victorie that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valliantnes deserved. So was his great curtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed unto Archelaus. For having bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while he lived: but after his death he sought for his bodye, and gave it honorable buriall. For these respects he wanne him selfe great fame of them of Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the souldiers in the Romanes campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene in Hercules pictures, stamped or graven in mettell. Now it had bene a speeche of old time, that the familie of the Antonii were discended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules, whereof the familie tooke name. This opinion did Antonius seeke to confirme in all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we have sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe him selfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke gyrt downe lowe upon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some ill favored cloke. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to yeast with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with every body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eat and drinke with them souldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull love it wanne him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to love him. For he would further every mans love, and also would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advauncement, was his liberalitie, who

Antonius  
curtesie unto  
Archelaus  
being dead.

Antonius  
shape and  
presence.

The house of  
the Antonii  
discended  
from  
Hercules.

Antonius  
liberalitie.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

gave all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for him selfe: and when he was growen to great credit, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did overthrowe by a thowsand other faults he had. In this place I will shewe you one example onely of his wonderful liberalitie. He commaunded one day his coferer that kept his money, to give a friend of his 25 Myriades: which the Romanes call in their tongue, Decies. His coferer marveling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money in a heape together, to shewe him what a marvelous masse of money it was. Antonius seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the spight of his man, I thought, sayd he, that Decies had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therefore he gave his friend as much more another tyme, but that was afterwarde. Nowe the Romanes mainteyning two factions at Rome at that tyme, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did joyne with Pompey being then in Rome: and the contrary side taking part with the people, sent for Cæsar to ayde them, who made warres in Gaule. Then Curio Antonius friend, that had changed his garments, and at that tyme tooke parte with Cæsar, whose enimie he had bene before: he wanne Antonius, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and swaye he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which Cæsar gave him: that Antonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtheraunce to Cæsars practises. For so soone as Antonius became Tribune he did oppose him selfe against those thinges which the Consul Marcellus preferred: (who ordeyned that certaine legions which had bene already leavied and billed, should be given unto Cneus Pompey, with further commission and authoritie to leavey others unto them) and set downe an order, that the souldiers which were already leavied and assembled, should be sent into Syria, for a newe supplie unto Marcus Bibulus, who made

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius  
Tribune of  
the people,  
and Augure.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

warre at that tyme against the Parthians. And furthermore, prohibition that Pompey should leavy no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompeys friends and followers would not suffer Cæsars letters to be received, and openly red in the Senate: Antonius having power and warrant by his person, through the holines of his tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men chaunge their mindes: for it appeared to them that Cæsar by his letters required no unreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideracion unto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey, or Cæsar, should leave their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete Pompey should leave his armie, but they all in manner commaunded Cæsar to doe it. Then Antonius rising up, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cæsar both, should leave their armies. Thereunto all the Senators joyntly together gave their whole consent, and with a great crye commending Antonius, they prayed him to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allowe of that. Therefore Cæsars friendes preferred other reasonable demaunds and requests againe, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls drave Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grevous curses against him. After that, he tooke a slaves gowne, and speedily fled to Cæsar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hyered coeh. When they came to Cæsar, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand over head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their mindes, and were driven away in great daunger of their lives, as many as stode with lawe and justice. Hereuppon Cæsar incontinently went into Italy with his army, which made Cicero say in his *Philippides*: that as Hellen was cause of the warre of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the civill warres, which in deede was a starke lye. For Cæsar was not so fickle headed, nor so easily carried away with anger, that he would so sodainly have gone and made warre with his contry, upon the sight onely of Antonius and Cassius, being fled unto him in miserable apparell, and in a hyered coche: had he not long before

Antonius acts  
for Cæsar.

Antonius  
flyeth from  
Rome unto  
Cæsar.

Cicero re-  
proved for  
lying.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

determined it with him selfe. But sith in deed Cæsar looked of long time but for some culler, this came as he wished, and gave him just occasion of warre. But to say truely, nothing els moved him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one selfe cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to raigne, with a senseles covetousnes to be the best man in the world, the which he could not come unto, before he had first put downe Pompey, and utterly overthrown him. Now, after that Cæsar had gotten Rome at his commaundement, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, he purposed first to goe into Spayne, against the legions Pompey had there: and in the meane time to make provision for shippes and marine preparacion, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Prætor, governor of Rome: and Antonius that was Tribune, he gave him charge of all the souldiers, and of Italy. Then was Antonius straight marvelously commended and beloved of the souldiers, because he commonly exercised him self among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and also be liberall unto them, according to his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchased divers other mens evill willes, because that through negligence he would not doe them justice that were injured, and delt very churlishly with them that had any sute unto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to intise mens wives. To conclude, Cæsars friends that governed under him, were cause why they hated Cæsars government (which in deede in respect of him selfe was no lesse then a tyrannie) by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faultes, deserved most blame. But Cæsar notwithstanding, when he returned from the warres of Spayne, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valliant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefest affayres, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the Ionian sea unto Brundusium, being but slenderly accompanied: and sent unto Antonius, and

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Alexander,  
Cyrus, and  
Cæsar: all  
contended  
to raigne.

Cæsars  
ambition the  
onely cause  
of the civill  
warre.

Cæsar gave  
the charge of  
Italy unto  
Antonius.

Antonius  
vices.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Gabinus, that they should imbarke their men as soone as they could, and passe them over into Macedon. Gabinus was affrayd to take the sea, bicause it was very roughe, and in the winter time: and therefore fetched a great compassse about by land. But Antonius fearing some daunger might come unto Cæsar, bicause he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he drave away Libo, who roade at ancker with a great armie, before the haven of Brundisium. For he manned out such a number of pynasies, barks, and other small boates about every one of his gallies, that he drave him thence. After that, he imbarked into shippes twenty thowsand footemen, and eyght hundred horsemen, and with this armie he hoysed sayle. When the enemies sawe him, they made out to followe him: but the sea rose so highe, that the billowes put backe their gallies that they could not come neare him, and so he scaped that daunger. But withall he fell uppon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the sea wrought very highe: so that he was out of all hope to save him selfe. Yet by good fortune, sodainely the winde turned Southwest, and blewe from the gulfte, driving the waves of the river into the mayne sea. Thus Antonius loosing from the lande, and sayling with safetie at his pleasure, soone after he sawe all the coastes full of shippewracks. For the force and boysterousnes of the winde, did cast away the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and divers also cast away, and Antonius tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great summe of money also. Besides all these, he tooke the citie of Lyssus, and brought Cæsar a great supplie of men, and made him coragious, comming at a pynche with so great a power to him. Nowe there were divers hotte skyrmisses and encownters, in the which Antonius fought so valliantly, that he caried the prayse from them all: but specially at two severall tymes, when Cæsars men turned their backes, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: so that the victorie fell on Cæsars side. For this cause he had the seconde place in the campe amonge the souldiers, and they spake of no other man unto Cæsar, but of him:

Antonius  
taketh sea  
with his  
army at  
Brundisium,  
and goeth  
unto Cæsar.

Antonius  
manhood  
in warres.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

who shewed playnely what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of Pharsalia (which in deede was the last tryall of all, to give the Conqueror the whole Empire of the worlde) he him selfe did leade the right wing of his armie, and gave Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valliantest man, and skilfullest souldier of all those he had about him. After Cæsar had wonne the victorie, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey steppe by steppe: howbeit before, he named Antonius generall of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The generall of the horsemen is the second office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the onely man that remayneth, and all the other officers and Magistrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that tyme Tribune, and a younge man desirous of change and innovation: he preferred a law which the Romanes call *Novas tabulas* (as much to saye, as a cutting of and cancelling of all obligations and specialties, and were called the newe tables, bicause they were driven then to make bookes of daily receit and expense) and perswaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this lawe. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chaunced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, and tooke suche a conceite of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house being his Cosin Germane, and the daughter of C. Antonius, who was Consul with Cicero: and joyning with Asinius, he resisted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolabella had gotten the market place where the people doe assemble in counsel, and had filled it ful of armed men, intending to have this law of the newe tables to passe by force. Antonius by commaundement of the Senate, who had given him authoritie to leavy men, to use force against Dolabella: he went against him, and fought so valliantly, that men were slaine on both sides. But by this meanes, he got the il will of the common people, and on the other side, the noble men (as Cicero saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius led the left wing of Cæsars battell at Pharsalia where Pompey lost the field.

The dignitie of the general of the horsemen.

Dissention betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquetts and drunken feasts he made at unseasonable times, and his extreme wastful expences upon vaine light huswives, and then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his dronkennes, thinking to weare away the fume of the aboundance of wine which he had taken over night. In his house they did nothing but feast, daunce, and maske: and him selfe passed away the time in hearing of foolish playes, or in marrying these plaiers, tomblers, jeasters, and such sort of people. As for profe hereof it is reported, that at Hippia's marriage, one of his jeasters, he drank wine so lustely all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people assembled in counsel, who had sent for him: he being quesie stomaked with his surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gowne in stead of a basen. He had another pleasaunt player called Sergius, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called Cytheride, of the same profession, whom he loved derely: he caried her up and downe in a litter unto all the townes he went, and had as many men waiting upon her litter, she being but a player, as were attending upon his owne mother. It greved honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the contry, he caried with him a great number of cubbords ful of silver and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had ben the pompe or shewe of some triumphe: and that eftsoones in the middest of his jorney he would set up his hailes and tents hard by some greene grove or pleasaunt river, and there his Cookes should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harnessed in trases to drawe his carts: and besides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where he came, he would have common harlots, curtisans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it greved men much, to see that Cæsar should be out of Italy following of his enemies, to end this great warre, with such great perill and daunger: and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authoritie, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts unto their Citizens. This me thinkes was the cause that made the conspiracie against Cæsar increase

Antonius  
abominable  
life.

Antonius  
laid up his  
stomack  
before the  
whole  
assembly.

Antonius  
insolency.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

more and more, and layed the reynes of the brydle upon the souldiers neckes, whereby they durst boldlier commit many extorsions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore Cæsar after his returne pardoned Dolabella, and being created Consul the third time, he tooke not Antonius, but chose Lepidus, his colleague and fellow Consul. Afterwards when Pompeys house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very straung, and was offended with them, and writeth him selfe that he would not goe with Cæsar into the warres of Africk, bicause he was not well recompenced for the service he had done him before. Yet Cæsar did somewhat bridle his madnes and insolencie, not suffering him to passe his faulte so lightly away, making as though he sawe them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married Fulvia that was Clodius widowe, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewivery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: so that Cleopatra was to give Fulvia thanks for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commaundement. Nowe, bicause Fulvia was somewhat sower, and crooked of condition, Antonius devised to make her pleasaunter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would playe her many prety youthfull partes to make her mery. As he did once, when Cæsar returned the last time of all Conqueror out of Spayne, every man went out to meete him: and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the sodeine there ranne a rumor through Italy, that Cæsar was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereuppon he returned with speede to Rome, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying that he had brought Fulvia letters from Antonius. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowen: but she taking the matter heavily, asked him if Antonius were well. Antonius gave her the letters, and sayd never a word. So when she had opened the letters, and beganne to read

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Cæsar, and  
Lepidus,  
Consuls.

Antonius  
byeth  
Pompeys  
house.

Antonius  
married  
Fulvia,  
Clodius  
widow.

Fulvia ruled  
Antonius, at  
home, and  
abroad.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

them : Antonius ramped of her necke, and kissed her. We have told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Nowe when Cæsar was returned from his last warre in Spayne, all the chiefest nobilitie of the citie road many dayes journey from Rome to meete him, where Cæsar made marvelous much of Antonius, above all the men that came unto him. For he alwayes tooke him into his coche with him, through out all Italy : and behind him, Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, the sonne of his Nece, who afterwards was called Cæsar, and became Emperor of Rome long time after. So Cæsar being afterwards chosen Consul the fift time, he immediatly chose Antonius his colleague and companion : and desired by deposing him selfe of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his roome, and had already moved it to the Senate. But Antonius did stowtly withstand it, and openly reviled Dolabella in the Senate : and Dolabella also spared him as litle. Thereuppon Cæsar being ashamed of the matter he let it alone. Another time also when Cæsar attempted againe to substitute Dolabella Consul in his place, Antonius cryed out, that the signes of the birdes were against it : so that at length Cæsar was compelled to give him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvelously offended with him. Now in truth, Cæsar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Cæsar aunswered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for some matter of conspiracie : Tushe said he, they be not those fat fellowes and fine comed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death, and slue him. Antonius unwares afterwards, gave Cæsars enemies just occasion and culler to doe as they did : as you shall heare. The Romanes by chaunce celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and Cæsar being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chiefe Officers for that

Cæsar, and  
Antonius,  
Consula.

Antonius  
unwittingly  
gave Cæsars  
enemies  
occasion to  
conspire  
against him.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

yeare: who running naked up and downe the citie annoited with the oyle of olyve, for pleasure do strike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they have in their hands. Antonius being one amonge the rest that was to ronne, leaving the auncient ceremonies and old customes of that solemnitie: he ranne to the Tribune where Cæsar was set, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, having a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he was come to Cæsar, he made his fellow ronners with him lift him up, and so he did put this laurell crowne upon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But Cæsar making as though he refused it, turned away his heade. The people were so rejoyced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius againe did put it on his head: Cæsar againe refused it, and thus they were striving of and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurell crowne unto him, a fewe of his followers rejoyced at it: and as oft also as Cæsar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things subjects should doe by commaundement of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. Cæsar in a rage rose out of his seate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike of his head that would. This laurel crowne was afterwards put upon the head of one of Cæsars statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they wayted on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Cæsar did turne them out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for Brutus and Cassius to conspire his death, who fel into a consort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make Antonius privy to it or not. Al the rest liked of it, saving Trebonius only. He told them, that when they rode to meete Cæsar at his returne out of Spayne, Antonius and he alwaies keping company, and lying together by the way,

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius  
Lupercian  
putteth the  
diademe upon  
Cæsars head.

Brutus and  
Cassius con-  
spire Cæsars  
death.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

he felt his mind a farre of: but Antonius finding his meaning, would harken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding never made Cæsar acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to him self. After that they consulted whether they should kil Antonius with Cæsar. But Brutus would in no wise consent to it, saying: that ventring on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and justice, it ought to be clere from all villanie. Yet they fearing Antonius power, and the authoritie of his office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that when Cæsar were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe Antonius in a talke out of the Senate house. Even as they had devised these matters, so were they executed: and Cæsar was slaine in the midst of the Senate. Antonius being put in a feare withall, cast a slaves gowne upon him, and hid him selfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers slue no man els, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he sent his sonne unto them for a pledge, and bad them boldly come downe upon his word. The selfe same day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bad Brutus. The next morning the Senate was assembled, and Antonius him selfe preferred a lawe that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint provinces, unto Cassius and Brutus: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordeyned, that they should cancell none of Cæsars lawes. Thus went Antonius out of the Senate more praysed, and better esteemed, than ever man was: bicause it seemed to every man that he had cut of all occasion of civill warres, and that he had shewed him selfe a marvelous wise governor of the common wealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great waight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceived of him selfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him selfe the chiefest man if he might overcome Brutus: did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when Cæsars body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in commendacion of Cæsar, according to the auncient custom of praising noble men at

Consultation  
about the  
murther of  
Antonius with  
Cæsar.

Antonius  
maketh  
uprora among  
the people,  
for the  
murther of  
Cæsar.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to heare Cæsar spoken of, and his praises uttered: he mingled his oration with lamentable wordes, and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their harts and affections unto pitie and compassion. In fine to conclude his oration, he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors, cruell and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently toke Cæsars body, and burnt it in the market place, with such tables and fourmes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they toke firebrands, and ran to the murtherers houses to set them afire, and to make them come out to fight. Brutus therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driven to fly the city. Then came all Cæsars friends unto Antonius, and specially his wife Calpurnia putting her trust in him, she brought the moste part of her money into his house, which amounted to the summe of foure thowsand talents, and furthermore brought him al Cæsars bokes and writings, in the which were his memorialls of all that he had done and ordeyned. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that meanes he created newe officers, made newe Senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were prisoners, and then he sayde that all those thinges were so appoynted and ordeyned by Cæsar. Therefore the Romanes mocking them that were so moved, they called them Charonites: bicause that when they were overcome, they had no other helpe but to saye, that thus they were found in Cæsars memorialls, who had sayled in Charons boate, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, bicause he was Consul, and Caius one of his brethren Prætor, and Lucius the other, Tribune. Now thinges remayning in this state at Rome, Octavius Cæsar the younger, came to Rome, who was the sonne of Iulius Cæsars Nece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawfull heire by will, remayning at the tyme of the death of his great Uncle that was slayne, in the citie of Apollonia. This young man at his first arrivall

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Calpurnia,  
Cæsars wife.

Charonites,  
why so  
called.

M. Antonius  
Consul.  
Caius  
Antonius  
Prætor.  
Lucius  
Antonius  
Tribune:  
all three  
brethren.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father Cæsars friendes, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire: and withall, he was presently in hande with him for money and other thinges which were left of trust in his handes, bicause Cæsar had by will bequeathed unto the people of Rome, three score and fiftene silver Drachmas to be given to every man, the which he as heire stooode charged withall. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of him, bicause he was very younge: and sayde he lacked witte, and good friendes to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hande, as to undertake to be Cæsars heire. But when Antonius saw that he could not shake him of with those wordes, and that he was still in hande with him for his fathers goods, but specially for the ready money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when Octavius Cæsar beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chayer of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor Cæsar with: he threatned to send him to prison, and moreover desisted not to put the people in an uprore. This young Cæsar seeing his doings, went unto Cicero and others, which were Antonius enemies, and by them crept into favor with the Senate: and he him self sought the peoples good will every manner of way, gathering together the olde souldiers of the late deceased Cæsar, which were dispersed in divers cities and colonyes. Antonius being affrayd of it, talked with Octavius in the capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same lightening fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Cæsar lay in waite to kil him. Cæsar cleered him selfe unto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make Antonius beleve the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then ever they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through Italy, that were dispersed in divers townes: and made them large promises, and sought also to winne the legions of their side, which were already in armes.

16

Variance  
betwixt .

Antonius  
and Octavius  
Cæsar, heire  
unto Iulius  
Cæsar.

Octavius  
Cæsar joyned  
in friendship  
with Cicero.

Antonius and  
Octavius be-  
came friends.

Antonius  
dreame.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Cicero on the other side being at that time the chiefest man of authoritie and estimation in the citie, he stirred up al men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his contry, and appointed young Cæsar Sergeaunts to cary axes before him, and such other signes as were incident to the dignitie of a Consul or Prætor: and moreover sent Hircius and Pansa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls together with Cæsar, who also had an armye, went against Antonius that beseged the citie of Modena, and there overthrew him in battell: but both the Consuls were slaine there. Antonius flying upon this overthrowe, fell into great miserie all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by pacience he would overcome any adversitie, and the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he him selfe. Every man that feleth want or adversitie, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should doe: but when in deede they are overlayed with extremitie, and be sore oppressed, few have the harts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much lesse to avoid that they reprove and mislike. But rather to the contrary, they yeld to their accustomed easie life: and through faynt hart, and lacke of corage, doe chaunge their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the souldiers, to see Antonius that was brought up in all finenes and superfluitie, so easily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes: and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barcks of trees, and such beasts, as never man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to joyne with the legions that were on the other side of the Mountaines, under Lepidus charge: whom Antonius tooke to be his friend, bicause he had holpen him to many things at Cæsars hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him selfe, and to goe unto Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at Modena, he suffred his beard to grow at

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**

Antonius judged an enemy by the Senate.

Hircius and Pansa Consuls.

Antonius overthrowen in battell by the citie of Modena.

Antonius patient in adversitie.

Antonius hardnes in adversitie, notwithstanding his fine bringing up.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

length and never clypt it, that it was marvelous long, and the heare of his heade also without koming: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of Lepidus campe. Then he beganne to speake unto the souldiers, and many of them their hartes yerned for pitie to see him so poorely arrayed, and some also through his wordes beganne to pitie him: insomuch that Lepidus beganne to be affrayd, and therefore commaunded all the trompetts to sownd together to stoppe the souldiers eares, that they should not harken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the souldiers tooke the more pitie of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius and Lælius meanes, whom they sent unto him disguised in womens apparel, and gave him counsel that he should not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of souldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would say the word. Antonius would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a litle river that ranne betweene them: and him selfe was the foremost man that tooke the river to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus campe that gave him their handes, plucked up the stakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trenche to let him in to their campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commaundement: he used Lepidus very curteously, imbraced him, and called him father: and though in deede Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gave Lepidus the name and honor of the Captaine. Munatius Plancus, lying also in campe hard by with an armye: understanding the report of Antonius curtesie, he also came and joined with him. Thus Antonius being a foote againe, and growen of great power, repassed over the Alpes, leading into Italy with him seventeene legions, and tenne thowsand horsemen, besides six legions he left in garrison amonge the Gaules, under the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would drinke lustely with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed Cotylon: to wit, a bibber. So Octavius Cæsar would not leane to Cicero, when he saw that his whole travail and endeavor was onely to restore the common

Antonius wan  
all Lepidus  
army from  
him.

Varius,  
surnamed  
Cotylon.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

wealth to her former libertie. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together, (to wete, Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus) in an Iland envyrnoned round about with a litle river, and there remayned three dayes together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did devide all the Empire of Rome betwene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of blood, and holines of friendship at their feete. For Cæsar left Cicero to Antonius will, Antonius also forsooke Lucius Cæsar, who was his Uncle by his mother: and both of them together suffred Lepidus to kill his owne brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirme, that Cæsar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change then this was. For thus chaunging murther for murther, they did aswel kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kil: but so much more was their wickednes and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After this plat was agreed upon betwene them: the souldiers that were thereabouts, would have this friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by marriage, and that Cæsar should mary Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, and Antonius wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, they condemned three hundred of the chiefest citizens of Rome, to be put to death by proscription. And Antonius also commaunded them to whom he had geven commission to kil Cicero, that they should strik of his head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective Orations (called *Philippides*) against Antonius. So when the murtherers brought him Ciceroes head and hand cut of, he beheld them a long time with great joy, and laughed hartily, and that oftentimes for

MARCUS ANTONIUS

The conspiracie and meeting of Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus.

The proscription of the Triumviri.

Antonius cruelty unto Cicero.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

the great joy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, over the pulpit for Orations (where when he was alive, he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his owne fortune, shewing him selfe (to his great shame and infamie) a cruell man, and unworthie the office and authoritie he bare. His uncle Lucius Cæsar also, as they sought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fledde unto his sister. The murtherers comming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, she stooode at her chamber dore with her armes abroad, crying out still: You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar, before you first kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes she saved her brothers life. Now the government of these Triumviri grewe odious and hatefull to the Romanes, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, bicause he being elder then Cæsar, and of more power and force then Lepidus, gave him selfe againe to his former riot and excesse, when he left to deale in the affaires of the common wealth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolencie, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the great: a man as famous for his temperaunce, modestie, and civill life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the Captaines, Magistrates of the citie, and also Ambassadors of straunge nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tomblers, anticke dauncers, juglers, players, jeasters, and dronkards, quaffing and goseling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most parte of his money he got by all kind of possible extorcions, briberie and policie. For they did not onely sell by the crier, the goods of those whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murther, slaundersously deceived the poore widowes and young orphanes, and also raised all kind of impostes, subsidies, and taxes: but understanding also that the holy vestall Nunnes had certaine goods and money put in their custodie to keepe, both of mens in the citie, and those also that were abroad: they

Lucius Cæsars  
life saved, by  
his sister.

Antonius  
riot in his  
Triumvirate.

The praise of  
Pompey the  
great.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

went thither, and tooke them away by force. Octavius Cæsar perceiving that no money woulde serve Antonius turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money betwene them, and so did they also deuide the armie, for them both to goe into Macedon to make warre against Brutus and Cassius: and in the meane time they left the government of the citie of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the seas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Cæsar against Brutus: Cæsar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battell Cæsar was overthrowen by Brutus, and lost his campe, and verie hardly saved him selfe by flying from them that followed him. Howebeit he writeth him selfe in his *Commentaries*, that he fled before the charge was geuen, bicause of a dreame one of his friends had. Antonius on the other side overthrowe Cassius in battell, though some write that he was not there him selfe at the battell, but that he came after the overthrowe, whilest his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slaine by a faithfull seruaunt of his owne called Pindarus, whom he had infranchised: bicause he knewe not in time that Brutus had overcome Cæsar. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which Brutus was overthrowen, who afterwarde also slue him selfe. Thus Antonius had the chieftest glorie of all this victorie, specially bicause Cæsar was sicke at that time. Antonius having found Brutus body after this battel, blaming him muche for the murder of his brother Caius, whom he had put to death in Macedon for reuenge of Ciceroes cruell death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortensius then in him: he made Hortensius to be slaine on his brothers tumbre. Furthermore, he cast his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and sumptuous) upon Brutus bodie, and gave commaundement to one of his slaves infranchised, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, Antonius hearing that his infranchised bondman had not burnt his coate armor with his bodie, bicause it was verie riche, and worth a great summe of money, and that he had also kept backe much of the

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS;

The valliant-  
nes of Anto-  
nius against  
Brutus.

The death  
of Cassius.

Brutus slue  
him selfe.

Antonius  
gave honor-  
able buriall  
unto Brutus.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

ready money appointed for his funerall and tombe: he also put him to death. After that Cæsar was conveied to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor scape the sickenes he had. Antonius on thother side went towardes the East provinces and regions, to leavie money: and first of all he went into Græce, and caried an infinite number of souldiers with him. Now, bicause everie souldier was promised five thowsande silver Drachmas, he was driven of necessitie to impose extreame tallages and taxacions. At his first comming into Græce, he was not hard nor bitter unto the Græcians, but gave him selfe onely to heare wise men dispute, to see playes, and also to note the ceremonies and sacrifices of Græce, ministring justice to everie man, and it pleased him marvelously to heare them call him Phillellen, (as much to say, a lover of the Græcians) and specially the Athenians, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the Megarians, to excede the Athenians, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly sight: they prayed him to come and see their Senate house, and counsell hall. Antonius went thither to see it: so when he had seene it at his pleasure, they asked him, My Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (quoth he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore, he tooke measure of the temple of Apollo Pythias, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into Asia, having left Lucius Censorinus Governor in Græce, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East partes, and that Princes, great Lordes and Kinges, came to waite at his gate for his comming out, and that Queenes and Princesses to excell one an other, gave him verie riche presentes, and came to see him, curiously setting forth them selves, and using all art that might be to shewe their beawtie, to win his favor the more: (Cæsar in the meane space turmoyling his wits and bodie in civill warres at home, Antonius living merily and quietly abroad) he easely fell againe to his old licentious life. For straight one Anaxenor a player of the citherne, Xoutus a player of the flutes, Metrodorus a tumbler, and such a rabble of minstrells and fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia, (who in finenes and flattery passed all the other

Antonius  
great cur-  
tesie in  
Græce.

The plagues  
of Italie, in  
riot.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

plagues he brought with him out of Italie) all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway: and after that, all went awry. For every one gave them selves to riot and excesse, when they saw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the citie Sophocles speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Was full of sweete perfumes, and pleasant songs,  
With woefull weping mingled thereamong.

For in the citie of Ephesus, women attyred as they goe in the feastes and sacrifice of Bacchus, came out to meete him with such solemnities and ceremonies, as are then used: with men and children disguised like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreover, the citie was full of Ivey, and darts wreathed about with Ivey, psalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their songes they called him Bacchus, father of mirth, curteous, and gentle: and so was he unto some, but to the most parte of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to geve it unto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods living, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a citizens house of Magnesia unto a cooke, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the ende he doubled the taxacion, and imposed a seconde upon Asia. But then Hybræas the Orator sent from the estates of Asia, to tell him the state of their contrie, boldly sayd unto him: If thou wilt have power to lay two tributes in one yere upon us, thou shouldest also have power to geve us two sommers, two autumnes, and two harvests. This was gallantly and pleasauntly spoken unto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him well to heare it: but afterwards amplifying his speache, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose: Asia hath payed the two hundred thowsand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske accompt of them that leavied it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone. Hybræas words nettled Antonius roundly. For he understoode not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affaires:

Antonius  
crueltie  
in Asia.

Hybræas  
words unto  
Antonius,  
touching  
their great  
payments of  
money unto  
him.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius  
simplicity.

Antonius  
maners.

not so muche because he was carelesse, as for that he oversimply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without suttletie, and therefore overlate founde out the fowle faultes they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was muche offended, and would plainly confesse it unto them whome his officers had done injurie unto, by countenance of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceede more in geving, then in punishing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting of everie man: that was remedied by it selfe. For a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly, and truly in mirth: would never flatter him in good earnest, in any matter of weight. But thus he was easely abused by the praises they gave him, not finding howe these flatterers mingled their flatterie, under this familiar and plaine manner of speach unto him, as a fine devise to make difference of meates with sharpe and tart sauce, and also to kepe him by this franke jeasting and bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easely mislike to have too muche of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would geve him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so muche to please him, but because they were ignorant, and understoode not so muche as he did. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extreamest mischiefe of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stirre up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seene to any: and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight, and made it worse then before. The manner how he fell in love with her was this. Antonius going to make warre with the Parthians, sent to commaunde Cleopatra to appeare personally before him, when he came into Cilicia, to aunswere unto suche accusacions as were layed against her, being this:

Antonius love  
to Cleopatra  
whom he sent  
for into  
Cilicia.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their warre against him. The messenger sent unto Cleopatra to make this summons unto her, was called Dellius: who when he had throughly considered her beawtie, the excellent grace and sweetnesse of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would doe any hurte to so noble a Ladie, but rather assured him selfe, that within few dayes she should be in great favor with him. Thereupon he did her great honor, and perswaded her to come into Cilicia, as honorably furnished as she could possible, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of Antonius, for he was a more curteous Lord, then any that she had ever seene. Cleopatra on thother side beleiving Dellius wordes, and gessing by the former access and credit she had with Iulius Cæsar, and Cneus Pompey (the sonne of Pompey the great) only for her beawtie: she began to have good hope that she might more easely win Antonius. For Cæsar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the worlde ment: but nowe she went to Antonius at the age when a womans beawtie is at the prime, and she also of best judgement. So, she furnished her selfe with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthie and rich a realme as Ægypt was. But yet she caried nothing with her wherein she trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and inchantment of her passing beawtie and grace. Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius him selfe, and also from his frendes, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sounde of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, citherns, violls, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of her selfe: she was layed under a pavillion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddessse Venus, commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

The wonder-  
full sumptu-  
ousnes of  
Cleopatra,  
Queene of  
Ægypt,  
going unto  
Antonius.

Cydnus fl.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

boyes apparelled as painters doe set forth god Cupide, with litle fannes in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphes Nereides (which are the mermaides of the waters) and like the Graces, some stearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweete savor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongest the rivers side: others also ranne out of the citie to see her comming in. So that in thend, there ranne such multitudes of people one after an other to see her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate to geve audience: and there went a rumor in the peoples moutthes, that the goddess Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus, for the generall good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to him. But she sent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. Antonius therefore to shew him selfe curteous unto her at her arrivall, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongst all other thinges, he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, geving light in everie place, so artificially set and ordered by devises, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever books could mencion. The next night, Antonius feasting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and finenes: but she overcame him in both. So that he him selfe began to skorne the grosse service of his house, in respect of Cleopatraes sumptuousnes and finenesse. And when Cleopatra found Antonius jeasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine manner: she gave it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatchable of other women, nor yet suche, as upon present viewe did enamor men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conversacion, that a man

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatraes beawtie.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

could not possible but be taken. And besides her beawtie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her words and dedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voyce and words were marvelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musicke to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easely turned to any language that pleased her. She spake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them aunswere her selfe, or at the least the most parte of them: as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrues, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of Ægypt, could scarce learne the Ægyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the Macedonian. Nowe, Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great warres, and much a doe with Cæsar for his affaires, and that the armie of the Parthians, (the which the kings Lieutenauntes had geven to the onely leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia readie to invade Syria: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yielded him selfe to goe with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as Antiphon sayth: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feasting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for prooffe hereof, I have heard my grandfather Lampryas report, that one Philotas a Physicion, born in the citie of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied Physicke: and that having acquaintance with one of Antonius cookes, he tooke him with him to Antonius house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchin, and saw a world of diversities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares roasted whole: he began to wonder at it, and sayd, Sure you have a great number of

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

An order  
set up by  
Antonius and  
Cleopatra.

The excessive  
expences of  
Antonius and  
Cleopatra  
in Ægypt.

Eight wilde  
boares roasted  
whole.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE .

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

ghests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, No (quoth he) not many ghestes, nor above twelve in all : but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For Antonius peradventure will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath dronke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand : and therefore we doe not dresse one supper only, but many suppers, bicause we are uncerteine of the houre he will suppe in. Philotas the Phisition tolde my grandfather this tale, and sayd moreover, that it was his chauce shortly after to serve the eldest sonne of the sayd Antonius, whome he had by his wife Fulvia : and that he sate commonly at his table with his other frendes, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisition that was so full of words, that he made every man wearie of him at the bord : but Philotas to stoppe his mouth, put out a suttile proposition to him : It is good in some sorte to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew : everie man that hath an agew hath it in some sorte, ergo it is good for a man that hath an agew to drinke cold water. The Phisition was so gravelled and amated withall, that he had not a word more to say. Young Antonius burst out in such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he sayd unto him : Philotas, take all that, I give it thee : shewing him his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and silver. Philotas thanked him, and told him he thought himselfe greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have geven so many things, and of so great value. But muche more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his marke and stampe upon them, and to locke them up. Philotas returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproved if he tooke them. Then the young gentleman Antonius sayd unto him : Alas poore man, why doest thou make it nise to take them? Knowest thou not that it is the sonne of Antonius that geves them thee, and is able to do it? If

Philotas a  
Phisition,  
borne in  
Amphissa,  
reporter of  
this feast.  
Philotas,  
Phisition to  
the younger  
Antonius.

Philotas  
suttile pro-  
position.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

thou wilt not beleve me, take rather the readie money they come to : bicause my father peradventure may aske for some of the plate, for the antike and excellent workemanship of them. This I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to Cleopatra. Plato wryteth that there are foure kinds of flatterie : but Cleopatra devided it into many kinds. For she, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest, still devised sundrie new delights to have Antonius at commaundement, never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dyce with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And somtime also, when he would goe up and downe the citie disguised like a slave in the night, and would peere into poore mens windowes and their shops, and scold and brawle with them within the house : Cleopatra would be also in a chamber maides array, and amble up and downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mockes and blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this jolity, and liked it well, saying verie gallantly, and wisely : that Antonius shewed them a commicall face, to wit, a merie countenance : and the Romanes a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon up all the foolishe sportes they made, revelling in this sorte : it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, bicause Cleopatra stooode by. Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fishe on his hooke which they had taken before : and so snatched up his angling rodde, and brought up fish twice or thrise. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing : but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing.

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Plato writeth  
of foure kinds  
of flatterie.

Cleopatra  
Queene of all  
flatterers.

Antonius  
fishing in  
Ægypt.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius then threw in his line and Cleopatra straight commaunded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius men, and to put some old salte fish upon his baite, like unto those that are brought out of the contrie of Pont. When he had hong the fish on his hooke, Antonius thinking he had taken a fishe in deede, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him : Leave us (my Lord) *Ægyptians* (which dwell in the contry of Pharus and Canobus) your angling rodde : this is not thy profession : thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and contries. Nowe Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places. / The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius, and Fulvia his wife, fell out first betwene them selves, and afterwards fell to open warre with Cæsar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to flie out of Italie. The seconde newes, as bad as the first : that Labienus conquered all Asia with the armie of the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syria, unto the contries of Lydia and Ionia. Then began Antonius with much a doe, a litle to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great dronkennes. / So, first of all he bent him selfe against the Parthians, and went as farre as the contrie of Phœnicia : but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. Whereuppon he straight returned towards Italie, with two hundred saile : and as he went, tooke up his frendes by the way that fled out of Italie, to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this warre : who being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uprore in Italie, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune, his wife Fulvia going to meete with Antonius, sickened by the way, and dyed in the citie of Sicyone : and therefore Octavius Cæsar, and he were the easelier made frendes together. For when Antonius landed in Italie, and that men saw Cæsar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side layed all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia : the frendes of

The warres  
of Lucius  
Antonius  
and Fulvia,  
against  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

The death  
of Fulvia  
Antonius  
wife.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

both parties would not suffer them to unrippe any olde matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them: but they made them frendes together, and devided the Empire of Rome betwene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division.

For they gave all the provinces Eastward, unto Antonius: and the contries Westward, unto Cæsar: and left Africke unto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three one after another should make their frendes Consuls, when they would not be them selves. This seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia the eldest sister of Cæsar, not by one mother, for she came of Ancharia, and Cæsar him self afterwards of Accia. It is reported, that he dearly loved his sister Octavia, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who dyed not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had bene widower ever since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this Ægyptian Cleopatra. Thereuppon everie man did set forward this mariage, hoping thereby that this Ladie Octavia, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honestie, joined unto so rare a beawtie, that when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a Ladie deserveth) she should be a good meane to keepe good love and amitie betwext her brother and him. So when Cæsar and he had made the matche betwene them, they both went to Rome about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be married within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proceeded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inrode into Italie with a great number of pynnasies and other pirats shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pirats, Menas, and Menecrates, who so scoored all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a sayle. Further-

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

All the  
Empire of  
Rome devided  
betwene the  
Triumviri.

Octavia, the  
halfe sister  
of Octavius  
Cæsar, and  
daughter of  
Ancharia  
which was  
not Cæsars  
mother.

A law at  
Rome for  
marrying of  
widowes.

Antonius  
married  
Octavia,  
Octavius  
Cæsars halfe  
sister.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

more, Sextus Pompeius had delt verie frendly with Antonius, for he had curteously received his mother, when she fled out of Italie with Fulvia: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, upon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: Pompey having his shippes ryding hard by at ancker, and Antonius and Cæsar their armies upon the shoare side, directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicile and Sardinia, with this condicion, that he should ridde the sea of all theeves and pirats, and make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine [quantity] of wheate to Rome: one of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne. It was Pompeius chaunce to invite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: And where shall we suppe? There, said Pompey, and shewed him his admirall galley which had six bankes of owers: That (sayd he) is my fathers house they have left me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, bicause he had his fathers house, that was Pompey the great. So he cast ankers enowe into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wodde to convey them to his galley, from the heade of mount Misena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the midst of the feast, when they fell to be merie with Antonius love unto Cleopatra: Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his eare, said unto him: Shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of Sicile and Sardinia, but of the whole Empire of Rome besides? Pompey having pawsed a while upon it, at length aunswered him: Thou shouldest have done it, and never have told it me, but now we must content us with that we have. As for my selfe, I was never taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, and then he returned into Sicile. Antonius after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keepe them they should come no further: and he him selfe in the meane time, to gratefie Cæsar, was contented to be chosen Iulius Cæsars priest and sacrificer, and so they joyntly together dispatched all great

Antonius and  
Octavius  
Cæsar, doe  
make peace  
with Sextus  
Pompeius.

Sextus  
Pompeius  
taunt to  
Antonius.

Sextus  
Pompeius  
being offered  
wonderfull  
great fortune:  
for his  
honestie and  
faithes sake,  
refused it.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

matters, concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other maner of sportes and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other: Antonius was ever inferior unto Cæsar, and alway lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Ægypt, that coulede cast a figure, and judge of mens nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he founde it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of it selfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemished, and obscured by Cæsars fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy Demon said he, (that is to say, the good angell and spirit that kepeth thee) is affraied of his: and being coragious and high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timerous when he commeth neere unto the other. Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the Ægyptians words true. For, it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have any thing, or whether they plaied at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cockefight, or quailles that were taught to fight one with an other: Cæsars cockes or quailles did ever overcome, The which spighted Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therefore he beleved the Ægyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house unto Cæsar, and went out of Italie with Octavia his wife, whom he caried into Græce, after he had had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens, newes came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battel, in the which also were slaine, Labienus, and Pharnabates, the chiefest Captaine king Orodes had. For these good newes he feasted all Athens, and kept open house for all the Græcians, and many games of price were plaied at Athens, of the which he him selfe would be judge. Wherefore leaving his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the show place (or listes) where these games were played, in a long gowne and slippers after the Græcian facion, and they caried

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius told  
by a Sooth-  
sayer, that his  
fortune was  
inferior unto  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

Antonius  
unfortunate  
in sport and  
earnest,  
against  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

Orodes king  
of Parthia.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

tipestaves before him, as marshalls men do cary before the Iudges to make place: and he him selfe in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Olive, and caried a vessell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepsydra, because of an Oracle he had received that so commaunded him. In the meane time, Ventidius once againe overcame Pacorus, (Orodes sonne king of Parthia) in a battell fought in the contrie of Cyrrestica, he being come againe with a great armie to invade Syria: at which battell was slaine a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus, the kings owne sonne slaine. This noble exploit as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romanes, of the shame and losse they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians flie, and glad to kepe them selves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia, and Media, after they had thrise together bene overcome in severall battells. Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any further, fearing least he should have gotten Antonius displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his armie against them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongst whome he besieged Antiochus, king of Commagena, who offered him to give a thousand talentes to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at Antonius commaundement. But Ventidius made him aunswere, that he should send unto Antonius, who was not farre of, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this litle exploit should passe in his name, and that they should not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenaunt Ventidius. The siege grew verie long, because they that were in the towne, seeing they coule not be received upon no reasonable composition: determined valliantly to defende them selves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talentes for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state and affaires

Ventidius  
notable vic-  
torie of the  
Parthians.

The death  
of Pacorus,  
the king of  
Parthiaes  
sonne.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

of Syria, he returned againe to Athens: and having given Ventidius suche honors as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumphe for the Parthians. Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians untill this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained unto, through Antonius frendshippe, the which delivered him happie occasion to achieve to great matters. And yet to say truely, he did so well quit him selfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cæsar: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by them selves. For Sossius, one of Antonius Lieutenautes in Syria, did notable good service: and Canidius, whom he had also left his Lieutenaunt in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kinges of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of Antonius power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull unto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius notwithstanding, grewe to be marvelously offended with Cæsar, upon certaine reportes that had bene brought unto him: and so tooke sea to go towards Italie with three hundred saile. And bicause those of Brundusium, would not receive his armie into their haven, he went further unto Tarentum. There his wife Octavia that came out of Græce with him, besought him to send her unto her brother: the which he did. Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in jorney, and met with her brother Octavius Cæsar by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, Mæcenas and Agrippa with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become nowe the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, everie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worst councill take place, (which the goddess forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your selves, it is uncertaine to which of them

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**  
Ventidius the only man of the Romanes, that triumphed for the Parthians.

Canidius conquesta.

Newe displeasures betwext Antonius and Octavius Cæsar.

The wordes of Octavia unto Mæcenas and Agrippa.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

Octavia  
pacifieth  
the quarrell  
betwixt  
Antonius, and  
her brother  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

two the goddes have assigned the victorie, or overthrowe. But for me, on which side soever victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These words of Octavia so softned Cæsars harte, that he went quickly unto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by lande not to sturre, and so many shippes aflote in the roade, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindnesse of frendes, lovinglie embracing one an other. First, Antonius feasted Cæsar, which he graunted unto for his sisters sake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that Cæsar should geve Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians: and that Antonius should let Cæsar have a hundred gallies armed with brasen spurres at the prooes. Besides all this, Octavia obeyned of her husbände, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbände, a thowsande armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, Cæsar went immediatly to make warre with Sextus Pompeius, to gette Sicilia into his handes. Antonius also leaving his wife Octavia and litle children begotten of her, with Cæsar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia: he went directlie into Asia. Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischief of Cleopatraes love (which had slept a long tyme, and seemed to have bene utterlie forgotten, and that Antonius had geven place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as Antonius came neere unto Syria. And in the ende, the horse of the minde as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rayne (I meane the unreyned lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius heade, all honest and commendable thoughtes: for he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Unto whome, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that she had already, he added the provinces of Phœnicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the Ile of Cyprus, and a great parte of Cilicia, and that contry of Iurie where the true balme is, and that parte of Arabia where the Nabatheians doe dwell, which stretcheth out towards the Ocean. These great giftes muche misliked the Romanes. But now, though Antonius did easely geve away great seigniories, realmes,

Plato calleth  
concupi-  
scent: the  
horse of the  
minde.

Antonius sent  
for Cleopatra  
into Syria.

Antonius gave  
great pro-  
vinces unto  
Cleopatra.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes: (as from Antigonus king of the Iewes, whom he openly beheaded, where never king before had suffred like death) yet all this did not so much offend the Romanes, as the unmeasurable honors which he did unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill will towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter, he named his sonne Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra, and gave them to their surnames, the Sunne to the one, and the moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine words, said that the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romanes tooke, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongst men, by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seede in divers places: and that by this meanes his first auncester was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing Solons lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreacion of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the fundacion of many noble races and families in divers places. Nowe when Phraortes had slaine his father Orodes, and possessed the kingdom: many gentlemen of Parthia forsooke him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Monæses, a noble man, and of great authority among his contry men, who came unto Antonius, that received him, and compared his fortune unto Themistocles, and his owne riches and magnificence, unto the kings of Persia. For he gave Monæses three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which was called before Bombyce. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home againe, upon his faith and word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale upon Phraortes unprovided. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remaine good frends, and have peace together, so he would but only redeliver the standers and ensignes of the Romanes, which the Parthians had wonne in the battell where Marcus Crassus was slaine,

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**  
Antigonus king of Iurie, the first king beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius twinnes by Cleopatra, and their names.

Phraortes slue his father Orodes king of Persia.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this overthrow. In the meane time he sent Cleopatra backe into Ægypt, and tooke his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there tooke a general muster of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederats, that were come by his commaundement to aide him, being a marvelous number: of the which, the chieftest was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who did furnish him with six thowsande horsemen, and seven thowsand footemen. There were also of the Romanes about three score thowsand footmen, and of horsemen (Spaniards and Gaules reckoned for Romanes) to the number of ten thousand, and of other nations thirty thousand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light armed footemen. This so great and puisant army which made the Indians quake for feare, dwelling about the contry of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble: served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had to lye all winter with her, made him begin his warre out of due time, and for hast, to put all in hazard, being so ravished and enchanted with the sweete poyson of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne againe: more then how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having comen eight thowsand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and invade Media, before the Parthians should stirre out of their houses and garrisons: he could tary no lenger, but led them forthwith unto the province of Atropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and foraged al the contry. Furthermore, making all the hast he coulde, he left behinde him engines of battery which were caried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ramme foure score foote long) being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get againe for money if they were once lost or marred. For the hie provinces of Asia have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind

Antonius  
great and  
puisant army.

Antonius  
dronke with  
the love of  
Cleopatra.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him, as a hinderance to bring his matters and intent speedily to passe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gave them in charge unto one Tatianus. Then he went to besiege the citie of Phraata, being the chiefest and greatest citie the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight founde his owne fault, and the want of his artillerie he left behinde him, by the worke he had in hande: for he was fayne for lacke of a breache (where his men might come to the sworde with their enemies that defended the walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the citie, the which by litle and litle with greate labour, rose to some height. In the meane time king Phraortes came downe with a great armie: who understanding that Antonius had left his engines of batterie behind him, he sent a great number of horsemen before, which environed Tatianus with all his cariage, and slue him, and ten thowsand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people tooke these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they tooke also king Polemon. This discomfiture marvelously troubled all Antonius army, to receive so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their journey: insomuche that Artabazus, king of the Armenians, despairing of the good successe of the Romanes: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was him selfe the first procurer of this warre and jorney. On the other side, the Parthians came coragiously unto Antonius campe, who lay at the siege of their chiefest citie, and cruelly reviled and threatned him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens harts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or ensignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the gard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping therby he should easely allure the Parthians to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a dayes jorney from his campe, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to geve him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he set out his signall of battell, and yet caused his tents and fardells to be trussed up, as though he

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**  
Antonius besiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.

The Parthians tooke Antonius engines of battery.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshald like a cressant or halfe moone: and commaunded his horsemen, that as soone as they thought the legions were nere enough unto their enemies to set upon the voward, that then they should set spurres to their horses, and begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the Romanes as they marched: they appeared to be souldiers in deede, to see them marche in so good array as was possible. For in their march, they kept the rankes a like space one from an other, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking never a word. But so soone as the allarom was given, the horsemen sodainly turned head upon the Parthians, and with great cries gave charge on them: who at the first received their charge coragiously, for they were joined nerer then within an arrowes shoote. But when the legions also came to joine with them, showting out alowde, and ratling of their armors: the Parthians horses and them selves were so affrayed and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the Romanes could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to have brought to end all, or the most part of this warre. But after that his foote-men had chased them fiftie furlonges of, and the horsemen also thrise as farre: they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about foure score men only slaine. But this did much discourage them, when they considered with them selves, that obtaining the victory, they had slaine so few of their enemies: and where they were overcome, they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning, Antonius army trussed up their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the first a fewe of the Parthians: then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reviled them, and troubled them on every side, as freshly and coragiously, as if they had not bene overthrowen: so that the Romanes very hardly got to their campe with

Battell  
betwext the  
Parthians and  
Antonius.

The Romanes  
good order in  
their march.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

safety. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chiefe city of Phraata, made a sally out upon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and drave them for feare, from the mount they kept. Antonius was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he devided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them in stead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out troublesome unto both parties, and the ende thereof muche more fearefull. For Antonius could looke for no other of his side, but famine: bicause he could forrage no more, nor fetche in any vittells, without great losse of his men. Phraortes on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the Parthians to any thing els, but to lye in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the Romanes continued their sieg all winter long, and made warre with him still: that his men would forsake him, and specially bicause the time of the yere went away apace, and the ayer waxed cloudy, and cold, in the equinoctiall autumne. Therupon he called to mind this devise. He gave the chiefest of his gentlemen of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romanes out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their horse, or for some other provision: that they should not distresse them too muche, but should suffer them to carie somewhat away, and greatly commend their valliantnes and hardines, for the which their king did esteeme them the more, and not without cause. After these first baytes and allurements, they beganne by litle and litle to come neerer unto them, and to talke with them a horsebacke, greatly blaming Antonius selfewill that did not geve their king Phraortes occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more, then to save the lives of so goodly a companie of valliant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadfull enemies he could have, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they should hardly away withall, though the Parthians did the best they could to aide and accompany them. These words being

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Decimacion  
a marshall  
punishment.

The craft of  
the Parthians  
against the  
Romanes.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a litle pliant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he woulde not sende unto the king of Parthia, before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so curteously unto his men, whether they spake it of them selves, or that they were their maisters words. When they told them the king him selfe said so, and did perswade them further not to feare or mistrust them: then Antonius sent some of his frends unto the king, to make demaund for the delivery of the ensignes and prisoners he had of the Romanes, since the overthrow of Crassus: to the ende it should not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they shoulde thinke he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the daunger he was in. The king of Parthia answered him: that for the ensignes and prisoners he demaunded, he should not breake his head about it: notwithstanding, that if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable maner, and without daunger. Wherefore Antonius after he had given his men some time to trusse up their cariage, he raised his campe, and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to enterteine his souldiers and men of warre, and that he could passingly well do it, as well, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speake unto them at his removing, but willed Domitius Ænobarbus to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill parte, and thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently understoode the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their dueties to carie the like respect unto their Captaine, that their Captaine did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him. So Antonius was minded to returne the same way he came, being a plaine barren contry without wodde. But there came a souldier to him, borne in the contry of the Mardians, who by oft frequenting the Parthians of long time, knew their facions very wel, and had also shewed him selfe very true and faithfull to the Romanes, in the battell where Antonius engines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came unto

Antonius re-  
turneth from  
the journey of  
the Parthians.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Antonius, to counsell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a pray, being heavily armed, unto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compass him round about: and that this was Phraortes fetch to offer him so frendly condicions and curteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, an other way on the right hand, through woddes and mountaines, a farre neerer way, and where he should finde great plenty of all things needefull for his army. Antonius hearing what he said, called his counsel together, to consult upon it. For after he had made peace with the Parthians, he was loth to geve them cause to thinke he mistrusted them: and on thother side also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places wel inhabited, where he might be provided of al things necessary: therefore he asked the Mardian what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The Mardian gave himself to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the contry of Armenia. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, Antonius thinking the Parthians would no more follow him, and trusting therin, suffred the souldiers to march in disorder as every man listed. The Mardian perceiving that the dammes of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the river had overflowen the bankes and drowned all the way they shoulde have gone: he gessed straight that the Parthians had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the Romanes for getting too farre before them. Therupon he bad Antonius looke to him selfe, and told him that his enemies were not farre from thence. Antonius having set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and sling men to resist the enemies, and to drive them backe: they discried the Parthians that wheeled round about the army to compass them in on every side, and to breake their rankes, and their light armed men gave charge apon them. So after they had hurt many of the Romanes with their

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

The Parthians  
doe set upon  
Antonius in  
his returne.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

arrowes, and that they them selves were also hurt by them with their dartes and plummets of leade: they retyred a litle, and then came againe and gave charge. Untill that the horsemen of the Gaules turned their horses, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as al that day they gathered no more together. Therby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darters and sling men, and made his army march in a square battell: commaunding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assaile them, they shoulde drive them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the Parthians foure daies after, seeing they did no more hurte to the Romanes, then they also received of them: they were not so hotte upon them as they were commaunded, but excusing them selves by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, Flavius Gallus, a valliant man of his handes, that had charge in the armie: came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have some moe of his light armed men then were alreadie in the rereward, and some of the horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe some notable exploite. Antonius graunting them unto him, when the enemies came according to their maner to set upon the taile of the army, and to skirmish with them: Flavius coragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to doe before, to retire and joyne presently with their army, for he overrashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Capteines that had the leading of the rereward, seeing Flavius stray too farre from the army: they sent unto him to will him to retire, but he would not harken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himselfe the Treasurer, tooke the ensignes, and did what he could to make the ensigne bearers returne backe, reviling Flavius Gallus, bicause that through his folly and desperatnes he caused many honest and valliant men to be both hurt and slaine to no purpose. Gallus also fel out with him, and commaunded his men to stay. Wherefore Titius returned againe into the army, and Gallus stil over-throwing and driving the enemies backe whom he met in the

The bold act  
of Flavius  
Gallus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

voward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then seeing him selfe environned of all sides, he sent unto the army, that they should come and aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimacion about Antonius made one) committed many faults. For where they should have made head with the whole army upon the Parthians, they sent him aide by small companies: and when they were slaine, they sent him others also. So that by their beastlinesse and lacke of consideracion, they had like to have made all the armie flie, if Antonius him selfe had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the middest of them that fled, untill they came to front of the enemies, and that they stayed them from chasing any further. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slaine no lesse then three thowsand men, and five thowsande besides brought sore hurt into the campe, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in foure places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the tents to visite and comfort the sicke and wounded, and for pitie sake he could not refraine from weeping: and they also shewing him the best countenance they coulde, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble him selfe for them, most reverently calling him their Emperour and Captaine: and that for them selves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For in deede to say truly, there was not at that time any Emperour or Captaine that had so great and puisant an army as his together, both for lusty youths, and corage of the souldiers, as also for their pacience to away with so great paines and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto their captaine, with a marvelous earnest love and good wil, was so great: and all were indifferently (as wel great as smal, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines and souldiers) so earnestly bent to esteeme Antonius good will and favor, above their owne life and safety: that in this point of marshall discipline, the auncient Romanes could not have don any more. But divers things were cause therof, as we have told you before: Antonius nobility and ancient house, his

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**

Canidius fault, Antonius Captaine.

Flavius Gallus slaine.

Antonius care of them that were wounded.

The love and reverence of the souldiers unto Antonius.

The rare and singular gifts of Antonius.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to sport and to be mery in company: but specially the care he tooke at that time to help, visite, and lament those that were sicke and wounded, seing every man to have that which was meete for him: that was of such force and effect, as it made them that were sicke and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him service, then those that were whole and sound. This victory so encoraged the enemies, (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any further) that all night longe they kept the fieldes, and hovered about the Romanes campe, thinking that they would presently flie, and then that they should take the spoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of daye, there were gathered together a farre greater number of the Parthians, then they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then forty thowsand horse, because their king sent thither even the very gard about his person, as unto a most certaine and assured victorie, that they might be partners of the spoyle and booty they hoped to have had: for as touching the king him selfe, he was never in any conflict or battell. Then Antonius desirous to speake to his souldiers, called for a blacke gowne, to appeare the more pitifull to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his coate armor, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his armie: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that those which had overcome, prayed him to be of good chere: the other also to cleere them selves, willingly offred to take the lotts of Decimation if he thought good, or otherwise, to receive what kind of punishment it should please him to laye upon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. Antonius seing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his prayer to the goddes, that if in exchange of his former victories, they would nowe sende him some bitter adversitie: then that all might light on him selfe alone, and that they would give the victorie to the rest of his armie.

The king of Parthia never came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

The next morning, they gave better order on every side of the armie, and so marched forward: so that when the Parthians thought to returne againe to assaile them, they came farre short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight, but to spoyle and make havock of all: when they came neare them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other javelings as the Romanes darted at them, and the Parthians found them as rough and desperat in fight, as if they had bene fresh men they had delt withall. Whereuppon their harts beganne againe to fayle them. But yet when the Romanes came to goe downe any steepe hills or mountaines, then they would set on them with their arrowes, bicause the Romanes could goe downe but fayer and softly. But then againe, the souldiers of the legion that caried great shields, returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the midst amongst them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, and so set downe their shields before them: and they of the second ranck also covered them of the first rancke, and the third also covered the second, and so from ranck to rancke all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of covering and sheading them selves with shields, was devised after the facion of laying tiles upon houses, and to sight, was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most stronge defence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth upon it. When the Parthians saw this countenance of the Romane souldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sorte upon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with travell: they layed downe their bowes, and tooke their speares and launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romanes sodainely rose upon their feete, and with the darts that they threwe from them, they slue the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of these daungers and lets, Antonius armie could winne no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffred great famine: for they could have but litle corne, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it, and besides that, they had no instruments to grynd it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

The Romanes  
testudo, and  
covering  
against shot.

Great famine  
in Antonius  
army.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

had bene left behind, because the beasts that caried them were either dead, or els employed to cary them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreame great, that the eight parte of a bushell of wheate was sold for fifty Drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the waight of silver. In the ende, they were compelled to live of erbes and rootes, but they found few of them that men doe commonly eate of, and were inforced to tast of them that were never eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their witts. For he that had once eaten of it, his memorye was gone from him, and he knewe no manner of thing, but onely busied him selfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bene a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speede. All the campe over, men were busily stouping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast up a great deale of choller, and dyed sodainly, bicause they lacked wine, which was the onely souveraine remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius seeing such a number of his men dye dayly, and that the Parthians left them not, nether would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cryed out sighing, and sayd: O, tenne thowsand. He had the valliantnes of tenne thowsand Græcians, in such admiration, whome Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus: bicause they had comen a farder jorney from Babylon, and had also fought against much moe enemies many tymes told, then them selves, and yet came home with safetic. The Parthians therefore seeing that they could not breake the good order of the armie of the Romanes, and contrarily that they them selves were oftentimes put to flight, and welfavoredly beaten: they fell againe to their olde craftie sottelties. For when they found any of the Romanes scattered from the armie to goe forrage, to seeke some corne, or other vittels: they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and shewed them their bowes unbent, saying, that them selves also did returne home to their contry as they did, and that they would follow them no further, howbeit that they should yet have certaine

A deadly erbe  
incurable  
without wine.

The valliant-  
nes of tenne  
thowsand  
Græcians,  
whome  
Xenophon  
brought away  
after the over-  
throw of  
Cyrus.

The Par-  
thians very  
suttell and  
craftie people.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Medes that would follow them a dayes jorney or two, to keepe them that they should doe no hurt to the villages from the high wayes: and so holding them with this talke, they gently tooke their leave of them, and bad them farewell, so that the Romanes began againe to thinke them selves safe. Antonius also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine contry, bicause also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported unto him. So as he was determined to take this course, there came into his hoast one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was Cosen unto Monæzes that fled unto Antonius, and unto whome he had given three cities. When he came to Antonius campe, he praied them to bring him one that could speake the Parthian, or Syrian tongue. So one Alexander Antiochian, a famillier of Antonius, was brought unto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and sayde, that Monæzes had sent him to Antonius, to requite the honor and curtesie he had shewed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious speeche, he asked Alexander if he sawe those highe Mountaines a farre of, which he poyned unto him with his finger. Alexander answered he did. The Parthians (sayd he) doe lye in ambushe at the foote of those Mountaines, under the which lyeth a goodly playne champion contry: and they thinke that you beeing deceived with their craftie suttill wordes, will leave the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painefull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if Antonius take the lower way, let him assure him selfe to runne the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did. So Mithridates having sayd, he departed. Antonius was marvelously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to heare what they would say to it. The Mardian also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered: that he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had sayd. For, sayd he, admit that there were no ambushe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Mithridates  
a Parthian,  
bewrayeth  
unto Antonio  
the  
conspiracie of  
his own  
contry men  
against him.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

waye, though it be stonye and painefull, yet there is no other daunger, but a whole dayes travelling without any water. So Antonius chaunging his first mind and determination, removed that night, and tooke the Mountaine way, commaunding every man to provide him selfe of water. But the most part of them lacking vessells to cary water in, some were driven to fill their salletts and murrians with water, and others also filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Nowe they marching forwarde, worde was brought unto the Parthians that they were removed: whereuppon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they overtooke the rereward of the Romanes, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe, that they were even done. For, beyond expectacion, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlong, and further, to see their enemies so sodainly at their backs, that made them utterly dispaire: but moste of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, bicause they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The voward of the armie by chaunce met with a river that was very cleere, and colde water, but it was salt and venemous to drinke: for straight it did gnawe the gutts of those that had dronke it, and made them marvelous drye, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the Mardian had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would have kept them from drinking, and so dranke. But Antonius going up and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a litle pacience for a while, for hard by there was another river that the water was excellent good to drinke, and that from thenceforth the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he caused the retreat to be sownded to call them backe that fought, and commaunded the tents to be set uppe, that the souldiers might yet have shadow to refreshe them with. So when the tents were set up, and the Parthians also retired according to their manner: the gentleman Mithridates before named, returned againe as before, and Alexander in like

A salt river.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

manner againe brought unto him for Interpreter. Then Mithridates advised him, that after the armie had reposed a litle, the Romanes should remove forthwith, and with all possible speede get to the river : bicause the Parthians would goe no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander caried the report thereof unto Antonius, who gave him a great deale of gold plate to bestowe upon Mithridates. Mithridates tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speede. So Antonius raysed his campe being yet day light, and caused all his army to marche, and the Parthians never troubled any of them by the way : but amongst them selves it was as ill and dreadfull a night as ever they had. For there were Villens of their owne company, who cut their fellows throates for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and cariage of such money as they caried : and at length, they set upon Antonius slaves that drave his owne sumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables and riche plate in peeces, and devided it among them selves. Thereuppon all the campe was straight in tumult and uprore : for the residue of them were affraid it had bene the Parthians that had given them this alarom, and had put all the armie out of order. Insomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his slaves infranchised that was of his gard, and made him give him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut of his head : bicause he might not be taken alive of his enemies, nor knowen when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the hart, that they burst out a weeping for sorrow. The Mardian also did comfort him, and assured him that the river he sought for was hard by, and that he did gesse it by a sweete moyst wind that breathed upon them, and by the ayer which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind more at libertie : and moreover, bicause that since they did set forward, he thought they were neare their jorneyes ende, not lacking much of day. On the other side also, Antonius was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile covetousnes and

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius  
great liberal-  
itie unto  
Mithridates,  
for the care  
he had of his  
safitie.

The tumult  
of Antonius  
soldiers  
through  
covetousnes.

Antonius  
desperat  
minde.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

villany of certaine of his souldiers. Therefore Antonius to set his armie againe in order, and to pacifie this uprore, sownded the trompet that every man should lodge. Now day began to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the Parthians drewe neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereuppon the signall of battell was given to the light armed men, and the legioners did cover them selves as they had done before with their shields, with the which they received and defended the force of the Parthians arrowes, who never durst any more come to hand strokes with them: and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they spyed the river. There Antonius placed his armed men upon the sands to receive and drive backe the enemies, and first of all, got over his men that were sicke and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left to resist the enemies, had leysure enough to drinke safely, and at their pleasure. For when the Parthians saw the river, they unbent their bowes, and bad the Romanes passe over without any feare, and greatly commended their valliantnes. When they had all passed over the river at their ease, they tooke a litle breath, and so marched forward againe, not greatly trusting the Parthians. The sixth daye after this last battell, they came to the river of Araxes, which devideth the contry of Armenia from Media: the which appeared unto them very daungerous to passe, for the depth and swiftnes of the streame. And furthermore, there ranne a rumor through the campe, that the Parthians lay in ambushe thereabouts, and that they would come and set upon them whilst they were troubled in passing over the river. But now, after they were all comen safely over without any daunger, and that they had gotten to the other side, into the province of Armenia: then they worshipped that land, as if it had bene the first land they had seene after a long and daungerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy haven: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and every man imbraced eache other for the great joy they had. But nowe, keeping the fields in this frutefull contry so

Araxes fl.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

plentifull of all things, after so great a famine and want of all thinges: they so crammed them selves with such plenty of vittells, that many of them were cast into flyxes and dropsies. There Antonius mustring his whole army, found that he had lost twenty thowsand footemen, and foure thowsand horsemen, which had not all bene slayne by their enemies: for the most part of them dyed of sicknes, making seven and twenty dayes jorney, comming from the cite of Phraata into Armenia, and having overcome the Parthians in eigheteene severall battells. But these victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of Armenia, had reserved Antonius to end this warre. For if the sixteene thowsand horsemen which he brought with him out of Media, had bene at these battells, considering that they were armed and apparelled much after the Parthians manner, and acquainted also with their fight: when the Romanes had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, and that these Armenians had followed the chase of them that fled, they had not gathered them selves againe in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often, after they had bene so many times overthrowen. Therefore, all those that were of any credit and countenance in the army, did perswade and egge Antonius to be revenged of this Armenian king. But Antonius wisely dissembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gave him the worse countenance, nor did him lesse honor then he did before: because he knew his armie was weake, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into Armenia with a great army, and so with fayer wordes, and sweete promises of Messengers, he allured Artabazus to come unto him: whome he then kept prisoner, and led in triumphe in the cite of Alexandria. This greatly offended the Romanes, and made them much to mislike it: when they saw that for Cleopatraes sake he deprived his contry of her due honor and glory, onely to gratifie the Ægyptians. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great haste he made to returne unto Cleopatra, caused him to put his men to so great paines,

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

18 severall  
battells fought  
with the  
Parthians.

The trechery  
of Artabazus  
king of  
Armenia, unto  
Antonius.

Antonius  
triumphed of  
Artabazus  
king of  
Armenia, in  
Ægypt.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

forcing them to lye in the field all winter long when it snow unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thowsand of his men, and so came downe to the sea side with a small companye, to a certaine place called Blancbourg, which standeth betwixt the cities of Berytus and Sidon, and there taried for Cleopatra. And bicause she taried longer then he would have had her, he pined away for love and sorrow. So that he was at such a straight, that he wist not what to doe, and therefore to weare it out, he gave him selfe to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast were ended : but many times while others banketted, he ranne to the sea side to see if she were comming. At length she came, and brought with her a worlde of apparell and money to give unto the souldiers. But some saye notwithstanding, that she brought apparell, but no money, and that she tooke of Antonius money, and caused it to be given amonge the souldiers in her owne name, as if she had given it them. In the meane time it chanced, that the king of the Medes, and Phraortes king of the Parthians, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoyles of the Romanes : and grew to be so hot betwene them, that the king of Medes was no lesse affrayd, then also in daunger to lose his whole Realme. Thereuppon he sent unto Antonius to pray him to come and make warre with the Parthians, promising him that he would ayde him to his uttermost power. This put Antonius againe in good comfort, considering that unlooked for, the onely thing he lacked, (which made him he could not overcome the Parthians, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offred him in that sort : that he did him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereuppon, after he had spoken with the king of Medes at the river of Araxes, he prepared him selfe once more to goe through Armenia, and to make more cruell warre with the Parthians, then he had done before. Now whilst Antonius was busie in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whome he had left at Rome, would needes take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Cæsar was willing

Antonius  
pined away  
looking for  
Cleopatra.

Cleopatra  
came to  
Blancbourg  
unto  
Antonius.

Warres  
betwixt the  
Parthians  
and Medes.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

unto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might have an honest culler to make warre with Antonius if he did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to Athens, she received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there untill his comming, and did advertise her of his jorney and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of aunswer, she asked him whether he would have those thinges sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friendes and Captaines he had about him: and besides all those, she had two thowsand souldiers chosen men, all well armed, like unto the Prætors bands. When Niger, one of Antonius friends whome he had sent unto Athens, had brought these newes from his wife Octavia, and withall did greatly prayse her, as she was worthy, and well deserved: Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behavior, (besides the great power of her brother Cæsar) she did adde thereunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away: she suttelly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pyning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenance, that when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looked ruffly of the matter, and still found the meanes that Antonius should oftentimes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainely uppon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weepe. All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readines to goe into Syria, to speake with the king of Medes. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatras mind, blamed Antonius, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poore Ladye in such torment for his sake,

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Octavia,  
Antonius  
wife, came  
to Athens to  
meete with  
him.

The flickering  
enticements  
of Cleopatra  
unto Anto-  
nius.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

whose life depended onely upon him alone. For, Octavia, sayd they, that was maryed unto him as it were of necessitie, bicause her brother Cæsars affayres so required it: hath the honor to be called Antonius lawfull spowse and wife: and Cleopatra, being borne a Queene of so many thowsands of men, is onely named Antonius Leman, and yet that she disdayned not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him: but if he once leave her, that then it is impossible she should live. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought Antonius effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away: he returned againe unto Alexandria, and referred the king of Medes to the next yeare following, although he receyved newes that the Parthians at that tyme were at civill warres amonge them selves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwarde and made peace with him. For he married his Daughter which was very younge, unto one of the sonnes that Cleopatra had by him: and then returned, beeing fully bent to make warre with Cæsar. When Octavia was returned to Rome from Athens, Cæsar commaunded her to goe out of Antonius house, and to dwell by her selfe, bicause he had abused her. Octavia aunswered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thinge, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in civill warres among the Romanes, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousy betwixt one another. Now as she spake the worde, so did she also performe the deede. For she kept still in Antonius house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia. Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the common wealthe: she received him very curteously, and so used her selfe unto her brother, that she obtained the thing she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband, made

The occasion  
of civil warres  
betwixt  
Antonius  
and Cæsar.

The love of  
Octavia to  
Antonius her  
husband, and  
her wise and  
womanly  
behavior.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

every man hate him, when they sawe he did so unkindly use so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice unto him, was for the division of lands he made amongst his children in the citie of Alexandria. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the Romanes. For he assembled all the people in the show place, where younge men doe exercise them selves, and there upon a high tribunall silvered, he set two chayres of gold, the one for him selfe, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra Queene of Ægypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria, and at that time also, Cæsarion king of the same Realmes. This Cæsarion was supposed to be the sonne of Iulius Cæsar, who had left Cleopatra great with child. Secondly he called the sonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and gave Alexander for his portion, Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the contry: and unto Ptolomy for his portion, Phenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And therewithall he brought out Alexander in a long gowne after the facion of the Medes, with a high copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians doe use to weare them: and Ptolomy apparelled in a cloke after the Macedonian manner, with slippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and successors of Alexander the great. So after his sonnes had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of Armenian souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the Macedonians the other. Now for Cleopatra, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times els when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddessse Isis, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new Isis. Octavius Cæsar reporting all these thinges unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome: he thereby stirred up all the Romanes against him. Antonius on thother side sent to Rome likewise to accuse

MARCUS ANTONIUS

Antonius arrogantly devideth divers provinces unto his children by Cleopatra.

Cæsarion, the supposed sone of Cæsar, by Cleopatra.

Alexander and Ptolomy, Antonius sonnes by Cleopatra.

Accusations betwixt Octavius Cæsar, and Antonius.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

him, and the chiefest poyntes of his accusations he charged him with, were these: First, that having spoyled Sextus Pompeius in Sicile, he did not give him his parte of the Ile. Secondly, that he did deteyne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate out of his part of the Empire, and having deprived him of all honors: he re-tayned for him selfe the lands and revenues thereof, which had bene assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner devided all Italy amongst his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. Octavius Cæsar aunswered him againe: that for Lepidus, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did overcruelly use his authoritie. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that for his souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in Italy, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which provinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valliantly fighting with their Emperour and Captaine. Antonius hearing these newes, being yet in Armenia, commaunded Canidius to goe presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had: and he him selfe with Cleopatra, went unto the citie of Ephesus, and there gathered together his gallies and shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great shippes of burden: and of those, Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thowsand talents besides, and provision of vittells also to mainteyne al the whole army in this warre. So Antonius, through the perswasions of Domitius, commaunded Cleopatra to returne againe into Ægypt, and there to understand the successe of this warre. But Cleopatra, fearing least Antonius should againe be made friends with Octavius Cæsar, by the meanes of his wife Octavia: she so plyed Canidius with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes man unto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defraied so great a charge: neither

Antonius  
came with  
eighthundred  
saile against  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that it was for his profit, because that thereby the Ægyptians would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea : considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederats, that Cleopatra was inferior unto, either for wisdom or judgement, seeing that longe before she had wisely governed so great a realme as Ægypt, and besides that she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manedge great affayres. These fayer perswasions wan him : for it was predestined that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cæsars handes. Thus, all their forces being joyned together, they hoysed sayle towards the Ile of Samos, and there gave them selves to feasts and sollace. For as all the kings, Princes, and communalities, peoples and cities from Syria, unto the marishes Mæotides, and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent unto, to send and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could : even so all players, minstrells, tumblers, fooles, and jeasters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighes and teares : onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and pyping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrells, and singing men. Besides all this, every citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts. So that every man sayd, What can they doe more for joy of victorie, if they winne the battell? when they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these minstrells, and such kind of people, the citie of Priene to keepe them withal, during this warre. Then he went unto the citie of Athens, and there gave him selfe againe to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. Cleopatra on the other side, being jelous of the honors which Octavia had received in this citie, where in deede she was marvelously honored and beloved of the Athenians : to winne the peoples good will also at Athens, she gave them great gifts : and they likewise gave her many

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius  
carieth  
Cleopatra  
with him to  
the warres,  
against  
Octavius  
Cæsar : and  
kept great  
feasting at the  
Ile of Samos  
together.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

Antonius  
put his wife  
Octavia out  
of his house  
at Rome.

Octavius  
Cæsar  
exacteth  
grievous pay-  
ments of the  
Romanes.

Titius and  
Plancus  
revolt from  
Antonius, and  
doe yeld to  
Cæsar.

great honors, and appointed certain Ambassadors to cary the decree to her house, among the which Antonius was one, who as a Citizen of Athens reported the matter unto her, and made an oration in the behalfe of the citie. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife Octavia out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all Antonius children, saving the eldest of them he had by Fulvia, who was with her father, bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompted one of the chieft causes of this civill warre. The Romanes did pitie her, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seene Cleopatra : who nether excelled Octavia in beawtie, nor yet in young yeares. Octavius Cæsar understanding the sodain and wonderful great preparation of Antonius, he was not a litle astonied at it, (fearing he should be driven to fight that sommer) bicause he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of money did sorely oppresse the people. For all manner of men els, were driven to pay the fourth part of their goods and revenue : but the Libertines, (to wete, those whose fathers or other predecessors had some time bene bond men) they were sessed to pay the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there rose a wonderfull exclamation and great uprore all Italy over : so that among the greatest faults that ever Antonius committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to give Cæsar battell. For he gave Cæsar leysure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great summe of money was demanded of them, they gruded at it, and grewe to mutinie upon it: but when they had once paid it, they remembered it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius chieftest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great injuries Cleopatra did them, bicause they hindered all they could, that she should not come to this warre : they went and yelded them selves unto Cæsar, and tolde him where the testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfittly what was in it. The will was in the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes : of whom Cæsar demanded for it. They aunswered him, that they would

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

not give it him : but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereuppon Cæsar went thither, and having red it first to him self, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch : so assembling all the Senate, he red it before them all. Whereuppon divers were marvelously offended, and thought it a straunge matter that he being alive, should be punished for that he had appoynted by his will to be done after his death. Cæsar chiefly tooke hold of this that he ordeyned touching his buriall : for he willed that his bodie, though he dyed at Rome, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be sent into Alexandria unto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among divers other faultes wherewith Antonius was to be charged, for Cleopatraes sake : Calvisius, one of Cæsars friends reproved him, bicause he had franckly given Cleopatra all the libraries of the royall citie of Pergamum, in the which she had above two hundred thowsand bookes. Againe also, that being on a time set at the table, he sodainly rose from the borde, and trode upon Cleopatraes foote, which was a signe given betwene them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffred the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra, their sovaine Ladye. That divers times sitting in his tribunall and chayer of state, giving audience to all kings and Princes : he had received love letters from Cleopatra, written in tables of onyx or christall, and that he had red them, sitting in his imperial seate. That one day when Furnius, a man of great accompt, and the eloquentest man of all the Romanes, pleaded a matter before him : Cleopatra by chaunce comming through the market place in her litter where Furnius was pleading : Antonius straight rose out of his seate, and left his audience to followe her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Calvisius devised the most part of all these accusations of his owne head. Nevertheles they that loved Antonius, were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one Geminus unto Antonius, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemye to the people of Rome. This Geminus being arrived in Græce,

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

A famous  
librarie in  
the citie of  
Pergamum.

Furnius, an  
eloquent  
Orator among  
the Romanes.

Geminus sent  
from Rome to  
Antonius, to  
bid him take  
heede to him  
selfe.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

made Cleopatra jealous straight of his coming: because she surmised that he came not but to speake for Octavia. Therefore she spared not to tawnt him all supper tyme, and moreover to spyte him the more, she made him be set lowest of all at the borde, the which he tooke patiently, expecting occasion to speake with Antonius. Now Antonius commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he aunswered him, that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning fasting: but dronke or fasting, howsoever it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, unles Cleopatra were sent backe into Ægypt. Antonius tooke these wordes in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other side aunswered him, Thou doest well Geminius, sayd she, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within fewe dayes after, Geminius stale away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also to please Cleopatra, did make her drive many other of Antonius faithfull servaunts and friends from him, who could not abide the injuries done unto them: amonge the which these two were chiefe, Marcus Syllanus, and Dellius the Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, because her Phisitian Glaucus tolde him, that Cleopatra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore he had Cleopatraes displeasure, because he sayde one night at supper, that they made them drinke sower wine, where Sarmentus at Rome drancke good wine of Falerna. This Sarmentus was a pleasaunt younge boye, such as the Lordes of Rome are wont to have about them to make them pastyme, which they call their joyes, and he was Octavius Cæsars boye. Nowe, after Cæsar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaymed open warre against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolishe the power and Empire of Antonius, because he had before given it uppe unto a woman. And Cæsar sayde furthermore, that Antonius was not Maister of him selfe, but that Cleopatra had brought him beside him selfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make warre with them should be Mardian the Euenuke, Photinus, and Iras, a woman of Cleopatraes bedchamber, that friseled her heare, and dressed her head, and Charmion, the which were

Many of  
Antonius  
friends doe  
forsake him.

Antonius  
Empire taken  
from him.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

those that ruled all the affaires of Antonius Empire. Before this warre, as it is reported, many signes and wonders fel out. First of all, the citie of Pisaurum which was made a colony to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius, standing upon the shore side of the sea Adriatick, was by a terrible earthquake sonck into the ground. One of the images of stone which was set up in the honor of Antonius, in the citie of Alba, did sweate many dayes together: and though some wyped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the citie of Patras, whilst Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the citie of Athens also, in a place where the warre of the gyants against the goddess is set out in imagerie: the statue of Bacchus with a terrible winde was thrown downe in the Theater. It was sayd that Antonius came of the race of Hercules, as you have heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus: and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering storme of wind, overthrew the great monstrous images at Athens, that were made in the honor of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named and intituled, the Antonians, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many besides. The Admirall galley of Cleopatra, was called Antoniate, in the which there chaunced a marvelous ill signe. Swallowes had bred under the poope of her shippe, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked downe their neasts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight: it was found that Antonius had no lesse then five hundred good ships of warre, among the which there were many gallies that had eight and ten bankes of owers, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for triumphe: a hundred thowsand footemen, and twelve thowsand horsemen, and had with him to ayde him these kinges and subjects following: Bocchus king of Lybia, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Arche-laus king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates king of Comagena, and Adallas king of Thracia. All the which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as Polemon king of Pont,

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**

Signes and wonders before the civill warres betwixt Antonius and Oct. Caesar.

Pesaro, a citie in Italy, sonck into the ground by an earthquake.

An ill signe, foreshewed by swallowes breeding in Cleopatras shippe.

Antonius power against Oct. Caesar.

Antonius had eyght kinges, and their power to ayde him.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

The army  
and power of  
Octavius  
Cæsar  
against  
Antonius.

Antonius  
dominions.

Octavius  
Cæsars  
dominions.

Antonius too  
much ruled  
by Cleopatra.

Manchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Iury : and furthermore, Amyntas king of Lycaonia, and of the Galatians : and besides all these, he had all the ayde the king of Medes sent unto him. Now for Cæsar, he had two hundred and fifty shippes of warre, foure score thowsand footemen, and well neare as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part, had all under his dominion from Armenia, and the river of Euphrates, unto the sea Ionium and Illyricum. Octavius Cæsar had also for his part, all that which was in our Hemisphære, or halfe part of the world, from Illyria, unto the Ocean sea upon the west : then all from the Ocean, unto Mare Siculum : and from Africk, all that which is against Italy, as Gaule, and Spayne. Furthermore, all from the province of Cyrenia, unto Æthiopia, was subject unto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subject to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatraes sake, he would needes have this battell tryed by sea : though he sawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water men, his Captaines did presse by force all sortes of men out of Græce that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muletters, reapers, harvest men, and younge boyes, and yet could they not sufficiently furnishe his gallies : so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant rowe, bicause they lacked water men enowe. But on the contrary side, Cæsars shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a sight and bravery, but they were light of yarage, armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the havens of Tarentum, and Brundusium. So Octavius Cæsar sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy : and that for his owne part he would give him safe harbor, to lande without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, until he had put his army a shore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combate of him man to man, though he were the elder : and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Iulius Cæsar, and

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Pompey had done before. Now whilst Antonius rode at anker, lying idely in harber at the head of Actium, in the place where the cite of Nicopolis standeth at this present: Cæsar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Toryne, before Antonius understoode that he had taken shippe. Then began his men to be affraid, bicause his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it: And what daunger, I pray you, said she, if Cæsar keepe at \*Toryne? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in battell against him, Antonius was affraid that if they came to joyne, they would take and cary away his shippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water men, and set them in order of battell upon the forecastell of their shippes, and then lift up all his rancks of owers towards the element, as well of the one side, as the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of Actium, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water men and souldiers. Thus Octavius Cæsar beeing finely deceyved by this stratageame, retyred presently, and therewithall Antonius very wisely and sodainely did cut him of from fresh water. For, understanding that the places where Octavius Cæsar landed, had very litle store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with stronge ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from salying out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water further of. Furthermore, he delt very friendly and curteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatraes mynde. For, he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to Cæsars campe, Antonius was very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings also that forsooke him, and turned on Cæsars side: as Amyntas, and Deiotarus. Furthermore, his fleete and navy that was unfortunate in all thinges, and unready for service, compelled him to chaunge his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And Canidius also, who

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**  
Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actius: where the cite of Nicopolis standeth.

\*The grace of this tawnt can not properly be expressed in any other tongue, bicause of the equivocation of this word Toryne, which signifieth a cite of Albania, and also, a ladell to scoome the pot with: as if she ment, Cæsar sat by the fire side, scomming of the pot.

Domitius forsaketh Antonius, and goeth unto Octavius Cæsar.

Amyntas, and Deiotarus, do both revolt from Antonius, and goe unto Cæsar.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius determination: he turned him cleane contrary, and counselled him to send Cleopatra backe againe, and him selfe to retyre into Macedon, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that Dicomus king of the Getes, promised him to ayde him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonor to him to let Cæsar have the sea, (bicause him selfe and his men both had bene well practised and exercised in battells by sea, in the warre of Sicilia against Sextus Pompeius) but rather that he should doe against all reason, he having so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valliantnes of so many lusty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deviding them into shippes. But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battel by sea: considering with her selfe how she might flie, and provide for her safetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battel lost. Betwixt Antonius campe and his fleete of shippes, there was a great hie point of firme lande that ranne a good waye into the sea, the which Antonius often used for a walke, without mistrust of feare or daunger. One of Cæsars men perceived it, and told his Maister that he would laugh and they could take up Antonius in the midst of his walke. Thereuppon Cæsar sent some of his men to lye in ambush for him, and they missed not much of taking of him: for they tooke him that came before him, bicause they discovered to soone, and so Antonius scaped verie hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other shippes a fire, but three score shippes of Ægypt, and reserved onely but the best and greatest gallies, from three bancks, unto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two and twenty thowsand fighting men, with two thowsand darters and slingers. Now, as he was setting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, and a valliant man, that had served Antonius in many battels and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who as Antonius passed by him, cryed out unto him, and sayd: O

Antonius in  
daunger of  
taking at  
Actium.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

noble Emperor, how commeth it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle shippes? what, doe you mistrust these woundes of myne, and this sword? let the Ægyptians and Phœnicians fight by sea, and set us on the maine land, where we use to conquer, or to be slayne on our feete. Antonius passed by him, and sayd never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him selfe. For when the Masters of the gallies and Pilots would have let their sailes alone, he made them clap them on, saying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day, and the three dayes following, the sea rose so high, and was so boysterous, that the battel was put of. The fift day the storme ceased, and the sea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of owers in battaile one against the other: Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Cælius the left, and Marcus Octavius, and Marcus Iusteius the middest. Octavius Cæsar on thother side, had placed Agrippa in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the right winge for him selfe. For the armies by lande, Canidius was generall of Antonius side, and Taurus of Cæsars side: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, uppon the sea side, without stirring one agaynst the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaynes: Antonius being in a swift pinnase, was caried up and downe by force of owers through his army, and spake to his people to encorage them to fight valliantly, as if they were on maine land, bicause of the steadines and heavines of their ships: and commaunded the Pilots and masters of the gallies, that they should not sturre, none otherwise then if they were at anker, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not goe out of the straight of the gulfe. Cæsar betymes in the morning going out of his tent, to see his ships thorough out: met a man by chaunce that drave an asse before him. Cæsar asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him, his name was Eutyclus, to say, fortunate: and his asses name Nicon, to say, Conquerer. Therefore Cæsar after he had wonne the battell, setting out the market place with the spurres of the

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

Antonius  
regardeth  
not the good  
counsell of  
his souldier.

Battail by sea  
at Actium,  
betwixt  
Antonius  
and Cæsar.

A lucky  
signe unto  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

Eutyclus  
Nicon,  
fortunate  
Conqueror.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

gallies he had taken, for a signe of his victorie: he caused also the man and his asse to be set up in brasse. When he had visited the order of his armie thorough out, he tooke a litle pinnase, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he sawe his enemies lye stil in the straight, and sturred not. For, decerning them a farre of, men would have thought they had bene shippes riding at anker, and a good while he was so perswaded: so he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies. About noone there rose a litle gale of winde from the sea, and then Antonius men waxing angry with tarying so long, and trusting to the greatnes and height of their shippes, as if they had bene invincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. Cæsar seeing that, was a glad man, and began a litle to give backe from the right wing, to allure them to come further out of the straight and gulfe: to thend that he might with his light shippes well manned with water men, turne and environne the gallies of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarage, both for their biggenes, as also for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to joyne, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the shippes vehemently hit one against the other, as they doe commonly in fight by sea. For on the one side, Antonius shippes for their heavines, could not have the strength and swiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and Cæsars shippes on thother side tooke great heede, not to rushe and shocke with the forecastells of Antonius shippes, whose proues were armed with great brasen spurres. Furthermore they durst not flancke them, because their points were easily broken, which way soever they came to set upon his shippes, that were made of great mayne square peeces of tymber, bounde together with great iron pinnes: so that the battel was much like to a battel by land, or to speake more properly, to the assault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of Cæsars shippes about one of Antonius shippes, and the souldiers fought with their pykes, halberds, and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. Antonius ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their crosbowes and engines of battery, great store of shot from

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

their highe towers of wodde, that were apou their shippes. Now Publicola seing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Cæsars army, to compasse in Antonius shippes that fought: he was driven also to loose of to have more roome, and going a litle at one side, to put those further of that were affraid, and in the middest of the battel. For they were sore distressed by Aruntius. Howbeit the battell was yet of even hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when sodainely they saw the three score shippes of Cleopatra busie about their yard masts, and hoysing saile to flie. So they fled through the middest of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, and did marvelously disorder the other shippes. For the enemies them selves wondred much to see them saile in that sort, with ful saile towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius shewed plainely, that he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valliant man, and that he was not his owne man: (proving that true which an old man spake in myrth, that the soule of a lover lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried away with the vaine love of this woman, as if he had bene glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw Cleopatraes shippe under saile, he forgot, forsooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarcked upon a galley with five bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew this galley a farre of, she lift up a signe in the poepe of her shippe, and so Antonius comming to it, was pluckt up where Cleopatra was, howbeit he saw her not at his first comming, nor she him, but went and sate down alone in the prow of his shippe, and said never a word, clapping his head betwene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of Cæsars that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prow of his shippe, and presently put the rest to flight, saving one Eurycles Lacedæmonian, that followed him neare, and prest upon him with great corage, shaking a dart in his hand over the prow, as though he would have throwen it unto Antonius.

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Cleopatra  
flyeth.

The soule of  
a lover liveth  
in another  
body.

Antonius  
flyeth after  
Cleopatra.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS ANTONIUS** Antonius seeing him, came to the fore castell of his ship, and asked him what he was that durst follow Antonius so neare? I am, answered he, Eurycles, the sonne of Lachares, who through Cæsars good fortune seketh to revenge the death of my father. This Lachares was condemned of fellonie, and beheaded by Antonius. But yet Eurycles durst not venter on Antonius shippe, but set upon the other Admirall galley (for there were two) and fell with him with such a blowe of his brasen spurre, that was so heavy and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very rich stuffe and cariage. After Eurycles had left Antonius, he returned againe to his place, and sate downe, speaking never a word as he did before: and so lived three dayes alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of Tænarus, there Cleopatraes women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speake together, and afterwards, to suppe and lye together. Then beganne there agayne a great number of Marchaunts shippes to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow: who brought newes, that his army by sea was overthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent unto Canidius, to returne with his army into Asia, by Macedon. Now for him self, he determined to crosse over into Africk, and toke one of his carects or hulks loden with gold and silver, and other rich cariage, and gave it unto his friends: commaunding them to depart, and to seeke to save them selves. They aunswered him weeping, that they would nether doe it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very courteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote unto Theophilus governor of Corinthe, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with Cæsar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that revolted from him, and yelded unto Cæsar, and afterwarde went and dwelt at Corinthe. And thus it stode with Antonius. Now for his armie by sea, that fought before the head or foreland

Antonius lycenceth his friends to depart, and giveth them a shippe loden with gold and silver.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

of Actium: they helde out a longe tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boysterous wind that rose full in the prooes of their shippes, and yet with much a doe, his navy was at length overthrowen, five howers within night. There were not slaine above five thowsand men: but yet there were three hundred shippes taken, as Octavius Cæsar writeth him selfe in his *Commentaries*. Many plainely sawe Antonius flie, and yet could hardly beleeve it, that he that had nyneteene legions whole by lande, and twelve thowsand horsemen upon the sea side, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene thoroughly acquainted with the divers chaunges and fortunes of battells. And yet his souldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some meanes or other unto them. Furthermore, they shewed them selves so valliant and faithfull unto him, that after they certainly knewe he was fled, they kept them selves whole together seven daies. In the ende Canidius, Antonius Lieuetenant, flying by night, and forsaking his campe: when they saw them selves thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yelded themselves unto the stronger. This done, Cæsar sailed towards Athens, and there made peace with the Græcians, and devided the rest of the corne that was taken up for Antonius army, unto the townes and cities of Græce, the which had bene brought to extreme misery and poverty, cleane without money, slaves, horse, and other beastes of cariage. So that my grandfather Nicarchus tolde, that all the Citizens of our citie of Chæronea, (not one excepted) were driven them selves to cary a certaine measure of corne on their shoulders to the sea side, that lieth directly over against the Ile of Anticyra, and yet were they driven thether with whippes. They caried it thus but once: for, the second tyme that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that Antonius had lost the battel, and so scaped our poore city. For Antonius souldiers and deputies fled immediatly, and the citizens devided the corne amongst them. Antonius being arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Antonius  
navy over-  
throwen by  
Cæsar.

Antonius  
legions doe  
yeld them  
selves unto  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Lucilius  
spoken of in  
Brutus life.

The fidelitie  
of Lucilius  
unto  
Antonius.

The wonder-  
ful attempt of  
Cleopatra.

Antonius  
followeth  
the life and  
example of  
Timon Misan-  
thropus the  
Athenian.

before into Ægypt from the citie of Parætonium : and he him selfe remained very solitary, having onely two of his friends with him, with whom he wandred up and down, both of them orators, the one Aristocrates a Græcian, and the other Lucilius a Romane. Of whom we have written in an other place, that at the battell where Brutus was overthrowen, by the citie of Philippes, he came and willingly put him self into the hands of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he : bicause Brutus in the meane time might have liberty to save him selfe. And afterwards bicause Antonius saved his life, he still remained with him : and was very faithfull and frendly unto him till his death. But when Antonius heard, that he whom he had trusted with the government of Libya, and unto whom he had geven the charge of his armie there, had yelded unto Cæsar: he was so madde withall, that he would have slaine him selfe for anger, had not his frendes about him withstoode him, and kept him from it. So he went unto Alexandria, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderfull enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the redde sea, and the sea betwene the landes that poynt upon the coast of Ægypt, there is a litle peece of land that devideth both the seas, and separateth Africke from Asia: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not above three hundred furlonges over. Cleopatra went about to lift her shippes out of the one sea, and to hale them over the straight into the other sea: that when her shippes were come into this goulfe of Arabia, she might then carie all her gold and silver away, and so with a great companie of men goe and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea farre from the sea Mediterranium, to scape the daunger and bondage of this warre. But now, bicause the Arabians dwelling about the citie of Petra, did burne the first shippes that were brought alande, and that Antonius thought that his armie by lande, which he left at Actium was yet whole: she left of her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the portes and passages of her realme. Antonius, he forsooke the citie and companie of his frendes, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of Pharos, upon certaine forced mountes

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished him selfe from all mens companie: saying that he would lead Timons life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was affore offered unto Timon: and that for the unthankfulnes of those he had done good unto, and whom he tooke to be his frendes, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of Athens, that lived about the warre of Peloponnesus, as appeareth by Plato, and Aristophanes commedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a vyper, and malicious man unto mankind, to shunne all other mens companies, but the companie of young Alcibiades, a bolde and insolent youth, whom he woulde greatly feast, and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what he ment to make so muche of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Timon aunswered him, I do it sayd he, because I know that one day he shall do great mischiefe unto the Athenians. This Timon sometimes would have Apemantus in his companie, because he was much like to his nature and condicions, and also followed him in maner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called Chœ at Athens, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where they make sprincklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by them selves, Apemantus said unto the other: O, here is a trimme banket Timon. Timon aunswered againe, Yea, said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being assembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got up into the pulpit for Orations, where the Orators commonly use to speake unto the people: and silence being made, everie man listning to heare what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place: at length he began to speake in this maner: My Lordes of Athens, I have a litle yard in my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens have hanged them selves: and because I meane to make some building upon the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Plato, and  
Aristophanes  
testimony of  
Timon Misan-  
thropus, what  
he was.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

there in time goe hang your selves. He dyed in the cite of Hales, and was buried upon the sea side. Nowe it chaunced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tombe rounde about, that no man coulde come to it: and upon the same was wrytten this epitaph:

The epitaphe  
of Timon  
Misan-  
thropus.

Heere lyes a wretched corse, of wretched soule bereft,  
Seeke not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left.

It is reported, that Timon him selfe when he lived made this epitaphe: for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the Poet Callimachus:

Heere lye I Timon who alive all living men did hate,  
Passe by, and curse thy fill: but passe, and stay not here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this litle shall suffice at this present. But now to returne to Antonius againe. Canidius him selfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his armie by land at Actium. On thother side he was advertised also, that Herodes king of Iurie, who had also certeine legions and bandes with him, was revolted unto Cæsar, and all the other kings in like maner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and so to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitarie house he had built in the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra received him into her royall pallace. He was no sooner comen thither, but he straight set all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him selfe, to liberalitie and giftes. He caused the sonne of Iulius Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the Romanes) amongst the number of young men: and gave Antyllus, his eldest sonne he had by Fulvia, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or imbroderie of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banketing, and dauncing in Alexandria many dayes together. In deede they did breake their first order they had set downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to say, no life comparable)

Antonius  
rioting in  
Alexandria  
after his great  
losse and  
overthrow.

*Toga virilis.*  
Antillus, the  
eldest sonne  
of Antonius  
by his wife  
Fulvia.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and did set up an other which they called Synapothanumenon (signifying the order and agreement of those that will dye together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnes and cost was not inferior to the first. For their frendes made them selves to be inrolled in this order of those that would dye together, and so made great feastes one to an other: for everie man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole companie and fraternitie. Cleopatra in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all sorts of poysons together to destroy men. Now to make prooffe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments: and in contrary maner, that suche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye sodainly: she afterwarde went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sorte, and some in an other. So when she had dayly made divers and sundrie proofes, she found none of all them she had proved so fit, as the biting of an Aspicke, the which only causeth a heaviness of the head, without swounding or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe, with a litle swet in the face, and so by litle and litle taketh away the sences and vitall powers, no living creature perceiving that the pacientes feele any paine. For they are so sorie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them up: as those that being taken out of a sound sleepe, are very heavy and desirous to sleepe. This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realme of Ægypt for her children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at Athens like a private man, if Cæsar would not let him remaine in Ægypt. And bicause they had no other men of estimacion about them, for that some were fledde, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were inforced to sende Euphronius the schoolemaister of their children. For Alexas Laodician, who was brought into Antonius house and favor by meanes of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**

An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon, revoking the former called Amimetobion.

Cleopatra verie busie in proving the force of poyson.

The property of the biting of an Aspicke.

Antonius and Cleopatra send Ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

other Grecian: (for that he had alway bene one of Cleopatraes ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well) him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Iurie, hoping still to keepe him his frend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to Cæsar: and trusting king Herodes, he presumed to come in Cæsars presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chaines to his owne contrie, and there by Cæsars commaundement put to death. Thus was Alexas in Antonius life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, Cæsar would not graunt unto Antonius requests: but for Cleopatra, he made her aunswere, that he woulde deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her contrie. Therewithall he sent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a verie wise and discrete man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lorde unto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beawtie, might easely by his eloquence have perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honor: insomuch as he made Antonius gealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well favoredly whipped, and so sent him unto Cæsar: and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, bicause he shewed him selfe prowde and disdainfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee said he, thou hast Hipparchus one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may crie quittance. From thenceforth, Cleopatra to cleere her selfe of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him then ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnise the day of her birth very meanelly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence: so that the ghests that were

Alexas  
treason justly  
punished.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Nowe things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after an other unto Cæsar, prayed him to returne to Rome, bicause the affaires there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through Syria by the coast of Africke, to make warres against Antonius, and his other Captaines. When the citie of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumor in the citie, that Seleucus, by Cleopatraes consent, had surrendered the same. But to cleere her selfe that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workemanshippe, as for height and greatnes of building, joyning hard to the temple of Isis. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emerods, pearles, ebbanie, ivorie, and sinnamon, and besides all that, a marvelous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So Octavius Cæsar being affrayed to loose suche a treasure and masse of riches, and that this woman for spite would set it a fire, and burne it every whit: he alwayes sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilest he in the meane time drewe neere the citie with his armie. So Cæsar came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horses. Antonius made a saly upon him, and fought verie valliantly, so that he drave Cæsars horsemen backe, fighting with his men even into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes unto her, that had valliantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra to reward his manlines, gave him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had received this rich gift, stole away by night, and went to Cæsar. Antonius sent againe to chalenge Cæsar, to fight with him hande to

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Pelusium was  
yielded up to  
Octavius  
Cæsar.

Cleopatraes  
monuments  
set up by the  
temple of Isis.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

hande. Cæsar aunswered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then so. Then Antonius seeing there was no way more honorable for him to dye, then fighting valliantly: he determined to sette up his rest, both by sea and lande. So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and household servauntes that waited on him at his bord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as much of him as they could: for said he, you know not whether you shall doe so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall serve an other maister: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithstanding, perceiving that his frends and men fell a weeping to heare him say so: to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to returne with victorie, then valliantly to dye with honor. Furthermore, the selfe same night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare and sorrowe, thinking what would be the issue and ende of this warre: it is said that sodainly they heard a marvelous sweete harmonie of sundrie sortes of instrumentes of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had song as they use in Bacchus feastes, with movinges and turninges after the maner of the Satyres: and it seemed that this daunce went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretacion of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeate and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to set those few footemen he had in order upon the hills adjoyning unto the citie: and there he stode to behold his gallies which departed from the haven, and rowed against the gallies of his enemies, and so stode still, looking what exployte his souldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neere unto them, they first saluted Cæsars men: and then Cæsars men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row

Strange  
noises heard,  
and nothing  
scene.

Antonius  
navie doe  
yeeld them  
selves unto  
Cæsar.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

toward the citie. When Antonius sawe that his men did forsake him, and yeelded unto Cæsar, and that his footemen were broken and overthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them, with whom he had made warrè for her sake. Then she being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which she had caused to be made, and there locked the doores unto her, and shut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time sent unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead. Antonius beleving it, said unto him selfe: What doest thou looke for further, Antonius, sith spitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou haddest, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life? When he had sayd these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed him selfe, and being naked said thus: O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry, that having bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be judged of lesse corage and noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to sweare unto him, that he should kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promise. His man drawing his sworde, lift it up as though he had ment to have striken his maister: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into him selfe, and fell downe dead at his maisters foote. Then said Antonius, O noble Eros, I thanke thee for this, and it is valliantly done of thee, to shew me what I should doe to my selfe, which thou couldest not doe for me. Therewithall he tooke his sword, and thrust it into his bellie, and so fell downe upon a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came somewhat to him selfe againe, he praied them that were about him to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting him selfe: untill at last there came a secretarie unto him called Diomedes, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was alive, he verie earnestlie

MARCUS ANTONIUS

Antonius overthrowen by Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatra fieth into her tombe or monument.

Eros Antonius servant, slue him selfe.

Antonius did thrust his sword into him selfe, but died not presently.

Antonius caried unto Cleopatraes tombe.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

A lamentable  
sight to see  
Antonius and  
Cleopatra.

The death of  
Antonius.

prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed: and Cleopatra her owne selfe, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monumentes, trised Antonius up. They that were present to behold it, said they never saw so pitiefull a sight. For, they plucked up poore Antonius all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to Cleopatra, raised up him selfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but Cleopatra stowping downe with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much a doe, and never let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and were as sorie to see her labor so, as she her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that sorte, and layed him on a bed: she rent her garments upon him, clapping her brest, and scratching her face and stomake. Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miserie and calamity, for the pitie and compassion she tooke of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either bicause he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded her, that she would seeke to save her life, if she could possible, without reproache and dishonor: and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius above any man else about Cæsar. And as for him selfe, that she should not lament nor sorowe for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes and honors he had received, considering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Romane by an other Romane. As Antonius gave the last gaspe, Proculeius came that was sent from Cæsar. For after Antonius had thrust his sworde

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

in him selfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his gard called Dercetæus, tooke his sword with the which he had stricken him selfe, and hidde it: then he secretly stole away, and brought Octavius Cæsar the first newes of his death, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied. Cæsar hearing these newes, straight withdrew him selfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his frende and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great employtes and battells. Then he called for all his frendes, and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his aunsweres also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. After this, he sent Proculeius, and commaunded him to doe what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to Rome, she would marvelously beautifie and sette out his triumphe. But Cleopatra would never put her selfe into Proculeius handes, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were very thicke and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they without understode, that Cleopatra demaunded the kingdome of Ægypt for her sonnes: and that Proculeius aunswered her, that she should be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all unto Cæsar. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her aunswere unto Cæsar. Who immediatly sent Gallus to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilst Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high windowe, by the which Antonius was trised up, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stooode to heare what Gallus sayd unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her, saw Proculeius by chaunce as he came downe, and shreeked out: O, poore Cleopatra, thou art taken.

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Octavius  
Cæsar  
lamenteth  
Antonius  
death.

Proculeius  
sent by  
Octavius  
Cæsar to bring  
Cleopatra  
alive.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

Cleopatra  
taken.

Cæsar tooke  
the citie of  
Alexandria.

Cæsar greatly  
honored  
Arrius the  
Philosopher.

Philostratus,  
the eloquent-  
est Orator in  
his time, for  
present  
speech upon  
a sodaine.

Then when she sawe Proculeius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. But Proculeius came sodainly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her: Cleopatra, first thou shalt doe thy selfe great wrong, and secondly unto Cæsar: to deprive him of the occasion and oportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to geve his enemies cause to accuse the most curteous and noble Prince that ever was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercielesse man, that were not to be trusted. So even as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her. Afterwardes Cæsar sent one of his infranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly charged to looke well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her selfe away: and for the rest, to use her with all the curtesie possible. And for him selfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of Alexandria, and as he went, talked with the Philosopher Arrius, and helde him by the hande, to the end that his contrie men should reverence him the more, because they saw Cæsar so highly esteeme and honor him. Then he went into the show place of exercises, and so up to his chaire of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of Alexandria were assembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craved mercie. Cæsar bad them all stande up, and told them openly that he forgave the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this warre. First, for the founders sake of the same citie, which was Alexander the great: secondly, for the beawtie of the citie, which he much esteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his verie frend Arrius. Thus did Cæsar honor Arrius, who craved pardon for him selfe and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sodaine speech: howbeit he falsly named him selfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therefore, Cæsar that hated his nature and

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

condicions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed Arrius steppe by steppe in a long mourning gowne, still bussing in his eares this Greeke verse:

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

A wise man if that he be wise in deede,  
May by a wise man have the better speede.

Cæsar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his feare, as to ridde Arrius of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching Antonius sonnes, Antyllus, his eldest sonne by Fulvia was slaine, because his schoolemaister Theodorus did betray him unto the souldiers, who strake of his head. And the villaine tooke a pretious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sowe in his girdell, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was founde about him, and so Cæsar trussed him up for it. For Cleopatraes children, they were verie honorable kept, with their governors and traine that waited on them. But for Cæsarion, who was sayd to be Iulius Cæsars sonne: his mother Cleopatra had sent him unto the Indians through Æthiopia, with a great summe of money. But one of his governors also called Rhodon, even such an other as Theodorus, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, and told him that Cæsar sent for him to geve him his mothers kingdom. So, as Cæsar was determining with him selfe what he should doe, Arrius sayd unto him:

Antyllus,  
Antonius  
eldest sonne  
by Fulvia,  
slaine.

Too Many Cæsars is not good :  
alluding unto a certaine verse of Homer that sayth :

The saying of  
Arrius the  
Philosopher.

Too Many Lords doth not well.]

Therefore Cæsar did put Cæsarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra. Many Princes, great kings and Captaines did crave Antonius body of Octavius Cæsar, to give him honorable burial: but Cæsar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally burie him with her owne handes, whom Cæsar suffred to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funeralls. Now was she

Cæsarion  
Cleopatraes  
sonne, put to  
death.

Cleopatra  
burieth  
Antonius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

altogether overcome with sorrow and passion of minde, for she had knocked her brest so pitiefully, that she had martired it, and in divers places had raised ulsers and inflamacions, so that she fell into a fever withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to absteine from meate, and that so she might have dyed easly without any trouble. She had a Phisition called Olympus, whom she made privie of her intent, to thend he shoulde helpe her to ridde her out of her life: as Olympus wryteth him selfe, who wrote a booke of all these thinges. But Cæsar mistrusted the matter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, and threatned her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, Cleopatra for feare yelded straight, as she would have yelded unto strokes: and afterwards suffred her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, Cæsar came him selfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra being layed upon a litle low bed in poore estate, when she sawe Cæsar come in to her chamber, she sodainly rose up, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete marvelously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering: and moreover, they might see the most parte of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelynes, and the force of her beawtie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitiefull state of hers, yet she showed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When Cæsar had made her lye downe againe, and sate by her beddes side: Cleopatra began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of Antonius. Cæsar, in contrarie maner, reproved her in every poynt. Then she sodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money and treasure she had. But by chaunce there stode Seleucus

Olympus  
Cleopatras  
Phisition.

Cæsar came to  
see Cleopatra.

Cleopatra, a  
martired  
creature,  
through her  
owne passion  
and fury.

Seleucus, one  
of Cleopatras  
Treasurers.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme a good servant, came straight to Cæsar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him wellfavoredly. Cæsar fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O Cæsar: is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou having vouchesaved to take the peines to come unto me, and hast done me this honor, poore wretche, and caitife creature, brought into this pitiefull and miserable estate: and that mine owne servaunts should come now to accuse me, though it may be I have reserved some juells and trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to geve some pretie presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they making meanes and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favor and mercie upon me? Cæsar was glad to heare her say so, perswading him selfe thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only geve her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to use her more honorably and bountifully then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but in deede he was deceived him selfe. There was a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cæsars very great familiars, and besides did beare no evil will unto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that Cæsar determined to take his jorney through Suria, and that within three dayes he would sende her away before with her children. When this was tolde Cleopatra, she requested Cæsar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, unto the soule of Antonius. This being graunted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, she began to speake in this sorte: ‘O my deare Lord Antonius, not ‘long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and ‘now I offer unto thee the funerall sprinklinges and oblations,

**MARCUS ANTONIUS**

Cleopatra bet her treasurer before Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatraes wordes unto Cæsar.

Cleopatra finely deceiveth Octavius Cæsar, as though she desired to live.

Cleopatraes lamentation over Antonius tombe.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

‘ being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and  
‘ kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine  
‘ with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, onely to  
‘ triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other  
‘ honors, offeringes, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the  
‘ last which Cleopatra can geve thee, sith nowe they carie her  
‘ away. Whilest we lived together, nothing could sever our  
‘ companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will  
‘ make us change our contries. For as thou being a  
‘ Romane, hast bene buried in Ægypt: even so wretched  
‘ creature I, an Ægyptian, shall be buried in Italie, which  
‘ shall be all the good that I have received by thy contrie.  
‘ If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power  
‘ and authoritie, sith our gods here have forsaken us: suffer  
‘ not thy true frend and lover to be caried away alive, that  
‘ in me, they triumphe of thee: but receive me with thee,  
‘ and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee. For  
‘ though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet none hath  
‘ grieved me more, nor that I could lesse beare withall:  
‘ then this small time, which I have bene driven to live  
‘ alone without thee.’ Then having ended these doleful  
‘ plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and sundry  
‘ nosegayes, and marvelous lovingly imbraced the same: she  
‘ commaunded they should prepare her bath, and when she  
‘ had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and  
‘ was sumptuously served. Nowe whilest she was at dinner,  
‘ there came a contrieman, and brought her a basket. The  
‘ souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what  
‘ he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out  
‘ the leaves that covered the figges, and shewed them that  
‘ they were figges he brought. They all of them marvelled  
‘ to see so goodly figges. The contrieman laughed to heare  
‘ them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleved  
‘ he told them truely, and so bad him carie them in. After  
‘ Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certaine table written and  
‘ sealed unto Cæsar, and commaunded them all to go out of  
‘ the tombes where she was, but the two women, then she  
‘ shut the dores to her. Cæsar when he received this table,  
‘ and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, founde straight what she ment, and thought to have gone thither him selfe: howbeit he sent one before in all hast that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sodaine. For those whom Cæsar sent unto her ran thither in all hast possible, and found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the dores, they founde Cleopatra starke dead, layed upon a bed of gold, attired and araied in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feete: and her other woman called Charmion halfe dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which Cleopatra ware upon her head. One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd unto her: Is that well done Charmion? Verie well sayd she againe, and meete for a Princes discended from the race of so many noble kings. She sayd no more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aspicke was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commaunded them to hide it under the figge leaves, that when she shoulde thinke to take out the figges, the Aspicke shoulde bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would have taken away the leaves for the figges, she perceived it, and said, Art thou here then? And so, her arme being naked, she put it to the Aspicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did pricke and thrust it with a spindell of golde, so that the Aspicke being angered withall, lept out with great furie, and bitte her in the arme. Howbeit fewe can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poyson in a hollow raser which she caried in the heare of her head: and yet was there no marke seene of her bodie, or any signe discerned that she was poysoned, neither also did they finde this serpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were seene certeine fresh steppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the dores side. Some say also, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Cæsar him selfe gave credit unto, bicause in his triumphe he caried Cleopatraes image,

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

The death of  
Cleopatra.

Cleopatraes  
two waiting  
women dead  
with her.

Cleopatra  
killed with the  
biting of an  
Aspicke.

The image of  
Cleopatra,  
caried in  
triumphe at  
Rome, with  
an Aspicke  
biting of  
her arme.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

The age of  
Cleopatra and  
Antonius.

Of Antonius  
issue came  
Emperors.

with an Aspicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Cæsar, though he was marvelous sorie for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondred at her noble minde and corage, and therefore commaunded she should be nobly buried, and layed by Antonius: and willed also that her two women shoulde have honorable buriall. Cleopatra dyed being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after she had raigned two and twenty yeres, and governed above foureteene of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three and fiftie yeares: and others say, six and fiftie. All his statues, images, and mettalls, were plucked downe and overthrowen, saving those of Cleopatra which stode still in their places, by meanes of Archibius one of her frendes, who gave Cæsar a thowsande talentes that they should not be handled, as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seven children by three wives, of the which, Cæsar did put Antyllus, the eldest sonne he had by Fulvia, to death. Octavia his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them up with hers, and married Cleopatra, Antonius daughter, unto Iuba, a marvelous curteous and goodly Prince. And Antonius, the sonne of Fulvia came to be so great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimacion about Cæsar, and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimacion: he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a sonne also called Marcellus: Cæsar married his daughter unto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his sonne. And Octavia also married one of her daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was deade, after he had bene married a while, Octavia perceiving that her brother Cæsar was very busie to choose some one among his frends, whom he trusted best to make his sonne in law: she perswaded him, that Agrippa should mary his daughter, (Marcellus widow) and leave her owne daughter. Cæsar first was contented withall, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards tooke away her daughter and married her unto Antonius, and Agrippa married Iulia, Cæsars daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octavia and Antonius. Domitius Ænobarbus married the one: and the

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

other, which was Antonia, so fayer and vertuous a young Ladie, was married unto Drusus the sonne of Livia, and sonne in law of Cæsar. Of this mariage, came Germanicus and Clodius: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be Emperour. And of the sonnes of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius, came also to be Emperour: who, after he had licentiously raigned a time, was slaine, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also, having a sonne by her first husbände Ænobarbus called Lucius Domitius: was afterwarde married unto Clodius, who adopted her sonne, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was Emperour in our time, and slue his owne mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madnes and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of Rome after Antonius.

MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

## THE COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS WITH ANTONIUS



OW, sithence it falleth out, that Demetrius and Antonius were one of them much like to the other, having fortune a like divers and variable unto them: let us therefore come to consider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that Demetrius power and greatnes fell unto him by inheritance from his father Antigonus: who became the greatest and mightiest Prince of all the successors of Alexander, and had won the most parte of Asia, before Demetrius came of full age. Antonius in contrary maner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of warre, and had not left him any meane to arise to such greatnes: durst take upon him to contend for the Empire with Cæsar, that had no right unto it by inheritaunce, but yet made

The power of  
Demetrius  
and Antonius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DEMETRIUS  
AND  
MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

him selfe successor of the power, the which the other by great paine and travell had obteyned, and by his owne industrie became so great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole worlde being devided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenaunce and power. Antonius being absent, oftentimes overcame the Parthians in battell by his Lieutenaunts, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about mount Caucasus, unto the sea Hyrcanium: insomuche as the thing they most reprove him for, did most witnes his greatnes. For, Demetrius father made him gladly marrie Phila, Antipaters daughter, although she was too old for him: bicause she was of a nobler house then him selfe. Antonius on thother side was blamed for marying of Cleopatra, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of blood, excelled all other kings in her time, but Arsaces: and moreover made him selfe so great, that others thought him worthie of greater things, then he him selfe required. Now for the desire that moved the one and the other to conquer realmes: the desire of Demetrius was unblameable and just, desiring to raigne over people, which had bene governed at all times, and desired to be governed by kings. But Antonius desire was altogether wicked and tyrannicall: who sought to keepe the people of Rome in bondage and subjection, but lately before rid of Cæsars raigne and government. For the greatest and most famous employte Antonius ever did in warres (to wit, the warre in the which he overthrew Cassius and Brutus) was begun to no other ende, but to deprive his contriemen of their libertie and freedom. Demetrius in contrarie maner, before fortune had overthrown him, never left to set Græce at libertie, and to drive the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bondage: and not like Antonius, that bosted he had slaine them that had set Rome at libertie. The chiefest thing they commended in Antonius, was his liberalitie and bountie: in the which Demetrius excelled him so farre, that he gave more to his enemies, then Antonius did to his frends: although he was marvelously well thought of, for the honorable and sumptuous funerall he gave unto Brutus bodie. Howbeit Demetrius caused all his enemies be buried

Demetrius  
and Antonius  
ambition to  
governe.

The liberalitie  
and bountie  
of Demetrius  
and Antonius.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that were slaine in battel, and returned unto Ptolomy all the prisoners he had taken, with great giftes and presentes he gave them. They were both in their prosperitie, verie riotouslie and licentiouslie geven: but yet no man can ever say, that Demetrius did at any time let slippe any oportunitie or occasion to followe great matters, but onelie gave him selfe in deede to pleasure, when he had nothing else to doe. And further, to say truely, he tooke pleasure of Lamia, as a man woulde have a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to doe, or is desirous to sleepe: but in deede when he was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then Ivey at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of Ladies closets, picked and princt to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet Euripides saith,

**DEMETRIUS  
AND  
MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**  
Demetrius  
and Antonius  
riota.

The souldier of Mars, cruell, and bloodie.

But to conclude, he never had overthrowe or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to followe his owne pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where Omphale secretlie stealeth away Hercules clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him. Even so Cleopatra oftentimes unarmed Antonius, and intised him to her, making him lose matters of great importaunce, and verie needeful jorneyes, to come and be dandled with her, about the rivers of Canobus, and Taphosiris. In the ende, as Paris fledde from the battell, and went to hide him selfe in Helens armes: even so did he in Cleopatraes armes, or to speake more properlie, Paris hidde him selfe in Helens closet, but Antonius to followe Cleopatra, fledde and lost the victorie. Furthermore, Demetrius had many wives that he had married, and all at one time: the which was not dissalowable or not forbidden by the kinges of Macedon, but had bene used from Philippe and Alexanders time, as also king Lysimachus and Ptolomy had, and did honor all them that he married. But Antonius first of all married two wives together, the which never Romane durst doe before, but him selfe. Secondly, he put away his first Romane wife, which he had lawfully

Canobus, and  
Taphosiris fl.

Demetrius  
and Antonius  
wives.

Antonius the  
first Romane  
that ever  
married  
two wives  
together.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**DEMETRIUS**

AND

**MARCUS  
ANTONIUS**

Demetrius  
lasciviousnes.

Dogges not  
suffred in  
Athens castle,  
bicause of  
bitcherie.

The love and  
impietie: the  
faith and  
falsehoode of  
Demetrius  
and Antonius.

Demetrius  
and Antonius  
acts in  
warres.

married: for the love of a straunge woman, he fondly fell in fancy withall, and contrarie to the lawes and ordinaunces of Rome. And therefore Demetrius mariages never hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wives: but Antonius contrarily was undone by his wives. Of all the lascivious partes Antonius played, none were so abhominable, as this onely fact of Demetrius. For the historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogges to come into the castell of Athens, bicause of all beastes he is too busie with bitcherie: and Demetrius, in Minervaes temple it selfe lay with Curtians, and there defiled many citizens wives. And besides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delightes, is joyned with Demetrius concupiscence: who suffered, (or more properly compelled) the goodliest young boy of Athens, to dye a most pitiefull death, to save him selfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, Antonius by his incontinencie, did no hurte but to him selfe: and Demetrius did hurte unto all others. Demetrius never hurte any of his frendes: and Antonius suffered his Uncle by his mothers side to be slaine, that he might have his will of Cicero to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardlie deserved to have bene pardoned, though he had killed Cicero, to have saved his Uncles life. Nowe where they falsefied and brake their othes, the one making Artabazus prisoner, and the other killing of Alexander: Antonius out of doubt had best cause, and justest colour. For Artabazus had betrayed him, and forsaken him in Media. But Demetrius (as divers doe reporte) devised a false matter to accuse Alexander, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he him selfe had done injurie unto: and was not revenged of him, that woulde doe him injurie. Furthermore, Demetrius him selfe did many noble feates in warre, as we have recited of him before: and contrarilie Antonius, when he was not there in person, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenantes: and they were both overthrown being personallie in battell, but yet not both after one sorte. For the one was forsaken of his men being Macedonians, and the other

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

contrarily forsooke his that were Romanes: for he fled, and left them that ventred their lives for his honor. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beastlie left them that loved him best, and were most faithfull to him. And for their deathes, a man can not praise the one nor the other, but yet Demetrius death the more reproachefull. For he suffered him selfe to be taken prisoner, and when he was sent away to be kept in a straunge place, he had the hart to live yet three yeare longer, to serve his mouth and bellie, as brute beastes doe. Antonius on the other side slue him selfe, (to confesse a troth) cowardly, and miserably, to his great paine and griefe: and yet was it before his bodie came into his enemies hands.

DEMETRIUS  
AND  
MARCUS  
ANTONIUS

## THE LIFE OF ARTAXERXES



ARTAXERXES, the first of this name of all the kinges of Persia, a noble and curteous Prince as any of all his house: was surnamed long hand, bicause his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the sonne of king Xerxes. But the seconde, whose life we presentlie intend to wryte, was surnamed Mnemon, as

The parentage  
of Artaxerxes.  
Mnemon.

muche to say, great memorie: and he was the sonne of the daughter of the first Artaxerxes. For king Darius, and his wife Parysatis, had foure sonnes: of the which, the eldest was this Artaxerxes, the seconde Cyrus, and two other younger, Ostanes and Oxathres. Cyrus from the beginning bare the name of the former auncient Cyrus, which in the Persian tongue signifieth the sunne. But Artaxerxes was called before Arsicas, although Dinon wryteth, that he was called Oarses. Howebeit it is unlikelie that Ctesias (although his bookes otherwise be full of fables, and as untrue as they are founde) should forget the name of the Prince with whom



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

## ARTAXERXES

The diversity of natures betwixt Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

he dwelt, whom he served, and continuallie followed, both him, his wife, and children. Cyrus from his cradell was of a hotte sturring minde, and Artaxerxes in contrarie manner, more mylde and gentle in all his actions and doinges. He was married to a verie fayer Ladie, by his father and mothers commaundement: and afterwards kept her against their wills, being forbidden by them. For king Darius his father, having put his sonnes wives brother to death, he woulde also have put her to death: but her husband with teares made suche humble sute to his mother for her, that with muche a doe, he did not onely gette pardon for her life, but graunt also that she shoulde not be put from him. This notwithstanding, his mother alwayes loved Cyrus better then him, and praied that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherefore Cyrus being in his provinces of Asia by the sea side, when he was sent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay sicke of the disease he dyed: he went thither in good hope his mother had prevailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of Persia. For his mother Parysatis alleaged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king Xerxes in the like case, through Demaratus counsell. She said that Arsicas was borne before her husband Darius was king, and Cyrus after he was crowned king. All this could not prevaile. For her eldest sonne Arsicas, surnamed Artaxerxes, was assigned king of Persia, and Cyrus governor of Lydia, and the kings Lieutenaunt generall of all the low contries of Asia toward the sea side. Shortly after king Darius death, the new king Artaxerxes went unto Pasargades, there to be consecrated and annoynted king, by the Priestes of the contrie of Persia. The place of this Pasargades, is a temple dedicated unto Minerva the goddessse of battells, as I take it: where the newe king must be consecrated, and when he commeth into the temple, he putteth of his gowne, and putteth on that which the old auncient Cyrus ware before he was king. Furthermore, he must eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figges with turpentine: and then he must drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are also certeine other secret ceremonies which

Arsicas, surnamed Artaxerxes, assigned to be king of Persia.

The maner of the consecrating of the kings of Persia, at Pasargades.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

they must keepe, and none doe know, but the verie Priestes them selves. Now Artaxerxes being readie to enter into all these ceremonies, Tisaphernes came unto him, and brought him one of the Priestes that had bene Cyrus schoolemaister in his youth, and had taught him magicke: who by reason shoulde have bene more offended then any man else, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cause why they beleved him the better, when he accused Cyrus. For he sayd that Cyrus had conspired treason against the king his brothers owne person, and that he ment traiterously to kill him in the temple, when he should put of his gowne. Some doe reporte, that Cyrus was apprehended upon this simple accusation by word of mouth. Others write also, that Cyrus came into the temple, and hiding him selfe, he was taken with the maner, and bewraied by the Priest. So as he was going to suffer death, his mother tooke Cyrus in her armes, and wounde the heare of her heade about his necke, and tyed him straightly to her: and withall she wept so bitterly, and made suche pitiefull mone unto the king her sonne, that through her intercession, the king graunted him his life, and sent him againe into his contrie and government. But this satisfied not Cyrus, neither did he so muche remember the king his brothers favor unto him, in graunting him his life: as he did the despite he had offred him, to be made prisoner. Insomuch that for this grudge and evill will, he ever after had a greater desire then before to be king. Some wryters alleage, that he entred into actual rebellion against his brother by force of armes, bicause he had not sufficient revenue to defray the ordinary expence of his house: howbeit it is a meere folly to say so. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might have had of her what he would have taken, and desired. Againe, to shew that of him selfe he had abilitie enough: we neede but alleage the souldiers and straungers he gave pay unto, in divers places, as Xenophon wryteth. For he brought them not all together into one armie, bicause he desired to kepe his enterprise as secret as he could: but he had frendes and servaunts that leaved them in divers places, and under divers colours. And furthermore, he had his

ARTA-  
XERXES

Cyrus  
accused unto  
his brother  
Artaxerxes.

Cyrus lay in  
waits to kill  
Artaxerxes.

Note the  
flatterie and  
dissimulation  
of a woman.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**

mother alway about the king, that cleered all suspicions conceived against him. He him self also on the other side, whilest he made these preparacions, wrote verie humbly unto his brother, sometime asking somewhat of him, and an other time accusing Tisaphernes: all to blinde the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and spite against him, besides that the king of his owne nature was somewhat dull, and slow, which the common people thought to proceede of his curtesie and good nature. At his first comming to the crowne, he followed the first Artaxerxes goodnes and curtesie, by whom he had his name. For he gave more easie audience unto suters, he did also more honorably reward and recompence those that had deserved well: and he used such moderacion in punishing of offenders, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious minde and desire of revenge, nor yet of will to hurte any man. When he had any thing geven him, he tooke it as thankfully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankely also geve againe. For, how litle a thing soever was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported that one Romises on a time presented him a marvelous fayer pomegarnet. By the sunne sayd he, this man in a short time of a litle towne would make a great citie, he that would make him governor of it. Another time there was a poore laborer seing every man give the king a present, some one thing, some another as he passed by them: he having nothing at hand to give him, ranne to the rivers side, and tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offred it him. King Artaxerxes was so glad of it, that he sent him in a cuppe of massy gold, a thowsand Darecks, which were peeces of gold so named, bicause the image of Darius was stamped upon them. And unto one Euclidas a Lacedæmonian, that presumed to give him bold words, it pleased him to aunswer him by one of his Captaines: Thou mayst say what thou lyst, and I as king, may say and doe what I lyst. Another time as he was a hunting, Tiribazus shewed the king his gowne that was all to tattered: Well, sayd the king, and what wouldest thou have me to doe? Tiribazus aunswered him, I praye your grace take another, and give me that you have on. The

Artaxerxes  
curteous, and  
easie to have  
accesse unto.

Artaxerxes  
liberalitie to  
a poore man  
that gave him  
a litle water.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

king did so, and told him: Tiribazus, I give thee my gowne, but I commaund thee not to weare it. Tiribazus tooke it, and cared not for the kings commaundement that he should not weare it, not that he was any evill disposed man, but bicause he was a fond light headed fellowe that cared for nothing: thereuppon he straight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did besides set on many jewells of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinckets and ornaments. Therewithal every man in the Court murmured at him, bicause it was a presumption, directly against the lawes and ordinaunces of Persia. Howbeit the king did but laugh at it, and tolde him: I give thee leave Tiribazus to weare those womens gawdes as a woman, and the kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the manner was in Persia that no person sate at the kings bord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother sate uppermost, and his wife lowermost: Artaxerxes made his two brethren Ostances and Oxathres sit at his owne bord. But yet he pleased the Persians best of all, bicause he was content his wife Statyra should sit openly in her charret, and that she might be seene and reverenced by the other Ladyes of the contry. And this made him singularly beloved of the people. Now, such as desired innovation and chaunge, and that could not away with quiet life: they gave out that the Realme of Persia required such a Prince as Cyrus, that was liberall of nature, given to armes, and greatly rewarded his servaunts, and that the greatnes of the Empire of Persia stode in neede of a king, whose mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterprises. So Cyrus thereuppon began to make warre upon his brother, not onely trusting unto them that were of the lowe contries about him, but hoping of those also in the high provinces neare unto the king. Furthermore he wrote also unto the Lacedæmonians, to pray them to send him men of warre, promising to give the footemen they sent, horses: and the horsemen, coches: landed men, whole villages: and to those that had villages, to give them cities. Besides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that should serve him in this warre, he would not pay them by accompt, but by full measure:

**ARTA-  
XERXES**  
Tiribazus  
lightnes, and  
Artaxerxes  
liberalitie.

Statira, king  
Artaxerxes  
wife.

Cyrus maketh  
warre against  
his brother  
Artaxerxes.

Cyrus  
wonderfull  
promises.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARTA-  
XERXES

and boasting largely of him selfe, he sayd he had a greater mind then his brother, that he could better away with hardnes then he, that he understoode magick better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and cary it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was so womanishe and fearefull, that when he went a hunting, he durst scarce get up upon his horse backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his charriot. When the Lacedæmonians had red his letters, they sent a litle scrowle unto Clearchus, commaunding him to obey Cyrus in any thing he would commaund him. So Cyrus did set forward to make warre against his brother, having leaved a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of Græcians, litle lesse then thirteene thowsand men: sometime advertising one cause, sometime another, why he leaved such a multitude of men. But his purpose could not be long dissembled: for Tisaphernes went him selfe unto the Court, to bringe newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was straight in an uprore withall. Many men also did accuse the Queene mother, for the practise of this warre, and all her friends and servaunts were vehemently suspected to be conspirators with Cyrus: but the greatest thing that troubled Parysatis most, was Queene Statyra her Daughter in lawe, who stormed marvelously to see this warre begon against king Artaxerxes her husband, and incessantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedst by othe? whereto are thy intercessions come thou madest, for the pardon of his life: who now conspyreth his brothers death? By saving of his life, art not thou now the cause of this warre and troubles we see at hand? After this reproch and shame received by Statira, Parysatis, being a cruell and malicious woman of nature, so hated her, that from thenceforth she sought all the wayes she could to put her to death. And Dinon the Historiographer sayth, that during this warre, she did execute her wicked purpose upon her: but Ctesias writeth, that it was after the warre. And therefore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of Persiaes Court, should certainly knowe the time when she did execute her treason against her, and also there is no

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

cause why he should rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the facte was done: although in many other places he commonly useth to fitten, and to write devises of his owne head. Therefore let us leave the report of this fact to the selfe same time and place as he hath written it. Now when Cyrus drew neare unto his brothers contry, he had newes, and a rumor ranne through his campe, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him so soone: and that he ment first to goe further into Persia, and to tary there til he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for prooffe hereof, the king having cast a great trenche of ten yardes broad, and as many high, the space of foure hundred furlong in length: he left it without gard, and let Cyrus winne it, who came on further without any resistance, even to the very citie selfe of Babylon. Howbeit in the ende, Tiribazus (as it is reported) was the first man that durst tell the king, that he should not flie fight in that sort, nor hide him selfe in the furdest part of Persia, leaving his enemy the Realmes of Media, Babylon, and Susa: considering also that he had many moe souldiers in readines then his enemye, and an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull, and abler to give counsell, and to fight, then he was. These words of Tiribazus made the king alter his mind, and to determine to give battell as soone as he could. Thereuppon he marched forward against his enemye, with nyne hundred thowsand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That marvelously astonied Cyrus men, and made them afrayd at the first, when they saw them in so excellent good order before them: for that they were dispersed stragling here and there without any order, and men unarmed, trusting too much in them selves, in despising of their enemye: so that Cyrus had much a doe to set his men in battell raye, and yet was it with great noyse and tumult. But the Græcians wondred most of all other, when they sawe the kinges armye marche in so good order of battell without any noyse. For they thought to have seene a wonderfull great disorder and confusion, in such an infinite multitude of people: and supposed they would have made such a

ARTA-  
XERXES

Artaxerxes  
army, of nyne  
hundred  
thowsand  
fighting men,  
against his  
brother  
Cyrus.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARTA-  
XERXES

Xenophon  
the Historio-  
grapher  
excellently  
describeth  
this battell  
betwixt Arta-  
xerxes and  
his brother  
Cyrus.

Safetie in a  
generall,  
requisite  
in batell.

Clearchus  
cowardlines  
reproved.

noyse, that one of them should not have heard another. Where in deede to the contrary, all was so well marshalled, specially bicause he had placed before his battell the best carts he had armed with siethes, and drawn with the strongest and biggest great horse he had in all his armie: hoping by the fierces and furye of their careere, to breake into the ranckes of the enemies, before they could come to joyne with theirs. But sith this battell is described by divers Historiographers, but specially by Xenophon, who hath (as a man would say) lively set it out to the eye, and setteth it forth to the Reader, not as a battell already fought, but presently a fighting, stirring up their mindes as if them selves were in the action and instant daunger, he hath so passingly set it downe: it were but a folly therefore of me to take uppon me to make any further description of it, saving to touch some speciall poynts worthy of note, which he peradventure hath left out. As, the place where the battell was fought, is called Counaxa, five hundred furlongs from Babylon: and how that before the battell, Clearchus gave Cyrus counsell to keepe behind the squadron of the Græcians, and not to hazard his person among the first: and that Cyrus aunswered him, What sayest thou Clearchus? wouldest thou have me that strives to be king, to shew my selfe unworthy to be a king? But Cyrus having made this fault, not standing upon his safetie and garde, but over rashely thrusting him selfe into great daunger: Clearchus selfe also committed as great a fault (if it were not worse) when he would not set his men in order directly against the battel of the enemies, where the kings person stode, but went and pent them up by the rivers side, being affrayd least they should have bene compassed in behind. For if he would have looked so straightly to him selfe, and have provided every way for his safetie, that no man might come to hurt him: he should have kept him selfe at home, and not have sturred one foote out of the dores. But sith he had comen so farre, as from the low contries of Asia, unto the place where the field was fought, and uncompeled, onely to put Cyrus in his fathers seate and imperial crowne, to goe choose a place in the battell, not where he might doe

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his Lord best service that had hyered him, but rather where he might fight more at his ease, and at lesse daunger: it was even as much, as if through cowardlines his wits had bene taken from him when he should have fought, or that through treason he had forsaken his enterprise. For, to prove that the trowpes which were about the kinges person, had never bene able to have received the charge of the Græcians, and that those being overthrown, the king had bene slayne in the field, or els forced to flie, and that Cyrus had wonne the field, and by this victorie had bene king: the successe of this battell doth plainely shewe it. And therefore Clearchus over curious respect, deserved more blame for the losse of this battell: then Cyrus overhardinea. For if king Artaxerxes would have chosen or wished a place where the Græcians might have done him lesse hurt: he could not have devised a fitter place that was so farre from him, and from whence the Græcians could neither see nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in sequell. For Cyrus was slayne before he could prevaile by Clearchus victorie, he was so farre from him: and furthermore, Cyrus therein knew before what was meetest to be done. For he commaunded Clearchus to place him selfe with his company in the midst of the battell: who aunswered him, he should take no thought for nothing, for he would see all things well ordered. And when he had sayd so, he marred all afterwarde: for where the Græcians were, they overthrew the barbarous people that made head against them, and had them in chase while they were weary of following of them. Cyrus being mownted upon a whot stirring horse, that had a hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called Pasacas, as Ctesias writeth: Artageres, the governor of the province of the Cadusians, spyed him a farre of, and when he had found him, clapped spures to his horse, and came with full cariere unto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and most unfaithfull and desperate man, thou now dishonorest the name of Cyrus (which is the goodliest and most honorablest name of all the Persians) for that thou hast brought so valliant Græcians hether to so wicked an enterprise, to spoyle the Persians goods, in hope to destroy thy souveraine Lord and

ARTA-  
XERXES

Pasacas,  
Cyrus horse.

Artageres  
the governor  
of the pro-  
vince of  
Cadusia,  
giveth charge  
upon Cyrus.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARTA-  
XERXES

only brother, who hath an infinite number of slaves and servaunts farre honest men then thou wilt be while thou livest, and that thou shalt presently knowe by prooffe, for thou shalt dye before thou see the king thy brothers face : and therewithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had. But Cyrus armor was so good, that it pearsed him not : yet the blowe came with such good will, that it made him stagger on his horse back. When Artagerses had given him that blowe, he presently turned his horse. But Cyrus therewithall threw a dart at him so happily, that he slue him right in the place above the bone that joyneth the two shoulders together : so that the head of his dart, ranne quite through his necke. Nowe, that Cyrus slue Artagerses with his owne hands in the field, all the Historiographers doe agree upon it : but for the death of Cyrus, because Xenophon toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not present in the very place where he was slayne : it shal not be hurtfull particularly to set downe the manner thereof, both according to the report of Dinon, and also of Ctesias. First, Dinon writeth, that after Cyrus had slayne Artagerses, he went with great fury, and slue in amongst the trowpe of them which were nearest unto the kings person, and that he came so neare the king, that he slue his horse starke dead under him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But Tiribazus that was hard by him, straight mownted the king againe upon an other horse, and sayd unto him : Your grace will remember this battell another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And Cyrus clapping spurres againe to his horse, threwe an other dart at Artaxerxes, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king tolde them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather dye then suffer it : so therewithall he spurring his horse to charge Cyrus (who came fiercely and desperatly, having an infinite number of blowes with darts throwen at him on every side) threw his dart at him also. So did all those that were about his person : and so was Cyrus slayne in this conflict. Some saye, that he was slayne with the wounde the kinge his brother gave him. Others saye, that it was a man at armes of the contry of Caria, unto whom

Cyrus slue  
Artagerses.

Dinons report  
of Cyrus  
death.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the king for reward of his good service, gave him the honor in all battels to cary before the first ranke, a cocke of gold on the toppe of a speare : for the Persians doe cal the Carians cocks, bicause in the warres they use to weare creasts in the toppe of their headpeeces. And this is Dinons reporte. But Ctesias, to cowche in fewe words that which Dinon reporteth at large, sayth : that Cyrus after he had slaine Artagerses, he gallopped on the spurre against the king him selfe, and the king against him, and not a worde betwene them both. Ariæus, one of Cyrus flatterers, threwe the first dart at the king, but killed him not : and the king with all his force againe threwe his dart, thinking to have hit Cyrus, but he missed him, and slue Tisaphernes, one of the valliantest and stowtest men Cyrus had about him, and so fell downe dead. Then Cyrus hit Artaxerxes so sore a blowe on his breast, that he pearced his armor, and entred into his flesh two fingers deepe. The king with this blowe fell downe to the ground : wherewithall the most part of his men about him were so affrayd, that they forsooke him, and fled. Howbeit he got up againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongst whome Ctesias sayd he was one : and so recovered a litle hill not farre of, to take a litle breath. In the meane time, Cyrus horse that was whotte in the mouth, and hard headed as we have tolde you : caried his master spyte of his hart farre from his men, amonge his enemies, and no man knew him, bicause it was night, and his men were very busie in seeking for him. But Cyrus hoping he had wonne the victory, being of a whot stirring nature, and valliant : he went uppe and downe in the thickest of his enemies, crying out in the Persian tongue, Save your selves poore men, save your selves. When they heard him say so, some made a lane for him to passe by them, and did him reverence : but by evill fortune his Tiara (which is the highe royall hat after the Persian manner) fell of of his head. Then a younge Persian called Mithridates, passing by him, hit him a blowe with his dart upon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound straight fell of a marvelous bleeding. Whereuppon, Cyrus staggering at it, fell to the ground in a swownd, and

**ARTA-  
XERXES**  
The Carians  
be called  
cocks, bicause  
they weare  
creasts on their  
headpeeces.  
Ctesias report  
of Cyrus  
death.

Artaxerxes  
hurt by  
Cyrus.

Cyrus hurt.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARTA-  
XERXES

Cyrus miser-  
able destiny.

his horse ran away from him : but the capparison he had upon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him, tooke it up. Shortly after, Cyrus being comen to him selfe againe, some of his Euenukes (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him up, thinking to set him upon another horse, and to get him out of the prease: but he was not able to sit on his horse. Thereupon he proved if he could better goe a foote, and the Euenuks held him up by the armes, and led him amased as he was, not able to stand on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: bicause he heard his enemies flying about him cry, The gods save king Cyrus, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receive them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the citie of Caunus, who followed the kings campe, getting their living as drudges and slaves, to doe most vile service. They joined with the trowpe where Cyrus was, supposing they had bene the kings men: but when they perceived in the ende by the red coates they ware upon their armors, that they were enemies, for that the kings men ware white coates: there was one among the rest that valliantly strake at Cyrus behind his pertisan, not knowing in deede that it was Cyrus. The blowe lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his sinewes so, that Cyrus fell withall, and falling, by misfortune fell upon a great stone with his browe, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth Ctesias report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his throate with a dull edged knife, he hath such a doe to bring Cyrus to his ende. Now after Cyrus was dead, Artasyras, one of king Artaxerxes Euenukes, whome they called the kings eye in the Court: passing by a horsebacke, knewe Cyrus Euenukes that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their master. So he asked the Euenuke whome Cyrus loved best: Who is that that is dead, O Pariscas, that thou weepest so bitterly? Pariscas answered him againe, Seest thou not Artasyras, that it is Cyrus but newly dead? Artasyras wondred much when he sawe him. So he comforted the Euenuke, and willed him in no case to goe from the body: and in the meane time he

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

galloped a pace to the king, who thought he had lost all, and was very ill besides, both for the great thirst he suffered, as also for his wound he had on his breast. Nowe when the Euenuke came unto the king, and told him with a smyling countenaunce the newes, how he had seene Cyrus dead: the king was so joyfull at the newes, that he was desirous himselfe forthwith to goe unto the place where he lay to see him, and commaunded Artasyras to bring him thither. But after he had considered better of it, he was counselled not to goe thither him selfe for feare of the Græcians, who they sayd wonne all, and were yet chasing and killing them in the field, that fled: but rather that he should send a good company of men thither, to bring him just report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Upon this advise he stayed, and sent thither thirtye men, every man with torches in their handes. In the meane tyme, one of his Euenukes called Satibarzanes, ranne up and downe to see if he could get any water for the king, that was almost dead for thirst: for there was no water neare unto him where he was, and besides, his campe was farre from him. His Euenuke having runne up and downe a great way to seeke it, mette by chaunce with these poore slaves and porters the Caunians, amonge the which one of them caried in an olde ragged goates skinne, about eight glassefulles of naughty stincking water. So he presently caried the same to the king, who dranke it up every whit. When the king had dronke it, the Euenuke asked him, if that naughty water did him no hurt. The king sware by the goddes unto him, that he never drancke better wine, nor sweeter water then that was, nor that pleased him better then that did: and therefore, sayde he, I beseeche the goddes if it be not my happe to finde him that gave thee this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to send him good fortune. As the king was talking thus with his Euenuke, the thirty men with their torches returned unto him, who altogether with joyfull countenaunce, confirmed the good newes he looked not for: and then there were comen together againe a great number of souldiers about him, and still came moe one after another, that he beganne

ARTA-  
XERXES

King Artaxerxes being a thirst, dranke stincking puddle water, and sayd he never tasted sweeter.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**

The manner  
of the Per-  
sians in warre,  
against a  
traitor to  
the king.

Plutarck  
reproveth  
Ctesias for  
a lyer.

How Arta-  
xerxes re-  
warded the  
good, and also  
punished the  
evill.

again to be coragious. Then he came downe into the playne, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went straight to the place where his brother Cyrus body lay. There, following the auncient manner of the Persians against traytors to the king: he caused his head and right hand to be striken of, and then made his head be brought unto him, the which he tooke by the heares of his head (for Cyrus ware them long and thicke) and did him selfe shew it unto them that fled still, and were affraid, to encorage them againe. They wondering to see it, did him humble reverence, and so gathered by companies about the king, that in a smal time there were gathered together about him, three score and tenne thowsand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. In deede Ctesias sayth, that he had but foure hundred thowsand fighting men in all: but Dinon and Xenophon say more. And for the number of them that were slayne, Ctesias sayth, that word was brought to the king, that there were not above nyne thowsand slaine, howbeit that to sight they seemed to be no lesse then twenty thowsand. But for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. But furthermore, where he sayth that the king did send him with Phayllus Zacynthian unto the Græcians, and others with him: that is a flat lye. For Xenophon knew right well, that this Ctesias wayted upon the king, bicause he speaketh of him in divers places of his historie: and if he had bene appoynted by the king to cary report unto the Græcians of so waightly a matter, it is like enough Xenophon would not have concealed it, when he nameth Phayllus Zacynthian. But Ctesias (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, and partiall unto the Lacedæmonians, but specially unto Clearchus: and is glad when he can get any occasion to speake of him selfe for his glory, of Lacedæmon, and of Clearchus. Now after this battell, king Artaxerxes sent goodly riche gifts unto Artagerses sonne, whose father Cyrus had slayne with his owne hands, and as it is reported, did also greatly honor Ctesias and many others: and did not forget also to cause the poore Caunian slave to be sought out, that had given him the water to be caried to him which

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARTA-  
XERXES

saved his life: and when he had found him out, of a poore wretch unknowen before, he made him a riche noble man. He severely punished those also that had offended the martial law, as amongst others, Arbaces, one of the Medes: who when the battell was joyned, he fled first on Cyrus side, and then when he understoode he was slayne, he returned againe to the kings side. For, supposing that it was rather timerousnes and cowardly nature, then for treason or evil will he bare him: he compelled him to carye a whore on his backe starke naked, all daye long about the market place. And to another, who besides he had yeilded him selfe to his enemies, falsely boasted that he had slayne two: he made his tongue to be bored thorough in three severall places, with a cordiners alle. Now the king being of opinion that it was him selfe that had slayne his brother Cyrus with his owne hand, and being desirous that every man should so thinke and say: he sent presents unto Mithridates, that had hurt him first in the forehead, and commaunded him that caried the giftes unto him, to tell him from the king: The king doth send thee these presents, bicause thou finding first the capparison of Cyrus horse, diddest bring it unto the king. The Carian also that had cut the hamme of his legge wherewith Cyrus fell downe, asked his gift likewise: the which the king gave him, and bad the Messenger tell him, The king doth give thee this, bicause thou wast the second person that broughtest him the good newes. For Artasyras was the first, and thou the second, that brought him newes of the death of Cyrus. Now Mithridates, albeit he was not well pleased in his mind with those wordes, he went his way, and sayd nothing then, nor made any thing a doe: but the unfortunate Carian fondely fell into a foolish vaine, common unto men. For, the sodeine joy he felt (as it seemeth) to see such a goodly riche present before him, as the king sent him: made him so forget him selfe, that he began to aspyre, and to pretend greater things, then became his state and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings gifte, as in respecte that he had brought him worde of Cyrus death: but began to storme, and to rage, calling the gods to witnesse, that it was he onely, and none other, that slue

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**  
The punish-  
ment of them  
that slue  
Cyrus.

Parysatis  
straunge  
crueltie,  
putting the  
Carian to  
death.

Cyrus, and that they did him great wronge, to take this honor from him. The king beeing told of it, tooke it so angrily: that he presently commaunded them to strike of his head. But Parysatis (the Queene mother) beeing present when the king gave this commaundement, she prayed him not to put him to death in that sort: for the Villain, sayd she, let me alone, I will chastise him well enough for his presumption and rashe speeche. The king was contented she should have him. Thereuppon she sent the Sergeaunts to take this cursed Carian, and made him be hanged upon a gybbet ten dayes together, and at the tenne dayes end, caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and last of all, poored molten mettell into his eares, and so killed the Villaine with this kinde of torment. Mithridates also shortly after, died miserably, by a like follye. He was bidden to supper at a feast, whether came also the king and Queene mothers Euenukes: and when they came, Mithridates sate downe at the bord in the kings golden gowne he gave him. When they had supped, and that they beganne to drinke one to another, one of Parysatis Euenukes sayd unto Mithridates: The king hath in deede given thee a goodly gowne Mithridates, and goodly chaynes and carcanets of gold, and so is the sword very riche and good he gave thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man I warrant thee but will thinke thee a happy man. Mithridates then, the wine fuming into his brayne, answered straight: What meanest thou by that, Sparamixes? I deserved a better then this, when the battell was fought. Then Sparamixes laughing on him, answered, I do not speak it for any hurt or evil wil I beare thee, Mithridates: but to speake franckly among our selves, because the Græcians have a common proverbe, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valliant acte was it to take up a capparison of a horse that fell on the ground, and to cary it to the king? which the Euenuke spitefully put forth unto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to provoke him to speake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, and could not kepe his tongue, and least of all when he had droncke so wel as he had done, and so it fell

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

out in deede. For Mithridates could not byte it in, but replied straight: You may talke as long as you lyst of the capparison of a horse, and such trash, but I tell you plainly, that Cyrus was slayne with myne owne hands, and with no mans els. For I hit him not in vaine as Artagerses did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and strake him through and through his head againe, and so overthrewe him, of which blow he dyed. He had no sooner spoken those words, but the rest that were at the bord, cast down their eyes, foreseeing the death of this pore and unfortunat Mithridates. But then the master of the feast began to speake, and sayd unto him: Friend Mithridates, I pray thee let us drinke and be mery, and reverence and thanke the good fortune of our king, and for the rest, let this talke goe, it is too highe for us. When the Euenuke went from thence, he tolde Parysatis the Queene mother what Mithridates had sayd before them all: and she went and told the king of it. Who was marvelously offended withall to be so belyed, and to lose the thing that was most honorable, and best pleased him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both Græcians and barbarous people) should certainly beleve, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt, but yet that he alue Cyrus with his owne hande. So the king commaunded that Mithridates should suffer the paines of death in botes, the which is after this maner. They take two botes made of purpose so even, that the one is nether broder nor longer then the other, and then lay the offender in one of them upon his back, and so cover him with the other, and do sow both botes together: so that the parties feete, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpose for him, the rest of his bodye is all hidden within. Now they give him meate as much as he will eate, and if he wil not eate, they force him to it, by thrusting alles in his eies: then when he hath eaten, they give him hony to drinke mingled with milke, and they do not only powre it into his mouth, but also all his face over, turning him ful into the sunne, so that his face is all covered over with flies: and furthermore, being driven to do his needes in that troughe, of his excrements there ingender wormes that eate his body

**ARTA-  
XERXES**  
See the perill  
of hastines,  
and rash  
answer.

The terrible  
death of  
offenders, in  
boates or  
troughes,  
among the  
Persians.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**

The miserable  
death of  
Mithridates.

The devious  
craft of  
Parysatis, and  
her great  
skill and  
cunning  
at dyce.

Parysatis  
craft and  
crueltie.

even to the very privities. Then, when they see the man is dead, they take of the uppermost boate, and find all his flesh devoured with vermine ingendring of him, even to his very intrals. So, when Mithridates had miserably languished in this manner, seventeene daies together: at length he died in extreme torments. Now Parysatis (the Queene mother) lacked no more to accomplish her wicked desire, but Mesabates, one of the kings Euenukes that had cut of Cyrus head and hand: and seing that he was very ware and circumspect in his behavior, that she could not take him at any advauntage: in the end she devised a fine way to intrap him. She had a marvelous wit, and amonge other things could play passingly wel at all games at dyce, and did many times play with the king her sonne before the warres: and after the warres also, when he had made peace, she did play at dyce with him as she had done before, insomuch as she knew all his secret love, and furthered him to enjoy it. To be short, she would never be out of his sight but as litle as she could, and would let his wife Statira have as litle time with him as might be, that she might governe and rule him as she would: both because she hated her of all creatures living, and also for that she would beare the greatest sway and credit about him. When she saw the king one day at leysure, not knowing how to passe the time away: she inticed him to play a thowsand Darecks at dyce, and was contented to lose them willingly, and paid the thowsand Darecks downe, seeming notwithstanding to be angry with her losse. So she prayed him also to play one of his Euenukes with her: and the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betwene them that they should both name and except five of the trustiest and chieftest Euenukes they had: and then, which of them lost, should presently deliver unto the winner his choyce of all the other Euenukes he would demaund. Thus they fel to play, and she imploying all the cunning she had, and playing as warely as she could possible, besides that the dyce ranne of her side, her luck served her so, that she wanne: and then she required Mesabates for her winnings, being none of those the king had excepted. When she had

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him delivered her, she gave him to the hangmen, and willed them to flea him alive, and then that they should crucifie him, and naile him to a crosse, and hang his skin upon an other peece of tymber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was marvelous angry withall when he knew it, and greevously offended with his mother. Howbeit she sported it out, and laughing, told him: In deed it becomes thee wel to be angry for losing an old gelded Villain, where I lost a thowsand Darecks quietly, and said never a word. So there came no other thing of it, saving that the king was a litle angry, and repented him that he had plaid so fondly and was so finely mocked. But Queene Statira on the other side, besids that she was against her in al other things: she spared not to tel Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good and faithful servaunts so cruelly to death, for Cyrus sake. But now, after that Tisaphernes (king Artaxerxes Lieuetenant) had deceived Clearchus, and other captaines of Græce, detestably falsifying his word he had given them, and that he had sent them bound unto the king: Ctesias sayth, that Clearchus praied him to helpe him to a combe, and that having had one by his meanes, and also comed his head, it pleased him so wel, that to requite his good wil, he gave him his seale of armes from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, for a witnes of the great friendship that was betwene them two. He sayth also that in the stone of this ring there was graven the daunce of the Caryatides. And furthermore, that the other souldiers which were prisoners with Clearchus, did take away the moste part of the vittells that were sent to him, and left him litle or nothing: and that he did remedye all this, procuring a greater quantitie to be sent unto them, and that they should put Clearchus portion apart, and all the other souldiers part also by them selves. This he did, as he sayth, by Parysatis consent and commaundement, who knowing that amongst other vittells they dayly sent Clearchus a gammon of bacon: she tolde him one day he should doe well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, and to send it him, to thend that the life of so noble and valliant a man as he was, should not fall to the crueltie of

ARTA-  
XERXES

Tisaphernes  
betrayeth the  
Captaines of  
Græce.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**

Clearchus,  
and other  
Captaines of  
Græce put to  
death, by king  
Artaxerxes.

Ctesias  
vanity.

The cause of  
Parysatis  
hate unto her  
Daughter in  
law, Statyra.

Parysatis  
practiseth  
to poyson  
Queene  
Statira.

the king. Howbeit, that he was affrayd to meddle withall, and durst not doe it: and that the king sware, and promised his mother, (who was an earnest suter to him for Clearchus) that he would not put him to death. This notwithstanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perswaded to the contrary, by Queene Statira his wife: he put them all to death, but Menon. Therefore Parysatis, Queene mother, after that time (sayth Ctesias) devised all the wayes she could to poyson Queene Statira, and to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this smelleth like a lye, that Parysatis should entend so wicked and daungerous an acte, as to put the kinges lawfull wife to death, by whome he had sonnes that were to inherite the crowne, onely for the love and respect of Clearchus: and it is too plaine that he coynd that, to honor and magnifie Clearchus memorie the more. But to prove it, a man may easily find it by the lyes he addeth afterwards unto it: saying, that after the Captaines were slayne, all the bodies of the rest were torne a peeces by dogges and fowles: and also that there came a boysterous winde, and covered all Clearchus body with a great hill of dust, and that out of this hill of dust shortly after there spronge up many palme trees, which made a prety thicke grove, that it shadowed all that place. Insomuch that the king him selfe did afterwards marvelously repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honest man, and beloved of the gods. This was not for Clearchus sake, but for an olde cankered malice Parysatis had long time borne in her hart against Queene Statira: bicause she saw wel enough, that the credit and authoritie her self had with the king, was in respect of a sonnes duty and obedience to his mother, and in contrary maner, Statiraes credit and authoritie had a better ground and foundacion, bicause it came of the love and good wil the king did beare her. And this is the onely cause that made her to practise the death of Quene Statira, having determined that her self, or daughter in law, must nedes dye. Now Quene mother had one of the women of her chamber called Giginis, that was of great credit about her, and whome she onely trusted. Dinon writeth, that this Giginis did help Parysatis to make the poyson. But

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Ctesias writeth contrarily, and saith that she onely knew it, but otherwise that it was against her will : and that he that made the poyson, was one Belitaras, but Dinon calleth him Melantas. Now, though in outward semblance and shew Queene mother and Statira semed to have forgotten all malice betwene them, and that they began again one of them to keepe company with the other, and did eate and drinke together : yet one of them mistrusted the other, and tooke great heede to them selves, both of them eating one selfe meate, and in one dishe together, and were both served with one self officers and men. In Persia there is a litle bird, of the which all the parts of it is excellent good to eate, and is ful of fat within : so that it is thought it liveth by ayer and dewe, and in the Persian tongue they call it Ryntacea. Parysatis, as Ctesias sayth, tooke one of these birdes, and cut it in the middest with a litle knife, the which was poysoned onely on one of the sides, and gave that halfe which was poysoned unto Statira. Yet Dinon writeth, that it was not Parysatis her selfe that gave it her, but her carver Melantas that carved her meate, and still gave Queene Statyra of that meate which the side of his poisoned knife had touched. So Quene Statira presently fel sick of the disease wherof she died, with grevous panges and gripings in her bowels, and found plainly that she was poysoned by Parysatis meanes : wheruppon she told the king as much, who was of the same opinion, and thought it was his mother, bicause he knew her cruel revenging mind, that never pardoned any, against whom she conceived any grudge. The king therefore to know the troth, when his wife Statira was dead, apprehended all his mothers household servaunts and officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confesse the troth, saving Gigis, whome Queene mother kept close in her chamber a long time, and would never suffer the king to have her : who earnestly requested her to deliver her unto him. Notwithstanding, Gigis her selfe at length prayed Quene mother to give her leave one night to go home to her house. The king understanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way : and when she was taken, he condemned her to suffer the paynes of death ordeyned for poysoners,

ARTA-  
XERXES

Ryntacea a  
bird of Persia  
that hath no  
excrements.

How Statira  
was poysoned.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**

The punish-  
ment for  
poysoners  
in Persia.

the which in Persia is executed in this manner: they make them put their head upon a great plaine stone, and with an other stone they presse and strike it so long, till they have dashed the braynes of the malefactor out of their head. After this sort was Gigis put to death. Now for Parysatis his mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor sayd no more unto her, but confined her unto Babylon according to her desire, and sware, that whilest she lived, he would never see Babylon. In this state stode the affaires of the king. But now, Artaxerxes having done the utmost he could to have overcomen the Græcians which came to make warre with him in the hart of his Realme, and would have bene as glad of that, as he was to have overcome Cyrus, and to keepe his crowne and Realme: he could never prevaile against them. For though they had lost Cyrus that gave them enterteinment, and all their private Captaines that led them: they saved them selves notwithstanding, being in the hart of his Realme, and shewed the Persians by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold and silver, curiositie, and fayer women, and otherwise, nothing but pompe and vanity. Hereuppon all the Græcians became couragious, and despised the barbarous people: insomuch that the Lacedæmonians thought it a great shame and dishonor unto them, if they did not deliver the Græcians that dwelt in Asia, from the slavery and bondage of the Persians, and kept them from the open violence and cruelty of the barbarous people. For they having at other times attempted to doe it by their Captaine Thimbron, and afterwards also by Dercyllidas, whom they sent thither with an army, and having done nothing worthy memory: at length they determined to send their king Agesilaus thither in person, who passing through Asia with his shipps, began presently to make hot warre against the Persians as soone as ever he had landed his army. For, at the first conflict he overthrew Tisaphernes (the king of Persiaes Lieuetenant) in battel, and made the most part of the cities of Græce that are in Asia, to rebel against him. Artaxerxes loking into this warre, and wisely considering what way and meanes he was to take, to make warre with the Græcians: he sent unto Græce one

Agesilaus  
king of Laco-  
dæmon,  
maketh warre  
with the  
Persians.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Hermocrates a Rhodian, (of great credit about him) with a marvelous summe of gold and silver, bountifully to bestow in gifts among the nobilitie and chiefe rulers of the cities of Græce, to make all the other Græcians to rise against the Lacedæmonians. Hermocrates wisely executed his commission, for he made the chieftest cities of Græce to rebel against Lacedæmon: so that all Peloponnesus being up in armes, and in great garboyle, the Ephori at Lacedæmon were inforced to send for Agesilaus home again. Agesilaus being sory to depart out of Asia, said unto his friends: that the king of Persia had driven him out of his Realme with thirty thowsand archers: bicause that the Persian coyne is stamped with an archer, having a bow in his hand. Artaxerxes also drave the Lacedæmonians out of all their jurisdiction by sea, by the meanes of Conon, general of the Athenians, whom Pharnabazus (one of his Lieuutenants) had wonne to take his part. For Conon, after he was overthrowen in battel at a place called the goates river, kept ever after in the Ile of Cyprus, not so much for the safetie of his person, as also for that it was a mete place to stay in, until the wars of Græce were appeased. He knowing that the devise he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, and on the contrary side, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe judgement to be employed: he wrote letters unto him of his devise what he thought to doe, straightly charging him whom he delivered his letters unto, that if he could possibly, he should cause the same to be delivered unto the king by Zenon the Cretan, one of the kings dauncers, or by one Polycritus his Phisition, born in the city of Mende: and in both their absences, then to give it unto Ctesias, to deliver unto the king. It chaunced so that this letter came to the hands of Ctesias: who (as it is reported) added moreover unto the contents of the letter, that the king should send him unto Conon, bicause he was a necessary man to be employed in his service, but specially by sea. Ctesias sayth not so, but writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gave him this charge. Now, after Artaxerxes had through the leading of Conon and Pharnabazus, won the battell by sea neare to the Ile of

ARTA-  
XERXES

The Persian  
coyne, how it  
is stamped.

Artaxerxes  
drave the  
Lacedæ-  
monians  
from all their  
dominions  
by sea.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**  
Gnidus Ins.

Antalcidas  
peace.

Antalcidas  
Lacedæ-  
monian,  
greatly  
esteemed of  
Artaxerxes.

The Persians  
full of vanitie  
and curiositie.

Gnidus, and that thereby he had driven all the Lacedæmonians from their jurisdiction by sea, all Græce had him in marvelous great estimation: so that he gave unto the Græcians with such conditions, as he would, that so famous peace, called Antalcidas peace. This Antalcidas was a citizen of Sparta, the sonne of one Leon, who favoring king Artaxerxes affaires, procured by the treatie of this peace, that the Lacedæmonians left unto Artaxerxes all the cities of Græce in Asia, and all the Iles contained in the same, to enjoy quietly, making them pay tribute at his pleasure. This peace being concluded with the Græcians (if so shameful a treason, reproch, and common infamy to all Græce may be called a peace, as never warre fell out more dishonorable and infamous for the vanquished) king Artaxerxes that otherwise hated the Lacedæmonians to the death, and that esteemed them (as Dinon writeth) the impudentest men living: did notwithstanding love Antalcidas passingly wel, and entertained him very honorably, when he came into Persia unto him. It is reported that the king one day tooke a garland of flowers, and did wet it with the most pretious and sweetest oyle of perfume that was prepared for the feast, and sent the same unto Antalcidas: insomuch as every man marvelled to see the king set so much by him. In deed he was a mete man to follow the vanity and curiositie of the Persians, and had wel deserved such a garland to be sent him: who was so bold to daunce a daunce before the Persians, mocking and counterfeating Leonidas and Callicratidas, two of the valliantest men that ever were in Græce. Therefore one said at that time in the presence of king Agesilaus: O how unhappy is poore Græce at this day, when the Lacedæmonians come to follow the Persians? But Agesilaus presently answered him againe, Not so, said he: but rather the Persians followe the Lacedæmonians. Notwithstanding, this wise answer Agesilaus made, did not take away the shame of the fact: and shortly after, the Lacedæmonians lost the battell of Leuctres, and therewith also the signiorie and principalitie they had kept of long time over all Græce, although they had lost their estimation before, for consenting to so shame-

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ful and dishonorable a peace. When Sparta florished most, and was chiefe of all the other cities of Græce: so long did Artaxerxes stil continue to make much of Antalcidas, and called him his friend. But after that the Lacedæmonians had lost the battell of Leuctres, having received so great an overthrow, and wanting money: they sent Agesilaus into Ægypt, and Antalcidas into Persia unto king Artaxerxes, to pray him to ayde and helpe the Lacedæmonians. Howbeit the king made so smal accompt of him, and disdained him so much, denying him, and his requests: that he returned backe to Sparta, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there also seing that his enemies mocked him, and fearing that the Ephori would commit him to prison: he killed him self with famine. About that time also, the Thebans after they had won the battell of Leuctres, sent Ismenias and Pelopidas into Persia, unto king Artaxerxes: where Pelopidas did nothing unworthy of him self. Howbeit Ismenias being commaunded to kneele to the king, he let fall his ringe at his feete, and stowped to take it up: whereby it was thought of some that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time Artaxerxes liking a secret advertisement very wel sent him from Timagoras the Athenian: he gave him ten thowsand daricks by his Secretary called Belluris. And bicause he had a sickly body, and was driven to drink cowes milke to restore him: the king therfore sent foure score mylche kyne with him to give milke to the paille, to have fresh milke every daye. Furthermore, he sent him a bed throughly furnished with al things necessary, and groomes of the chamber to make his bed, saying, that the Græcians could not tel how to make it: and did also let him have men to cary him upon their armes to the sea side, bicause he was sicke, and whilst he was at the Court, he enterteined him very honorably and bountifully. So Ostances, the kings brother, said one day unto him: Timagoras, remember how honorably thou art served at thy bord, for it is not for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treason, then for any remembrance of the benefit received. So the Athenians afterwards condemned the

ARTA-  
XERXES

The death of  
Antalcidas  
Lacedæ-  
monian.

Timagoras  
Athenian,  
brybed by  
king Artaxerxes.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

### ARTA- XERXES

Timagoras was put to death, for taking brybes and gifts of the king of Persia.

King Artaxerxes killeth Tisaphernes.

Artaxerxes fell in againe with his mother, Parysatis, and sent for her to come to the Court.

Artaxerxes married his eldest Daughter Atossa.

same Timagoras to dye, because he had taken bribes and money of the king of Persia. But Artaxerxes in recompence of so many other things that he had done, to despite the Græcians with, he did one thing that pleased them marvelously: when he did put Tisaphernes to death, who was the dreadfulest enemye the Græcians had. Parysatis the Queene mother did helpe to bringe this to passe, aggravating the accusations brought in against him. For the king kept not his anger longe against his mother, but fell in againe with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an excellent witte and noble courage to governe a great kingdome: and besides, that there was nothing nowe to let them to come together as much as they would, to give any occasion of jelousie or malice to any person. So ever after, his mother Parysatis endeavored her selfe to feede the king her sonnes humor every manner of way, seeming to mislike nothing that he did: Whereby she grewe in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatsoever she asked him. So she perceyved that the king was extreame in love with one of his owne Daughters, that was called Atossa: howbeit that he dissembled his love the best he could, and kept it secret, chiefly for feare of her, although some write, that in deede he had already had her maydenhead. Nowe Parysatis having found his love, she beganne to make more of his Daughter then she did before, and talking with her father, sometye she prayed her beauty, another tyme her grace and good countenance, saying that she was like a Queene and noble Princesse. So that at length by litle and litle she perswaded him to marye her openly, not passing for the lawes and opinions of the Græcians, considering that God had given him unto the Persians, to stablishe lawes unto them, to decyde right from wronge, and the good from the bad. Some Historiographers doe write, and amongst them Heraclides of Cumes: that Artaxerxes did not onely marie the eldest of his Daughters, but the second also called Amestris, of whome we will speake hereafter. Nowe when he had married the eldest, Atossa, he loved her so entierly well, that though she fell sicke of the disease commonly called Vitiligo, that ranne over all her bodie: he loved her not the worse for

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

it, but prayed continually for her unto the goddesse Iuno, honoring no other goddesse but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image, and sent by his friendes and Lieutenants so many offerings, that all the way from his Court gates unto the temple of Iuno, (which was sixteene furlong of) was full of gold, silver, riche purple silkes, and horse that were sent thither. He beganne to make warre also with the Egyptians, and made Pharnabazus and Iphicrates Athenian, his Lieutenants, who did no good, bicause they fell at variance thone with thother. But afterwards, Artaxerxes him selfe went in person to conquer the Cadusians with three hundred thousand footemen, and tenne thousand horsemen. So he invaded their contry, which was a very rude contry, alway darke and cloudy: the earth bringeth forth nothing that man soweth, but doth onely feede the inhabitants with peares, apples, and such like frute, and yet the men be very stronge and valliant notwithstanding. So when he was entred farre into the contry before he was ware, he fell into great want of vittells, and was also in great daunger. For his souldiers found nothing in all the contry that was good to eate, and worst of all, no vittells could come unto them from any place, bicause of the hardnes and naughty wayes of the contry: so that his campe lived onely with the fleshe of their beastes of cariage, and yet they sold it dearely: for, an asses head was sold for three skore silver Drachmas. To conclude, the famyne was so great, that provision fayled for the kings owne mouth, and there were but fewe horse left, for all the rest were eaten. Then Tiribazus, that had oftentimes bene chiefe about the king, bicause he was a valliant man, and that through his folly was many tymes also out of favor, as at that present tyme, when he had no authoritie nor estimation: he devised a stratageame, whereby he saved the king and all his campe. In this contry of the Cadusians, there were two kinges in the field with their armies, both of them camped a sonder one from the other. Tiribazus, after he had spoken with king Artaxerxes, and had tolde him what he ment to doe: he went unto one of the kinges, and at the selfe same tyme also secretly sent his sonne unto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king

**ARTA-  
XERXES**

King Artaxerxes journey against the Cadusians.

The contry of the Cadusians very barren.

Great famyne in Artaxerxes army.

Tiribazus stratageame saved Artaxerxes, and all his army.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARTA-  
XERXES

had sent Ambassadors unto Artaxerxes to make peace with him, unwitting to his companion, and therefore he counselled him if they were wise, one of them to seeke to prevent another with all the possible speede he could, and promised them both, one after another, to helpe them the best he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gave credit to his wordes, either of them both mistrusting one another: so that the one speedily sent his Ambassadors unto king Artaxerxes, with Tiribazus, and the other also his Ambassadors with his sonne. But Tiribazus taryng long in his journey, king Artaxerxes beganne somewhat to suspect him, his enemies also did accuse him in his absence, and the king grewe very chollerycke, and repented him that he had trusted him so farre, and was willing to heare every man that spake against him. Howbeit Tiribazus at length returned, and his sonne also, and either of them brought with them the Ambassadors of the Cadusians, and so peace was taken with them both. Then was Tiribazus aloft againe, and in greater credit than ever he was, and so departed with the king. The king then shewed plainly, that cowardlines proceedeth not of pompe and curiositie, as some take it, beleving that it doth effeminate mens harts, but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly followeth evill, and the worse counsell. For nether the jewells of gold, the kingly robe, nor other sumptuous ornaments which the king ever ware about him, worth twelve thowsand talents as it is reported, did not hinder him at that tyme to travaile, and to take as much payne as any man in all his army. For he him selfe marched a foote the foremost man, caryng his owne trusse in a scarfe upon his shoulders, and his target on his arme, and travelled through highe stony mountaines. So that his souldiers seeing the corage and payne the king him selfe tooke, they marched so nymbly, that it seemed they had wings: for he dayly marched above two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by sore travell, came to one of his owne houses, where there were goodly arbors and parkes, with goodly trees passingly sette forth: but all the contry besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was marvelous cold. The

Note, that soft apparell and riches, maketh not a man cowardly and effeminate: but a vile base mind, that followeth evill advise and counsell.

The corage of king Artaxerxes, and his great paynes in marching.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

king suffred his souldiers to hewe downe the goodly pynes and cypres trees in his parkes: and bicause they durst not presume to touch them, he him selfe as he was tooke an axe in his hande and beganne to hewe downe the goodliest tree there. The souldiers seeing that, fell every man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short tyme they had provided them selves well with wodde, and made them great fires in every place, and so past over the night quietly by the fires side. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valliant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore thinking his men would mocke him, bicause he did fayle of his purpose: he beganne to growe mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefest noble men he had about him: so that in a rage he put many of them to death, but much more of them remayned, whome he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud sucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more curteous, and lesse suspicious, then a valliant and hardy man. And therefore brute beastes that be never made tame nor mastered, are commonly cowardly, and timerous: and the other to the contrary, that are noble and coragious, are bold straight, and doe come to knowe a man, bicause they have no feare, nether doe they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards king Artaxerxes being grown very olde, heard that there was great sturre and contencion betwene his sonnes, which of them should be heire after his death, and that this contencion fell out also amonge his friends and men, of great calling. The wisest of them wished, that as he him self came unto the crowne, as his fathers eldest sonne: so that he likewise should after his death leave it unto his eldest sonne, called Darius. But the younger, which was called Ochus, being a valliant man, and of a whot stirring nature, had some in the Court also that tooke his parte, and hoped to attayne to his purpose, by the meanes of his sister Atossa, whome he loved and honored, promising to mary her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers disease. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he secretly kept her: howbeit

**ARTA-  
XERXES**  
King Artaxerxes curtesie to his souldiers.

Darius and Ochus, king Artaxerxes sonnes.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARTA-  
XERXES

Artaxerxes  
proclaymeth  
his sonne  
Darius king.

Aspasia  
Ionian,  
one of Arta-  
xerxes con-  
cubines.

Artaxerxes never understoode it. Now, bicause he would betimes put his sonne Ochus out of all hope to succede him in the kingdom, least this expectacion might make him to goe about to practise that which Cyrus did, and that by this meanes his Realme should growe into faction and civill warres: he proclaymed his eldest sonne Darius (beeing fiftye yeare olde) king after his death, and furthermore gave him leave from thenceforth to weare the poynt of his hat right up. In Persia the custom is, that when any commeth to be proclaymed successor and heire apparant to the crowne, he should require a gifte of him that proclaymeth him successor. The which the other doth graunt him, whatsoever it be that he asketh, so it be not impossible. Darius then asked his father a concubine called Aspasia, who was first with Cyrus, and in greatest favor with him above all the rest, but then was for the kings own bodye. She was borne in the contry of Ionia, of free parents: and being vertuously brought up, she was brought one night unto Cyrus as he was at supper with other women, who sate them downe, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were verie glad when Cyrus offered to play and be merie with them, geving everie one of them some pleasaunt word, and they made it not coy. But Aspasia stooode on her feete by the table, and sayd never a word: and notwithstanding that Cyrus called her, she woulde not come at him. Moreover, when one of the groomes of his chamber would have taken her to have brought her to him: The first saith she, that layeth hands on me, shall repent it. Thereuppon all those that were present, said she was a foolish thing, and simply brought up, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit Cyrus being glad of it, passed it over with laughing, and told him that had brought them unto him: Doest thou not see, that of all these thou hast brought me, there is not an honest woman but she? After that, Cyrus began to make muche of her, and loved her better continually then all the rest, and called her Aspasia the wise. This Aspasia was taken among the spoiles of Cyrus campe after he was overthrowen, and Darius as we have told ye, did begge her of his father, who was verie angrie with it in his mind. For

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the barbarous people of all other things are marvelous gealous of their women, so that not onely he should be put to death, that durst but speake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in sport: but also whosoever came nere them, or neere their coches as they travelled. The kings daughter Atossa, whom he had married against all lawe, was yet living, and besides her he had also three hundred and three score passing fayer concubines: and yet when his sonne Darius asked Aspasia of him, the king answered, she was a free woman borne, and therefore if she woulde, he was content he should have her: but if she were unwilling to goe to him, then he would not have him force her by no meanes. So Aspasia was sent for, and she was asked with whom she had rather be. She answered, with Darius: contrarie to king Artaxerxes expectacion, who both by the custome, and also the law, was compelled to let him have her. But shortly after he tooke her from him againe, saying that he woulde place her in a Nunrie of Diana, in the contrie of Ecbatane, where they call her Anitis, there to serve the goddesse, and to live chast all the daies of her life: supposing by this meanes to punish his sonne, not rigorously, but moderatly, with grieffe mixt with sporte and earnest. Howebeit his sonne tooke it not so pacientlie, either because he was deepe in love with Aspasia, or else for that he saw his father mocked him in that point. Tiribazus finding this, and perceiving that Darius tooke it verie grievouslie: he aggravated his anger against his father, knowing the passion of love in Darius, by his owne, upon the like occasion. King Artaxerxes had many daughters, and had promised Pharnabazus one of them, called Apama: unto Orontes, Rodogoune: and to Tiribazus, Amestris. The king performed the other two mariages, and did put Tiribazus by his wife. For the king him selfe married his owne daughter Amestris, and for her, he promised Tiribazus the younger, Atossa: with whom also he him selfe fell in love, and married her. Tiribazus hereupon was in such a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not because he was any traitor or seditious man in nature, but a madde harebrained fellow. For sometime he was aloft, and in as good credit and authoritie as

ARTAXERXES  
The barbarous people can not away with rivalitie in love.

Tiribazus incenseth Darius against his father Artaxerxes.

Tiribazus maners, and condicions.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARTA-  
XERXES

the best: sodainly againe he woulde play some madde parte to anger the king, and then he was in as much disgrace, and out of countenance: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authoritie, he made everie man hate him for his pride: and being in disgrace, he could not humble him selfe, but looke bigger then before. Nowe there was fire and brimstone met, when Tiribazus tooke parte with Darius. For he dayly blew into his eares, that it was to no purpose for him to weare his hat right up, if his affaires also went not rightly forward: and that he deceived him selfe much, if he did not know that his brother (by meanes of the women he kept) secretlie aspired to the crowne: and that his father being so unconstant as he was, he must not trust in any sorte to succede his father in the kingdome, what proclamation soever he hath made in his behalfe to the contrarie. For, sayd he, he that for a Græcian woman hath broken and violated the holiest lawe that was in Persia: thou must not looke that he will performe that he hath promised thee. And furthermore he perswaded him, that it was not a like repulse unto Ochus, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that ever he had gotten. For sayd he, if it please Ochus to live like a private man, he may safelie doe it, and no man will trouble him: but for him selfe that was alreadie proclaimed king, he must of necessitie make him selfe king, or else he must not live. So the Poet Sophocles his saying most commonly proveth true:

Ill counsell eazly takes place.

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleeve as he lyst, and men commonly are given rather to beleve the evill then the good, bicause most men know not what goodnes meaneth. But now beside these perswasions, the greatnes of the kingdome, and the feare Darius stode in of his brother Othus, tooke great force and effect with him: and it may be also, that Venus her selfe did somewhat in the matter, for the malice and spight that Aspasia was taken from him. But whatsoever the cause was, thus was it handled: that Darius flatly conspired against his father Artaxerxes,

Darius  
conspireth  
against  
Artaxerxes  
his father.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

together with Tiribazus. Now, they having gotten many conspirators to joyne with them, one of the kings Euenukes perceiving it, ranne and told the king of it, and howe they had sodainly determined to assaile him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among them selves, that they should kill him in his bedde in the night. Artaxerxes receiving this advertisement, thought it was not good to be carelesse of a matter of so great importaunce as his life: and also that it were too great lightnes in him so sodainly to beleve his Euenuke, without better prooffe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with him selfe. He commaunded the Euenuke that had given him this informacion, to keepe companie still with the conspirators, and to follow them wheresoever they went, to see their doings: and in the meane time he bet downe his wall behind his bed, and made a dore thorowe, and set up a hanging of tapistrie before it. When the time was come, as the Euenuke had advertised the king, that the traitors ment to doe their feate: Artaxerxes being layed on his bedde, rose not up till he had seene everie traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he sawe them comming towards him with their swords drawn, he sodainly lift up the hanging, and got in to his inner chamber, and shut the dore after him, making an outcrie, Murder, murder. So the traitors being plainly seene and knowen by the king, fled the same way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bad Tiribazus save him selfe, bicause he was knowen. So they dispersed them selves, and scaped by flying. But Tiribazus was taken tardie, although he had slaine divers of the kings gard, valliantly defending him selfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was stricken with a dart a good way of, which slewe him. Darius was also taken and apprehended, and brought prisoner with his sonnes: and the king referred him to be judged by his peeres. For the king him selfe would not be present to geve judgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuse him: howbeit he commaunded his secretaries to set downe in writing the opinion and sentence of everie one of the Iudges and to bring it him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to dye. Then the officers layed hold on him, and brought him into a

ARTA-  
XERXES

A devise of  
Artaxerxes  
how to pre-  
vent the con-  
spirators and  
to save him  
selfe.

Tiribazus the  
traitor slaine.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARTA-  
XERXES**

Darius con-  
demned to  
dye, and  
executed.

chamber of the prison, where the hangman came with a raser in his hande with the which he used to cut mens throates so condemned to dye. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he saw it was Darius, he was affrayed, and came out of the chamber againe, his hart failing him, and durst not lay handes upon the person of the king. But the Iudges that stode without the chamber, bad him goe and doe it, unlesse he would have his owne throate cut. So the hangman then came in, and tooke Darius by the heare of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and so cut his necke with his raser he had in his other hand. Others doe write, that this sentence was geven in the presence of king Artaxerxes selfe, and that Darius seeing him selfe convicted by manifest proofes brought in against him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and besought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angrie, rose up, and drew out his curtelax and wounded him in so many places withall, that at length he slue him. Then returning into the Court, he worshipped the sunne, and turning him to his Lords that were about him, he sayd unto them: My Lordes, God be with you, and be merie at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great Oromazes hath taken revenge of them that practised treason against me. This was the end of Darius treason. Now Darius being dead, Ochus his brother stode in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, and the rather, through the meanes and frendshippe of his sister Atossa: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he feared him called Ariaspes, who was onely left of all the rest that were legitimate: and of his bastard brethren, Arsames: not bicause Ariaspes was elder than he, but for that he was of a soft and plaine nature, the Persians desired he might be their king. On the other side, Arsames was wise, and valliant: and Ochus sawe that his father loved him dearely. So he determined to intrappe them both. Now Ochus being a suttle and malicious natured man, he first shewed his crueltie upon Arsames, and his malice upon Ariaspes his legitimate brother. For, bicause he knewe he was but simple and plaine, he sent dayly some of the kings Euenukes unto him, who brought him threatning words and

King Arta-  
xerxes  
sounes.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

messages, as from the king: telling him that he had determined to put him to a shamefull and cruell death. So, forging these newes continuallie as things verie secret, they did so terrifie poore Ariaspes, telling him that the king was fullie bent to put some of his threats in execution out of hand: that he was put in such feare and dispaire of his life, that he prepared him selfe a poyson, and dranke it, to ridde him selfe of his life. King Artaxerxes understanding of his death, tooke it very heavily, and began to mistrust the cause that made him to make him selfe away: howbeit he coule not seeke the prooffe of it, for his extreame age. But this chaunce made him love Arsames better then before, shewing plainly that he trusted him better then Ochus, and did make him privie to all things. Ochus could no lenger abide to deferre his intent, and therefore entised Harpaces, Tiribazus sonne, to kill his bastard brother Arsames: the which he did. Now Artaxerxes was so extreame olde, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his sonne Arsames was murdered, he coule beare it no lenger, but tooke it so to his hart for sorow, that when he had lived foure score and fouretene yeares, and raigned three score and two, he dyed. When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gracious and curteous Prince, and one that loved his people and subjectes: when they saw the prooffe of his successor Ochus, that passed all men living, in crueltie and severity.

ARTA-  
XERXES

The death of  
king Artaxerxes.

Artaxerxes,  
was 94 yeres  
olde at his  
death.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

## THE LIFE OF DION



**L**IKE as Simonides, O Sossius Senecio, saith that the city of Ilium was not offended with the Corinthians, for that they came to make warre with them with other Græcians, bicause Glaucus (whose first auncesters came from Corinthe) had taken armes, and lovingly fought for the same: even so me thinkes, that neither the

Græcians nor Romanes have cause to complaine of the Academy, sith they be both alike praised of the same in this present booke, in the which are contained the lives of Dion and Brutus. Of the which, the one of them having bene verie familiar with Plato him selfe, and the other from his childhoode brought up in Platoes doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one selfe schoolehouse, to attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no marvell if they two were muche like in many of their doinges, proving that true which their schoolemaister Plato wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the government of a common wealth, which should be famous, and of credit, authoritie, and good fortune, must both meete in one selfe person, joined with justice and wisdom. For, as a certaine fenser called Hippomachus said, that he knewe his schollers farre of, if he did but see them comming from the market with meate in their handes: so it must needes follow, that men having bene vertuously brought up, must nedes be wise in all their doings, and beside that it bringeth them to civillitie and honesty, even so it frameth their condicions muche like one unto an other. Furthermore, their fortunes having also fallen out both alike, more by chauce then by any reason, do make their lives verie like to eache other. For, they were both of them slaine, before they coulde bring their enterprises to passe which they had determined. But the greatest

Dion and  
Brutus both  
Platonians.

Platon *de*  
*virtute.*

How mens  
acts should  
be famous in  
the common  
wealth.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

wonder of all is this: that their deaths were foreshewed unto them both, by a wicked spirit that visiblie appeared unto either of them: albeit there be some that can not abide those opinions, and doe maintaine that these sights and evill spirits doe never appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of litle children, or old women, or of some men that their wits are weakened by sickenes, and so have a certaine imagination of suche straunge sightes, being of this superstitious minde, that they have a wicked spirit, and an evill angell in them. But if Dion and Brutus, both of them grave and learned Philosophers, and verie constant men, not overcome by any sodaine passion or imagination of minde, have bene moved by such sights and spirits, and have also tolde it unto their frendes: I can not tell whether we shall be inforced, to graunt the most straungest and oldest opinion of this, which sayth: that there be evill spirites which envying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly mindes, doe make them affrayed with these fearefull sights, intising them to forsake their godlynes, least that persisting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let us referre this disputation to some other booke, and now in this twelfth couple of these famous mens lives compared, let us first begin to write the life of him that is the elder of these two men we speake of.

Dionysius the elder, after he had the government of Sicilia in his handes, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, a citizen of Syracusa. But yet not being throughlie settled in his tyrannie, the Syracusans did rebell against him, and did so cruellie and abhominablie handle the bodie of his wife, that she willinglie poysoned her selfe. So after he had established him selfe in his government with more suretie then before, he married againe two other wives together, the one a straunger of the citie of Locres, called Doride: and the other of the contry it selfe, called Aristomaché, the daughter of Hipparinus the chiefest man of all Syracusa, and that had bene companion with Dionysius, the first time he was chosen Generall. It was said

DION  
A wicked  
spirite ap-  
peared unto  
Dion and  
Brutus.

Dionysius  
married Her-  
mocrates  
daughter.

Dionysius  
wives, Doride,  
of Locres:  
Aristomaché,  
of Syracusa,  
Hipparinus  
daughter, and  
Dions sister.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

that Dionysius married them both in one day, and that they could never tell which of them he knewe first: but otherwise, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly sate together with him at his table, and did either of them lye with him by turnes: though the Syracusans would have their owne contrywoman preferred before the straunger. Howebeit the straunge woman had this good happe, to bring foorth Dionysius his eldest sonne, which was a good countenance to defend her, being a forreiner. Aristomaché in contrarie maner, continued a long time with Dionysius, without frute of her wombe, although he was verie desirous to have children by her: so that he put the Locrian womans mother to death, accusing her that she had with sorceries and witchcraft, kept Aristomaché from being with child. Dion being the brother of Aristomaché, was had in great estimation at the first, for his sisters sake: but afterwards the tyran finding him to be a wise man, he loved him then for his owne sake. Insomuch, that among many sundrie things and pleasures he did for him: he commaunded his Treasurers to let him have what money he asked of them, so they made him acquainted withall the selfe same day they gave him any. Nowe though Dion had ever before a noble minde in him by nature, yet muche more did that magnanimitie increase, when Plato by good fortune arrived in Sicile. For his comming thither surelie was no mans devise, as I take it, but the verie providence of some god: who (bringing farre of the first beginning and fundation of the libertie of the Syracusans, and to overthrow the tyrannicall state) sent Plato out of Italie unto the citie of Syracuse, and brought him acquainted with Dion, who was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter witte to learne, and redier good will to follow vertue, then any young man else that followed Plato: as Plato him selfe writeth, and his owne doinges also doe witnesse. For Dion having from a child bene brought up with humble conditions under a tyran, and acquainted with a servile timorous life, with a prowde and insolent reigne, with all vanity and curiositie, as placing chiefe felicity in covet-

Dions kindred  
with Dionysius.

Plato came  
out of Italie  
unto Syracuse.

Dion, Platoes  
scholler.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ousnes: neverthelesse, after he had felt the sweete reasons of Philosophie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed straight with earnest desire to follow the same. And bicause he found that he was so easelie perswaded to love vertue and honestie, he simplie thinking (being of an honest plaine nature) that the selfe same perswasions would move a like affection in Dionysius: obtained of Dionysius, that being at leasure, he was contented to see Plato, and to speake with him. When Plato came to Dionysius, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefly reasoned what was fortitude: where Plato proved that tyrans were no valliant men. From thence passing further into justice, he told him that the life of just men was happy, and contrarily the life of unjust men unfortunate. Thus the tyran Dionysius perceiving he was overcomen, durst no more abide him, and was angrie to see the standers by to make suche estimacion of Plato, and that they had such delight to heare him speake. At length he angrily asked him, what businesse he had to doe there? Plato aunswered him, he came to seeke a good man. Dionysius then replied againe: What, in Gods name, by thy speache then it seemeth thou hast founde none yet. Now Dion thought that Dionysius anger would proceede no further, and therefore at Platoes earnest request, he sent him away in a galley with three bankes of owers, the which Pollis a Lacedæmonian Captaine caried backe againe into Græce. Howbeit, Dionysius secretlie requested Pollis to kill Plato by the way, as ever he would doe him pleasure: if not, yet that he would sell him for a slave, howsoever he did. For said he, he shall be nothing the worse for that: bicause if he be a just man, he shall be as happie to be a slave, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this Pollis caried Plato into the Ile of Ægina, and there sold him. For the Æginetes having warre at that time with the Athenians, made a decree, that all the Athenians that were taken in their Ile, should be sold. This notwithstanding, Dionysius refused not to honor and trust Dion, as much as ever he did before, and did also sende him Ambassador in matters of great weight. As when he sent him unto the

DION

Plato and Dionysius the elder talke together.

Dionysius malice unto Plato.

Plato solde in the Ile of Ægina.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**DION**  
Dions boldnes  
in speaking  
plainly to  
the tyran.

Gelon signi-  
fieth laughter.

Sophrosynè,  
and Areté:  
the daughters  
of Dionysius  
by Aristo-  
maché.

Dion marieth  
his Nece  
Areté the  
daughter of  
Dionysius and  
of his sister  
Aristomaché.

The death of  
Dionysius  
the elder.

Carthaginians, where he behaved him selfe so well, that he wan great reputacion by his jorney: and the tyran coulde well away with his plaine speach. For no man but he, durst say their mindes so boldly unto him, to speake what he thought good: as on a time he reprovod him for Gelon. One day when they mocked Gelons government before the tyrans face, and that Dionysius him selfe sayd (finely de- skanting of his name, which signifieth laughture) that he was even the verie laughing stocke him selfe of Sicile: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretacion of laughture passingly well. But Dion not being well pleased withall, sayd unto him: For his sake, men trusted thee, whereby thou camest to be tyran: but for thine owne sake they will never trust any man. For, to say truly, Gelon shewed by his government, that it was as goodly a thing as coulde be, to see a citie governed by an absolute Prince: but Dionysius by his government on thother side, made it appeare as detestable a thing. This Dionysius had by his Locrian wife three children, and by Aristomaché foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one called Sophrosynè, and the other Areté. Of them, Dionysius eldest sonne married Sophrosynè, and Areté was married unto his brother Thearides, after whose death Dion married her, being his Nece. Now when Dionysius her father fell sicke, not likely to escape: Dion would have spoken with him for his children he had by his sister Aristomaché. Howbeit the Phisitions about him, to currie favor with the next heire and successor of the tyrannie, would never let him have any time or oportunitie to speake with him. For, as Timæus writeth, they gave Dionysius the elder (as he had commaunded them) a strong opiat drinke to cast him in a sleepe, and so thereby they tooke from him all his sences and joyned death with his sleepe. Notwith- standing, in the first counsell and assemblie holden by his frendes, to consult about the state and affaires of the younger Dionysius: Dion moved matter so necessarie and profitable for that present time, that by his wisdom he shewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke speech, made them know that they were but slaves of the tyranny:

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

because they beastly and cowardly gave suche counsell and advise, as might best please and feede the young tyrannes humor. But he made them most to wonder at him, when they fearing above all other thinges, the daunger Dionysius state was in, by reason of Carthage, he did promise them, that if Dionysius would have peace, he would then goe forthwith into Africke, and finde the meanes honorable to quenche the warres: or if otherwise he better liked of warre, that he woulde furnishe him at his owne proper costes and charges, fiftie gallies readie to rowe. Dionysius wondered greatlie at the noble minde of Dion, and thanked him muche for the good will he bare unto him, touching his estate. But all men else taking Dions noble offer to be a reproach of their avarice, and his credit and authoritie, an impaire unto theirs: they presentlie upon this liberall offer tooke occasion to accuse him, not sparing any reproachefull wordes against him, to move Dionysius to be offended with him. For they complayned of him, and sayd that he cunninglie practised to possesse the tyrannie, making him selfe strong by sea, going about by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the handes of the children of Aristomaché his sister. But the chiefest cause of all why they did malice and hate him, was his straunge manner of life: that he neither woulde keepe companie with them, nor live after their manner. For they that from the beginning were crept in favour and frendshippe with this younge evill brought up tyranne, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleasures: studied for no other thing, but to enterteine him in love matters, and other vaine exercises, as to riot and bancket, to keepe light women companie, and all suche other vile vicious pastimes and recreacions, by the which the tyrannie became like iron softened by fire, and seemed to be verie pleasaunt unto the subjectes, because the overgreat Majestie and severitie thereof was somewhat milder, not so muche by the bountie and goodnesse, as by the follie and rechlesnes of the Lorde. Thus, this litle care and regarde increasing more and more, still winning way with the young tyran: did at length melt and breake a sunder those strong diamond chaines, with the whiche Dionysius the elder made

DION

Flattering  
Courtiers  
do incense  
Dionysius the  
younger to  
hate Dion.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION  
The vices of  
Dionysius the  
younger.

his boast that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie chained to his sonne. For sometime he would be three dayes together without intermission, still banketing and dronke: and all that time his Court gates were kept shut unto grave and wise men, and for all honest matters, and was then full of dronkards, of common playes, dauncinges, maskes, and mommeries, and full of all suche tromperie and dissolute pastimes. And therefore Dion undoubtedlie was muche envied of them, bicause he gave him selfe to no sport nor pleasure: whereupon they accused him, and misnamed his vertues, vices, being somewhat to be resembled unto them. As in calling his gravetie, pride: his plainnes and boldnesse in his Oration, obstinacie: if he did perswade them, that he accused them: and bicause he would not make one in their fonde pastimes: that therefore he despised them. For to say truelie, his manners by nature had a certeine hawtinesse of minde and severitie, and he was a sower man to be acquainted with: whereby his companie was not onely troublesome, but also unplesauant to this younger Dionysius, whose eares were so fine, that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, divers of his verie frendes and familiars, that did like and commend his plaine manner of speache and noble minde: they did yet reprove his sternenes, and austere conversation with men. For it seemed unto them, that he spake too roughlie, and delt overhardlie with them that had to doe with him, and more then became a civill or curteous man. And for prooffe hereof, Plato him selfe sometime wrote unto him (as if he had prophecied what shoulde happen) that he should beware of obstinacie, the companion of solitarinesse, that bringeth a man in the ende to be forsaken of everie one. This notwithstanding, they did more reverence him at that time, then any man else: bicause of the state and government, and for that they thought him the onely man that coulde best provide for the safetie and quietnesse of the tyrannie, the which stode then in tickle state. Now Dion knew well enough, that he was not so well taken and esteemed through the good will of the tyran, as against his will, and for the necessitie of the state and time. So Dion supposing that

Dions manners,  
too grave and  
severe.

Obstinacie,  
fellow and  
companion of  
solitarines.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ignorance, and want of knowledge in Dionysius was the cause: he devised to put him into some honest trade or exercise, and teache him the liberrall sciences, to frame him to a civill life, that thencefoorth he shoulde no more be affrayed of vertue, and shoulde also take pleasure and delight in honest thinges. For Dionysius of his owne nature, was none of the worst sort of tyrans, but his father fearing that if he came once to have a feeling and conceite of him selfe, or that he companied with wise and learned men, he would go neere to enter into practise, and put him out of his seate: he ever kept him locked up in a chamber, and woulde suffer no man to speake with him. Then the younger Dionysius having nothing else to do, gave himselfe to make litle chariots, candlesticks, chaires, stooles, and tables of wodde. For his father Dionysius was so fearefull and mistrustfull of everie bodie, that he woulde suffer no man with a paire of barbers sissers to polle the heares of his head, but caused an image maker of earth to come unto him, and with a hotte burning cole to burne his goodly bush of heare rounde about. No man came into his chamber where he was, with a gowne on his backe, no not his owne brother nor sonne, but he was driven before he coulde come in, to put of his gowne, and the garde of his chamber to strippe him naked whatsoever he was: and then they gave him an other gowne to cast upon him, but not his owne. One day his brother Leptines, going about to describe unto him the scituacion of some place, he tooke a halberd from one of the garde, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a platte of the same upon the ground. Dionysius was terrible offended with him, and did put the souldier to death that gave him his halberd. He sayed he was affrayed of his frendes, yea and of the wisest of them: bicause he knewe that they desired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaunde, then to obey. He slewe one of his Captaines called Marsyas, whome he had preferred, and had geven him charge of men: bicause he dreamed that he killed him: saying that he dreamed of this in the night, bicause that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now Dionysius that was so timerous, and whose mind through fearefulnes was still miserable

DION

Dionysius the elder, a marvelous timerous and suspicious man.

Dionysius dreame.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Dion perswadeth the younger Dionysius to fall to study.

occupied: he was notwithstanding marvelously offended with Plato, because he did not judge him to be the noblest and valliantest man alive. Dion therefore seeing (as we have sayd) the younger Dionysius cleane marred, and in manner cast away for lacke of good education: perswaded him the best he coulede to geve him selfe unto studie, and by the greatest intreatie he coulede possiblie make, to pray the Prince of all Philosophers to come into Sicile. And then when through his intreatie he were come, that he woulde referre him selfe whollie unto him, to thende that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby: (the best example that can be possible, and by whom all the whole world is ruled and governed, which otherwise were out of all order and confused) he shoulde first obtaine great happines to him selfe, and consequently unto all his citizens also, who ever after through the temperance and justice of a father, would with good will doe those thinges, which they presentlie unwillingly did for the feare of a Lorde, and in doing this, from a tyran he should come to be a king. For, the chaines of a diamant to keepe a realme in safetie, were not force, and feare, as his father Dionysius helde opinion: neither the great multitude of young souldiers, nor the garde of ten thowsand barbarous people: but in contrarie manner, that they were the love and good will of their subjectes, which the Prince obtaineth through vertue and justice: the which chaines though they be slacker then the other that are so hard and stiffe, yet are they stronger, and will last longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdom in safetie. And furthermore, the Prince (sayd he) is not desirous of honor, neither is a man that deserveth greatly to be praised and commended, that onely studieth to weare sumptuous apparell, and that glorieth to see his Court richelie furnished, and him selfe curioslie served: and in the meane time doth not frame him selfe to speake better, to be wiser, and to carie a greater majesty then any other meane or common person, not esteeming to adorne and beawtifie the Princely pallace of his minde, as becommeth the royall majestie of a king. Dion oftentimes rehearsing these exhortacions unto Dionysius, and otherwhile enterlacing betwene, some reasons he

The assured gard of Princes, is the love of their subjects.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

had learned of Plato: he grafted in him a wonderfull, and as it were a vehement desire to have Plato in his companie, and to learne of him. So sundry letters came from Dionysius unto Athens, divers requestes from Dion, and great intreaty made by certaine Pythagorian Philosophers, that prayed and perswaded Plato to come into Sicile, to bridle the light disposition of this young man, by his grave and wise instructions: who without regard of reason, led a dissolute and licentious life. Therefore Plato, as him selfe reporteth, blushing to him selfe, and fearing least he should geve men cause to thinke that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of him selfe he was unwilling to do any worthie act: and further, hoping that doing good but unto one man alone, who was the only guide of all the rest, he should as it were recover all Sicilia from her corruption and sickenes: he performed their requests that sent unto him. But Dions enemies fearing the change and alteration of Dionysius, they perswaded him to call Philistus the Historiographer home againe from banishment, who was a learned man, and had bene brought up and acquainted with the tyrans facions: to thend he should serve as a counterpeace, to withstande Plato and his Philosophie. For this Philistus, from the first time that the tyrannie beganne to be established, did shew him selfe verie willing and conformable to the stablishment thereof, and had of long time kept the castell: and the voyce went, that he kept the mother of Dionysius the elder, and as it was supposed, not altogether without the tyrans knowledge. But afterwarδες, Leptines having had two daughters by one woman, whom he intised to follie being an other mans wife: he married one of these his daughters unto Philistus, and made not Dionysius privie to it before. The tyranne therewith was so offended, that he put Leptines woman in prison fast locked up, and drave Philistus out of Sicilia. He being banished thus, repayred unto some of his frendes that dwelt about the Adriaticke sea, where it seemeth he wrote the most parte of all his historie, being then at good leasure. For he was not called home againe during the life of Dionysius the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare

Plato goeth into Sicilia, to teach Dionysius the younger.

Philistus the Historiographer.

Philistus the Historiographer banished out of Sicilia, by Dionysius the elder.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

unto Dion, caused them to procure Philistus calling home againe, as we have told you, as the man they thought would sticke stowtly in defense of the tyranny. So Philistus no sooner returned, but he stowtly began to defend the tyranny : and others in contrary maner, devised accusations to the tyran against Dion, accusing him that he had practised with Theodotes and Heraclides, to overthrowe the tyrannie of Dionysius. For Dion, in my opinion, hoped by Platoes comming to bridle and lessen a litle the overlicentious and imperious tyrannie of Dionysius, and thereby to frame Dionysius a wise and righteous governor. But on the other side, if he saw he would not follow his counsell, and that he yeelded not to his wise instructions : he then determined to put him downe, and to bring the government of the common wealth into the handes of the Syracusans : not that he allowed of Democratia (to wit, where the people governe) but yet certainly thinking that Democratia was much better then the tyrannie, when they could not come unto Aristocratia, to wit, the government of a few of the nobilitie. Now things being in this state, Plato arrived in Sicile, where he was marvelously received and honored by Dionysius. For when he landed on the shoare, leaving his galley that brought him : there was readie for him one of the kings rich and sumptuous chariots to convey him to the castell : and the tyran made sacrifice to geve the goddes thankes for his comming, as for some wonderful great good happe chaunced unto his seigniory. Furthermore, the wonderfull modestie and temperaunce that was begon to be observed in feasts and bankets, the Court cleane chaunged, and the great goodnes and clemencie of the tyran in all things, in ministering justice to everie man : did put the Syracusans in great good hope of chaunge, and everie man in the Court was verie desirous to geve him selfe to learning and Philosophie. So that, as men reported, the tyrannes pallace was full of sande and dust, with the numbers of studentes that drewe plattes and figures of Geometrie. Shortlie after Plato was arrived, by chaunce the time was comen about to doe a solemne sacrifice within the castell, at whiche sacrifice the Heralde (as the manner was) proclaimed alowde the solemne

Democratia : the government of the people.

Dion allowed not popular state.

Aristocratia : the government of a few of the nobilitie.

Plato came into Sicilia, unto Dionysius the younger.

The chaunge of Dionysius, upon Platoes comming.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

prayer accustomed to be done, that it woulde please the goddes long to preserve the state of the tyrannie : and that Dionysius being harde by him, sayd unto him, What, wilt thou not leave to curse me? This worde grieved Philistus and his companions to the harte, thinkinge that with time, by litle and litle, Plato woulde winne suche estimacion and greate authoritie with Dionysius, that afterwarde they shoulde not be able to resist him : considering that in so short a time as he had bene with Dionysius, he had so altered his minde and courage. And therefore they nowe beganne, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mowth together to accuse Dion : and sayed, that it was easie to be seene, howe he charmed and inchaunted Dionysius through Platoes eloquence, to make him willing to resigne his government, bicause he woulde transferre it to the handes of the children of his sister Aristomaché. Others seemed to be offended, for that the Athenians having comen before into Sicilia with a great armie, both by sea and land, they were all lost and cast away, and could not win the city of Syracusa : and that now by one only Sophister, they utterly destroyed and overthrewe the Empire of Dionysius, perswading him to discharge the ten thowsand souldiers he had about him for his garde, to forsake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thowsand horsemen, and as many moe footemen, to goe to the Academy to seeke an unknowen happines never heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, resigning his present happines and felicitie to be a great Lord, to have money at will, and to live pleasauntlie, unto Dion and his Newewes. By such like accusations and wicked tongues, Dionysius began first to mistrust Dion, and afterwarde to be openly offended with him, and to frowne upon him. In the meane time they brought letters Dion wrote secretlie unto the Governors of the citie of Carthage, willing them that when they would make peace with Dionysius, they shoulde not talke with him unlesse he stooode by : assuring them that he would helpe them to set things in quietnes, and that all should be well againe. When Dionysius had red these letters with Philistus, and had taken his advise and counsel what he should do, as Timæus said : he deceived

Philistus  
accusations  
against Dion.

Dions letters  
unto Car-  
thage.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Dion sent  
away by  
Dionysius  
into Italie.

Dion under pretence of reconciliacion, making as though he ment him no hurt, and saying that he would become frends again with him. So he brought Dion one day to the sea side under his castell, and shewed him these letters, burdening him to have practised with the Carthaginians against him. And as Dion went about to make him answeare, to cleere himself: Dionysius would not heare him, but caused him to be taken up as he was, and put into a pinnase, and commaunded the mariners to set him a lande upon the coast of Italie. After this was done, and that it was knowne abroad in the cite, everie man thought it a cruell parte of Dionysius: insomuche that the tyrans pallace was in a marvelous pecke of troubles, for the great sorowe the women made for the departure of Dion. Moreover, the cite selfe of Syracuse began to looke about them, looking for some sodaine great change and innovation, for the tumult and uprore that would happen by meanes of Dions banishment, and for the mistrust also that all men would have of Dionysius. Dionysius considering this, and being affrayed of some misfortune, he gave his frendes and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not banished him, but was contented that he should absent him selfe for a time: being affrayed, that in his sodaine angry moode he might peradventure be compelled to do him some worse turne if he remained, bicause of his obstinacie and selfewill. Furthermore, he gave unto Dions frends two shippes, to carie as much goodes, money, and as many of Dions servauntes as they woulde, and to convey them unto him unto Peloponnesus. Dion was a marvelous rich man, and for the pompe of his service, and sumptuous moveables of his house, they were like unto the person of a tyran. All these riches Dions frendes brought aboard upon those shippes, and caried them unto him: besides many other rich gifts, which the women and his frends sent unto him. So that by meanes of his great riches, Dion was marvelouslie esteemed among the Græcians: who by the riches of a banished citizen, conjectured what the power of a tyranne might be. But now concerning Plato: when Dion was exiled, Dionysius caused him to be lodged in his castell,

Dions wealth.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and by this meanes craftilie placed, under cloke of frendshippe, an honorable garde about him, because he shoulde not returne into Græce to seeke Dion, to tell him of the injurie he had done unto him. Howbeit Dionysius often frequenting his companie, (as a wilde beast is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke so well, that he became in love with him, but it was a tyrannicall love. For he woulde have Plato to love none but him, and that he shoulde esteeme him above all men living, being readie to put the whole realme into his handes, and all his forces: so that he woulde thinke better of him, then of Dion. Thus was this passionate affection of Dionysius grievous unto Plato. For he was so drowned with the love of him, as men extreamelie gealous of the women they love: that in a moment he woulde sodainly fall out with him, and straight againe become frendes, and pray him to pardon him. And to say truelie, he had a marvelous desire to heare Platoes Philosophie: but on the other side, he revered them that did dissuade him from it, and told him that he woulde spoyle him selfe, if he entred overdeepelie into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereuppon he sent Plato againe away, promising him that the next spring he woulde sende for Dion home. But he brake promise therein, and yet sent him his revenues: and prayed Plato to pardon him, though he had not kept promise at his time appointed. For he alleaged the warre was the cause, and that so soone as he had ended his warre, he woulde sende for Dion: whome in the meane time he prayed to have pacience and not to attempt any sturre or alteracion against him, nor to speake evill of him among the Græcians. This Plato sought to bring to passe, and brought Dion to studie Philosophie, and kept him in the Academy at Athens. Dion lay in the citie of Athens with one Callippus, whome he had knowen of long time, howbeit he bought him a house in the contrie, to lye there sometime for his pleasure, the which he gave afterwards (at his returne into Sicilia) unto Speusippus that kept him companie, and was continually with him, more then with any other frend he had in Athens, through Platoes counsell: who to soften and recreate Dions maners, gave him the com-

DION

Dionysius tyrannicall love to Plato.

Dionysius sent Plato from him.

Dions life in Græce.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

pany of some pleasaunt conceited man, knowing that this Speusippus coulde modestlie observe time and place to be pleasaunt and merie: for which respect, Timon in his Satyricall jeasts, calleth Speusippus a good jeaster. Nowe Plato him selfe having undertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dauncings of young children: Dion tooke the paines to teache and exercise them, and moreover was him selfe at the whole charge of these playes, Plato suffering him to bestowe that liberality and curtesie upon the Athenians: the which wanne Dion a great deale more good will, then Plato honor. Dion kept not still at Athens, but went also to see the other good cities of Græce, passing his time away. He being at common feastes and assemblies with the chieftest men, and best learned in matters of state and government, and never shewing any light partes, nor signe of tyrannicall pride in his maner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought up with all pompe and pleasure, but like a grave vertuous man, and well studied in Philosophie, whereby he grew to be generallie beloved and esteemed of all men: the cities graunted him publike honors, and sent him decrees of his glorie, made in their counsell and asemblies. Furthermore, the Lacedæmonians made him a Spartan and burges of the city, not passing for Dionysius displeasure, though at that time he had given them great aide, in the warre they made against the Thebans. Some report, that Dion on a time was intreated by Ptæodorus Megarian, to come and see him at his house: and Dion went thither. This Ptæodorus was a marvelous great rich man, and therefore Dion seeing a great number of people standing at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and speake with him he had such great busines: he turned unto his frends that did accompanie him, who were angrie they made him tarie so long at the gate, and sayd unto them: What cause have we to thinke evill of him, sith we did the like when we were at Syracuse? But Dionysius being incensed with envie against him, and fearing the good will the Græcians bare him: he kept backe his revenue, and would no more sende it him, and seased all his goodes, the which he gave to his receivers to keepe. Furthermore,

Dions vertues  
and honors  
done unto  
him by the  
Græcians.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

bicause he woulde cleere him selfe of the infamie he had gotten amongst the Philosophers for Platoes sake, he sent for divers wise and learned men, and vainly coveting to excell them all in wisdom, he was driven improperly, and out of time, to alleage many wise sayinges he had learned of Plato. Thereuppon he beganne againe to wish for him, and to condemne him selfe, for that he had no wit to use him well when he had him at his commaundement, and that he had not heard so muche as he should have done of him: and like a tyranne as he was, madlie caried away with light desires, and easilie chaunging minde from time to time, a sodaine vehement desire tooke him in the heade, to have Plato againe. So he sought all the meanes and waies he could devise, to pray Archytas the Pythagorian Philosopher to tel him, that he might boldly come, and to be his surety unto him for that he would promise him: for first of all, they were acquainted together by his meanes. Therefore Archytas sent thither Archidamus the Philosopher. Dionysius also sent certeine gallies, and some of his frendes thither, to pray Plato to come to him: and he him selfe wrote specially, and plainly, that it should not goe well with Dion, if Plato came not into Sicilia: but if he woulde be perswaded to come, that then he would doe what he would have him. Many letters and requests came unto Dion from his wife and sister, insomuche as Dion so used the matter, that Plato obeyed Dionysius, without making any excuse at all. So Plato wryteth him selfe, that he was driven to come againe the third time into the straight of Sicilia:

Archytas a  
Pythagorian  
Philosopher.

Dionysius  
sendeth  
againe for  
Plato to come  
into Sicilia.

Platoes third  
jorney into  
Sicilia.

To trie if once againe he could Charibdis daungers passe.

Nowe Plato being arrived in Sicilia, he made Dionysius a great joyfull man, and filled all Sicilia againe with great good hope: for they were all verie desirous, and did what they could, to make Plato overcome Philistus and the tyrannie, with his Philosophie. The women of Dionysius Court did entertaine Plato the best they could: but above all, Dionysius seemed to have a marvelous trust and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his frendes. For he suffred Plato to come to him without searching of him, and

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Aristippus  
saying of  
Dionysius.

oftentimes offered to give him a great summe of money : but Plato would take none of it. Therefore Aristippus Cyrenian being at that time in the tyrannes Court in Sicilia, sayd that Dionysius bestowed his liberalitie surelie. For, to us that aske much he geveth litle, and much unto Plato that requireth nothing. After Dionysius had given Plato his welcome, he beganne to move him againe of Dion. Dionysius on the other side, at the first did use him with fine delayes, but afterwards he shewed him selfe angrie in deede : and at length fell out with Plato, but yet so covertlie, that others saw it not. For Dionysius dissembled that, and otherwise in all other things he did him as much honor as he could devise, practising thereby to make him to forsake Dions frendshippe. Now Plato found him at the first, that there was no trust to be given to his wordes, and that all were but lyes and devises he either sayd or did : howbeit he kept it to him selfe, and ever patiently bare all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he beleved him. They too thus finelie dissembling with each other, thinking to deceive all men, and that none shoulde understande their secrets : Helycon Cyzicenian, one of Platoes frendes, did prognosticate the eclipse of the sunne. The same falling out as he had prognosticated, the tyran esteemed marvelously of him, and gave him a silver talent for his labor. Then Aristippus sporting with other Philosophers, sayd he could tell them of a straunger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was : I do prognosticate, sayd he, that Plato and Dionysius will be enemies ere it be long. In thend it came to passe, that Dionysius made porte sale of all Dions goodes, and kept the money to him selfe, and lodged Plato that before lay the next Court to his pallace, among the souldiers of his gard, whom he knewe maliced him of long time, and sought to kill him : bicause he did perswade Dionysius to leave his tyranny and to live without his gard. Plato being in this instant daunger, Archytas sent Ambassadors forthwith unto Dionysius, in a galley of thirtie owers, to demaund Plato againe : declaring that Plato came againe to Syracusa, uppon his worde and caution. Dionysius to excuse him

Helycon  
a Mathe-  
matician.

Aristippus  
divination.

Architas  
requireth  
Plato of  
Dionysius.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

selfe, and to shewe that he was not angrie with him at his departure from him: he made him all the great cheere and feastes he coulde, and so sent him home with great shewes of good will. One day among the rest, he sayd unto Plato: I am affrayed Plato, sayd he, that thou wilt speake evill of me, when thou art among thy frendes and companions in the Academy. Then Plato smiling, aunswered him againe: The goddes forbidde that they shoulde have suche scarcetie of matter in the Academy, as that they must needes talke of thee. Thus was Platoes returne, as it is reported, although that which he him selfe wryteth agreeth not much with this reporte. These things went to Dions harte, so that shortly after he shewed him selfe an open enemy unto Dionysius, but specially when he heard how he had handled his wife. Plato under covert words, sent Dionysius worde of it by his letters. And thus it was. After Dion was exiled, Dionysius returning Plato backe againe, he willed him secretlie to feele Dions minde, whether he woulde not be angrie that his wife should be married to an other man: bicause there ranne a rumor abroad (whether it were true, or invented by Dions enemies) that he liked not his marriage, and coulde not live quietlie with his wife. Therefore when Plato was at Athens, and had tolde Dion of all thinges, he wrote a letter unto Dionysius the tyranne, and did sette all other thinges downe so plainelie, that everie man might understande him, but this one thing only so darkelie, that he alone, and none other coulde understande him, but him to whom he had wrytten: declaring unto him, that he had spoken with Dion about the matter he wote of, and that he did lette him understande he woulde be marvelous angrie, if Dionysius did it. So at that time, bicause there was great hope of reconciliacion betwene them, the tyranne did nothing latelie touching his sister, but suffered her still to remaine with Dions sonne. But when they were so farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in favour againe, and that he had also sent home Plato in disgrace and displeasure: then he married his sister Areté (Dions wife) against her will, unto one of his frends called Timocrates, not following therin his fathers justice and lenitie. For

Dionysius  
married Dions  
wife to an  
other man.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**DION**  
Polyxenus  
married  
Thesta, his  
father Dion-  
ysius sister.  
The noble  
answere of  
Thesta, unto  
her brother  
Dionysius  
the elder.

Dion begin-  
neth to make  
warre against  
Dionysius.

Polyxenus that had married his fathers sister Thesta, being also become his enemy: he fled out of Sicilia. Dionysius the elder sent for his sister Thesta, and tooke her up verie sharply, for that she knowing her husbande would flie, she did not come and tell him of it. Thesta noblie answered him againe, and never was affrayed nor abashed: Why, Dionysius, doest thou thinke me a woman so faint harted and beastlie, that if I had knowen my husband would have gone his way, and left me: that I would not have taken the sea with him, and both have runne one fortune together? Truly I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honor to have bene called the wife of the banished Polyxenus, then the sister of thee a tyrant. Dionysius marvelled to heare his sister speake thus boldly, and the Syracusans wondred at her noble courage: insomuch that when the tyrannie was utterly destroyed, they did not refuse to doe her all the honor they could devise, as unto a Queene. And when she was deade also, all the citizens of Syracuse by a common decree, did accompanie her bodie at her buriall. This litle digression from our historie, is not altogether unprofitable. But now againe to our matter. Dion from thenceforth disposed him selfe altogether unto warre, against Platoes counsell and advise: who did his best endeavour to dissuade him from it, both for the respect of Dionysius good entertainment he had geven him, as also for that Dion was of great yeares. Howbeit on the other side, Speusippus, and his other frendes did provoke him unto it, and did perswade him to deliver Sicilia from the alaverie and bondage of the tyrant, the which helde up her handes unto him, and woulde receive him with great love and good will. For whilest Plato lay at Syracusa, Speusippus keeping the citizens companie more then Plato did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first they were affrayed to open them selves unto him, and frankelie to speake what they thought, mistrusting he was a spie unto the tyrant, sent amongst them to feele their mindes: but within a short time they beganne to trust him, and were all of one minde, for they prayed and perswaded Dion to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of shippes, souldiers, nor horses

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

with him, but onely to hyre a shippe, and to lend the Sicilians his bodie and name against Dionysius. Speusippus reporting these newes unto Dion, did put him in good hart againe: wherupon he began secretly to leaue men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers doe set forward Dions warres. Many citizens dealing in the affaires of the common wealth did aide him, and diuers of them also that onely gave their mindes to the studie of Philosophie: and among them, Eudemus Cyprian (on whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue of the soule) and Timonides Leucadian went with him. Furthermore, there joyned also with him Miltas Thessalian, a Soothsayer, and that had bene his companion in studie in the Academy. Nowe of all them whom the tyrau had banished, (which were no lesse then a thowsande persons) there were but onely five and twentie that durst accompanie him in this warre. For all the other were suche dastardes, that they forsooke him, and durst not goe with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of Zacynthe, where they leaued all their souldiers, that were not above eight hundred in all, but all of them brave souldiers, and valliant men, and excellentlie well trained in warres: and to conclude, such lustie men, as would incorage all the armie Dion hoped of at his arivall in Sicile, to fight like valliant men with them. These hyered souldiers, the first time that they understoode it was to go into Sicilia, to make warre with Dionysius: they were amased at the first, and misliked the jorney, bicause it was undertaken rather of malice and spite that Dion had to be reuenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrell, who having no better hope, tooke upon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the souldiers were offended with their Captaines that had pressed them, bicause they had not told them of this warre before. But after that Dion by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies have euill fundacions, and are subject unto ruine, and that he led them not into Sicilia so much for souldiers, as he did to make them Captaines of the Syracusans, and the other Sicilians, who of long time desired nothing more then occasion to rise. And, when after him also

DION

The Philosophers advanced Dions warre.

Aristotles dialogue de Anima.

Dions army.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Alcimenes, (a companion with him in this warre, and the chieftest man of all the Achaians, both for nobility and estimacion) did speake unto them in like maner, then they were all contented to goe whether they would lead them. It was then in the hart of sommer, and the wind blew called the Græcian wind, the Moone being at the full, and Dion having prepared to make a sumptuous sacrifice unto the god Apollo, he led all his men armed with white corselets in procession into the temple: and after the sacrifice done, he made them a feast in the parke or shewe place of the Zacynthians. There the tables were layed, and the souldiers wondred to see the great state and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and silver, and such other furniture and preparation, as passed a private mans wealth: then they thought with them selves, that a man being so olde, and Lord of so great a good, would not attempt things of such daunger, without good ground, and great assurance of his friends ayde and helpe. But after his oblations of wine, and common prayers made to the gods at feasts: sodainly the Moone eclipsed. Dion thought it not straunge to see an eclipse, considering the revolutions of the eclipses, and knowing very well it is a shadowe that falleth upon the body of the Moone, bicause of the direct interposition of the earth betwixt her and the Sunne. But bicause the souldiers that were affrayd and astonied withall, stode in neede of some comfort and encoragement: Miltas the Soothsayer standing up in the middest amongst them, sayd unto them: My fellowe souldiers, be of good cheere, and assure your selves that we shall prosper: for God doth foreshewe us by this sight we see, that some one of the chieftest thinges nowe in highest place and dignitie shall be eclipsed. And at this present time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, than the tyrannie of Dionysius? Therefore you must thinke, that so soone as you arrive in Sicilia, your selves shall put out his light and glory. This interpretation of the eclipse of the Moone, did Miltas the Soothsayer make, before all the whole companye. But touching the swarme of bees that lighted on the poepe of Dions shippe, he told him, and his friends privately: that he was affrayd

Dions sumptuous fare in feasting.

The eclipse of the Moone, and cause of the eclipse.

Wonders shewed unto Dion.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his acts which should fall out famous and glorious, should last but a while, and flourishing a few dayes, would straight consume away. It is reported also, that Dionysius in like manner had many strange signes and wonderful tokens from above. Among others, there came an Eagle that snatched the partisan out of the souldiers handes, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the sea. The sea also beating against the walls of the castell, was as sweete to drinke a whole day together, as any conduite or running water: as those that tasted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a sowe farrowed pygges that lacked no parts of the body, but onely their eares. This the Soothsayers sayd did signifie rebellion, and disobedience of his subjects: and that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the sweetenes of the salt water prognosticated to the Syracusans, chaung of cruell and evill time, unto good and civil government: and that the Eagle, Iupiters minister, and the partisan, the marke and token of the kingdom and Empire, did betoken that Iupiter the chiefe of all gods had determined to destroy and put downe the tyranny. Theopompus reporteth this matter thus. So Dions souldiers were imbarked into two great shippes of burden, and another third shippe that was not very great, and two pynnases with thirtye owers followed them. For their armor and weapon, beside those the souldiers had: he caried two thowsand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pykes, and plenty of vittells: that they should lacke nothing all the time they were upon the sea, considering that their jorney stode altogether at the curtesie of the windes and sea, and for that they were affrayd to lande, understanding that Philistus roade at anker in the coast of Apulgia, with a fleete of shippes that lay in wayte for their comming. So having a pleasant gale of wind, they sayled the space of twelve dayes together, and the thirtene day they came to the foreland of Sicilia called Pachynus. There the Pilot thought it best they should land presently: for if they willingly loofed into the sea, and lost that poynt, they were sure they should lose also many nights and dayes in

DION

Wonders appearing unto Dionysius.

Dions preparation.

Pachynus, the foreland of Sicilia.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

A tempest  
on the sea  
against Dion.

vaine in the midst of the sea, being then sommer time, and the wind at the South. But Dion being affrayd to land so neare his enemies, he was desirous to goe further, and so past by the foreland of Pachynus. Then the North-wind rose so bigge and great, that with great violence it drave backe their ships from the coast of Sicilia. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withall (bicause it was at that time when the starre Arcturus beginneth to shewe) it made so terrible a tempest, and powred downe such a sore shower of rayne upon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whether the wind would drive them: till that sodainly they saw the storme had cast them upon the Ile of Cercina, (which is on the coast of Libya) and specially where it is most daungerous to arrive for the rocks, for their shippes were like to have runne upon them, and to have made shippewracke. But with much a doe they bare of the shippes with the great longe poles, and wandred up and downe the sea, not knowing whether they went, untill the storme ceased. Then they met a shippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Marriners call the heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring up and downe, being marvelous angry that the sea was calme, there rose a litle South wind from the land, although they least looked for any such wind at that time, and litle thinking it would so have chaunged: but seeing the wind rise bigger and bigger, they packed on all the sayles they had, and making their prayers unto the gods they crossed the sea, and sayled from the coast of Libia, directly unto Sicile, and had the winde so lucky, that at the fift daye they were neare unto a litle village of Sicilia, called Minoa, the which was subject to the Carthaginians. Synalus Carthaginian, being at that time Captaine and governor of the towne of Minoa, and Dions friende, was there by chauce at that present, who being ignorant of his enterprise and comming, did what he could to keepe Dions souldiers from landing. But they notwithstanding sodainly lept a land armed, but slue no man. For Dion had commaunded them the contrary, for the friendship he bare the Captaine: and they following the townes men hard that fled before them, entred

Synalus,  
Captaine of  
Minoa for  
the Cartha-  
ginians.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the towne, hand over head amongst them, and so wanne the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had spoken together, Dion redelivered the towne into Synalus hands again, without any hurt or violence offred him. Synalus on the other side did indevor him selfe all he could to make much of the souldiers, and holpe Dion to provide him of all things necessary. But this did most of all encorage the souldiers, bicause Dionysius at their arrivall, was not then in Sicilia: for it chaunced so, that not many dayes before he went into Italy, with foure score sayle. Therefore when Dion willed them to remayne there a fewe dayes to refresh them selves, bicause they had bene so sore sea beaten a long time together: they them selves would not, they were so glad to imbrace the occasion offred them, and prayed Dion to leade them forthwith to Syracusa. Dion leaving all his superfluous armor and provision in the hands of Synalus, and praying him to sende them to him when time served: he tooke his way towardes Syracusa. So by the way, two hundred horsemen of the Agrigentines, which dwell in that part called Ecnomus, came first to joyne with him, and after them, the Geloians. The rumor of their comming ranne straight to Syracusa. There-uppon Timocrates that had married Areté, Dions wife, and Dionysius the fathers sister, and unto whom Dionysius the yonger had left the charge and government of all his men and friends in the citie: he presently dispatched a post with letters, to advertise Dionysius of Dions comming. He him selfe also in the meane time had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebell: but bicause they were uncerteine whether this rumor was true or false, being affrayd, every man was quiet. Now there chaunced a strange misfortune unto the Messenger, that caried the letters unto Dionysius. For after he had passed the straight, and that he was arrived in the citie of Rheggio of Italyes side, making haste to come to the citie of Caulonia, where Dionysius was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that caried a mutton but newly sacrificed. This good fellow gave him a peece of it, and the Messenger spurred away

DION  
Dion wanne  
Minoa.

Dion goeth to  
Syracusa.

A strange  
chaunce  
happened  
unto the  
Messenger  
sent to  
Dionysius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

A woulfe  
caried  
away the  
Messengers  
portmanteau.

with all the speede he could possible. But when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so weary and drowsie for lacke of sleepe, that he was driven to lye downe. So he lay downe upon the ground, in a wodde hard by the high way. The savor of this fleshe brought a woulfe to him, that caried away the fleshe and the portmantew it was wrapt in, and in the which also were his letters of advertisement, which he caried unto Dionysius. When he awoke out of his sleepe, and saw that his portmantew was gone: he enquired for it, and went wandring uppe and downe a long time to seeke it: howbeit all in vaine, for he could never find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to goe to the tyranne without his letters, but rather to flie into some unknowen place where no body knew him. Thus overlate received Dionysius advertisement by others of this warre, which Dion made in Sicilia. In the meane time, the Camarinians came and joyned with Dions army, in the high way towards Syracusa: and still there came unto him also a great number of the Syracusans that were uppe in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other side, certaine Campanians and Leontines, which were gotten into the castell of Epipoles with Timocrates, of purpose to keepe it: upon a false rumor Dion gave out (and which came unto them) that he would first goe against their townes: they forsooke Timocrates, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. Dion understanding that, being lodged with his armie in a place called Macræ: he presently removed his campe being darke night, and marched forward till he came unto the river of Anapus, which is not from the citie above tenne furlongs of: and there staying a while, he sacrificed unto the river, and made his prayer, and worshipped the rising of the Sunne. At the selfe same instant also, the Soothsayers came and told him, that the gods did promise him assured victorie. And the souldiers also seeing Dion weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremonie of the sacrifice: all of them with one selfe good will, tooke every man one of them, (beeing no lesse then five thowsande men that were gathered together by the way, and but slenderly armed with such thinges as came

Anapus fl.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

first to hand, howbeit supplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when Dion commaunded them to marche, for joy they ranne, and incoraged one another with great cryes, to shew them selves valliant for recoverye of their libertie. Nowe for them that were within the citie self of Syracusa, the noble men and chief Citizens went to receive them at the gates in their best gownes. The common people on the other side ranne and set upon them that tooke part with the tyranne, and spoyled them that were called the Prosagogides (as much to say, the common Promoters of men) the detestablest villaines, hateful to the gods and men. For they like Sicophants and busie tale bearers, would jet up and downe the citie, and mingle amonge the Citizens, having an oer in every mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and busie headed, to know what every man sayd and did, and then to goe cary it to the tyranne. These men were they that had their payment first of all, for they killed them with dry blowes, beating them to death with staves. When Timocrates could not enter into the castell with them that kept it, he tooke his horse backe, and fled out of the citie, and flying made all men affrayd and amased where he came, enlarging Dions power by his report, bicause it should not seeme that for feare of a trifle, he had forsaken the citie. In the meane time, Dion came on towards the citie with his men, and was come so neare, that they might see him plainly from the citie, marching foremost of all, armed with a fayer bright white corselet, having his brother Megacles on his right hande of him, and Callippus Athenian on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him also there followed a hundred souldiers that were straungers, chosen for his gard about him, and the rest came marching after in good order of battel, being led by their Captaines. The Syracusans saw him comming, and went out and received him as a holy and blessed procession, that brought them their libertie and popular state againe, the which they had lost the space of eight and fortye yeares. When Dion was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he caused his trompeter sownd to appease the rumor and tumult of

DION

Dionysius  
picke thanks  
alayne.

Dion received  
into Syracusa.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Dion  
restoreth the  
Syracusans to  
libertie.

the people. Then he commaunded a Herawld to proclayme alowd, that Dion and Megacles, who were come to put downe the tyranny, did set all the Syracusans at libertie, and all the other Sicilians also, from the bondage and subjection of the tyranne: and bicause Dion him selfe was desirous to speake unto the people, he went to the upper part of the towne called Acradina. The Syracusans all the streetes thorough as he passed by, had on either hand of him prepared sacrifices, and set up tables, and cuppes upon them: and as he passed by their houses, they cast flowers and frutes on him, and made prayers unto him, as if he had bene a god. Now under the castell there was a place called Pentapyla, a clocke to know by the Sunne how the day went, the which Dionysius had caused to be made, and it was of a good prety height. Dion got up upon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perswading his contry men to doe their endeavor to recover their libertie againe, and to mainteyne it. They being in a marvelous joy withall, and desirous to please Dion: did choose him and his brother Megacles their Lieuutenants generall, with absolute power and authoritie. Afterwards also, by the consent of Dion him selfe and his brother, and at their requestes in like manner, they chose twenty other Captaines, of the which the most part of them had bene banished by the tyran, and were returned againe with Dion. The Soothsayers and Prognosticators liked it well, and sayd it was a good signe for Dion, that he trode that sumptuous building and workemanship of the tyranne under his feete, when he made his oration: but bicause the hande of the diall did shewe the course of the Sunne, which never leaveth going, upon the which he got uppe when he was chosen Lieuutenant generall with absolute power and authoritie: they were affrayd againe, that it was a signe Dions affayres should have a sodaine change of fortune. After this, Dion having taken the castell of Epipoles, he set all the Citizens at libertie which were kept there as prisoners in captivitie by the tyranne, and envyroned the castell round about with a wall. Within seven dayes after, Dionysius returned by sea to the castell of Syracusa,

Dionysius  
clocke.

The predic-  
tions of the  
Soothsayers.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

and therewithall also came the carts loden with armor and weapon to Syracuse, the which Dion had left with Synalus : the which Dion caused to be distributed amonge the Citizens of Syracuse that had none. Others did furnishe them selves as well as they could, and shewed that they had corage and good will to fight for the maintenance and defence of their libertie. In the meane time, Dionysius sent Ambassadors, first unto Dion privately, to see if he would yeld to any composition. But Dion would not heare them, but bad them tell the Syracusans openly what they had to say, being men that were free, and enjoyed libertie. Then the Ambassadors spake in the behalfe of the tyranne, unto the people of Syracuse, promising them with mild and gentle wordes, that they should paye no more subsidies and taxes, but very litle, and should be no more troubled with warres, other then such as they them selves should like of. The Syracusans made a mockery at those offers, and Dion also aunswered the Ambassadors, and willed Dionysius to send no more to the Syracusans, before he had dispossesed him selfe of his tyranny : and so that he would leave it, he would be his meane to obtayne all things just and reasonable of the people. Dionysius liked very well of this good offer, and therefore sent his Ambassadors againe to praye the Syracusans that they would appoynte some amongst them to come to the castell, to talke with him for the benefit and commoditie of the common wealth, that he might heare what they would alleage, and they also what aunswer he would make. Dion chose certaine whome he sent unto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the citie amonge the Syracusans, which came from the castell : that Dionysius would willingly of him selfe, rather then by reason of Dions comming, depose him selfe of the tyrannie. But this was but a false alarom, and crafty fetche of Dionysius, to intrappe the Syracusans by. For those that were sent him from the citie, he kept them prisoners every man of them : and one morning having made his souldiers drinke wine lustely, which he kept in pay to gard his person, he sent them with great furie to assault the wall the Syracusans had built against the castell. Nowe, bicause the Syracusans looked for nothing lesse then

Dionysius  
sent Ambassadors  
unto  
Dion.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

for the sodaine assault, and for that these barbarous people with a wonderfull corage and great tumult overthrew the wal, and others of them also did set upon the Syracusans: there was not a man of them that durst make head to fight with them, saving the souldiers that were straungers, whome Dion had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noyse, ranne straight to repulse them, and yet they themselves could not well tell what they should doe upon that sodaine. For they could heare nothing, for the great noyse and hurly burley of the Syracusans which fled with great disorder, and came and mingled them selves amongst them. Til at length, Dion perceiving he could not be heard, to shew them by deede what they should doe: he went first him selfe against these barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloody fight. For his enemies knewe him as well as his owne men, and they all ranne upon him with great cryes. Now for Dion him selfe, in deede bicause of his age, he was heavier then was requisite for one that should away with the paynes of such battells: but he had such a valliant corage in him, that he went thorough withall lustely, and slue them that did assaile him. Yet he had his hand also thrust thorough with a pyke, and very hardly did his curaces holde out the blowes of the darts and thrusts by hande which he received on them, they were so mangled and hacked with such a number of darts and pykes passed thorough his shield and broken on him, that in the ende he was beaten downe: howbeit his souldiers rescued him straight. Then he made Timonides their Captaine, and he him selfe tooke his horse backe, and went up and downe the citie, staying and quieting the flying of the Syracusans. Then he sent for his souldiers the straungers, which he had put in garrison in that part of the citie called the Acradine to keepe it, and brought them being freshe, against the barbarous people of the castell that were wearied, and almost all of them discouraged to attempt any further enterprise. For they had made this salye out, in hope to have taken all the citie at the first onset, onely running up and downe: but when contrary to their expectacion, they met these valliant souldiers and freshe supply, they then beganne to retyre againe unto the

Dion fighteth  
with Dion-  
ysius.

Dion hurt.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

castell. And the Græcian souldiers on the other side, perceiving they gave backe, they came the faster upon them, so that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driven within their walls, after they had slayne three score and foureteene of Dions men, and lost a great number of their owne. This was a noble victorie, and therefore the Syracusans gave the souldiers that were straungers, an hundred silver Minas, in reward for their good service: and they gave Dion their generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to Dion by a trompet from the castell, written from the women of his house: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed: To my father: the which Hipparinus wrote unto him. For that was Dions sonnes name, though Timæus writeth he was called Areteus, after his mothers name Areta. But in such matters, me thinkes Timonides is better to be credited, bicause he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were sent, were openly red before the assembly of the Syracusans, and did only concerne requests of these women unto Dion. The Syracusans would not have the supposed letter of his sonne to be openly red: but Dion against their mindes opened it, and found that it was Dionysius letter, who by wordes, made the direction of it unto Dion, but in effect, he spake unto the Syracusans. For in sight, it seemed a manner of request and justification of him selfe: but in truth, it was written of purpose to accuse Dion. First of all he remembered him of the thinges he had done before, for the establishing and preservation of the tyrannie: and afterwards of cruell threats against those whome he should love best, as his wife, his sonne and sister: and last of all, full of most humble requests and intreaties with sorowe and lamentacion. But that which most moved Dion of all other was, that he required him not to destroye the tyrannye, but rather to take it for him selfe, and not to set them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the mischief he had done unto them: and that he would him selfe take upon him to be Lord, saving by that meanes the lives of his parents and friends. When these letters had bene red before the whole assembly of the people, the Syracusans

DION

Dions victory  
of Dionysius.

Hipparinus,  
Dions sonne.

Dionysius  
craft unto  
Dion.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

thought not how to reverence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible constancy and magnanimitie of Dion, that stode firme and fast for justice and vertue, against such vehement intreatie and perswasion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be affrayd, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessitie should be forced to pardon the tyranne, for the great pledges and ostages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to choose them new governors, and the rather, because they heard that Heraclides was comming unto them, whome they loved singularly well. This Heraclides was one of them that had bene banished, a good souldier and Captaine, and well esteemed of for the charge and office he bare under the tyrannes: howbeit a very unconstant man in every thing, and would not continue long in a mind, and least constant in warres, where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with Dion in Peloponnesus, wherefore he determined to come with a power by him selfe, and with his owne fleete against the tyranne. So he arrived at length at Syracusa, with seven gallies, and three other shippes, where he found Dionysius againe shut up into his castell with a wall, and the Syracusans also to have the better hand of him. Then he began to curry favor with the common people all the wayes he could possibly devise, having by nature a certaine pleasing manner to winne the common people, which seeke nothing els but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to winne them, because the people did already mislike Dions severitie, as a man too severe and cruell to governe a common wealth. For they had now their will so much, and were growen so stronge headed, because they sawe them selves the stronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they onely be Lordes, and doe rule) before they were fully set at libertie. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authoritie of the governors: they all ranne in a furye, of their owne light heads, unto the place of common assemblies, and there chose Heraclides Admirall. Then Dion understanding this, came to complaine of the injurie they had done him, declaring unto them, that to give this power now unto

Heraclides  
what he was.

Heraclides  
returneth to  
Syracusa.

The Syracu-  
sans do choose  
Heraclides  
Admirall, to  
spight Dion.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

Heraclides, was to take that away which they had first given unto him: because he should no more be generall, if they chose any other Admirall by sea then him selfe. The Syracusans then, as it were against their willes, did revoke the power they had given unto Heraclides: but afterwards Dion sent for Heraclides, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a litle, and tolde him that it was not honestly, nor profitably done of him, to sue to the people, and to contend for honor against him in so daungerous a tyme, when the least occasion in the world was enough to have marred all. Afterwards Dion him selfe called an assembly againe of the citie, and established Heraclides Admirall: and perswaded the Citizens to give him souldiers, as he had in deede. Heraclides outwardly seemed to honor Dion, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound unto him, and was alway at his heeles very lowly, being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, secretly he inticed the common people to rebell, and to stirre up those whom he knew meete men to like of change. Whereby he procured Dion such trouble, and brought him into such perplexitie, that he knew not well what way to take. For if he gave them advise to let Dionysius quietly come out of the castell: then they accused him, and sayd he did it to save his life. If on the other side, because he would not trouble them, he continued seege still, and did establish nothing: then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the warres in length, because he might the lenger time remaine their chiefetaine generall, and so to keepe the Citizens lenger in feare. At that time there was one Sosis in Syracuse, a man of no name, but noted amonge the Syracusans for his villany and wickednes, esteeming that full and ample libertie, when he might unchecked licentiously speake what he would, as in deede he did. For he seeking to doe Dion a displeasure: first of all one day at a common counsel he stode up on his feete, and called the Syracusans beastes, (amongst many other vile wordes he gave them) if they did not perceive, that being come from a fond and droncken tyrannie, they had nowe received a sober master, and a wise and ware tyranne. So when he had thus openly shewed him

Heraclides, a dissembler, practising to make the people to rebell against Dion.

Sosis, a wicked man, moveth sedition against Dion.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

selfe an enemy unto Dion, he came no more that daye into the market place: but the next morning he was seene running up and downe the citie naked, his head and face all of a gore bloud, as if he had bene followed by men to have slayne him. Thus Sosis comming in this manner into the middest of the market place, cryed out, that Dions straungers had lyen in wayte for him, and had handled him in this sort, shewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grievously, and cried out upon Dion, and sayd it was vilely and tyrannically done of him: by feare of murther and daunger, to take away the libertie from the Citizens to speake. Nowe though the whole assembly hereuppon fell into an uprore withall, Dion notwithstanding came thither to cleare him selfe of these accusations, and made them presently see, that this Sosis was brother to one of Dionysius gard: who had put into his head, in this sort to put the citie of Syracuse in an uprore, bicause Dionysius had no other hope nor meanes to escape, but by stirring up faction and sedition amonge them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgions were sent for forthwith to searche the wounde of this Sosis: who founde that it was rather a litle scratche, then any violent wound given him. For the woundes or cuts of a sword, are ever deepest in the middest: and Sosis cut was but very litle, and not deepe, having had many beginnings, and given him (as it seemed) at sundry times, that for very paine, the party that cut him was driven to leave of, and so came to cut him at divers times. Furthermore, there came certaine of his friends in the meane time, that brought a raser before the assembly, and reported that as they came, they met Sosis by the way all bloudied: who sayd, that he fled from Dions souldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereuppon they presently followed them, but found no man, and onely they saw a raser, which some bodye had cast upon a hollow stone thereabout, where they first saw him comming unto them. Thus Sosis devise had but evil successe. For beside all these proofes and tokens, Dions houshold servaunts came to be a witnes against him: that very carely in the morning he went abroad

Dion cleareth  
Sosis accusation  
against  
him.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

alone with a raser in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuse Dion, knewe not what to say to the matter, but shroncke away: whereuppon the people condemning Sosis to death, they were quiet againe with Dion. Yet were they alwaies affraid of these souldiers that were straungers, specially when they saw the greatest conflicts they had with the tyranne, was by sea, after that Philistus was come from the coast of Apuglia with a great number of gallies to ayde the tyranne. For then they thought, that these souldiers the straungers being armed at all partes to fight by land, they would do them no more service by sea: bicause the Citizens them selves were they that kept them in safetie, for that they were men practised to fight by sea, and were also the stronger by meanes of their ships. But beside all this, the onely thing that made them to be coragious again, was the good fortune they had at the battel by sea, in the which when they had overcome Philistus, they cruelly and barbarously used him. Truly Ephorus saith, that Philistus slue him selfe, when he sawe his galley taken. Howbeit Timonides (who was alway with Dion from the first beginning of this warre) writing unto Speusippus the Philosopher, saith that Philistus was taken alive, bicause his galley ranne a land: and that the Syracusans first tooke of his curaces, and stripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villanie and spight they could, they cut of his head, and gave his body unto boyes, commaunding them to dragge it into that part of the citie called Acradine, and then to cast it into the common privie. Timæus also to spight him the more, sayth that the boyes tyed the deade bodye by his lame legge, and so dragged him up and downe the citie, where all the Syracusans did what villanie to it they could, being glad to see him dragged by the legge, that had sayd Dionysius should not flie from the tyranny upon a light horse, but that they should pull him out by the legge against his will. Now Philistus reporteth this matter thus, not as spoken to Dionysius by him selfe, but by some other. But Timæus taking a just occasion and culler to speake evil of the good will, fidelitie, and care that Philistus had alwayes seemed to

DION

Sosis condemned to death.

Philistus slain.

Timæus, and Ephorus the Historiographers re-proved.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

shew in the confirmation and defence of the tyrannie: doth liberally bestow injurious wordes on him in this place. Nowe for them whome he had in deede offended, if they of malice and spight to be revenged, did offer him crueltye, peradventure they were not much to be blamed: but for them that since his death have written the jeasts, who were never offended by him in his life time, and who ought to shewe them selves discrete in their writing, me thinkes that if they had regarded their owne credit and estimation, they should not so fondly and outrageously have reproved the adversities and misfortunes, which by fortune may as well chauce to the honestest man, as unto him. Thus fondely doth Ephorus prayse Philistus, who though he have an excellent fine wit to counterfeate goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and dishonest partes, and eloquently to devise by honest words, to defend an evill cause: yet can not he with all the five wits he hath excuse him self, that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath most favored tyrannes, and that hath ever loved, and specially desired power, wealth, and alliance with tyrannes. But he in my opinion taketh the right course of an Historiographer, that nether doth commend Philistus doings, nor yet casteth his adversities in his teeth to his reproche. After Philistus death, Dionysius sent unto Dion, to make him an offer to deliver him the castell, armor, munition, and souldiers that were in it, with money also to paye them for five monethes space. For him selfe, he prayed that he might be suffered to goe safely into Italy, and to lye there, to take the pleasure of the frutes of the contry called Gyarta, which was within the territorie of Syracusa, and lyeth out from the sea towards the mayne land. Dion refused this offer, and answered the Ambassadors that they must move the Syracusans in it. They supposing they should easily take Dionysius alive, would not heare the Ambassadors speake, but turned them away. Dionysius seeing no other remedie, left the castell in the handes of his eldest sonne Apollocrates, and having a lusty gale of winde, he secretly imbarked certaine of his men he loved best, with the richest thinges he had, and so hoysed sayle, unwares to Heraclides, the

Dionysius  
flyeth from  
Syracusa.

Apollocrates  
the eldest  
sonne of  
Dionysius  
the younger.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

Admirall of Syracuse. The people were marvelously offended with Heraclides for it, and beganne to mutinie against him. But Heraclides, to pacifie this tumult of the people suborned one Hippon an Orator, who preferred the lawe Agraria unto the people, for the division of all the Iland amongst them: and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie, and of bondage povertie, unto them that had no landes. Heraclides giving his consent to this decree, and stirring the common people to sedition against Dion, that withstoode it: perswaded the Syracusans not onely to confirme the lawe Hippon had propownded, but also to discharge the hyered straungers, to choose other Captaines and governors, and to rid them selves of Dions severe government. But they supposing straight to have bene rid from the tyranny, as from a long and grievous sicknes, overrashly taking upon them like people that of long time had bene at libertie, they utterly undid them selves, and overthrew Dions purpose: who like a good Phisition was carefull to see the citie well ordered and governed. So when they were assembled to choose new officers in the middest of sommer, there fel such horrible thunders, and other terrible stormes, and unfortunate signes in the element, that for the space of fifteene dayes together, the people were stil scattered and dispersed when they were assembled: insomuch, that being affraide of these signes above, they durst not at that time create any new Captaines. Certaine dayes after, as the Orators had chosen a fayer time to proceede to the election of officers: an oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with every sight and noyse) sodainly without any occasion offered, fell into a madnes against the carter that drave him, and breaking his yoke asonder, ranne straight to the Theater, and there made the people runne into every corner, to flye and save them selves: and then flinging, and bearing all downe before him that stoode in his way, he ranne through as much of the citie, as the enemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithstanding, the Syracusans making light accompt of all these signes, they chose five and twenty Captaines, of the which Heraclides was one: and secretly

Signes appearing to the Syracusans.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Dion departeth out of Syracusa.

they sent to feele the hiered souldiers, to see if they could entice them from Dion, to cause them to take their part, and made them large promises to make them free men, as them selves of Syracusa. The souldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully and lovingly tooke Dion amongst them with their armor and weapon, and putting him in the middest of them, led him in this manner out of the citie, and did no man hurt, but reproving their unthankfulness and villanie unto all those they met by the way. Then the Syracusans despising them for their smal number, and bicause they did not first set upon them, but trusting on the other side to them selves for that they were the greater number: they came to assaile them, supposing they should easily overcome them in the citie, and kil every man of them. Dion being thus at a straight, that of necessitie he must fight against his owne contry men, or els be slaine him selfe with his souldiers: he held up his hands to the Syracusans and very earnestly praied them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the castell that was full of their enemies, which shewed them selves upon the wals, and saw what they did. In the ende, when he saw that he could not pacifie their furie and tumult, and that all the citie was in an uprore with the prittle prattle of these seditious people, who like the sea were caried with the wind: he did yet forbid his souldiers to give any charge upon them, who notwithstanding made a countenance with great cryes, and ratling of their harnes, as if they had ment to ronne on them. Then the Syracusans durst not abide by it, but ranne away like sheepe through the streets, and no man chased them. So Dion called backe his men againe, and led them directly into the contry of the Leontines. Then the new officers and governors of Syracusa, perceiving that the women laughed them to scorne: bicause they would recover the shame they had lost, they armed their men a new againe, and did marche after Dion to fight with him, whome they overtooke at a river, as he was ready to passe over. Then began their horsemen a litle to skirmishe with Dions company. But when they saw he did no more beare with their faults for contries sake, but frowned in deede

The cowardlines of the Syracusans.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

upon them, and did set his men in battel ray against them : then they turned their backs againe, with more shame and reproache then before, and so fled unto the citie of Syracuse, and had not many of their men slaine. The Leontines received Dion very honorably, tooke the straungers his souldiers, and gave them pay, and made them free Citizens with them : and sent Ambassadors also unto the Syracusans, to wil them to let the straungers have their pay. The Syracusans on their side also, sent Ambassadors unto the Leontines to accuse Dion. So all their confederats were assembled in the citie of the Leontines, and in that assembly, after both parties had bene heard, to heare what they would say : it was judged that the Syracusans were to blame. Howbeit they would not stand to the judgement of their confederats, for they were now growen proud and careles, bicause they were governed by no man, but had Captaines that studied to please them, and were affraid also to displease them. After that, there arrived certain gallies of Dionysius, at Syracuse, of the which, Nypsius Neapolitan was captaine : which brought vittels and money, to help them that were beseged within the castel. These gallies were fought with, and the Syracusans obtained victorie, and tooke foure of the tyrannes gallies with three bancks of owers a peece : howbeit they fondly abused their victorie. For they having no body to commaund nor rule them, employed all their joy, in ryoting and bancketting, and in fond and dissolute meetings, taking so litle care and regard to their busines, that now when they thought the castel was sure their owne, they almost lost their citie. For Nypsius perceiving that every part of the citie was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long unto darke night, but bybbe and drinke drunke, dauncing after their pypes and howboyes, and that the governors them selves were very glad also to see such feasting, or els for that they dissembled it, and durst not commaund and compell them that were droncke : he wisely tooke the occasion offered him, and scaled the wall which had shut up the castell, and wantt it, and overthrewe it. Then he sent the barbarous souldiers into the citie, and commaunded them to doe with them they

DION

The Leontines  
doe receive  
Dion.

The negli-  
gence and  
troubles of the  
Syracusans.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

met, what they would or could. The Syracusans then too late found their fault, and hardly gave present remedie, they were so amazed and sodainely set on : for in deede they made a right sacke of the citie. Here men were killed, there they overthrewe the wall, in another place they caried away women and litle children prisoners into the castell, weeping and crying out : and lastly, they made the Captaines at their wits ende, who could give no present order, nor have their men to serve them against their enemies, that came hand over head on every side amongst them. The citie being thus miserably in garboyle, and the Acradine also in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rise againe : every man thought then with him selfe that Dion must be sent for, but yet no man moved it notwithstanding, being ashamed of their unthankfulness and overgreat folly they had committed, in driving him away. Yet necessitie inforcing them unto it, there were certaine of the horsemen and of their confederats that cryed, they must send for Dion, and the Peloponnesians his souldiers, which were with him in the territorie of the Leontines. Assoone as the first worde was heard, and that one had the hart to tell it to the people, all the Syracusans cryed out, there was the poynt : and they were so glad of it, that the water stode in their eyes for joy, and besought the gods it would please them to bringe him unto them, they were so desirous to have him againe. For they called to minde howe valliant and resolute he was in daunger, and how that he was never affrayde, but did encorage them with his manhood in such sort, that being led by him, they were not affrayd to set upon their enemies. So the confederats for them, sent presently Archonides and Telesides unto him : and the noble men that served on horsebacke, they sent him also five amongst them, beside Hellanicus. Who tooke their horses, and posted for life, so that they came to the citie of the Leontines about Sunne set, and lighting from their horses, they went first of all and kneeled downe at Dions feete, and weeping, tolde him the miserable state of the Syracusans. Straight there came divers of the Leontines, and many of the Peloponnesian souldiers unto Dion, mistrusting then that

The Syracusans doe send for Dion againe.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

there was some newes in hand, to see the earnest and humble sute the Ambassadors of Syracusa made unto him. Wherefore Dion tooke them presently with him, and brought them him selfe unto the Theater, where the common counsellors and assemblies of the citie were holden. Thither ranne every man to heare what the matter was. Then Archonides and Hellanicus brought in by Dion, tolde openly before the whole assemblie, the greatnes of their miserie, and requested the hyered souldiers to come and ayde the Syracusans, forgetting the injurie they had received: considering that they had more dearly payd for their follye, then they them selves whome they had so injured, would have made them to have suffered. When they had sayd their mindes, there was a great silence through all the Theater: and then Dion rose up, and beganne to speake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not suffer him to speake: wherefore the hyered souldiers being sory to see him weepe, prayed him not to trouble him selfe, but to be of good corage. Then Dion letting goe the sorowe and grieffe he had conceived, he beganne to speake unto them in this manner: 'My Lordes  
' of Peloponnesus, and you also the confederats: I have called  
' you together to consult with you, what you should doe. For  
' my selfe, it were no honesty for me to consult what I should  
' do now, when the city of Syracusa standeth in peril of de-  
' struction: and therefore if I can not save it from destruction,  
' yet at the least I wil bury my selfe in the fire and ruine of  
' my contry. But for you, if it please you once more to helpe  
' us, unadvised and more unfortunate people: you shal by  
' your meanes set the poore distressed city of Syracusa againe  
' a foote, which is your deede. Or if it be so, that remem-  
' bring the injuries the Syracusans have offred you, you wil  
' suffer it to be destroyed: yet I besech the gods that at the  
' least they will requite your valliantnes, fidelity, and good  
' love you have borne me until this present, beseeching you  
' to remember Dion, who nether forsooke you at any time  
' when you have bene injured, nor his contry men, when  
' they were in trouble.' So, going on stil with his tale, the mercenary straungers stepped forth with great noise, and praied him to leade them to ayde Syracusa. Then the

Dions oration  
unto his  
souldiers, per-  
swading them  
to ayde the  
Syracusans.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Ambassadors also that were sent from the Syracusans, saluted and imbraced them, and prayed the gods to blesse Dion and them, with al the good hap that might be. So when al was whisht and quiet, Dion willed them forthwith to goe and prepare them selves, and that they should be there ready armed after supper, determining the very same night to go to aide Syracusa. But now at Syracusa, while day light lasted, Dionysius souldier and captaines did al the mischief and villany they could in the city: and when night came, they retired again into their castel, having lost very few of their men. Then the seditious governors of the Syracusans tooke hart againe unto them, hoping that the enemies would be contented with that they had done: and therefore began a new to perswade the citizens to let Dion alone, and not to receive him with his mercenary souldiers if they came to aide him, saying, that they them selves were honester men then the straungers, to save their city, and to defend their liberty without help of any other. So other Ambassadors were sent again unto Dion, some from the captaines and governors of the city, to stay them that they should not come: and others also from the horsemen, and noble Citizens his friends to hasten his jorney. Whereuppon by reason of this variance, Dion marched very softly at his ease. Now by night, Dions enemies within the city got to the gates, and kept them that Dion should not come in. Nypsius on the other side made a saly out of the castel with his mercenary souldiers, being better appointed, and a greater number of them then before: and with them he straight plucked downe all the wal which they had built before the castel, and ran and sacked the city. At this saly out of the castel they did not only kill the men they met, but women and litle children also, and staid no more to spoile, but to destroy and put all to havock. For, bicause Dionysius saw that he was brought to a straight and desperat case, he bare such mortal malice against the Syracusans, that sith there was no remedy but that he must needes forgo his tyranny: he determined to burye it, with the utter destruction and desolation of their citie. And therefore, to prevent Dions ayde, and to make a quick dispatch to destroy all: they came

168

The incon-  
stancy of the  
Syracusans.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

with burning torches in their hands, and did set fire of all things they could come to: and further of, they fiered their darts and arrowes, and bestowed them in every place of the city. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withall, and slayne in the streetes by the souldiers, and others also that ranne into their houses, were driven out againe by force of fire. For there were a number of houses that were afire, and fel downe upon them that went and came. This misery was the chiefest cause why all the Syracusans agreed together, to set open the gates unto Dion. For when Dion heard by the way, that Dionysius souldiers were gone againe into the castell, he made no great haste to marche forward: but when day was broken, there came certaine horsemen from Syracusa unto Dion, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the city. Then also came other of his enemies unto him, and prayed him to make haste. Now their miserie increasing still, and they being brought into hard state: Heraclides first sent his brother unto Dion, and then Theodotes his Uncle, to pray him to come quickly, and helpe them. For now there was no man left to resist the enemies, bicause he him selfe was hurt, and the citie also was in manner cleane burnt and destroyed. When these newes came to Dion, he was yet about three score furlong from the towne. So he told his mercenary souldiers the daunger the towne was in, and having encouraged them, he led them no more fayer and softly, but running towards the city, and meeting Messengers one of anothers neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the possible spede he could. By this meanes, the souldiers marching with wonderful spede and good will together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called Hecatompodon. First of all, he sent the lightest armed he had, against the enemies, to thende that the Syracusans seeing them, they might take a good hart againe to them: whilst he himselfe in the meane time did set al the other heavy armed souldiers and Citizens that came to joyne with him, in battell raye, and did cast them into divers squadrons, of greater length then breadth, and appointed them that should have the leading of them, to thend that setting upon

Syracusa set  
afire by  
Dionysius  
souldiers.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

the enemies in divers places together, they should put them in the greater feare and terror. When he had set all things in this order, and had made his prayers unto the gods, and that they saw him marching through the citie against their enemies: then there rose such a common noyse and rejoycing, and great showte of the souldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, and perswasions of all the Syracusans: that they called Dion their god and savior, and the mercenary souldiers their brethren and fellow Citizens. Furthermore, there was not a Syracusan that so much regarded his owne life and person, but he seemed to be more affraid of the losse of Dion only, then of all the rest. For they saw him the foremost man ronning through the daunger of the fire, treading in bloud, and upon dead bodies that lay slaine in the midst of the streets. Now, in deede to charge the enemies, it was a marvelous daungerous enterprise: for they were like mad beasts, and stode beside in battell ray alongst the wal which they had overthrowen, in a very daungerous place, and hard to win. Howbeit the daunger of the fire did most of all trouble and amaze the straungers, and did stoppe their way. For, on which side soever they turned them, the houses round about them were all of a fire, and they were driven to marche over the burnt timber of the houses, and to ronne in great daunger of the walls of the house sides that fell on them, and to passe through the thicke smoke mingled with dust, and beside, to keepe their rancks with great difficultie. And when they came to assaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, because of the straightnes of the place: howbeit the Syracusans with force of cries and showtes did so animat, and encorage their men, that at length they drave Nypsius and his men to forsake the place. The most part of them got into the castell, being very neare unto them: the other that could not get in in time, fled straglingly up and downe, whom the Græcian souldiers slue, chasing of them. The extremitie of the time did not presently suffer the Conquerors to reape the frute of their victory, nether the joyes and imbracings meete for so great an exployte. For the Syracusans went every man home to his owne house,

Dions fight in  
the citie of  
Syracusa.

Nypsius com-  
pelled by  
Dion to flie  
into the  
castell.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

to quenche the fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night. When daye brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tary in the citie, but condemning them selves, they fled to take their fortune. Heraclides and Theodotes came together of their owne good wills to yeld them selves unto Dion, confessing that they had done him wronge, and humbly praying him to shew him selfe better unto them, then they had shewed them selves unto him: and that it was more honorable for him, being every way unmatched for his vertues, to shew him selfe more noble to conquer his anger, then his unthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confesse themselves to be farre inferior unto him. This was the summe and effect of Heraclides and Theodotes submission unto Dion. But his friends did perswade him not to pardon two such wicked men, who did malice and envy his honor: and as he would doe the straungers his souldiers any pleasure, that he should put Heraclides into their hands, to roote out of the common wealth of Syracuse, his vile manner to flatter and curry favor with the people, the which was as daungerous and great a plague to a citie, as the tyranny. Dion pacifying them, answered: 'Other generals of armies, said he, do  
' employ al their wits in marshall exercise and warres: but  
' for him selfe, that he had of long time studied, and learned  
' in the schole of the Academy, to overcome anger, envy, and  
' all malice and contencion. The noble prooffe whereof is  
' most seene, not in using honest men and his friends moder-  
' ately, but shewing mercy also unto his enemies, and for-  
' getting his anger against them that have offended him:  
' and that for his part, he had rather overcome Heraclides,  
' not in riches and wisdom, but in clemency and justice, for  
' therein chiefly consisted excellencie, sith no man els in  
' warres can challenge power and government, but fortune,  
' that ruleth most. And though Heraclides, sayd he,  
' through envy hath done like a wicked man: must Dion  
' therefore through anger bleamish his vertue? In deede  
' by mans law it is thought meeter, to revenge an injurie  
' offered, then to doe an injurie: but nature sheweth, that

Dions mercy to his enemies and the great profit he tooke by study, in the Academy at Athens.

No man should be worse, by an others wickednes.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

‘ they both proceede of one selfe imperfection. Now, though  
‘ it be a hard thing to chaunge and alter the evill disposi-  
‘ tion of a man, after he is once nuseled in villany : yet is  
‘ not man of so wild and brutish a nature, that his wickednes  
‘ may not be overcome with often pleasures, when he seeth  
‘ that they are continually shewed him.’ Dion answering  
his friends thus, he forgave Heraclides, and beginning againe  
to shut up the castell with a wal round about, he com-  
maunded the Syracusans every man of them to cut downe  
a stake, and to bringe it thither. So, when night was come,  
setting his souldiers the straungers in hand withball, whilst  
the Syracusans slept and tooke their ease : by morning he  
had compassed the castel round about with a pale. The  
next day, they that saw the greatnes and sodaine expedition  
of this worke, wondred much at it, as wel the enemies, as  
also the Citizens : and when he had buried the dead bodies,  
and redeemed them that were taken prisoners, (which were  
not much lesse then two thowsand persons) he called a  
common counsel of the citie, in the which Heraclides made  
a motion, that Dion should be chosen general of Syracusa,  
with absolute power and authoritie, both by sea and land.  
The chieft men of the citie liked very well of it, and would  
have had the people to have past it. But the rabble of  
these mariners, and other mechanicall people living by their  
labor, would not suffer Heraclides to be put from his  
Admiralship, but fel to mutinie, thinking that though  
Heraclides did them no pleasure els, yet he would ever be  
a more populer man then Dion, and please the common  
people better. Dion graunted their desire, and made Hera-  
clides Admiral againe of the sea : howbeit he did anger  
them as much an other way, when he did not only reject  
the earnest sute they made to have the law Agraria passe  
for division of lands in equalitie amongst them, but did  
also cancel and revoke all that had ben done before. Where-  
fore Heraclides remaining at Messina, began thenceforth to  
enter into new practises again, and to flatter the souldiers  
and sea fairing men he had brought thether with him, and  
to stirre them up to rebel against Dion, saying, that he  
would make him selfe tyranne : and him selfe in the meane

The froward-  
nes of the  
Syracusans  
against Dion.

Heraclides  
againe stir-  
reth up the  
Syracusans,  
to rebell  
against Dion.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION

time secretly practised with Dionysius, by meanes of a Spartan called Pharax. The noblest men of the Syracusans mistrusted it, and thereupon there fell out great mutinie in their campe, whereby also followed great famine in Syracusa : so that Dion was at such a straight, that he could not tell what to say to it, and was reprov'd of all his friends for that he had againe preferred to great authoritie against him selfe, so untractable a man, and so malicious and wicked a person as Heraclides was. Now, when Pharax laye in campe with an army neare unto the citie of Naples, in the marches of the Agrigentines : Dion did bringe the army of the Syracusans into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him til another time. But through Heraclides, and the sea mens crying out, that said he would not try this warre by battel, but would draw it out in length because he would be still generall : he was forced to give battell, and lost it. Howbeit the overthrow was not great, and happened rather because his men were at a jarre among them selves, by reason of their faction and division, then otherwise. Dion therefore prepared to fight another battell, and gathered his men together againe, incorageing them, when even at twylight word was brought him that Heraclides with al his fleete was under saile towards Syracusa, meaning to take the citie, and to shut Dion and his army out of it. Wherefore he presently tooke with him the chieftest men of authoritie in the citie, and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such haste, that they were at the gates of Syracusa the next morning by nyne of the clocke, having ridden seven hundred furlong. Heraclides that had sayled with all the possible speede he could to prevent him with his shippes, perceiving that he came short, he turned saile, and taking seas at all adventure, by chance he met with Gæsylyus Lacedæmonian, who tolde him he was sent from Lacedæmon, to be general to the Sicilians in this warre, as Gylippus was sent at other times before. He was glad he had met with him, to have such a remedy and defence against Dion, and boasted of it unto the friends and confederats of Syracusa, and sent a Herald before unto the Syracusans, summoning them to receive Gæsylyus Lacedæmonian, who was sent

Gæsylyus Lacedæmonian commeth to Syracusa, to be generall of the Syracusans.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Gæsylyus  
maketh Dion  
and Heracli-  
des friends  
again.

to be their general. Dion made answer: that the Syracusans had governors enow, and though that their affayres did of necessitie require a Lacedæmonian Captaine, yet that him selfe was he, for that he was made free in Sparta. Then Gæsylyus perceiving he could not obtaine to be general, he went unto Syracusa, and came to Dion, and there made Heraclides and him friends againe, by the great and solemne othes he made: and bicause Gæsylyus also sware, that he him selfe would be revenged of him for Dions sake, and punishe Heraclides, if ever after he did once more conspire against him. After that, the Syracusans brake up their army by sea, bicause it did them then no service, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, and further did also breede sedition and trouble amongst their governors: and so went to lay straighter siege to the castell then ever they did, and built up the wall againe, which the enemies had overthrowen. Then Dionysius sonne seeing no aide to come to him from any parte, and that vittels failed them, and further, that the souldiers began to mutine, being unable to keepe them: he fel to a composition with Dion, and delivered up the castell into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it: and so tooke his mother and his sisters of Dion, and put them aboard upon five gallies, with the which he went unto his father, through the safe conduit of Dion. There was not a man at that time in all Syracusa, but was there to see this sight, or if by chaunce there were any absent, the other that were there called them thither as lowde as they could crie, saying, that they did not see the goodliest day and sunne shine, which the citie of Syracusa might see then at her rising, the same being now restored againe to her former libertie. If untill this present day they doe reckon the flying of Dionysius, for one of the rarest examples of fortunes change, as one of the greatest and notabest thing that ever was: what joy thinke we had they that drave him out, and what pleasure had they with them selves, that with the least meane that could be possible, did destroy the greatest tyrannie in the world? So when Apollocrates Dionysius sonne was imbarked, and that Dion was entred into the castell: the women within the castell

The castell of  
Syracusa sur-  
rendred unto  
Dion.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

would not tary till he came into the house, but went to meete him at the gates, Aristomaché leading Dions sonne in her hand, and Areta following her weeping, being verie fearefull how she should call and salute her husband, having lyen with an other man. Dion first spake to his sister, and afterwards to his sonne: and then Aristomaché offering him Areta, said unto him: Since thy banishment, O Dion, we have led a miserable and captive life: but now that thou art returned home with victorie, thou hast ridde us out of care and thraldom, and hast also made us againe bolde to lift up our heades, saving her here, whom I wretched creature have by force (thy selfe alive) seene married unto an other man. Now then, sith fortune hath made thee Lord of us all, what judgement givest thou of this compulsion? Howe wilt thou have her to salute thee, as her Uncle, or husbände? As Aristomaché spake these wordes, the water stode in Dions eyes: so, he gently and lovingly taking his wife Areta by the hand, he gave her his sonne, and willed her to goe home to his house where he then remained, and so delivered the castell to the Syracusans. He having this prosperous successe and victorie, would not reape any present benefite or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed him selfe thankefull to his frends, geven great gifts also unto the confederats of Syracusa, and speciallie, before he had geven everie one of his frends in the citie, and his mercenarie souldiers the straungers, some honorable reward according to their deserts, exceeding his abilitie with magnanimitie of minde: when he him selfe lived soberly, and kept a moderate dyet, contenting him with any thing that came first to hand. Every man that heard of it, wondered at him, considering that not only all Sicilia and Carthage, but generallie all Grace looked upon his great prosperitie and good fortune, thinking no man living greater then him selfe, nor that any Captaine ever attained to such fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come unto. This notwithstanding, Dion lived as temperatly and modestly in his apparell, and also in his number of servauntes, and service at his bord, as if he had lived with Plato in the Academy at Athens, and had not bene conversant amongst souldiers and Captaines, which have no

DION

The words of Aristomaché unto Dion, at his entry into the castell of Syracusa.

Dion taketh his wife Areta againe, which had forcibly bene married unto an other man.

Dions temperance and thriftines.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

other comfort nor pleasure for all the paines and daungers they suffer continuallie, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. Plato wrote unto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But Dion, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one citie (to wit, the Academy) and would have no other Iudges nor lookers into his doinges, but the schollers of the same: who neither wondered at his great employtes, valliantnes, nor victorie, but only considered if he did wiselie and modestlie use this fortune he had, and could so keepe him selfe within modest boundes, having done so great things. Furthermore, touching the gravetie he had when he spake to any bodie, and his inflexible severitie which he used towards the people, he determined never to alter or change it: notwithstanding that his affaires required him to shew curtesie and lenitie, and that Plato also reproved him for it, and wrote, that severitie and obstinacie (as we sayd before) was the companion of solitarines. But it seemeth to me that Dion did use it for two respectes. The first, bicause nature had not framed him curteous and affable to winne men: secondly, he did what he could to drawe the Syracusans to the contrarie, who were over licentious, and spoyled with too much flattery: for Heraclides began againe to be busie with him. First of all, Dion sending for him to come to counsell, he sent him word he would not come: and that being a private citizen, he woulde be at the common counsell amongst others when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not overthrown and rased the castell: and also bicause he would not suffer the people to breake open the tombe of Dionysius the elder, to cast out his bodie: and bicause he sent for counsellers to Corinthe, and disdained to make the citizens his companions in the government of the common wealth. In deede to confesse a troth, Dion had sent for certaine Corinthians, hoping the better to stablish the forme of a common wealth, which he had in his minde, when they were come. For his minde was utterly to breake the government of Democratia, (to wit, the absolute government and authoritie of the people in a citie, not being as it were a common wealth, but rather a fayer and

Heraclides  
conspireth  
againe,  
against Dion.

Dion sent to  
the Corinthi-  
ans to stablish  
a common  
wealth to the  
Syracusans.

Dion ment to  
abolish Demo-  
cratia, and  
to advance  
Aristocratia.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

market where thinges are solde, as Plato sayth) and to stablish the Laconian or Cretan common wealth, mingled with a Princely, and popular government: and that should be, Aristocratia, to wit, the number of a few noble men that should governe and direct the chiefest and waightiest matters of state. And for that purpose, he thought the Corinthians the meetest men for him to frame this common wealth, considering that they governed their affaires more by choosing a few number of the nobilitie, then otherwise, and that they did not referre many thinges to the voyce of the people. And bicause he was assured that Heraclides would be against him in it all that he could, and that otherwise he knewe he was a seditious, a troublesome, and light headed fellow: he then suffered them to kill him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, and so they went home to his house, and slue him there. The murder of Heraclides was much misliked of the Syracusans: howbeit Dion caused him to be honorablie buried, and brought his bodie to the grounde, followed with all his armie. Then he made an Oration him selfe to the people, and told them, that it was impossible to avoyde sedition and trouble in the citie, so long as Dion and Heraclides did both governe together. At that time there was one Callippus an Athenian, a familiar of Dions, who (as Plato sayth) came not acquainted with Dion through the occasion of his studie in Philosophie: but bicause he had bene his guide to bring him to see the secret misteries and ceremonies of the sacrifices, and for such other like common talke and companie. This notwithstanding, Callippus did accompanie him in all this warre, and was verie much honored of him, and was one of the first of all his frendes that entred into Syracuse with him, and did valliantlie behave him selfe in all the battells and conflicts that were fought. This Callippus seeing that Dions best and chiefest frends were all slaine in this warre, and that Heraclides also was dead, that the people of Syracuse had no more any heade, and besides, that the souldiers which were with Dion did love him better then any other man: he became the unfaithfullest man and the veriest villan of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend

**DION**  
The authoritie of the people, resembled by Plato to a fayer, or market.

**Aristocratia.**  
The common wealth of the Corinthians.

The murder of Heraclides.

**Callippus**  
Athenian, conspireth against Dion.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

Dion, he should undoubtedly come to have the whole government of all Sicilia, and as some doe reporte, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twentie talentes for his labor to commit this murther. So he began to practise, to bribe, and to subborne certaine of the mercenarie souldiers against Dion, and that by a marvelous craftie and suttle fetch. For, using commonly to report unto Dion certeine seditious wordes, spoken peradventure by the souldiers in deede, or else devised of his owne head: he wan such a libertie and boldnes by the trust Dion had in him, that he might safely say what he would to any of the souldiers, and boldly speake evill of Dion by his owne commaundement: to thend he might thereby understand the better whether any of the souldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this pollicy, Callippus straight found out those that bare Dion grudge, and that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conspiracy. And if any man unwilling to geve eare unto him, went and told Dion, that Callippus would have intised him to conspire against him: Dion was not angrie with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had commaunded him to doe. Now as this treason was practising against Dion, there appeared a great and monstrous ghost or spirit unto him. By chauce sitting late one evening all alone, in a gallerie he had, and being in a deepe thought with him selfe, sodainly he heard a noyse: and therewith casting his eye to thend of his gallery, (being yet day light) he saw a monstrous great woman, like unto one of the furies shewed in playes, and saw her sweeping of the house with a broome. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his friends, and told them what a sight he had seene: and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were a man beside him selfe, fearing least the spirite woulde come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithstanding he never heard more afterwards. Howbeit shortly after, his sonne being growen to mans state, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he cast him selfe hedlong downe from the toppe of the house, and so was slaine. Dion being in this state,

Note the suttle  
tletie of tale  
bearers.

A spirite  
appeared  
unto Dion.

The lament-  
able death  
of Dions  
sonne.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Callippus went on still with his treason, and spred a rumor abroad among the Syracusans, that Dion seeing him self nowe destitute of children, was determined to send for Apollocrates, Dionysius sonne, to make him his heire and successor, being cosin germaine to his wife, and his sisters daughters sonne. Then began Dion, his wife, and sister to mistrust Callippus practises, and they were told of it by divers sundrie and manifest proofes. But Dion being sorie (as I suppose) for Heraclides death, and inwardlie taking that murder in very evill part, as a fowle blot to his life and doings: he sayd he had rather dye a thowsand deaths, and to offer his throate to be cut to any that would, rather then he would live in that miserie, to be compelled to take heede as well of his frends, as of his enemies. Callippus then seeing the women so busie and inquisitive of his doings, and fearing least he should be bewrayed: he came weeping unto them, and told them it was nothing, and that he was readie to assure them of it by any maner of way they would devise. The women then willed him to swear by the great othe, which was in this maner. He that must take this othe, commeth into the temple of the goddesses Thesmophores, which are, Ceres and Proserpina. And after certaine sacrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddesse Proserpina, holding a burning torch in his hand and sweareth in this maner. Callippus having done all these ceremonies, and made the oth in forme as I have told you: he made so light accompt of the goddesses, that he taried no lenger to do the murther he had determined, but till the very feast day of the goddesse should come, by whom he had sworne: and slue him on the day of the feast of Proserpina. Nowe, I doe not thinke that he chose that day of sette purpose, knowing right well that he did alwayes sinne against her, what time soever he had killed his brother, being by his meanes speciallie admitted to the societie and brotherhoode with him, of the fraternity and misteries of Ceres and Proserpina. Of this conspiracie there were divers. For, as Dion was set in his chamber talking with his frends where there were many beddes to sit on: some compassed

DION

Apollocrates  
Dionysius  
sonne.

The great  
oth of the  
Syracusans.

Dion slaine  
by Callippus  
Athenian.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION

the house round about, others came to the dores and windowes of his chamber, and they that should doe the deede to dispatche him, which were the Zacynthian souldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any sword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the dores after them, and locked them in, least any man shoulde come out: and they that were within, fell upon Dion, and thought to have strangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a sworde. Never a man that was within, durst open the dores, though there were many with Dion. For they thought every man to save their owne lives, by suffering him to be killed, and therefore durst not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one Lycon a Syracusan, that gave one of these Zacynthian souldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut Dions throte, as a weather they had holden a long time in their handes, even dead for feare. The murther being executed, they cast his sister, and wife, great with childe, into prison, and there the poore Ladie was pitiefullie brought to bedde of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring up, then otherwise to doe any thing with the childe. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, bicause Callippus began then a litle to grow to some trouble. For at the first, after he had slaine Dion, he bare all the whole sway for a time, and kept the citie of Syracusa in his handes: and wrote unto Athens, the which next unto the immortall goddes he was most affrayed of, having defiled his handes in so damnable a treason. And therefore, in my opinion, it was not evill spoken, that Athens is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the best men when they geve them selves to goodnes, and the wickedest people also, when they doe dispose them selves to evill: as their contrie also bringeth foorth the best honnie that is, and hemlocke in like maner that quickly dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not suffer this treason and wicked man to raigne long, having comen to the government of a realme by so damnable a murther: but

Dions wife brought to bed of a sonne in prison.

The punishment of Callippus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

shortly after they gave him his payment he had deserved. For Callippus going to take a litle towne called Catana, he lost the citie of Syracusa: whereupon he sayd that he had lost a citie, and got a \*cheese-knife. Afterwards he went to assaile the Messenians, and there he lost a great number of his men, and amongst them were slaine those that killed Dion. Now Callippus finding no citie in all Sicilia, that woulde receive him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of Rhegio in Italie. There being in great distresse and neede of all thinges, and not able to maintaine his souldiers: he was slaine by Leptines, and Polyperchon, with the selfe same dagger wherewith Dion before was slaine: the which was knowne by the facion, being short after the Laconian daggers, and also by the workemanshippe upon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of Callippus. Now for Aristomaché and Areta, they were taken out of prison: and Icetes Syracusan, that sometimes had bene one of Dions frends, tooke them home to his owne house, and used them verie well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwards was wonne and corrupted by Dions enemies. So he caused a shippe to be provided for them, and bare them in hande that he would sende them into Peloponnesus: but he gave them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them over bord into the sea. Some say, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were cast alive into the sea. But this reward of the sinfull act that he committed, returned againe upon him selfe, as it had done before unto others. For he was taken by Timoleon that put him to death: and besides, the Syracusans did also kill two of his daughters in revenge of the unfaithfulnes he had shewed unto Dion.

DION

\* *Karávη*  
in corrupt  
speech signi-  
fith a knife to  
scrape or cut  
cheese, which  
is truelier  
called *παράνη*.  
Iulius Pollux.  
lib. 10 cap. 24.

Callippus  
slaine with  
the same dag-  
ger that slue  
Dion.

The crueltie  
of the Syra-  
cusans unto  
Dion and his  
posterity.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

## THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS



The parentage  
of Brutus.

Brutus  
manners.

Servilia  
M. Brutus  
mother.

Brutus  
parentage by  
his father.

**M**ARCUS BRUTUS came of that Iunius Brutus, for whome the auncient Romanes made his statue of brasse to be set up in the Capitoll, with the images of the kings, holding a naked sword in his hand: because he had valliantly put downe the Tarquines from their kingdom of Rome. But that Iunius Brutus being of a sower stearne nature, not softned by reason, being like unto sword blades of too hard a temper: was so subject to his choller and malice he bare unto the tyrannes, that for their sakes he caused his owne sonnes to be executed. But this Marcus Brutus in contrarie maner, whose life we presently wryte, having framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue and studie of Philosophie, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things: me thinks he was rightly made and framed unto vertue. So that his verie enemies which wish him most hurt, because of his conspiracy against Iulius Cæsar: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracie, they referre it whollie unto Brutus, and all the cruell and violent actes unto Cassius, who was Brutus familiar frend, but not so well geven, and condicioned as he. His mother Servilia, it is thought came of the blood of Servilius Hala, who, when Spurius Melius went about to make him selfe king, and to bring it to passe had entised the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger and hid it close under his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had somewhat to say unto him, and pressed as neere him as he could: wherefore Melius stowping downe with his head, to heare what he would say, Servilius stabbed him in with his dagger, and slue him. Thus muche all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, some for the evil wil and malice they bare unto Brutus, because

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

of the death of Iulius Cæsar, doe maintaine that he came not of Iunius Brutus that drave out the Tarquines: for there were none left of his race, considering that his two sonnes were executed for conspiracie with the Tarquines: and that Marcus Brutus came of a meane house, the which was raised to honor and office in the common wealth, but of late time. Posidonius the Philosopher wryteth the contrarie, that Iunius Brutus in deede slue two of his sonnes which were men growen, as the histories doe declare: howbeit that there was a third sonne, being but a litle childe at that time, from whom the house and family afterwarde was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his time certeine famous men of that familie, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of Iunius Brutus. And thus much for this matter. Marcus Cato the Philosopher was brother unto Servilia M. Brutus mother: whom Brutus studied most to follow of all the other Romanes, because he was his Uncle, and afterwards he married his daughter. Now touching the Græcian Philosophers, there was no sect nor Philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but above all the rest, he loved Platoes sect best, and did not much geve him selfe to the new nor meane Academy as they call it, but altogether to the old Academy. Therefore he did ever greatly esteeme the Philosopher Antiochus, of the citie of Ascalon: but he was more familiar with his brother Ariston, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other Philosophers, but for wisdom and curtesie, equall with the best and chiefest. Touching Empylus, whom Marcus Brutus him selfe doth mencion in his *Epistells*, and his frends also in many places: he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of Iulius Cæsar, and tituled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latine tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it, beside that he could also plead verie well in Latine. But for the Græke tongue, they do note in some of his *Epistells*, that he counterfeated that briefe compendious maner of speach of the Lacedæmonians. As when the warre was begonne, he wrote unto the Pargamenians in this sorte: I understand you have geven Dolobella money: if you have done it willingly, you confesse you have

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Servilia  
Catoes sister.

Brutus  
studies.

Brutus  
followed  
the olde  
Academyks.

Empylus an  
Orator, wrote  
a booke of  
Cæsars death,  
and intituled  
it, *Brutus*.

Brutus maner  
of wryting his  
*Epistells* in  
Græke.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

A briefe  
letter to the  
Samians.

Brutus fol-  
lowed Cato  
into Cyprus.

\*Or Canidius.

Brutus taketh  
parte with  
Pompey.

offended me: if against your wills, shewe it then by geving me willinglie. An other time againe unto the Samians: Your counsels be long, your doinges be slowe, consider the ende. And in an other Epistell he wrote unto the Patareians: The Xanthians despising my good wil, have made their contrie a grave of dispaire: and the Patareians that put them selves into my protection, have lost no jot of their libertie. And therefore whilst you have libertie, either choose the judgement of the Patareians, or the fortune of the Xanthians. These were Brutus manner of letters which were honored for their briefenes. So Brutus being but a young stripling went into Cyprus with his Uncle Cato, who was sent against Ptolomy king of Ægypt, who having slaine him selfe, Cato staying for certaine necessarie busines he had in the Ile of Rhodes, had already sent \*Caninius, one of his frends before, to keepe his treasure and goods. But Cato fearing he woulde be light fingered, wrote unto Brutus foorthwith to come out of Pamphylia, (where he was but newlie recovered of a sicknesse) into Cyprus, the which he did. The which journey he was sorie to take upon him, both for respect of Caninius shame, whome Cato as he thought wrongfullie slaundered: as also because he thought this office too meane and unmeete for him, being a young man, and geven to his booke. This notwithstanding, he behaved him selfe so honestlie and carefullie, that Cato did greatly commende him: and after all the goodes were sold and converted into readie money, he tooke the most parte of it, and returned withall to Rome. Afterwards when the Empire of Rome was devided into factions, and that Cæsar and Pompey both were in armes one against the other, and that all the Empire of Rome was in garboyle and uprore: it was thought then that Brutus woulde take parte with Cæsar, because Pompey not long before had put his father unto death. But Brutus preferring the respect of his contrie and common wealth, before private affection, and perswading himselfe that Pompey had juster cause to enter into armes then Cæsar: he then tooke parte with Pompey, though oftentimes meting him before, he thought scorne to speake to him, thinking it a great sinne and offence in him, to speake to the murtherer of

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his father. But then submitting him selfe unto Pompey, as unto the head of the common wealthe: he sailed into Sicilia, Lieutenant under Sestius that was Governor of that province. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploit, and that Cæsar and Pompey were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of him selfe unsend for into Macedon, to be partaker of the daunger. It is reported that Pompey being glad, and wondering at his comming when he sawe him come to him: he rose out of his chaire, and went and embraced him before them all, and used him as honorablie, as he could have done the noblest man that tooke his parte. Brutus being in Pompeys campe, did nothing but studie all day long, except he were with Pompey, and not only the dayes before, but the selfe same day also before the great battell was fought in the fieldes of Pharsalia, where Pompey was overthrown. It was in the middest of sommer, and the sunne was verie hotte, besides that the campe was lodged neere unto marishes, and they that caried his tent, taried long before they came: whereuppon, being verie wearie with travell, scant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morrowe after: he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long till night, wryting a breviarie of Polybius. It is reported that Cæsar did not forgette him, and that he gave his Captaines charge before the battell, that they shoulde beware they killed not Brutus in fight, and if he yeilded willinglie unto them, that then they shoulde bring him unto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, then that they shoulde lette him goe, and doe him no hurte. Some saye he did this for Serviliaes sake, Brutus mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with Servilia, who was extreamlie in love with him. And because Brutus was borne in that time when their love was hottest, he perswaded him selfe that he begat him. For prooffe hereof the reporte goeth, that when the waightiest matters were in hande in the Senate, about the conspiracie of Catiline, which was likelie to have undone the citie of Rome, Cæsar and Cato sate neere together, and were both

**MARCUS  
BRUTUS**

Brutus exercise in Pompeys campe.

Brutus studied in Pompeis campe.

Iulius Cæsar carefull of Brutus safety.

Iulius Cæsar loved Servilia, Brutus mother.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

of contrarie mindes to eache other: and then, that in the meane time one delivered Cæsar a letter. Cæsar tooke it, and red it softlie to him selfe: but Cato cried out upon Cæsar, and sayd he did not well to receive advertisementes from enemies. Whereuppon the whole Senate beganne to murmure at it. Then Cæsar gave Cato the letter as it was sent him, who red it, and founde that it was a love letter sent from his sister Servilia: thereuppon he cast it againe to Cæsar, and sayde unto him, Holde, dronken soppe. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintayned his opinion as he did before: so commonlie was the love of Servilia knowen which she bare unto Cæsar. So, after Pompeys overthrowe at the battell of Pharsalia, and that he fledde to the sea: when Cæsar came to beseege his campe, Brutus went out of the campe gates unscene of any man, and lept into a marishe full of water and reedes. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went unto the citie of Larissa: from whence he wrote unto Cæsar, who was verie glad that he had scaped, and sent for him to come unto him. When Brutus was come, he did not onelie pardon him, but also kept him alwayes about him, and did as muche honor and esteeme him, as any man he had in his companie. Nowe no man coulde tell whether Pompey was fledde, and all were marvelous desirous to knowe it: wherefore Cæsar walking a good waye alone with Brutus, he did aske him which way he thought Pompey tooke. Cæsar perceiving by his talke that Brutus gessed certainlie whether Pompey shoulde be fledde: he left all other wayes, and tooke his journey directlie towardes Ægypt. Pompey, as Brutus had conjectured, was in deede fledde into Ægypt, but there he was villanouslie slayne. Furthermore, Brutus obteyned pardon of Cæsar for Cassius: and defending also the king\* of Lybiaes cause, he was overlayed with a worlde of accusations against him, howbeit intreating for him, he saved him the best parte of his realme and kingdome. They say also that Cæsar sayd, when he hearde Brutus pleade: I knowe not, sayd he, what this young man woulde, but what he woulde, he willeth it vehementlie. For as Brutus gravetie and constant minde woulde not graunt all

Brutus saved  
by Iulius  
Cæsar, after  
the battell of  
Pharsalia.

\* This king  
was Iuba:  
howbeit it is  
true also, that  
Brutus made  
intercession  
for Deiotarus  
king of Gala-  
tia: who was

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

men their requests that sued unto him, but being moved with reason and discretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honest: even so when it was moved to followe any matter, he used a kinde of forcible and vehement perswasion that calmed not, till he had obteyned his desire. For by flattering of him, a man coulede never obteyne any thing at his handes, nor make him to doe that which was unjust. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and estimacion, to yeelde unto the requestes and intreaties of a shamelesse and importunate suter, requesting thinges unmeete: the which notwithstanding, some men doe for shame, because they dare deny nothing. And therefore he was wont to say, that he thought them evill brought up in their youth, that coulede deny nothing. Nowe when Cæsar tooke sea to goe into Africke, against Cato and Scipio, he left Brutus Governour of Gaule in Italie, on this side of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that province. For where others were spoyled and polled by the insolencie and covetousnesse of the Governours, as if it had bene a contrie conquered: Brutus was a comforte and rest unto their former troubles and miseries they susteyned. But he referred it whollie unto Cæsars grace and goodnesse. For, when Cæsar returned out of Africke, and progressed up and downe Italie: the things that pleased him best to see, were the cities under Brutus charge and government, and Brutus him selfe: who honored Cæsar in person, and whose companie also Cæsar greatlie esteemed. Now there were divers sortes of Prætorshippes at Rome, and it was looked for, that Brutus or Cassius would make sute for the chiefest Prætorshippe, which they called the Prætorshippe of the citie: because he that had that office, was as a Iudge to minister justice unto the citzens. Therefore they strove one against the other, though some say that there was some litle grudge betwext them for other matters before, and that this contencion did sette them further out, though they were allyed together. For Cassius had married Iunia, Brutus sister. Others say, that this contencion betwext them came by Cæsar himselfe, who secretly gave either of them both hope of his favour. So their sute for the Prætorshippe was

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

deprived notwithstanding of the most parte of his contrie, by Cæsar: and therefore this place were best to be understood by Deiotarus.

Cæsar made Brutus Governour of Gaule on this side the mountaines.

Brutus and Cassius contend for the Prætorship of the citie. Cassius married Iunia, Brutus sister.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

The first cause  
of Cassius  
malice against  
Cæsar.

Cæsar  
suspected  
Brutus.

Cæsars saying  
of Brutus.

so followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put an other in sute of lawe. Brutus with his vertue and good name contended against many noble employtes in armes, which Cassius had done against the Parthians. So Cæsar after he had heard both their objections, he told his frendes with whom he consulted about this matter: Cassius cause is the juster, sayd he, but Brutus must be first preferred. Thus Brutus had the first Prætorshippe, and Cassius the second: who thanked not Cæsar so much for the Prætorshippe he had, as he was angrie with him for that he had lost. But Brutus in many other thinges tasted of the benefite of Cæsars favour in any thing he requested. For if he had listed, he might have bene one of Cæsars chiefest frendes, and of greatest authoritie and credit about him. Howebeit Cassius frendes did dissuade him from it (for Cassius and he were not yet reconciled together sithence their first contencion and strife for the Prætorship) and prayed him to beware of Cæsars sweete intisements, and to flie his tyrannicall favors: the which they sayd Cæsar gave him, not to honor his vertue, but to weaken his constant minde, framing it to the bent of his bowe. Now Cæsar on the other side did not trust him overmuch, nor was not without tales brought unto him against him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority, and frends. Yet on the other side also, he trusted his good nature, and fayer condicions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him: he aunswered, that these fat long heard men made him not affrayed, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that, by Brutus and Cassius. At an other time also when one accused Brutus unto him, and bad him beware of him: What, sayd he againe, clapping his hand on his breast: thinke ye that Brutus will not tarie till this bodie dye? Meaning that none but Brutus after him was meete to have suche power as he had. And surelie, in my opinion, I am perswaded that Brutus might in dede have come to have bene the chiefest man of Rome, if he could have contented him selfe for a time and have bene next unto Cæsar, and to have suffred his glorie and authoritie, which he had gotten

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

by his great victories, to consume with time. But Cassius being a chollicke man, and hating Cæsar privatlie, more then he did the tyrannie openlie : he incensed Brutus against him. It is also reported, that Brutus coulde evill away with the tyrannie, and that Cassius hated the tyranne : making many complayntes for the injuries he had done him, and amongst others, for that he had taken away his Lyons from him. Cassius had provided them for his sportes, when he should be *Ædilis*, and they were found in the citie of *Megara*, when it was wonne by *Calenus*, and *Cæsar* kept them. The rumor went, that these Lyons did marvelous great hurt to the *Magarians*. For when the citie was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied up, and turned them loose, thinking they would have done great mischief to the enemies, and have kept them from setting upon them : but the Lyons contrarie to expectation, turned upon them selves that fled unarmed, and did so cruelly tare some in peces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause, as some do report, that made Cassius conspire against *Cæsar*. But this holdeth no water. For Cassius even from his cradell could not abide any maner of tyrans, as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went unto the same schoole that *Faustus*, the sonne of *Sylla* did. And *Faustus* bragging among other boyes, highly boasted of his fathers kingdom : Cassius rose up on his feete, and gave him two good whirts on the eare. *Faustus* governors would have put this matter in sute against Cassius : but *Pompey* woulde not suffer them, but caused the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them howe the matter came to passe. Then Cassius, as it is wrytten of him, said unto the other : Goe to *Faustus*, speake againe and thou darest, before this noble man here, the same wordes that made me angrie with thee, that my fistes may walke once againe about thine eares. Suche was Cassius hotte stirring nature. But for Brutus, his frendes and contrie men, both by divers procurementes, and sundrie rumors of the citie, and by many bills also, did openlie call and procure him to doe that he did. For, under the image of his auncester *Iunius Brutus*, that drave the kinges

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Cassius  
incenseth  
Brutus  
against  
Cæsar.

Cassius Lions  
at *Megara*.

Cassius an  
enemie of  
tyrans.

How Brutus  
was incensed  
against *Cæsar*.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

out of Rome, they wrote: O, that it pleased the goddess thou wert now alive, Brutus: and againe, that thou wert here amonge us nowe. His tribunall (or chaire) where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of suche billes: Brutus, thou art a sleeper, and art not Brutus in deede. And of all this, Cæsars flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and unspeakeable honors they dayly devised for him, in the night time they did put Diadeames upon the heades of his images, supposinge thereby to allure the common people to call him kinge, in steade of Dictator. Howebeit it turned to the contrarie, as we have wrytten more at large in Iulius Cæsars life. Nowe when Cassius felt his frendes, and did stirre them up against Cæsar: they all agreed and promised to take parte with him, so Brutus were the chiefe of their conspiracie. For they told him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so muche require men of man-hoode, and courage to drawe their swordes: as it stooode them upon to have a man of suche estimacion as Brutus, to make everie man boldlie thinke, that by his onelie presence the fact were holie, and just. If he tooke not this course, then that they shoulde goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they shoulde be more fearefull: because everie man woulde thinke that Brutus woulde not have refused to have made one with them, if the cause had bene good and honest. Therefore Cassius considering this matter with him selfe, did first of all speake to Brutus, since they grewe straunge together for the sute they had for the Prætorshippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had imbraced one another: Cassius asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house, the first day of the moneth of Marche, because he heard say that Cæsars frendes shoulde move the counsell that day, that Cæsar shoulde be called king by the Senate. Brutus answered him he would not be there. But if we be sent for sayd Cassius: howe then? For my selfe then sayd Brutus, I meane not to holde my peace, but to withstande it, and rather dye then lose my libertie. Cassius being bolde, and taking holde of this worde: Why, quoth he, what

Cassius  
praieth  
Brutus first,  
to helpe him  
to put downe  
the tyran.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Romane is he alive that will suffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be cobblers, tapsters, or suche like base mechanicall people, that wryte these billes and scrowles which are founde dayly in thy Prætor's chaire, and not the noblest men and best citizens that doe it? No, be thou well assured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common distribucions amongst the people, and for common playes, and to see fensers fight at the sharpe, to shew the people pastime: but at thy handes, they specially require (as a due det unto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake, so that thou wilt shew thy selfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereuppon he kissed Brutus, and imbraced him: and so each taking leave of other, they went both to speake with their frendes about it. Nowe amongst Pompeys frendes, there was one called Caius Ligarius,\* who had bene accused unto Cæsar for taking parte with Pompey, and Cæsar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Cæsar so muche for his discharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his hearte he was alway his mortall enemie, and was besides verie familiar with Brutus, who went to see him beinge sicke in his bedde, and sayed unto him: O Ligarius, in what a time art thou sicke! Ligarius risinge uppe in his bedde, and taking him by the right hande, sayed unto him: Brutus, sayed he, if thou hast any great enterprise in hande worthie of thy selfe, I am whole. After that time they beganne to feele all their acquaintaunce whome they trusted, and layed their heades together consultinge uppon it, and did not onelie picke out their frendes, but all those also whome they thought stowt enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not affrayed to loase their lives. For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracie, although he was a man whome they loved dearelie, and trusted best: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his feare, he woulde quite turne and alter all their purpose,

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

\*In an other  
place they call  
him Quintus.

Brutus  
maketh  
Ligarius  
one of the  
conspiracie.

They do hide  
the conspir-  
acy against  
Cæsar, from  
Cicero.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Civill warre  
worse then  
tyrannicall  
government.

and quenche the heate of their enterprise, the which speciallice required hotte and earnest execucion, seeking by perswasion to bring all thinges to suche safetie, as there should be no perill. Brutus also did let other of his frendes alone, as Statilius Epicurian, and Faonius, that made profession to followe Marcus Cato. Bicause that having cast out wordes a farre of, disputing together in Philosophie to feele their mindes: Faonius aunswered, that civill warre was worse then tyrannicall government usurped against the lawe. And Statilius tolde him also, that it were an unwise parte of him, to put his life in daunger, for a sight of ignoraunt fooles and asses. Labeo was present at this talke, and maintayned the contrarie against them both. But Brutus helde his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a harde thing to have decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made Labeo privie to his intent: who verie readilie offered him selfe to make one. And they thought good also to bring in an other Brutus to joyne with him, surnamed Albinus: who was no man of his handes him selfe, but bicause he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaves, and fensers at the sharpe, whome he kept to shewe the people pastime with their fighting, besides also that Cæsar had some trust in him. Cassius and Labeo tolde Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no aunswere. But when he had spoken with Brutus him selfe alone, and that Brutus had tolde him he was the chiefe ringleader of all this conspiracie: then he willinglie promised him the best aide he coulede. Furthermore, the onlie name and great calling of Brutus, did bring on the most of them to geve consent to this conspiracie. Who having never taken othes together, nor taken or geven any caution or assuraunce, nor binding them selves one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter so secret to them selves, and coulede so cunninglie handle it, that notwithstanding the goddes did reveale it by manifest signes and tokens from above, and by predictions of sacrifices: yet all this woulde not be beleved. Nowe Brutus, who knewe verie well that for his sake all the noblest, valliantest, and most couragious men of Rome did venter

The wonder-  
full faith and  
secrecie of the  
Conspirators  
of Cæsars  
death.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

their lives, waying with him selfe the greatnesse of the daunger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and facion his countenance and lookes, that no man coule discerne he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne house, then he was cleane changed. For, either care did wake him against his will when he woulde have slept, or else oftentimes of him selfe he fell into suche deepe thoughtes of this enterprise, casting in his minde all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there was some marvelous great matter that troubled his minde, not beinge wont to be in that taking, and that he coule not well determine with him selfe. His wife Porcia (as we have tolde you before) was the daughter of Cato, whome Brutus married being his cosin, not a maiden, but a younge widowe after the death of her first husbände Bibulus, by whome she had also a younge sonne called Bibulus, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and jeastes of Brutus, extant at this present day. This young Ladie being excellentlie well seene in Philosophie, loving her husbände well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wise: bicause she woulde not aske her husbände what he ayled before she had made some prooffe by her selfe, she tooke a litle rasor suche as barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and causinge all her maydes and women to goe out of her chamber, gave her selfe a greate gashe withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a gore bloode, and incontinentlie after, a vehement fever tooke her, by reason of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiving her husbände was marvelouslie out of quiet, and that he coule take no rest: even in her greatest payne of all, she spake in this sorte unto him: 'I being, O Brutus, (sayed she) the daughter of Cato, was married unto thee, not to be thy beddefellowe and companion in bedde and at borde onelie, like a harlot: but to be partaker also with thee, of thy good and evill fortune. Nowe for thy selfe, I can finde no cause of faulte in thee touchinge our matche: but for my parte, howe may I shewe my duetie towards thee, and howe muche I woulde doe for thy sake, if I can not constantlie beare a secret mischaunce

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Porcia, Catoes  
daughter, wife  
unto Brutus.

Bibulus booke  
of Brutus  
actes.

Porcia  
studied in  
Philosophie.

The corage of  
Porcia.

Great difference  
betwext  
a wife and a  
harlot.

Porciaes  
words unto  
her husband  
Brutus.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

‘ or grieft with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity?  
‘ I confesse, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to  
‘ keepe a secret safely: but yet, Brutus, good educacion,  
‘ and the companie of vertuous men, have some power to  
‘ reforme the defect of nature. And for my selfe, I have  
‘ this benefit moreover: that I am the daughter of Cato,  
‘ and wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not trust  
‘ to any of these things before: untill that now I have found  
‘ by experience, that no paine nor grieft whatsoever can  
‘ overcome me.’ With those wordes she shewed him her  
wounde on her thigh, and tolde him what she had done to  
prove her selfe. Brutus was amazed to heare what she  
sayd unto him, and lifting up his handes to heaven, he  
besought the goddes to geve him the grace he might bring  
his enterprise to so good passe, that he might be founde  
a husband, worthie of so noble a wife as Porcia: so he then  
did comfort her the best he coule. Now a day being  
appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they  
hoped Cæsar woulde not faile to come: the conspirators  
determined then to put their enterprise in execucion, because  
they might meete safelie at that time without suspicion, and  
the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the  
citie woulde be there. Who when they should see suche  
a great matter executed, would everie man then set to their  
handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they  
thought also that the appointment of the place where the  
counsell shoulde be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine  
providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the  
porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine  
place full of seates for men to sit in, where also was set up  
the image of Pompey, which the citie had made and con-  
secrated in honor of him: when he did beautifie that parte  
of the citie with the Theater he built, with divers porches  
about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate  
appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the moneth of  
March, which the Romanes call, Idus Martias: so that it  
seemed some god of purpose had brought Cæsar thither to  
be slaine, for revenge of Pompeys death. So when the day  
was come, Brutus went out of his house with a dagger by his

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

side under his long gowne, that no bodie sawe nor knewe, but his wife onelie. The other conspirators were all assembled at Cassius house, to bring his sonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis: and from thence they came all in a troupe together unto Pompeys porche, looking that Cæsar woulde straight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull assured constancie of these conspirators, in so daungerous and waightie an enterprise as they had undertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reason of their office, whose duetie is to minister justice to everie bodie: they did not onelie with great quietnesse and curtesie heare them that spake unto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive eare, as if they had had no other matter in their heades: but moreover, they gave just sentence, and carefullie dispatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine summe of money, refused to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale unto Cæsar. Then Brutus casting his eyes uppon the conspirators, sayd, Cæsar shall not lette me to see the lawe executed. Notwithstanding this, by chaunce there fell out many misfortunes unto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The first and chieftest was, Cæsars long tarying, who came verie late to the Senate: for bicause the signes of the sacrifices appeared unluckie, his wife Calpurnia kept him at home, and the Soothsayers bad him beware he went not abroade. The seconde cause was, when one came unto Casca being a conspirator, and taking him by the hande, sayd unto him: O Casca, thou keptest it close from me, but Brutus hath tolde me all. Casca being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and sayd: Why, howe nowe, howe commeth it to passe thou art thus riche, that thou doest sue to be Ædilis? Thus Casca being deceived by the others doubtfull wordes, he tolde them it was a thowsand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracie. An other Senator called Popilius Læna, after he had saluted Brutus and Cassius more frendlie then he was wont to doe: he rounded softlie in their eares, and told them, I pray the goddess you may goe through with that you have taken

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

The wonderfull constancy of the conspirators, in killing of Cæsar.

Sundrie misfortunes to have broken of the enterprise.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

The weakenes  
of Porcia, not-  
withstanding  
her former  
corage.

in hande, but withall, dispatche I reade you, for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had sayd, he presentlie departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conspiracie woulde out. Nowe in the meane time, there came one of Brutus men post hast unto him, and tolde him his wife was a dying. For Porcia being verie carefull and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weake to away with so great and inward grieffe of minde: she coulde hardlie keepe within, but was frighted with everie litle noyse and crie she hearde, as those that are taken and possesst with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking every man that came from the market place, what Brutus did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to knowe what newes. At length, Cæsars comming being prolonged as you have heard, Porciaes weakenesse was not able to holde out any lenger, and thereuppon she sodainlie swounded, that she had no leasure to goe to her chamber, but was taken in the middest of her house, where her speache and sences failed her. Howbeit she soone came to her selfe againe, and so was layed in her bedde, and tended by her women. When Brutus heard these newes, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not of the care of his contrie and common wealth, neither went home to his house for any newes he heard. Nowe, it was reported that Cæsar was comming in his litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (bicause he was affrayed of the unluckie signes of the sacrifices) but to adjorne matters of importaunce unto the next session and counsell holden, faining him selfe not to be well at ease. When Cæsar came out of his litter: Popilius Læna, that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterprise to passe: went unto Cæsar, and kept him a long time with a talke. Cæsar gave good eare unto him. Wherefore the conspirators (if so they shoulde be called) not hearing what he sayd to Cæsar, but conjecturing by that he had tolde them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie discoverie of their conspiracie: they were affrayed everie man of them, and one looking in an others face, it was easie to see that they all were of a minde, that it was no taryng for them till

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill them selves with their owne hands. And when Cassius and certeine other clapped their handes on their swordes under their gownes to draw them: Brutus marking the countenance and gesture of Læna, and considering that he did use him selfe rather like an humble and earnest suter, then like an accuser: he sayd nothing to his companion (bicause there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracie) but with a pleasaunt countenance encouraged Cassius. And immediatlie after, Læna went from Cæsar, and kissed his hande: which shewed plainlie that it was for some matter concerning him selfe, that he had held him so long in talke. Nowe all the Senators being entred first into this place or chapter house where the counsell should be kept: all the other conspirators straight stooode about Cæsars chaire, as if they had had some thing to have sayd unto him. And some say, that Cassius casting his eyes upon Pompeys image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had bene alive. \*Trebonyus on thother side, drewe Antonius atoside, as he came into the house where the Senate sate, and helde him with a long talke without. When Cæsar was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honor him at his comming in. So when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one \*Tullius Cimber, who made humble sute for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessors for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kissed his head and brest. Cæsar at the first, simplie refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwarde, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Cæsars gowne over his shoulders, and Casca that stooode behinde him, drew his dagger first, and strake Cæsar upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. Cæsar feeling him selfe hurt, tooke him straight by the hande he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: O traitor, Casca, what doest thou? Casca on thother side cried in Græke, and called his brother to helpe him. So divers running on a heape together to flie uppon Cæsar, he looking about him to have fledde, sawe Brutus with a sworde

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Brutus with his countenance encouraged his fearefull consortes.

\*In Cæsars life it is sayd, it was Decius Brutus Albinus, that kept Antonius with a talke without.

\*In Cæsars life he is called Metellus Cimber.

The murther of Cæsar.

Casca, the first that wounded him.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

drawen in his hande readie to strike at him: then he let Cascaes hande goe, and casting his gowne over his face, suffered everie man to strike at him that woulde. Then the conspirators thronging one upon an other bicause everie man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one bodie, one of them hurte an other, and among them Brutus caught a blowe on his hande, bicause he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloudied. Cæsar being slaine in this maner, Brutus standing in the midst of the house, would have spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracie, to have tolde them the reason why they had done this facte. But they as men both affrayd and amazed, fled one upon anothers necke in haste to get out at the dore, and no man followed them. For it was set downe, and agreed betwene them, that they should kill no man but Cæsar onely, and should intreate all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspirators, but Brutus, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, bicause he was a wicked man, and that in nature favored tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with souldiers, having bene conversant of long time amongst them: and specially, having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Consul with Cæsar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest: secondly, bicause he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that Antonius being a noble minded and coragious man (when he should knowe that Cæsar was dead) would willingly helpe his contry to recover her libertie, having them an example unto him, to follow their corage and vertue. So Brutus by this meanes saved Antonius life, who at that present time disguised him selfe, and stale away. But Brutus and his consorts, having their swords bloody in their handes, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the Romanes as they went, to take their libertie againe. Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done, there were sodaine outcryes of people that ranne up and downe the citie, the

Why Antonius was not slayne with Cæsar.

Brutus with his consorts went unto the Capitoll.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

which in deede did the more increase the feare and tumult. But when they saw they slue no man, nether did spoyle or make havock of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, and many of the people imboldening them selves, went to the Capitoll unto them. There a great number of men being assembled together one after another: Brutus made an oration unto them to winne the favor of the people, and to justifie that they had done. All those that were by, sayd they had done well, and cryed unto them that they should boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereuppon, Brutus and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in trowpe, but Brutus went foremost, very honorably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, thorough the market place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehells of all sortes, and had a good will to make some sturre: yet being ashamed to doe it for the reverence they bare unto Brutus, they kept silence, to heare what he would say. When Brutus began to speake, they gave him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called Cinna would have spoken, and began to accuse Cæsar: they fell into a great uprore among them, and marvelously reviled him. Insomuch that the conspirators returned againe into the Capitol. There Brutus being affrayd to be beseeged, sent back againe the noble men that came thither with him, thinking it no reason, that they which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being assembled, and holden within the temple of the goddesse Tellus, to wete the earth: and Antonius, Plancus, and Cicero, having made a motion to the Senate in that assembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to stablishe friendship and peace againe: it was decreed, that they should not onely be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should referre it to the Senate what honors should be appoynted unto them. This being agreed upon, the Senate brake up, and Antonius

Honors decreed for the  
murderers of  
Cæsar.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

the Consul, to put them in hart that were in the Capitoll, sent them his sonne for a pledge. Upon this assurance, Brutus and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where every man saluted and imbraced eche other, among the which, Antonius him selfe did bid Cassius to supper to him : and Lepidus also had Brutus, and so one had another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to counsell, did first of all commend Antonius, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civill warre : then they also gave Brutus and his consorts great prayes, and lastly they appoynted them severall governments of provinces. For unto Brutus, they appoynted Creta : Africk, unto Cassius : Asia, unto Trebonius : Bithynia, unto Cimber : and unto the other Decius Brutus Albinus, Gaule on this side the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke of Cæsars will and testament, and of his funeralls and tombe. Then Antonius thinking good his testament should be red openly, and also that his body should be honorably buried, and not in hugger mugger, least the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise : Cassius stowtly spake against it. But Brutus went with the motion, and agreed unto it : wherein it seemeth he committed a second fault. For the first fault he did was, when he would not consent to his fellow conspirators, that Antonius should be slayne : and therefore he was justly accused, that thereby he had saved and strengthened a stronge and grievous enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed that Cæsars funeralls should be as Antonius would have them : the which in deede marred all. For first of all, when Cæsars testament was openly red amonge them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed unto every Citizen of Rome, 75 Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbors unto the people, which he had on this side of the river of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built : the people then loved him, and were marvelous sory for him. Afterwards when Cæsars body was brought into the market place, Antonius making his funerall oration in praise of the dead, according to the auncient

Cæsars will,  
and funeralls.

Brutus com-  
mitted two  
great faults  
after Cæsars  
death.

Antonius  
funerall ora-  
tion for  
Cæsar.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

custom of Rome, and perceiving that his wordes moved the common people to compassion: he framed his eloquence to make their hartes yerne the more, and taking Cæsars gowne all bloody in his hand, he layed it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithall the people fell presently into such a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cryed out, Kill the murtherers: others plucked up formes, tables, and stalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funeralls of Clodius, and having layed them all on a heape together, they set them on fire, and thereuppon did put the bodye of Cæsar, and burnt it in the midst of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, some here, some there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houses that had killed him, to set them a fire. Howbeit the conspirators foreseeing the daunger before, had wisely provided for them selves, and fled. But there was a Poet called Cinna, who had bene no partaker of the conspiracy, but was alway one of Cæsars chiefest friends: he dreamed the night before, that Cæsar bad him to supper with him, and that he refusing to goe, Cæsar was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being marvelously affrayd, he was driven to follow him in spite of his hart. This dreame put him all night into a fever, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried Cæsars body to buriall, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals: he went out of his house, and thrust him self into the prease of the common people that were in a great uprore. And because some one called him by his name, Cinna: the people thinking he had bene that Cinna, who in an oration he made had spoken very evill of Cæsar, they falling upon him in their rage, slue him outright in the market place. This made Brutus and his companions more affrayd, then any other thing, next unto the change of Antonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the first in the citie of Antium, hoping to returne againe to Rome, when the furie

The straunge  
dreame of  
Cinna the  
Poet.

The murder  
of Cinna the  
Poet, being  
mistaken for  
an other of  
that name.

Brutus and  
his consorts  
doe flye from  
Rome.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

of the people were a litle asswaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, considering that they had to deale with a fickle and unconstant multitude, easye to be caried, and that the Senate stode for them: who notwithstanding made no enquiry of them that had torne poore Cinna the Poet in peeces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended, that went with fire brands to set fire of the conspirators houses. The people growing weary now of Antonius pride and insolency, who ruled all things in manner with absolute power: they desired that Brutus might returne againe, and it was also looked for, that Brutus would come him selfe in person to playe the playes which were due to the people, by reason of his office of Prætorship. But Brutus understanding that many of Cæsars souldiers which served under him in the warres, and that also had lands and houses given them in the cities where they lay, did lye in wayte for him to kill him, and that they dayly by small companies came by one and by one into Rome: he durst no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleasure and pastyme in his absence, to see the games and sportes he made them, which were sumptuously set fourth and furnished with all thinges necessarie, sparing for no cost. For he had bought a great number of straunge beastes, of the which he would not geve one of them to any friende he had, but that they shoulde all be employed in his games: and went him selfe as farre as Byzantium, to speake to some players of comedies and Musitions that were there. And further he wrote unto his friends for one Canutius an excellent player, that whatsoever they did, they should intreate him to play in these playes: For, sayd he, it is no reason to compell any Græcian, unles he will come of his owne good will. Moreover, he wrote also unto Cicero, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these playes. Now the state of Rome standing in these termes, there fell out an other change and alteracion, when the younge man Octavius Cæsar came to Rome. He was the sonne of Iulius Cæsars Nece, whome he had adopted for his sonne, and made his heire, by his last will and testament. But when Iulius Cæsar his adopted father was slayne, he was in the citie of Apollonia, where he studied taryng for him, bicause he was

Brutus playes  
and sportes at  
Rome in his  
absence.

Octavius  
Cæsars com-  
ing to  
Rome.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

determined to make warre with the Parthians: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to Rome, where to begin to curry favor with the common people, he first of all tooke upon him his adopted fathers name, and made distribution amonge them of the money which his father had bequeathed unto them. By this meanes he troubled Antonius sorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers souldiers together, that had served in the warres with him. And Cicero him selfe, for the great malice he bare Antonius, did favor his proceedings. But Brutus marvelously reproved him for it, and wrote unto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sory to have a Maister, but onely to be affrayd to have one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the common wealth did witnesse, that he chose to be subject to a milde and curteous bondage, sith by his words and writings he did commend this young man Octavius Cæsar, to be a good and gentle Lorde. For our predecessors sayde he, would never abyde to be subject to any Maisters, how gentle or mild soever they were: and for his owne part that he had never resolutely determined with him selfe to make warre, or peace, but otherwise, that he was certainly minded never to be slave nor subject. And therefore he wondred much at him, how Cicero coulde be affrayd of the daunger of civill warres, and would not be affrayd of a shameful peace: and that to thrust Antonius out of the usurped tyranny, in recompence he went about to stablishe younge Octavius Cæsar tyranne. These were the contents of Brutus first letters he wrote unto Cicero. Now, the citie of Rome being devided in two factions, some taking part with Antonius, other also leaning unto Octavius Cæsar, and the souldiers making port sale of their service to him that would give most: Brutus seeing the state of Rome would be utterly overthrowen, he determined to goe out of Italy, and went a foote through the contry of Luke, unto the citie of Elea, standing by the sea. There Porcia being ready to depart from her husband Brutus, and to returne to Rome, did what she could to dissemble the griefe and sorow she felt at her hart: but a certaine paynted table bewrayed her in the ende, although untill that time

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Brutus  
reproved  
Cicero, for  
taking part  
with Octavius  
Cæsar.

Porciaes  
sorowfull re-  
turne to Rome  
for the  
absence of  
her husband  
Brutus.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
BRUTUS**

The story of  
Hector and  
Andromachè  
set forth in  
painted  
tables.

she alwayes shewed a constant and pacient mind. The devise of the table was taken out of the Greeke stories, howe Andromachè accompanied her husband Hector, when he went out of the citie of Troy, to goe to the warres, and how Hector delivered her his litle sonne, and how her eyes were never of him. Porcia seeing this picture, and likening her selfe to be in the same case, she fell a weeping: and coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. Acilius one of Brutus friendes perceiving that, rehearsed the verses Andromachè speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother,  
And husband eke, and in all: I mind not any other.

Then Brutus smyling aunswere againe: But yet (sayd he) I can not for my part say unto Porcia, as Hector aunswere Andromachè in the same place of the Poet:

Tush, meddle thou with weying dewly out  
Thy mayds their task, and pricking on a clowt.

For in deede, the weake constitution of her body, doth not suffer her to performe in shew, the valliant acts that we are able to doe: but for corage and constant minde, she shewed her selfe as stowt in the defence of her contry, as any of us. Bibulus, the sonne of Porcia, reporteth this story thus. Now Brutus imbarcking at Elea in Luke, he sayled directly towards Athens. When he arrived there, the people of Athens received him with common joyes of rejoycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whome he went daily to heare the lectures of Theomnestus Academick Philosopher, and of Cratippus the Peripatetick, and so would talke with them in Philosophie, that it seemed he left all other matters, and gave him selfe onely unto studye: howbeit secretly notwithstanding, he made preparation for warre. For he sent Herostratus into Macedon, to winne the Captaines and souldiers that were upon those marches, and he did also enterteyne all the younge gentlemen of the Romanes, whome he founde in Athens studying Philosophie: amongst them he found Ciceroes sonne, whome he highly prayed and commended,

How Brutus  
bestowed  
his time at  
Athens.

Brutus  
commendeth  
Ciceroes  
sonne.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

saying, that whether he waked or slept, he found him of a noble mind and disposition, he did in nature so much hate tyrannes. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being advertised that there came out of Asia a certaine fleete of Romane ships that had good store of money in them, and that the Captaine of those shippes (who was an honest man, and his famillier friende) came towards Athens: he went to meete him as farre as the Ile of Carystos, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leave his shippes in his hands. Whereuppon he made him a notable banket at his house, because it was on his birth day. When the feast day came, and that they began to drinke lustely one to another: the ghests dranke to the victorie of Brutus, and the libertie of the Romanes. Brutus therefore to encourage them further, called for a bigger cuppe, and holding it in his hand, before he dranke spake this alowd:

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Brutus pre-  
pareth him  
selfe to warre.

My destiny and Phœbus are agreede,  
To bring me to my finall end with speede.

And for prooffe hereof, it is reported, that the same day he fought his last battell by the citie of Philippes, as he came out of his tent, he gave his men for the word and signall of battell, Phœbus: so that it was thought ever since, that this his sodaine crying out at the feast, was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gave him of the money he caried into Italy, 50 Myriades. Furthermore, all Pompeys souldiers that stragled up and downe Thessaly, came with very good will unto him. He tooke from Cinna also, five hundred horsemen, which he caried into Asia, unto Dolabella. After that, he went by sea unto the city of Demetriade, and there tooke a great deale of armor and munition which was going to Antonius: and the which had bene made and forged there by Iulius Cæsars commaundement, for the warres against the Parthians. Furthermore, Hortensius governor of Macedon, did resigne the government thereof unto him. Besides, all the Princes, kings and noble men thereabouts, came and joynd with him, when it was told him that Caius,



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

(Antonius brother) coming out of Italy, had passed the sea, and came with great speede towards the citie of Dyrrachium, and Apollonia, to get the souldiers into his hands, which Gabinius had there. Brutus therefore to prevent him, went presently with a fewe of his men in the midst of winter when it snewe hard, and tooke his way thorough hard and fowle contries, and made such speede in deede, that he was there long before Antonius sumpters, that caried the vittella. So that when he came neare unto Dyrrachium, a disease tooke him which the Phisitions call *Βουλμία*, to say, a cormorant and unsatiabie appetite to eate: by reason of the cold and paynes he had taken. This sicknes chaunceth often, both to men and beasts, that travaile when it hath snowen: either bicause the naturall heate being retyred into the inward parts of the body, by the coldnes of the ayer hardening the skinne, doth straight digest and consume the meate: or els bicause a sharpe suddell wind comming by reason of the snow when it is molten, doth pearce into the body, and driveth out the naturall heate which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinne of the body: causeth the sweates that follow the dissease. But hereof we have spoken at large in other places. Brutus being very faynt, and having nothing in his campe to eate: his souldiers were compelled to goe to their enemies, and comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwards when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and use the Citizens thereof curteously, but all the inhabitants of the citie also for their sakes. Now, when Caius Antonius was arrived in the citie of Apollonia, he sent unto the souldiers thereabouts to come unto him. But when he understoode that they went all to Brutus, and furthermore, that the Citizens of Apollonia did favor him much: he then forsooke that citie, and went unto the citie of Buthrotus, but yet he lost three of his ensignes by the way, that were slayne every man of them. Then he sought by force to winne certaine places of strength about

A straunge  
disease tooke  
Brutus at  
Dyrrachium.

Why by snow  
this hungry  
disease taketh  
men that are  
weariet with  
travell.

Brutus thank-  
fulnes, and  
clemency.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Byllis, and to drive Brutus men from thence, that had taken it before : and therefore to obtayne his purpose, he fought a battell with Cicero, the sonne of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whome he was overcome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a Captaine, and did many notable exploitēs by his service. Shortly after, having stolen upon Caius Antonius in certain marishes farre from the place from whence he fled : he would not set on him with furie, but onely road round about him, commaunding his souldiers to spare him and his men, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striking : and so in deede it hapned. For they yelded them selves, and their Captaine Antonius, unto Brutus : so that Brutus had now a great army about him. Now Brutus kept this Caius Antonius long time in his office, and never tooke from him the markes and signes of his Consulship, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote unto him to put him to death. But when he sawe Antonius secretly practised with his Captaines to make some alteration : then he sent him into a shippe, and made him to be kept there. When the souldiers whome C. Antonius had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of Apollonia, and sent from thence unto Brutus to come unto them : he made them aunswer, that it was not the manner of Romane Captaines to come to the souldiers, but the souldiers to come to the Captaine, and to crave pardon for their offences committed. Thereuppon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So Brutus preparing to goe into Asia, newes came unto him of the great change at Rome. For Octavius Cæsar was in armes, by commaundement, and authoritie from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But after that he had driven Antonius out of Italy, the Senate then began to be affrayd of him : bicause he sued to be Consul, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the Empire of Rome had no neede of them. On the other side, Octavius Cæsar perceiving the Senate stayed not there, but turned unto Brutus that was out of Italy, and that they appoynted him the government of certaine provinces : then he began to be affrayd for his part, and sent unto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then comming on with his

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

C. Antonius  
yelded unto  
Brutus.

Octavius  
Cæsar joyne-  
eth with  
Antonius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

armye neare to Rome, he made him selfe to be chosen Consul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a stripling or springal of twenty yeare old, as him selfe reporteth in his owne *Commentaries*. So when he was Consul, he presently appoynted Iudges to accuse Brutus and his companions, for killing of the noblest person in Rome, and chiefest Magistrate, without law or judgement: and made L. Cornificius accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa, Cassius. So, the parties accused were condemned, because the Iudges were compelled to give such sentence. The voyce went, that when the Herauld (according to the custom after sentence given) went up to the chair or pulpit for orations, and proclaymed Brutus with a lowd voyce, summoning him to appeare in person before the Iudges: the people that stoode by sighed openly, and the noble men that were present honged downe their heads, and durst not speake a word. Among them, the teares fell from Publius Silicius eyes: who shortly after, was one of the proscriptis or outlawes appoynted to be slayne. After that, these three Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement betwene them selves, and by those articles devided the provinces belonging to the Empire of Rome amonge them selves, and did set up billes of proscription and outlary, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number, Cicero was one. Newes being brought thereof into Macedon, Brutus being then inforced to it, wrote unto Hortensius, that he should put Caius Antonius to death, to be revenged of the death of Cicero, and of the other Brutus, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinseman. For this cause therefore, Antonius afterwards taking Hortensius at the battell of Philippes, he made him to be slayne upon his brothers tombe. But then Brutus sayd, that he was more ashamed of the cause for the which Cicero was slayne, then he was otherwise sory for his death: and that he could not but greatly reprove his friendes he had at Rome, who were slaves more through their owne fault, then through their valliantnes or manhood which usurped the tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and faynt hearted, as to

Brutus  
accused, and  
condemned,  
by Octavius  
Cæsars  
meanes, for  
the death of  
Iulius Cæsar.

The Trium-  
virate.

C. Antonius  
murdered.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should onely have grieved them to the hart. Nowe when Brutus had passed over his army (that was very great) into Asia, he gave order for the gathering of a great number of shippes together, aswell in the coast of Bithynia, as also in the cite of Cyzicum, bicause he would have an army by sea: and him selfe in the meane time went unto the cities, taking order for all things, and giving audience unto Princes and noble men of the contry that had to doe with him. Afterwards, he sent unto Cassius in Syria, to turne him from his journey into Ægypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdom for them selves, that they wandred up and downe in that sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their contry againe to their libertie: and that the multitude of souldiers they gathered together, was to subdue the tyrannes that would keepe them in slavery and subjection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpose and intent, they should not be farre from Italy, as neare as they could possible, but should rather make all the haste they could, to helpe their contry men. Cassius beleved him, and returned. Brutus went to meete him, and they both met at the cite of Smyrna, which was the first time that they saw together, since they tooke leave eche of other, at the haven of Piræa in Athens: the one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they were marvelous joyfull, and no lesse coragious, when they saw the great armies together which they had both leaved: considering that they departing out of Italy, like naked and poore banished men, without armor and money, nor having any shippe ready, nor souldier about them, nor any one towne at their commaundement: yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, having shippes, money and souldiers enowe, both footemen and horsemen, to fight for the Empire of Rome. Now Cassius would have done Brutus as much honor, as Brutus did unto him: but Brutus most commonly prevented him, and went first unto him, both bicause he was the elder man, as also for that he was sickly of bodye. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwise marvelous chollerick and

Brutus and  
Cassius doe  
joyne armies  
together.

The sharpe  
and cruell  
condicions  
of Cassius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS**

**BRUTUS**

Brutus gentle  
and fayer con-  
diciona.

cruell, who sought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other side he was too familiar with his friends, and would jest too brodely with them. But Brutus in contrary manner, for his vertue and valliantnes, was well-beloved of the people and his owne, esteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies: because he was a marvelous lowly and gentle person, noble minded, and would never be in any rage, nor caried away with pleasure and covetounes, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yeeld to any wronge or injustice, the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the good will that every man bare him: for they were all perswaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleve, that if Pompey him selfe had overcome Cæsar, he would have resigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would still keepe the soverainty and absolute government in his hands, taking onely, to please the people, the title of Consul or Dictator, or of some other more civill office. And as for Cassius, a hot, chollerick, and cruell man, that would oftentimes be caried away from justice for gayne: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put him selfe into sundry daungers, more to have absolute power and authoritie, then to defend the libertie of his contry. For, they that will also consider others, that were elder men then they, as Cinna, Marius, and Carbo: it is out of doubt that the ende and hope of their victorie, was to be Lordes of their contry: and in manner they did all confesse that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lordes of the Empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies them selves did never reprove Brutus, for any such change or desire. For, it was sayd that Antonius spake it openly divers tymes, that he thought, that of all them that had slayne Cæsar, there was none but Brutus only that was moved to doe it, as thinking the acte commendable of it selfe: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death, for some private malice or envy, that they otherwise did beare unto him. Hereby it appeareth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue: as is to be seene by

Brutus intent  
good, if he  
had over-  
comen.

Antonius  
testimonie  
of Brutus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his writings. For approaching neare to the instant daunger, he wrote unto Pomponius Atticus, that his affayres had the best happe that could be. For, sayd he, eyther I will set my contry at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certeine and assured of all thinges els, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them: whether they should live or dye with libertie. He wrote also that Antonius had his due paiement for his folly. For where he might have bene a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, and have made one with them: he liked better to choose to be joyned with Octavius Cæsar alone: with whome, though now he be not overcome by us, yet shall he shortly after also have warre with him. And truly he proved a true Prophet, for so came it in deede to passe. Now whilst Brutus and Cassius were together in the cite of Smyrna: Brutus prayed Cassius to let him have some part of his money whereof he had great store, bicause all that he could rappe and rend of his side, he had bestowed it in making so great a number of shippes, that by meanes of them they should keepe all the sea at their commaundement. Cassius friendes hindered this request, and earnestly dissuaded him from it: perswading him, that it was no reason that Brutus should have the money which Cassius had gotten together by sparing, and leaved with great evil will of the people their subjects, for him to bestowe liberally uppon his souldiers, and by this meanes to winne their good willes, by Cassius charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gave him the thirde parte of his totall summe. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from eche other, Cassius tooke the cite of Rhodes, where he too dishonestly and cruelly used him selfe: although when he came into the cite, he aunswered some of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and king, that he was nether Lord nor king, but he onely that had slaine him, that would have bene Lord and king. Brutus departing from thence, sent unto the Lycians, to require money, and men of warre. But there was a certaine Orator called Naucrates, that made the cities to rebell against him, insomuch that the contry men of that contry kept the straights and litle

**MARCUS  
BRUTUS**

Brutus noble  
mind to his  
contry.

Brutus, a true  
Prophet of  
Antonius.

Cassius  
wanne the  
cite of  
Rhodes.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

mountaines, thinking by that meanes to stoppe Brutus passage. Wherefore Brutus sent his horsemen against them, who stale uppon them as they were at dinner, and slue six hundred of them: and taking all the small townes and villages, he did let all the prisoners he tooke, goe without payment of ransome, hoping by this his great curtesie to winne them, to drawe all the rest of the contry unto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that they would mutyne for every small hurt they receyved as they passed by their contry, and did despise his curtesie and good nature: untill that at length he went to beseege the citie of the Xanthians, within the which were shut uppe the cruellest and most warrelikest men of Lycia. There was a ryver that ranne by the walls of the citie, in the which many men saved them selves, swymming betweene two waters, and fledde: howbeit they layed nettes overthwart the ryver, and tyed litle bells on the toppe of them, to sownd when any man was taken in the nettes. The Xanthians made a salye out by night, and came to fire certaine engynes of battery that bette downe their walls: but they were presently driven in agayne by the Romanes, so soone as they were discovered. The winde by chaunce was marvelous bygge, and increased the flame so sore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the citie, so that the next houses unto them were straight set a fire thereby. Wherefore Brutus beeing affrayde that all the citie woulde take of a fire, he presently commaunded his men to quenche the fire, and to save the towne if it might be. But the Lycians at that instant fell into such a frensie, and straunge and horrible dispayre, that no man can well expresse it: and a man can not more rightly compare or lyken it, then to a franticke and moste desperate desire to dye. For all of them together, with their wives and children, Maisters and servaunts, and of all sortes of age whatsoever, fought uppon the ramper of their walles, and did cast downe stones and fierworkes on the Romanes, which were very busie in quenching the flame of the fire, to save the citie. And in contrary manner also, they brought fagotts, drye wodde, and reedes, to bringe the fire further into the citie asmuch as might bee, increasing it by suche

Brutus jests  
in Lycia.

The citie of  
Xanthus set  
a fire.

The desperat  
ende of the  
Xanthians.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

things as they brought. Nowe when the fire had gotten into all the partes of the citie, and that the flame burnt bright in every place: Brutus beeing sorye to see it, gotte uppon his horse, and rode rownde about the walles of the citie, to see if it were possible to save it, and helde uppe his handes to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their citye, and to save them selves. Howbeit they woulde not be perswaded, but did all that they coulde possible to cast them selves away, not onely men and women, but also litle children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast them selves into the fire: others headlong throwing them selves downe from the walles, brake their neckes: others also made their neckes bare, to the naked swordes of their fathers, and undid their clothes, praying them to kill them with their owne handes. After the citye was burnt, they founde a woman hanged uppe by the necke, holding one of her children in her hande deade by her, hanged uppe also: and in the other hande a burning torche setting fire on her house. Some woulde have had Brutus to have seene her, but he woulde not see so horrible and tragicall a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused a Herauld to make proclamation by sownd of trompet, that he woulde give a certaine summe of money, to every souldier that coulde save a Xanthian. So there were not (as it is reported) above fitye of them saved, and yet they were saved against their willes. Thus the Xanthians having ended the revolution of their fatall destinie, after a longe continuance of tyme: they did through their desperation, renue the memorie of the lamentable calamities of their Auncestors. Who in like manner, in the warres of the Persians, did burne their citie, and destroyed them selves. Therefore Brutus likewise beseeing the citie of the Patareians, perceyving that they stowtly resisted him: he was also affrayde of that, and could not well tell whether he should give assault to it, or not, least they woulde fall into the dispayre and desperation of the Xanthians. Howbeit having taken certaine of their women prisoners, he sent them backe agayne, without payment of ransome. Nowe they that were the wives and Daughters of the noblest men of the citie, reporting unto



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
BRUTUS**

The Patareians doe yeld them selves unto Brutus.

The extreme covetousnes and crueltie of Cassius to the Rhodians.

Brutus clemency unto the Lycians.

Theodotus borne in Chio a Rethoritian Scholemaister to Ptolomy the young king of Ægypt.

Theodotus saying: A dead man biteth not.

their parents, that they had founde Brutus a mercifull, juste, and curteous man: they perswaded them to yeelde them selves and their citie unto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded them selves, divers other cities also followed them, and did the like: and founde Brutus more mercifull and curteous, then they thought they should have done, but specially farre above Cassius. For Cassius, about the selfe same tyme, after he had compelled the Rhodians every man to deliver all the ready money they had in gold and silver in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eyght thousande talents: yet he condemned the citie besides, to paye the summe of five hundred talents more. Where Brutus in contrary manner, after he had leavyed of all the contrye of Lycia but a hundred and fitye talents onely: he departed thence into the contrye of Ionia, and did them no more hurt. Nowe Brutus in all this jorney, did many notable actes and worthy of memorie, bothe for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserved it: wherefore amonge the rest, I will tell you of one thinge, of the which he him selfe, and all the noble men of the Romanes were marvelous glad. When Pompey the great (having lost the battell against Iulius Cæsar, in the fieldes of Pharsalia) came and fell uppon the coast of Ægypt, hard by the citie of Pelusium: those that were protectors to the young king Ptolomy, beeing then but a childe, sate in counsell with his servaunts and friendes, what they shoulde determine in that case. They were not all of one mynde in this consultacion: for some thought it good to receyve Pompey, others also, that they shoulde drive him out of Ægypt. But there was a certayne Rethoritian called Theodotus, that was borne in the Ile of Chio, who was the kinges Schoolemaister to teache him Rethoricke. He beeing called to this counsell for lacke of sufficient men, sayde, that bothe the one and the other side went awrye, aswell those that were of opinion to receyve Pompey, as the other that woulde have had him driven awaye: and that the best waye was (considering the present tyme) that they shoulde laye holde on him, and kill him, adding withall, this sentence, that a deade man byteth not.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

The whole counsell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and unlooked for unto Pompey: Pompey the great was slayne, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rethoritian Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwarde did him selfe boast of it. But when Iulius Cæsar came afterwarde into Ægypt, the wicked men that consented to this counsell, had their payment according to their deserts: for they dyed every man of them a wicked death, saving this Theodotus, whome fortune respited a litle while lenger, and yet in that tyme he lived a poore and miserable life, never taryng longe in any one place. So Brutus going uppe and downe Asia, Theodotus coulde hyde him selfe no lenger, but was brought unto Brutus, where he suffered paines of death: so that he wanne more fame by his deathe, then ever he did in his life. About that tyme, Brutus sent to praye Cassius to come to the citey of Sardis, and so he did. Brutus understanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Nowe, as it commonly hapneth in great affayres betwene two persons, both of them having many friends, and so many Captaines under them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad every man avoyde, and did shut the dores to them. Then they beganne to powre out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and lowde, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them lowd within, and angry betwene them selves, they were both amased, and affrayd also lest it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commaunded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding, one Marcus Phaonius, that had bene a friend and follower of Cato while he lived, and tooke upon him to counterfeate a Philosopher, not with wisdom and discretion, but with a certaine bedlem and frantick motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boote to let Phaonius, when a

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Theodotus Chian, the Rethoritian that gave counsell to kill Pompey, was put to death by Brutus.

Brutus and Cassius doe meete at the citey of Sardis.

Brutus and Cassius complaints one unto the other.

M. Phaonius a follower of Cato.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Cynick  
Philosophers  
counted  
doggs.

mad moode or toye tooke him in the head: for he was a hot hasty man, and sodaine in all his doings, and cared for never a Senator of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of speeche after the profession of the Cynick Philosophers, (as who would say, doggs) yet this boldnes did no hurt many times, bicause they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This Phaonius at that time, in despite of the doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine scoffing and mocking gesture which he counterfeated of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor sayd in Homer :

My Lords, I pray you harken both to mee,  
For I have seene moe yeares than suchye three.

Cassius fel a laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dogge, and counterfeate Cynick. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left eche other. The selfe same night Cassius prepared his supper in his chamber, and Brutus brought his friendes with him. So when they were set at supper, Phaonius came to sit downe after he had washed. Brutus tolde him alowd, no man sent for him, and bad them set him at the upper end: meaning in deede at the lower ende of the bed. Phaonius made no ceremonie, but thrust in amongst the middest of them, and made all the companye laugh at him: so they were merry all supper tyme, and full of their Philosophie. The next daye after, Brutus, upon complaynt of the Sardians, did condemne and noted Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had bene a Prætor of the Romanes, and whome Brutus had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robberte, and pilferie in his office. This judgement much misliked Cassius: bicause he him selfe had secretly (not many dayes before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleered them: but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reprovod Brutus, for that he would shew him selfe so straight and severe in such a tyme, as was meeter to beare a litle, then

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

to take thinges at the worst. Brutus in contrary manner aunswered, that he shoulde remember the Ides of Marche, at which tyme they slue Iulius Cæsar: who nether pilld nor polled the contrary, but onely was a favorer and suborner of all them that did robbe and spoyle, by his countenance and authoritie. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly sette aside justice and equitie: they should have had more reason to have suffered Cæsars friendes, to have robbed and done what wronge and injurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then sayde he, they could but have sayde they had bene cowards: and nowe they may accuse us of injustice, beside the paynes we take, and the daunger we put our selves into. And thus may we see what Brutus intent and purpose was. But as they both prepared to passe over againe, out of Asia into Europe: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull signe unto him. Brutus was a carefull man, and slept very litle, both for that his dyet was moderate, as also bicause he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day tyme, and in the night no lenger, then the tyme he was driven to be alone, and when every bodye els tooke their rest. But nowe whilist he was in warre, and his heade ever busily occupied to thinke of his affayres, and what would happen: after he had slumbered a litle after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his waightiest causes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leysure left him, he would read some booke till the third watche of the night, at what tyme the Captaines, pety Captaines and Colonells, did use to come unto him. So, being ready to goe into Europe, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a litle light, thinking of waighty matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull straunge and monstrous shape of a body comming towards him, and sayd never a word. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god, or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit aunswered him, I am thy evill spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the citie of Philippes. Brutus beeing

**MARCUS  
BRUTUS**  
Iulius Cæsar  
slayne at  
the Ides of  
March.

The wonder-  
full constancy  
of Brutus, in  
matters of  
justice and  
equitie.

Brutus care  
and watch-  
ing.

A spirit  
appeared  
unto Brutus  
in the citie  
of Sardinia.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

no otherwise affrayd, replyed againe unto it: Well, then I shall see thee agayne. The spirit presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men unto him, who tolde him that they heard no noyse, nor sawe any thinge at all. There-uppon Brutus returned agayne to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the daye brake, he went unto Cassius, to tell him what vision had appeared unto him in the night. Cassius beeing in opinion an Epicurian, and reasoning thereon with Brutus, spake to him touching the vision thus. In our secte, Brutus, we have an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele, or see, that which we suppose we doe both see and feele: but that our senses beeing credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in their owne objects) are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that, which they in truth doe not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to worke (without eyther cause or matter) any thinge in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to claye, and the minde to the potter: who without any other cause than his fancie and pleasure, chaungeth it into what facion and forme he will. And this doth the diversitie of our dreames shewe unto us. For our imagination doth uppon a small fancie growe from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and formes of thinges imagined. For the minde of man is ever occupied, and that continuall moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature given to melancholick discoursing, and of late continually occupied: your wittes and senses having bene overlabored, doe easilier yeelde to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angells, and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voyces, or any power at all to come unto us: it is a mockerye. And for myne owne parte, I would there were suche, bicause that we shoulde not onely have souldiers, horses, and shippes, but also the ayde of the goddes, to guide and further our honest and honorable attempts. With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Brutus. When they raysed their campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a marvelous force, lighted uppon two of the foremoste enseignes,

Cassius  
opinion of  
spirits, after  
the Epicuri-  
ans sect.

The cause  
of dreames.

A wonderful  
signe by two  
Eagles.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and alwayes followed the souldiers, which gave them meate, and fedde them, untill they came neare to the citie of Philippes: and there one daye onely before the battell, they bothe flew awaye. Now Brutus had conquered the moste parte of all the people, and nations of that contry: but if there were any other citie or Captaine to overcome, then they made all cleere before them, and so drewe towards the coasts of Thassos. There Norbanus lying in campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place called Symbolon: (which is a port of the sea) Cassius and Brutus compassed him in in such sort, that he was driven to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in daunger beside to have lost all his armye. For, Octavius Cæsar could not followe him bicause of his sicknes, and therefore stayed behind: whereuppon they had taken his army, had not Antonius ayde bene, which made such wonderful speede, that Brutus could scant beleve it. So Cæsar came not thether of ten daies after: and Antonius camped against Cassius, and Brutus on thother side against Cæsar. The Romanes called the valley betweene both campes, the Phillipian fields: and there were never seene two so great armies of the Romanes, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, Brutus army was inferior to Octavius Cæsars, in number of men: but for bravery and rich furniture, Brutus army farre excelled Cæsars. For the most part of their armors were silver and gilt, which Brutus had bountifully given them: although in all other things he taught his Captaines to live in order without excesse. But for the bravery of armor, and weapon, which souldiers should cary in their hands, or otherwise weare upon their backes: he thought that it was an encouragement unto them that by nature are greedy of honor, and that it maketh them also fight like devills that love to get, and be affrayd to lose: bicause they fight to keepe their armor and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, Octavius Cæsar tooke the muster of his army within the trenches of his campe, and gave his men onely a litle corne, and five silver Drachmas to every man to sacrifice to the gods, and to pray for victory. But Brutus

**MARCUS  
BRUTUS**

Brutus and Cassius campe before the citie of Philippes: against Octavius Cæsar, and Antonius.

Brutus souldiers bravely armed.

Brutus opinion for the bravery of souldiers, in their armor and weapons.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

skorning this miserie and niggardlines, first of all mustered his armie, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the manner of the Romanes: and then he gave unto every band a number of weathers to sacrifice, and fiftie silver Drachmas to every souldier. So that Brutus and Cassius souldiers were better pleased, and more coragiously bent to fight at the daye of the battell, then their enemies souldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chaunced certaine unlucky signes unto Cassius. For one of his Sergeaunts that caried the rodde before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he should have worne on his head in the tyme of sacrificing. Moreover it is reported also, that at another tyme before, in certaine sportes and triumphe where they caried an image of Cassius victorie of cleane gold, it fell by chaunce, the man stumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were seene a marvelous number of fowles of praye, that feede upon dead carkasses: and beehives also were founde, where bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the campe: the which place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would have of it. The which beganne somewhat to alter Cassius minde from Epicurus opinions, and had put the souldiers also in a marvelous feare. Thereuppon Cassius was of opinion not to trye this warre at one battell, but rather to delay tyme, and to drawe it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. But Brutus in contrary manner, did alway before, and at that tyme also, desire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, assoone as might be possible: to the ende he might either quickly restore his contry to her former libertie, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and mainteyning of such great armies together. But perceiving that in the dayly skirmishes and byckerings they made, his men were alway the stronger, and ever had the better: that yet quickned his spirits againe, and did put

Unlucky  
signes unto  
Cassius.

Cassius  
and Brutus  
opinions  
about battell.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him in better hart. And furthermore, bicause that some of their owne men had already yelded them selues to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreover diuers others would doe the like: that made many of Cassius friendes, which were of his minde before, (when it came to be debated in counsell whether the battell shoulde be fought or not) that they were then of Brutus minde. But yet was there one of Brutus friendes called Atellius, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tary the next winter. Brutus asked him what he should get by tarying a yeare lenger? If I get nought els, quoth Atellius agayne, yet have I lived so much lenger. Cassius was very angry with this aunswer: and Atellius was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereuppon it was presently determined they should fight battell the next daye. So Brutus all supper tyme looked with a cheerefull countenaunce, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of Philosophie, and after supper went to bed. But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by him selfe in his tent with a fewe of his friendes, and that all supper tyme he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he tooke him by the hande, and holding him fast (in token of kindnes as his manner was) tolde him in Greeke: Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witnes, that I am compelled against my minde and will (as Pompey the great was) to jeopard the libertie of our contry, to the hazard of a battell. And yet we must be lively, and of good corage, considering our good fortune, whome we shoulde wronge too muche to mistrust her, although we followe evill counsell. Messala writeth, that Cassius having spoken these last wordes unto him, he bad him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, bicause it was his birth day. The next morning by breake of day, the signall of battell was set out in Brutus and Cassius campe, which was an arming scarlet coate: and both the Chiefetaines spake together in the midst of their armies. There Cassius beganne to speake

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Atellius  
opinion for  
the battell.

Cassius words  
unto Messala,  
the night  
before the  
battell.

Brutus and  
Cassius talke  
before the  
battell.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

first, and sayd: The gods graunt us, O Brutus, that this day we may winne the field, and ever after to live all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods have so ordeyned it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most uncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to daye then we wishe or looke for, we shall hardly meete againe: what art thou then determined to doe, to flye, or dye? Brutus answered him, being yet but a young man, and not overgreatly experienced in the world: I trust, (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philosophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Cato for killing of him selfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valliant, not to give place and yeld to divine providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to drawe backe, and flie: but being nowe in the midst of the daunger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for us: I will looke no more for hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for warre againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gave up my life for my contry in the Ides of Marche, for the which I shall live in another more glorious worlde. Cassius fell a laughing to heare what he sayde, and imbracing him, Come on then sayde he, let us goe and charge our enemies with this mynde. For eyther we shall conquer, or we shall not neede to feare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to consultacion amonge their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he might have the leading of the right winge, the which men thought was farre meeter for Cassius: both bicause he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassius gave it him, and willed that Messala: (who had charge of one of the warrelikest legions they had) shoulde be also in that winge with Brutus. So Brutus presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appoynted, and his footemen also were as willing and readye to give charge. Nowe Antonius men did cast a trenche from the marishe by the which they

Brutus  
answer to  
Cassius.

The battell  
at Philippes,  
against Octa-  
vius Cæsar,  
and Antonius.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

laye, to cutte of Cassius way to come to the sea: and Cæsar, at the least his armye, styrred not. As for Octavius Cæsar him selfe, he was not in his campe, bicause he was sicke. And for his people, they litle thought the enemies would have given them battell, but onely have made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trenche, and with their darts and slings to have kept them from finishing of their worke: but they taking no heede to them that came full upon them to give them battell, marvelled much at the great noyse they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trenche. In the meane tyme Brutus that led the right winge, sent litle billes to the Colonells and Captaines of private bandes, in the which he wrote the worde of the battell: and he him selfe riding a horse backe by all the trowpes, did speake to them, and incoraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this meanes very fewe of them understoode what was the worde of the battell, and besides, the moste parte of them never taryed to have it tolde them, but ranne with greate furie to assaile the enemies: whereby through this disorder, the legions were marvelously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all, Messalæ legion, and then the next unto them, went beyond the left winge of the enemies, and did nothing, but glawnsing by them, overthrewe some as they went, and so going on further, fell right upon Cæsars campe, out of the which (as him selfe writeth in his *Commentaries*) he had bene conveyed away a litle before, thorough the counsell and advise of one of his friendes called Marcus Artorius: who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared unto him, that commaunded Octavius Cæsar should be caried out of his campe. Insomuch as it was thought he was slayne, bicause his lytter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pykes and darts. There was great slaughter in this campe. For amongst others, there were slayne two thowsand Lacedæmonians, who were arrived but even a litle before, comming to ayde Cæsar. The other also that had not glaunsed by, but had given a charge full upon Cæsars battell: they easily made them

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

fie, because they were greatly troubled for the losse of their campe, and of them there were slayne by hand, three legions. Then being very earnest to followe the chase of them that fled, they ranne in amongst them hand over head into their campe, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion shewed it unto them that were overcome: and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, and unguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too far of, in following of them that were overthrowen. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But notwithstanding all the force they made, they coule not breake into the midst of their battell, where they founde men that received them, and valliantlie made head against them. Howbeit they brake and overthrew the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them beating them into their campe, the which they spoyled, none of both the Chieftaines being present there. For Antonius, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the first charge, was gotten into the next marsh: and no man coule tell what became of Octavius Cæsar, after he was caried out of his campe. Insomuche that there were certaine souldiers that shewed their swords bloodied, and sayd that they had slaine him, and did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore the voward, and the midst of Brutus battell, had already put all their enemies to flight that withstoode them, with great slaughter: so that Brutus had conquered all of his side, and Cassius had lost all on the other side. For nothing undid them, but that Brutus went not to helpe Cassius, thinking he had overcome them, as him selfe had done: and Cassius on the other side taried not for Brutus, thinking he had bene overthrowen, as him selfe was. And to prove that the victorie fell on Brutus side, Messala confirmeth it: that they wanne three Eagles, and divers other ensignes of their enemies, and their enemies wanne never a one of theirs. Now Brutus returning from the chase, after he had slaine and sacked Cæsars men: he wondred muche that he coule not see Cassius tent standing

Octavius  
Cæsar falsely  
reported to  
be slaine at  
the battell of  
Philippes.

Cassius  
misfortune.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

up high as it was wont, neither the other tentes of his campe standing as they were before, bicause all the whole campe had bene spoiled, and the tentes throwen downe, at the first comming in of the enemies. But they that were about Brutus, whose sight served them better, tolde him that they sawe a great glistering of harnes, and a number of silvered targets, that went and came into Cassius campe, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to gard the campe : and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies, and great overthrow, as there should have bene, if so many legions had bene slaine This made Brutus at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemie which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to leade them to aide Cassius, who was in this state as you shall heare. First of all he was marvelous angrie, to see how Brutus men ranne to geve charge upon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commaundement to geve charge : and it grieved him beside, that after he had overcome them, his men fell straight to spoyle, and were not carefull to compasse in the rest of the enemies behinde. But with tarying too long also, more then through the valliantnesse or foresight of the Captaines his enemies: Cassius founde him selfe compassed in with the right wing of his enemies armie. Whereuppon his horsemen brake immediatly, and fled for life towards the sea. Furthermore, perceiving his footemen to geve ground, he did what he could to keepe them from flying, and tooke an ensigne from one of the ensigne bearers that fled, and stucke it fast at his feete: although with much a do he could scant keepe his owne gard together. So Cassius him selfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, unto a litle hill, from whence they might easely see what was done in all the plaine: howbeit Cassius him selfe sawe nothing, for his sight was verie bad, saving that he saw (and yet with much a doe) how the enemies spoiled his campe before his eyes. He sawe also a great troupe of horsemen, whom Brutus sent to aide him, and

Cassius  
offended with  
the sundrie  
errors Brutus  
and his men  
committed  
in battell.

Cassius  
valliantnes  
in warres.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

thought that they were his enemies that followed him : but yet he sent Titinnius, one of them that was with him, to goe and know what they were. Brutus horsemen sawe him comming a farre of, whom when they knewe that he was one of Cassius chiefest frendes, they showed out for joy : and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horses, and went and imbraced him. The rest compassed him in rounde about a horsebacke, with songs of victorie and great rushing of their harnes, so that they made all the field ring againe for joy. But this marred all. For Cassius thinking in deede that Titinnius was taken of the enemies, he then spake these wordes : Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best frendes taken, for my sake, before my face. After that, he gotte into a tent where no bodie was, and tooke Pyndarus with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reserved ever for suche a pinche, since the cursed battell of the Parthians, where Crassus was slaine, though he notwithstanding scaped from that overthrow : but then casting his cloke over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him his head to be striken of. So the head was found severed from the bodie : but after that time Pindarus was never seene more. Wherupon, some tooke occasion to say, that he had slaine his master without his commaundement. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see Titinnius crowned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great speede unto Cassius. But when he perceived by the cries and teares of his frends which tormented them selves, the misfortune that had chaunced to his Captaine Cassius, by mistaking : he drew out his sword, cursing him selfe a thowsand times that he had taried so long, and so slue him selfe presentlie in the field. Brutus in the meane time came forward still, and understoode also that Cassius had bene overthrowen : but he knew nothing of his death, till he came verie neere to his campe. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romanes, being impossible that Rome should ever breede againe so noble and valliant a man as he : he caused his bodie to be buried,

The importance of error and mistaking in warres.

Cassius slaine by his man Pindarus.

The death of Titinnius.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and sent it to the citie of Thassos, fearing least his funerals within the campe should cause great disorder. Then he called his souldiers together, and did encourage them againe. And when he saw that they had lost all their cariage, which they could not brooke well: he promised everie man of them two thousand Drachmas in recompence. After his souldiers had heard his Oration, they were al of them pretily cheered againe, wondering much at his great liberalitie, and waited upon him with great cries when he went his way, praising him, for that he only of the foure Chieftaines, was not overcome in battell. And to speake the trueth, his deedes shewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conqueror. For with fewe legions, he had slaine and driven all them away, that made head against him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgone their enemies to runne to spoyle their goods: surely it was like enough he had slaine them all, and had left never a man of them alive. There were slaine of Brutus side, about eight thousand men, counting the souldiers slaves, whom Brutus called Brigas: and of the enemies side, as Messala wryteth, there were slaine as he supposeth, more then twice as many moe. Wherefore they were more discouraged then Brutus, untill that verie late at night, there was one of Cassius men called Demetrius, who went unto Antonius, and caried his maisters clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encouraged Brutus enemies, and made them so brave, that the next morning betimes they stode in battell ray againe before Brutus. But on Brutus side, both his campes stode wavering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being full of prisoners, required a good garde to looke unto them: and Cassius campe on the other side tooke the death of their Captaine verie heavilie, and beside, there was some vile grudge betwene them that were overcome, and those that did overcome. For this cause therefore Brutus did set them in battell ray, but yet kept him selfe from geving battell. Now for the slaves that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to and fro amongst the armed men, not without suspicion: he commaunded they

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

The number  
of men slaine,  
at the battell  
of Philippes.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

shoulde kill them. But for the freemen, he sent them freely home, and said, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them, they were slaves and servauntes: and with him, they were free men, and citizens. So when he saw that divers Captaines and his frendes did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no meanes save their lives: Brutus him selfe hid them, and secretlie sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius a jeaster, and Sacculio a common player, of whom Brutus made no accompt at all. Howbeit his frends brought them unto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorne, and to jeast broadly with them. Brutus made no aunswere to it, bicause his heade was occupied otherwayes. Whereupon, Messala Corvinus sayd: that it were good to whippe them on a skaffold, and then to sende them naked, well whipped, unto the Captaines of their enemies, to shewe them their shame, to keepe suche mates as those in their campe, to play the fooles, to make them sport. Some that stode by, laughed at his devise. But Publius Casca, that gave Iulius Cæsar the first wounde when he was slaine, sayd then: It doth not become us to be thus merie at Cassius funeralls: and for thee, Brutus, thou shalt shewe what estimacion thou madest of suche a Captaine thy compere, by putting to death, or saving the lives of these bloodes, who hereafter will mocke him, and defame his memorie. Brutus aunswere againe in choller: Why then doe you come to tell me of it, Casca, and doe not your selves what you thinke good? When they hearde him say so, they tooke his aunswere for a consent against these poore unfortunate men, to suffer them to doe what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, and slue them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promise he had made to the souldiers, and gave them the two thowsand Drachmas a peece, but yet he first reproved them, bicause they went and gave charge upon the enemies at the first battell, before they had the word of battell geven them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battell they fought like men, he would geve them the sacke and spoyle of two cities, to wit, Thessalonica,

Brutus  
clemency and  
curtesie.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and Lacedæmon. In all Brutus life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gainesaid: though Antonius and Octavius Cæsar did reward their souldiers farre worse for their victory. For when they had driven all the naturall Italians out of Italie, they gave their souldiers their landes and townes, to the which they had no right: and moreover, the only marke they shot at in all this warre they made, was but to overcome, and raigene. Where in contrarie manner they had so great an opinion of Brutus vertue, that the common voyce and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to overcome, nor to save him selfe, otherwise then justlie and honestly, and speciallie after Cassius death: whome men burdened, that oftentimes he moved Brutus to great crueltie. But nowe, like as the mariners on the sea after the rudder of their shippe is broken by tempest, do seeke to naile on some other peece of wodde in lieu thereof, and doe helpe them selves to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be upon that instant daunger: even so Brutus, having such a great armie to governe, and his affaires standing verie tickle, and having no other Captaine coequall with him in dignitie and authoritie: he was forced to imploy them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, and was of mind him selfe also to graunt them any thing, that he thought might make them serve like noble souldiers at time of neede. For Cassius souldiers were verie evill to be ruled, and did shewe them selves verie stubborne and lustie in the campe, bicause they had no Chieftaine that did commaund them: but yet rancke cowards to their enemies, bicause they had once overcome them. On the other side Octavius Cæsar, and Antonius, were not in much better state: for first of all, they lacked vittells. And bicause they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharpe winter, being camped as they were by the marish side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumnne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reason of the colde did freeze incontinentlie. But beside all these discommodities, there came newes unto them of the great losse they had of their men by sea. For

MARCUS  
BRUTUS  
Brutus fault  
wisely ex-  
cused by  
Plutarka.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS

BRUTUS

Brutus  
victorie  
by sea.

Wonderfull  
famine among  
Cæsars sould-  
diers by sea.

The ignor-  
ance of  
Brutus vic-  
torie by sea,  
was his utter  
destruction.

Brutus shippes met with a great aide and supplie of men, which were sent them out of Italie, and they overthrewe them in suche sorte, that there scaped but few of them: and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eate the tackle and sailes of their shippes. Thereuppon they were verie desirous to fight a battell againe, before Brutus should have intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chaunced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the selfe same day it was fought by lande. But by ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Captaines, this victorie came not to Brutus eare, till twentie dayes after. For had he knowen of it before, he would not have bene brought to have fought a second battell, considering that he had excellent good provision for his armie for a long time, and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his campe could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would have marvelously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that passe, that it could no more abide to be governed by many Lordes, but required one only absolute Governor: God, to prevent Brutus that it shoulde not come to his government, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though in deede it came but a litle too late. For the day before the last battell was geven, verie late in the night, came Clodius, one of his enemies into his campe, who told that Cæsar hearing of the overthrow of his armie by sea, desired nothing more then to fight a battell before Brutus understoode it. Howbeit they gave no credit to his words, but despised him so muche, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him unto Brutus, because they thought it was but a lye devised, to be the better welcome for this good newes. The selfe same night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before unto Brutus in the citie of Sardis, did now appeare againe unto him in the selfe same shape and forme, and so vanished away, and sayd never a word. Now Publius Volumnius, a grave and wise Philosopher, that had bene with Brutus from the beginning of this warre, he doth make mencion of this spirite, but sayth:

230

The evill  
spirit appear-  
ed againe  
unto Brutus.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was covered over with a swarme of bees, and that there was one of the Captaines, whose arme sodainly fell a sweating, that it dropped oyle of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but all would doe no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought betwene both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a marvelous great silence all the valley over, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betwene them: and that in the end, the Eagle towards Brutus gave over, and flew away. But this is certaine, and a true tale: that when the gate of the campe was open, the first man the standerd bearer met that caried the Eagle, was an Æthiopian, whome the souldiers for ill lucke mangled with their swordes. Now, after that Brutus had brought his armie into the felde, and had set them in battell ray, directlie against the vovard of his enemie: he pawed a long time, before he gave the signall of battell. For Brutus riding up and downe to view the bands and companies: it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides, that some came to tell him so muche as he thought. Moreover, he sawe his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not goe lustely to geve charge: but still stayed, to see what the footemen woulde doe. Then sodainly, one of the chiefest Knightes he had in all his armie called Camulatus, and that was alway marvelously esteemed of for his valliantnes, untill that time: he came hard by Brutus a horsebacke, and roade before his face to yeeld him selfe unto his enemies. Brutus was marvelous sorie for it, wherefore partely for anger, and partely for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he sodainly caused his armie to marche, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. So in that place where he him selfe fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of his enemies, which gave him way, through the helpe of his horsemen that gave charge with his footemen, when they saw the enemies in a maze, and affrayed. Howbeit the other also on the right wing, when the Captaines would have had them to have marched: they were affraid to have bene compassed in behinde, bicause they were fewer in number then their enemies, and therefore did spred

MARCUS  
BRUTUS  
Strange  
sightes before  
Brutus second  
battell.

Brutus  
second  
battell.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**MARCUS  
BRUTUS**

Brutus  
valliantnes  
and great  
skill in  
warres.

The death of  
the valliant  
young man  
Cato, the  
sonne of  
Marcus Cato.

The fidelitie  
of Lucilius  
unto Brutus.

them selves, and leave the middest of their battell. Wherby they having weakened them selves, they could not withstande the force of their enemies, but turned taile straight, and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight upon it to compasse Brutus behinde, who in the middest of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilfull Captaine and valliant souldier: both for his wisdom, as also for his hardinesse, for the obtaining of victorie. But that which wanne him the victorie at the first battell, did now lose it him at the seconde. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut in peeces: but at the seconde battell, of Cassius men that were put to flight, there were fewe slaine: and they that saved them selves by speede, being affrayed because they had bene overcome, did discourage the rest of the armie when they came to joyne with them, and filled all the army with feare and disorder. There was the sonne of M. Cato slaine, valliantly fighting amongst the lustie youths. For, notwithstanding that he was verie wearie, and overharried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling alowde his name, and also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slaine rounde about him. So there were slaine in the field, all the chiefest gentlemen and nobilitie that were in his armie: who valliantlie ranne into any daunger, to save Brutus life. Amongst them there was one of Brutus frendes called Lucilius, who seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behinde, told them that he was Brutus: and because they should beleve him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he sayd he was affrayed of Cæsar, and that he did trust Antonius better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking them selves happie men: they caried him in the night, and sent some before unto Antonius, to tell him of their comming. He was marvelous glad of it, and went out to meete them that brought him. Others also understanding of it, that

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

they had brought Brutus prisoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying, that it was not done like him selfe so cowardlie to be taken alive of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neere together, Antonius stayed a while, bethinking him selfe how he should use Brutus. In the meane time Lucilius was brought to him, who stowly with a bold countenance sayd: Antonius, I dare assure thee, that no enemie hath taken, nor shall take Marcus Brutus alive: and I beseech God keepe him from that fortune. For wheresoever he be found, alive or dead: he will be found like him selfe. And nowe for my selfe, I am come unto thee, having deceived these men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was Brutus: and doe not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. Lucilius wordes made them all amazed that heard him. Antonius on the other side, looking upon all them that had brought him, sayd unto them: My companions, I thinke ye are sorie you have failed of your purpose, and that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I doe assure you, you have taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For, in steade of an enemie, you have brought me a frend: and for my parte, if you had brought me Brutus alive, truly I can not tell what I should have done to him. For, I had rather have suche men my frendes, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that time delivered him to one of his frendes in custodie, and Lucilius ever after served him faithfullie, even to his death. Nowe Brutus having passed a litle river, walled in on either side with hie rockes, and shadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but stayed at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and frends that followed him: and looking up to the firmament that was full of starres, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect:

Brutus flying.

Let not the wight from whom this mischief went  
(O Iove) escape without dew punishment.

Appian  
meaneth this  
by Antonius.

And sayth that he had forgotten the other. Within a  
6: GG 233

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

litle while after, naming his frendes that he had seene slaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh then before: specially, when he came to name Labio, and Flavius, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other, Captaine of the pioners of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie being a thirst, and seeing Brutus a thirst also: he ranne to the river for water, and brought it in his sallet. At the selfe same time they heard a noyse on the other side of the river. Whereupon Volumnius tooke Dardanus, Brutus servaunt with him, to see what it was: and returning straight againe, asked if there were any water left. Brutus smiling, gentlie tolde them all was dronke, but they shall bring you some more. Thereuppon he sent him againe that went for water before, who was in great daunger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly scaped, being sore hurt. Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slaine in battell, and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to goe through his enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to goe see their campe) and from thence if all were well, that he woulde lift up a torche light in the ayer, and then returne againe with speede to him. The torche light was lift up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Nowe Brutus seeing Statilius tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he said: If Statilius be alive, he will come againe. But his evill fortune was suche, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands, and was slaine. Now, the night being farre spent, Brutus as he sate bowed towards Clitus one of his men, and told him somewhat in his eare, the other aunswered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proved Dardanus, and sayd somewhat also to him: at length he came to Volumnius him selfe, and speaking to him in Græke, prayed him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together, that he woulde helpe him to put his hande to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them sayd, there was no tarying for them there, but that they must needes flie. Then Brutus rising up, We must flie in deede sayd he, but it must be with

The death of  
Statilius.

Brutus saying  
of flying with  
hands, and  
not with feete.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

our hands, not with our feete. Then taking every man by the hand, he sayd these words unto them with a cheerefull countenance: It rejoyceth my hart that not one of my frends hath failed me at my neede, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but only for my contries sake: for, as for me, I thinke my selfe happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetuall fame of our corage and manhoode, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attaine unto by force nor money, neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughtie and unjust men, have slaine good men, to usurpe tyrannical power not pertaining to them. Having sayd so, he prayed everie man to shift for them selves, and then he went a litle aside with two or three only, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the studie of Rethoricke. He came as neere to him as he coulde, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his hands, and falling downe upon the poynt of it, ran him selfe through. Others say, that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell downe upon it: and so ranne him selfe through, and dyed presently. Messala, that had bene Brutus great frend, became afterwards Octavius Cæsars frend. So, shortly after, Cæsar being at good leasure, he brought Strato, Brutus frende unto him, and weeping sayd: Cæsar, beholde, here is he that did the last service to my Brutus. Cæsar welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithfull service in all his affaires, as any Græcian els he had about him, untill the battell of Actium. It is reported also, that this Messala him selfe aunswered Cæsar one day, when he gave him great praise before his face, that he had fought valliantlie, and with great affection for him, at the battell of Actium: (notwithstanding that he had bene his cruell enemy before, at the battell of Philippes, for Brutus sake) I ever loved, sayd he, to take the best and justest parte. Now, Antonius having found Brutus bodie, he caused it to be wrapped up in one of the richest cote armors he had. Afterwards also, Antonius understanding that this cote armor was stollen, he put the theefe to death that had stollen it, and sent the

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Brutus slue  
him selfe.

Strato,  
Brutus  
familiar  
and frend.

Strato  
received into  
Cæsars frend-  
ship.

Messala  
Corvinus,  
Brutus frend.

Brutus  
funeralls.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS  
BRUTUS

Porcia,  
Brutus wife,  
killed her  
selfe with  
burning  
coles.

ashes of his bodie unto Servilia his mother. And for Porcia, Brutus wife: Nicolaus the Philosopher, and Valerius Maximus doe wryte, that she determining to kill her selfe (her parents and frendes carefullie looking to her to kepe her from it) tooke hotte burning coles, and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choked her selfe. There was a letter of Brutus found wrytten to his frendes, complayning of their negligence, that his wife being sicke, they would not helpe her, but suffred her to kill her selfe, choosing to dye, rather then to languish in paine. Thus it appeareth, that Nicolaus knewe not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this Lady, and also the maner of her death.

## THE COMPARISON OF DION WITH BRUTUS



Come nowe to compare these two noble personages together, it is certaine that both of them having had great gifts in them (and specially Dion) of small occasions they made them selves great men: and therefore Dion of both deserveth chiefest praise. For, he had no cohelper to bring him unto that greatnesse, as Brutus had of Cassius: who doubtlesse was not comparable unto Brutus, for vertue and respect of honor, though otherwise in matters of warre, he was no lesse wise and valliant then he. For many doe impute unto Cassius, the first beginning and originall of all the warre and enterprise: and sayd it was he that did encourage Brutus, to conspire Cæsars death. Where Dion furnished him selfe with armor, shippes and souldiers and wanne those frendes and companions also that did helpe him, to prosecute his warre. Nor he did not as

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION  
AND  
BRUTUS

Brutus, who rose to greatnesse by his enterprises, and by warre got all his strength and riches. But he in contrarie maner, spent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his contrie and disbursed of his owne money, that should have kept him in his banishment. Furthermore, Brutus and Cassius were compelled of necessity to make warres, because they coulde not have lived safelie in peace, when they were driven out of Rome: for that they were condemned to death, and pursued by their enemies. And for this cause therefore they were driven to hazard them selves in warre, more for their owne safetie, then for the libertie of their contrie men. Whereas Dion on the other side, living more merily and safelie in his banishment, then the tyranne Dionysius him selfe that had banished him: did put him selfe to that daunger, to deliver Sicile from bondage. Nowe the matter was not a like unto the Romanes, to be delivered from the government of Cæsar: as it was for the Syracusans, to be ridde of Dionysius tyrannie. For Dionysius denyed not, that he was not a tyranne, having filled Sicile with suche miserie and calamitie. Howebeit Cæsars power and government when it came to be established, did in deede much hurt at his first entrie and beginning unto those that did resist him: but afterwarde, unto them that being overcome had received his government, it seemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyranne, then otherwise that he was so in deede. For there never followed any tyrannicall nor cruell act, but contrarilie, it seemed that he was a mercifull Phisition, whom God had ordeyned of speciall grace to be Governor of the Empire of Rome, and to set all thinges againe at quiet stay, the which required the counsell and authoritie of an absolute Prince. And therefore the Romanes were marvelous sorie for Cæsar after he was slaine, and afterwarde would never pardon them that had slaine him. On the other side, the cause why the Syracusans did most accuse Dion, was: because he did let Dionysius escape out of the castell of Syracusa, and because he did not overthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, towching the warres: Dion alway shewed him selfe a Captaine unreprouable, having wiselie and skilfullie taken order for those things,



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION  
AND  
BRUTUS

which he had enterprised of his owne head and counsell : and did amende the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them. Where it seemeth, that Brutus did not wisely to receive the second battell : considering his rest stooke upon it. For, after he had lost the battell, it was unpossible for him ever to rise againe : and therefore his hart failed him, and so gave up all, and never durst strive with his evill fortune as Pompey did, considering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his souldiers, and being beside a dreadfull Lorde of all the sea over. Furthermore, the greatest reproache they could object against Brutus, was : that Iulius Cæsar having saved his life, and pardoned all the prisoners also taken in battell, as many as he had made request for, taking him for his frende, and honoring him above all his other frends : Brutus notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his blood, wherewith they could never reprove Dion. For on the contrarie side, so long as Dion was Dionysius frende and kinseman, he did alway helpe him to order and governe his affaires. But after he was banished his contrie, and that his wife was forcible married to an other man, and his goodes also taken from him : then he entred into just and open warres against Dionysius the tyranne. But in this poynt, they were contrarie together. For wherein their chiefest praise consisted, to witte, in hating of tyrannes and wicked men : it is most true that Brutus desire was most sincere of both. For having no private cause of complaint or grudge against Cæsar, he ventred to kill him, onely to set his contrie againe at libertie. Where if Dion had not received private cause of quarrell against Dionysius : he woulde never have made warre with him. The which Plato proveth in his *Epistells*, where is plainlie seene : that Dion being driven out of the tyrans Court against his will, and not putting him selfe to voluntarie banishment, he drave out Dionysius. Furthermore, the respect of the common wealth caused Brutus, that before was Pompeys enemy, to become his frende, and enemy unto Cæsar, that before was his frend : only referring his friendshippe and enmitie, unto the consideration of justice and equitie. And Dion did many

238

In what things Dion was inferior unto Brutus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

DION  
AND  
BRUTUS

things for Dionysius sake and benefit, all the while he trusted him: and when he beganne to mistrust him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherefore all his frendes did not beleve, but after he had driven out Dionysius, he would stablish the government to him selfe, flattering the people with a more curteous and gentle title then the name of a tyranne. But for Brutus, his verie enemies them selves confessed, that of all those that conspired Cæsars death, he only had no other ende and intent to attempt his enterprize, but to restore the Empire of Rome againe, to her former state and government. And furthermore, it was not all one thing to deale with Dionysius, as it was to have to doe with Iulius Cæsar. For no man that knew Dionysius, but would have despised him, considering that he spent the most parte of his time in drinking, dycing, and in haunting lewde womens company. But to have undertaken to destroy Iulius Cæsar, and not to have shroncke backe for feare of his great wisdom, power, and fortune, considering that his name only was dreadfull unto everie man, and also not to suffer the kings of Parthia and India to be in rest for him: this could not come but of a marvelous noble minde of him, that for feare never fainted, nor let fall any part of his corage. And therefore, so sone as Dion came into Sicilia, many thowsands of men came and joyned with him, against Dionysius. But the fame of Iulius Cæsar did set up his frends againe after his death, and was of suche force, that it raised a young stripling, Octavius Cæsar, (that had no meanes nor power of him selfe) to be one of the greatest men of Rome: and they used him as a remedie to encounter Antonius malice and power. And if men will say, that Dion drave out the tyran Dionysius with force of armes, and sundrie battells: and that in contrarie maner Brutus slue Cæsar, being a naked man, and without gard: then doe I aunswere againe, that it was a noble parte, and of a wise Captaine, to choose so apt a time and place, to come upon a man of so great power, and to finde him naked without his gard. For he went not sodainlie in a rage, and alone, or with a small companie, to assaile him: but his enterprize was long time before determined of, and

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

DION  
AND  
BRUTUS

that with divers men, of all the which, not a man of them once fayled him : but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chose them honest men, or else that by his choyse of them, he made them good men. Whereas Dion, either from the beginning made no wise choyse in trusting of evill men, or else bicause he could not tell how to use them he had chosen : of good men he made them become evill, so that neither the one nor the other coulde be the parte of a wise man. For Plato him self reproveth him, for that he had chosen suche men for his frendes, that he was slaine by them, and after he was slaine, no man woulde then revenge his death. And in contrarie maner, of the enemies of Brutus, the one (who was Antonius) gave his bodie honorable buriall : and Octavius Cæsar the other, reserved his honors and memories of him. For at Millayne, (a citie of Gaule on Italie side) there was an image of his in brasse, verie like unto him : the which Cæsar afterwardes passing that way, behelde verie advisedly, for that it was made by an excellent workeman, and was verie like him, and so went his way. Then he stayed sodainly againe, and called for the Governors of the citie, and before them all tolde them, that the citizens were his enemies, and traitors unto him, bicause they kept an enemy of his among them. The Governors of the citie at the first were astonied at it, and stowtly denied it : and none of them knowing what enemy he ment, one of them looked on an other. Octavius Cæsar then turning him unto Brutus statue, bending his browes, sayd unto them : This man you see standing up here, is he not our enemy ? Then the Governors of the citie were worse affrayed then before, and could not tel what answer to make him. But Cæsar laughing, and commending the Gaules for their faithfulness to their frendes, even in their adversities : he was contented Brutus image should stand still as it did.

Brutus honored of his enemies after his death.

Brutus image or statue standing in brasse in Millaine, was preserved and kept by Octavius Cæsar.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

## THE LIFE OF ARATUS



**C**HIRISYPPUS the Philosopher (my frend Polycrates) being affrayed as it seemeth of the evill sound of an auncient proverbe not rightlie as it was spoken, and in use, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this maner :

What children do their auncetors commend,  
But those whom fortune favors to the end ?

But Dionysodorus Troezenian reproving him, doth rehearse the proverbe rightly as in deede it is :

What children do their auncetors commend,  
But those whose life is vertuous to the end ?

saying, that this proverbe stoppeth their mouthes who of them selves are unworthie of praise, and yet are still boasting of the vertues of their auncesters, whose praise they highly extoll. But affore those that (as Pindarus sayth,)

Do match their noble auncetors in prowesse of their owne,  
And by their frutes commend the flocke whence they them selves are growne

(as thy selfe that conformest thy life unto the examples and maners of thy vertuous auncesters :) it is no small good happe for them, often to remember the noble deedes of their parentes in hearing them spoken of, or otherwise for them selves oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praise and glorie : but in joyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their auncesters, they do increase their glorie, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their discent by blood. Therefore, having wrytten the life of Aratus thy contrie man, and one of thy auncesters, whose glorie and greatnesse thou doest not blemishe, I doe sende it unto thee, not that I thinke but

The example of our auncesters, wherein profitable to their posteritie.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**

that thou hast more diligentlie then any man else, searched out all his deedes and sayings: but yet, because that thy two sonnes, Polycrates, and Pythocles, reading, and still hearing some thing reported, might be brought up at home by the example of their auncesters, whose deedes shall lye before them to followe. For he loveth him selfe more, then he regardeth perfit vertue, or his credit: that thinketh him selfe so perfit, as he neede not follow any others example.

The common weale of the Sicyonians converted into tyrannie.

The citie of Sicyone, after it fell from her first government of the optimacie and nobilitie, which is proper to the cities of the Dorians: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into civill warres and seditious practises, through the Orators of the people: and never ceased to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway chaunging new tyrannes, untill that Cleon being slaine, they chose Timoclidas and Clinias their Governors, two of the noblest men and of greatest authoritie in all the citie. Now when the common wealth beganne to grow to a certeine state of government, Timoclidas dyed: and Abantidas, the sonne of Paseas, pretending to make him selfe Lord of the citie, he slue Clinias, and put to death some of his parentes and frendes, drave away others, and sought also to put his sonne Aratus to death, that was then but seven yeare olde. But in this hurly burly and tumult, Aratus flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandering up and downe the citie, being scared and affrayed, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he gotte into a womans house, called Soso, which was Abantidas sister, and wife unto Periphantus, his father Clinias brother. She being of a noble minde, and judging that the childe Aratus by Gods providence fledde unto her: hidde him in her house, and in the night secretlie sent him unto the citie of Argos. Now after that Aratus had scaped, and was safe from this daunger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice against tyrannes, the which still increased in him, as he grewe in yeares. So he was vertuouslie brought up in the citie of Argos, with his fathers frends: and perceiving with him selfe that he waxed bigge and strong, he disposed his bodie to divers exercises, and became so excellent in them,

Abantidas, tyran of Sicyone.

Aratus the sonne of Clinias, scaped the handes of the tyran Abantidas.

Aratus malice against tyrans.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that he contended in five manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face, full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the majestic of his countenance argueth that he used suche exercise: and suche commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not geve him selfe so muche to pleading, as peradventure was requisite for a Governor of a common wealth. Howebeit, some doe judge by his *Commentaries* he wrote, that he had an eloquent tongue then seemed unto some: because he wrote them in hast, having other busines in hand, and even as things came first into his minde. But afterwards, Dinius and Aristotle Logitian, slue Abantidas, who did commonlie use to sit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gave them good meanes and oportunitie to worke their feate they did. After Abantidas death, his father Paseas possessed the tyrannie: whom Nicocles afterwards slue also by treason, and made him selfe tyranne in his place. It is reported that this Nicocles did livelie resemble the countenance of Periander, the sonne of Cypselus, as Orontes Persian was very like unto Alcmaeon, the sonne of Amphiaras: and an other young Lacedaemonian, unto Hector of Troya, whom Myrsilus wryteth, was troden under mens feete, through the overgreat presse of people that came to see him, when they hearde of it. This Nicocles was tyranne foure monethes together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the citie, and had almost lost it, the Ætoliens comming on a sodaine, who were like to have taken it. Nowe Aratus was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatlie esteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they founde in him, which was no small matter: and besides that, he had a majestic in his countenance, being wiser then was looked for in a young man of his yeares. Therefore the banished men from the citie of Sicyone, repaired unto him before any other man. Nicocles for his parte also was not carelesse of his doinges, but had an eye ever to see what Aratus intended, although he litle mistrusted any suche bolde enterprise, nor so daungerous an exploit of him: but did onely

ARATUS  
Aratus favor.

Aratus wrote  
a booke of  
*Commentaries.*

Abantidas  
the tyran  
slaine.

Aristotle the  
Logitian.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

## ARATUS

Aratus goeth about to deliver his country from the tyrannie.

\* In an other place he calleth him Ecdemus.

Aristomachus and Ecdelus, doe joine with Aratus.

conjecture that he did stirre up the kings which had bene his dead fathers frendes. And so in deede Aratus tooke that course. But when he saw that Antigonus still delayed his promises, and did alwayes tract time, and that the hope of aide from king Ptolomy of Ægypt was too farre of: at length he determined to undertake to destroy the tyranne him selfe. So he first consulted with Aristomachus and Ecdelus: \* of the which the one was banished from Sicyone, and the other an Arcadian, from the citie of Megalipolis, a Philosopher, and a valliant man of his hands, and had bene scholler to Arcesilaus the Academicke, in the citie of Athens. These two men being contented to joyne with Aratus, he practised with other of the banished men also: of the which there were some that were ashamed, not to be partakers of his hope and noble attempt, and so did also joyne with him. Howbeit the most part of them did not only refuse to enter into that practise, but further, went about to dissuade Aratus from his enterprise, saying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he understoode not the daunger in undertaking such a matter, altogether so unlikelie. Nowe, as Aratus was thinking in his minde to keepe a certaine place in the territory of Sicyone, from whence they might make warre with the tyrannes: there came a prisoner unto them out of the citie of Argos, that had broken prison from the tyranne of Sicyone: and was brother unto Xenocles, one of the banished men. He being brought by the same Xenocles unto Aratus, told that in the place whereby he had saved him selfe, the grounde within was almost as high as the toppe of the wall, the which in that parte joyned unto high stonie places: and that without the wall the height was not so great, but that it was easelie scalable with ladders. When Aratus heard that, he sent two of his men, Seuthas, and Technon, with Xenocles to viewe the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to prove secretlie to execute his pretended enterprise, and quickly to put it to a venter: then to beginne a long warre, and to prepare an open armie, he being a private man, to goe against the power of a tyranne. Xenocles being returned againe to Aratus, after he had measured the height of the wall he reported

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that the place was not unscalable, but yet very hard to come to it undiscovered, bicause of certeine litle curst cures a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would never leave barking. Howbeit Aratus would not leave of his enterprise so. Now it was not straunge to see everie man prepare them selves of armor and weapon, bicause at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed by high wayes, and one would assault an other: but for the ladders, Euphranor, that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not sticke to make them openlie, bicause his common occupation did take away all suspection why they were made. For this carpenter was him selfe also a banished man from Sicyone, as the residue were. Furthermore, Aratus frendes he had in Argos, of those fewe men they had, did everie man of them lende him tenne men, and armed thirtie of his owne men: beside them, Aratus him selfe also did hyre some pretie number of souldiers, by the practise of Xenophilus, whome the Captaines of the theeves did furnish him. They were geven to understand that they should be ledde to the territorie of Sicyone, to take a pray of cattell and coltes of the king: and they were sent before, some one way, some another, with commaundement, all to meete together at the tower of Polygnotus, where they shoulde tarie. So he sent Caphesias also before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who shoulde come to this gardiners house in the night, like straungers and travellers, to lye in his house, and to locke him uppe and his dogges, bicause they had no other devise to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were certeine spialls of Nicocles the tyranne discovered, that walked up and downe the citie (making no countenance of any matter) to see what Aratus did. Wherefore, Aratus went out of his house early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with his frendes. Then he went to the shewe place (or place of exercises) and there stripped him selfe, annoynted him, and wrestled, and in the ende tooke certeine of the young gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merie, and to passe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his servauntes was seene in the

ARATUS

Aratus preparation to deliver his contrie from tyrannie.

Aratus policy to deceive Nicocles spialls.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

market place, carying of garlandes of flowers. An other was seene also buying of linckes and torches, and an other hyering of these common dauncing and singing women, which followe feastes and bankets with their instruments. Nicocles spialls seeing that, were deceived: for one of them laughing on an other sayd, that they might easely see by that, there was nothing more fearefull and timerous then a tyran: considering that Nicocles being Lord of so great a citie, was affrayed of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rappe and rend to keepe him in his banishment, upon vaine bankets, and feasts, at noone dayes. And thus were the tyrans spialls finely mocked. Aratus selfe departed immediatly after dinner out of Argos, and went unto his souldiers, whom he had appointed before to mete him at the tower of Polygnotus, and led them straight unto Nemea. There he told them openly his full intent and purpose, having before made an Oration unto them to encourage them, and also made them marvelous fayer promises. Then he gave them for their watche word, Apollo favorable, and so went directly to the citie of Sicyone, marching with great speede at the first bicause of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwards slackened his pace a litle, so that they had Moone light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, until they were come to the gardiners house that was harde by the wall. So Caphesias, whome he had sent before unto the gardiners house, came to meete with Aratus, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, bicause they ranne away: howbeit that he had made fast the gardiner in his owne house. This discouraged the most parte of all the companie, who would needes have him in any case to returne backe againe. But Aratus then began to comfort them, and promised that he would lead them backe again, if it chaunced that the dogges were too busie with them: and therewithall presently caused the ladder men to goe before, whom Ecdelus and Mnasitheus led, and he him selfe came fayer and softly after. The dogges made a fowle barking, and were baying about Ecdelus and his companie. This notwithstanding, they came safely to the wall, and did set up their scaling ladders. But even as the

Aratus  
daungers,  
in delivering  
of his contrie  
from the  
tyranny of  
Nicocles.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARATUS

first men got up on them, the Captaine of the watch that had geven place to him that should ward in the morning, came by chaunce, and passed hard by them, visiting the souldiers with a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noyse of men that followed him. They that were upon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and stirred not: and thereby the souldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning watch came towards them also, which did put them in great daunger to be discovered: but yet they once againe scaped them and were not discovered, bicause the second watch went beyond them, and stayed not. Then Ecdelus and Mnasitheus immediatly scaled the wall, and sent Technon with all possible spede unto Aratus, to will him to make all the hast he could to come to them. Now there was no great distance betwext the garden where the dogges were, and the wall, and a litle tower where they kept a great greyhounde to keepe watche: but the greyhounde never heard their comming, either bicause he was a cowardly curre of nature, or els for that he had bene overcoursed and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle cures that bald and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhounde with their barking, who at the first began to aunswere them with a soft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out alowde, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Insomuch, that the skowte which was further of, called alowde to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made such a barking, and whether there were any thing sturring or not that angered him. The hunt within the tower aunswere, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was waked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that passed by, and at the noyse of the bell. This made Aratus souldiers a great deale the bolder: bicause they thought that the hunte had bene made privy to their enterprise, and that he went about to hide their secret attempt, and hoped also that there were many other within the citie that would further their enterprise. When they came to get up upon the wall, it was of a great height, and very daungerous, bicause the ladders shooke, and

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

Aratus wan  
the citie of  
Sicyone with-  
out blood-  
shed.

bowed by reason of the waight of the men, unles they did come up fayer and softly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in some perill, bicause the cocks began to crowe, and the contry folke that brought things to the market to sell, began to come a pace to the towne out of every quarter. And therefore Aratus made haste to get up, having onely forty men above with him, and looked for some besides to come up, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrannes pallace, where his hiered souldiers kept watch and ward: and comming sodenly upon them, layed hold of every man of them, and slue not one. Then he sent into the citie to his friends, to will them to come unto him. Thereuppon they ranne out of every corner to Aratus. Now the day began to breake, and straight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, bicause of the noyse and sturre they heard in the citie, not knowing what the matter ment: untill at length an Herauld proclaymed with open voyce, that it was Aratus the sonne of Clinias, who called his contry men and Citizens to the recoverye of their libertie. Then they perswading them selves, that the thing which they long wished and looked for, was nowe come to passe: they ranne all in a trowpe together to the tyrannes house, and set it a fire. But the flame rose so high and great after the fire had taken it in every part, that it was seene to the citie of Corinthe: insomuch that the Corinthians wondring what the matter should be, were in mind to have gone to helpe it. Now for Nicocles, he saved him selfe, and got out of the citie by secret vaults he had made under the ground. The souldiers on the other side quenching the fire with the helpe of the Citizens, did sacke all they found in the tyrants pallace. The which Aratus hyndered not, but did moreover make all the rest of the tyrants goods common amongst them. So his enterprise had so good successe, that there was none of his owne company slayne he brought with him, nether any of their enemies that were within the citie, fortune kept this exployt so pure and cleane from any bloudshed. Then Aratus restored foure score men unto their lands and goods againe, whome the tyrant Nicocles had banished: and others

Nicocles  
the tyrant  
flyeth.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

also, that had bene banished by former tyrants, to the number of five hundred men, who had bene wel neare fifty yeares space banished out of their contry. Nowe the most of them being comen home poore and needy, would have entred on their goods and lands they enjoyed before: and so, entring againe upon their lands in their contry, and their houses in the citie, they amazed Aratus withall, seeing Antigonus on the one side practise all the meanes he could to winne Sicyone beeing nowe free, and they all in an uprore and mutinie in the citie. Therefore, following the best counsell he could thinke upon and devise, considering the daunger of the present tyme: he joyned the citie in league and friendship with the Achaians, and of them all, made but one bodye. And bicause the Citizens of Sicyone were Dorians, they were glad to submit them selves to be governed and protected by the name of the Achaians, who were at that tyme of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great bounds of landes, nether were they very special good, for that they stode upon the sea side, where was no manner of haven nor port, but stones and rockes good store: and the sea beating upon them, did eate into the mayne land. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of Græce when it was united and governed by good policie was of great force, and almost invincible. For the Achaians being in comparison of the auncient force of Græce, of no regard, and but a part of one citie enfeebled with civill and forrein warre: so long as they could submit them selves to be ruled by the wisdom and vertue of their Captaine, and not envy and malice his prosperitie and soverainty: they did not onely mainteyne them selves as free men, in the midst of the servitude of so many great cities, large and mighty, but did also deliver many other people of Græce from their tyrants. Now, for Aratus manners: he was one that in nature loved civill government, and equalitie among Citizens in one selfe citie: he was nobly minded, and more painefull about the affayres of the common weale, then carefull of his owne busines, and hated tyrants to the death, and employed his good or evill will wholly for the service of the common wealth. And therefore he seemed not to be so sownd a

ARATUS

Aratus  
joyneth the  
citie of Sicy-  
one unto the  
Achaiana.

Aratus  
referred all  
things to the  
common-  
wealth.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

friend, as he was a gentle and mercifull enemye: framing him selfe in either of both, as tyme served for the common wealth. To be short, it was a generall and common voyce amonge all the citie confederats, in private company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that Aratus loved nothing but vertue, and honesty. That in open warres he was not so valliant and coragious, as he was crafty and suttell, to take a citie on the sodaine. Furthermore, though he was valliant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would never have brought to passe: yet it seemeth he left many thinges possible undone, the which he might easily have done, for that he durst not venter on them. For as there be beastes whose sight is perfittest by night, and by day they can see nothing, bicause the subtiltie of the humor and moysture in their eyes is dried up, and cannot abide the bright light of the daye: even so, men that otherwise by nature are very wise, are easely affrayd of daunger, when they must venter on it at noone dayes, where contrarily they are bold in secret enterprises, sodeinly to attempt any thing. Now, this contrarietie and difference in men well brought up, groweth through ignorance and lacke of instruction of Philosophie, which of it selfe doth norish vertue, as frute that springeth up without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is best discerned by examples. So Aratus having joyned him selfe and his citie Sicyone unto the Achaians, and serving in person as a man of armes among the rest: he was marvelously beloved of his generalls, that saw him so obedient. For, notwithstanding that he had made so large a contribucion as the estimation of him selfe, and the force of his citie unto the common wealth of the Achaians: yet he was as ready to obey and execute the commaundements of the generals, as the poorest and meanest souldier, were he of Dyma, or of Trita, or of any other small village whatsoever. Furthermore, a great summe of money beeing sent him from king Ptolomy for a gifte, amownting to twenty and five talents, he tooke it, but forthwith disposed it amongst his poore contry men, both to releevе their want, as also to redeeme prisoners. This notwithstanding, the banished men still vexed and troubled them that had their

Why owles see best by night, and not by day.

Men ignorant of Philosophy be likned unto owles.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

goods and lands, to have them out of their hands, and otherwise would be satisfied by no meanes. Their common wealth therefore beeing in great daunger to fall into civill warre, Aratus perceiving there was no other way to helpe this mischiefe, but by Ptolomies liberalitie: he determined to goe unto him, to praye him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he embarked at the haven of Methona, above the foreland of Malea, to sayle from thence into Ægypt: howbeit he had such a contrary wind, and the sea rose so hie, that the maister of the shippe was driven to let her goe whether she woulde to take sea roome. So beeing driven quite from his direct course, with great daunger he got to the citie of Adria, which was his enemy: bicause Antigonus kept it, and had a garrison in it. But Aratus did wisely prevent it, going a shore, and wandred farre from the sea, with one of his friends called Timanthes, and got into a wodde, where they had an evill nights rest. He had not gone farre after he had left his shippe, but the Captaine of the garrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his servaunts had mocked him finely, (being before instructed by Aratus what aunswer they should make) saying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of Eubœa. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garrison stayed the shippe, his men, and all things els she had in her, and tooke her for a good prise. Within fewe dayes after, Aratus being marvelously troubled, and at a straight with him selfe what he should doe: there happily arrived a Romane shippe hard by the place where he kept most, partly to hide him selfe, and partly also to see if he could discover any thing. This shippe was bownd for Syria. So he had delt with the master of the shippe in that sorte, that he tooke him aboard, and promised he would deliver him in Caria, and so he did. But he was in as much daunger, this second jorney againe by sea, as he was in the first he made towards Ægypt. From Caria, a long time after, Aratus went into Ægypt, and spake with the king, who made very much of him: for Aratus fed him still by sending of him passing fayer tables, and pictures of Græce, of excellent workemanship. And in deede having a singuler good wit, he alwayes got together, and bought the

ARATUS

Aratus taketh sea to go to king Ptolomy into Ægypt.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

The pictures and paynted tables made in the citie of Sicyone, did passe all the other paintings in Græce.

The excellency of Aristratus picture the tyran of Sicyone, painted by all Melanthus schollers and Apelles help: and Aratus consultation for the defacing of it.

The saying of Nealces the paynter, touching tyrants.

The great liberalitie of Ptolomy unto Aratus.

excellentest painted pictures he could get, but specially the pictures of Pamphilus and Melanthus, to send them unto the king. For learning florished yet in the citie of Sicyone, and they esteemed the paintings of tables in that citie, to be the perfittest for true cullers, and fine drawing, of all other places. Insomuch as Apelles, (though he was then of marvelous fame for paynting) went thither, and gave to these two excellent paynters a talent, to remayne a while in their company: not so much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as thereby to winne him selfe fame. And therefore when Aratus had restored his citie againe to libertie, he caused all the images of the tyrannes to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit he stode doubtful a long tyme, whether he should deface Aristratus picture or not, who raigned in the tyme of Phillip. For it was paynted with the hands of all the schollers of Melanthus, being by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victorie, and as Polemon the Geographer writeth, Apelles hand was to it. This picture was a passing peece of worke to see to, so that Aratus at the first yelded, and was contented to save it for the excellencye of the workmanship: yet in the ende, overcome with the extreme hate he bare unto tyrants, he bad it should be defaced. Now it is reported also, that Nealces the paynter being one of Aratus friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon such a notable peece of worke. But when he sawe Aratus so hard harted that he would not graunt it: he tolde him it was good reason to make warre with tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let us then (quoth he) leave the chariot of triumphe and victorie, and I will make thee see Aristratus, willingly to come out of the table. Aratus was contented to let him have his will. Then Nealces defaced the picture of Aristratus, and in place thereof drue onely a palme tree, and durst adde nothing els to it of his owne devise. Some say, that under the chariot were conveyed Aristratus feete defaced. So Aratus by meanes of these tables and pictures, was marvelously well beloved of king Ptolomy. But after that he was acquaynted with him, and knew his conversation: he loved him then better then before. Insomuch that he gave him a hundred and fifty talents to helpe his citie

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

withall : of the which, he caried forty away with him unto Peloponnesus, and the king afterwards sent him the rest at sundry tymes. Nowe this was a marvelous matter of him to get such a masse of money together for his Citizens : considering that the Orators, Captaines and Governors of free cities, for a litle summe of money onely which they have taken of kings and Princes, have bene corrupted, and betrayed their townes and contry. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this money, he made peace and love betwixt the poore and riche, and furthermore, saved upright all the people of Sicyone, where he shewed him selfe marvelous wise, and temperate, being of that great power and authoritie he was. For after they had chosen him Arbitrator to judge, compownd, and absolutely to decyde all quarrells and strife betwene the banished men : he would never undertake it him selfe alone, but tooke fiftene other of the chieftest Citizens with him, and with them, with great paynes and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not onely all the inhabitants and Citizens of Sicyone together, did not onely decree publike honors meete for him : but also the banished men them selves did privately cast his image in brasse, and set it up, under the which they caused this inscription to be graven :

ARATUS

Aratus temperance.

Thy prowesse and thy feates of armes, thy counsell sage and wise,  
Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skyes,  
But also to the utmost streyts of Marrok blownen by fame.  
And we that through thy goodnes home into our contry came,  
Have set this image up to thee Aratus, as a signe  
Of our delivrance through thy love and through the powr divine.  
For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth restore  
Us contry, lawes, and libertie, bereft us quite before.

Aratus having done all these things, he suppressed the envye of the Citizens, through the great good turnes he had done unto them. But then king Antigonus being angry with Aratus in his mind, and seeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of Ptolomy : he did him many other great curtesies, Aratus never seeking them at his hands. But one day specially above the rest,



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS** as he did sacrifice unto the gods at Corinth, he sent Aratus part of his weathers he had sacrificed, unto Sicyone. And at the feast of his sacrifice in the hearing of many noble men that were bidden ghests, he sayd openly of Aratus: I did alway thinke that this young Sicyonian could not but have a liberall mind, loving the libertie of his contry and contry men: but I perceive now he is a man that can judge of Princes manners and affayres. For heretofore he made no accompt of us, because his hope was out of this contry, and he greatly esteemed the riches of Ægypt, hearing talke of so many Elephants, of such a great flete of shippes, and of such a sumptuous Court, as king Ptolomyes Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a smoke and vaine pompe, he is come to us: and for my part, he is welcome to me, and I will have you all to take him for my friend. These words of king Antigonus, were straight taken at bownd of certaine envious men, and caried for lacke of better matter unto king Ptolomy, every man striving who should write all the evil they could against him: so that Ptolomy thereuppon sent a Messenger of purpose unto him, to reprove him for it. Thus fell there out much envy and malice, betwene the earnest love of these Princes and kings, that contended with eche other who should have Aratus. Furthermore, the first tyme that Aratus was chosen Lieutenant generall of the trybe of the Achaians, he forraged and spoyled the contry of Locride, which lyeth directly over against Achaia, and Calydonia also. Howbeit he came not tyme enough to ayde the Bœotians, in the battell which they lost before the citie of Chæronea, against the Ætolians: where Abœocritus, Governor of Bœotia was slayne in the field, with a thowsand other Bœotians. Howbeit the next year following, he being the second time chosen Lieutenant generall, he attempted to win the castell of Corinth againe, being an enterprise which not onely concerned the private benefit of Sicyone it selfe, and the trybe of the Achaians, but also of all Græce besides. For, he was fully bent to drive the garrison of the Macedonians thence, the which seemed even a very yoke that held all the Græcians noses to the gryndstone. For like as Chares,

Aratus doings  
in his first  
Prætorship.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Captaine of the Athenians, having in a certaine conflict discomfited the kings Lieutenants, wrote to the Athenians that he had wonne a victory halfe sister to the victory of Marathon: Even so me thinkes it were no disgrace to say, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tyrants, which was done by Pelopidas Theban, and Thrasylulus Athenian, saving that this last acte was more famous, bicause it was not against Græcians, but against straungers, and forreyn power and government, upon whom it was executed. For the Isthmus or barre of Peloponnesus, which separateth the sea Ægeum from the sea Ionium, doth come and joyne the firme land of the rest of Græce, with the Presche, an Iland of Peloponnesus. Even so likewise, the Mountaine called Acrocorinthe, on the which the castell standeth, rising up in the middest of Græce, when there is any garrison of men of warre in it, it cutteth of all traffike and passage by, of any armies of them which inhabit within the straite: from them that are without the straight, both by sea and by land, and maketh him onely Lorde of the contry that keepeth the castell. So that it was not for sport, but for truth, and in good earnest, that Philip the young king of Macedon was wont to call the citie and castell of Corinth, the stockes and gyves of Græce. And therefore was this castel marvelously wished and desired of every man, but specially of kings and Princes. But the desire Antigonus had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a frantick lover. For he did nothing els continually but study and devise howe he might winne it uppon the sodeine, from them that kept it: bicause otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of Alexander that kept that castell, being poisoned (as it is reported) by Antigonus practise, the castell being left in the handes of his wife Nicæa, who governed the state of Corinthe, and did carefully cause the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he immediatly sent his sonne Demetrius thither, and put Nicæa in good hope to mary her with this young Prince: a thing that pleased this Lady well, though she was very olde. So, for her selfe, she was wonne straight, by meanes of his young sonne Demetrius,

ARATUS

Presche, an Iland of Peloponnesus.

Acrocorinthus mons.

Young king Philips saying, of the castell of Corinth.

Antigonus craft and deceit.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

whome he used as a stale to intrappe her. Howbeit Nicæa for all this goodly offer, forsooke not her castell, but alwayes made it straightly to be looked unto. Antigonus seemed to make no accompt of it, but dayly gave him selfe to make sumptuous sacrifices, feasts, and playes to the gods, within the cite of Corinthe for the mariage: as though he had ment no other thing, but bancketing and jolitie all that might be. When the hower was come to see these sportes, and that the Musition Amœbeus began to singe: he him selfe made as though he would accompany Nicæa unto the Theater, being conveyed thither in a sumptuous riche lytter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing lesse then of that which happened her. But when Antigonus came to the ende of a streete that turned to goe up the hill towards the castell, he bad her keepe on still to the Theater: and him selfe in the meane time left Amœbeus there with his singing, and all the feast of the mariage, and went straight up to the castell, forcing him selfe above his strength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates shut, he knocked with his staffe, and commaunded the garrison to open him the gates. They wondring to see him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the castell, he was so exceding joyfull of it, that he had no reason to moderate his joye, but would bancket in the middest of the streetes, and in the market place, having minstrells to playe upon their instruments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads for joye, and did so fondly and lightly behave him selfe, as if he had bene a light young man, and not (as he was) an olde man: who had proved such sundry chaunges of fortune, and yet suffered him selfe to be thus caried away with pleasure, that he imbraced, and spake to every man he met. Wherby it is easie to judge, that joy possessing a man without wit or discretion, it maketh him besides him selfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then payne or feare. Now Antigonus having wonne the castell of the Acrocorinthe, as you have heard, he put it into the hands of those he trusted best, to be safely kept: and therefore made Persæus the Philosopher Captaine of the castell. But

Antigonus craftily taketh the castell of the Acrocorinthe.

Overgreat joy to a simple man, maketh him mad.

Persæus the Philosopher, made captaine of the Acrocorinthe.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

in deede Aratus was in mind to have attempted the taking of the castell, in Alexanders life tyme: yet he let it alone, bicause he joyned him selfe with the Achaians. But at that tyme there was offered him another occasion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At Corinthe, there were foure brethren borne in Syria, of the which, one of them being called Diocles, was a souldier of the garrison of the castell: and the rest, having robbed the kings treasure, went straight unto Sicyone, to Ægias the banker, whome Aratus employed in his facultie. These three brethren immediatly sold him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them called Erginus, comming often to see him, by litle and litle sold him all the rest. By this meanes Ægias fell into famillier acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garrison of the castell of the Acrocorinthe. Erginus told him, that going unto his brother up those steepe and highe rockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the castell, which was very lowe. Ægias hearing that, aunswered him smyling: Alas, my friend, what meane you to steale a litle peece of golde to hinder the king, when in one howers space you can sell such a great masse of money together? for aswell shall you dye if you be apprehended for this felony, as if you were otherwise attainted for treason. Erginus with that fell a laughing, and promised that he would feele his brother Diocles minde in it, for he did not greatly trust his other brethren. So returning shortly after, he bargayned with Aratus to bring him to a place of the wall that was not above fiteene foote highe, promising that he would helpe him to execute the rest, with his brother Diocles. Aratus promised then to give him fifty talents, if he brought his enterprise to passe: and if he fayled, that he would then give either of them a house and a talent. Erginus would have the whole 50 talents put into Ægias the bankers handes. Aratus had not so much ready money, and besides, he would not take it up at usery, for feare of giving cause to suspect his enterprise. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and silver, and his wives jewells, and layed them to gage to Ægias, to disburse the sayd summe. But Aratus

ARATUS

Aratus  
determination  
for the taking  
of the Acro-  
corinthe.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

had so great and noble a mind in him, and was so bent to doe notable acts: that knowing howe Phocion and Epaminondas had bene esteemed for the justest and honestest men of Græce, because they had refused great giftes that were offered them, and would never sell nor stayne their honor for money: he yet surpassing them, was contented to spend his owne, to bring any good enterprise to passe, and did put his life in daunger for the common benefit of his contry men, they them selves knowing nothing of his enterprise, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and corage of such a man, and that will not even nowe as it were, be willing to ayde him: considering how dearely he bought so great a daunger of his person, and howe he laied his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middest of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, having no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of such a noble enterprise, and nothing els? But now, though the enterprise of it self was daungerous, an error chauncing through ignorance at the first, made it yet more daungerous. For Aratus had sent Technon, one of his men before him with Diocles, to viewe the wall. This Technon had never spoken with Diocles, howbeit he thought in his minde what manner of man he was, by the markes that Erginus had given him of him: that he had a blacke curled heare, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Nowe Technon being come to the place where Erginus sayd he would be with Diocles: he stayed before the towne in a place called Ornis. So whilist he was tarying there, the elder brother of Diocles, called Dionysius (who knew nothing of the enterprise, nor was made acquaynted withall, and looked very like his brother Diocles) came that way by chaunce. Technon being moved by the markes he sawe in him, like unto those he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kinne to Erginus. The other aunswered, he was his brother. Then Technon perswading him selfe it was certenly Diocles that spake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquiry of him: he tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practise he

258

The error  
and daunger  
by likenes of  
men one unto  
another.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARATUS

had with Erginus, and to aske him of it. Dionysius taking the matter upon him, and feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the citie, holding him on still with talke, Technon mistrusting nothing. But even as Dionysius was ready to take him fast by the choller: his brother Erginus came. Who, perceyving how Technon had mistaken the matter, and the daunger he was in: beckned to him with his head to flye, and so they both ranne for life unto Aratus, to save them selves. Howbeit Aratus was nothing the more discouraged for this, but sent Erginus straight to cary his brother Dionysius money, and to praye him not to be aknowen of any thing: who furthermore brought him with him unto Aratus. But after they had him once, they made him suer for starting: for they bound him, and locked him up fast in a chamber, whilst they went about their enterprise. So when all things were ready, Aratus commaunded the rest of his army that they should tary behind, armed all night: and he him selfe, with foure hundred of the best men he had, (not knowing them selves whether they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the gates of the citie, passing by the temple of Iuno. This was about the middest of summer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element very cleere without clowdes: insomuch that they were affraid their armors would glister by Moone light, and bewray them. But as the formost of them came neare unto the citie, there rose clowdes out of the sea that darkened all the citie and places thereabouts, and shadowed them. Then all of them sitting downe on the ground, plucked of their shoes, both bicause they should make lesse noyse, as also for that their footing should be suerer, and that they should slippe lesse upon the ladders. But Erginus, and seven other companions with him like men that travell, came secretly into the gate of the citie, and slue the porter and warders there. At that very instant, Aratus caused the ladders to be set up against the walls, and made a hundred of his souldiers get up on them: and sent also to commaund the rest, that they should follow him with all possible speede. Then drawing up his ladders after him, as fast as he could, he went through the citie with his hundred men toward the castel, with such a

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS** joyfull cheere, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he saw he was not discovered. But as he went on, he saw foure of the watch comming with a light against them. They saw not Aratus and his company, but the enemies saw them plainely a farre of. Aratus and his men therefore stooode up close against old walls to tary their comming, and at the first onset, slue three of them : but the fourth having a blowe on his head with a sworde, ranne away, making an outcry, that the enemies were in the citie. The trompets forthwith sounded the alarom, all the citie was in an uprore, the streetes were straight full of people ronning up and downe, and of lights in every corner, both beneath in the citie, as also in the castell, and the noyse was great every where. Aratus in the meane tyme forced to get up the hie rocks fayer and softly at the first, and with great payne and difficultie, being out of his pathe he should have found, which he missed, being very deepe into the rocks, and with many crookes and cranks went to the foote of the castell : but sodainely, even as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the clowdes, when they were in their worst way, it gave them light, and brought them to that part of the wall where they should be, and straight the Moone was shadowed againe. Now the three hundred souldiers whome Aratus had left at the gate by the temple of Iuno, when they were come into the citie, being full of lights, and in uprore, and besides could not find the path by the which their Capitaine Aratus went before them : they stooode close together under a rocke that shadowed them, sorrowfully looking to heare some newes of Aratus : who was then fighting with the garrison of the castell, the which made head against him with all the force and power they could. Under the castell there was a great noyse heard of men that fought, but yet the noyse was so confused by the sound rebounding against the rocks and mountaine, that they could not devise whence it should come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them selves : Archelaus, Capitaine of king Antigonus men, having a good number of souldiers with him, went up the hill with great cryes and noyse of trumpets, to set upon Aratus, and his company behind.

Aratus great  
daunger in  
taking of the  
castell of the  
Acrocoringthe.

The happy  
benefit of the  
Moone.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

But after he was passed by these three hundred souldiers of Aratus band, they gave charge upon him, as if they had bene layed there in ambushe of purpose, and slue the first they encountered withall, and made the others so affrayde, and Archelaus him selfe, that they dispersed them, and made some flye one way, some another waye. So, as they were overthrowen, Erginus came to these three hundred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that Aratus and them of the castell, were come to the sworde together, and valliantly defended them selves, lustely fighting for the wall, and therefore it was tyme for them to helpe him quickly. Then the souldiers bad him bringe them thither straight, and so he did. So they clyming up the hill, did signifie by their cryes to their men, that they came to ayde him. Furthermore, the Moone beeing then at the full, and shining on their harnes, made their enemies in the castell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, bicause of the longe waye they had to make to gette uppe upon the rockes: and also bicause of the sound in the night, that made their crye seeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length they joyning with Aratus, they fought it out so lustely, that they drave the garrison out of the walls, and by breake of daye wanne the castell. So that their exployt was discovered by the rising of the Sunne, and besides, all the rest of their armye that came from the citie of Sicyone: whome the Corinthians very gladly receyved, and did set open their gates unto them, and ayded them to take king Antigonus men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was safe, then Aratus came from the castell unto the Theater of the citie, whether repayed an infinite number of people, aswell for the desire they had to see him, as also to heare him speake unto the Corinthians. So having placed the Achaians of either side, at the comming into the Theater: Aratus being armed, went up into the chayer or pulpit for orations, having his face quite chaunged, both for the great paynes he had taken, and also for lacke of sleepe: so that his body being overweariet, his spirits were even done. Now when all the assembly of the people (seeing him in the chayer) did

ARATUS

Aratus taketh  
the Acro-  
corinthe.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

humble them selves to shewe him all the honor and kindnes they could possible: he tooke his speare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and body somewhat, he leaned upon it, and so stode a great while in this manner before he spake, receiving the cryes of joy and clapping of handes which the people made, praying his valliantnes, and blessing his good happe and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration unto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the Achaians, meete for the enterprise from whence he came: and perswaded them to joyne to the Achaians. So therewithall, they presently delivered him the keyes of their citie, the which were never before that tyme in their power, since the raigne of king Philip. Nowe touching the other Captaines of king Antigonus: Aratus having taken Archelaus prisoner, he let him goe, but put Theophrastus to death, bicause he would not goe out of Corinthe. Persæus (Captaine of the castell) seeing the castell but lost: he secretly saved him selfe, and fled unto the citie of Cenchrees. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philosophie, where one mainteyning that a man could not be a good Captaine, unles he were a perfit wise man: This (quoth he) is one of Zenoës opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleased me best: but now this young Sicyonian Aratus, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this saying of Persæus. Furthermore Aratus wanne presently the temple of Iuno, and the haven of Lechæum, where he tooke five and twenty shippes of king Antigonus, and five hundred horse of service for the warre, and foure hundred Syrians, which he sold every one of them. The Achaians left within the castell of the Acrocorinthe, a garrison of foure hundred footemen, and fiftye doggs, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the castell. Now, the Romanes wondring at the valliantnes of Philopœmen: they called him the last of the Græcians. Even so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this acte is the last and most famous of all the Græcians, and deserveth to be equall, aswell for valliantnes, as also good successe, with the greatest exploitēs

Aratus joyne  
eth the city  
of Corinthe  
unto Achaia.

Zenoës  
opinion, that  
a man could  
not be a good  
Captaine  
unles he were  
a perfit wise  
man.

Persæus  
answer to  
Zenoës  
opinion.

Philopœmen  
the last  
famous man  
of the  
Græcians.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARATUS

of the most famous auncients: as that which followed immediately after doth amply declare. For the Megarians revolting from king Antigonus, did straight joyne with Aratus: and the Trœzenians also with the Epidaurians, did likewise enter into league and friendship with the Achaians. So at the first invasion he made, he went to spoyle the contry of Attica, and crossed over to the Ile of Salamina, and spoiled and destroyed it, even as if he had delivered the power and force of the Achaians out of prison, to serve his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he sent home the Athenian prisoners without paying of ransom: and all of policie to make them desirous to rebell against the Macedonians. Furthermore, he made king Ptolomy a friend and confederat of the Achaians, with condition, that he should be Lieuutenant generall both by sea and by lande. For these respects Aratus was of marvellous estimation and credit with the Achaians: insomuch that where they could not yearely choose him their general, being contrary to their law: they chose him at the least every second yeare, but in effect, all was done by his advise and counsell. For they saw plainly, that it was nether honor, nor riches, nor friendship of kings and Princes, nor the private benefit of his owne citie wherein he was borne, nor any other thing els that he preferred, before the glory and increase of the common wealth of the Achaians. For he was of opinion, that cities by them selves were but weake, and being joyned together with the chaine of common benefit, they were a strength one to preserve the other. And in like manner, even as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beasts have life and sustenance, being joyned and knit together, and straight so soone as there is any seperation of them thone from thother, they live no more and putrifie: even so cities also were brought to decay by them that did disperse their societie among them, and in contrary manner did then againe increase, when joyning with any other great body and city, they were governed with wisdom and good counsell. So Aratus seing the chiefest cities thereabouts enjoy their lawes and liberties: thought it a shamefull thing to leave the Argives in slavery and

Aratus power and authority with the Achaians.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**  
Aratus goeth  
about to set  
Argos at  
libertie.

Aratus pre-  
pared litle  
short daggers  
against the  
tyrants decree  
and ordin-  
ance.

Aristippus  
tyrant of the  
citie of Argos.

Aristippus  
layed wait  
to kill Aratus.

bondage. Wherefore he practised to kil the tyrant Aristomachus that governed them, both to shew him selfe thankefull to the citie for his bringing uppe there: as also to joyne that great and mighty citie unto the tribe of the Achaians. Now there were divers men that had the harts and corage to undertake to doe it, of the which the chiefest were *Æschylus*, and Charimenes the Soothsayer, but they had no swordes: for they were straightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grievous punishments ordeyned for them that should be found with any swordes. Aratus therefore caused certen litle short daggers to be made at Corinthe for them, the which he sowed up in packes carried on certen beasts loden with other baggage and stuffe. But the Soothsayer Charimenes, did impart this enterprise unto a third man, and made him one of the conspiracie with them. *Æschylus* being very much offended with it, beganne therefore to enter into practise by him selfe, and left their company. Charimenes perceiving that, tooke such a toye in his head in a mad moode, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterprise. This notwithstanding, the most parte of the conspirators saved them selves, and fled to Corinthe. So the tyrant Aristomachus was slaine shortly after, by his owne men. But then another tyrant, Aristippus, a crueller man than the first, made haste to take the tyranny before he could be resisted. This notwithstanding, Aratus, with all the young men of the Achaians able to serve in the field, went sodainly thither with ayde, hoping to find them of the citie very glad to recover their libertie. Howbeit the people being acquainted, and of long time used patiently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe, and did nothing, saving that thereby the Achaians were accused, bicause that in open peace they had made warre, and therefore they were put in sute before the Mantinians, at Aristippus request, tyrant of Argos. The matter was pleaded in Aratus absence, and the Achaians were condemned to pay the summe of 30 Minas. After this prooffe and attempt of Aratus, Aristippus being affraid of Aratus, and hating him to the death, sought waies to

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

kill him, with the help of Antigonus, who did aide him in it: and almost there were spialls in every corner, that did nothing els but lye in wayte to execute Aristippus minde. Now, there is no suerer garde unto a Prince, then the perfitt love and good will of his subjects. For, after that the nobilitie and common people have bene used to feare, not him, but those that for him commaund them: he then seeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares, and knoweth what is done farre of. Here therefore I will a litle digresse from my historie, to shewe you the manner of Aristippus life the tyrant, whereunto he was brought by this so much desired tyrannical government, and smoke of signiorie, so esteemed of all men. Now, though Aristippus had king Antigonus his friend, and that he kept a great gard of souldiers about him for the safety of his person, and that there was not an enemy of his left alive in all the citie: yet he made his souldiers watche and lye without his pallace, under the cloisters and galleries thereabouts, and after supper turned all his men out of the dores, and then shut his Court gates to him, and locked him selfe alone with his Concubine, in a litle hie chamber with a trappe dore, and set his bed upon it, and so slept, as one that continually was affraid of him selfe. Then after he was come up, his Concubines mother came to take up the ladder, and locked it in an other chamber: and so did let it downe againe the next morning, and called this trymme tyrant, that went downe out of his chamber, like a snake that should have crept out of her hole. Where Aratus in contrary manner, not having obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall government, being simply apparelled with a poore gowne of smal price, and shewing him self a mortal enemy unto all sorts of tyrants: hath left a race and noble ofspring among the Græcians, which remaine yet untill this present day. Contrarily also, there are fewe tyrants that doe usurpe the castells of free cities, that keepe so many souldiers in pay, that make such provision for armor and weapon, and have so many gates and drawbridges for the safety of their persons, that in

ARATUS

Nosuerergard to a Prince, then the love of his subjects.

The miserable life of Aristippus, the tyrant of Argos.

Aratus government obtained by vertue.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

the ende can keepe them selves from violent death, no more then hares: nether doe leave also any posteritie, house, or grave, why their memorie should be honored after their death. So Aratus having divers waies made sundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwise souldainely, to take the citie of Argos, and to thrust out the tyrant Aristippus: he ever fayled of his purpose, but specially one night among the rest, when he entred the citie very daungerously, with a fewe souldiers with him, and slue the souldiers that came to give supply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the tyrant with all his forces came to set upon him: the Argives sturred not at all, as if Aratus had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene Iudges appoynted to sit to see the sportes of the games Nemee, to judge the game unto the Conqueror without partiality, and with indifferency. Aratus in the meane tyme fighting like a valliant man, was thrust at with a pyke, and ronne through the thighe. This notwithstanding, at length he wanne that part of the citie where he fought, and was not thrust out till night, what force soever the enemies made upon him: and if he could possibly have holden it out all night, he had undoubtedly obtayned his purpose. For the tyrant looked for no other but to flye, and had already sent divers of his goods to the sea. Howbeit no man once came to tell Aratus any newes of it, besides also lacking water, and for that he could not helpe him selfe bicause of his wound, he was driven to leade his men away, and fayled of his purpose. So, displaying that he could ever take it by stelth, he went thither with open warres, and spoyled and destroyed all the contry of Argos: and having fought a great battell against the tyrant Aristippus, by the ryver of Chares, they blamed Aratus much, that he forsooke the victorie, and cowardly retyred out of the battell. For the rest of his army doubtles had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in chase: when he fled, being affrayd, not compelled by his enemies, but mistrusting his fortune, and retyred to his lodging. So, when they that returned

Chares fl.

Aratus gave  
Aristippus  
the victorie.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARATUS

from the chase of their enemies were offended, for that they having put them to flight, and also slayne a greater number moe of them then they had lost of theirs, and yet for cowardlines shoulde suffer their enemies (whome they had overcome and put to flight) to sette uppe markes of triumphe in token of victorie: Aratus beeing ashamed of it, determined to fight once agayne, for the markes of triumphe. Whereuppon, resting his men but one daye, he led them agayne into the field, and setting his armye in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithstanding, when he sawe a great supply comming to his enemye, and that the tyrants men came to fight more lustely, and with better corage then before: Aratus durst not abyde them, but retyred, and sent to demaund leave to take away his dead men to bury them. Yet he could speake so curteously, and behave him selfe so wisely, by the experience he had in government, and also for the good will they bare him: that they forgat the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of Cleones unto the Achaians, where he caused the feastes of the games Nemece to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather unto the Cleoneians, then unto the Argives. This notwithstanding, the Argives did keepe it also, and then was the first time that the sanctuary and priviledge was broken, which was wont to be graunted unto all them that came to play for the games: bicause the Achaians did make them prisoners that fought in Argos, as they returned through their contry, and sold them as enemies. So marvelously did Aratus and the Achaians hate all sortes of tyrants, without respect of person. Shortly after he was advertised, that the tyrant Aristippus did lye in wayte to spye oportunitie, to take the citie of Cleones from him: howbeit that he was affrayd of it, bicause he remayned at that tyme in Corinthe. So Aratus straight sent out commaundement into every place, to assemble the army of the trybe of the Achaians, and that they should bring vittells with them for many dayes: and so craftily came downe to the citie of Cenchrees, to intise Aristippus, by his going away so farre of, that in his

Aratus strata-  
geame to  
intrappe the  
tyrant Aris-  
tippus.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**

absence he shoulde attempt to set upon the Cleonians, as in deede he did. For, he fayled not presently to goe thither with his armye. But Aratus returning from Cenchrees unto Corinthe, very late in the night, and having layed good watche every way: he sodainely brought the armye of the Achaians unto Cleones with such speede and quietnes, that they were not seene as they came, but entred into the citie of Cleones by night, and were ready to fight with the tyrant, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were set open by breake of daye, and the signall of battell given by sound of trumpetts: and so setting upon the tyrants men with great cryes, they suspecting nothing, they were presently put to flight. And bicause the place where the overthrowe was given, had many turnings: Aratus following the chase, tooke the way which he thought the tyrant fled in. The chase continued to the citie of Mycenes. There the tyrant was overtaken by a Cretan called Tragiscus, (as Dinius reporteth) who slue him: and there were slayne of his men also, above fiftene thowsand. But now Aratus having wonne such a famous victorie, and lost never a man: he could not yet winne the citie of Argos, nor set it againe at liberty. For one *Ægias*, and another *Aristomachus*, got into the towne with the kings army, and kept it. But notwithstanding, by this noble victorie Aratus did race out a great part of the reproache they gave him, and of the scoffes and slents the flatterers of the tyrants devised of him. Who to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight in deede, the generall of the Achaians had the winde collicke in his belly, and a dymnesse in his eyes with a guydines in his head, when he heard but the sound of the trumpetts. And furthermore also, when he had set his men in battell raye, and given them the word of battell: he asked the generalls if he should neede to be there in person, bicause he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre of as he could, to see the ende of the battel. This talke was so common, that the Philosophers them selves disputing of it, to wete, whether to tremble and change culler in present daunger and perill, be signes of a faint

Aratus victory  
of the tyrant  
Aristippus.

Aristippus  
the tyrant  
slayne.

A philosophi-  
call question  
whether  
trembling,  
and chaung-  
ing of culler  
in daunger,  
be a signe of  
cowardlines.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

hart, or of an evill complexion and coldnes of body: they  
alway vouched Aratus, that had bene a good and valliant  
Captaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was ever  
in that taking. So when he had overcome Aristippus,  
he sought meanes also to destroy Lysiadus Megalopolitan,  
who as absolute Lord and king of the contry, kept the  
city of Megalipolis. Notwithstanding, he had no base  
minde in him, nether was he caried away with a cruell  
desire of tyrannye to live at his pleasure, nor through ex-  
treme covetousnes, as most Princes be: but being a young  
man, and pricked forward with desire of honor and fame,  
and having unadvisedly conceived in his mind, (which was  
great and highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men  
talke of principality, as of a state most blessed, and  
worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make him  
selfe Lord of his contry. But afterwards, he was soone  
weary of the daungers and troubles such maner of govern-  
ment bringeth with it, and desired to follow Aratus, whome  
he sawe prosper, and of great honor. Furthermore also,  
fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke holde  
of a noble devise: first, to rid him selfe of the malice  
and feare of the prison and garde of his souldiers: and  
lastly, to be a benefactor to his contry. So he sent for  
Aratus, gave up his government, and delivered up his citie  
to the trybe of the Achaians. They so extolled him for  
this acte, that they chose him their Lieuetenant generall  
of all their tribe. Wherefore, Lysiadus, striving at the  
first to excell Aratus in honor, attempted divers things  
which were not very needefull: as amonge others, to make  
warre with the Lacedæmonians. But Aratus was very  
much against him in that, though some thinke it was for  
envy. Thereuppon they chose Lysiadus generall of the  
Achaians the second tyme: although Aratus openly both  
spake, and made what meanes he could to the contrary, and  
would have had an other to have bene chosen. For, he  
him selfe was every other yeare generall. So, Lysiadus was  
chosen againe generall of the Achaians the third time, with  
every bodies good will: and Aratus and he had absolute  
power and government by turnes, one after the other.

ARATUS

Lysiadus,  
tyrant of  
Megalipolis.

Lysiadus,  
tyran of  
Megalipolis,  
leaveth the  
tyrannie, and  
yelded him  
selfe and his  
dominion,  
unto the  
Achaians.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS** But when they saw that Lysiadas became open enemy unto  
Dissent-betwixt Aratus and Lysiadas. Aratus, and did still accuse him in all their counsels and assemblies: they fell in such misliking with him, that they rejected him. For they thought his but a counterfeate vertue, to contend with the perfitnes of Aratus vertue.

One of Isopes tales of the Cuckowes question to litle birdes. Much like unto one of Isopes fables, saying that litle birdes did aunswer the cuckow on a tyme, asking them why they did flie from her: Bicause we are affrayed (sayd they) thou wilt be a sperhawke one day. Even so it seemeth, that there was a certaine suspicion in mens minds of Lysiadas tyranny, which made them mistrust that he went not from his tyrannie with good will. Now Aratus on thother side, wanne as great praise and honor by his doings against the *Ætoli*ans. For when the *Achai*ans would needes have fought upon the confines of the territory of the *Megari*ans, and that *Agis*, king of *Lacedæmon*, being come with his army to the campe of the tribe of the *Achai*ans, did perswade them hardily to give battell: Aratus was stowtely against it, and did abide many mocks and tawnts they gave him, saying, that it was for cowardlines he would not goe. This notwithstanding, he would not leave his wise and safe determination, for all that open shame: but suffered the enemies to passe over the Mountaine *Gerania*, and to invade *Peloponnesus*, and would never fight with them. But afterwards, when he saw that at their first comming they had taken the citie of *Pallena*: he then chaunged his mind, and would deferre time no lenger to tary till all his power were come together, but marched forthwith against his enemies, with those few he had, who marvelously weakned them selves by their insolency and disorder after their victory, keeping no watche nor warde. For after they had entred the citie of *Pallena*, the soldiers ranne into every house, one thrusting in an others necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captaines also fell to ravishing of maides, and the *Pallenians* wives, and put their burganets and morrions upon their heades, that none other should take them, bicause that by the same the souldiers should know whose they were, and to whome the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and jolitie: newes came sodainly that

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Aratus was come. This made them quake for feare, when they saw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all understoode of the daunger by their sodaine setting on them, the Achaians were fighting already within the suburbs and gates of the citie, against the first that resisted, whome they slue. They being broken, and put to flight, made the rest so affraid that were gathered together to ayde them, that they wist not what to doe. In this tumult and great hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a prisoner, that was the Daughter of Epigethes one of the noblest men of the citie, and she a marvelous goodly woman, and passing fayer: who being set in the temple of Diana, whether a Captaine had brought her that had chosen her for him selfe, and had put his burganet on her head: she sodainely ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when she heard the noyse of them that fought, to see them fight. The Citizens seeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater majesty, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other side were so affraid to see her, thinking she had bene some spirit: that not a man of them durst once defend them selves. So the Palleniens say, that the image of Diana all the rest of the tyme is kept locked up, and no body toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth it doth cary it elswhere, no man dare looke on it, but every man turneth his eyes away: bicause the sight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull unto men, but it also killeth the frute of the trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the *Ætoliens* mindes so muche, bicause the Nunne removing the image of the goddesse Diana, she turned it towards them. Howbeit Aratus in his *Commentaries* maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth that when he had defeated the *Ætoliens*, following them in chase, he entred hand over head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he drave them, and slue seven hundred of them. This noble victory hath bene esteemed amonge the chiefest afterwards: and the paynter Timanthes hath drawn and set it forth in table very lively. This notwithstanding, bicause divers Princes and people did

ARATUS

A woman with a Burganet of her head, seemed a monstrous thing.

The signe of Diana with the Palleniens.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**  
Aratus  
bringeth the  
Ætolians in  
league with  
the Achaïans.  
Aratus  
attempeth to  
set Athens at  
libertie.

immediatly prepare force against the Achaïans: Aratus presently made peace with the Ætolians by the practise of Pantaleon, who bare great swaye and authoritie amongst them. Furthermore, Aratus being desirous to set the Athenians at libertie, he sodainly attempted to take the haven of Piræa: for the which the Achaïans reproved him, bicause he had broken the peace they had made with the Macedonians. But Aratus in his *Commentaries* doth stowtly denye that it was he, and layeth the fault upon Erginus, by whose meanes he wanne the castell of the Acrocorinthe: saying that it was he, that of his owne minde did set a scaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking under him, he fled upon it, and perceyving he was followed neare by the enemies, he styll cryed out, Aratus, as if he had bene there, and by this pollicye mocked his enemies, and saved him selfe. Howbeit me thinkes this aunswer is not true. For it is not credible, that Erginus a private souldier, and a Syrian borne, shoulde have so greate an enterprise in his head, unles it had bene by Aratus consent and commaundement, who had given him men, tyme, and meanes to undertake it. And this appeared playnely afterwarde. For, Aratus did not attempt it twyse or thryse onely, but oftener then so (as those that extreamely desire a thinge) to take the haven of Piræa on the sodaine, not giving over for once fayling, but rather imboldening him selfe agayne with good hope, bicause he mist it but litle, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another tyme also amongst others, flying through the playne of Thriasia, he brake his legge, and was driven to have many incisions to heale it: so that he was a longe tyme together caryed in his lytter to the warres. After that king Antigonus was deade, and that Demetrius his sonne succeeded him in the kingdome: he attempted then more earnestly then ever before, to set the citeye of Athens at libertye, making small accompt of the Macedonians. Aratus therefore being overthrowen in battell neare unto Phylacia, by king Demetrius Lieuetenant, called Bithys: and the rumor running straight abroad, that Aratus was deade, or at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named Diogenes, Captaine of the haven of Piræa, wrote

Aratus over-  
throwen by  
the Macedon-  
ians.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARATUS

a letter unto Corinthe, and commaunded the garrison of the Achaians that kept it, to deliver the towne, for Aratus was deade. But he by chaunce was at the selfe same tyme in Corinthe: so that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the companye meary. Furthermore, king Demetrius him selfe sent a gallye out of Macedon, to bringe Aratus bound unto him. The Athenians them selves also, to please the Macedonians, exceeding all lightnes of flatterye, ware garlands of their heads a whole day together, in token of common joy, when newes was brought them of Aratus death. Aratus was so mad in his minde to heare this, that he brought his armye presently against them, even to the very suburbes of the Academy. Notwithstanding, at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwarde, the Athenians acknowledging his valliantnes, when king Demetrius dyed: it tooke them in the heads to recover their libertie againe. So Aratus, though that yeare another man was generall of the Achaians, and that he kept his bedde, lying sicke of a longe disease: yet to further this, he was caried to Athens in a lytter, and so perswaded Diogenes, Captaine of the garrison there, that for the summe of a hundred and fifty talents (towards the which Aratus gave of his owne, twenty talents) he made him deliver the Athenians the haven of Piræa, the castell of Munychia, the Ile of Salamina, and the castell of Sunium. After this, the Æginetes, the Hermionians, and the moste parte of Arcadia it selfe, did presently joyne with the Achaians: so that the Macedonians beeing occupied with warres at that tyme in other places agaynst their neighbours, the power of the Achaians marvelously increased, having also the Ætolians their confederates. Then Aratus to performe his olde promise, and being angrie to see the citie of Argos (being so neere neighbour unto them) yet kept in bondage: he sent unto Aristomachus, to perswade him to be contented to set his citie againe at libertie, and to joyne it to the tribe of the Achaians, as Lysidas had done his towne of Megalipolis, and rather to like to be made a Generall with honor and praise of so great and famous a state as the Achaians: then tyran of one only citie, hated, and everie hower of the night

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**  
Aratus by  
perswasion,  
delivered  
Argos from  
tyrannie.

The love and  
faith of the  
Achaians  
unto Aratus.

Aratus over-  
thrown in  
battel by king  
Cleomenes,  
hard by the  
mountaine  
Lycaëum.

and day in daunger of his life. Aristomachus gave eare to his perswasions, and sent unto Aratus, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talentes to discharge the souldiers he had about him. The money was straight prepared. And Lysiadās that was at that time Generall of the Achaians, and that marvelouslie desired this matter might be brought to passe by his meanes: he secretlie sent unto Aristomachus to accuse Aratus, and shewed howe he had bene alway a mortall enemy unto tyrans, and therefore counselled him rather to put him selfe into his hands, as in deede he did. For, Lysiadās brought Aristomachus unto the counsell of the Achaians. There all the counsell plainlie shewed their good wills, and the confidence they had in Aratus: for when he spake against it, that they should not receive Aristomachus, they rejected him with great anger. But afterwards also when Aratus was wonne, and that he began to move the contrarie to the counsell: they straight agreed to receive the Argives, and the Phliasians in league with them, and also the next yeare following, they chose Aristomachus Lieutenaunt generall of all their tribe. Aristomachus seeing him selfe in credit nowe with the Achaians, would needes invade the contrie of Laconia with a maine armie, and sent for Aratus being then at Athens. Aratus wrote unto him, and wished him in any wise not to meddle with that jorney, bicause he would not have the Achaians to deale with Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon, that was a coragious and stowt young Prince, and marvelouslie growen in short time. Howbeit Aristomachus being selfe willed in that poynt, Aratus obeyed him, and was there in person all that jorney. So Cleomenes being come to them uppon the sodaine with his armie, neere unto the citie of Palantium: Aristomachus woulde needes fight with him. But Aratus disswadèd him from it. Whereupon Lysiadās afterwards accused him to the Achaians, and the next yere following he contended with him, suing to be Generall: howbeit he was rejected by most voyces, and Aratus chosen Generall the twelfth time. The selfe same yeare he was overthrowen in battell by Cleomenes, neere unto the mountaine Lycaëum, and being fled, wandered up and downe in the night, that everie man thought he had

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

bene slaine, and it ranne for good payment among all the Græcians. Howbeit he saved himselfe, and having gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had scaped with life, but wiselie taking the oportunitie and occasion offered, no man knowing it, nor mistrusting his comming: he sodainlie went to assaile the Mantinians, which were confederats of Cleomenes, and having taken the citie of Mantinea, he left a great garrison in it, and made the straungers that were there, free of the citie. Thus Aratus was he alone, that being overcome wanne the Achaïans that, which they them selves could scarcelie have wonne, if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards, the Lacedæmonians invading the territories of the Megalopolitans with a great armie, Aratus sodainlie went thither to aide them, but would hazard battell no more, nor geve Cleomenes vantage, who desired only to fight, and still constantlie resisted the Megalopolitanes, that provoked him to come into the field. For besides that in nature he was not meete for a set battell, at that time also he was the weaker in men, and had to doe with a venterous young man, that was all fire: where his corage and ambicion on the other side was coole, and quiet enough. Furthermore he considered, that as king Cleomenes sought honor by valliant venturing, which he had not before: even so it was his parte wiselie to keepe that which he had long since gotten, and to stande uppon his gard and safetie. This notwithstanding, the light armed men being put out into the felde, and having chased the Lacedæmonians even into their campe, and entring in with them hand over head: Aratus would never bring out his citizens, but stayed them in a great valley that lay betwene them both, and would not let them come on any further. Wherewithall Lysiadus being mad with him selfe, and falling out with Aratus: he called for the horsemen, and sayd that he would yet helpe them that followed the chase, and prayed them not to lose the victorie so cowardly, of the which they were so sure: nor to forsake him at a pinche, fighting for defence of their contrie. So having gotten a great number of choyse horsemen together, he went with great furie, and gave charge of the right wing of his enemies battell, and having dispersed them,

ARATUS

Aratus tooke  
the citie of  
Mantinea.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

The death of  
Lysiadas.

Aratus once  
againe over-  
thrown by  
king Cleo-  
menea.

and put them to flight, he unadvisedlie followed them with great corage, into evill favoured crooked wayes, among trees, and great broad ditches. Whereuppon Cleomenes came, and so lustely set on him, that he slue him dead in the place, valliantly fighting and defending him selfe. The other men of armes flying also, rushed in againe into the battell of the footemen, and so disordered their ranks, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cause they greatly blamed Aratus, because he had forsaken Lysiadas: and being forced unto it by the Achaians that went without his leave, he followed them at length, and fled him selfe also unto the city of Ægium. There the Achaians sitting in counsell, decreed that they would furnish Aratus with no more money, neither would they pay his straungers any more: and bad him pay them at his owne charge, if he would enterteine them for the warre. Aratus perceiving they did him great wrong, stooode even indifferent to deliver up his commission of Lieutenantcy, and to discharge him selfe of his office: but after he had bethought him selfe better, he bare it pacientlie, and led the Achaians directlie to the citie of Orchomene. There he valliantlie fought with Megistonus, king Cleomenes father in lawe, and had the upper hande of him: for he slue three hundred of his men, and tooke Megistonus selfe prisoner. Furthermore, where before everie second yeare they did use to choose him their Lieutenant generall: when his turne came about againe, they called him to geve him the office, but he refused it, and Timoxenus was chosen in his roome. Now the cause alleaged for his refusall, was sayd to be, for that he misliked of the common people. But that soundeth like a lye: for the trueth of it, to my seming was, for that he saw the state of the Achaians to decline. For king Cleomenes proceeded no more fayer and softlie as he did at the first, when he was controlled and brided by the Ephori: but having slaine them, and equallie devided the landes through all Lacedæmonia, and made the straungers free citizens of Sparta, being then absolute Lorde of Lacedæmon: he straight set upon the Achaians with all the power he coulde, and sought to conquer them. And therefore Aratus deserveth just reproofe, for that he forsooke his contrie in such extreme

Aratus  
reproch.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

trouble and daunger, that being as the maister of a shippe he gave an other the sterne to steare, when it had bene most honorable and meetest for him to have taken it in hand (though they would not have given it him) to have saved his contry. Or otherwise, if he had in dede utterly dispaired of the good successe of the Achaians, he should then have put it rather into Cleomenes handes, and not to have poysoned Peloponnesus againe, with the manners of the barbarous people: (bringing in as he did, the garrison of the Macedonians, filling the castell of the Acrocorinthe with Gaules and Illyrian souldiers, and making them his Lordes and maisters, whom he had so often overcome in warres, and deceived of their government, and of whom he also spake so muche evill in his *Commentaries*) nor to have put them into townes, and calling them frends and confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and disguise his wicked practise. Admit Cleomenes had bene a tyran, and a cruell man (if I should so tearme him) yet came he of the blood of Hercules, and was borne in Sparta: from whence they should rather have chosen the meanest man Governor, then the greatest king of Macedon, and those speciallie that preferre the honor and glorie of Græce, before straungers. Yet king Cleomenes required no more of all the Achaians, but the name onely to be their Lieutenaunt generall: and so they woulde graunt him that honor, he promised he would be verie good unto the cities confederats to Achaia. Where Antigonus notwithstanding, when they had chosen him their Lieutenaunt generall with absolute power and authoritie, both by sea and by lande, refused the charge, unlesse they would let him have the castell of the Acrocorinthe for his hyer. The which was even like unto Esopes hunter, that brided his horse. For he would not get up upon the Achaians that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors and decrees of counsell did referre all to him selfe: before he had first saddled and brided them, by the garrison he made them receive, and the pledges he caused them to geve him, and yet he spake as much as might be to cleere him selfe of the accusacion against him, bearing them in hande that he was forced to it. Howbeit Polybius wryteth, that long time before he was compelled, being affrayed

**ARATUS**  
A Governor of a common weale ought no more to forsake his contry in time of daunger: then the maister of a shippe his shippe, in storme and tempest.

The meanest man of Sparta, was to be preferred before the greatest Prince of Macedon.

Esopes hunter.

Polybius Historiographer.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

of Cleomenes valliantnes, he had secretly practised that with Antigonus, which he was openlie seene in afterwards: and that he had intised the Megalopolitans (who were the first that moved it to the counsell of the Achaians) to call king Antigonus to their aide, bicause they were neerest neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with Cleomenes warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and spoyle them. Thus muche is affirmed by Phylarchus in his historie, who were hardlie to be credited notwithstanding, had not Polybius confirmed it. For he loved Cleomenes so well, that it seemed he was ravished with some spirite as often as he spake of him: and frameth his historie, as a common counsellor that should pleade a case in lawe before the Iudges, still accusing the one, and defending the other. The Achaians lost the citie of Megalipolis againe, the which king Cleomenes tooke of them, and overcame them in a great battell, by Hecatombæon. Wherewithall they were so amazed, that they sent Ambassadors presentlie unto him, and prayed him to come to the citie of Argos, and there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But when Aratus heard he came in deede, and that he was not farre from the citie of Lerna with his armie: being affrayed, he sent other Ambassadors to tell him that he should safelie come with three hundred men only, as unto his frends and confederats, and yet if he mistrusted craft and evill dealing, that then they woulde geve him pledges for the safetie of his person. Cleomenes aunswered him, that was a plaine mockerie, and an injurie they offered him. Wherefore, he presentlie departed thence, and sent a letter before to the counsell of the Achaians, full of fowle words and reproaches he gave unto Aratus. Who likewise replied to him againe, bitterlie taunting eache other, that they came to talke of their mariage and wives. After this letter, Cleomenes sent defyançe by a Heralde unto the Achaians, and proclaimed open warre against them: insomuche as he had almost gotten the citie of Sicyone by practise of traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpose, he returned sodainly, and went unto the city of Pallena, which he tooke, and drave out the Generall of the Achaians thence, and immediatlie after he wanne the

Phylarchus the Historiographer, not greatly to be credited.

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Megalipolis, from the Achaians.

The spitefull letters that passed betwext Cleomenes and Aratus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

cities also of Phenea, and Pentelion. After that, the Argives and Phliasians willinglie yeelded unto him, so that of all that which the Achaians had conquered, and joyned unto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing else of certainty unto them. Then Aratus was marvelouslie troubled in his mind, to see all Peloponnesus in tumult and uprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by those that practised change and alteracion. For no man was contented with the state and government at that time, but divers of the Sicyonians and Corinthians both were bewrayed which had secretlie practised with Cleomenes, and that of long time maliced the government of the Achaians, desiring them selves to be Lords and Governors of their cities. Aratus having full commission and authoritie from the counsell of the Achaians, to make inquierie of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faultie in the city of Sicyone. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at Corinthe, he made inquierie of them, and put them to death: wherby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwise of themselves were weary of the government and subjection of the Achaians. The Corinthians therfore gathering together in the temple of Apollo, they sent for Aratus, intending to make him prisoner before they would openly enter into actual rebellion. Aratus went thither, to shewe that he neither feared nor mistrusted them, but yet he helde his horse in his hand following of him. Then many rose up against him, and did both reprove and injuriously intreate him. But Aratus with a stayed countenance and gentle words, prayed them to keepe their places, and not to crie out in suche rage upon their feete, and withall, caused them also to come in that were at the temple dore. But as he spake unto them, by litle and litle he drew backe out of the presse, as though he ment to have geven his horse to some bodie to hold. So being gotten out of the presse, he gently spake without any feare unto the Corinthians he met, and bad them goe to the temple of Apollo. When he was come to the castell, he then sodainly tooke his horse backe, and commaunded Cleopater, Captaine of the garrison of the Achaians

ARATUS

Aratus putteth the rebells of Sicyone to death.

Aratus countenance in daunger.

Aratus suttletie when he fled out of Corinthe.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

there, to looke well to the safe keping of the castell. Then he set spurres to his horse, and galloped towards the citie of Sicyone for life, being followed onely by thirtie of his souldiers, all the rest having forsaken him, and dispersed them selves here and there. Shortly after, the Corinthians understanding that Aratus was gone, they followed after, but could never overtake him: whereupon they straight sent for king Cleomenes, and delivered the citie of Corinthe into his hands, the gaine whereof pleased him not so much, as he was sorie for the losse of Aratus, whom they had let go. So king Cleomenes joyning unto him all the people dwelling alongest the sea coast, commonlie called the river of Corinthe, who yeelded up them selves, holdes and townes into his hands: he then intrrenched in the castell of the Acrocorinthe with a great trench. Furthermore, when Aratus came to the citie of Sicyone, many of the Achaians gathered about him, and holding a counsell and assemblie, he was chosen their Lieutenaunt generall, having absolute power and authoritie to doe what he would, and gave him of their owne citizens to gard his person. So, he having managed the affaires of the state and common wealth of the Achaians, the space of three and thirtie yeares together, and having all that time bene counted of all men, the chiefest man of power and authoritie in Græce: he then found him selfe in poore estate, forsaken, and in great miserie, as in the shipperacke of his contrie beaten with storme, and in great daunger of him selfe. For when he sent unto the Ætoliens for aide, they flatly denied him, and would send him none. Furthermore, the Athenians being verie desirous to send aide for Aratus sake, were dissuaded from it through the practise of Euclidas, and Micion. Aratus also had a house in Corinthe, where all his money was: the which king Cleomenes at the first meddled not withall, neither would suffer any other to touche it, but sent for his frendes and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to geve Aratus a good accompt of it afterwarde. Furthermore, he privately sent Tripylus unto him, and his father in law Megistonus, and offered him great gifts, and speciallie an annuall pencion of twelve talents, which was double as much as king Ptolomy

The citie of Corinthe yeelded up unto Cleomenes.

Aratus, in great daunger for his contrie.

King Cleomenes curtesie unto Aratus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARATUS

gave him, who sent him yearely six talents. Besides, he only prayed the Achaians that they would make him their Lieutenant general, and also that the garrison in the castel of the Acrocorinthe, might be devided in cõmmon betwene them. Aratus made aunswere, that he had no absolute power in his hands, and that it was in the Achaians, not in him. Cleomenes thinking this but a devise and excuse of Aratus, he presentlie invaded the contrie of the Sicyonians, and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three moneths. Aratus in the meane time stooode doutfull how to determine, whether he should receive king Antigonus or not: bicause Antigonus would not aide him, before he delivered him the castell of the Acrocorinthe into his handes. So the Achaians meeting at the citie of Ægium to consult upon it, they sent for Aratus thither. Howebeit it was daungerous comming thither, bicause Cleomenes campe lay hard by the citie of Sicyone, besides also that the citizens kept Aratus, and helde him by force, saying that they would not let him venter him selfe in such apparaunt daunger, their enemies being so neere unto them. Moreover, the women and litle children hong about him, weeping, and compassing him about, as their common father and savior. But Aratus comforting them, bad them not be affrayed, and so tooke his horse, with ten of his frends (and his sonne that was a young stripling growen) and went towards the sea, and imbarked in certaine shippes that roade at ancker. Thence he sailed unto Ægium, where the diet or parliament was kept: and there it was resolved, that they should sende for Antigonus, and deliver the castell of the Acrocorinthe into his hands. And so it was performed: for Aratus sent thither his owne sonne among the other ostages. The Corinthians were so sore offended withall, that they made havocke of his goods, and gave his house he had in Corinthe, unto king Cleomenes. So king Antigonus being onwardes on his way to come into Peloponnesus with his armie, bringing with him twentie thowsand footemen, all Macedonians, and foure hundred horsemen: Aratus, with the greatest states and officers of the Achaians, unwitting to their enemies, went to meete him, as farre as the citie of Peges,

The Achaians do send for king Antigonus.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

having no great trust nor confidence in Antigonus, nor the Macedonians. For he remembred verie well, that he came first to his greatnes, by the injuries he had offered them: and howe that the chiefest cause of his rising, was the malice he bare unto olde Antigonus. Howbeit, making vertue of necessitie, and weying the instant occasion of their present extremitie: (of Governors, to be driven to be subjects) he put him selfe in adventure. So, when Antigonus was tolde that Aratus was comen in person to him: having with good countenance after a common sort saluted those that came in his companie: to Aratus selfe at his first comming he gave him an honorable welcome and entertainment. Afterwardes also, finding him a good and discrete man: he fell into inward frendshippe and familiaritie with him. For Aratus was not onely skilfull to geve direction in matters of state touching good order and government: but moreover, his companie and conversation was verie pleasaunt, to entertaine a Princes leasure with. Wherefore though Antigonus was but young at that time, yet seeing throughly into Aratus nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and esteemed about a Prince: he used his counsell and advise more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the Achaians, but of the Macedonians also. And so all things came to passe, which the goddes had promised in their sacrifices. For in a beast that was sacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one selfe cawle: the which the Sooth-sayers interpreted did prognosticate, that two which before were mortall enemies, should nowe become assured frendes. But Aratus made no account of their prediction, neither did also geve any credit to the sacrifices, but trusted more to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwardes having good successe, and Antigonus making a feast in the citie of Corinthe, where he had bidden many ghests: he would nedes have Aratus lye upon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a coverlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a colde. Aratus aunswered him, it freezed. Then Antigonus bad him come neerer him: and when the servaunts brought a coverlet for the king,

Governors  
obey neces-  
sitie.

Antigonus  
honorable  
entertain-  
ment to  
Aratus.

A wonder  
shewed to  
Aratus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

they cast it over them both. Then Aratus remembering the sacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had seene in the sacrifice, and what interpretation the Soothsayers made of it. This was long after. So, Antigonus and Aratus being at that time in the citie of Peges, they were sworne brethren together: and then went both with all speede against the enemies. Thus there fell out hot skirmishes betwene them, hard by the citie of Corinthe. For Cleomenes was verie well fortified, and the Corinthians valliantly defended them selves. In the meane time, Aristoteles of Argos, (Aratus frend) secretlie sent him word, that he would make the citie rebell, if he came him selfe with any number of souldiers. Aratus tolde it unto king Antigonus, who gave him fiftene hundred men, with the which he embarked, and passed over with great speede from the Isthmus (or barre in the straight) unto the citie of Epidaurum. Howbeit the Argives taried not Aratus comming, but were all up before he came, and did set upon king Cleomenes men, and had driven them into the castell. Cleomenes being advertised of it, and fearing least his enemies (keeping the citie of Argos) should cut of his way from returning into his contrie againe with safetie if he were driven to a straight: he forsooke the castell of the Acrocorinthe, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of Argos. So he came thither in time, and overthrewe certeine of his enemies. But shortly after, Aratus, and king Antigonus both being comen thither with all their aide, Cleomenes was driven to flie to the citie of Mantinea. After the recovery againe of the citie of Argos, all the residue of the cities of Peloponnesus did againe returne to the Achaians, and Antigonus tooke the castell of the Acrocorinthe. So Aratus being chosen Generall by the Argives, he counselled them to present Antigonus with all the tyrans goodes, and those that had bene traitors to the common wealth. And after they had cruellie tormented the tyran Aristomachus in the citie of Cencrees, in the ende they cast him into the sea, and drowned him. Aratus was marvellouslie reprov'd for his death, that he would suffer the poore man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him

ARATUS

Antigonus  
and Aratus  
sworne  
brethren.

The citie  
of Argos  
revolted  
from  
Cleomenes.

Aristomachus  
drowned  
in the sea.  
Aratus  
infamie  
for  
Aristo-  
machus.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

great pleasure: who through his perswasion willinglie resigned up his tyrannie, and delivered the city of Argos unto the Achaians. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else. For that the Achaians through his meanes had put the citie of Corinthe into Antigonus hands, as though it had bene some meane village: for that when they had sacked the citie of Orchomene, they suffered him to place a garrison of the Macedonians there: for that they had enacted by parlement, that they should neither write, nor sende Ambassadors any whether, without Antigonus privitie and consent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to geve pay to the Macedonians: for that they made sacrifices, feastes, and games unto Antigonus, as if he had bene a god, following the example of Aratus citizens, who were the first that began, and had received Antigonus into the city by the perswasion of Aratus, that lodged and feasted him in his owne house. With all these faults they burdened Aratus, and considered not that after they had put the reynes of the government into Antigonus hand, Aratus him selfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swing of the unbridled Prince, having no other meanes to stay it, but onely the libertie of speache to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparant and great daunger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against Aratus minde, as amongst others: that Antigonus caused the tyrans images of Argos to be set up, which he had before pulled downe: and also that he made them to be overthrown, which Aratus had set up for those that had taken the castell of Corinthe, and onely left Aratus owne statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreaty Aratus made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the Achaians delt not so frendly with the Mantinians, as became Græcians one to an other. For they having the citie in their handes by Antigonus meanes, did put all the noblest and chiefest men of Mantinea to death, others they solde as slaves, and sent the rest into Macedon with irons on their legges, and brought the poore women and children into bondage, and sold them for slaves: and of the money

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

they got by spoile, they devided the third parte among them selves, and left the other two partes unto the Macedonians. Nowe surely it can not be sayd, but this was done for some cruell revenge. For though it was an overgreat crueltie, in rage and passion of minde, to handle people of one selfe blood and language in this lamentable sorte: yet, as Simonides saith, when men are driven and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomackes inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards unto the citie, no man can excuse Aratus, nor say that he was either driven to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to doe it. For king Antigonus having geven the citie of Mantinea unto the Argives, they determined to make it a Colonie, and chose Aratus their Generall: who made a decree, that thenceforth the citie should no more be called Mantinea, but Antigonias, as it beareth name unto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle Mantinea (for so the Poets called it) was utterlie destroyed, and bare the name of an other citie through Aratus meanes, preferring the name of him that destroyed the city, and did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, king Cleomenes being overthrowen in a great battell by the citie of Sellasia, he left the citie of Sparta, and fled into Ægypt. So Antigonus having used Aratus with all kind of honorable curtesie, he returned againe into Macedon. There falling sicke, he sent Philip that should succede him in the kingdom (being a young strippling growen) into Peloponnesus, and straightly charged him speciallie to followe Aratus counsell, and to employ him when he would speake unto the cities, and become acquainted with the Achaians. So Aratus having received him in that sorte, made him so well affected and loving towards him, that he sent him againe into Macedon, being throughlie determined to make warres with Græce. So after the death of Antigonus, the Ætoliens beganne to despise the carelesnesse and cowardlinesse of the Achaians (bicause that they being acquainted to be defended by straungers, and having bene altogether governed by the armies of the Macedonians, they lived verie idly and dissolutely) whereupon they tooke

ARATUS

Mantinea,  
called Antigonias,  
by  
Aratus  
decree.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARATUS

upon them to make them selves Lords of Peloponnesus. So they assembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they onely tooke some pray and spoyle upon the lands of the Patræians, and the Dymæians: but invading the territorie of Messina with all their armie, they destroyed the whole contrie before them. Aratus being angrie withall, and perceiving that Timoxenus (who at that time was Generall of the Achaïans) did still tract and delay time in vaine, bicause he was upon his going out of his yeare: he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time five dayes before, to goe and aide the Messenians. Wherefore, leaving an armie of the Achaïans, whose persons were nowe neither exercised in armes, nor yet had any desire to goe to the warres: he was overthrown by the citie of Caphyes. Nowe, bicause it was thought that he went somewhat too hottely and coragiouslie to the warres, he so extreameley cooled againe, and left things in such case, that all hope being cast a side, he suffred the Ætolians in maner to tread Peloponnesus under their feete, before his eyes, with all the insolencie and crueltie that might be possible, notwithstanding that they sundrie times gave him great advauntages of them. Thus were the Achaïans once againe forced to pray aide out of Macedon, and to send for young king Philippe to make warres in Græce: hoping for the love he bare unto Aratus, and the great trust he had in him, that he woulde use them gently, and doe as they woulde have him. But then first of all beganne Apelles, Megareus, and a few other Courtiers to accuse Aratus: unto whome king Philippe geving easie eare, he procured that one Eparatus, of contrarie faction unto Aratus, was chosen Generall by the Achaïans. Howebeit this newe Generall Eperatus beinge extreamelie hated by the Achaïans, and Aratus also leavinge to deale any more with matters of state: no acte was done to any purpose. Whereuppon king Philippe findinge his faulte, returned againe unto Aratus, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires prospered in all things he went about, he then lette him alone withall, as from whome came all his honour and greatnesse. Thereuppon everie man esteemed Aratus a wise Governour, not onely to rule a common

Aratus over-  
thrown in  
battell, by  
the citie of  
Caphyes.

The Achaïans  
sent for king  
Philip Anti-  
gonus sonne.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

wealth, but also a whole realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefest purpose appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a riche colour that did sette fourth and beautife them. For the clemencie this young Prince Philippe used to the Lacedæmonians, that had offended him: the great curtesie he shewed to the Cretans, whereby in fewe dayes he wanne all the Ile of Creta: and the journey he made against the Ætoliens, which was a wonderfull great explot: wanne the Prince great fame, for following good counsell, and Aratus accounted to be a wise Governour, and of deepe understanding. Nowe the kings flatters envying Aratus more then before, and perceiving that they got no good by secret backebyting of him: they then beganne with open mouth verie insolentlie to revile him at the table, and with great derision: insomuch as one night going home to his tent after supper, they pelted him with stones all the way as he went. King Philippe when he knewe it, was so offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the summe of twentie talentes: and afterwarde also, because they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king Philippe in the ende being puffed up with the good fortune and successe of this warre, which prospered as he woulde have it: he then grewe to be covetous, and beganne to shewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his dissimulation wherewith he disguised him selfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainlie to appeare. For first of all, he abused young Aratus wife, which was kept secret a long time, because he lay in their house, and beganne dayly to growe more severe and cruell to the common weales: and then the worlde sawe plainlie, that he cared no more for Aratus. For the first suspicion and beginning of the mistrust he had of Aratus, came for that which was done at Messina. For the Messenians being fallen together by the eares, and in great civill warres one with an other: Aratus went thither to make peace betwene them. Howbeit king Philippe came thither the next day following, and in steade of pacifying the quarrell, he set them further out together then they were before. First he asked the Governours of the citie, and if they had no lawes to bridle the

ARATUS

Aratus, a wise counsellor.

Envy, the companion of vertue.

The beginning of displeasures betwext Aratus and Philip.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**  
The deepe  
disaimulacion  
and double  
dealing of  
king Philip.

Aratus the  
sonnes wordes  
unto Philip.

insolencie and stomacke of the common people: and private-  
lie also talked with the heades of the faction of the people,  
and asked them if they had not handes to defende them  
selves from tyrannes. So both the one and the other  
faction trustinge to kinge Philippe, the Governours woulde  
have layed holde of the Orators of the citie: but they  
risinge with the common people, slewe of their Nobilitie  
and Magistrates, well neere two hundred of them. Aratus  
that came soone after this fact, shewed that he was greatlie  
offended with king Philippe, and caused his sonne with open  
mouth shamefullie to reprove him. Nowe it seemed that  
this younge Aratus was in love with king Philippe before:  
but then he tolde him before all the people, that for this  
shamefull acte he had done, he thought him nowe no more  
fayer of face, but the fowlest creature that coulde be.  
Philippe made no aunswere to it, although everie man looked  
he woulde have aunswereed him in rage, and that oftentimes  
as the other reproved him, he byt it in with his teeth: but  
as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge words  
his sonne had spoken against him, for that he was a civill  
man, and mylde of nature, he tooke Aratus the father by  
the hande, and caried him out of the Theater where the  
assemblie was kept, to the castell of Ithome, to doe sacrifice  
there to Iupiter, and to see the forte. This forte was of no  
lesse strength then the castell of the Acrocorinthe: and  
when any garrison is in it, it keepeth all the contrie about  
it in obedience, and besides, it is verie hard to drive them  
out of it. Now Philip being gotten up into that castell, he  
did sacrifice there: and when the Soothsayer had brought  
him the intralls of the oxe which they had sacrificed, he  
tooke it him selfe with both his hands and shewed them  
unto Aratus, and to Demetrius Phalerian, now turning  
to the one, then unto the other, and asked them what they  
judged of these signes of the sacrifice: whether he shoulde  
keepe the castell to him selfe, or else deliver it to the  
Messenians. Demetrius smyling aunswereed him: If thou  
beest of the Soothsayers minde, then thou shalt deliver it  
up: but if thou hast a kinges minde in thee, thou shalt  
then holde the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he ment

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the contrie of Peloponnesus, and moreover, that if he kept both these castells of Ithome, and the Acrocorinthe, all Peloponnesus were wholly at his commaundement.) Aratus still held his peace, and sayd not a word. In the end, Philip praying him to speake he said: In Creta, and in the contrie of the Bœotians and Phocians, there are many strong castells scituated on high hills from the vallies. Moreover, there are also many places of great strength in the marches of the Acarnanians, both within maine land, as also upon the sea coast: of all the which thou hast not taken one of them by force, and yet they all doe willinglie obey thee notwithstanding. It is for theeves to hyde their heades in high rockes and mountaines: but a king can have no stronger castell, then the love, faith, and good will of men. That is it that opened the sea of Creta. That is it that hath brought thee into Peloponnesus. Those are the meanes which have made thee being so young a man, some of them to choose thee their Captaine, and others also to make thee their absolute Lorde and Maister. Aratus going on with his tale, Philippe gave the intralls againe to the Soothsayer that brought them, and taking Aratus by the hand, (as if by force he had cast him out of the castell, and had also taken the citie of Messina from him) sayd unto him: Come on then, lette us even take that course. But after that time, Aratus came as litle to the Court as might be, and so by litle and litle left Philippes companie. For when he went to make warre in the realme of Epirus, he was earnestlie in hand with Aratus to goe that jorney with him. But Aratus prayed him to hold him excused, and so remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an evill name with Philippes doings. For Philippe afterwards having shamefullie lost his armie by sea, against the Romanes, and besides, having had also verie evill successe in all other his affaires: he returned againe to Peloponnesus, and thought once more to have deceived the Messenians. But when they founde his practise, then he beganne with open force to spoyle their contrie. Aratus then flatlie fell out with Philip, and utterly refused his frendship, for that he perceived then the injurie he had done his sonnes wife, the which grieved him to the harte,

ARATUS

The wise  
answers of  
Aratus unto  
king Philip,  
touching the  
safetie of a  
Prince.

Aratus the  
father  
forsooke  
Philippe.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**

Philip of a  
courteous  
Prince, be-  
came a cruell  
tyran.

but yet he made not his sonne privie to it: because he coulde gette no other amendes, then to knowe what injurie had bene done to him, considering that he had no way nor meanes to be revenged. For, king Philip was marvelously changed, and from a courteous and chast young Prince, becomen a vitious and cruell tyran: the which to speake truly, was not a chaunge or alteracion in nature, but a manifest declaracion (when he was no more affrayed of any man) of his wicked and develish mind, the which through feare had of long time bene kept secret. Now, to prove that Philips first love and good will he bare unto Aratus, was also mingled with feare and reverence: that which he did afterwards unto him did plainly shew it. For he being desirous to put Aratus to death, not thinking him selfe free so long as he lived, neither king, nor tyran: he durst not goe about to kill him him selfe, but procured one of his Captaines called Taurion, and commaunded him to make him away as secretly as he could possible, and specially with poyson, in his absence. This Taurion fell in frendship with Aratus, and poysoned him with no violent poyson, but so tempered and qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the bodie, and procure a pretie coffe which brought him into a consumption. Aratus knewe he was poysoned, but because he sawe it booted not to bewray it, he bare it pacientlie, and made no words of it, as if he had had some naturall disease about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefest frends being in his chamber with him, who wondred to see him spit blood as he did: he told him, Frend Cæphalon mine, this is the reward of a kings love. So he died of this poison in the city of Ægium, being the seventeenth time chosen Generall of the Achaians: who would have him buried in the selfe same place, and have made some honorable monument for him, worthy of his noble life. But the Sicyonians thinking them selves dishonored, if his body were buried any where else but in their owne citie: they so perswaded the counsell of the Achaians, that they suffered them to take Aratus bodie with them. Yet was there an auncient law that forbad buriall within the walls of the citie, of any maner of person

Aratus  
poysoned  
by king  
Philippes  
meanea.

A kinges  
frendshippe  
daungerous.  
The death of  
Aratus.

A law for  
buriall  
among the  
Sicyonians.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

whatsoever: and besides that law, they had a certaine superstitious feare in them that made them they durst not. Whereuppon they sent to Apolloes temple at Delphes, to aske counsell of his Nunne that gave the Oracles, who made them this aunswere :

Thou happie soile of Sicyon, Aratus native place,  
Whereas thou askest counsell in that noble Captaines case,  
For keeping of a yeareminde and for making feastfull dayes  
In honor of that worthie wight, to last henceforth alwaies :  
If any hinder your intent through fondnes or through spight,  
Both sea and land and heaven it selfe will punish that same wight.

The Oracle  
for Aratus  
buriall.

This Oracle being brought, all the Achaians were marvelous glad of it, but the Sicyonians speciallie: who presentlie chaunging their mourning into publike joy, they caried the bodie from the citie of Ægium, and brought it home as in maner of procession, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heades, singing hymnes and songs of joy, and daunsing, till they came to the citie of Sicyone. And there they chose out the chiefest place, and buried him as their founder, father, and savior of their citie: and the place is called at this present time, Aratium. There they yearely make two solemne sacrifices, the one the fift of November, at which time he delivered the citie of Sicyone from tyrannie, and they call this sacrifice Soteria, as much to say, as the feast of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the first sacrifice, that was done by the Priest of Iupiter the savior. The second sacrifice also was done by Aratus sonne, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the sacrifice, they song hymnes upon the harpe in praise of him, and the maister of the Musitians made a procession round about, being accompanied with boyes and young men of the citie, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were disposed to goe a procession. Howbeit the most part of the honors that were appointed to be done unto him, were left of by processe of time, and change of things that followed afterwards. Thus you see what the life of Aratus the father hath bene, as we find in histories. Now Philip being a wicked man, and cruell

Aratium.  
Yearely  
sacrifices  
appointed  
to honor  
Aratus  
memorie.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ARATUS**

The miserable death of Aratus the sonne.

Straunge kindes of poisoning.

King Philip punished for his wickednes.

Persæus king Philippes sonne: whom Paulus Æmylius triumphed for in Rome.

of nature, caused his sonne Aratus also to be poysoned, not with a deadly poyson, but with such poyson as troubleth a mans wits so, that through their develish receipt, he becometh a starke foole without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt straunge and abhominable things, and to have certaine shamefull and detestable desires: insomuch as his death (though he dyed in the pryme of his youth) could not be thought miserable, but rather a happy deliverance to him of all his miseries and mishappes. But Philip afterwards, so long as he lived, payed unto Iupiter (protector of all justice and frendship) the punishment his wicked life deserved. For, after he was overcome in battell by the Romanes, he was compelled to yeelde him selfe to their mercy, by whome he was deprived from all the rest of his landes and dominions he had, and of all his shippes, but five only, and condemned besides to pay a thousand talents for a fine, and to give his sonne in hostage: and they only left him for pities sake, the kingdom of Macedon, with all the appertenaunces. And there he daily putting to death the chiefest of his nobilitie, and neerest of blood unto him: he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate against him. Furthermore, amongst such a heape of evils, having but one onely joy, to have a vertuous sonne: he put him to death, for spyte and malice that he saw the Romanes honor him, and left his other sonne Persæus successor of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten sonne, but taken for his sonne, and borne of a taylors wife called Gnathenium. It is that Persæus whom Paulus Æmylius overcame and led in triumphe in Rome: and at him, the race of the kings disceded from Antigonus, failed. Where the issue and offspring of Aratus, continueth yet untill our time, in the cities of Sicyone, and Pallena.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

## THE LIFE OF GALBA



**I**PHICRATES the Athenian Captaine sayd, Iphicrates saying what maner of man a Mercenarie souldier should be. that a mercenarie souldier should be covetous, a lover, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the vallianter, and readier to put him selfe into any daunger. But most men thinke, that souldiers should be as one entere strong body, that

sturreth not of it selfe without the moving of the general.

And to approve this opinion, it is said that Paulus Æmylius ariving in Macedon, and finding the souldiers full of words and curiositie (everie man meddling with the affaires of the General) he made open proclamacion, no man so hardy to medle with his office and affaires, but every man only to keepe his sword sharpe, and to be quicke of hand against the enemy: and for the rest, to referre all to him, who would take sufficient order for things of his charge and government. Therefore Plato, that saith it litle prevaiileth to have a good and wise Captaine, if the souldiers also be not wise and obedient, thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to have men of a noble minde and good education, as otherwise it is meete for a Captaine to know how to direct and commaunde well, considering it is that which with lenity and mildnes doth mitigate all fury and choller: he hath divers other examples and sufficient proofes to prove his words true, and namely, the great miseries and calamities which came to the Romanes after the death of Nero, do plainly shew, that nothing is more daungerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great armie living licentious and disorderly. For Demades after the death of Alexander the great, compared Alexanders armie, unto Cyclops Polyphemus after his eye was put out: considering howe blindly and looselie they were governed. Howebeit the Empire of Rome being divided into sundrie factions at one selfe time, and

Æmylius saying of souldiers.

Platoes saying of an armie.

Demades saying of Alexanders armie, after his death.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**  
The Empire  
of Rome,  
whereto  
likened.

rising against it selfe in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes and calamities fained by the Poets of the Titans: not so much through the ambitiousnes of the Emperours, as by meanes of the covetousnes and insolency of the souldiers, who drave the Emperours out of their Imperiall seates one after an other, as one naile driveth out an other. And Dionysius also the tyranne of Sicilia, was wont to call Pheræus, who had bene onely tyran of Thessaly tenne monethes space: a tyran in a play, deriding his so sodaine change of state. But the Imperiall house of the Cæsars at Rome received foure Emperours, in lesse then tenne monethes space, the souldiers now putting in one, and then taking out an other, as if they had bene in a play on a scaffold. So that, the Romanes being thus grievouslie oppressed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to seeke to be revenged of them that did oppresse them. For they sawe one of them murther an other, and him first and most justlie of all other murdered, that had first of all corrupted the souldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the change of Emperours: and so depraving a worthie deede of it selfe, which was their forsaking of Nero: and mingling it with bribery, made it plaine treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus, being Captaine of the Emperours gard, which are called the Prætorian souldiers, together with Tigellinus, when he saw Nero in dispaire of him selfe and of his estate, and that he was readie to flie into Ægypt: he perswaded the gard they shoulde call Galba Emperour, as if Nero had not bene at Rome, but fled and gone, and promised everie one seven thowsande five hundred Drachmas a peece. And to the rest of the souldiers that were dispersed up and downe in garrison upon the provinces, twelve hundred and fifty Drachmas a man. For the leavying of which summe, they could not possible doe it, but they must needes commit tenne thowsand times more extorcion to every bodie, then Nero had done. This large promise made them presently put Nero to death, and shortly after him, Galba him selfe also. For the souldiers forsooke Nero, for the hope they had to receive this promised gift: and shortlie after they slewe the second, which was Galba, because they received

Nymphidius  
Sabine, and  
Tigellinus,  
betrayed  
Nero.

The hope of  
gifts destroyed  
the Empire  
of Rome.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards also, in seeking who should still feede them with like gifts, before they could obtaine their wished hope, one of them destroyed an other by treason and rebellion. But nowe to set downe all thinges particularlie which hapned at that time, it were to wryte one whole entere historie: and therefore, I will content my selfe, not to passe over with silence the notablist deedes and lamentable calamities which hapned at that time unto the Cæsars.

GALBA

It is manifestly knowen to all men, that Sulpitius Galba of a private man, was the richest and wealthiest that came to be in the number of the Cæsars: who, though he came of a verie noble house, deriving him selfe from the race and family of the Servii: yet he was honored the more, because he was a kinne unto Quintus Catulus, who, for vertue and estimacion, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise, he willingly rezined his authoritie and power unto others. So Galba thereby was somewhat a kinne unto Livia, the wife of Augustus Cæsar, and therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperours pallace, when he went to take possession of his Consulshippe. Moreover, it is reported, that when he had charge of the armie in Germanie, he did valliantlie behave him selfe. And in the government of Libya also, where he was Viceconsul, he did as honorable behave him selfe, as any man whatsoever. Howbeit his meane and simple ordinary of dyet, voyde of all excesse, was imputed misery and niggardlines in him, when he was proclaimed Emperour: because the praise of sober and temperate diet which he would have brought in use, was then so raw a thing, that it was taken for a new and straunge devise. He was sent Governor also into Spayne by Nero, before he had learned to be affrayed of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, besides that he was of a curteous and gentle nature, his age moreover increased the opinion they had of him, that he was timerous and fearefull. For when the wretched officers of Nero did cruelly vexe and torment the provinces, and that it lay not in Galba any way to help them: yet was it some comfort to them, which were judged and sold as slaves by the officers, to see that Galba did

The wealth and nobility of Galba.

Galbaes maners.

Galbaes curtesie.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

GALBA

lament the miseries and calamities they endured, as if they had bene done unto him selfe. So when any slaunderous rymes were made against Nero, which were song up and downe in everie place: he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended, as Neroes officers were. Therefore he was marvelouslie beloved in the contrie, with them that were acquainted with him: bicause he was then in the eight yeare of his government as Proconsul amongst them, at which time Iunius Vindex being Proprætor of Gaule, rebelled against Nero, who as it is reported, had written unto Galba, before he entred into open action of rebellion. But Galba, did neither beleve him, nor also accuse and bewray him, as divers others which were governors of armies and provinces did: who sent Vindex letters unto Nero which he him selfe had written unto them, and so did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterprise, who afterwards being of the conspiracy did confesse they were traitors to them selves, as much as unto him. Howbeit, when Vindex afterwards had proclaimed open warre against Nero, he wrote againe unto Galba, and praied him to take the Imperiall crowne upon him, and to become the head of a strong and mightie bodie (which were the Gaules) that lacked nothing but a head and Governor, being a hundred thowsand fighting men ready armed, and might also leavie a great number more of them. Then Galba consulted thereuppon with his frends, and among them, some were of opinion that he should stay a while to see what change and alteracion would grow at Rome upon this sturre. Howbeit Titus Iunius, Captaine of the Prætorian band said unto him: O Galba, what meaneth this so doutfull a deliberacion? Be not we wise men to call in question, whether we shall allowe of Vindex frendship, or accuse him? Yea, and with armes persecute him, that desired rather to have thee Emperour, then Nero tyranne over the estate of Rome? Afterwardes Galba by bills set up everie where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchise suche as woulde make sute for it. This rumor flying straight abroad, he gathered a great number of souldiers together, that were verie willing to rebell: and he was no sooner gotten up into the tribunall or chaire of state, but

Iunius  
Vindex  
rebelled  
against  
Nero.

In this place  
the Greeke is  
corruptly red  
*μερότων* for  
*μαιόντων*.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

all the souldiers did salute him, by the name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the first, but accusing Nero, and lamenting the deathes of the noblest men whome he had cruellie put to death: he promised that he would imploy his best wit and discession to the service and benefit of his contrie, neither naming him selfe Cæsar, nor Emperour, but only Lieutenant to the Senate, and state of Rome. Now, that Vindex did wiselie to call Galba to be Emperour, Nero him selfe in his doings doth wisse it. Who having alwayes made a countenance as though he passed not for Vindex, and that he wayed not the rebellion of the Gaules: when it was told him that Galba was called Emperour, he being then at supper, for spite he overthrew the table. Moreover, though the Senate had judged Galba an enemy, yet Nero to be pleasaunt with his friends, made as though he was nothing affrayed of it, and said, this newes made all for him, because he stode in neede of money, and also that it was a happy occasion offred him to helpe him withall. For sayd he, we shall soone have all the Gaules goodes, as the spoyle of a just warre, after we have once againe overcome and conquered them: and moreover, Galbaes goods also would quickly be in his hands, that he might sell them, considering that he was become his open enemy. So he presently commaunded Galbaes goods should be openly sold, to them that would give most. Galba understanding that, did also by sound of trompet sell all Neroes goods he had in all the province of Spayne, and did also finde more men readier to buy, then there were goods to sell. Daily men rose against Nero in every contry, who tooke Galbaes parte, Clodius Macer only excepted in Africk, and Verginius Rufus in Gaule, both of them having charge of legions appointed for the safe keeping of Germany: and both of them did follow several directions by them selves, varying in minde and intent. For Clodius Macer having robbed much, and put divers men also to death through his cruelty and covetousnes: he shewed plainly, that he swamme betwene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet kept it. Verginius also on the other side, being Generall over great and mighty legions, who had

**GALBA**  
Sulpitius Galba, saluted by the souldiers as Emperour.

Galba judged an enemy by the Senate of Rome, and his goods sold by the crier.

Clodius Macer, Governor of Africke.  
Verginius Rufus, Governor of Gaule.  
Verginius Rufus called Emperour.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA** sundry times called him Emperour, and did in maner force him to take upon him the name and Empire: he notwithstanding did ever aunswere them, that he neither minded to take the Empire upon him, nor yet to suffer any other to do it, then such as the Senate should choose and call unto the same. This at the first somewhat amazed Galba. But when both the armies of Vindex and Verginius, in spite of their Captaines (who could not stay or keepe them backe, no more then cochmen can keepe backe the horse with their bridells) were joyned in a great battell together, where were slaine twenty thowsand Gaules in the field, and Vindex also slue him selfe shortly after: it was geven out, that the conquerors after so great a victory obtained, would compell Verginius to take upon him to be Emperour, or else that they would take Neroes part againe. Then Galba being not a litle perplexed, wrote unto Verginius, and perswaded him to joyne with him, to hold up the Empire and liberty of the Romanes, and thereupon fled straight unto a city of Spayne called \*Colonia, rather repenting him of that he had done, and wishing for his wonted peaceable and quiet life wherwith he was brought up: then otherwise occupying him selfe about any necessary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterprise. Now it was about the beginning of sommer, and one day towards evening, there came to Galba one of his slaves infranchised, a Sicilian borne, that was comen from Rome in seven daies: who understanding that Galba was alone, went presently to his chamber dore and opened it, and comming in against the wils of the groomes of the chamber that stood at the dore, he told him that Nero being yet alive, but sene no more, first the people of Rome, and then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperour: and that immediatly after, newes came that Nero was dead, the which he hardly beleving notwithstanding, went thither him selfe, saw his body layed out upon the ground, and then made towards him with all speede to bring him these newes. These newes marvelously revived Galba, and a multitude of men thronged straight about his dore, which began to be coragious, seing him lively againe, although the speede of the Messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two dayes after, Titus also

Colonia a cite  
of Spayne.  
\*Others read  
Clunia.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

arrived, with certaine other of the campe, who told Galba perticularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this Titus was called to great honor, and the slave enfranchised had priviledge given him to weare ringes of gold, and he was called Martianus Vicellus, who afterwards of all the infranchised bond men, became the chiefest man about his Master Galba. In the meane tyme, Nymphidius Sabine began at Rome, not covertly, but with open force, to take upon him the absolute government of the Empire, perswading him self that Galba was so old, that he could hardly be brought in a lytter unto Rome, being at the least three score and thirteene yeare olde: besides also, that the army of the Prætorians which were in Rome, did beare him good will of long tyme, and then acknowledged none other Lord but him onely, for the large promise he had made them, for the which he received the thankes, and Galba remained the debter. So he presently commaunded Tigellinus, his companion and Captaine with him of the army of the Prætorians, to leave of his sword: and disposing him selfe to bancketing and feasting, he sent for all those that had bene Consuls, Prætors, or Proconsuls of provinces, and made them all to be invited in the name of Galba. So there were certaine souldiers gave out this rumor in the campe, that they should doe well to send Ambassadors unto Galba, to praye him that Nymphidius might be their onely Captaine still, without any companion joyned with him. Furthermore, the honor and good will the Senate bare him, calling Nymphidius their benefactor, and going dayly to visite him in his house, procuring him to be Author of all their decrees passed in Senate, and that he should authorise them; this made him hie minded, and the bolder by much, insomuch that shortly after, they that came to honor him in this sort, did not onely hate and mislike his doings, but moreover he made them affrayd of him. Furthermore, when the Consuls had given to common pursevants any commissions under seale, or letters pattents signifying the decrees of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperor, by vertue of which letters pattents, when the officers of the citie doe see the seale,

GALBA

Nymphidius Sabine taketh upon him to be Emperor.

Honors done to Nymphidius by the Senate, made him grow too bold and insolent.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**

they straight provide the pursevants of coches and freshe horses to further their speede and hasty jorney: Nymphidius was very angrye with them, bicause they did not also come to him for his letters, sealed by him and his souldiers, to sende likewise unto the Emperor. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to have deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing them selves unto him, and craving pardon, did appease his anger. And to please the Commons also, he suffred them to put any of Neroes friends to death they could meete withall. Amonge other, they slue a Fenser called Spicillus, whome they put under Neroes statues, which they dragged up and downe the citie. Another also called Aponius, one of Neroes accusers, they threw him to the ground, and drave carts over him loden with stones. And divers others also, whom they slue in that manner: of the which, some had done no maner of offence. Hereuppon one Mauriscus, one of the noblest men of the citie and so esteemed, sayd openly in the Senate: I feare me we shall wish for Nero againe, before it be long. So Nymphidius being comen in manner to the fulnes of his hope: he was very glad to heare that some repyned at him, bicause he was the sonne of Caius Cæsar, that was the next Emperor after Tiberius. For this Caius Cæsar, when he was a young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had bene a fayer young woman, and the Daughter of one Callistus, one of Cæsars infranchised bond men, whome he had gotten of a Laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this Nymphidius was borne before Caius Cæsar coule knowe his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a Fenser called Martianus, with whome his mother Nymphidia fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in Rome, and in deede Nymphidius was liker to him in favor, then unto any other. So, he confessed that he was the sonne of this Nymphidia, howbeit he did ascribe the glory of the death of Nero unto him selfe, and thought him selfe not sufficiently recompensed with the honors they gave him, nether also with the goods he enjoyed, nether for that he lay with Sporus whome Nero loved so dearely,

Neroes friends slayne at Rome, by Nymphidius commaundement.

The parentage of Nymphidius.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

GALBA

whome he sent for to Neroes funeralls whilest his bodye was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had bene his wife, and called him Poppæus. Furthermore, all this did not content him, but yet secretly he aspyred to be Emperor, partly practising the matter in Rome it selfe, by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were secretly his friends: and partly also through one Gellianus, whome he sent into Spayne, to see how all thinges went there. Howbeit after the death of Nero, all things prospered with Galba, saving Verginius Rufus only, who stooede doubtfull yet, and made him sorely mistrust him, for that he was affrayd (besides that he was generall over a great and puisant army, having also newly overthrowen Vindex, and secretly ruling the best parte of the Empire of Rome, which was all Gaule, and then in tumult and uprore, ready to rebell) lest he would harken unto them that perswaded him to take the Empire to him selfe. For there was no Captaine of Rome at that tyme so famous, and of so great estimation as Verginius, and that deservedly, for that he had done great service to the Empire of Rome in tyme of extreamitie, having delivered Rome at one selfe tyme from a cruell tyranny, and also from the daunger of the warres of the Gaules. This notwithstanding, Verginius persisting still in his first determination, referred the election of the Emperor unto the Senate: although, that after the death of Nero was openly knowen, the common sort of souldiers were earnestly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the souldiers (otherwise called a Colonel of a thowsand men) went into his tent with a sword drawn in his hand, and bad Verginius either determine to be Emperor, or els to looke to have the sworde thrust into him. Yet after that Fabius Valens, Captaine of a legion, was sworne unto Galba, and that he had received letters from Rome, advertising him of the ordinaunce and decree of the Senate: in thend, with much a doe, he perswaded the souldiers to proclayme Galba Emperor, who sent Flaccus Ordeonius to succede him, unto whome he willingly gave place. So, when Verginius had delivered up his army unto him, he went

Verginius,  
a famous  
Captaine.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA** to meete with Galba, on whome he wayted, comming on still towards Rome. And Galba all that time neither shewed him evill countenance, nor yet greatly esteemed of him, Galba him selfe being cause of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but specially Titus Iunius: who for the malice he bare unto Verginius, thinking to hinder his rising, did unwittingly in deede further his good happe, and delivered him occasion to draw him out of the civill warres and mischieves, (the which lighted afterwards upon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambassadors were sent from the Senate, and met with Galba at Narbona, a citie of Gaule: where after they had presented their humble duetie, they perswaded him to make all the haste he could possible to shew him selfe to the people of Rome, who were marvelous desirous to see him. Galba received them very graciously and courteously, and made them great chere, howbeit very modestly notwithstanding. For notwithstanding that Nymphidius had sent him divers Officers, and store of Neroes moveables: yet he would never be served with any of them, at any feasts or bankets he made, with other then his owne stuffe, wherein he shewed his noble mind, and how he could master all vanitie. But Titus Iunius shortly after told Galba, that this noble mind and civill moderation, without pride or pompe, was to lowly a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine respect of honestie that knewe not it selfe, and became not his greatnes and majestie. So, he perswaded him to use Neroes money and stuffe, and to be sumptuous and princely in his feasts, without niggardlines. To conclude, the olde man Galba began plainly to shew that he would be ruled by Titus Iunius: who above all other was extreame covetous, and besides too much given to women. For when he was a young man, the first time he went to the warres under Calvisius Sabine, he brought his Captaines wife (which liked good fellowship) disguised like a souldier into the campe, into his generalls tent (which the Romanes called Principia) and there was somewhat bold with her: wherefore Caius Cæsar

The conditions of Titus Iunius.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

committed him to prison, but he escaped at his death. Another time, when he supped with Clodius Cæsar, he stole a silver pot. Clodius hearing of it, bad him againe to supper the next night: but he commaunded his men they should give him drinke in an earthen cruse. Thus this theft (through Cæsar's pleasauntnes) seemed rather a matter of sport, then of anger: howbeit the faultes which he committed afterwards through extreame covetousnes of money, (at what time he ruled Galba, and bare all the swaye about him) gave unto some just cause, and unto others apparant culler of tragical mischieves, and greevous calamities. For Nymphidius, so soone as Gellianus was returned out of Spayne, whome he had sent thither to see what Galba did: he enforming him that Cornelius Lacon was Captaine of the gard and house of the Emperor, and that Titus Iunius did all in all about him, and that he could never be suffred to come neare Galba, nor to speake with him a part, bicause those which were about Galba did mistrust him, and ever had an eye to him to see what he did, he was marvelously perplexed withall. There-uppon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and petty Captaines of the campe of the Prætorian army, and perswaded them that Galba touching his owne person, was a good old and discrete man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne advise and counsell, but was ruled altogether by Iunius and Lacon, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good before they came to be of greater power, and to have such great authoritie in maneging the affayres of the Empire, as Tigellinus had before, to send Ambassadors to the Emperor in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcome unto Rome, and to all men els besides. The Captaines utterly disliked this devise. For they thought it too straunge, and beyond all reason, to seeme to teache an old Emperor, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to governe: and to appoynt him what servaunts and friends he should keepe, and whome he should trust or mistrust. Nymphidius perceiving this, tooke another course, and wrote letters unto Galba to terrifie him, one tyme sending him word that he was marvelous evill beloved of many

GALBA

Nymphidius  
practises.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA** in Rome, and that they were ready to rebell against him : an other tyme also, that the legions of Germany were revolted, and that he understoode the like from the legions in Iury and Syria. And another tyme also, that Clodius Macer in Africk stayed all the shippes fraughted with corne that were bownd for Rome. But in the ende, finding that Galba made no accompt of him, and that he gave no credit to his words nor writings : he determined first of all to set upon him. Howbeit Clodius Celsus, borne in the citie of Antioch, a wise man, and his faithfull friend, dissuaded him marvelously not to doe it : declaring unto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in Rome that would call Nymphidius, Cæsar. Howbeit in contrary manner, divers others mocked Galba, and specially one Mithridates of the Realme of Pont, that sayd he was a bald writen man. For the Romanes (sayd he) have him in deede now in some estimation, but when they have once seene him, they will thinke it a perpetuall shame and reproche to our tyme, that he was called Cæsar. So they thought it good to bring Nymphidius about midnight into the campe, and there openly to proclayme him Emperor. Howbeit the chiefe Tribune of the souldiers called Antonius Honoratus, gathered his souldiers together in the night, and before them all did first openly reprove him selfe, and then them, for that they had so often turned and chaunged in so short time, without any wit or discretion, having no judgement to chuse the best way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong in that sort by some wicked spirit, which brought them out of one treason into another. ‘ And yet ‘ (sayd he) our first change had some countenance of reason, ‘ to wete, the horrible vices and faultes of Nero : but now, ‘ wherein can we accuse Galba, to have any countenance to ‘ falsifie our faith unto him? hath he slayne his mother? ‘ hath he put her to death? hath he shamefully played the ‘ tumbler or common player upon a scaffold in the Theater? ‘ And yet for all these vile parts, we never durst once beginne ‘ to forsake Nero, but gave credit to Nymphidius words, who ‘ told us that Nero had first forsaken us, and that he was fled ‘ into Ægypt. What shall we doe? Shall we kill Galba after ‘ Nero? what, shall we kill him that is a kinne to Livia, to

The oration  
of Antonius  
Honoratus,  
Tribune of  
the souldiers,  
unto his  
mutinous  
souldiers.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

‘ make the sonne of Nymphidia Emperor : as we have already  
‘ slayne the sonne of Agrippina ? or shall we rather kill him  
‘ that hath rashly entred into this enterprize, and thereby to  
‘ revenge the death of Nero, and to shewe our selves faithfull  
‘ souldiers unto Galba ? ’ All the souldiers yelded straight  
to the Colonells words, and therewith went to their other  
companions to perswade them to keepe their faith and pro-  
mise they avowed unto the Emperor : so that they made  
many of them revolt againe from Nymphidius. Thereuppon  
the noyse and cries beeing great, Nymphidius supposing (as  
some thought) that the souldiers did call for him, or els  
hoping betymes to quenche this tumult, to staye such as were  
yet wavering : he went thither him selfe with great store of  
torche light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which  
Ciconius Varro had made for him, and the which he had  
learned without booke to speake unto the souldiers. But  
when he found the gates of the campe shut, and saw divers  
men armed upon the walls, he began to be affrayd : and  
comming nearer, asked them what they ment by it, and by  
whose commaundment they had armed them selves as they  
did. Aunswer was made him by them all, that they did  
acknowledge no other Emperor but Galba : the which he  
seemed to like of, and also commaunded them that followed  
him to doe the like, and therewithall drew nearer. Where-  
uppon certaine of the souldiers that warded at the gate, did  
open him the gate, and suffred him to come in with a few men  
with him. Howbeit assoone as he was comen in, first there  
was a dart thrown at him, the which one Septimius that  
went before him received upon his shield, and then others  
also came with their swords drawn in their hands to set on  
him, and followed him as he fled into a souldiers cabbone,  
where they slue him. Then they layed his body in an open  
place, and rayled it about, that every man that would, might  
the next day see it. So Nymphidius being slayne in this  
sort, Galba understanding of his death, commaunded that all  
Nymphidius friendes and confederators that had not bene  
slayne at that tyme, should for his sake be put to death, as  
in deede they were. Amongst them they slue Ciconius that  
had made the oration for Nymphidius, and Mithridates also

GALBA

Nymphidius  
aspireth to be  
Emperor.

Nymphidius  
Sabine slaine.

The crueltie  
of Galba.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

GALBA

of Pont. Howbeit, though in deede they had deserved it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to commaund these men to be put to death in that sort, which were men of such qualitie and calling as they were, without due forme and order of lawe. For every man stode in good hope upon the comming in of this new Emperour, to have seene another manner of government, then they had yet seene: howbeit they were deceived of their hope at the first choppe. But yet they misliked this most of all, when he commaunded them to kill Petronius Tertullianus, that had bene Consul, because he was Neroes faithfull friend. But nowe for the death of Clodius Macer, whome Trebonianus slue in Africk by his commaundement, and for Fonteius that was also slayne in Germany by Valens: he had some reason to feare them, because they were in armes, and commaunded great armies. But for Tertullianus that was an olde man, naked, and unarmed: truely he should have put him to his triall by law, if he would have ministred justice, the which he promised to keepe at his first comming to the Imperial crowne. Herein they greatly reprov'd Galba. Now, when he drew neare to Rome within five and twenty furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of Maryners and sea faring men, that kept the high way on every side, wandring up and downe in every place. These were the men whome Nero had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the ower and made them souldiers. So they were come thither to be suters to him, that he would allow them still to be souldiers, and they pressed so arrogantly upon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the newe Emperour, to see him, nor speake with him: but they fell to tumult and uprore, crying out to have ensignes for their legion, and to be appoynted a place to lye in in garrison. Galba referred them over to another tyme, and bad them they should then let him understand their demaund. They told him againe, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereupon fell to plaine mutinie, and followed him with great cryes: insomuch that some of them stuck not to draw out their swords. Then Galba commaunded the horsemen he had about him, to set upon them. So there was not a

Cornelius  
Tacitus  
calleth him  
Turpilianus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

man of them that resisted, but some of them were overthrown, and troden under their horse feete: and others also slaine as they fled. This was a very evil signe and presage for him, to enter into Rome with such bloudshed, upon so many poore mens dead bodies as lay slayne on the ground. Howbeit, where some before did despise and mock him for an old and feeble man, every man then was affraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, bicause he would shew a great change and alteracion from the unreasonable vaine gifts and expenses of Nero: it seemeth he did many uncomely things. As when one Canus, an excellent player on the recorder, had played all supper tyme, bicause it was a marvelous sweete Musick to heare: he praysed and commended it marvelously, and commaunded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he tooke a few crownes, and put them into his hand, saying, that it was not money of the common treasure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gave straight commaundement that they should require and call backe againe the gifts Nero had geven, and bestowed upon common players, minstrella, wrestlers, and people of such kinde of facultie and profession, and to leave them only the tenth parte. But he got litle by this devise. For the most parte of those that had giftes geven them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that live without any rule or order, and spent at night that which they get in the day: and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them to restore it againe. But this was an endles worke, for things had bene so conveyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonor returned to Galba him selfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on Titus Iunius: who only made the Emperour straight laced to all others, whilist he him selfe tooke unreasonably of all men, making porte sale of everie thing that came to hand. For Hesiodus the Poet sayth:

As well when the vessell is full that it spill,  
As when it is emptie, thirst craveth drinke still.

Hesiodus  
saying.

But Iunius perceiving Galba to be olde and feeble, woulde

GALBA

Galba entred  
Rome with  
murder.

The vilenes  
of Galba.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**

Galba killeth  
Neroes ser-  
vaunts and  
officers.

wisely take his fortune and time, while time served, supposing it almost to be at an end, so soone as he beganne to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much dishonor the poore old man, overgreatlie abusing (under cloke of his authoritie) the chieftest and waightiest matters, in reproving or altogether hindering those, the which the Prince him selfe had a good desire to deale uprightly in, as to punish the officers of Nero. For he put some of them to death, among the which Elius was one, and certaine other, as Polyclitus, Petinus, and Patrobius: whereat the people marvelously rejoiced, and cried out as they went to execution through the market place, that it was a goodly and blessed procession, and required Tigellinus of the goddes and men, that had bene chiefe maister and guide of all Neroes tyrannie. Howbeit the trimme man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed Iunius before: for afterwards he put poore Tertullianus to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated Nero, being as he was, and had never offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he played, when he was alive. Whereas he that made Nero worthie of death, and that afterwards had also betrayed him: he was left alone, and nothing sayd unto him, being a manifest prooffe to all others, that they should not dout to hope to obtaine any thing at Titus Iunius hands, so they fed him with gifts. For the common people of Rome never desired thing so much, as to see Tigellinus to be caried to execution: and they never left crying out to demaund him in all assemblies of the Theater or shew place, until such time as the Emperour Galba did forbid them by proclamacion, the which declared that Tigellinus would not live long, because he was sicke of a consumption of the lungs, which by litle and litle did weare him to nothing: and Galba prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloodie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they seemed to laugh at it: and Tigellinus did sacrifice to the goddes for his health and safetie, and prepared a sumptuous feast. Where Iunius rising from supper, being set by the Emperour, went unto Tigellinus to be merie with him, and tooke his daughter being a widdow with him, unto whom

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

GALBA

Tigellinus dranke, and offred her a gift of five and twentie Myriades of silver: and commaunded one of his chieftest concubines to take a carcanet from her necke she wore, and to geve it the other, being worth fiftene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done uprightly and with justice, were reproved and taken in evill part: as the thing that was graunted to the Gaules, because they did rebell with Vindex. For men thought that they were not discharged of the subsidies and taxes they were wont to pay, and that they were made free of Rome, so much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by Iunius meanes, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the people hated the Emperour Galba. Howbeit the souldiers still lived in good hope, for the gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promised them, they should yet enjoy as much as Nero had geven them. But Galba understanding that they complained of him, he spake a word meete for so noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he used to choose souldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the souldiers, it bred a marvelous mortall hatred in them against him: because they thought it was not only to take the gift away from them which they hoped presently to have received, but that it was also a president to teach the Emperours that should come after him, what they should doe. Howbeit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian gard at Rome appeared not yet, but was secretlie kept in for the reverence they bare unto the majestie and person of Galba, who kept them that were desirous to rebell, because they sawe as yet no beginning of any change or alteracion. This did somewhat smother and keepe in the shew of their wicked intent. But they which had before served under Verginius, and were at that time under Flaccus in Germanie, thinking them selves worthie of great reward for the battell they had won against Vindex, and having nothing geven them in recompence: they would not be pleased with any thing their Captaine sayd unto them, neither did they make any accompt of Flaccus, because he coulde not sturre him selfe, he was so plagued with the

The noble saying of the Emperour Galba.

Galba offended the souldiers.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**  
Tumult  
amongst the  
souldiers and  
legions of the  
Romanes in  
Germany.

gowte, and besides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine sportes were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonells and Captaines (according to the maner of the Romanes) made prayers unto the goddess for the health and prosperitie of the Emperour Galba: there were divers of them that made a noyse at the first, and afterwarde when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in the end the souldiers aunswered, If he be worthie. The legions in like maner under Tigellinus charge, did oftentimes use such insolent partes: whereof Galbaes officers did advertise him by letters. Wherefore Galba being affrayed, and mistrusting that they did not only despise him for his age, but also because he had no children: he determined to adopt some young gentleman for his sonne, of the noblest house of the citie of Rome, and to proclaime him his successor in the Empire. At that time there was one Marcus Otho, of a noble house, but ever geven to sensualitie and pleasure from his cradell, as much as any Roman could be. And as Homer oftentimes doth call Paris, the husbände of the fayer Helen, naming him by the name of his wife, because he had no other commendable vertue in him: even so Otho came to be knowen in Rome, by marrying Poppæa, whome Nero loved when she was Crispinus wife, howbeit bearing some respect to his wife, and being affrayed also of his mother, he had intised Otho to be his bawde unto her. Nero loved Otho dearely, and muche delighted in his companie, because he was so good a fellow and free of his fleshe: and was verie glad sometime to heare howe he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as Nero on a time was noynting him selfe with pretious oyles and perfumes, he cast a litle upon Otho as he went by: who the next day made him a feast in his house, where sodainlie were thrust into the hall, divers vessells of gold and silver full of this perfumed oyle, that ranne out of them like conduit water, and did wette all the hall. So Otho having first possessed Poppæa, and abused her under hope of Neros love: he perswaded her to be divorced from her husband. The which she did, and he received her home to his owne house, as his lawfull wife: not being so well pleased to have

Othoes  
manera.

Poppæa,  
Othoes wife.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

parte, as he was sorie and angrie also to let an other enjoy her. Now Poppæa her selfe (as it is reported) did not mislike this his gealouzie, for sometimes she woulde shut her dore against Nero, though Otho were not within: either bicause she woulde keepe Nero in breath, and in love liking still, or else as some thought, bicause she would not have Cæsar to her husbande, and likewise that she would not refuse him for her frend, bicause she was wantonly geven. But so it is, Otho was in daunger of his life by marying of Poppæa: and so was it also a straunge thing, that Nero having put his wife and sister to death, only to mary Poppæa, he did yet pardon Otho, and saved his life. Howebeit it was for Senecaes sake that was his frende, through whose perswasion he was sent to the furthest parte of Spayne, alongest the Ocean sea, to be Governour of Lusitania. And there he governed so wisely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troublesome unto the contry: knowing that this honorable charge was geven him, only to mitigate and hide his banishment. Afterwards when Galba had rebelled, he was the first of all the Governours of the provinces that joyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both golde and silver, unto the mynt maister, he gave it him to put into bullion, and so to be converted into currant coyne. Moreover he gave of his officers unto Galba, those which he thought the meetest men to serve a Prince: and otherwise, when he was tried, he shewed him selfe as faithfull and skilfull in matters of state, as any one that followed the Emperours traine. Insomuch as all the way he went many dayes jorney in coch with Galba him selfe, and did marvelouslie currie favour with Titus Iunius, bestowing great gifts upon him, and also entreteining him with pleasaunt speches: but specially, bicause he willingly gave him the upper hand wherby he was assured to be the second person in credit about Galba. So in all that he did, he far excelled Iunius, for that he graunted mens sutes franckly and frely without one penny taking, and was besids easy to be spoken with of every man that had any sute to him: but specially of the souldiers, whom he did greatly help and further, and caused divers also to be called to honorable office, he himself

GALBA

Otho sent  
Proprietor  
into Lusi-  
tania.

Othoes credit  
about Galba.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**

partly moving the Emperor for them, without any labor or sute made unto him, and partly also obtaining them at Iunius hands, and of the two infranchised bondmen of Galba, Icellus and Asiaticus. For, these three men did beare all the ways and credit about the Emperor in the court. Moreover, alwaies when he invited the Emperor to his house, he bribed the Prætorian gard that waited upon him, and gave every souldier a crown. Now this in sight, semed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with: though in deede it was a fine devise to overthrow him, to bribe the souldiers in that sort as he did. So Galba consulting whom he should make his successor: T. Iunius preferred Otho unto him: the which he did not simply of him selfe, nor without reward, but only with promise that Otho should marry his daughter if Galba did adopt him his sonne, and proclaime him successor in the Empire. Howbeit Galba did alway specially regard the common wealth before his privat liking, and sought to adopt such a one, as should not so much please himself, as otherwise he should be profitable and meete for the Empire. But surely in my opinion, Galba would not make Otho his heire of his goods, considering what an unreasonable spender he was, and how sumptuous in al his things, and besides, far gone in det: for he ought above five thowsand Myriades. So when he had heard Iunius counsell about this adoption, he gently without other answer, did put over his determination until another time, and made Otho only Consul at that time, and T. Iunius Consul with him: whereby it was straight supposed, that at the beginning of the new yere, he would proclaime him his successor in the Empire. Which was the thing the souldiers most desired of all other. But now, delaying stil his determination, the legions of the Romanes in Germany, did rise and rebel against him al at an instant. For he was generally hated of al his souldiers, bicause he paid them not the gift he had promised them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleaged for their cause of rising, that he had dishonorably rejected Verginius Rufus: and that the Gaules which had fought against them, were rewarded with great and rich priviledges, and they that tooke not part with Vindex, had bene grievously punished

312

Othoes  
practise,  
aspiring to  
the Empire.

The legions  
of Germanie  
doe rebell  
against Galba.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and put to death. Moreover, that Galba did only honor Vindex death after he was dead, as acknowledging his goodwill unto him, offering publicke oblations and funeral sacrifices for him, as if by him only he had bene proclaimed Emperor. Now such speches and rumors ran through the campe amongst them, when the first day of the yere came, which the Romanes cal the calends of January, on which day when Flaccus had called the souldiers together, to sweare them to the Emperor according to the custome: they plucked down Galbaes images, and sware only in the name of the people, and the Senate of Rome. The captaines seing what course they tooke, were as much affraid of the daunger to be without a head, as they stood doutful of the mischief of their rebellion. So there stept up one amongst them and said: ' My fellowes in armes, what do we meane? We neither choose any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this present: wherby we shew plainly, that we do not only refuse Galba, but also all other to be our head and Emperor that may commaund us. Now for Flaccus Ordeonius, that is but Galbaes shadow and image: I would wish we should let him alone there as he is. And for Vitellius, governor of the lower Germanie, he is not farre from us, but one daies jorney only, whose father was Censor at Rome, and thrise also Consul, and that was in a maner a Peere and companion of Clodius Cæsar in the government of the Empire: whose poverty if any man mislike in him, is a manifest proove of his goodnes and magnanimity. Him therefore let us choose, and let the world know that we can tell how to choose an Emperor, better then the Spaniards or Lusitanians.' Some of the souldiers that stoode by confirmed these words, but others also misliked of them: insomuch that among the rest there was an ensigne bearer that stole secretly out of the campe, to cary Vitellius newes hereof, who that night made a great supper, and had great store of good company with him. These newes running straight through his campe, Fabius Valens, colonel of a legion, came the next morning with a great number of horsemen, and was the first man that named Vitellius Emperor, who before semed to refuse that name, as one that was affraid to

**GALBA**

The souldiers  
doe rebell  
against Galba.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**

take the charge of so great an Empire upon him : but after dinner, being full of wine and meate, he came out among them, and accepted the name of Germanicus which they gave him, and refused the name of Cæsar. But therewithal incontinently after, Flaccus souldiers leaving their goodly popular oth which they had sworne in the name of the people and Senate, they all then tooke their othes faithfully to doe what it should please the Emperour Vitellius to commaund them. Thus Vitellius was chosen Emperor in Germany. So Galba hearing of this new change, thought it not good to deferre time any lenger for the adoption he had intended, wherfore certainly understanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with Dolabella, and the most part of them with Otho, he neither liking the one nor the other, sodainly without any word spoken to any man, he sent for Piso (that was the younger sonne of Crassus and Piso, whom Nero had put to death) a young man faier condicioned, and shewed by his grave and modest countenance he had by nature, that he was indued with many noble vertues. Galba came downe presently from his pallace, and went straight to the campe to proclaime Piso Cæsar, and his successor in the Empire. Howbeit at his setting out of his pallace, there appeared many great signes in the firmament which followed him. And moreover, when he was also come into his campe, and that he began to say without booke part of his oration, and partly also to read it: it lightned al the while he spake, and there fel such a great shower of raine upon it, and a marvelous thick mist in the campe, and over al the city, that men might easely se the gods did not like this adoption, and that it would not prosper. The souldiers them selves shewed their discontentment by their heavy looks, and the rather, bicause at that time there was no spech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also, marvelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of Piso) that Piso nothing rejoiced at this great favor, although he lacked not wit and understanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found easely by Othoes lookes, many signes and proofes

314

Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus, but not of Cæsar.

Vitellius named Emperor by the souldiers.

Galba adopteth Piso his successor.

Evill signes appeared unto Galba.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that he was marvelously offended in his mind, to see that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the man that was first spoken of, and thought most worthiest of all other, and being comen also so nere unto it: now to see himselfe thus wiped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine prooffe that Galba had no good opinion of him, and that he maliced him in his hart, so that after that time he stil stood in feare of his life. For he being affraid of Piso, hating also Galba, and being grievously offended with T. Iunius: he went his way ful of divers thoughts in his mind. For the Sooth-saiers, Astronomers, and Chaldeans which he ever kept about him, they did perswade him not to be discouraged for this, and to cast all hope aside: but specially one Ptolomy, in whom he had great confidence, because he had oftentimes before foretold and assured him, that Nero should not put him to death, but contrarily, that Nero should die first, and he himself survive him, and should become Emperor of Rome. Whereby Ptolomy having proved his first prediction true unto him, he bad him be bold, and feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly complained unto him, did prick him forward the more, sighing to see him so evil delt with by Galba, and divers of them chiefly, which bare great authority and credit about Tigellinus and Nymphidius: who being then cast of, and discountenanced, came all unto him, and stirred him up the more. As amongst others, Veturius and Barbius chiefly, of the which the one had bene Optio, and the other Tesserarius: (for so the Romanes call those that be their messengers, spials, and officers to the Captaines) who with an infranchised bondman of his called Onomastus, went unto the campe, and there corrupted some souldiers with ready money, and other some with faire words, being of them selves evil inclined, and expected but occasion to utter their malice. For otherwise, had the souldiers bene all of one mind, it had not bene an enterprise to have bene brought to passe in foure dayes space (being no more betwext the adoption and murther) to make a whole campe rebell in that sorte. For they were slaine the fifteenth day of Ianuarie, on which day Galba did sacrifice in the morning

GALBA

Ptolomyes  
prediction  
of Othoes  
Empire.

Optio, and  
Tesserarius,  
why so called  
by the  
Romanes.

Otho bribed  
the Præstorian  
souldiers.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**  
The presage  
of Ombricius  
the Sooth-  
sayer, touch-  
ing the  
treason practised  
against  
Galba.

within his pallace, before his frends. But at that time the Soothsaier called Ombricius, when he had the intralls of the beasts sacrificed in his hands, and had looked upon them: he spake not doutfully, but plainly, that he saw signes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in present daunger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the goddes had put Galba into Othoes hands: for he stood at that time behind Galba, and both heard and saw all that the Soothsayer did. So he seeming to be grieved withall in his minde, and his colour chaunging oft for the feare he was in: his infranchised bondeman Onomastus came and tolde him that the masons and chiefe carpinters were come to speake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch word agreed uppon betwene them, at which tyme Otho shoulde then goe unto the souldiers. Then Otho sayd, that he went to looke to an olde house he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would shewe it unto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call Tiberius house, into the market place, where the golden piller standeth, where also the greatest high wayes of all Italie doe meete together. There certaine met him that first called him Emperour, which were not in all above three and twentie persons. Thereupon, though Otho was not unconstant as it appeared, notwithstanding he was so fine and effeminate a man, but rather resolute and stout in instant daunger: yet feare so oppressed him at that time, that he would faine have left his enterprise. Howbeit the souldiers would not suffer him, but compassing his litter rounde about with their armes, and their swords drawne in their hands, they commaunded the litter men to go forward. So Otho as he went hastening on his drivers, he often muttered to him selfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwise troubled, to see such a small number of men about him, that they durst venter upon so hard an enterprise. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three and by foure in a company: all the which came and joyned with him,

Otho called  
Emperour.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and cried Cæsar, Cæsar, having their swords drawn in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to gard the field of Mars, knew nothing of this conspiracy, but being amazed and affraied with their sodaine comming, he suffred them to come in. So when Otho was come in, he found no man that resisted him. For they that knew nothing of the practise, being compassed in with those that were made privy to it, and had knowen it of long time, being found straggling here and there, by one and by two, they followed the rest for feare at the first, and afterwards for good wil. This was brought straight to Galba to the pallace, the Soothsayer being yet busie about his sacrifice: insomuch that they which before gave no credit to those divinations, began then to marvell much at this heavenly signe. Then there ran immediately a great number of people from the market place, unto the pallace. Therupon Iunius and Lacon, and certaine other of Galbaes infranchised bondmen, stooede to gard Galbaes person with their swordes drawn in their hands. Piso also went out to speake unto the souldiers that garded the Emperours person. Moreover, because the Illyrian legion lay out of the campe in a place called Vipsanus: they dispatched away Marius Celsus with all spede, a very honest man, to get that place. Galba in the meane time stood in dout whether he should come out of the pallace or not: for Iunius would not let him goe, but Celsus and Lacon perswaded him to go out. Insomuch as they fell at great words with Iunius, that went about to disswade him from it. In this sturre, there ranne a rumor that Otho was slaine in the field. Immediately after came Iubius Atticus, one of the noblest souldiers of all the Emperours gard, and shewed his sword drawn, crying that he had slaine Cæsars enemie: and thrust through the prease, and got to Galba, and shewed him his sword bloodied. Galba looking him in the face, asked him who commaunded him to doe it. The souldier aunswered him: the faith and othe he had made unto him. Therewith all the people that stooede by cried out it was nobly done of him, and clapped their handes for joy. Then Galba taking his litter, went out of his pallace to do sacrifice to Iupiter, and also to shew him selfe openly.

GALBA

Otho received  
of the Prætor-  
ian souldiers.

A shamefull  
lye of a  
souldier.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**

was no soner come into the market place, but he heard contrarie newes, that Otho was Lord and Maister of the whole campe, and armie. Then, as it happeneth in so great a prease of people, some cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would have him to goe forward: others bad him be affrayed of nothing, and others willed him to looke to him selfe. So his litter being thus turmoyled to and fro, as tost upon the sea, sometime borne backe, otherwhile caried forward: first of all they saw certaine horsemen, and then footemen also armed, comming from Paules pallace, all of them together crying out with lowd voice, Hence, hence, privat man. Then all the people set upon a running, not flying dispersedly, but in heapes upon porches and stalls in the market place, as it had bene to have seene some sight or sport. Then one called \*Attilius Sarcello, overthrew one of the images of Galba, which was as it were a beginning of open warres. Others rounde about threwe dartes on everie side of him against his litter. But when they sawe they coulede not kill him, then they came neerer to his litter with their swords drawn in their hands, and never a man of his left with him to offer to defende him, saving one man onely, whom the Sunne sawe that day, amongst so many thousands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome: and he was called \*Sempronius. He having received privately no manner of pleasure at Galbaes handes, but only to discharge his othe and duetie: 'stepped before the litter, and lifting up a vine braunche he had in his hand (with the which the Romane Captaines doe use to beate their souldiers that have offended) he fell out with them that did set upon him, and prayed them to holde their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the ende when he saw they would not leave, but that they fell to it in good earnest: he then drew his sword, and bare of the blowes as well as he could, until they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then Galbaes litter being overthrowen right in the place called Curtius lake: Galba lay on the ground armed in his curaces. The traiterous souldiers flew upon him, and gave him many a wounde: and Galba holding out his necke unto them, bad them strike hardily, if it were to do their contrie good. So

Tumult for Galba.

\*Tacitus doth call him Virgilio.

\*Cornelius Tacitus doth call him Densus.

The valliantnes and fidelitie of Sempronius in discharge of his othe to the Emperour Galba.

The death of Sempronius.

The death of Galba: and his wordes at his death.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

GALBA

he had many wounds on his armes and his thighes, as it is reported: howbeit the souldier that slue him, was called Camurius, of the fifteenth legion. Others doe reporte that it was one Terentius, ſother also say Arcadius: and some other doe call him Fabius Fabulus: who having striken of his head, wrapped it in the lappe of his gowne, because he coulde not otherwise take holde of it, for that he was all balde. Howebeit his fellowes and consortes woulde not suffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done should be seene. Therefore he set it upon the point of his launce, and so shaking the face of this poore olde man, (a wise and temperate Prince, and chiefe Bishoppe, and Consull) he ranne up and downe (like madde women possessed with the spirite and furie of Bacchus at the feastes of Bacchus) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare blood. When his head was brought to Otho, it is sayd he cried out aloud: Tush, my fellowes, this is nothing: unlesse you bring me also Pises head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called \*Marcus, who slue him hard by the temple of Vesta. So did they also kill Titus Iunius: who openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracie against Galba, and cried out to them that slue him, that Otho did not know they did kill him. This notwithstanding, the souldiers strake of his head, and Lacons also, and brought them both to Otho to receive the reward. Howebeit, as the Poet Archilochus sayth:

\*Others doe read Marcus. The murder of Piso, and T. Iunius.

Of seven peradventure slaine dead on the ground,  
A thowsand will say, that they all gave the wound.

So there were divers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murder, had bloodied all their handes and swordes, and so shewed them bloodied to have rewarde also: but Vitellius notwithstanding made inquirie of them afterwarde, and caused them to be put to death. There came into the felde also, one Marius Celsus, whome divers men accused to have perswaded the souldiers to aide Galba, and the common people cried out, and bad he shoulde be put to death. Howebeit Otho woulde not suffer them to kill him:

319

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**GALBA**

and yet being affrayed to contrarie the souldiers mindes, he tolde them they should not kill him so rashly, bicause he was first to learne some thinges more of him. So he commaunded them to binde him, and delivered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Afterwards, the Senate were presentlie assembled: who, as if men had bene sodainlie chaunged from them they were, or as if there had bene new goddes, they all sware by the name of Otho, (the which other he him selfe had before sworne unto Galba, and did not keepe it) and called him besides, Augustus, and Cæsar, the bodies of them that were slaine lying yet headles on the ground in the market place, all in their Consulls robes. And as for their heades, the souldiers after they coulede tell no more what to doe with them, they solde the heade of Titus Iunius unto his daughter, for the summe of two thowsande five hundred Drachmas. And for Pises head, his wife through intreatie, begged it of one called Veranius. On the other side, for Galbaes head, they gave it unto Patrobius and Vitellius servauntes: who, after they had used it as vilelie as they coulede devise, they threwe it at length in a place, where their bodies are cast, whome the Cæsars put to death, the which they call Sestertium. Nowe for his bodie, Helvidius Priscus, through Othoes sufferance, caried it away, and Argius, one of his infranchised bondemen, buried it by night. Thus have you heard the historie of Galba, a man that in nobilitie and wealth was inferiour to few Romanes, and in them both was the chiefest man of all his time, and had alway lived in honorable fame and estimacion, in the raigne of five Emperours. So that he overcame Nero by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his owne force and power. For of them that strove to make them selves Emperours at that time, some found no man that thought them worthie of it: others did put fourth them selves, as thinking them selves worthie of it. Howbeit Galba was called unto it, and obeyed them that called him, using his name against Vindex boldnesse: whereby he procured, that his rising (which before was called innovation and rebellion) was then called civill warre, after that his faction came to have a man to be their head, thought worthy

The Senate  
sware by the  
name of Otho.

Citizens  
heades sold  
at Rome.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

GALBA

to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not so muche desire to be Emperour for him selfe, as to doe good to his contrie and common wealth. But yet he erred, in seeking to commaunde the souldiers whom Tigellinus and Nymphidius had spoyled by their flatteries: even as in olde time Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus did commaunde the souldiers of the Empire of Rome at that time. So he being now a verie olde man, shewed him selfe a good Emperour and after the old sorte, in his behavior towards the souldiers only: but in all other things else, being caried away with the covetousnes of T. Iunius and Laco, and of other his infranchised bondmen, he left none desirous to be governed by him, but many that were sorie for his death.

## THE LIFE OF OTHO



**T**HE next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went unto the Capitoll, and sacrificed, and there sent for Marius Celsus to come unto him, whom he curteouslie saluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cause of his imprisonment, then to remember his deliverie. Marius Celsus made him a wise and noble aunswere againe, and sayd that the matter for the which they would have accused him unto him, did witnes his behaviour, shewing him selfe faithfull unto Galba, who never did him any pleasure. These words of them both did marvelouslie please the people: and so did they like the souldiers also wonderfully well. Moreover, after he had verie favorablie and graciously taken order for matters in the Senate, the rest of the time he had to be Consull, he imployed partely about Verginius Rufus, and did also establish them Consuls in their place and degree, which had bene called unto that dignitie by Nero, or otherwise by Galba: and he also honored the oldest Senators and of greatest estimacion with certain

Othoes moderation at the beginning of his raigne.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

OTHO

Priesthoodes. Besides all this, he restored unto all those Senators that were banished by Nero, and called home againe, all their goodes yet unsold. Whereupon the chiefest Magistrates and noble men of the citie that quaked before for feare, supposing that he was not a man, but rather a devill or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling and gracious raigne they were so lately entred into. Moreover, nothing pleased all the Romanes together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men so muche, as that he did unto Tigellinus. For it was punishment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the punishment everie man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his bodie was infected withall. Now, though the noble men thought his unreasonable insolency and lust of the flesh, (following naughtie packes, and common strumpets, burning still in filthie concupiscence) an extreame punishment, comparable to many deaths, and being also no better then a dead man in maner, stil following pleasure and sensualitie as long as he coulde: this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they shoulde see suche a wicked creature as he live, that had put so many noble men to death. So Otho sent for him, who lived verie pleasauntlie at his houses in the contrie, by the citie of Sinuessa, and had shippes ever readie uppon the sea coast, to flie if necessitie drave him to it. Thereuppon he first sought to bribe him with money, which was sent with commission to apprehend him, and perswaded him to let him scape: but when he saw he could not frame him to his minde, yet he refrayned not to geve him gifts, and prayed him to geve him leave to shave his beard. The other graunted him. Then Tigellinus tooke a razer, and did cut his owne throte. So, Otho having pleased the people thus well, he sought not otherwise to be revenged of his private injuries. Moreover, to currie favour with the common people, he refused not to be called Nero, in any open assemblies at the Theaters. Also when certaine private men had set up Neroes images in open sight, Otho was not offended withall: but moreover Clodius Rufus writeth, that letters

Tigellinus  
killeth him  
selfe.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

pattents and commissions were sent into Spayne by posts, subscribing the goodly name of Nero, with the name of Otho. Howbeit when it came to his eares that the noble men of Rome misliked of it: he left it of, and would wryte it no more in his letters. So Otho having begonne in this sorte to stablish his Empire, the souldiers marvelouslie troubled him. For they continually perswaded him to take heede to him selfe, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neere unto him: the which they did, either for that in deede they bearing him good will, were affrayed some trecherie or treason would be secretlie practised against him: or else it was some fained devise to set all together by the eares, and to bring it to civill warre. For when Otho him selfe had sent Crispinus with his seventeenth legion to bring him certaine prisoners, and that Crispinus was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commission, having loden carts with armor and weapon for his souldiers: the desperatest and boldest men among them, began to crie out, and sayd that Crispinus ment no good in his hart, and that the Senate went about to make some change and sturte, and that his armor and weapons were not for Cæsar, but against him. These wordes moved many mens consciences, and made them to rebell: so that some layed hold upon the carts to stay them, others slue two Centurions out of hande, and Crispinus him selfe also that woulde have stayed them. Thereuppon all of them together, one incoring an other, went directly to Rome, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, understanding that there were foure score Senators at supper with the Emperour, they ranne straight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occasion offered them to kill all Cæsars enemies at a clappe. Hereupon all Rome was straight in armes, looking immediatly after to be sacked and spoyled of all that ever they had: and the people ranne up and downe the pallace, here and there, Otho him selfe also being in great feare and distresse. For men might easelie see he was affrayed, bicause of his ghestes he had bidden, not for him selfe, seeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not speaking a word unto him, but staring on him still, and speciallie those that came and brought

**OTHO**  
Otho at the beginning of his raigne, tooke upon him the name of Nero.

Tumult amongst the Prætorian souldiers.

The death of Crispinus.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

OTHO

their wives with them to supper. So Otho sodainly sent the Captaines unto the souldiers and commaunded them to speake with them, and to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the borde, and conveyed his ghestes out of his pallace by secret posternes. So they saved them selves, passing through the souldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, What was become of Cæsars enemies. So the Emperour rising from his bedde, he pacified them with gentle wordes, the teares standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he sent them all away. The next morning he liberallie bestowed upon every souldier, a thowsande two hundred and fiftie Drachmas: and then he went into the market place, and there gave great commendacion to the common people for their readie good wills they had shewed unto him: howbeit, he said there were some among them, that under colour and pretext of honestie, did commit many lewde partes, and made his goodnesse and grace towards them to be evill spoken of, and their constancie and faith also to be misliked of, and prayed them his grieffe might be theirs, and that the offenders might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him alowde he should doe it. So Otho thereupon caused two of them only to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatlie offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loved and trusted him, marveled much to see this change. Other were of opinion, that it stode him upon to doe so, to winne the souldiers harts, bicause of the warre at hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all partes, that Vitellius had taken upon him the authoritie to be Emperour, and posts came to him one in an others necke, to tel him that numbers of people came in daily to submit them selves unto Vitellius. Others tolde him also, how the legions remayning in Panonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, had chosen Otho. Immediatly after, frendly letters were brought him also from Mutianus and Vespasianus, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Iudea, with great and mightie armies. Whereupon Otho geving credit unto them, wrote unto Vitellius, and bad him beware how he meddled with any deeper

Othoes liberalitie to the souldiers.

Vitellius rebellion.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

enterprise, then became a private souldier : and that he would geve him golde and silver enough, and a great citie, where he might live quietly, and take his pleasure. Vitellius gently answered him at the first, and sported with him : but afterwards they falling out one with an other, spiteful letters were sent betwext either parties, one of them reproaching an other, not falsely but fondly, and foolishly detecting eche others vices. For in deede it was hard to judge, which of them two was most licentiously geven, most effeminate, least skilfull, poorer, or most indetted before. Nowe at that time they talked of wonderful signes that had bene sene : howbeit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to justifie them. But in the Capitoll there was the image of Victorie set uppon a triumphing chariot : the which every bodie saw did let slacke the reynes of the bridles of the horses which she had in her handes, as though she could not stay them any more. The statue of Caius Cæsar also within the Iland, which standeth in the middest of the river of Tiber at Rome, without any earthquake or storme of winde, turned of it selfe from the West to the East: the which (as it is reported) chaunced about the time that Vespasian began to take upon him to be Emperour. Many also tooke the overflowing of the river of Tiber for an evil signe. For in deede it was at that time of the yeare when rivers do swell most, yet was it never so great before, neither had it ever done so much hurt as it did at that time. For it had overflowen her bankes, and drowned the most parte of the citie, and specially the corne market: insomuche that they suffered famine many dayes after in Rome. In all this sturre, newes came that Cecinna and Valens, (two of Vitellius Captaines) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreover in Rome, Dolabella a noble man, was suspected by the Prætorian souldiers, that he practised some treason. Now Otho, either because he was affrayed of him, or of some other: he sent him to the citie of Aquinum, promising him he shoulde have no other hurte. Then choosing the choycest gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, and did not deprive him of any jot of his honour and dignitie. Moreover he was verie carefull to

OTHO

Small difference betwext Otho and Vitellius maners of life.

Wonders seene at Rome.

The wonderful overflowing of the river of Tiber.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**OTHO** see his wife and mother safe, that they shoulde not be affrayed of them selves. Besides all this, he appointed Flavius Sabinus, Vespasians brother, Governour of Rome in his absence: and did it for Neroes sake, who had affore geven him the same honour and authoritie, the which Galba had taken from him: or els to make Vespasian see, that he loved and trusted him. So he taried behinde at Bresselle, a citie standing upon the river of Po: and sent his armie before under the conduct of Marius Celsus, of Swetonius Paulinus, and of Gallus and Spurina, all noble and great personages, howbeit they could not have their wills to rule the armie as they woulde, bicause of the insolencie and stubbornes of the souldiers, who would have no other Captaines but the Emperour only, saying that he, and none other, should commaund them. In deede, the enemies souldiers were not muche wiser, nor more obedient to their Captaines, but were brave and lustie upon the selfe same occasion: howbeit they had this advantage over the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres, and could away with paines and hardnes, and never shronke from it. Whereas the Prætorian souldiers that came from Rome, were fine meale mouthed men, bicause they had bene long from the warres, and had lived at ease in Rome, and taken their pleasure in banketing and playes: and therefore in a bravery and jolity, they would needes have men thinke that they disdained to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that when Spurina would have compelled them, he was in daunger of death, and scaped verie narrowly that they slue him not. For they stucke not to revile him, and geve him as fowle words as they could: calling him traitor, and cursing him, saying that he marred all Cæsars affaires. Yea and there were some of them that having their full cuppes went in the night to his tent, to aske him leave to depart, saying that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flowte they had geven them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of Placentia, did stand Spurina and his affaires to great purpose. For Vitellius souldiers

The frowardnes of Otho and Vitellius souldiers.

Placentia: the fertilest towne of all Italie.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

comming hard to the walls of the citie, did mocke Othoes men that were at the cranewes of the same, and called them fine dausers, and goodly stage players, that had seene nothing but playes and feasts: and that for feats of armes, and battells, they knewe not what it ment: and that the greatest act they ever did, was for that they strake of the head of a poore naked olde man, meaning by Galba: and that to come to fight a battell in the fieelde before men, their hartes were in their heeles. These vile words galled them to the hart, and made them so mad withall, that they came of them selves to pray Spurina to commaund them what he thought good, promising that from thence forth they would never refuse any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon there was a hotte assault geven to the city of Placentia, with great store of sundry engines. Howbeit Spurinaes men had the better, and having with great slaughter repulsed the assailants, they saved one of the goodliest, the greatest, and most flourishing cities of all Italie. So Othoes Captaines were farre more familiar, curteous, and civill to deale with cities and private men, then Vitellius souldiers were. For, of Vitellius Captaines, Cecinna, was neither for person nor maners accompanyable for the people, but straunge, monstrous, and troublesome to see him only, a mightie made man wearing gallie gaskons, and coates with sleeves, after the facion of the Gaules, and spake in this attire unto the ensigne bearers, and Captaines of the Romanes. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him bravely mounted a horsebacke, gallantlie apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choycest men of armes of all the companies. The other, Fabius Valens, he was so covetous, that no spoyle of enemies, no polling of subjects, nor bribes taken of their friends and confederats, could quenche or satisfie his unsatiable covetousnes: whereby it seemeth that was the let, that comming on so slowly, he was not at the first battell. Howbeit others do blame Cecinna for it, that made too much hast, for the desire he had to have the only honour of the victory to him selfe: and this was the cause, that besides his other light faultes, he also made this, that he gave battell out of due time and season, and when it came to the poynt

OTHO

The praise of Othoes Captaines, and dispraise of Vitellius Captaines.

Fabius Valens.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**OTHO**

Cremona a  
goodly citie.

in deede, yet he fought it not out valliantly, so that he had almost cast all away. For when he had the repulse from Placentia, he went unto Cremona an other great citie. And Annius Gallus going to aide Spurina, who was besieged in the citie of Placentia: when he heard by the way that the Placentines had the better, and that the Cremonenses were in great daunger and distresse: he marched thither with his army, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that also, the other Captaines of either side came to aide their men. Howbeit Cecinna having layd a great number of his best souldiers well armed in ambushe, in certaine thicke groves and woddes: he commaunded his horsemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retyre litle and litle, making as though they fled, untill they had drawn them within his ambush. So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambush unto Marius Celsus, who came against them with his choyce men of armes, and did not followe them over-rashly, but compassed in the place where the ambush lay, the which he raised, and in the meane time sent to his campe with all possible speede to his footemen to make hast thitherward: and it seemeth, that if they had comen in time, they had not left one of their enemies alive, but had marched upon the bellies of all Cecinnaes armie, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should have done. But Paulinus being comen too late to aide them, for that he came so slowly: he was burdened that he did not the duetie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenance he caried. Furthermore, the common souldiers accused him of treason unto Otho, and stirred up their Emperour against him, and spake verie bigge words of them selves, saying, that they had overcome for their owne partes, had not the cowardlines of their Captaines bene, who put them by the victory. So Otho did not trust him so much, that he would not make him beleve but that he mistrusted somewhat. Therefore he sent his brother Titianus to the campe, and Proclus with him, Captaine of the Prætorian garde, who in deede commaunded all, but in sight Titianus had all the honor, as bearing the name of

Paulinus,  
Othoes  
Captaine,  
accused for a  
coward.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the Emperours Lieutenaunt. Marius Celsus, and Paulinus followed after, bearing name of counsellors and friends only : howbeit otherwise they meddled with nothing, neither had any authoritie geuen them. On the other side, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially, whom Valens led. For when newes was brought of the conflict that was betwene them in this ambushe, they were angry with him, because they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were slaine : insomuch that he had much a doe to pacifie and quiet them, they were so readie to have flowen upon him. So Valens at length removed his campe, and went and joynd with Cecinna. Howbeit Otho being comen to his campe at the towne of Bebriacum, which is a litle towne hard by Cremona : he consulted with his Captaines whether he should geve battell or not. So Proclus and Titianus gave him counsell to fight, considering that the souldiers were verie willing to it, by reason of the late victorie they had wonne, and wished him not to deferre it : for thereby he shoulde but discourage his armie, which was nowe willing to fight, and also geve their enemies leasure to tarie for their Chiefetaine Vitellius, who came him selfe out of Gaule. But Paulinus in contrarie manner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power present, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to overcome them, and that they wanted nothing : whereas Otho looked for an other armie out of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an armie as his enemies had alreadye, so that he could tary his time, and not serve his enemies turne : and also, that if the souldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they shoulde then be much more incouraged, when they should have greater companie, and should also fight with better safetie. Furthermore he perswaded them, that to delay time was for their availe, considering that they had plentie and store of all maner of provision : where the enemies on thother side being also in their enemies contrie, their vittells would quickly faile them. Marius Celsus liked verie well of these perswasions. And so did Annius Gallus, who was not present at this counsell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fall

OTHO

Bebriacum  
a towne by  
Cremona.

Othoes con-  
sultation of  
geving battell.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

OTHO

he had from his horse) but he was wrytten to by Otho to have his opinion also. So Annius Gallus returned aunswere, that he thought it not best to make hast, but to stay for the armie that came out of Mysia, considering they were onwarde on their way. Howbeit Otho woulde not hearken to this counsell, but followed their mindes that concluded of battell: for the which were alleaged divers occasions. But the chiefest and likeliest cause of all was, that the souldiers which are called the Prætorian gard (being the dayly gard about the Emperours person) finding then in effect what it was to professe to be a souldier, and to live like a souldier: they lamented their continuing in Rome, where they lived at ease and pleasure, feasting and banketing, never feeling the discommodities and bitter paines of warre, and did therefore so earnestly crie out to fight, that there was no staying of them, as if they should at their first crie and setting forward, have overthrowen their enemies. Moreover, it seemed also that Otho him selfe could no more away with the feare and dout of the uncertaine successe to come, neither could any lenger abide the grievous thoughts of the daunger of his estate, he was so effeminate, and unacquainted with sorowe, and paines. This was the cause that caried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put all at adventure. The matter is thus reported by Secundus the Orator, and Othoes secretarie. Others also doe report, that both armies had divers determinations and mindes: so as to joyne all together in one campe, and joyntly to choose among them, if they could agree, the worthiest man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a place together, and there to suffer the Senators to choose such a one Emperour, as they liked best of. And sure it is verie likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called Emperours, was thought meete for the place they had: and therefore that these counsells and consideracions might easely fall into the Romane souldiers heades, (who were wise men and expert souldiers) that in deede it was a thing for them justly to mislike, to bring them selves into the like miserable time and calamitie,

Freshwater souldiers lament their pleasaunt life at Rome, feeling the paines and smart of a souldier.

Secundus the Orator, secretarie unto Otho the Emperour.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

which their predecessors before them had caused one another to suffer, first for Sylla and Marius sakes, and afterwarde for Cæsar and Pompey, and now to bestow the Empire of Rome either upon Vitellius, to make him the abler to follow his dronkennes and gluttony: or else upon Otho, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moved Celsus to delay time, hoping to end the warres without trouble and daunger: and that caused Otho also to make the more hast, being affrayed of the same. Howebeit Otho returning backe againe to Bresselles, he committed an other fault, not only because he tooke his mens good wils from them to fight, the which his presence, and the reverence they bare unto him did put in them: but because also he caried away with him for the gard of his person, the valliantest souldiers and most resolute men of all his host. About that time there chaunced a skirmish to fall out by the river of Po, because Cecinna built a bridge over it, and Othoes men did what they could to hinder them. Howebeit when they saw they prevailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and drie wodde, all rubbed over with brimstone and pitche, and setting them a fire, they sent them downe the streame. When the barges were in the midst of the streame, there sodainlie rose a winde out of the river, which blew upon this woddestake they had prepared to cast among the enemies workes of this bridge, that first made it smoke, and immediatly after fell all on a great flame, which did so trouble the men in the barges, that they were driven to leape into the river to save them selves: and so they lost their barges, and became them selves also prisoners to their enemies, to their great shame and mockerie. Furthermore, the Germanes under Vitellius, fighting with Othoes fensers, which of them should winne a litle Iland in the midst of the river: they had the upper hand, and slue many of the fensers. Thereuppon Othoes souldiers which were in Bebricum, being in a rage withall, and would nedes fight: Proclus brought them into the felde, and went and camped about fiftie furlong out of the citie, so fondly, and to so litle purpose, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the contrie thereabout full of brookes and rivers,

OTHO

Vitellius: a dronkard and glutton.

Otho: a wanton and licentious liver.

The towne of Bresselles is hard by the river of Po.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

OTHO

yet they notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their campe to meete with their enemies the same day, and were driven to march above a hundred furlong. Now Paulinus perswaded them to goe fayer and softly, and not to make more hast then needed, and would not so soone as they should come, (being wearied with their journey and travell) set upon their enemies that were well armed, and besides had leasure and time enough to set their men in battell ray, whilst they were comming so long a journey with all their cariage. Now the Captaines being of divers opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from Otho, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which Otho commaunded them to make all the hast they could, and to loose no time, but to marche with all speede towards the enemye. So when these letters were red, the Captaines presently marched forward with their armie. Cecinna understanding of their comming, was astonied at the first, and sodainly forsooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he founde the most parte of his souldiers already armed, and Valens had geven them their signall and word of battell. And in the meane time, whilst the legions were taking their places to set them selves in battell ray: they sent out before the choycest horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor upon what cause) that Vitellius Captaines would turne on Othoes side in battell. Insomuch that when these men of armes came neare to meete with the voward of Othoes armie: Othoes men did speake very gently to them, and called them companions. Vitellius men on the other side tooke this salutacion in evill parte, and aunswered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight. Insomuch that those that had spoken to them, were quite discouraged: and the residue also beganne to suspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being ready to joyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies side also, all was out of order: for the beasts of cariage ranne in amongst them that fought, and so did

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

put them marvelously out of order. Besides that also, the disadvantage of the place where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from another, because of sundry ditches and trenches that were betwene them, whereby they were compelled to fight in divers companies together. So there were but two legions onely, the one of Vitellius, called the devowrer: and the other of Otho, called the helper: which getting out of these holes and ditches a part by them selves, in a good plaine even ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of battell. Othoes souldiers were men of goodly personages, strong, and valliant of their handes, howbeit they had never served in the warres, nor had ever foughten battell but that. And Vitellius men on the other side, were olde beaten souldiers, and had served all their youth, and knew what warres and battells ment. So when they came to joyne, Othoes men gave such a lusty charge upon the first onset, that they overthrew, and slue all the first rancke, and also wanne the enseigne of the eagle. Vitellian men were so ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke hart againe unto them, and ranne in so desperately upon their enemies, that at the first they slue the colonell of all their legion, and wanne divers ensignes. And furthermore, against Othoes fensers, (which were accompted the valliantest men, and readiest of hande) Varus Alphenus brought his men of armes called the Battavii, which are Germaines in the lower parte of Germany, dwelling in an Iland compassed about with the river of Rhein. There were few of his Fensers that stucke by it, but the most of them ranne away towards the river, where they founde certeine ensignes of their enemies set in battell ray, who put them all to the sworde, and not a man of them scaped with life. But above all other, none proved more beasts and cowards, then the Prætorian gard. For they would not tary till the enemies came to give them charge, but cowardly turned their backs, and fled through their owne men that were not overthrowen: and so did both disorder them, and also make them affrayd. This notwithstanding, there were a great number of Othoes men who having overthrowen the voward of them that made head

: OTHO

Battell betwixt the Othonians and Vitellians.

Legions called by prety names: Devowrer, Helper.

The valliantnes of the Battavii in warres.

Note the trim service of Fensers, and what souldiers they be.

The Othonians overcome in battell by the Vitellians.

The cowardlines of the freshwater souldiers.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

OTHO

against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were Conquerors, and so valliantly returned back into their campe. But of their Captaines, nether Proclus, nor Paulinus, durst returne backe with them, but fled another way, being affraid of the furye of the souldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their overthrow upon their Captaines. Howbeit Annius Gallus received them into the citie of Bebriacum, that came together after this overthrow, and told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But Marius Celsus gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to consultation what they should do in so great a calamitie, and extreame slaughter of the Romane Citizens. For if Otho him selfe were an honest man, he should no more attempt fortune: considering that Cato and Scipio were both greatly blamed, for that they were the cause of casting away many men in Africk to no purpose, (though they sought for the libertie of the Romanes) and onely of selfe will, for that they would not yeld to Iulius Cæsar after he had wonne the battell of Pharsalia. For though fortune in all other things have power over men: yet extremities happening to good men, she can not prevent them to determine the best for their safetie. These perswasions straight caried away the Capteines, who went presently to feele the mindes of the private souldiers, whom they found all of them desirous of peace. So Titianus perswaded them to send Ambassadors unto the enemies to treat of peace: and Celsus and Gallus tooke upon them the charge to goe thither, to breake the matter unto Cecinna, and Valens. But by the way they met with certen Centurions, who told them how all the army of the enemies were comming onwards on their way, to come directly to the citie of Bebriacum, and that their chieftaines had sent before to offer treaty of peace. Celsus and his companion Gallus being glad of this, prayed the Centurions that they would returne with them unto Cecinna. But when they were come neare unto him, Celsus was in great daunger of his life: bicause the men of armes which he had overthrowen certen dayes before in an ambushe, comming

Marius Celsus  
oration to  
Othoes  
souldiers  
perswading  
them to goe  
to Vitellius.

Othoes Cap-  
taines doe  
yeld them  
selves unto  
Vitellius.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

OTHO

before, when they spyed him, they flew upon him with great showtes. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his companie, stepped before him, and closed him in: and so did the other Capteines that cryed unto them they should do him no hurt. Cecinna understanding what the matter was, roade thither, and pacified the tumult of these men of armes: and then saluting Celsus very curteously, he went with him towardes Bebricum. But nowe Titianus in the meane time, repentinge him selfe that he had sent Ambassadors unto the enemies, he placed the desperatest souldiers he had upon the walls of the citie, and incoraged the rest also to doe the like, and to stand to the defense. But Cecinna came to the wal, and being a horsebacke, held up his hand unto them. Then they made no more resistance, but those that were upon the walles, saluted the souldiers: and they that were within the citie opened the gates, and thrust in amongst Vitellius men, who receyved them, and did no man any hurt, but curteously imbraced them, and saluted eche other. Then they all sware and tooke their othes to be true to Vitellius, and so yelded them selves unto him. So doe the most part of those that were at this battell, report the successe thereof: graunting notwithstanding, that they knew not every thing that was done, bicause of the great disorder among them. But as I travelled on a time through the field where the battell was striken, with Metrius Florus that had beene Consul: he shewed me an olde man that when the field was fought in that place, was younge, and against his will was at the same battell on Othoes parte. Who told us, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to survey the number of those that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of those that came to view them. And sayd moreover, that he made inquierie of the matter, but he nether could imagine it him selfe, nor be satisfied by others. Now in deede it is likely, that in civil warres betwene contry men of one self citie, where one of the two armies is overthrowen, that there should be greater slaughter among them, then against the other enemies, bicause they take no prisoners of either side: for those they should take, would serve them no good pur-

Men that fight a battell, know not all things that are done at the battell.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

OTHO

pose. But after they were slaine, one to be layed on heapes so by another, that is a hard thing to judge. But now to the matter. The newes of this overthrowe came first but obscurely unto Otho, a common thing in a matter of so great importance: but afterwarde, when some that were hurt came and brought him certen newes of it, it was no marvell then to see Othoes friendes and familliers to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheere, and not to be discouraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great love and good will which the privat souldiers shewed unto him at that time, did passe and exceede all speech and education. For they forsooke him not, nether went they to submit them selves to their enemies the conquerors, nether tooke they any regard of them selves, to see their Emperour in that dispayre: but all of them joyntly together went unto his lodging, and called him their Emperour. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men represented in a triumphe lying on the ground, and kissed his hands, with the teares ronning downe their cheekes, and besought him not to forsake and leave them to their enemies, but to commaund their persons whilst they had one droppe of blud left in their bodies to doe him service. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongst others, there was a poore souldier drawing out his sword, sayd unto him: Know, O Cæsar, that all my companions are determined to dye in this sort for thee, and so slue him selfe. But all these lamentable things did never melt Othoes hart: who looking with a stowte countenaunce round about him, and casting his eyes every where, spake unto them in this maner: ‘I thinke this a more happy day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you first chose me Emperour: to see you love me so well, and doe me such honor, with so great shew of loyaltie. But yet I beseech you not to deny me of a greater favor, which is: to dye valliantly, and honorably, for the safetie of so many honest men as you be, and so good Citizens of Rome. If by your election you made me worthy to take upon me the Imperiall crowne: I must now needes shewe my selfe an Emperour, not sparing to spend my life, for your and my contries safetie. I am certen

336

The great fidelitie of the souldiers, unto the Emperour Otho.

The wonderfull corage of a souldier of Othoes.

The noble corage of Otho before his death, and his oration to the souldiers.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

OTHO

‘ that the victorie is not altogether myne enemies. For newes  
‘ are come unto me, that our armies of Mysia and Pannonia  
‘ are in their way comming to us, and that they are not  
‘ farre of from the Adriaticke sea. Asia, Syria, and Ægypt,  
‘ and the legions that make warre in Iury, are all ours. The  
‘ Senate taketh our parte, and our enemies wives and children  
‘ be in our handes. But this warre is not against Annibal,  
‘ nor Pyrrhus, nor againste the Cimbres, to fight who should  
‘ be owners of Italy: but it is againste the Romanes them  
‘ selves. For in this civill warre, both the Conqueror and  
‘ vanquished doe offend their contrye: for where the Con-  
‘ querors have benefit, the contry and common wealth  
‘ always receyveth losse. Assure your selves I had rather  
‘ dye, then raigne Emperour: considering also that my life  
‘ with victorie can not so much benefit the Romanes, as the  
‘ sacrifice of the same may doe my contry good, for the  
‘ peace and quietnes of my contry men, keeping Italy  
‘ thereby from seeing such another battell, as this hath  
‘ bene.’ So when he had made this oration unto them,  
and put those by, that would have dissuaded him the con-  
trary: he commaunded all the Senators and his friendes that  
were present, to avoyde. Then he wrote letters to them  
that were absent, and also unto the cities where through  
they passed, to use them very curteously, and to see them  
safely conveyed. Then came his Nephewe Cocceius to him,  
who was yet but a younge boye, and he did comfort him,  
and bad him not to be affrayd of Vitellius, for he had safely  
kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as care-  
full of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he  
would not yet adopt him for his sonne, though he was  
desirous to doe it, untill such tyme as he sawe the ende of  
this warre: to thend that if he overcame, he shoulde quietly  
raigne Emperour with him: and if he were overcome, that  
for adopting of him, he woulde not be cause of his death.  
But this one thinge onely, I commaunde and charge thee, my  
sonne, even as the last commaundement that I can give thee:  
that thou doe not forget altogether, nether over much re-  
member, that thyne Uncle hath bene Emperour. When he  
had tolde him this tale, he heard a noyse at his dore: they

The Emperor  
Othoes words  
to his Nephew  
Cocceius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

OTHO

were the souldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and woulde kill them, if they did not remayne with him, but would forsake their Emperour. Upon this occasion he came out once againe among them, being affrayd least the souldiers would doe the Senators some hurt, and made the souldiers give backe, not by intreating of them, nor speaking curteously to them, but looking grymly on them, and in great rage: insomuch that they all shroncke backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirst, and dranke a litle water: and having two swordes, he was proving a great while which had the best edge. In the ende, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his servaunts, and liberally to give out his money amonge them, to some more, to some lesse, not prodigally throwing it away without discretion, as being another mans money: but discretely gave to every man according to his desert. Then after he had dispatched them away, he laid him down to sleepe al the rest of the night, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort, he slept so sowndly. In the morning he called one of his infranchised bondmen, whom he had commaunded to helpe to save the Senators, and sent him to see if they were all safe, and gone. So when he understoode that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: Come on, said he then unto him, looke to thy selfe I reade thee, and take heede the souldiers see thee not, if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to kill my selfe. So assoone as his infranchised bondman was gone out of his chamber, he toke his sword with both his hands, and setting the poynt of it to his brest, he fell downe upon it, seeming to feele no other payne, saving that he fetched a sighe: whereby they that were without, knewe that he had done him selfe hurt. Thereuppon his friendes made straight an outcry, and all the campe and citie was incontinently full of teares and lamentacion. The souldiers sodainly ran with a great noyse to his gates, where they bitterly bewayled, and lamented his death, falling out with them selves that they were such Villaines so slenderly to have garded their Emperour, that they kept him not from

Otho in his death, seemed to follow Cato Utican.

Otho slue him selfe.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

killing him selfe for their sakes. So there was not a man of them that left his body, though the enemies were hard at hand: but having honorably buried him, and prepared a great stacke of wodde, they conveyed him armed to the fire of his funeralls, every man thinking him selfe happy, that coulde first set his shoulders to the coffyn to helpe to cary him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kissed his wound. Others tooke and kissed his handes. Others that could not come neare him, honored him, and did reverence him a farre of, and some there were also that after the stacke of woode was set a fire, slue them selves hard by the fire: who had never received benefit by him that was dead, (at the least to any mans knowledge) nether had they any occasion to be affraid of him, that was Conqueror. And truely me thinkes, never king nor tyrant was so ambitiously given to raigne, as they vehemently desired to be commaunded by Otho, and to obeye him: considering that their desire left them not even after his death, but was so lively rooted in their mindes, that in the ende, it turned to a deadly hate unto Vitellius. But of this we will speake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried Othoes ashes, they did set up a tombe for him, nether for magnificence of building, nor for glorious epitaphe, subject unto envy. For I have seene his tombe in the citie of Bresselles, a meane thing, and the epitaph upon it translated out of Latine, sayeth no more but this: This is the tombe of Marcus Otho. He dyed being but seven and thirty yere olde, and was Emperor but three moneths: and there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reproved his life. For though he lived not much more honeste then Nero, yet he dyed farre more honorably. Furthermore, when Pollio one of the Captaines would have compelled his souldiers presently to have taken their othes to be true to Vitellius, they fell out with him: and understanding that there were yet remayning some Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely troubled Verginius Rufus. For they came to his doores armed, and called him by his name, and commaunded him to take charge of them, and to goe as Ambassador to

OTHO

The funeralls  
of Otho the  
Emperour.

The Emperor  
Othoes tombe  
in the citie of  
Bresselles.

Othoes age  
and raigne.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

OTHO

intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already overcome, considering he refused it when they had overcome: and also he was affraid to goe Ambassador to the Germaines, bicause he had compelled them to doe thinges against their willes. Therefore he went out at his backe dore, and saved him selfe. So when the souldiers heard of it they were at length contented to be brought to be sworne unto Vitellius, and so joyned them selves with Cecinnaes souldiers, so they might be pardoned for all that was past.

**·THE LIVES OF  
ANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN**

**TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH BY**

**CHARLES DE LA SLUCE**

**AND ENGLISHED BY**

**THOMAS NORTH**





## THE LIFE OF ANNIBAL



we doe call to mind the first Punick warre the Carthaginians had with the Romanes: we shall find many Captaines, who by the glorye of their noble deedes, have left great fame and renowme unto their posteritie. Howbeit amongst all the Captaines of the Carthaginians, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then Hamilcar, Annibals father, otherwise surnamed Barcha, a valliant man doubtles, and in his time a skilfull souldier as any was. The same Hamilcar first of all made warre with the Romanes, a longer tyme in Sicilia then was looked for, who had done greate hurte to his contrye and common wealthe. After that also in the warres of Africk (at what tyme the mercenarye souldiers through their rebellion did put the contrye of Carthage in greate daunger) he did so valliantly appease the insurrection: that to every mans judgement, he was reputed the onely preserver of his contrye. Then he was sent Governor and Captaine into Spayne, and caryed with him at that tyme, (as it is reported) his sonne Annibal, beeing but a younge boye, where he did noble service. In fine, in the nynth yeare of his aboade there in that province, he dyed fighting vallyantly agaynst the Vetheons. After his deathe, Hasdrubal his Sonne in lawe, (whom the Carthaginians through the ayde and friendship of the Barcinian faction had made generall of all their armye) remayned governor there the space of eight yeares. This Hasdrubal sent for Annibal into Spayne, after his father Hamilcars

The parentage  
of Annibal.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** death, against the minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction, to thend that as he had bene trayned from his youth in the discipline of warres, in his father Hamilcars life: even so in like manner, that now being come to mans state, he should the better harden his body, to away with the paines and daungers of the warres. Now although at the first, the remembraunce of his father was a great helpe unto him to winne the love and good will of the souldiers: yet he him self afterwards, through his diligence and industrie so handled the matter, that the olde souldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely desired to choose him (and none other) for their governor. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for, in a noble Captaine or generall. He had a present and ready wit to give counsell what was to be done, in most greatest attempts: and besides, he lacked nether manhood nor industry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and invincible mind, even in greatest daungers and adversities of bodye: the which are wont to staye others from performing their indevors and duety. He would watche and warde as any private souldier, and was quicke and ready to doe any kind of service, either like a valiant souldier, or a good Captaine. In this sort Annibal continued in service in the warres, the space of three yeares, under the conduct of Hasdrubal. In that time he so wanne the hartes of all the army, that immediatly after Hasdrubals death, he was chosen to be Lieuetenant generall with the common consent of all the souldiers: and this honor was layed upon him without contradiction of any of the Carthaginians, through the friendship and good will of the Barcinian faction. Annibal was now six and twenty yeare olde, when the souldiers made him their Lieuetenant generall. For at what time his father Hamilcar brought him into Spayne, he was then but nyne yeare olde: and from that time unto Hasdrubals death (according to Polybius declaration) it was seventeene yeares more. So he was no sooner made Lieuetenant generall of all the campe, and his contry: but he bent him selfe to make warre with the Romanes, having long before determined it. For first of all, he chiefly mainteyned almost a common hate of all the Carthaginians

The sharpe wit and disposition of Annibal.

Annibal chosen Lieuetenant generall after the death of Hasdrubal, being but 26 yeare olde.

Divers causes of Annibals mortall hate to the Romanes.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

against the Romanes, bicause of the losse of Sicilia and Sardinia. Besides also, he bare them a secret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father Hamilcar: who, of all the Captaines the Carthaginians ever had, was the mortallest enemy unto the Romanes. And it is written also, that at what time Hamilcar made his preparation to goe into Spayne, he compelled Annibal being but a boy, to sweare in a sacrifice he made, that he would be a mortal enemy to the Romanes, assoone as ever he came to the state of a man. So, the remembrance of these things were still fresh in the young mans minde, as the Idea (or image) of his fathers hate, and still provoked him to spie out all the meanes he could, how to destroy the Empire of Rome. Besides also, the Barcinian faction never left to prick him forward unto it, bicause by wars he might raise him self to greatnes, and so increase his estate. These causes, aswell common as perticuler, inticed Annibal to attempt warre against the Romanes, and gave the stowt young man occasion by these meanes to practise innovation. There was a people at that time called the Saguntines, who confyned indifferently betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians: and were left free by the former peace concluded. These Saguntines ever after tooke part with the Romanes: and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the Romanes alwayes found them very true and faithfull to the Empire of Rome. Annibal therefore thought with him self, he could not devise to make a better match to anger the Romanes withall, and to kindle the fire of his malice also against them: then to make warre with the Saguntines, their confederats. Howbeit, before he would be openly seene to set upon them, he first determined to leade his armye against the Olcades, and other people on the other side of the river of Iberus: and after he had overcome them, then to finde occasion to molest the Saguntines, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begonne by them, then purposely intended by him. So after he had overcome the Olcades, he did set upon the Vacceians, spoyled their contry, besieged many cities, and tooke Hermandice, and Arbocole, greate and riche cities. Nowe he had in manner

ANNIBAL

The Barcinian  
faction.

Iberus fl.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL**  
The conspiracie of the Spanyards against Annibal.

Tagus fl.

Annibals stratageame.

The Iberians yeld them selves unto Annibal.

overcome all the whole contrye, when divers fugitives from the citie of Hermandice, encoraging one another, conspired against him, leavied men, and intised the Olcades that were fled, to take their part. Then they perswaded the Carpentanians their neighbours, that they would all agree sodainly to set upon Annibal at his returne. They being a people that desired nothing more then to fight, and considering also that they had received injuries by Annibal, did easily harken unto that counsell: and thereupon leavyng a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thousand, they went to assaile Annibal at his returne from the Vacceians, by the river of Tagus. When the Carthaginians discovered their army, they staid upon it, and were marvelously affraid. And doutles, they had had a great overthrow, if they had fought with those so fierce people, being affraid of their sodaine comming, and also loden as they were with so great spoyles: the which Annibal deeply considering, like a wise Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he passed his army over the river with as litle noise as he could, leaving the passage where the enemies might easiliest come over, unguarded: bicause under pretence of dissembled feare, he might intise the barbarous people to passe over the river, to take the oportunitie and occasion offred them. Now in deede as he was the subtillest captaine, and had the finest stratageames of any other captaine of his time: so his policy was not in vaine, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy. For the wild barbarous people reposing too great trust in the multitude of their men, supposing the Carthaginians had ben affraid: with great fury entred the river to passe it over. So they being greatly troubled, and out of order by this meanes, and specially before they could passe all over the river, they were set upon by the Carthaginians: first by certen horsemen, and afterwards with the whole army, so that there was a great number of them slaine, and the residue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the river of Iberus, yelded them selves unto him, saving the Saguntines: who, though they saw Annibal at hand comming

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

towards them, yet trusting to the friendship of the Romanes, they prepared to defend them selves against him: and therewithall sent Ambassadors presently to Rome, to shew the Senate in what great daunger they were, and also to pray aide against their so great enemye, that made warres so hottely with them. The Ambassadors that were sent to Rome, were scant gone out of Spayne, when Annibal made open warre on them, with al his army, and pitched his campe before the citie of Saguntus. When this matter was reported at Rome, and consulted of for the wrongs that had bene done to their confederats: the Senators delt but slackly in it, and by decree onely sent P. Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Bebius Pamphilus unto Annibal, to will him to raise his seege from Saguntus: and if they found he would not harken to them, that then they should thence reparaire to Carthage, and to pray them to deliver their generall Annibal unto them, bicause he had broken the peace. Polybius writeth, that Annibal did heare these Ambassadors, howbeit that he made them a slender aunswer. Livius writeth in contrary manner, that they were never heard, nor came at any time to his campe. Howbeit they both agree thus far, that they came into Spayne, and afterwards went into Afrike, and from thence came to Carthage: where after they had delivered their message unto the counsel, the Barcinian faction were so much against them, that they dishonorably returned to Rome, and obtained not their desire. Now, in the Senate of Carthage, there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the first tooke his beginning from the government of Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, and so disceded as it were by succession to his sonne Annibal, and grew afterwards unto such greatnes, that that faction (aswel abroad, as at home) ruled all matters judiciall. The second faction came of Hanno, a grave man, and of great authoritie in the same common wealth: howbeit a man more given to embrace peace and quietnes, then otherwise disposed to warre and trouble. It is he onely (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambassadors of the Romanes came to Carthage, to complaine of the injuries done to their confederats: that did then in manner against

ANNIBAL

Annibal layeth seege to the citie of Saguntus.

Two contrary factions in the Senate of Carthage: the Barcinians, and Hannians.

Hamilcar Barcha.

Hanno: a grave counsellor and governor in peace.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** the will of all the whole Senate, counsell them to keepe peace with the Romanes, and to beware of warres, the which one day might peradventure utterly destroy their contry. Doubtles, if the Carthaginians woulde have followed the grave counsell of Hanno, rather than to have given place to their desires, and had followed the Author of peace, and not to have been ruled by them that gave counsell to make warres: they hadde not tasted of those miseries which their contry afterwards came unto. But giving place to the furie and ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped such mischieves on their heads, as afterwards fell out upon them.

A happy thing to follow good counsell.

Wise counsell for governors to prevent things at the beginning.

Annibal wan the citie of Saguntus.

Therefore it is very meete for wise Magistrats and governors of common weales, alwaies rather to have an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the ende: and ever to decyde all matters by advise and council, before they should take any wars in hand. Now the Saguntines seing them selves beseeged by Annibal, and that against al reason and equitie he made warres upon them: they notwithstanding valiantly defended the seege, many monethes together. Yet in fine, though Annibal had many moe men then they (having a hundred and fifty thowsand men in his campe) and that the most part of their rampars were battered and overthrowen: they liked rather to abide the sack of their citie, then to yeld them selves to the mercy of their mortall enimie. So some doe report, that Saguntus was taken the eight moneth after seege was layed unto it: but Livie seemeth not to agree to that, nether to set downe any certen time of the continuance of the seege. Nowe, the taking of this so wealthie a citie, was a great furtherance divers wayes to Annibals enterprises. For many cities taking example of the sacke of Saguntus, who before misliking to be subject to the Carthaginians, were ready to rebell: they kept them selves quiet, and the souldiers also waxed lively and coragious, seing the rich spoyles that were divided in the campe. So Annibal sent great presents of the spoiles of the Saguntines unto Carthage, whereby he wanne the chiefest men of the citie, and made them like the better of warres: whome he determined to leade with him against the Romanes, not in Spayne, as many supposed, but into Italy

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

it selfe. Whilst these matters were in hande, the Ambassadors returned from Carthage to Rome, and declared in open Senate, the slender aunswer they had received, in manner at the selfe same time when they had intelligence of the sacke of Saguntus. Hereuppon the Romanes greatly repented them selves, (though somewhat too late) for that they ayded not their friendes and confederats in so great a daunger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very sorry for it, and therewith also marvelously offended, they devided the provinces unto the Consuls, to wete: Spayne unto Publius Cornelius, and Africk and Sicilia also unto Titus Sempronius. Afterwards, certen of the noblest men of the citie were sent ambassadors unto Carthage, to make their complaints in open Senate for breache of the peace, and also to denounce unto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of them selves. This was as bravely received of the Carthaginians, as lustely offred unto them: but therein they were not so wel advised, as the successe of that warre in the ende sufficiently proved it to them. Now Annibal being advertised how things were concluded in the Senate at Carthage, and thinking with him selfe that it was time to goe into Italy, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the possible speede he could to prepare his shippes and things ready, and so required ayde of the cities that were his best friends and confederats, and commaunded that all the bands should meete him at newe Carthage. So when he came to Gades, he appoynted good garrisons in places most convenient, in Africk and Spayne, which he thought above all things els to be most necessary: bicause that when he should goe into Italy, the Romanes should not winne it from him. Therefore he sent into Africk, twelve hundred horsemen, and thirteene thowsand footemen, all Spanyards: and besides, he brought out of divers parts of Africk foure thowsand souldiers, and placed them in garrison in Carthage, obteyning both hostages and souldiers by this meanes. So he left the government of Spayne to his brother Hasdrubal, and

ANNIBAL

P. Cornelius,  
and T. Sempronius  
Consuls.

Warres pro-  
claymed by  
the Romanes,  
with the Car-  
thaginians.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** gave him an army of fiftye shippes of warre, two thowsand horsemen, and twelve thowsand footemen. These were the garrisons he left in both those provinces. Nowe he thought them not sufficient to withstande the power of the Romanes, if they bent their warres into Spayne, or Africke: but because he thought them stronge inough to stay the enemy from overrunning of the contry, untill that having brought his armye by land, he had set foote in Italy. Moreover, he knewe that the Carthaginians were stronge inough to leavy a new army if they lysted, and if neede so required, to send him ayde also into Italy. For, after that they had driven away this so daungerous a warre, procured agaynst them through the spight of the mercenary souldiers, having ever after obtained victorie: first under the conduct of Hamilcar: secondly, under Hasdruball: and lastlie, under Annibal: they were growen to such greatnes and strength, that at what time Annibal came into Italie, their Empire and dominions were marvelously enlarged. For they had all the coast of Africke, which lyeth over against the sea Mediterraneum, from the aulters of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrte, unto Hercules pillers: and conteineth in length \*two thowsande paces. So, after they had passed the straight which devideth Africke from Europe, they possessed almost all Spayne, to the mountaines Pyrenei, which doe deuide Spayne from Gaule. Thus order being taken for all things in Africke, and Spayne: Annibal returned againe to new Carthage, where his armie was readie for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no lenger, he called his men together, and incoraging them with great and large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of Italie: and made great accompt unto them of the friendshippe of the Gaules, and in the end he bad them be of good corage, and set lustely forward. Thereuppon, the next day following he departed from Carthage, and brought his armie all alongest the coast, unto the river Iberus. It is reported, that the next night following, Annibal dreamed he saw a young man, of a marvelous terrible looke and stature, who bad him follow him into Italie: but afterwards, that he saw a snake of a

The greatnes of the dominion of Africke.

\*This place is false.

Annibal determineth to invade Italy.

Annibals dreame at the river of Iberus.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

wonderful greatnes, making a marvelous noyse: and being desirous to understand what the same might signifie, it was told him that it betokened the destruction of Italie. It is not to be marveled at, though the great care and thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of Italie, made his mind to run of such fansies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destruction, or such other calamities of warre. For they are things that happen often, as Cicero the Orator saith: that our thoughts and words do beget such things in our dreame, as Ennius the Poet wryteth of Homer: to wit, like to those his minde most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now, after Annibal had passed over the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had also won the Gaules harts with bountifull gifts: in few dayes he came to the river of Rhone. The head of the river of Rhone, is not farre from the heades of the rivers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at Geneva. Then it runneth from thence towards the West, and devideth the Gaules a pretie way: and then being increased by the river of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other rivers, in the ende it falleth into the sea with divers heades, betwext the Volces, and the Cavarians. The Volces, at that time inhabited both the sides of the river of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richest of all the other Gaules. They having understanding of Annibals comming, passed over the river, and armed them selves, and prepared on the other side to stoppe the Carthaginians, that they should not passe over. Now, though Annibal had wonne all the other Gaules, yet those he coulede never winne neither by gifts, nor threats, to cause them rather to prove the friendship of the Carthaginians, then their force. Therefore Annibal perceiving he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commaunded Hanno the sonne of Bomilcar, secretly to passe over the river of Rhone, with parte of the armie, and so to set upon the Gaules on the sodaine. Thereupon Hanno as he was commaunded, made a long jorney, and having passed over the river at passable fords: he shewed him selfe hard by the enemies campe, before they saw him, or that they knewe what it was. The Gaules hearing their showtes and cries

ANNIBAL

The head and course of the river of Rhone.

Arar fl.

The Volces: people that inhabited about the river of Rhone.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ANNIBAL

behinde them, and having their handes full of Annibal before them, who had many botes ready to passe over his men: they having no leasure to consult of the matter, neither to arme them selves to stande to defense, left their campe, and fled for life. So they being driven from the other side of the river, the rest of the armie of the Carthaginians passed over it with safetie. In the meane time, P. Cornelius Scipio, that but a litle before was comen unto Massilia, still heard newes of Annibals armie. Wherefore, to be more assured of the matter, he sent a bande of choyce horsemen to discover what the enemies intent was: who making great speede as they were commaunded, met by chance with five hundred horsemen of the Numidians, whom Annibal had also sent to bring him word of the Romanes armie. So, they first sodainly gave charge upon the Numidians, and after a hotte and valliant conflict betwene both the parties, in the end the Romanes overcomming them, they made them flie, but with great losse of their men: howbeit the greatest losse and slaughter fell upon the enemies. So Annibal by this meanes founde where the Romanes lay, and stooode in a great dout with him selfe, whither he shoulde keepe on his way into Italie, or else lead his armie against the Consul that then was, and so to prove his happe and successe. At length, debating many wayes in his mind, and uncertaine which way he would determine: the Ambassadors of the Boians perswaded him to leave all other devises, and to goe on into Italie. For before that Annibal had passed over the mountaines Pirenei, the Boians having by craft taken the Romanes Ambassadors, and done great mischiefes unto Manlius the Prætor, and intised the Insubrians also: they were revolted from the Romanes, and tooke parte with Annibal, and onely because the Romanes had replenished the cities of Placentia, and Cremona with people, and had made them Colonies to Rome. So Annibal being ruled by their counsell, raised his campe, and keping the rivers side, still going against the river: in few dayes he came to the place which the Gaules doe call the Iland, the which the river of Arar and Rhodanus coming from divers mountaines doe make there. So at this

P. Cornelius Scipio Consul: sent against Annibal, and arrived at Massilia.

The Boians and Insubrians revolt from the Romanes, and take parte with Annibal.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

present, there is the famous cite of Lion in Gaule, which they say was built long time after, by Plancus Munatius. From thence he came to the contrie of the Allobroges, and having pacified the variance betwext two brethren for the realme, he came through the contrie of the Castinians and Vocontians, to the river of Durance. The head of this river commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a swift streame, falleth into the river of Rhone: and as it oftentimes chaungeth her course, so hath it in manner no passable forde. Yet Annibal having past it over, he led his armie unto the Alpes, through open and plaine contries, as farre as he coule: howbeit as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Insomuche that some which were living at that time, did affirme, that they heard Annibal him selfe say, that he had lost above thirtie thousand men, and the most parte of his horsemen. For he was forced not only to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaines, but also compelled to make wayes through the straights: so that in certaine places of the highest rockes, he was driven to make passages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had passed the Alpes in fiftene dayes space, he came downe into the valley, not farre from the cite of Turine. Whereby it seemeth to me, that he passed over the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one side of it hath the river of Druentia, and on the other side it goeth downe to the city of Turine. Now it is hard to say truly, what number of men he had when he was comen into Italie: bicause of mens diversities of opinions. For some wryte, that he had a hundred thousand footemen, and twentie thousand horsemen: others also write, that he had twentie thousand footemen, and sixe thousand horsemen, all Afrikans and Spanyardes. But others, reckoning the Gaules and Ligurias, doe count foure score thousande footemen, and tenne thousande horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his armie was so great, as the first men report, and specially having passed through so many contries, and also received such losse as he had: neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters doe make it, if a man will consider the famous exploytes and great enter-

**ANNIBAL**  
Lugdunum,  
built by  
Plancus  
Munatius.  
**Druentia fl.**

**Annibal made**  
wayes through  
the rockes  
of the moun-  
taines, by  
force of fire  
and vineger.  
**The valley of**  
**Taurinus.**  
**Annibals**  
comming into  
Italie by  
Piedmont,  
not farre from  
Turine.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL**

Annibals  
army in  
Italie.

prises he did afterwarde. So that I like their opinions best, which keepe the meane betwene them both: considering that he brought into Italie, the better parte of foure score thowsand footemen, and tenne thowsand horsemen, the which he had leaved in Spayne: as it is manifestly knowne also, that a great number of the Ligurians and Gaules came to joyne with him, for the great malice they bare unto the Romanes, that gave no place nor grounde unto the Carthaginians. So Annibal being comen from Turine, into the contrie of the Insubrians: he was met withall by Publius Cornelius Scipio, who marching with wonderfull speede from Massilia, and having passed the rivers of Po and Tesin, he camped not farre from the enemye. So shortly after, both the Generalls being comen into the field to view eke others campe, the horsemen of either side grew to skirmish, which continued long, and was not to be discerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the Romanes seeing the Consul hurt, and also that the horsemen of the Numidians, by litle and litle came to compasse them in: they were driven to geve ground, and so pretily retyred, defending the Consul the best they could to save him, and so at length recovered their campe. It is reported that Publius Cornelius Scipio, was saved at that time through his sonnes helpe, who afterwarde was called African, and at that time was but a young stripling: whose praise though it was wonderfull in so greene a youth, yet it is likelie to be true, because of the famous and valliant actes he did afterwarde. Nowe Scipio having proved how much his enemye was stronger then him selfe in horsemen: he determined to place his campe so, as his footemen might be in best safety, and also fight with greatest advantage. And therefore the next night following he passed the river of Po, and made as litle noyse as he coulede, and went unto Placentia. The like shortlie after did T. Sempronius Longus, who had bene restored from banishment by the Senate, and sent for out of Sicilia: because both the Consuls should governe the common wealthe by one selfe authoritie. Annibal also followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his

Annibals first  
conflict with  
the Romanes,  
and victorie.

P. C. Scipio  
Consul hurt,  
and saved  
from his  
enemies by  
his sonne,  
who was  
afterwards  
called  
African.

Padus fl.  
P. Cornelius  
Scipio, and  
T. Sempronius  
Longus,  
Consuls  
against  
Annibal.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

campe neere unto the river of Trebia : hoping that bicause both campes lay so neere together, some occasion would be offred to fight, the which he chieffie desired, both bicause he coulede not long maintaine warre for lacke of vittells, as also that he mistrusted the fickelnes of the Gaules. Who, like as they soone fell in league and frendship with him, drawn unto it with hope of chaunge, and with the fame also of his victorie obtained : so he mistrusted that upon any light occasion (as if the warre should continue any long time in their contrie) they would turne all the hate they bare unto the Romanes, against him, as the only author of this warre. For these respectes therefore, he devised all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time, Sempronius the other Consul, met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with spoyle, stragling up and downe the fieldes, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like successe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall : he had good hope of victorie, if once both the armies might come to fight. Therefore being marvelous desirous to doe some noble enterprise before Scipio were recovered of his hurt, and that the new Consul should be chosen : he determined to joyne battell against the will of his other colleague and fellowe Consul Scipio, who thought nothing could be to lesse purpose, then to put all the state and common wealth in jeopardie, speciallie having all the whole Gaules in maner in the field against him. Now, Annibal had secret intelligence of all this variance, by spialls he had sent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politike and suttle as he was, found out a place straight betwene both campes, covered over with bushes and briers, and there he placed his brother Mago to lye in ambush, with a companie of chosen men. Then he commaunded the horsemen of the Numidians, to scurrie to the trenches of the Romanes, to intise him to come to battell : and thereupon made the residue of his armie to eate, and so put them in verie good order of battell, to be readie upon any occasion offered. Now the Consul Sempronius, at the first tumult of the Numidians, sodainly sent his horsemen

ANNIBAL  
Trebia fl.

Ambush laied  
by Annibal  
to entrappe  
Sempronius.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** to encounter them, and after them put out six thowsande footemen, and in the ende, came him selfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the midst of winter, and extreame cold, and speciallie in the places inclosed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Nowe the Numidians as they were commaunded, intised the Romanes by litle and litle on this side the river of Trebia, untill they came to the place where they might discerne their ensignes: and then they sodainlie turned upon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the Numidians, oftentimes to flie of set purpose, and then to stay upon the sodaine when they see time, to charge their enemy more hottely and fiercely then before. Whereuppon Sempronius incontinently gathered his horsemen together, and did set his men in battell ray, as time required, to geve charge upon his enemy, that stayed for him in order of battell. For Annibal had cast his men into squadrons, readie upon any occasion. The skirmish beganne first by the light horsemen, and afterwards increased hotter by supplie of the men of armes: howbeit the Romane Knights being unable to beare the shocke of the enemies, they were quickelie broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with such furie and noble corage, that they had bene able to have resisted, so they had fought but with footemen onely. But on the one side, the horsemen and Elephants made them affraied, and on the other side the footemen followed them verie lustely, and fought with great furie against famished and frozen men. Wherefore the Romanes notwithstanding, suffring all the miseries that vexed them on everie side, with an unspeakable corage and magnanimitie, such as was above their force and strength: they fought still, untill that Mago comming out of his ambush, came and sodainly assailed them with great showtes and cries, and that the middle squadron of the Carthaginians also (through Annibals commaundement) flew upon the Cenomanians. Then the Romanes seeing their confederats flie, their harts were done, and utterly discouraged. It is sayd that there were tenne thowsande footemen of the Romanes

Annibal  
fought with  
Sempronius  
the Consul, at  
the river of  
Trebia.

The Numi-  
dians craft  
in flying.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

got to Placentia, and came through the enemies. The rest of the armie that fledde, were most parte of them slaine by the Carthaginians. The Consul Sempronius also scaped verie narrowlie from the enemies. The victorie cost Annibal the setting on also: for he lost a great number of his men, and the most parte of all his Elephantes were slaine. After this battell, Annibal overcame all the contrie, and did put all to fire and sworde, and tooke also certaine townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the contrie men flie, that were disorderlie gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the spring, he brought his army into the field sooner then time required: and meaning to goe into Thuscan, he was driven backe by a great tempest at the verie toppe of the height of the Appenine, and so compelled to bring his armie about Placentia: howbeit shortly after he put himselfe againe into the fields for divers urgent and necessary causes. For had he not saved him selfe by that policie, he had almost bene taken tardie by the ambush of the Gaules: who being angry with him that the warre continued so long in their contry, they sought to be revenged of him, as the only author and occasion of the warre. Therefore perceiving it was time for him to avoyde this daunger, he made all the hast he could to leade his armie into some other province. Furthermore, he thought it would increase his estimacion much among straungers, and also greatly encorage his owne people, if he could make the power of the Carthaginians to seeme so great, and also their Captaine to be of so noble a corage, as to dare to make warre so neere to the citie of Rome. All things therefore set a part, he marched with his campe by the mountaine Appenine, and so comming through the contry of the Ligurians, he came into Thuscan, by the way that bringeth them into the champion contry, and to the marisses about the river of Arnus. The river of Arnus at that time was very high, and had overflowen all the fields thereabouts. Annibal therefore marching with so great an army as he had, could not avoyde it, but that he must needes lose a

ANNIBAL  
Annibals  
victorie of  
the Consul  
Sempronius.

Arnus fl.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL**  
Annibal lost one of his eyes in the marishes, by the river of Arnus.

C. Flaminius,  
and Cn. Servilius,  
Consuls.

Montes Cortonenses.  
Lacus Thrasimenus.

The judgement of a souldier.

number of his men and horse, before he could get out of those evill favored marishes. Insomuch that he him selfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of the great paines he had taken day and night without sleepe or rest, and also through the evill ayer: though he was caried upon a high Elephants back, which only was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meane time, C. Flaminius Consul, to whom the charge of Sempronius army was geven: he was come unto Aretium against the Senates minde, who were marvelously offended with him, bicause he left his companion Cn. Servilius at Rome, and went unto his province by stelth as it were, without the furniture of a Consul and his officers. This was a very hasty man of nature, and one whom the people had brought to that dignity and office: so that he was become so prowde and insolent that men might see he would hazard all things without wit or judgement. Annibal having intelligence hereof, thought it the best way to anger the Consul, and to do what he could possible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Consul should come to joyne with him. Therefore, he marching forward with his campe through the contry of Fesula, and Aretium, he burnt and spoiled all the contry thereabout, and filled them all with feare, never leaving to destroy all before him, until he came to the mountaines Cortonenses, and so to the lake called Thrasimene. When he had viewed the place, he went about to surprise his enemy by some ambush: wherupon he conveyed certen horsemen under the hills, hard by the straight that goeth unto Thrasimene, and behind the mountaines also, he placed his light horsemen. Then he him selfe with the rest of his army came downe into the field, supposing that the Consul would not be quiet: and so it fell out. For hot stirring heades are easely intrapped, and fall into the enemies ambush, and oftentimes do put all in hazard, bicause they will follow no counsell nor good advise. C. Flaminius therefore, seeing their contry utterly spoiled, the corne destroyed and cut downe, and the houses burnt: he made great hast to lead his armie against the enemy, contrarie to all mens minds, who

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

would have had him taried for his companion Cn. Servilius the other Consul. So even at sunne set, when he was come to the straights of the lake of Thrasimene, he caused his campe to stay there, although his men were not wearie with the long jorney they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day, making no view of the contrie, he went over the mountaines. Then Annibal who long before was prepared for this, did but stay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he saw the Romanes come into the plaine, he gave a signall unto all his men to geve charge upon theemie. Thereuppon the Carthaginians breaking out on everie side, came before and behinde, and on the flanckes to assaile theemie, being shut in betwene the lake and the mountaines. Now in contrarie maner, the Romanes beginning to fight out of order, they fought inclosed together, that they could not see one another, as if it had bene darke: so that it is to be wondered at, how, and with what minde they fought it out so long, considering they were compassed in on everie side. For they fought it out above three howres space, with such fury and corage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that present time, neither did they offer to fie or stirre a foote: until they heard that the Consul C. Flaminius going from rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was slaine by a man of armes called Ducarius. Then when they had lost their Generall, and being voyde of all hope: they fled, some towards the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which divers of them flying were overtaken and slaine. So there were slaine \*fifteene thowsand in the field, and there scaped about ten thowsand. Furthermore the report went, that there were six thowsande footemen which forcible (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there stayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe upon Annibals promise: but they were betrayed, and slaine, every mothers sonne of them. After this great victorie, Annibal did let divers Italian prisoners goe free without raunsome paying, after he had used them marvelous curteouslie: bicause that the fame of his clemencie and curtesie should be knowen unto all nations,

ANNIBAL

Battell  
betwext  
Annibal and  
C. Flaminius  
the Consuls  
by the lake  
of Thrasymene.

The Romanes  
were so earnest  
in fight,  
that they  
heard not the  
noise of an  
earthquake.

C. Flaminius  
the Consul  
slaine.

\*Plutarke in  
the life of  
Fabius Maximus,  
addeth to as many  
prisoners.

Annibals  
craftines to  
dissemble  
vertue.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL**  
The naturall  
disposition of  
Annibal.

whereas in deede his owne nature was contrarie to all vertues. For he was hastie and cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought up in warres, and exercised in murther, treason, and ambushes layed for enemies: and never cared for law, order, nor civill government. So by this meanes he became one of the cruellest Captaines, the most suttell, and craftiest to deceive and intrap hisemie, that ever was. For as he was alway prying to beguile theemie: so those whom he could not overcome in warre by plaine force, he went about to intrappe by flight and policie. The which appeareth true by this present battell, and also by the other he fought against the Consul Sempronius, by the river of Trebia. But let us returne to our matter, and leave this talke till an other time. Now when the newes of the overthrow and death of the Consul Flaminius was reported at Rome, having lost the most parte of his armie: there was great mone and lamentation made through all the citie of Rome. Some bewailing the common miserie of the common wealth, others lamenting their private particular losse, and some also sorowing for both together. But in deede it was a woefull sight, to see a world of men and women to run to the gates of the citie, everie one privatly asking for their kinne and frends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very sorie and pensife, despairing of the safetie of their sonnes, dyed sodainly for the extreame joy they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they sawe their sonnes alive and safe. At the selfe same time, Cn. Servilius, the other Consul with C. Flaminius, did send him foure thowsand horsemen, not understanding yet of the battell that was fought by the lake of Thrasymene. But when they heard of the overthrowe of their men by the way, and therefore thought to have fled into Umbria: they were compassed in by the horsemen of the enemies, and so brought unto Annibal. Nowe the Empire of Rome being brought into so great extreamitie and daunger, bicause of so many small losses one in the necke of an other: it was ordeined, that an extraordinarie Governor or Magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an office specially used to be reserved for the last hope and remedie, in most

Extreame  
joy causeth  
sodaine death.

The office of  
Dictator, of  
what effect.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

extreame daunger and perill, of the state and common wealth. But because the Consul Servilius could not returne at that time to Rome, all the waies being kept by the enemie: the people contrarie to their custome, created Q. Fabius Dictator, (who afterwards attained the surname of Maximus, to say, verie great) who likewise did name M. Minutius Generall of the horsemen. Now this Fabius was a grave and wise counsellor, and of great authoritie and estimacion in the common wealth: insomuche as the citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perswading them selves, that the honor of Rome might be better preserved under the government and conduct of such a Generall, rather then under the government of any other man whatsoever. So Fabius knowing it very well, after he had carefullie and diligentlie given order for all thinges necessarie: he departed from Rome, and when he had received the armie of the late Consul Cn. Servilius, he added unto them two other legions, and so went unto the enemie. Nowe Annibal was gone from the lake of Thrasyrene, and went directly towards the citie of Spoletum, to see if he could take it at the first assault. But when he saw that the townes men stode upon the rampers of the walls, and valiantlie defended them selves: he then left the towne, and destroyed the contrie as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into Apulia, through the marches of Ancona, and the contries of the Marsians and Pelignians. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the citie of Arpy, not farre from the campe of the enemie, to thend to drawe out the warre at length. For the rashnesse and foolehardines of the former Captaines affore time, had brought the state of Rome into such miserie: that they thought it a victorie unto them, not to be overcome by the enemie, that had so often overcome them. Whereby all thinges were turned straight with the change and alteration of the Captaine. For, though Annibal had set his men in battell ray, and afterwarde perceiving his enemie sturred not, went and destroyed the contrie, hoping thereby to intise the Dictator to fight, when he should see the contrie of his confederates so spoyled, as it

ANNIBAL

Q. Fabius  
Maximus,  
created  
Dictator.

Hastines of  
Captaines  
oftentimes  
very hurtfull.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moved withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. Annibal was in a marvelous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often removed his campe, to the ende that going divers wayes, some occasion or oportunitie might fall out to deceive the enemy, or else to geve battell. So when he had passed the mountaine Appenine, he came unto Samnium. But bicause shortlie after, some of Campania, who having bene taken prisoners by the lake of Thrasymene, had bene set at libertie without raunsome: they putting him in hope that he might take the citie of Capua, he made his armie march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the contrie, to bring him unto Casinum. Nowe the guide overhearing Casinum, understoode it Casilinum, and so mistaking the sound of the word, brought the armie a cleane contrary way unto Calentinum, and Calenum, and from thence about Stella. So when they came into a contry environned about with mountaines and rivers, Annibal knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guide to death. Fabius the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patientlie, and was contented to geve Annibal libertie to take his pleasure which way he woulde: untill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his garrison, being places of great advantage and commodity. So the armie of the Carthaginians was in manner compassed in every way, and they must needs have dyed for famine in that place, or else have fled, to their great shame and dishonor: had not Annibal by this stratageame prevented the daunger. Who knowing the daunger all his armie stooode in, and having spied a fit time for it: he commaunded his souldiers to bring forth two thowsand oxen which they had gotten in spoyle in the fields, having great store of them, and then tying torches or fire linckes unto their hornes, he appointed the nimblest men he had to light them, and to drive the oxen up the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe of the first watche. All this was duely executed according to his commaundement, and the oxen running up to the toppe of the

The guide cruelly put to death by Annibal.

Annibals stratageame in the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, against Q. Fabius Dictator.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them fayer and softly. Now the Romanes that had long before placed a strong garrison upon the mountaines, they were affrayed of this straunge sight, and mistrusting some ambushe, they foorthwith forsooke their peeces and holdes. Fabius him selfe mistrusting also that it was some stratageame of the enemie, kept his men within the campe, and coulde not well tell what to say to it. In the meane time, Annibal got over the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of Swessa, which the contrie men doe call the tower of the bathes, and brought all his armie safe into Alba: and shortlie after, he marched directlie as though he woulde goe to Rome, howbeit he sodainlie turned out of the way, and went presentlie into Apulia. There he tooke the citie of Glerenum, a verie riche and wealthie towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him harde, and came and camped by Laurinum, not farre from the Carthaginians campe. So he being sent for to Rome about waightie affaires of the state, there was no remedy but he must needes depart thence with all the spede he coulde: howbeit before he went, he left Marcus Minutius Generall of the horsemen, his Lieutenaunt of all the armie, and commaunded him in his absence not once to sturre, nor meddle with the enemie. For he was fullie bent to follow his first determination, which was not to vexe the enemy, nor to fight with him, though he were provoked to it. Howbeit Marcus Minutius litle regarding the Dictators commaundement, his backe was no soner turned, but he set upon a companie of the enemies dispersed in the fielde a forraging, and slue a great number of them: and fought with the rest, even into their campe. The rumor of this skirmish flew straight to Rome, and there was such great accompt made of it, that it was esteemed for a victorie: and the common people were so joyfull of it, that they straight made the power of the Lieutenant, equall with the Dictator Fabius: the which was never heard of before. Fabius patiently bearing this extream injurie with a noble courage, having no way deserved it: he returned againe unto the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one selfe time (a thing never seene nor heard of before) who after they had

ANNIBAL

Certaine bathes at Swessa, called the tower of the bathes.

Glerenum: a citie in Apulia.

Two Dictators together never heard of before.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** devided the army betwene them, either of them commaunded his army a parte, as the Consuls were wont to doe before. Marcus Minutius thereupon grew to such a pride and hawtie mind, that one day he ventred to geve battell, and made not his companion Fabius a counsell withall: the which Annibal having so often overcome, durst scantly have enterprised. So he led his army into such a place, where the enimie had compassed them in: insomuche that Annibal slue them at his pleasure, without any hope left them to escape, if Fabius had not comen in time (as he did) to aide them, rather respecting the honor of his contrie, then remembering the private injurie he had received. For he comming fresh with his armie to the battell, made Annibal affrayed, that the Romane legions had libertie to retire with safetie. Whereby Fabius wanne great fame for his wisdom and valliantnesse, both of his owne souldiers, as also of the enemies them selves. For it was reported that Annibal should say, returning into his campe: that in this battell he had overcome M. Minutius, but withall, that he was also overcome by Fabius. And Minutius selfe also confessing Fabius wisdom, and considering that (according to Hesiodus saying) it was good reason to obey a better man then him selfe: he came with all his armie unto Fabius campe, and renouncing his authority, came and humbly saluted Fabius as his father, and all that day there was great joy, and rejoycing among the souldiers. So both the armies being placed in garrison for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two neue Consuls created: L. Paulus Æmylius, and C. Terentius Varro, one that of a meane man (through the favour of the common people) was brought to be Consul. So they had libertie and commission to leavie a greater armie then the Generalls before them had done. Whereby the legions were newly supplied, and also others added unto them, more then were before. Now when the Consuls were come into the armie, as they were of severall dispositions, so did they also observe divers manners in their government. Lucius Paulus, who was a wise grave man, and one that purposed to followe Fabius counsell and facions: he did desire to drawe out the warre in length, and to stay the

L. Paulus  
Æmylius,  
and C. Teren-  
tius Varro,  
Consuls.

The differ-  
ence betwext  
L. Paulus,  
and C. Ter.  
Varro.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ANNIBAL

emie without fighting. Varro on the other side was a hastie man, and venturous, and desired nothings but to fight. So it chaunced, that not longe after it was knowne, to the great cost and daunger of the citie of Rome, what difference there was betwext the modestie of Æmilius, and the foolehardinesse of Varro. For Annibal beinge affrayed of some sturre and tumult in his campe for lacke of vittells, he departed from Glerenum, and goinge into the warmest places of Apulia, came and camped with all his armie, by a village called Cannes. So he was followed with both the Consulls, who came and camped severallie harde by him, but so neere one to an other, that there was but the river of Auside that parted them. Ausidus fl. This river as it is reported, doth alone deuide the mowntayne of the Appenine, and taketh his heade on that side of the mowntayne that lyeth to the sea side, from whence it runneth to the sea Adriaticum. Nowe, Lucius Paulus findinge that it was impossible for Annibal beinge in a straunge countrey to mayntayne so greate an armie of suche sundrie nations together: he was fullie bent to tracte time, and to avoyde battell, perswadinge him selfe that it was the right and onelie way to overcome him, beinge as muche to the enemies disadvauntage, as also marvelous profitable and beneficiall for the common wealth. And sure if C. Terentius Varro, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that Annibals armie had bene overthrowen by the Romanes, without stroke striking. Howbeit he had suche a light head of his owne, and was so fickle minded, that he neither regarded wise counsell, nor Paulus Æmylius authoritie: but in contrarie manner woulde fall out with him, and also complayned before the souldiers, for that he kept his men pent up, and idle, whilst the emie did put forth his men to the field in battell ray. So when his turne came, that he was absolutelie to commaunde the whole armie, (for they both had absolute power by turnes) he passed over the river of Auside by breake of day, and gave the signall of battell without the privitie of his companion Æmylius, who rather followed him against his will, then willinglie, because he coulde doe none otherwise. So he caused a skarlet coate of armes to be put out verie earlie



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** in the morning, for signall of battell. Annibal on the other side as glad of it as might be possible, that he had occasion offered him to fight, (considering that the continuall delaying of battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his armie over the river, and had straight put them in verie good order. For he had taken great spoyles of his enemies to furnishe him selfe verie bravelie. Nowe the armie of the Romanes stooode Southward, insomuche that the Southwinde (which the men of the contrie call Vulturnus) blewe full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie manner had the vantage of the winde and Sunne upon their backes, and their battell stooode in this manner. The Afrikans were placed in both the winges, and the Gaules and Spanyardes set in squadron in the middest. The light horsemen first beganne the skirmishe, and after them followed the men of armes: and bicause the space betwext the river and the footemen was verie narrow, so as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So, the horsemen of the Romanes being overthrowen, the footemen came with suche a lustie corage to receive the charge, that they thought they shoulde not have day enough to fight. Howbeit the over earnest desire they had to overcome their enemies, made their overthrowe more miserable, then their joy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the Gaules and Spanyardes, (who as we have sayd before kept the battell) not being able any lenger to withstand the force of the Romanes, they retired towardes the Afrikanes in the wings. The Romanes perceiving that, ran upon the enemy with all the fury they could, and had them in chase and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middest of them. Then the Carthaginians that were in both wings, came and compassed them in before they were aware. Moreover, there were five hundred of the Numidian horsemen, that cullerably fled unto the Consuls, who received them very curteously, and placed them in the rereward of the army. They seeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, and did sodainly geve them charge. Then the army of the Romanes was utterly overthrowen, and Annibal obtained victory. Livie writeth that there

Battell at  
Cannes.

A strata-  
geame of  
Annibal.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

were slaine in this battell \*forty thousand footemen, and above two thowsand seven hundred horsemen. Polybius saith, that there were many more slaine. Well, letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the Romanes had never greater losse, neither in the first warre with Africke, nor in the seconde by the Carthaginians, as this overthrowe that was geven at Cannes. For there was slaine, the Consul Paulus Æmylius him selfe, a man undoubtedlie deserving great praise, and that served his contrie and common wealth even to the hower of death: Cn. Servilius, Consul the yeare before, he was also slaine there, and many other that had bene Consuls, Prætors, and others of such like dignitie, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other Senators and honest citizens, and that suche a number of them, that the verie crueltie it selfe of the enemye was satisfied. The Consull Terentius Varro, who was the onelie author of all this warre and slaughter, seeinge the enemye victor everie waye, he saved him selfe by flyinge. And Tuditanus a Chiefetaine of a bande, comminge through his enemies with a good companie of his men, he came unto Canusium. Thither came also about tenne thowsande men, that had escaped from their enemies, as out of a daungerous storme: by whose consent, the charge of the whole armie was geven unto Appius Pulcher, and also unto Cornelius Scipio, who afterwarde did ende this warre. Thus was the ende of the battell fought by Cannes. Newes flewe straight to Rome of this overthrowe, the which though they justly filled all the citie with sorowe and calamitie, yet the Senate and people of Rome kept alwaies their countenance and greatnes, even in this extreame miserie. Insomuch that they had not only good hope to kepe their city safe, but furthermore they leaved a new army and made young men to beare armor, and yet left not Sicilia and Spayne unprovided in the meane time: so that they made the world to wonder at them, to consider these things how they could in so great calamity and trouble have so noble harts, and such wise counsell. But to let passe the former overthrowes, and great losses they sustained at Ticinum, at Trebia, and at the lake of Thrasimene: what nation or people could have borne this last plague, whereby

**ANNIBAL**  
\*Plutarke in the life of Fabius sayth, that there were fiftie thousand slaine, and fourteene thowsande taken prisoners. Paulus Æmylius Consul, slaine at the battell of Cannes.

Great slaughter at the battell of Cannes.

The constancy of the Romanes in extremitie.

The Romanes lost three great battells to Annibal, at Ticinum, Trebia, and Thrasimene.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** the whole force and power of the Romanes was in maner utterly destroyed and overthrown? and yet the people of Rome so held it out, and that with so great wisdom and counsell: that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Besides, to help them the more, Annibal being conqueror, trifling time in taking his leisure, and refreshing his army: he gave the Romanes leasure that were overcome to take breath againe, and to restore them selves. For doutlesse, if Annibal being conqueror, had immediatly after the victorie obtained, brought his armie directly to Rome: surely the Romanes had bene utterly undone, or at the least had bene compelled to have put all in venter. So, it is reported, that Annibal oftentimes afterwarde repented him selfe he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counsell which wished him to let his souldiers rest, then Maharbals advise, general of his horsemen, who would have had him gone straight to Rome, and so to have ended all this warre. But he seing Annibals delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now common in every mans mouth: Annibal, thou knowest how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to use victory. But what? all things are not (as Nestor saith in Homer) geven to men all together. For some had no skill to overcome, others knew not how to follow their victory, and some also could not kepe that they had won. Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes that made warre with the Romanes, was one of the famousest Captaines that ever was: yet, as men write of him, though he was marvelous fortunate to conquer realmes, he could never kepe them. Even so in like maner, some Captaines have bene indued with excellent vertues, and yet notwithstanding have bene insufficient in martiall affaires, deserving praise in a Captaine: as we may read in divers histories. Now after this battell fought by Cannes, the Attellians, the Calatinians, the Samnites, and after them also, the Brutians and Lucanians, and divers other nations and people of Italy, caried away with the fame of this great victory: they all came and yelded unto Annibal. And the city of Capua also, (the which Annibal was desirous to have won long before) forsaking their old frends and confederats, made

Maharbal  
generall of  
Annibals  
horsemen.

Maharbals  
saying to  
Annibal.

Pyrrhus could  
not keepe the  
realmes he  
conquered.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

new league and frendship with Annibal, the which wan him great estimacion with other nations. For at that time the city of Capua was very populous and of great power, and the chiefest city of estimacion of all Italy, next unto Rome. Now to tel you in few words what is reported of Capua, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the Thuscanes, the which was first called, Vulturnum, and after that Capua, by the name of their Governor called Capius: or otherwise, (as it is most likely) because of the fieldes round about it. For on every side of it, there are goodly pleasaunt fieldes, full of all kindes of frutes growing on the earth, called in Greeke, *Κερί*. Furthermore, all the contry is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the sea there dwell the Suessanians, the Cumanians, and the Neapolitans. On firme land also towards the North, are the Calentinians, and the Calenians. On the East and South side, the Daunians and Nolanians. Furthermore, the place is of a strong scituation, and on the one side is compassed in with the sea, and on the other side with great high mountaines. Now the Campanians florished marvelously at that time: and therefore, seeing the Romanes in maner utterly undone by the battel they had lost at Cannes, they quickly tooke parte with the stronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore, besides that they made league with Annibal, they received him into their city with great triumphe, hoping that the warre being ended, they should be the chiefest and wealthiest of all Italy. But marke how men are commonly deceived in their expectacion. Now, when Annibal came into the city of Capua, there was a worlde of people that went to see him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had wonne of the enemie. So being come into the citie, they brought him unto Pacuvius house, his verie famillar frende, who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the Campanians. Then he made him a notable banket, to the which no citizens were bidden, saving onely Iubellius Taurea, a stowt man, and the sonne of Pacuvius his hoast: who through his fathers meanes, with much a doe, was reconciled to Annibal, for that Annibal

ANNIBAL

The citie of Capua, how so called.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** hated him as he did, bicause he followed Decius Magius, who alwayes tooke the Romanes parte. But now, let us consider a litle I pray you, how great men sometime unwares are subject to great daungers and misfortunes. For this young man dissembling his reconciliacion with Annibal, watching time and occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feast, while they were making merie : he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the favor and good will againe of the Romanes, the which they had lost through their great wickednesse. Then he tolde him howe he was determined to kill Annibal, the enemy of his contrie, and all Italie besides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authoritie, was marvelously amazed withall, to heare what his sonne said : wherfore imbracing him with the teares running downe his cheekes, he praied him to leave of his sword, and to let his ghest be safe in his house. The which his sonne in the end yeilded to with great a doe. Thus Annibal having before withstoode all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of the Gaules, and having brought with him also a great army from the sea, and the furdest parte of Spayne, through so many great and mightie nations : he scaped killing verie narrowlie by the hande of a young man, whilest he was at the table making merie. The next morning Annibal had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promises, and tolde them many thinges, which the Campanians easelie beleved, and therefore flattered them selves, that they should be Lords of all Italie: howbeit they reckoned beside their hoast. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit them selves to Annibal : that it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their citie, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembered, nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainlie by one example I will shew you amongst many. Annibal willed them to deliver him Decius Magius, the head of the contrarie faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ANNIBAL

market place, in the presence of all the people: who, because he woulde not forsake the auncient league and frendshippe with the Romanes, had shewed him selfe a more faithfull citizen to his contrie and common wealth, then unto the barbarous people. Now whilest these thinges passed thus in Capua, Mago (Annibals brother) went to Carthage, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his contrie men, which they had wonne of the enemies: and with all, before the Senate to declare the noble exploytes of armes done by Annibal, and to prove the words true he spake, he poored out at the comming in of the Senate house, the golden rings which had bene taken from the Romane Knightes: of the which there were (as some doe report) above a bushell full, and as other some doe wryte, above three bushells and a halfe. After that, he praied a new supply for Annibals army: the which was graunted him by the Senate with greater joy, then afterwards it was sent. For the Carthaginians perswading them selves by the things present, that the warre would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fayer: they thereuppon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide Annibals attempts, by leavying of souldiers. Now no man withstood this new supply to be sent to Annibal, but Hanno, a perpetuall enimie of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the Carthaginians wayed not his counsell and advise then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsel for them, as oftentimes before he had used the like. So when Annibal had made league with the Campanians, he led his campe before the citie of Nola, hoping they would yeeld of them selves without compulsion. And certainlie so had it come to passe, had not the sodaine comming thither of Marcellus the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the sedition, and repulsed the enemy that was comming into the citie, by a saily he made upon him at three severall gates, chasing and killing them even to their campe, with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and valliant souldier Marcellus, who with a noble corage made the world knowe that Annibal was not invincible. Annibal perceiving that there was no other way, but to let Nola alone till an other time: he came to Acerres,

Marcellus  
victorie of  
Annibal at  
the citie of  
Nola.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on further with greater power unto Casilinum, a fit place to offend the Capuans, he went about to win them that lay there in garrison: but when he saw that neither his fayer promises, nor otherwise his threates coulde prevaile, he left parte of his armie to besiege the citie, and bestowed the residue in garrisons before the winter season. Howbeit he chose for his chiefest feate and strength the citie of Capua, which stooode verie pleasauntlie, and had plentie of all thinges. There it was that Annibals souldiers being used to lye hard, and easely to away with colde, hunger, and thirst, became then of valliant men, rancke cowardes: of strong men, weaklings: and of serviceable and ready men, timorous and effeminate persons, through the daily pleasures they enjoyed at will. For sweete intising pleasures, do corrupt the strength and corage of the mind, and mans disposition also unto vertue: moreover they spoile his wit, and take all good counsell from him, all which thinges are daungerous for men. And therefore Plato rightlie calleth pleasure, the bayte of all evils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures of Campania did hurt the Carthaginians more, then otherwise the highest Alpes, and all the armies of the Romanes did. For one onelie winter passed over in suche pleasure and wantonnes, was of such great force to extinguish the vehement corage in the souldiers: that when they were brought into the fieelde at the beginning of the spring, sure you would rightlie have sayd that they had forgotten all martiall discipline. Thus the winter being passed over, Annibal returned againe to Casilinum, hoping that the citicens within would willingly yeelde unto him, after they had abidden so long a siege. Howebeit they were bent to abide all extreimity, before they would yeeld to their so cruell an enemy, although they lacked vittells. Wherefore living first by spelt, or beere barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had received of the Romanes by the river of Vulturnus: they held it out so long, that Annibal in the end being angry with the continuance of the siege, he was content to take the citie upon composition, the which he had refused before. Now this warre, in the

Annibals souldiers marred with ease at Capua.

Pleasure, the baite of all evils.

One winters ease spoiled a souldier, and made him a coward.

The hard shift of the Cassilinians to live, during Annibals siege.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

which the Carthaginians had alwayes had great victories and good fortune, and received no losse worthy of memorie: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great chaunge and alteracion. For the league that was made with Philip king of Macedon, and the newe aide and supplie that was sent from Carthage, and the taking of Petilia, Consentia, and of other cities of the contrie of the Brutians, kept the Carthaginians in good hope. On the other side, the great victories which the Romanes had won upon the enemies in Spayne, and Sardinia, did greatly encorage them, and gave them also good hope that their affaires would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent Captaines, Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, and Marcus Marcellus, a man most worthie of praise for martiall discipline: who so wisely governed the affaires of the state, that Annibal found he should make warre with an enemy, no lesse politike and wise, then hardy and valliant. For first of all, he was driven from the cite of Cumes, with great slaughter of his men, by Sempronius Gracchus, and forced to raise his siege: and shortlie after he was overcomen by Marcellus, in a battell he fought at Nola. For there were slaine about a thowsand Romanes, and \* six thowsand Carthaginians, slaine, and taken flying. Now it is easily seene what great importance that battell was of: bicause Annibal immediatly upon it, raised his siege from Nola, and went into Apulia to winter his army there. By this meanes came the Romanes to recover againe, as out of a great sicknes, and sent a great power against the enemy: and were not content only to keepe their owne, but they durst also invade others. So their chiefest intent was, to besiege the city of Capua, for the injurie they had but lately received of the Campanians. For incontinently after the battell was fought at Cannes, they forsooke the Romanes, even in their greatest extreamity and misery, and tooke part with Annibal that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleasures their city had received in old time by the Romanes. On the other side the Campanians, knowing they had made a fault, and being affraid of this new preparation of the Romanes: they sent to Annibal into Apulia, to pray him

**ANNIBAL**  
Annibals  
good fortune  
began to  
faile him.

Three famous  
Captaines of  
the Romanes:  
Fabius  
Maximus,  
Sempronius  
Gracchus,  
Marcus  
Marcellus.

The vic-  
tories of the  
Romanes  
against  
Annibal.

\*Plutarke in  
the life of  
Marcellus,  
speaketh of  
five thowsand  
Carthaginians  
slaine, and  
only of five  
hundred  
Romanes.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** to come and aide their city (being of the number of his confederats) in their greatest necessity. Annibal departed out of Apulia without delay, and came on with great jorneyes into Campania, and camped by Tifata over Capua, wherby he rather deferred til another time, then prevented the plague hanging over the Campanians heades. So spoiling the contry round about Naples, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take the city of Nola by treason.

Two factions  
in Naples.

For in Nola, the people and Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were likewise in divers other cities of Italie. The common people desirous of change, favored Annibal: and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of Rome. So when Annibal went to take the citie of Nola, Marcellus met him with his army in battell ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, even at the first meeting. There the Romanes overcame, and drave the enemy with such manhood and readines: that if the horsemen which had taken an other way had comen in in time, as Marcellus commaunded them: no question the Carthaginians had bene utterly overthrowen. Annibal after he had retired his army into his campe with great slaughter, he shortly after departed thence, and went into the contry of the Salentinians. For certaine young Tarentines that had bene taken prisoners in former battells, where the Romanes had bene overthrowen, and that were afterwards delivered free without raunsome: they to shew them selves thankful, had put Annibal in hope to deliver him the city of Tarentum, so he would but bring his army before the city. Annibal intised by their promises, did what he could to obtaine it, because he might have some city upon the sea in his power, the which he had desired of long time. And in deede, of all the cities upon the sea coast, there was none so meete as Tarentum, to bring aide out of Grece thither, and also to furnish the campe with many things that were to be occupied daily. So, thogh this thing was drawn out in length, by the garrison of the Romanes that valliantlie resisted: yet Annibal never gave over his enterprise, untill that Nico and Philomenes the authors of the treason, had delivered him the citie into his

The citie of  
Tarentum  
delivered  
unto Annibal  
by treason.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

handes. The Romanes kept only the castell, the which is ANNIBAL  
in manner environned with the sea on three sides: and on  
the fourth side, that lay upon the firme lande, it was verie  
strong with rampers and bulwarkes. Annibal perceiving  
that he could do no good on that side, bicause of their  
great strength: he determined to shut up the mouth of  
the haven of Tarentum, hoping that was the only way to  
make the Romanes yeld, when their vittells should be cut  
from them. Yet the enterprise seemed very hard, bicause  
the enemies had all the straights of the haven in their  
power, and the shippes also that should besiege the issue  
of the haven, were shut up in a litle narrow place, and  
were to be drawn out of the haven, at the foote of the  
castell, to bring them into the next sea. But when never  
a man of the Tarentines could devise how to bring this  
enterprise to passe: Annibal him selfe perceived that these  
shippes might be drawn out of the haven with certaine  
engines, and then to cart them through the city to the sea.  
So having set cunning workemen in hande with the matter,  
the shippes within few daies after were taken out of the  
haven, and caried into the sea, and then came and shewed  
before the barre of the haven. Thus the citie of Tarentum  
being won againe, after the Romanes had kept it the space  
of a hundred yeares: Annibal leaving the castell besieged  
both by sea and land, he returned unto Samnium. For  
the Consuls of the Romanes had spoyled and stripped the  
Campanians that went out to forrage, and having brought  
their army before Capua, they determined (if it might be)  
to win it by siege. Wherefore Annibal being very sory for  
the siege of Capua, he came with al his army against the  
enemy: and seeing shortly after that the Romanes did not  
refuse to fight, they both marched forward. And doutlesse  
to fight it would have proved a bloody battell, had not Sem-  
pronius army severed them as he did, which came into Cam-  
pania under the conduct of Cn. Cornelius, after they had  
lost Sempronius Gracchus in the contry of Luke. For,  
they seeing this army farre of, before they could know  
who they were, the Romanes and Carthaginians both were  
affraied, and so retired into their campe. Afterwards the

Tarentum  
wonne by  
Annibal.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** Consuls went into severall contries, the one into Luke, and the other towards Cumes, to make Annibal remove from Capua: who went into Lucania, and found occasion to fight with M. Centenius, who very fondly and desperatly did hazard his army left him in charge, against a suddell and daungerous enemy. The battell being begon, M. Centenius was slaine valiantly fighting, and few other escaped. After this also, there hapned an other losse. For Annibal returning shortly after into Apulia, he met with an other army of the Romanes, the which Fabius the Prætor led, who also intrapped that army by ambushes, and slue the most of them: so that of twenty thousand men, two thousand scant scaped the edge of the sword. In the meane time the Consuls perceiving that Annibal was gone, they came with all their army unto Capua, and did besiege it round. This being come to Annibals eare, he came with his army into Campania, in very good order, and wel appointed: and at his first comming, he set upon the campe of the Romanes, having first willed the Campanians at the selfe same instant to make a salye out on them. The Romane Consuls at the first tumult of their enemies, divided the army betwene them, and went against them. The Campanians were easily driven againe into the citie: howbeit against Annibal, the battell was very bloody. For if ever he proved him selfe a valiant Captaine or noble souldier, that day he shewed it. He attempted also to surprize the Romanes by some stratageame. For as his men were about to breake into the Romanes campe, he sent one thither that had the Latine tongue excellently well, who cryed out, as by commaundement of the Consuls, that the Romanes should save them selves in the next Mountaines, considering they had almost lost all their campe and strength. This crye made on the sodaine, had easily moved them that heard it, if the Romanes being throughly acquainted with Annibals suddelties, had not found out his deceit. Wherefore, one of them incoraging an other, they made the enemy retyre, and compelled him in despite of his beard to flie into his campe. When Annibal had done what he could by all devise and practise possible to rayne their seege from Capua,

Annibals  
stratageame.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and perceiving all would not serve, being sorry for the daunger of his confederats: he then determined to call a counsell, the which he had passed over a long time, having reserved it for the last refuge. For he trussed up his cariage, and marched away with his army, and as quietly as he could he passed over the river of Vulturnus, and coasting through the contries of the Sidicinians, Atifanians, and Cassinians, he came to Rome with ensignes displayed, hoping thereby he should make them rayse their seege, being so earnestly bent to winne Capua. This flying straight to Rome by currens, they were so affrayd there, as Rome was never in the like feare it stodee in then. For they saw their mortall enemy come to them with ensignes displayed, whome they had so often proved, almost to the utter destruction of their Empire: and now they saw him present, whome they could not resist being absent, threatning to bring the Senate and people of Rome into subjection. So all Rome being in feare and tumult, it was ordeyned that Fulvius Flaccus (one of the Consuls lying before Capua) should be sent for home. And that the new Consuls, Sulpicius Galba, and Cornelius Centimalus, shoulde lye in campe out of the citie: and that C. Calpurnius Prætor, should put a stronge garrison into the capitoll, and also that the Citizens that had borne any office or dignitie, should be appoynted by their countenance and authoritie to pacifie the sodaine tumults that might happen in the city. So Annibal marched forward without staying, till he came to the river of Anienes, and there camped within 24 furlong of Rome: and shortly after that, he came with two thowsand horse so neare unto Rome, that riding from the gate Collina, unto Hercules temple, he had leysure to view at his pleasure, the situacion and walles of so great a citie. Fulvius Flaccus seeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certain men of armes of the Romanes against him: who comming with great furie to give charge upon him as they were commaunded, they easily sent him packing. The next morning, Annibal brought his army out of the campe, and did set them in battell raye, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The Romanes on the other side did the like. So, both armies

ANNIBAL

Vulturnus fl.

Sulpicius  
Galba,  
Cornelius  
Centimalus,  
Consula.

Anienes fl.

Annibal  
commeth to  
invade Rome.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ANNIBAL

marched one against the other with such life and corage, that to see them, they appeared men that feared no daunger, so they might obtaine the victorie that day. For on the one side, the Carthaginians were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended upon this battell, as beeing the last they should fight. The Romanes in contrary manner, they were to fight for their contry, libertie, and their goods, to see whether they could keepe them, or that they should come to their enemies handes. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memorie.

A wonder.

For, as they were ready set in battell raye, taryng but for the signall of battell to give charge: there fell such a wonderfull great shower and storme upon them, that both of them were driven in spite of their teethes, to bringe backe their army into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, unto the which it seemed the battel had bene deferred: when they had againe both of them set their men in battel raye, there fell the like storme upon them, the which did as much hurt the Romanes and Carthaginians, as the first: so that it forced them onely to looke to save them selves, and not to thinke otherwise to fight. Annibal perceiving this, he turned to his friends and told them, that the first time he thought not to winne Rome, and that at the second time the occasion was taken from him. So there was a thinge that greatly troubled Annibal, and that was this. That though he came so neare to Rome, with an army of horsemen and footemen: yet he heard that the Romanes had sent ayde into Spayne, and that they had redeemed the contry where he had bene, at a farre greater prise then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused all the goldsmithes and bankers shoppes of the Romane citzens to be sold by the Cryer. But afterwards, casting with him selfe what a hard enterprise it was to take the citie of Rome, or els being affrayde to lacke vittells: (for he had stored him selfe onely but for tenne dayes) he raysed his campe, and removing thence, came to the holy woode of the goddesse Feronia, and rifled the riche temple there, and afterwarde went thence into the contry of the Brutians and Lucanians. The Capuans having intel-

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ligence thereof, being left out of all hope: they yelded up their citie unto the Romanes. The citie of Capua beeing thus yelded up, and brought againe to the subjection of the Romanes, it was of great importance to all the people of Italy, and withall brought a great desire of change. Annibal him selfe also following evill counsell, did spoyle and destroy many cities he could not keepe: whereby he did sturre up the harts of divers nations against him. For where before when he was Conqueror, he had often let prisoners goe without ransom paying, through which liberalitie he had won the harts of many men: even so at that present time, his barbarous crueltie made divers cities (misliking to be subject to the Carthaginians) to rebell against him, and to take part with the Romanes. Amongest them was Salapia, the which was yelded up unto the Consul Marcellus, by Blacius meanes, chiefe of all the Romane faction: and a band also of choyce horsemen which was left there in garrison, were in manner slaine every man of them. This is the citie where Annibal fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reprove his immoderat lust and lasciviousnes. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continencie of this Captaine, say that he did never eate lying, and never dranke above a pint of wine, nether when he came to make warre in Italy, nor after that he returned into Africk. Some there be also that say, Annibal was cruell, and unconstant, and subject to divers such other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chastitie or incontinencie. But they report that his wife was a Spanyard, borne in Castulo, a good towne: and that the Carthaginians graunted her many things, and trusted her very much, because of the great faith and constancie of that nation. Now Annibal after he had lost (as we have told you) the citie of Salapia: he found the meanes to cry quittance, and to make the Romanes lose more then he had lost. For at the selfe same time, Fulvius Viceconsul, lay beseeging of Herdonea, hoping to winne the citie without resistance. And because he stooode in no feare of any enemy round about him, (for Annibal was gone into the contry of the Brutians) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affayres, contrary to the nature

ANNIBAL

Salapia, a city where Annibal fell in love.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL**

of the Romane Captaines. Annibal being advertised thereof by spialls, would not lose such a goodly oportunitie: and therefore comming into Apulia with his armye ready, he came so hastily unto Herdonea, that he had almost stollen upon Fulvius, unprovided in his campe. Howbeit the Romanes valiantly received the first charge with such corage, that they fought it out lenger then it was looked for. Notwithstanding, in the ende, as the Romanes two year before that had bene overcome not farre from thence, with their Consul Fulvius: even so likewise under the conduct of this Fulvius Viceconsul, the Romane legions were utterly overthrowen, and their Captaine slaine, with the most part of his armye. The Consul Marcellus was at that time in the citie of Samnium, who being advertised of this great overthrow, desired to be even with him: and though it seemed he came too late to helpe things past remedie, yet he brought his army into the contry of the Lucanians, whether he understood Annibal was gone after his victorie, and came and camped directly over against his enemye, and soone after came to battell. The which the Carthaginians refused not, but gave such a fierce onset on either side, that they fought it out till Sunne set, and no man knew who had the better, and so the night parted them. The next morning the Romanes shewing againe in field in battell raye, made it knowen that the enemies were affrayd of them: for Annibal kept his men within the campe, and the next night following stale away without any noyse, and went into Apulia. Marcellus also followed him foote by foote, and sought to put all to hasard by some notable battell: for he bare him selfe thus in hand, that of all the Romane Captaines there was none machable with Annibal but him selfe, either in counsell, wit, or policie: or els in martiall discipline, or warlike stratageames. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any set battell with the enemye: for after he had made a fewe light skirmishes, because he would not trouble his souldiers any more in vaine, he bestowed them in garrison for the winter time. At the beginning of the next springe, procured partly by Fabius letters (who was one of the new Consuls

The death  
of Fulvius  
Viceconsul.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

for that year,) and partly also through his owne disposition : he brought out his garrisons sooner then they were looked for, and came with his army against Annibal, who lay at that time at Canusium. Now it chaunced, that through the nearenes of both their campe, and the good desire they both had to fight : in fewe dayes they fought three severall times. The first battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner with like hope of both sides, and that it could not be judged which of them had the better: they both of purpose retyred into their campe againe. The second day Annibal was conquerer, after he had slayne almost two thowsand seven hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to flight. The third day, the Romanes to recover the shame and dishonor they had lost the day before: they were the first that prayed they might fight, and so Marcellus led them out to battell. Annibal wondering at their valiantnes, sayd unto his people: that he delt with an enemy that could nether be quiet Conquerer, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: because the Romanes did their best to be revenged of their losse, and the Carthaginians on the other side were mad in their mindes, to see that the vanquished durst provoke the vanquishers unto battell. In the ende, the Romanes being sharpely reprov'd, and also perswaded by Marcellus to sticke to it valliantly like men, that the newes of their victorie might come to Rome, before the newes of their overthrowe: they flue in among the presse of their enemies, and never left fighting, till that after they had thrise broken their éemies, they made them all flie. At the selfe same time Fabius Maximus tooke the cite of Tarentum againe, almost after the selfe same sort it was lost. This being reported unto Annibal, he sayd: The Romanes have also their Annibal. The next year following, Marcellus and Crispinus were chosen Consuls, who preparing to put them selves in readines for warre, they led both the armies against the enemy. Annibal dispayring that he was not able to resist them in battel, he sought all the wits he had to devise some way to intrappe them by sutteltie, whome he could not overcome by battel. So Annibals head being occupied

ANNIBAL

Divers conflicts of the Romanes with Annibal.

Annibals wordes of Marcellus.

Marcellus, and Crispinus: Consuls.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL**  
Annibal lay-  
eth ambushe  
for the  
Romanes.

thus, there was offred him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to passe, then he looked for. Betwene both campes, there was a prety grove, in the which Annibal layed certen bands of the Numidians in ambushe, to intrappe the enemies passing to and fro. On the other side, the Consuls by consent of them all, thought it best to send to view this grove, and to keepe it if neede required: least in leaving it behind them, the enemies should come, and so be upon their jacks afterwards. Now before they removed their armye, both the Consuls went out of their campe, with a small company of horsemen with them, to view the situacion of this place: and so going on very indiscreetely, and worse appoynted then became men of their authoritie and place, they unfortunatly fell into Annibals ambush. So, when they saw them selves in a moment compassed about on every side with enemies, that they could not goe forward, and were also fought withall behind: they defended them selves the best they could, rather by compulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So Marcellus was slaine fighting valiantly: and Crispinus the other Consul also very sore hurt, who hardly scaped the enemies hands. Annibal being advertised that Marcellus was slaine, who was the chieftest man of all the Romane captaines, that had most hindered the happy successe of his victories, and had besides troubled him most: he presently went and camped there where the battell was fought, and when he had found Marcellus body, he gave it honorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may see how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are esteemed of all men: considering that the cruell and most mortall enemye, gave honorable buriall to so noble and excellent a Captaine. The Romanes in the meane time seeing one of their Consuls dead, and the other Consul very sore hurt: they drew straight to the next mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit Crispinus had sent to the next townes of the mountaines, to advertise them that Marcellus his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ringe he sealed his letters withall: wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in Marcellus name. Crispinus Messenger came but newly unto Salapia,

The death of  
Marcellus.

The power  
of magna-  
nimitie.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

when letters were brought also from Annibal in the behalfe of Marcellus, to tell them that he woulde be there the next night. The Salapians knowing his craft, they sent his Messenger away, and carefully looked for Annibals comming. About the fourth watche of the night, Annibal came to the citie of Salapia, who of purpose had put all the Romanes that had fled, in the vauntgard, bicause that they speaking the Latin tongue, might make them beleve that Marcellus was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffred six hundred of them to come in, they shut to the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the armye, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the citie. Thus Annibal beeing in a marvelous rage he had missed of his purpose: he removed thence, and went into the contry of the Brutians, to ayde the Locrians that were beseeged by the Romaues, both by sea and by land. After all these thinges, at the earnest request of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant souldiers, Marcus Livius, and Claudius Nero: who having devided the army betwixt them, went unto their severall charge and provinces. Claudius Nero went into the contry of the Salentinians, and M. Livius into Gaule, against Hasdrubal Barcinian, who was come over the Alpes, and made haste to joyne with his brother Annibal, bringing with him a great army both of footemen and horsemen. Nowe it chaunced at the same time, that Annibal had receyved great losse by Claudius the Consul. For first of all, he overcame him in the contry of the Lucanians, using the like policies and fetches that Annibal did. Afterwardes againe, meeting with Annibal in Apulia, by the citie of Venusia: he fought such a lustye battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the field. By reason of these great losses, Annibal sodainely went to Metapont, to renew his army againe. So having remayned there a few dayes, he received the army from Hanno, the which he joyned unto his, and then returned unto Venusia. C. Nero lay not farre from Venusia with his campe: who having intercepted letters of his enemies, he understoode by them that Hasdrubal was at hand with his armye. Thereuppon,

ANNIBAL

Marcus  
Livius, and  
C. Nero :  
Consuls.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** he bethought him selfe night and day, what policie he might use to prevent the joyning of two so great armies together as these. So after he had taken advise of him self, he followed in sight, a dangerous determination: but peradventure necessary, as the time required. For, leaving the campe unto the charge of his Lieuetenant, he tooke part of the armye with him, and making great journeyes, came to Picenum (being the marches of Ancona) so that on the sixth day he came to Sena. There both the Consuls joyned their forces together, and setting upon Hasdrubal by the river of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were six and fifty thowsand of the enemies slayne on that daye: so that they almost had as great an overthrow, as the Romanes had received before at the battell of Cannes. Now Claudius Nero, after this famous victorie, returning as speedily unto Venusia as he went thence, he set up Hasdrubals head, where the enemies kept their watche: and did let certen prisoners goe, to carye newes to Annibal of this great overthrow. For afterwarde it was knowen, that Annibal knew nothing yet of Claudius secret enterprise, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had made. Whereat sure I can but wonder, that so suddill a Captaine as Annibal, could be deceived by Claudius, considering both their campos lay so neare together: so that he first heard the newes of the overthrow of his brother, and all his armye, before he understoode any thing of the Consuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now Annibal having not onely received a generall, but also a perticular great losse by the death of his brother: he sayd then he plainly saw the change and alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune, and shortly after removed his campe, and went thence into the contry of the Brutians. For he knew that this great overthrow given by the river of Metaurum, was a marvelous incoragement to the Romanes, and would also be a great logge in his way, for the successe of all this warre. This notwithstanding, he gathered together all his power he had left in Italy, after so many great battells and conflicts, and so many cities taken: and mainteyned the warre with an invincible

Sena, a citie of Apulia.

Metaurum fl.

M. Livius, and C. Nero Consuls: overcame Hasdrubal, and slue 56000 of his men.

The change and alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

courage. But the most straungest thinge in Annibal was this: that through his authoritie or wisdom, he kept all his army in peace and amitie together, (being a medley of Spanyards, Africanes, Gaules, and of divers other nations) and never man heard that there was any brawle or tumult amonge them. Howbeit the Romanes them selves, after they had wonne Sicilia, Sardinia, and Spayne againe, they could never utterly overcome him, nor drive him out of Italy, before they had sent P. Cornelius Scipio into Africk: who making warre with the Carthaginians, he brought them to such great extremitie, that they were driven to send for Annibal home out of Italy. Annibal at that time, (as I have sayd before) was in the contry of the Brutians, making warre by inrodes and sodaine invasions, rather then by any fought battell: saving that once there was a battell fought in haste betwixt him and the Consul Sempronius, and immediatly after he came and set upon the same Sempronius with all his armye. At the first battell, Annibal had the victorie: but at the second, Sempronius overcame him. Since that time, I can finde in no Græke nor Latyn Author, that Annibal did any famous acte in Italy worthy memorie. For beeing sent for into Africke by the Carthaginians, he left Italy, sixteene yeares after this Africk warre was begonne, greatly complayning of the Senate of Carthage, and of him selfe also. Of the Senate, bicause that all the time he had bene in his enemies contry so long, they had allowed him so litle money: and so scanted him besides with all other thinges necessary for the warres: and of him selfe, bicause that after he had so often overcome the Romanes, he had alwayes delayed time after the victorie, and had given the enemy libertie to gather force againe. It is reported also, that before he imbarked and tooke sea, he set up a triumphing arche or piller, by the temple of Iuno Lacinia, in the which were briefly graven his noble victories, both in the Punick and Græke tongue. So when he was departed out of Italy, the wind served him well, that in few dayes he arrived at Leptis, and landing all his army, he first came to Adrumentum, and afterwards unto Zama. There receiving advertisement how the affayres of the

**ANNIBAL**  
The praise of Annibals great wisdom in the government of his army.

P. C. Scipio invaded Carthage.

The last battell Annibal fought in Italy was with Sempronius, in the which he overcame Annibal.

Annibal sent for to returne into Africk, after he had warred 16 yeares in Italy.

Annibals arche of triumphe.

Annibal departeth out of Italy.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** Carthaginians prospered: he thought it best to devise some way to end this warre. For this cause he sent unto Scipio, to pray him to appoynt him some convenient place where they might both meete, and talke together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly knowen, whether Annibal did this of his owne head, or by commaundement from the Senate. Scipio refused not to come to parley.

Annibal and  
Scipioes  
meeting,  
and talke.

Wherefore at the day appoynted, there met two famous generalls of mighty nations, in a great plaine together, either of them having his Interpreter, to talke together of divers matters touching peace and warre. For, Annibal was altogether bent to peace: bicause he saw the affayres of the Carthaginians waxe worse and worse every day: that they had lost Sicilia, Sardinia, and Spayne: bicause the warre was brought out of Italy into Africk: bicause Syphax (a mighty king) was taken prisoner of the Romanes: and also bicause that their last hope consisted in the army he had brought into Africk: which was the onely remayne and reliefe of so long a warre as he had made in Italy: and also bicause that the Carthaginians had so small a power left (both of straungers, and also of Citizens) that there were scarce men enough to defende the citie of Carthage. So he did his best to perswade Scipio, with a long oration he made, rather to agree to peace, then to resolve of warre. Howbeit Scipio that lived in hope to bringe this warre to a good ende, he would not seeme to give care to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either side, in the ende they brake of, and made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battell striken by the citie of Zama, in the which the Romanes obtayned victorie. For first of all, they made the Carthaginians Elephants turne upon their owne army, so that they did put all Annibals horsemen out of order. And Lælius and Masinissa, who made both the winges, increasing their feare, gave the horsemen no leysure to gather them selves in order againe. Howbeit the footemen fought it out a long time, and with a marvelous great corage: insomuch that the Carthaginians (trusting in their former victories) thought that all the safetie and preservation of Africk, was all in their handes,

Scipioes  
victory of  
the Cartha-  
ginians at  
the battell  
of Zama.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and therefore they layed about them like men. The Romanes on the other side had as great harts as they, and besides, they stode in the better hope. Howbeit one thing in deede did the Romanes great service to helpe them to the victorie: and that was, Lælius and Masinissæes returne from the chase of the horsemen, who rushed in to the battell of the enemy with great furye, and did put them in a marvelous feare. For at their comming, the Carthaginians harts were done, and they saw no other remedie for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slayne that day, above twenty thousand Carthaginians in the field, and as many more prisoners. Annibal their generall, after he had taryed to see the ende of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwardes when he was sent for to Carthage, to helpe to save his contry: he perswaded the Senate not to hope any more in warres, but did counsell them, that setting all devises a part, they should send unto Scipio the Romane Captaine, to make peace with him upon any condicion. When the tenne Ambassadors had brought the capitulacion and agreement unto Carthage of the articles of peace: it is reported that there was one Gisgo, who misliking to heare talke of peace, he made an oration, and perswaded all he could to renew warre against the Romanes. Wherefore Annibal perceiving that divers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to see such beasts, and men of no understanding, to dare to speake of such matters, in so daungerous a time: he cast him downe headlong, whilst he was yet in his oration. So when he sawe that the Citizens, and all the whole assembly, thought this too presumptuous a part of him, and unmeete altogether for a free citie: he him selfe got up into the pulpit for orations, and sayd: Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of Carthage, and brought up all his life time in warres, be ignoraunt of the lawes and ordinaunces of the citie. After that, he spake so wisely to the articles of peace, that the Carthaginians being immediatly moved by the authoritie of so great a person: they all agreed to accept the condicions which the vanquisher, and the necessitie of time offred them. The

ANNIBAL

The flying of Annibal.

Annibal could not abide to heare fooles talke of warre.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** articles out of doubt were very extreame, and such as the vanquished are wont to receive with all extremitie by the conquerors. But besides all other things, the Carthaginians were bound to pay the Romanes an annuell tribute, untill a certain time were runne out. So when the daye came that the first pencion was to be payd to the Romanes, and that every man grudged when the subseyd was spoken of: some saye that Annibal being offended with the vaine teares of the Carthaginians, he fell a laughing. And when Hasdrubal Hædus reproved him because he laughed in such a common calamitie of all the citie, he aunswered: that it was no laughture nor rejoycing from the hart, but a scorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was lesse cause (and onely because it touched every private mans purse) then before, when the Romanes tooke from the Carthaginians their shippes, armor, and weapons, and their spoyles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gave lawes and ordinaunces unto them that were vanquished. I know some Authors write, that Annibal immediatly after he had lost the battell, fled into Asia, for that he was affrayde they woulde deliver him into Scipioes hands, that perhaps might demaund him of them. But whether that was done sodainely, or some time after the battel was lost at Zama, it makes no great matter: considering that all the world knoweth, that when he sawe things brought to extremitie, he presently fled into Asia unto king Antiochus. So is it most true, that king Antiochus received him with great curtesie, and used him very honorably: insomuch as he made him of counsell with him all in all, both in private and publike causes. For the name of Annibal caried great reputacion with all men: besides that, he had a common and mortal hate to the Romanes, which was a pricking spurre still to move warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hower into that contry, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set warres at libertie against the Romanes. So he tolde him, that the onely way to make warre with the Romanes, was to goe into Italy to leavy Italian souldiers, by whome onely, that victorious contry of all other nations

Annibal in  
his misery,  
fled unto king  
Antiochus  
into Asia.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred shippes, sixteene thowsand footemen, and a thowsand horsemen onely. With this small army he promised to invade Italy, and that he would marvelously trouble the Italyans, whome he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very sound of his name onely: bicause of the late warres he had made there, so freshe yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke hart againe unto him to renew the warres of Africk, if the king would licence him to sende men unto Carthage, to stirre up the Barcinian faction, whome he knew hated the Romanes to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his request, he called Ariston Tyrian unto him, a fine suttell fellowe, and meete for such a purpose: to whome he made large promises, and perswaded him to goe to Carthage to his friends, and to cary them letters from him. Thus Annibal being a banished man, and fled out of his contry, raysed warre in all partes against the Romanes. And surely his counsell had taken good effect, had king Antiochus rather followed his advise, as he did at the first, then the vaine perswasions of his fine Courtiers. But envy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred Annibal great enemies. For they beeing affrayd that by his counsells he should growe in great favor with the king, (for he was a wise and politike Captaine) and that thereby he should beare great sway and authoritie: to prevent it, they lacked no devise to bringe him in disgrace with the king. And it so chaunced at that time, that P. Villius, who came Ambassador unto Ephesus, he had often conference with Annibal. Hereuppon his privie enemies tooke occasion to accuse him, and withall, the king him selfe became so jelous of it, that from thence forth he never more called him to counsell. At the selfe same time also, as some doe report, P. Cornelius Scipio African (who was one of the Ambassadors sent unto king Antiochus) talking famillierly with Annibal, prayed him amongst other things to tell him truely, whome he thought the worthiest Captaine of all others. Annibal answered him: First he thought Alexander, king of Macedon the chiefest: next unto him, Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes: and thirdly, him selfe. Then Scipio African

ANNIBAL

Envy, the common plague and poyson of Princes Courtes.

Scipio African met with Annibal at Ephesus.

Annibals judgement of the most famous Captaines.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** smyling, asked him : What wouldest thou saye, Annibal, if thou haddest overcome me? Truely sayd he, then I would be chiefeſt my ſelfe. This aunſwer pleaſed Scipio marvelous well, becauſe he ſaw he was nether diſpiſed, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peereles, by ſome ſecret flattery of Annibal. After theſe things, Annibal found occaſion to talke with king Antiochus, and beganne to lay open his life unto him from his youth, and to bewray the malice he had alwayes borne unto the Romanes: whereby he ſo ſatisfied the king, that he was againe received into his grace and favor, which he had almoſt utterly loſt. There-uppon the king was determined to have made him Admirall of his armye by ſea, the which he had put in readines for Italy, and alſo to make prooſe of his great corage and ſervice, whome he knewe to be a worthy man, and a mortall enemy to the Romanes. But one Thoas, Prince of the *Ætoli*ans, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or els for that his fancye was ſuch: he altered the kinges minde, and cleane changed his purpose, the which was a matter of greate importance for the warre he pretended to make. For he gave counſell unto Antiochus, that he ſhould goe him ſelfe into Græce, and direct his owne affayres: and that he ſhould not ſuffer another to cary away the honor and glory of this warre. So king Antiochus ſhortly after went into Græce, to make warre with the Romanes. Within fewe dayes after, when he conſulted whether he ſhoulde make league with the Theſſalians, Annibals opinion was ſpecially asked: who ſpake ſo wiſely touching the ſtate of the Theſſalians, and the chiefeſt matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gave their conſents unto it. Now his opinion was, that they ſhould not neede much to care for the Theſſalians, but rather to make all the meanes they could, to get king Philip of Macedon to take their part: or els to perſwade him to be a Newter, and to take nether parte. Furthermore, he gave counſell to make warre with the Romanes in their owne contry, and offred him ſelfe to ayde him the beſt he could. Every man gave good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather commended, then followed. Wherefore every man marvelled, that ſuch a

Annibal  
counſelleth  
king Antiochus  
to make  
warre with  
the Romanes.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Captaine as he, that had so many yeares made warre with the Romanes (who had in manner conquered all the world) should then be so light set by of the king, when it specially stood him upon, to have such a mans help and counsel. For, what captaine living could a man have found more skilful or politike, or meter to make war with the Romanes, then him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the first beginning of this warre: but shortly after, disdainig al their counsell, he confessed that Annibal only saw what was to be done. For after the Romanes had obtained victory in the war he made in Græce: Antiochus fled out of Europe into Ephesus, where making mery, and there following pleasure, he hoped to live in peace, litle thinking the Romanes would come with any army into Asia. Now, these flattering courtiers stil fed his humor: a perpetual plague to kings and Princes, that suffer them selves to be flattered, and are contented to be deceived, because they give good care to that that pleaseth them. But Annibal, who knewe the power and ambition of the Romanes, perswaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, and bad him trust to it, that the Romanes would never stay, till they had proved whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in Africk, and Europe. Antiochus perswaded by the authority of such a man, straight commaunded Polyxenidas, a very serviceable man, and skilfull in sea service, that he should goe meeete with the army of the Romanes that was comming thither. Then he sent Annibal into Syria, to leavy a great number of shippes together, and afterwards made him, and Apollonius, (one of his favored Courtiers) generalls of this armye by sea: who notwithstanding that Polyxenidas was put to the worst by the Romanes, they went and set upon the Rhodians, that were confederats with them. Annibal in this battell assayling Eudamus the Captaine of the Rhodians, that led the left wing: he had already compassed in the Admirall galley, and doubtles had obtayned the victorie, but that the other wing came in to rescue, after they had followed Apollonius in chase, and tooke the victorie from him, that was his owne. After this battell by sea, which had no great good successe:

ANNIBAL

King Antiochus judgement of Annibal.

Annibal made generall of Antiochus army by sea, together with Apollonius.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL** we do not find that Annibal did any thing worthy memorie. For king Antiochus being overcome, besides other conditions, the Romanes offered him : they desired that Annibal (the mortall enemy of their contry) should be delivered unto them. Annibal foreseeing this long before, he sodainly stole from Antiochus, after this notable battell that was fought by Magnesia, where the kings power was overthrowen. So, after Annibal had wandred up and downe a long time, he fled at length unto Prusias, king of Bithynia, for succor. Nowe he did not so much trust to his friendship, but because he sought for the meekest place he could come by, as also for the safest, the which he most desired : considering that the Romanes had the most part of the sea and land in their subjection. Some say, that after king Antiochus was overcome, Annibal went into Creta unto the Gortynians : and that the rumor ranne immediatly, he had brought a great masse of gold and silver with him. Wherefore being affrayd lest the Cretans should offer him some violence, he devised this shifte to scape the daunger : he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and sent them into the temple of Diana, sayning that he was marvelous carefull for them, as though all his treasure had bene there. On the other side he had hid all his gold in images of brasse, the which he had left carelesly lying on the ground in the house. In the meane time, whilst they watched the temple carefully, that these earthen pots should not be caried away without their privitie : Annibal hoysed sayle, and fled into Bithynia. In Bithynia there is a village upon the sea side, which the contry men call Libyssa, of the which by some mens saying, there ranne an olde oracle and prophecy in this sort :

The land of Libyssa shall cover under mowld  
The valliant corps of Annibal, when he is dead and cold.

There Annibal lay, not spending his time idely, but passing it away in exercising of the maryners, riding of horses, and trayning of his souldiers. Some Authors also do write, that at that time Prusias made warre with Eumenes, king of Pergamum, who was a confederate and friend of the Romanes : and that he made Annibal his Lieuutenant

Annibal fled  
to Prusias  
king of  
Bithynia.

Annibal,  
king Prusias  
generally by  
sea, against  
Eumenes,  
king of  
Pergamum.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

generall of his army by sea: who assaying Eumenes with a new found and unknown devise, wanne the victory of the battell by sea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that Annibal had gotten an infinite number of snakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begonne, and they busily tending their fight: he threw those pots with snakes into the enemies shippes, and that by this fearefull and straunge devise he made them flie. Now whether this was true or not, the olde chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely Æmylius and Trogus. And therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the dissention betwixt these two kings, (Prusias, and Eumenes) being brought to Rome: the Senate sent T. Q. Flaminius Ambassador into Asia, whose name was famous for the noble victories he had obtayned in Græce, to the ende (as I conjecture) to make peace betwixt these two kings. Flaminius being come unto king Prusias, he was marvelously offended, and sory in his mind to see Annibal yet alive, (that was the mortallest enemy of the Romanes) after the conquests of so many nations, and the sacking of so many people: therefore, he was very earnestly in hand with king Prusias, to deliver him Annibal. Annibal from the first beginning mistrusted king Prusias inconstancye very much, and therefore had digged divers vaults in his house, and made seven severall vents to flie out at, if he were sodainely taken. The report of Flaminius comming did encrease his suspicion the more, for that he thought him the greatest enemy he had in Rome: both generally for the hate he bare unto all the Romanes, as also peticularly for the remembraunce of his father. Flaminius, that was slayne in the battell fought by the lake of Thrasymene. So Annibal being full of care and grieffe (as it is reported) he found devises to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the kings gard which were sent to take him, had compassed his house about: Annibal thought to flie at their first coming, and to save him selfe by the secretest vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the gard, then he determined to rid him selfe out of the Romaues hands, by destroying him selfe. So, some doe report, that

ANNIBAL

A straunge devise of snakes put in earthen pots, and throwen into the enemies shippes.

Titus Quintus Flaminius sent Ambassador into Asia.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**ANNIBAL**

he was strangled by one of his men, whome he had commaunded to helpe to dispatche him. Others write againe, that he had droncke bulles bloud, and when he had droncke it, dyed, as Clitarchus, and Stratocles doe falsely report of Themistocles. Howbeit Titus Livius, that famous Historiographer writeth, that Annibal called for the poyson he had ready for such a mischiefe, and that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he sayd : Come on, let us rid the Romanes of this payne and care, sith their spight and malice is so great, to hasten the death of a poore old man that is halfe dead already. The auncient Romanes advertised Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes, who came with enseignes displayed to the very walls of the cite of Rome, that he should looke to him selfe, and beware of poysoning : and these Romanes nowe doe make a friende forgetting his kingly state and faithfull promise, vilely to betraye his poore ghest. After he had sayd, bitterly cursing king Prusias, he poysoned him selfe, being three score and tenne yeare olde, as some writers doe testifie. His body was buried in a tombe of stone by Libysa, on the which was ingraven no more but this : 'Here lyeth Annibal.' The Romanes beeing advertised of his death, every man sayde his opinion, as his fancye served him. Some greatly blamed T. Q. Flaminius crueltie, who to make him selfe famous by some notable acte, (as he thought) made a poore olde man put him selfe to death, that was in manner half dead by age, and besides, was past doing the state of Rome any more hurt, they being Conquerors in manner of all the world. But some againe on the other side, commended Flaminius for it, and sayd it was a good deede of him, to rid the Romanes of their mortall enemye : who though he had but a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wise counsell, and great experience in warres, to intise king Prusias to make warre, and to molest all Asia besides with newe warres. For at that time, the power of the king of Bithynia was so great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, Mithridates king of the same Bithynia, did marvelously molest the Romanes both by sea and by land, and moreover fought battells with L. Lucullus, and Cn. Pompey, famous Captaines of the Romanes. And so the

Annibal poysoned him selfe, being 70 yeare old.

Annibals tombe by Libysa.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Romanes might also be affrayd of king Prusias, and specially having Annibal his Captaine. So some judge, that Q. Flaminius was specially sent Ambassador unto king Prusias, secretly to practise Annibals death. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that Q. Flaminius was not so desirous to have Annibal so sodainely put to death, as he would have bene glad otherwise to have brought him againe to Rome, that had done such mischiefe to his contry: and this had bene a great benefit for Rome, and much honor also unto him selfe. Such was the death of Annibal the Carthaginian, a famous man doubtles, and highly to be commended for martiall prayse, setting his other vertues a side. So we may easily judge, of what power and force his noble mind, his great wisdom and corage, and his perfit skill of martiall discipline was in all thinges. For in all the warre the Carthaginians had so vehemently, and with such great preparation enterprised: they never thought them selves overcome, till Annibal was overthrowen at that great battel by Zama. So it appeareth, that all their strength and skill of warres began, and also ended, with Annibal their Captaine.

ANNIBAL

The praise of Annibal.

## THE LIFE OF SCIPIO AFRICAN



PUBLIUS SCIPIO a Patrician, of the familie of the Cornelii, who was the first Romane Captaine against whome Annibal fought in Italy: was the father of Cornelius Scipio afterwards surnamed African, the first so called, bicause he had conquered that nation. The same Scipio, after he had obtayned many great victories in Spayne, and done notable feates of armes: was in the ende slayne with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and incoraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest daunger and fury

The parentage of Scipio.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

of the battell. Shortly after did his brother Cn. Scipio also ende his life, much after one selfe manner, and was slayne valliantly fighting. So these two Captaines, besides the fame they achieved by their noble deedes, left behind them great prayse of their faithfulness, modestie, and courage: the which made them not onely wished for of their souldiers that were then living, but also of all the Spanyards besides. Cn. Scipio had a sonne called P. Cornelius Nasica, one that had bene Consul and had also triumphed: who beeing but a younge man, was thought the meekest man of all the citie of Rome to receyve Idæa, the mother of the goddess. This Publius had two sonnes, the so famous Scipioes: of the which the one was called Asian, because he conquered Asia: and the other African, because he subdued Africk at that famous battell of Zama, where he overthrew Annibal and the Carthaginians, as we sayd before. Whose life we purpose nowe to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (so famous by all the Græke and Latyn Authors) the greater by our history: as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deedes, and moral vertues, to thend that all Princes and noble Captaines in reading it, should behold the lively image of perfit vertue, which may move an earnest desire in them to follow the example of P. Cornelius Scipioes life, who from his childhod gave great hope and shew of a noble nature, and excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, under the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the second warre with the Carthaginians, followed the campe being but seventene yeare old, and in a very short time grew so toward, and forward in al things, in riding, in watching, in taking all maner of paynes like a soldier, that he wan great commendacion of his own father, and besides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit, and noble courage: that it made him beloved, and also feared of his enemies. For this Scipio was present at the battell of the horsemen, where P. Cornelius Scipio the Consul fought with Annibal, by the river Thesin: and some writers doe affirme, that Cornelius the

The first  
souldierfare  
of P. Cor.  
Scipio, being  
but seven-  
teene yeare  
olde.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemye, had not his sonne Scipio saved him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was so young. After that also, at the battel that was fought by Cannes, to the great losse, and in maner utter destruction of the Empire of Rome, when the ten thousand men that fled to Canusium, had all together with one consent referred the government of the army unto Appius Pulcher, that had bene *Ædilis*, and unto Cornelius Scipio, that was yet but very young: the same Scipio shewed then by his deedes, what noble mind and corage was in him. For when he saw certen young men consult together betwene them selves to forsake Italy: he thrust in among them, and drawing out his sword, made them all sweare they would not forsake their contry. These, and such like deedes done by him with a lively corage and noble mind, being then but a young man: wanne him such favor with the Romanes, that not respecting his young yeares, nor their auncient custom, they called him forward, and laid offices of great charge and government upon him. Insomuch that when he sued for the office of *Ædilis* before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his sute, because he was so younge a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, and so was presently chosen *Ædilis* with the most voyces. So after his father and Uncle, (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene slaine one after the other in Spayne, and that the Romanes were in consultacion to appoynt some worthy captaine in the roome: they could finde no man that durst undertake this so daungerous warre, considering the losse of two so great captaines before. Wherefore the whole assembly being called to choose a Viceconsul, all the other Princes and peeres of the Realme being silent at so worthy a motion: Scipio onely of all the rest, being but foure and twenty yeare old, stode up in the middest of them, and said, with a good hope and confidence he would willingly take the charge upon him. He had no sooner offred this promise, but he was presently made Viceconsul of Spayne, with the wonderful good wil and favor of the people, who

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN  
P. Scipio  
rescued his  
father from  
being taken  
of the  
enemies.

Honors done  
to Scipio,  
being but a  
young man.

Scipio Vice-  
consul at 24  
yeares of age.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

gave him all their voyces. Howbeit the Senators afterwards considering better of the matter, against what captaines and nations he should make warre: they thought it impossible so younge a man coulede performe so waightye a charge. Wherefore mens minds were wonderfully changed againe on the sodeine, as if the tribes of the people had repented them of their voices and election. Scipio perceiving it, called an assembly presently, and made such an oration of his age, and discipline of warres, that every man that heard him wondred at him, and the people began againe to renew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not only a noble corage in him, beeing indued with many singuler vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, and very comly of person, and had besides a pleasaunt countenance: all which things together, are great meanes to winne him the love and good will of every man. Moreover, even in his gesture and behavior, there was a certaine princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline, being joyned unto those his rare gifts of mind and nature: it was to be doubted, whether his civil vertues made him more acceptable unto straungers, then wonderful for his skil in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples harts with a certen superstitious feare, bicause he did daily (after he had taken the mans gowne) use to goe up to the Capitoll, and so into the church without any company: insomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret thinges in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that Numa Pompilius was taught by the Nymphe *Ægeria*. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of Scipio, as in olde time they had of Alexander king of Macedon, to wete: that oftentimes there was a snake scene in his mothers chamber. But let these things go. Scipio departing out of Italy with ten thowsand footemen, and a flecte of thirty gallies, every one of them having five owers to a bank: he sailed into Spayne, and in few dayes arriving at Emporia, he landed his men, and marched by land to Tarracon. There he kept a counsell, and many Ambassadors of the cities their confederats came thither, who being curteously received,

Scipioes great  
mind and  
goodly per-  
sonage.

Scipioes  
jorney into  
Spayne.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

returned to their lodgings with such answer as they liked. After this, Scipio being carefully bent to prosecute the warre he had taken upon him, he thought it best to joyne the remayne of the olde bandes with his army, which had bene saved through the manhood and valiantnes of Lucius Martius. For after both the Scipioes were slayne, and both Spaynes almost lost, and the Romane legions also overthrown and put to flight: L. Martius a Romane Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both armies, resisted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed up with glory of the victorie they had gotten, and with great valiantnes, and unspeakeable industry he mainteyned warre in Spayne, against three Captaines of the Carthaginians. Now Scipio being comen to this army that lay in garrison for the winter time, every man did certainly perswade them selves that the warre should prosper: and when they sawe him, they remembered their old Captaines, insomuch that there was never a souldier could have his fill, with looking upon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the souldiers for their noble corage, not dispayring for the calamitie of their contry: he greatly honored Lucius Martius, to shewe, that who so trusteth in his owne vertues, neede not envy the glory of another man. So winter being past, he tooke the old and newe bands out of the garrisons, and first of all determined to goe and lay siege unto new Carthage. For of all the cities of Spayne it was the wealthiest, and none more meeter to make warre both by sea and land, then that. Moreover, the captaines of the Carthaginians had bestowed in this citie all their munition, and greatest treasure: and left a strong garrison, both in the citie, and castel. But the Captaines them selves were devided in divers contries, to the end that they three might kepe the whole region from spoile, least of all looking then that Carthage should be beseege. So Scipio having put all in readines, he came to beseege new Carthage with all his army both by sea and land. This semed to be a marvelous hard enterprise, and would continue long, both because the citie was very strong of it selfe, and also for that the men within it were so coragious: that they did not onely thinke them selves able to defend the

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

The valiantnes of Lucius Martius a Romane knight.

Scipio beseegeth new Carthage in Spayne.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

citie, but their harts served them also to make salyes out upon the enemie, and to skirmish with them, even to the very trenches of the Romanes campe. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a man can not attaine by force, he may winne by industrie. Now Scipio knew, that the lake or mer which is not farre from the walls of Carthage, did ebbe and flowe with the tyde, and that it was passable by forde on that side where they might easiliest come to the walles: so, he thinking to imbrace this occasion, and that he could not possibly meete with a better devise to take Carthage: when he saw his time, he set his men in battell ray, and having devided them into severall squadrons, gave a more desperat assault unto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he chose out a band of the valiantest men he had, and commaunded them to wade over the lake, and to scale the walles on that side, where they within the towne made least accompt of it. So, these souldiers that were commaunded to give this attempt, after they had passed over the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watche or garde, because the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other side of the citie. Therefore they easily getting up on the wal, came and assailed the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of the garrison, perceyving they were unwares fallen into that great daunger: they immediatly forsooke the walles, and seeing them selves charged on every side, betooke them to their legges, and fled. The Romanes pursued them so hottely, that they wanne the citie, and sacked it: where they found a wonderfull great spoyle, and abundance of all things necessary for warre. Scipio greatly praysed his souldiers, and did reward them, for that they had done so valiant service. Howbeit when he should come to give the scaling crowne of the wals, unto the first man that got up upon the wall: there were two souldiers at such variance for the matter, that all the army was in daunger of division and mutinie upon that occasion. Thereuppon Scipio called his men together, and in open assembly told them, that he knewe they both got up on the wall together, and so gave them both a scaling crowne: and by this meanes their

Scipio wanne  
the citie of  
new Carthage  
by assault.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

tumult was presently pacified. Afterwards he sent unto all the cities of Spayne, the hostages that were found in the city, which were a marvelous number: the which wanne him great fame for his curtesie and clemency, whereby he allured many nations to yeld them selves unto the Romanes, and to forsake the Carthaginians. But one thinge above all the rest, chiefly increased his prayse, and wanne him great love and good will, as a myrror and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady taken prisoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in Carthage: whome he carefully caused to be kept, and preserved from violence and dishonor. And afterwards when he knew that she was married unto Luceius, Prince of the Celtiberians: he sent for her husbände that was a verie young man, and delivered her unto him, untouched, or dishonored. Luceius not forgetting his noble curtesie unto her, did let all his subjects understand the great bounty, modestie, and rare excellencie of all kinde of vertues that were in this Romane Generall: and shortly after he returned againe to the Romanes campe, with a great number of horsemen. The three Captaines of the Carthaginians (Mago, Hasdrubal Barcinian, and the other Hasdrubal, the sonne of Gisgo) knowing that the losse of new Carthage did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other straunge nations, as also by the conjecture divers made of the successe of this warre: they first practised to dissemble the losse of it, and then in speach to make light of it as much as they could. Scipio having joined unto him divers nations and Princes of Spayne, (among the which were the two litle kings, Mandonius, and Indibilis) understanding where Hasdrubal Barcinian lay: he marched towards him with his armie, to fight with him, before Mago and the other Hasdrubal came to joyne with him. Hasdrubal Barcinian lay in campe by the river of Besula, and was verie desirous to fight, trusting wholly to his strength and army. But when he heard that Scipio was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of pretie strength. The Romane legions followed him, and gave him no respit, but pursued so neere, that they came and assaulted his campe

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

The great  
chastitie of  
Scipio.

Mago,  
Hasdrubal  
Barcinian,  
Hasdrubal  
Gisgo, the  
three famous  
Captaines of  
the Cartha-  
ginians.

Besula fl.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

at their first comming. So they fought it out upon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the assault of a citie. The Carthaginians trusting to the strength of the place, and driven unto it of necessitie, (the which maketh cowards most desperat) they valliantly resisted their enemies the best they could. The Romanes in contrarie maner, being valliant, and full of good hope, fought it out lustely like men, and the fight was so muche more cruell, for that it was in the sight of their Generall Scipio, and of all the armie besides: insomuch that their valliant service there could not be hidden. Therefore they never gave over the assault, untill that having done their uttermost endeavor, they got up upon the rampers, and entred in divers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. Hasdrubal, Captaine of the Carthaginians, saved him selfe by flying, with a few with him, before the Romanes entred into their fort. After this battell, Scipio according to his maner, caused all the Spanish prisoners to be brought before him, and then gave them libertie to depart, without paying of raunsome. Among the prisoners, there was a young gentleman of the kings blood, and nephew unto Masinissa, whom when he had used verie honorably, he sent unto Masinissa, with great and rich gifts: to shew thereby, that a Generall of an army should be as bountifull and full of civill vertues, as otherwise skilfull and expert in martiall discipline. For the ende of warre is victorie: the benefit whereof consisteth in bountie, and clemencie. From thence commeth the glorie and all other praises due to Captaines: as it happened in those things whereof we now treat. For a great number of Spanyards being present, wondering at the great clemencie of the Generall of the Romanes: they coule doe no lesse but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But Scipio strake that word dead straight, the which was no common sound to the Romanes eares, and therefore he would by no meanes allow that title, which he knewe to be hatefull to the noble men of his contrie, and also unmeete for the libertie of the Romanes. He onely prayed the Spanyards, that if they had any mind and desire not to shew them selves unthankfull to him: that then they

Scipioes liberalitie to his enemies.

Vertues meete for a General.

Scipio called king, by the Spanyards.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

would be faithfull and loving to the people of Rome. So whilst these things were done by Scipio, the other two Captaines of the Carthaginians, (Mago, and Hasdrubal, the sonne of Gisco) after they understoode of the overthrowe of their men by the river of Besula: they made all the speede they could to joyne together, and shortly after came and met with Hasdrubal Barcinian, to consult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and considered all thinges, they concluded thus: that Hasdrubal Barcinian should go into Italie to his brother Annibal, where the warre was greatest: and that Mago, and the other Hasdrubal shoulde remaine in Spayne, shoulde sende for aide from Carthage, and should not fight with the Romanes untill all their forces looked for were assembled, and so might make a great and puisant armie. When Hasdrubal was gone into Italie, Hanno was sent from Carthage in his place. But practising in his jorney to make the Celtiberians to rebell, M. Syllanus came and set upon him by Scipioes commaundement, and was so fortunate, that he overcame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. Nowe there was a citie which the contrie men called Oringe, the which was verie wealthie, and meete to renewe the warre. Lucius Scipio was sent thither with parte of the armie to besiege it: but finding it a verie strong scituacion, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he environned the townne, and within few dayes tooke and sacked it. Winter came on a pace, and the time of the yeare made them both to retire into their garrisons, for the winter. So Scipio having had so good fortune in this warre, he went unto Tarracon: Mago, and the other Hasdrubal, the sonne of Gisco, went to the sea side. The next sommer, warres growing more bloody and cruell then before in the lower Spayne, the Romanes and Carthaginians met, and joyned battell by the river of Besula, and fought set battells. After they had fought a long time together, Scipio at length got the victorie, and made the enemies flie: (of the which there were slaine a great number in the field) and geving them no leasure to gather together againe, and to make head against him, he fought with them, and fol-

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Hasdrubal sent into Italie to his brother Annibal with an army.

Hanno, the chiefe of the contrarie faction unto Hasdrubal Barcinian, overcome in battell, and taken prisoner.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

lowed the chase so hottely, that Hasdrubal and Mago were driven to leave the maine land, and to flie to Gades, after they had lost all their armie. In the armie of the Carthaginians, there was a young man of a noble corage, and verie wise, called Masinissa, who finding meanes to have secret conference with Syllanus, he was the first man that offered him frendshippe, either being brought to it through Scipioes liberalitie, or else bicause he thought the time was come, that it was the surest way to take part with the Romanes, which were the conquerors. It is that Masinissa that afterwards, (through the goodnes of the Romanes) became the great and mighty king of Numidia, and in deede he was divers wayes a profitable frende unto the Romanes. Furthermore, the selfe same yeare, (which was the fourteenth of the seconde warre with the Africans) Spayne was the first nation and people of the upland men dwelling in the hart of the realme, that was conquered under the happie conduct of the Viceconsul Scipio: howbeit it was the last realme that was made a province long time after, by Augustus Cæsar. Now Scipio not contenting him self with the great victories he had obtained, in verie short time in Spayne (for he had an imagination and good hope also to conquer Africke) he thought that his best way, to make all the meanes he could possible to get Syphax, king of the Massesylians, a frend to the Romanes. Wherefore after he had felt the kinges minde, perceiving that he was well inclined to make league with the Romanes: he presently set all his other affaires aside, and sailed into Afrike with two gallies onely, at five owers to a bancke. At the selfe same time also came Hasdrubal, the sonne of Gisgo thither, from Gades: so that both these valliant and lusty Captaines came of purpose to the king, envying one the other, to crave the kinges good will, unto their contrie and common wealth. Syphax welcomed them both into his Court, and did use them verie honorably and curteouslie, and appointed that they should both eate at one table, and lye in one selfe chamber, bicause the one shoulde not thinke his entertainment better then the other. It is reported, that Hasdrubal wondering at the magnanimity and great wisdom of Scipio that was

Masinissa  
offereth his  
frendshippe  
unto the  
Romanes.

Syphax king  
of the Masse-  
slylians.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

present, he considered with him selfe the great daunger the cite of Carthage and all Afrike besides was in, through that mans meanes: for he saw him yet a young man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continuallie obtained such victories, and therefore considering the lustie youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it was impossible to perswade him to imbrace peace, rather then warre. Besides, he was affraied also that Syphax, moved by the personage and authoritie of him that was present, would take parte with the Romanes: and in deede his minde gave him rightlie, for so it happened. For though Syphax at the first shewed him selfe indifferent to them both, and had moved talke to end the warre betwext the Romanes and the Carthaginians: yet afterwards when Scipio tolde him he coulde conclude no peace without consent of the Senate of Rome, he rejected Hasdrubal, and inclining to Scipioes request, he made league with the people of Rome. So Scipio being returned againe into Spayne, him selfe partely by force, and partely also by L. Martius meanes, conquered Iliturgium, Castulo, and certaine other places that refused to yeeld them selves unto the Romanes. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kinde of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunatelie obtained so many famous victories: when he was come to newe Carthage, he caused the fensers to prepare them selves to fight with great pompe, where there were many great estates, not only to see that pastime, but also they them selves to handle the weapons in person. But amongst other Spanyardes of noble houses, there were two called, Corbis, and Orsua, which were at strife together for the kingdom: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being slaine by the others hand. The fight was verie lamentable and grievous to the beholders: but the death of him that was slaine, troubled them much more, for they were both cousin germanes. After all this, Scipio having his mind still occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then those which he had already brought to passe: he fell sicke. His sickenes being caried through all Spayne, and as it happeneth often, his disease being reported to be much greater and daungerous then it

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN  
Hasdrubals  
judgement  
of Scipio.

Syphax, king  
of the Mass-  
sylians, mak-  
eth league  
with the  
Romanes.

The unfortu-  
nate fight of  
two cousin  
germanes.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

The rebellion  
of the Romanes  
souldiers  
against their  
Captaines,  
in Scipioes  
sicknes.

Mandonius:  
Indibilis, two  
kings of  
Spayne.

Scipioes  
wisdome  
suppressing  
his anger.

was in deede: thereuppon, not only the nations of Spayne beganne to rise in hope of chaunge, but the armie selfe also of the Romanes, the which he had left at Sucro. First of all, martiall discipline was corrupted, through the absence of the Generall. Afterwardes also, the report of his sickenes, and daunger of his life being spred abroad in the armie, raised suche a rebellion among them: that some of them litle regarding the authoritie and commaundement of the head Captaines of the bands, they drave them away, and chose two meane souldiers for their Captaines, who presumptuously tooke upon them the name geven unto them by men of no authority, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundells of roddes and axes to be caried before them. Such follie doth furie and vaine ambicion oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other side, the Spanyards slept not, and specially Mandonius and Indibilis: who aspiring to the kingdom of Spayne, came to Scipio when he was conqueror, after he had taken newe Carthage. But afterwards, being offended to see the power of the Romanes increase daily, they sought occasion to make some alteration. So after they had heard, not onely of Scipioes sicknes, but also how he was at deatnes dore, and did beleve it: they presentlie leaved an armie, and went and made warre with the Suessitans which were confederates of the Romanes. But Scipio being recovered againe of his sickenes, like as upon the false rumor of his death every man beganne to rise: even so after the truth was knowen in deede of his recoverie, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durst proceede any further in their rebellion. Scipio being more skilfull in martiall discipline, then acquainted with sedition and rebellion: although he was marvelously offended with the souldiers that had committed this follie, yet in the end, least following his anger, men should have thought him to have exceeded all boundes of reason in punishing of them, he referred all unto the counsell. The most parte of them gave advise, that the authors of the rebellion shoulde be punished, and all the rest pardoned: For by this meanes sayd they, the punishment shall light upon a few that have deserved it, and all the rest shall take example by them. Scipio followed

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that advise, and presently sent for all the seditious bands, to come to new Carthage to receive their pay. The souldiers obeyed his commaundement, some of them making their fault lesse then it was, as men doe often flatter them selves: others also trusting to the Captaines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreame in punishment. For Scipio was wont to say, that he had rather save the life of one Romane citizen, then to kill a thowsand enemies. The rumor ranne also, that Scipio had an other armie readie, the which he looked for to joyne with them, and then to set upon the kings, (Mandonius and Indibilis) who made warre with the Suessitans. These souldiers departing from Sucro, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came unto Carthage. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armor and weapons being taken from them, they were environned with all the legions armie. Then the Romane Generall sitting in place of judgement, shewed him selfe before all the company in good health and good disposition of bodie, as ever he was in all his youth. Then he made a sharp and bitter oration, full of grievous complaints: insomuch as there was not one of all the souldiers that were unarmed, that durst cast up their eyes, or looke their Generall in the face, they were so ashamed. For their consciences did accuse them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and sences from them, and the presence of their gracious Captaine, made them blush as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherefore there was a generall and sorowfull silence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he caused the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be brought forth before the whole assembly, who, after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamentable sight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, Scipio made all the other souldiers to be sworne againe, and then went and proclaimed warre against Mandonius and Indibilis. For they considering with them selves, howe the Romane souldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtaine

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Scipioes great  
wisdomme in  
punishing the  
offendors.

Scipioes care  
of his contrie  
men.

Scipio did put  
the authors of  
the rebellion  
to death.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

any pardon. Therefore they had leaved an army of twentie thousand footemen, and two thousand horsemen, and came downe with them against the Romanes. Scipio having intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, and that other nations could rebel: he departed from Carthage, and went with as great speede as he could to meete with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted so to their army, that they were not determined to provoke the enemy, nor also to refuse the battell if it were offered them. Howbeit it chaunced by the merenes of both campes, that within few dayes, they being provoked by the Romanes, came downe and set their men in battell ray, and joyned battell with Scipio: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloody and cruel. But at length the Spanyards seeing them selves compassed in behinde, and being driven to fight in a ring to defend the enemy on every side, they were overcome: so that the third parte of them scarcely saved them selves by flying. Mandonius and Indibilis seeing them selves utterly undone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left: they sent Ambassadors unto Scipio, humbly to pray him to receive them to mercy, and to pardon them. But Scipio knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the Romanes, yet thinking it more honorable to overcome the enemy by curtesie and clemency, then by force: he did pardon them, and only commaunded them to geve him money to pay his souldiers. In the meane time Masinissa came from Gades, and landed: bicause he would him selfe in person confirme the frendship he had offered Scipio in his absence, by the meanes of M. Syllanus, and also speake with him face to face, whom he judged to be a worthie man, for the famous victories he had obtained. And in truth Masinissa was not deceived in the opinion he had of the valliantnes and vertues of Scipio, but found him the selfe same man whom he before had imagined him to be in his minde: the which but seldom happeneth so notwithstanding. For besides the great rare giftes of nature that Scipio had above all others, there was in him also a certaine Princely grace and majestie. Furthermore, he was marvelous gentle and

A noble thing  
to overcome  
the enemy by  
clemencie.

Masinissa  
cometh unto  
Scipio.

A Princely  
Majestie in  
Scipioes  
personage.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

curteous unto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to winne everie man. He was verie grave in his gesture and behaviour, and ever ware long heare. Masinissa being come to salute him, when he sawe him, he had him in suche admiration as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes of him, nor have his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him marvelouslie for sending his Nephewe unto him, and promised him that his deedes shoulde confirme and witnesse the frendshippe agreed uppon betwene them: the which he ever after inviolablie kept unto the Romanes, even to the hower of his death. So all the nations of Spayne became subject to the Empire of Rome, or at the least their confederates: whereupon those of Gades also following the example of others, came and yeilded them selves unto the Romanes. This is a verie auncient nation, and if we may credit the reporte of it: as Carthage was in Afrike, and Thebes in Bœotia, so was Gades upon the sea, a Colony of the Tyrians. Scipio after he had conquered all Spayne, and driven out the Carthaginians, considering that there remained nothing more for him to doe: he left the government of the province unto L. Lentulus, and to Manlius Acidinus, and returned to Rome. When he was arrived at Rome, the Senate gave him audience out of the citie, in the temple of Bellona. There, when he had particularly told them of the things he had valliantly, and fortunately brought to end: and further, that he had overcome foure Captaines in divers foughten fields and also put to flight foure armies of the enemies, and driven the Carthaginians out of both Spaynes, and that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the Romanes, the Senate gave judgement, that all these things were worthy of a noble triumphe. But bicause never man yet was suffred to enter into Rome in triumphe, for any victories he had obtained, whilist he was only but Viceconsul, and had not yet bene Consul: the Senators thought it not good, and Scipio him selfe also made no great sute for it, bicause he would not be an occasion to bring in any newe custome, and to breake the olde. So when he came into the citie, he was afterwarde declared Consul, with the great good will

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

The antiquitie  
of those of  
Gades.

Scipioes  
noble deedes.

Scipioes re-  
turne out of  
Spayne to  
Rome.

Scipio made  
Consul.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

and consent of the whole assemblie. It is reported that there never came such a world of people to Rome, as were there at that time, not only for the assemblies sake, but more to see P. Cor. Scipio. Wherefore, not the Romanes onely, but all the straungers also that were there, all their eyes were upon Scipio, and sayd both openly and privately : that they should send him into Afrike, to make warre with the Carthaginians, at home in their owne contrie. Scipio also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske advise of the people, if the Senate would be against such a worthie enterprise. For amongst the peres and Senators, there were some that vehemently inveyed against that opinion, and among the rest, Fabius Maximus speciallie, a man of great fame and authoritie. Scipio went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to overcome the Carthaginians, and to drive Annibal out of Italie, but that only : and that all other counsells were in vaine, and unprofitable. After this matter was long debated in counsell, Sicilia was appointed unto Scipio : and the whole Senate gave him commission to go with all his armie into Afrike, if he thought it meete and profitable for the common wealth. The decree of the Senate being published, everie mans minde ranne of so great enterprises, that they perswaded them selves Afrike was alreadie their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit Scipio saw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this journey, because of the povertie of the common treasure, and for lacke of young men : the flower and choyce of the which was utterlie gone, by the former great losses and overthrowes Annibal had geven them. Howebeit to satisfie everie mans expectacion of him, he made all the possible speede he could, to prepare thinges necessarie for the warres. So divers people of Thuscan, and of the Umbrians, offered to helpe him to their best power : some of them gave him timber to builde his shippes, others holpe him with armor, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kinde of vittells and munition for his armie. The shippes being built, and all the armie by sea put in readines, in the space of five and fortie dayes, a thing incredible to many : Scipio departed

410

Scipio prepared his armie and navy by sea, in 45 dayes.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

out of Italie, and sailed towards Sicile. But when he came to take muster of his armie, he specialie chose those that had served long time in the warres, under the conduct of M. Marcellus, the which were all esteemed for verie expert souldiers. And for the Sicilians, he partely wanne them by curtesie, and partely by compulsion compelled them to geve him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he ment to make in Afrike, when the time of the yeare should serve for it. Among other things, it is reported that Scipio chose out of divers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the sayd province, and commaunded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, everie man with horse and armor. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commaundement: the Consul bad them choose whether they would followe him in the warres of Afrike, or else deliver up their armor and horse, to as many other Romanes as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the warre, Scipio appointed three hundred other young Romanes in their places, whom he had brought out of Italie with him unarmed, bicause he would mount and arme them at the Sicilians cost, as in deede it chaunced. Afterwards, they did him great service in Afrike, in many great battells. Now time was come on for Scipio to put his armie in garrison for the winter time, when he came to Syracusa, taking order not only for the preparation of warre, but also for the affaires of Sicilia. There when it was tolde him by complaint of divers, that there was a great companie of Italian souldiers in that citie, who would not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the warres, but kept them stil in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enjoyned them by special commaundement to make restitution to the Syracusans: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomlishe the Senates commaundement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hartes of Sicilia, and was reported to be a just and upright Consul. In the meane time he was advertised by Caius Lælius, that returned out of Afrike with great spoyle: howe king Masinissa was very desirous of his comming thither, and that he instantly prayed him he would come

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Scipios  
policie in  
Sicilia.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

into Afrike, as soone as he coulde possible, so it were without the prejudice of the common wealth. Moreover, that divers nations and people of Afrike had the like desire: who hating the government of the Carthaginians, desired nothing more, then some good occasion to rebell. Now this journey was not deferred through Scipioes fault or negligence, considering that such a Captaine could hardly be founde that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of Sicilia, and the oportunitie he had to recover Locres againe, did hinder him that he coulde not bring his purpose to passe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenaunt Pleminius disorder grieved him much: because that having left him at Locres, he fell to all sortes of insolencie, as to deflowre women, and to spoyle the poore citizens: insomuch that they being marvelously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subject to the government of so vile and wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of Locres being arrived at Rome, and exhibiting their complaintes in open Senate of the great wrongs and injuries Pleminius did them: the noble men tooke the matter so grievously, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same Pleminius, but also against P. C. Scipio himselfe. Whereupon Scipioes enemies having gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the injuries offred the Locrians, with the licentiousnesse of Pleminius, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had suffred all these things more negligently, then became the office or duty of a Consul. They added thereto moreover, that his army he had in Sicile was altogether unruly and unserviceable, and regarded not the ordinances of the campe: and that the Captaine him selfe was carelesse, and altogether geven over to pleasure and idleness. But above all others, Fabius Maximus was his heavy enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceded the bounds of all modesty and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of Sicilia, and to dismisse him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, and extreame. Wherefore following

P. C. Scipio  
accused.

Q. Fabius  
Maximus,  
a great  
adversary  
unto Scipio.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Quintus Metellus counsell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into Sicilia, to make diligent inquiry, whether the accusations objected against Scipio were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they should commaund him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into Italy. And on the other side, if they found that he was unjustly accused, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies and detractors: then that they should send him to his armie, and encorage him valliantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambassadors were arrived in Sicilia, after they had made diligent inquiry according to the articles of their commission: they could not finde that Scipio was faultie in any thing, saving that he had too lightly passed over the wrongs and injuries Pleminius had done unto the Locrians. For Scipio was verie liberrall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they saw his army, his shippes, and all his other furniture and munition for warre: it is reported that they wondred so much to see the great aboundance and good order taken for all thinges, that when they returned to Rome, they greatly commended Scipio, and rejecting all the accusations of his accusers, they did promise the Senate and people of Rome, assured hope of victory. So when all these home troubles at Rome were taken away, there chaunced other outward troubles a broad that grieved him much. For the Ambassadors of king Syphax came and told him that their maister had made new league with the Carthaginians, and was become frend to Hasdrubal, whose daughter he had married: and therefore that he wished him if he ment to do his contry good, to make no attempt upon Afrike, for he was determined to reckon the Carthaginians frends his, and also to set upon them whom the Carthaginians account their enemies. Scipio quickelie returned the Ambassadors againe unto Syphax, because the effect of their comming should not be blown abroad in his campe: and gave them letters, in the which he praied king Syphax, that remembering the league and faithfull promise, he should beware he attempted nothing unworthy the name of a Romane, and faith of a

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Scipioes  
nature.

King Syphax  
revolteth  
from the  
Romanes.



## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told them, that the Ambassadors of king Syphax were come into Sicile, to complaine of his long tarying, as Masinissa had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his journey to goe into Afrike, and thereupon commaunded all his souldiers to put them selves in readines, and to provide all things necessary for their journey. The Consuls commaundement being published through all Sicile, there repaired immediatlie unto Lilybea a multitude of people, not only of those that were to saile into Afrike, but of others also that came to see the fleete and army of the Romanes: bicause they never saw an army better furnished, nor set out with all things necessary for warre, nor better replenished with souldiers, then that. So Scipio, all things being ready, imbarked at Lilybea with so earnest a desire to passe over the sea, that neither owers nor wind did content his minde. Yet he was brought in few daies sailing, to the promontory or mountaine called Fayer, and there he put all his men a land. The newes of his arrival flying straight to Carthage, all the city was presently in such an uprore, that sodainly they sounded the alarom, and garded the gates and walls, as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from M. Regulus time, unto that present day, it was almost fifty yeares space since any Romane Captaine ever entred Afrike with force of armes. And therefore it was no marvell though they were affrayed, and grew to uprore. The name of Scipio did encrease their feare the more, bicause the Carthaginians had no Captaine matchable with him. Hasdrubal the sonne of Gisco had the name at that time of a lusty Captaine, whom they knew had notwithstanding bene overcome, and driven out of Spayne by Scipio. Howbeit putting all the hope and safety of their contry in him, and in king Syphax that mighty king: they never left intreating the one, nor perswading the other, to come and helpe the affaires of Afrike, with all the speede they could possible. So, whilst they two were preparing to joyne both their armies together, Annibal the sonne of Hamilcar, being appointed to kepe the next contry adjoyning to it, came against the Romanes. Scipio after he had destroyed the contry, and enriched his army with great spoyle: he camped

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

by the city of Utica, to see if it were possible for him to win so noble and wealthy a city, and being besides so commodious for the warres both by sea and land. At the selfe same time Masinissa came to the Romanes campe, and was inflamed with a vehement desire to make warre against king Syphax, by whom he had before bene driven out of his kingdom and inheritance. Scipio, that had knowen him in Spayne, a young Prince of an excellent wit, and quicke and valliant of his hand: he sent him to discover the army of the enemies, before the Carthaginians could gather any greater power, and willed him to use all the devise and meanes he coulde possible to intise Hanno to fight. Masinissa as he was commaunded, began to provoke the enemy, and drawing him out by litle and litle, he brought him where Scipio lay with all his legions armed, looking for a good hower to fight. The armie of the enemies was nowe wearied, when the Romanes came to set upon them with their freshe army. Hanno at the first onset was overcomen, and slaine, with most of his men: and all the rest fled, and dispersed them selves here and there, where they thought they might best scape. After this victory, Scipio returning backe againe to besiege the city of Utica: the sodaine comming of Hasdrubal and king Syphax, made him to leave of his enterprise, for that they brought with them a great army both of footemen and horsemen, and came and camped not farre from the Romanes. Scipio perceiving that, raised his siege immediatly, and came and fortified his campe upon a hill, from whence he might go and fight with the enemy, and molest them of Utica, and also keepe his shippes safe that road at ancker. Howbeit the time of the yeare being comen, that both armies were to dispose their men in garrisons for the winter season: he determined to send unto king Syphax to feele his minde, and to make him leave the frendshippe of the Carthaginians if it were possible. For he knew well it was his mariage with Sophonisba, that through her flattering perswasions had brought him to that furie, that he had not only forsaken the frendshippe of the Romanes, but also ment to destroy them, contrary to his faith and promise: and that if he had once satisfied the

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

The ready  
and faithfull  
good will of  
Masinissa to  
the Romanes.

Hanno over-  
comen and  
slaine.

Sophonisba,  
king Syphax  
wife.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Scipioes craft.

heate of his love with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. Syphax having understoode Scipioes message sent him, he answered, that in dede it was time not only to leave the league with the Carthaginians, but also to geve up all thought of warre: and so promised, that he would be a good meane to make peace. Scipio gave good eare unto it, and caught holde of an excellent fine devise. He chose the valliantest souldiers in his army, apparelled them like slaves, and made them waite upon the Ambassadors, and gave them instructions what they shoulde doe. These fellowes, whilst the Ambassadors and king Syphax were in talke together about the articles and condicions of peace, and that the consultation helde lenger then it was wont to doe: they went and walked up and downe through the enemies campe, to see all the wayes and entries into it, according unto Scipioes instructions. After they had done this divers times, they came againe to Scipio. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, Scipio seemed to make preparation for warres, (as being out of hope of any peace) and to make his army ready by sea, preparing engines of batterie to returne to besiege Utica, as he had done before. He gave out this rumor through all the contry, to perswade his enemies that it was true: howbeit having called the Captaines and pety Captaines of his army together, he made them privy to his intent and enterprise. He told them that both the enemies campes lay not farre a sunder, of the which, the one of them had all their tents and cabbons of wodde: and the building of the other campe was all of reedes, so that they were both easie to be burnt. Wherupon having sent for Masinissa, and Caius Lælius to come unto him, he gave them charge about midnight to geve alarom unto Syphax campe, and to set it a fire: and that he him selfe on the other side, would set upon the Carthaginians campe. They two obeying Scipioes commaundement, performed his will without delay, and came at the hower appointed them to assaile the Numidians campe, and so did set the houses of reedes afire, which tooke fire in such sort, as the flame was immediatly rounde about the campe. The Numidians at the first, thinking the fire had

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

comen by misfortune, ranne thither straight unarmed to quench it. But when they found them selves among the legions of the Romanes, and that there was nothing but killing downe right, seeing them selves so compassed on all sides, they saw their best remedie was to flie. On the other side also, where Scipioes army was: the Carthaginians campe was almost all burnt, an the enemies put to flight with such cruell slaughter, that some wryters affirme there were slaine that night about fortie thowsand men, as well Carthaginians as Numidians. This great overthrow and slaughter being caried to Carthage, did put the citizens there in such a feare and terror, that some thought best to send for Annibal out of Italie: and others gave advise to make peace with Scipio. Howbeit the Barcinian faction which was rich and wealthy, and altogether against the peace makers: they so prevailed, that they leaved a new power to begin warre againe. King Syphax and Hasdrubal, having leaved a great multitude of footemen and horsemen againe, renewed their armie sooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitche their campe directly over against the enemies. Scipio having understanding of that, would not tary, but determined to geve them battell, whilst his men were in good hart, and willing to fight. So it chaunced at the first, by the neerenes of both their campes, that there were certaine skirmishes: but in the end, the armies came to joyne battell, and the Romanes fought with such corage and terror, that at the first onset, they made the Numidians and Carthaginians flie, and slue the most part of them. Hasdrubal and Syphax scaped, by flying out of the slaughter. Scipio sent Masinissa, and Caius Lælius with the light horsemen to give them chase. Syphax being comen into Numidia, and from thence into his owne realme and kingdom, he leaved an army in hast, of all sorts of people, and came to meete with Masinissa and Caius Lælius, and was not affrayed to geve them battell. But it was a fond parte of him, considering that he was nothing like so strong as his enemy, neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in likelyhood of souldiers. For neither the souldiers, nor Captaines of his army were matchable with the souldiers and Captaines of the Romanes

SCIPIO -  
AFRICAN

A marvelous  
great  
slaughter  
of the Car-  
thaginians.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO

AFRICAN

Syphax, king of the Mass-sylians, overcome, and taken in battell.

campe: and therefore king Syphax was easily overcome by such skilful souldiers, and moreover was him self taken in battell, with many other great noble men, whom Masinissa would hardly have looked for: and then they were brought unto Scipio. At the first there was a marvelous joy among them, when it was told them that king Syphax should be brought prisoner unto the campe: but afterwards when they saw him bound, they were al sory to see him in such pityfull state, remembring his former greatnes and regall majesty. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had bene but a litle before, what wonderful great wealth he had, and also the power of so great a realme and kingdom. Howbeit Scipio the Romane Consul, received him very curteously, and gently asked him what he ment to chaunge his mind in that sort, and what moved him to make warre with the Romanes. Then the king remembring his former frendship and faithful promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the love he bare to his wife Sophonisba, who only had procured him to deale so dishonorably with the Romanes: howbeit, that he had so smarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreame misery, to see that his mortall enemy Masinissa was also taken with that franzie and mad humor, wherewith he before was possessed. For after Syphax was overcome and taken, Masinissa went unto Cyrtha, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found Sophonisba there, with whom he fell in fancy: who after she had finely wrapped him in with her deceitfull flatteries and kindnes, he promised her also to deliver her out of the Romanes hands: and bicause he might the better performe his promise made, he tooke her to his wife, and married her. When Scipio was informed of these things, it grieved him marvelously. For it was knowen to all men, that Syphax was overcome under the conduct, and through the Romanes meanes: and therefore all that was belonging to Syphax, was at the disposition of the Romanes. Wherefore if Masinissa had without Scipioes consent, undertaken to defend Sophonisbaes quarrell: then

Masinissa wan the city of Cyrtha, where he fell in love with Sophonisba, king Syphas wife.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

it appeared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, and the majesty of the people of Rome. Furthermore, his filthie lust did agravate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intollerable, by how much the continency of the Romane Consul was the greater, the which Masinissa saw daily before his eyes, and might have bene a paterne and example unto him. For Scipio, besides many other proofes and shewes of his vertues, in all places where he obtayned victory, he alwayes kept the women undefiled, which were taken prisoners. So, Scipio being much offended with Masinissa, (though he shewed it not before company) received him very lovingly at his returne to the campe: yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproved him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a severe Captaine. Whereupon Masinissa went into his tent and wept, and could not tell what way he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiving that it was unpossible for him to keepe promise with Sophonisba, which grieved him to the hart: he sent her poyson, and a message withall, the which she dranke immediatly, and so willingly made her selfe away. Furthermore, the Carthaginians after they had received such wonderfull great losses and overthrowes, one after an other, perceiving that their affaires were brought to suche a straight and extreamitie, that they were no more to looke after the inlarging of their dominions, but only to consider which way they might keepe their owne contry: they sent for Annibal to come out of Italie. Who returning with great speede into Afrike, before he did any thing else, he thought good first to talke with P. Scipio about peace: either because he was affrayed of the good fortune of this young man, or else for that he mistrusted he coulde not otherwise helpe his contrie and common wealth, which he saw decaying, and like to be destroyed. Wherefore a place was appointed, where they might meete according to his desire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end, Scipio offred Annibal such condicions of peace, that by them it appeared the Romanes were not wearie of warre, and that Scipio him selfe being a young man, had

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

The great  
and rare con-  
tinency of  
Scipio.

Sophonisba  
poysoned her  
selfe, through  
Masinissaes  
procurement.

Annibal sent  
for into Italy,  
to returne  
into Afrike.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Battell at  
Zama, and  
Scipioes  
victorie of  
the Cartha-  
ginians.

The praise of  
Annibal.

better hope to obtaine victorie, then great desire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being set aside, they brake of their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthie Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared them selves to battell, either to geve or take away in short time from their common weales, the seignorie and Empire of all the worlde. The place where they imployed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the citie of Zama: in the which the Romanes being conquerors, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the ende brake so fiercely into the footemen, that they overthrew all the armie. It is reported that there were slaine and taken by the Romanes, above fortie thowsande Carthaginians. Annibal fled out of the fury of the battell, and saved him selfe, though that day he had shewed him selfe like a valliant and famous Captaine. For at this battell he had set his armie in better order then ever he had done before, and had strengthened it, both with the commoditie of the place, and reliefe besides: and even in the verie furie and terror of the battell he so besturred him selfe among his souldiers, that the enemies them selves did commend and praise him, for a noble Captaine. After this victory, Scipio meeting with Vermina king Syphax sonne, that brought aide to the Carthaginians: he put him to flight, and came and brought his army to the walls and haven of Carthage, thinking (as in deede it fel out) that the Carthaginians would sue to him for peace. For, as the Carthaginians before had bene very good souldiers, and readie to make warres: so were they now become timerous and faint hearted, specially when they saw their Generall Annibal overcomen, in whom they chiefly reposed all their hope and trust, for defense of their contrie. Wherefore they being (as I have sayed) out of hart, sent Ambassadors unto Scipio, to pray him that according to his accustomed clemencie he woulde graunt them peace. Nowe was great sute made at Rome, to have the government of the province of Afrike, and one of the newe Consuls made hast to come and make warre, with such charge and preparation as was meete for his dignitie and calling: and therefore Scipio doubting that

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

an other shoulde carie away the glorie for ending of so great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the Carthaginian Ambassadors requestes. So, the capitulacion of the articles of peace was offred unto the Carthaginians, according to the conquerors mind: and besides all other things, the whole fleete of all their shippes and gallies (in the which consisted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole fleete was burnt, it was such a lamentable sight unto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if Carthage had bene destroyed and rased to the very ground. For as some doe write, there were five hundred shippes burnt of all sortes. These things therefore should make us all beware of humaine frayeltie, the which we often forget in our prosperitie. For they that before perswaded them selves to conquer the world, after they had wonne so many great battells and victories of the enemy, and in maner conquered all Italie, and so valliantly besides besieged the city of Rome: were in short time after brought to such misery and extremitie, that all their power and force being overcome, they had left them no more but the walls of Carthage, and yet they were not sure to keepe them, but through the speciall grace and favor of the enemy. After these things were done, Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not only restore king Masinissa to his realme againe, but also adding thereunto the best part of all king Syphax contrie, they made him one of the mightiest kings of all Afrike: and afterwards he gave honorable gifts unto every man as he had deserved. In fine, after he had set all the affaires of Afrike at good stay, he brought his army backe againe into Italie: at what time there came to Rome a world of people, to see so great and famous a Captaine, returning from such wonderfull great victories. So he entred into Rome with pompe of triumphe, Terentius Culeo following of him with a hatte on his head, bicause that through his favor and frendship he was taken out of bondage. Polybius wryteth, that king Syphax was led in triumphe: howbeit some say he dyed before Scipio triumphed. In deede divers that did triumphe, some before him during the warres of

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Five hundred  
shippes of  
the Cartha-  
ginians burnt  
by Scipio.

Scipioes  
returne to  
Rome.

Scipioes  
triumphe at  
Rome, for  
the Cartha-  
ginians.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

the Carthaginians, and others afterwards in the warres of Macedonia and Asia, they made greater shew of plate, both of gold and silver in their triumphe, and led also a greater number of prisoners: howbeit one onely Annibal that was overcome, and the glorie of so great a warre ended, did make the triumphe of P. Scipio so excellent and famous, that it farre passed all the golde and magnificent pompe of all others triumphes. For after Afrike was conquered, no nation then was ashamed to be overcome by the Romanes. For he made this province, as it were a bridge and open passage to increase and enlarge the Empire of Rome, both in Macedon, and also in Asia, and in other parts of the world besides. Now Scipio (whom I may rightly call African, after the conquest of Afrike) being returned to Rome, he lacked no temporall dignities nor honors. For in the counsell holden for the election of Censors, although there were divers others of the noblest houses of Rome that sued for that office: yet he him selfe, and Ælius Petus were preferred before all the rest, and after they were created Censors, they did governe in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwards the Censors that followed them, did still one after an other choose Scipio African Prince of the Senate: the which dignitie was wont to be geven to them only, that obtained the type of all honor, through their great conquests and benefits done to their contry. Shortly after, he was againe chosen Consul with Sempronius Longus, the sonne of that Sempronius whome Annibal overcame in that great overthrow, at the battell by the river of Trebia. They two were the first (as it is reported) that devided the noble men and Senators from the people, in the shewe place to see pastime. This separation was verie odious to the people of Rome, and they were marvelously offended with the Consuls for it: bicause they tooke it, that increasing the honor of the state of the Senators, they thereby did discountenance and imbase them. Some say also, that Scipio African afterwarde repented him selfe that he had taken away the olde custome, and brought in a newe. At that time there fell out greate variaunce betwext Masinissa and the

Scipio, and  
Ælius Petus,  
chosen  
Censors.

Scipio Prince  
of the Senate.

Scipio and  
Sempronius  
Longus  
chosen  
Consuls.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Carthaginians touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate sent Scipio thither with two other commissioners: who after they had heard the cause of their quarrell, they left the matter as they founde it, and would proceede no further in it. And this they did, because that the Carthaginians being troubled with civil warres at home, should take upon them no other warres abroade, neither shoulde have leasure to attempt any alteration otherwise. For the Romanes had great warre with king Antiochus, and Annibal Carthaginian was there with him, who still stirred up the olde enemies against the Romanes, and practised to raise up new enemies against them, and in all thinges to counsell the Carthaginians to cast away the yoke of bondage, which the Romanes had brought them into under the title of peace, and to prove the frendship of the kings. Howbeit shortly after, the Romanes having obtained victorie, and driven king Antiochus out of Græce: they intended also to conquer Asia: and therefore all their hope was in Scipio African, as a man that was borne to ende warres of great importaunce. Howbeit Lucius Scipio, and Caius Lælius were Consuls, and either of them made sute for the government of Asia. The matter being consulted upon, the Senate stoode doubtfull what judgement they should geve, betwext two so famous men. Howbeit, because Lælius was in better favour with the Senate, and in greater estimacion: the Senate beganne to take his parte. But when P. Cornelius Scipio African, the elder brother of Lucius Scipio, prayed the Senate that they would not dishonor his house so, and tolde them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was besides verie wise, and that he him selfe also would be his Lieutenaunt: he had no sooner spoken the wordes, but the Senators received him with great joy, and presentlie did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordayned in open Senate, that Lucius Scipio shoulde goe into Græce to make warre with the Ætolians, and that from thence he shoulde goe into Asia, if he thought good, to make warre with king Antiochus: and also that he shoulde take his brother Scipio African with him, because he shoulde goe against Annibal, that was in Antiochus armie. Who can but wonder at

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN  
The craftie  
counsell of  
Scipio.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN  
The naturall  
love of Scipio  
African to  
his brother  
L. Scipio.

the love and naturall affection of Publius Cornelius Scipio African, the which he first shewed from his youth unto his father Cornelius, and afterwarde also unto his brother Lucius Scipio, considering the great thinges he had done? For, notwithstanding he was that African by name that had overcome Annibal, that had triumphed over the Carthaginians, and excelled all others in praise of martiall discipline: yet of his owne good nature he made him selfe inferiour to his younger brother, because he might have the honour of obtayninge the government of that province from his fellowe Consul Lælius, that was so well beloved, and of so great estimacion. Lucius Scipio the Consul brought great honor to his contrie by that warre, for that he followed the sownde and faithfull counsell of his brother. For first of all goinge into Græce, he tooke truce for sixe monethes with the Ætoliens, through the advise of his brother African: who counselled him, that setting all thinges aparte, he shoulde straight goe into Asia, where the warre was ryfest. Afterwards also he wanne Prusias king of Bithynia from Antiochus frendshippe, who before was waving up and downe, doutfull which side to take, and all through his brother Africans meanes and practise. So the authoritie of the African was verie great, and all those that woulde obtaine any thing of the Consul, came first to the African to be their meane and intercessor. Nowe when he came into Asia, Antiochus Ambassador, and Heraclides Bizantine, came unto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly tolde their message, perceiving that they could not obtaine reasonable condicions of peace: they privately talked with Scipio African as they were commaunded, and practised the best they coulde to make him king Antiochus frende. For they tolde him, that Antiochus would sende him his younger sonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he woulde willinglie make him his companion in the government of all his realme, only reserving the name and title of the king. Howebeit P. Scipio, excelling no lesse in faithfulness and bountie, then in many other vertues, after he had answered them to all other matters, he tolde them, that for his sonne he woulde take him for a marvelous

The fidelitie  
and love of  
P. Scipio to  
his contrie.

## GRECIANS AND ROMANES

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

frendlie gifte: and that for a private good turne, he would doe the best he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counsell the king above all things to leave of thought of warre, and to receive those offers and condicions of peace, which the Senate and people of Rome would offer him. Shortly after, Antiochus sent P. Scipio his sonne according to his promise: who (as it is reported) had bene taken prisoner from the first beginning of the warre, as he went from Chalcide, unto Oricum: or as other wryters say, as he passed by in a pinnase. Yet some holde opinion, that he was taken as he went to discover the counsell of the enemies, and that he was then sent againe unto his father, lying sicke at the citie of Elea. This great curtesie of king Antiochus was marvelous well thought of of the African, and not without cause: for to see his sonne after he had bene away so long, it did greatlie lighten his spirites, and diseased bodie. But P. Scipio, to shewe some token of a thankefull minde, prayed the Ambassadors that came unto him, greatlie to thanke king Antiochus for the exceeding pleasure he had done him, to sende him his sonne. Afterwardes he gave Antiochus advise also that he should not geve battell, till he understoode of his returne from Elea to the campe. So Antiochus being perswaded by the authoritie of so worthie a man, he kept close in his campe for a certaine time, and determined to drawe the warre out at length, hoping in the ende that he might come to speake with the Consul, by the Africans meanes. But afterwardes, the Consul camping hard by Magnesia, did so vexe and provoke the enemy, that the king came out to battell, and sette his men in battell ray. It is reported that Annibal him selfe was present at the battell, being one of the Generalls for the king. So Antiochus being overcome, and his armie discomfited, perceiving that there was no helpe in his affaires: he came unto the African, (who being newlie recovered of his sickenes, came to the campe within a litle after the field was wonne) and by his meanes obtayned of the Consul to be contented to talke of peace. When Antiochus Ambassadors were come to the campe, and that they had humblie craved pardon in the behalfe of their

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Antiochus  
being over-  
come, accept-  
eth conditions  
of peace.

king, and also prayed that they would geve them suche condicions of peace, as they best liked of: Scipio African with the consent of them all aunswered them, that it was not the manner of the Romanes to yeeld to adversitie, neither also to be prowde in prosperitie: and therefore that he nowe made him the selfe same offers and condicions of peace, which he did before the victorie. That the king shoulde not meddle with Europe: that he should surrender up all he had in Asia from the mountaine Taurus, unto the river of Tanais: that he shoulde pay tribute twentie yeres together: that he shoulde also put in suche ostages as the Consul would choose out: and that specially above all the rest, they should deliver Annibal Carthaginian unto the Consul, who was the only author and procurer of this warre. But he, as we have wrytten in his life, perceiving that king Antiochus armie was overthrowen both by sea and by lande, escaped the Romanes handes, and went unto Prusias king of Bithynia. Antiochus having accepted the offers and condicions of peace, sayd, that the Romanes used him verie favourablie, to ridde him of so great care, and to appoint him so small a kingdome. For great kingdomes, and overmuch wealth which everie man coveteth, are full of great and sundrie troubles: insomuch that Theocritus wordes are as true, as otherwise excellently written:

Great king-  
domes and  
wealth are full  
of troubles.

The things I wish are nother welth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne,  
Nor yet of swiftnes and of strength to beare away renowne:  
But singing with a mery hart in simple shed, to looke  
Aloofe upon the troublous seas, that are so hard to brooke.

So when the mightie king of Asia was overcome, and that so great a warre was so easelie ended beyonde all mens opinion: the Consul L. Scipio returned to Rome, and made his entrie into the citie, shewing a great and honorable triumphe. He also deserved the surname of the province and contrie subdued by him. So that as his elder brother before was called African, for that he had conquered Afrike: even so was Lucius Scipio surnamed Asian, for conquering Asia unto Rome. And P. Scipio, through whose counsell his brother Lucius had brought his warres to happie ende,

L. Scipio sur-  
named Asian,  
for his con-  
quest of Asia.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

he went not cleere without honor also. For shortlie after, two noble Censors, T. Q. Flaminius, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus chose him Prince of the Senate the thirde time. Nowe at that time, the house and familie of the Scipioes and Cornelians florished, with supream degree of honor: and the authoritie of Scipio African was growen to such height and greatnes, as no private man could wishe to be any greater in a free citie. Howbeit the secret malice of wicked harts, which could no lenger abide this greatnes and authoritie, began at length to burst out, and to light upon those that were the authors of so great things. For two Tribunes of the people, suborned (as it is reported) by Porcius Cato: they accused P. Scipio African for keeping backe king Antiochus money, and because he brought it not into the common chamber or treasurye. Scipio African knowing his innocencie, being called by the Magistrate, shewed him selfe obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenance, and there made an oration, declaring what thinges he had done for the benefit and commoditie of his contry and common wealth. The rehearsal of these thinges did not mislike the common people that were present: because he did it rather to avoyd the daunger prepared for him, then otherwise for any vaine glory or ostentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being so contented, were vehement against him, and spared no injurious words, but accused him as though he had in deede bene in fault, howbeit upon suspition, rather then of any due prooffe. The next morning being commaunded to come before them againe, he appeared at the hower appoynted, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole assembly, and went up to the pulpit for orations. When he saw that every man kept silence, then he spake in this manner: I remember my Lordes, that on such a day as this, I wanne that famous victory of Annibal and the Carthaginians, and therefore leaving a side this contention, I thinke it good we go unto the Capitol to give God thankes for the victorie. So he departed thence, and all the whole assembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but also to all the other temples of the citie, leaving the two Tribunes

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN  
T. Q. Flaminius, M. C. Marcellus Censors.  
The time of the florishing of the Cornelii.  
The inconsistency of these worldly things.  
Great men most envied.

# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

## SCIPIO AFRICAN

The last fortunate day of the Africans good fortune.

The voluntary banishment of P. Scipio from Rome.

T. Gracchus Tribune.

Divers opinions about the accusation of the African.

all alone with their Sergeaunts. That daye was the very last daye of all the Africans good fortune, for the great assembly and multitude of people that wayted upon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the contry, farre from all ambition, and the company of people: and so went unto Linternum in a marvelous rage, that for reward of his so great service, and so sundry benefits as he had brought unto his contry, he received but shame and reproache: or els, for that in deede being as he was of a noble minde, he thought it more honor willingly to give place to his enemies, then to seeke to mainteyne his greatnes by force of armes. So when the Tribunes did accuse him of contempt, and that his brother Lucius did excuse his absence by reason of his sickenes: Tiberius Gracchus, one of the Tribunes that was against the African, tooke his excuse (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did so well defende Scipioes cause, sometime honorably praysing him, another time also threatning his enemies: that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were marvelously offended for the great injurie they did him. Some doe write, that P. Scipio him selfe, before he went unto Linternum, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought unto the Senate, to deliver the accompt of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit nor pride, but with that selfe boldnes of mind he had aforetime used to the treasurers, when he did against the lawe require the keyes of the common treasure, to supply the present neede of the state. Nowe some there be also that saye, it was not the African, but Scipio Asian that was accused before the Tribunes: and that Scipio African was sent in commission at that time into Thuscan. Who, understanding of his brothers accusation at his returne to Rome, and finding his brother Lucius condemned, and the Sergeaunts wayting on him to cary him, being bound, into prison: he was in suche a rage withall, that he rescued his brother by force out of the Sergeaunts hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beside, that Tiberius Gracchus one of the Tribunes, complaying first that the authoritie of the Tribuneship

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

was troden under feete by a private person : he afterwarde  
letting fall all the malice and envy he bare unto the Scipioes,  
defended their cause, because the Tribunes should rather  
seeme to be overcome by a Tribune, then by a private  
person. They sayd moreover, that the selfe same daye the  
Senate supped in the Capitoll, he perswaded the African to  
let Tiberius Gracchus mary his younger Daughter. This  
promise was no sooner made, but P. Scipio comming home  
to his house, tolde his wife that he had bestowed their  
Daughter : whereuppon she being angry, told him againe,  
that he should not have married her without consent of her  
mother, though he could have bestowed her upon Tiberius  
Gracchus. This aunswer liked Scipio marvelous wel, when  
he saw that his wife was of his mind, touching the mariage  
of their Daughter. I knowe it is thought of some, that it  
was attributed to Tiberius the sonne, and to Appius Claudius  
his father in lawe. For Polybius, and other auncient writers  
affirme, that Cornelia, the mother of Caius and Tiberius  
Gracchi, was married unto Gracchus after the Africans death.  
For Scipio African was married unto Æmylia the Daughter  
of L. Paulus Æmylius Consul, that was slayne at the battell  
of Cannes. By her he had two Daughters, of the which the  
eldest was married unto P. Cornelius Nasica, and the younger  
unto Tiberius Gracchus, either before, or after the death of  
his father. Nowe towching his sonne, there is litle mention  
made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty  
to be true. We have spoken of his younger sonne that was  
taken by king Antiochus, and afterwards franckly sent unto  
his father : of whome notwithstanding afterwards I find no  
mention in writing, saving that some say he was afterwards  
Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of Cicereius  
his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in writing also, that  
the younger African was adopted by the sonne of P. Scipio.  
Cicero in his booke intituled *Cato Major* sayth, How weake  
(sayd he) was the sonne of P. African that adopted thee his  
sonne? And in his sixth booke also *de Repub.* Æmylius the  
father exhortheth Scipio his sonne, to follow justice and piety,  
as his grandfather Scipio African had done. And touching  
the death of P. Scipio African, writers doe diversly varye :

The Africans  
wife, and  
children.

Divers  
opinions  
touching  
the death of  
P. Scipio.



# LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN  
statues of the  
two Scipios  
and Ennius  
the Poet, by  
the gate  
Capena at  
Rome.

for some say that he dyed, and was buried at Rome. And for prooffe thereof they doe bringe forth the monument that was set up for him by the gate Capena, over the which stode three statues or images, two whereof were the images of P. and Lucius Scipio, and the third was of Q. Ennius the Poet. And surely that which Cicero wrote, seemeth to confirme it true: Our Ennius, sayd he, was marvelously beloved of African the great, and therefore it is thought that he was buried in Scipios tombe. Other authors write also (and surely they agree best with the common report) that Scipio African dyed at Linternum, and that there he was buried at his owne appoyntment: because his contry so unthankfully acknowledging his service, should do him no honor at his death: and that there they set him up a tombe, and his statue upon that, the which afterwards was blowne downe by a tempest of wind, and the which Livie him selfe witnesseth he saw. Furthermore, by Caieta this Epitaphe was graven in a plate of copper, set in a marbell tombe:

Scipio  
African dyed  
at Linternum.

The Epitaphe  
of Scipio  
African.

The man that vanquisht Annibal and conquerd Carthage towne,  
And eke increast the Romanes both in Empire and renowne,  
Lyes heere a heape of dust and earth hid underneath this stone:  
His deedes, his prowesse, and his life, are altogether gone.  
Whom nother Europe could withstand, nor Africk in time past,  
(Behold mans frailtie) heere he lyes in litle roome at last.

Scipio  
African 54  
years old at  
the time of  
his death.

Now touching the time of his death, having made great searche for it, I have found in certaine Græke Authors, that the African lived foure and fifty yeares, and dyed shortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendacion for martiall discipline, and besides excelled in all other vertues: the which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, he was never lesse idle, then when he tooke his ease: nether lesse solitary, then when he was alone. For some times he would withdraw him selfe out of the assembly, and from all mens company, and thought him self safe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deedes was so great, that wheresoever he went, all sortes of people would come and see him. The common report went,

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that when he was at Linternum, there came certaine rovers unto him to see so famous a man, and to kisse that so faithfull and victorious a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all sortes of people : bicause it doth not onely make the good, but the evil also to love and honor it.

SCIPIO  
AFRICAN  
The power of  
vertue.

## THE COMPARISON OF ANNIBAL WITH P. SCIPIO AFRICAN



OW let us compare Annibal and Scipioes deedes together, as touching their civill discipline. First, if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifest that both of them have bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they have not only bene comparable with the noblest Kinges and Princes in their time (being also in that age when warres florished most) but with those also that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they having great and heavy enemies in their contry, (who sought to overthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly goe thorough with so great matters, and to obtayne such happie and famous victories, in straunge and forreyne warres. Therefore passing over all other matters, what a doe had P. Scipio, before he could obtayne to be sent into Africk, to make warre with the Carthaginians! Fabius Maximus, and other noble men of the citie being greatly against it! Againe, what enemy had Annibal of Hanno, who was Prince and head of the contrary faction against him! Now, they both having overcome such great troubles at home, did notwithstanding bringe thinges to end worthy perpetuall memorie: not by chaunce, as it hapneth unto many, but through their industrie, great wisdom, and counsell. So, divers doe wonder

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ANNIBAL  
AND  
SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

greatly at Annibals corage and noble mind : who after he had sacked the citie of Saguntus, came boldly from the furdest part of the world into Italy, and brought with him a great army of footemen and horsemen, and came to make warre with a great state and common wealth, the which his predecessors alwayes dreaded : and after he had wonne many battells, and slayne sundry Consuls and Captaines of the Romanes, he came and camped hard by the citie of Rome it selfe, and procured straunge kings and farre nations to make warre with the Romanes. He that was able to doe so great things as these, men can not otherwise thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Captaine. Others also speaking of Scipio, doe greatly prayse and commend him for the foure Chieftaines he overcame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated, and put to flight in Spayne, and also for that he overcame and tooke that great king Syphax prisoner. In fine, they come to prayse that famous battell in the which Scipio overcame Annibal at Zama. For if Fabius (sayd they) were praysed, because he was not overcome by Annibal : what estimation will they make of the African, that in a pitched battell overcame that so famous and dreadfull Captaine Annibal, and also did ende so daungerous a warre ? Besides also, that Scipio did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy in plaine field. Where Annibal in contrary manner did alwayes use craft and suttelty, and was full of stratageames and policie. And therefore all Authors, both Græke and Latyn, doe count him very fine and suttell. Furthermore, they greatly commend Annibal for that he maynteyned his army of so sundry nations, so long time in peace, as he had warre with the Romanes : and yet that there was never any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other side they blame him againe, because he did not follow his victory, when he had overcome the Romanes at that famous battell of Cannes : and also because he spoyled his souldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of Campania and Apulia, whereby they were so chaunged, that they seemed to be other souldiers then those that had overcome the Romanes, at the sundry battells of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannes.

# GRECIANS AND ROMANES

All writers doe reprove these things in Annibal, but specially his crueltie. For amongst other things, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from Arpi to his campe, and afterwarde to burne them alive! What shall a man say of them whome he cruelly put to death, in the temple of Iuno Lacinia, when he departed out of Italy? For Scipio African on the other side, if we shall rather credit the best authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious writers: we may say he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not only lively and valiant in fight, but also curteous and mercifull after victorie. For oftentimes his enemies proved his valiantnes, the vanquished his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithfulness. Now therefore, let us tel you what his continency and liberalitie was, the which he shewed in Spayne unto a young Lady taken prisoner, and unto Luceius Prince of the Celtiberians: doth it not deserve great prayse? Nowe for their private doings, they were both virtuously brought up, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, Annibal was very famillier with Socillus Lacedæmonian, as the African was with Ennius the Poet. Some saye also, that Annibal was so wel learned in the Græke tongue, that he wrote an historie in Græke touching the deedes of Manlius Volso. Now truely I doe agree with Cicero, that sayd in his booke *de Oratore*, that Annibal heard Phormio Peripatetician in Ephesus, discoursing very largely of the office and duty of a Chieftaine and generall, and of the martiall lawes and ordinaunces: and that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philosopher, he should aunswer in no very perfitt Græke, but yet in Græke, that he had seene many old doting fooles, but that he had never seene a greater doted then Phormio. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, and Annibal had a sharpe tawnting wit in his aunswers. When king Antiochus on a time prepared to make warre with the Romanes, and had put his army into the field, not so well furnished with armor and weapon, as with gold and silver: he asked Annibal, if he thought his army sufficient for the Romanes? Yea (Sir) quoth he, that they be, were the

ANNIBAL  
AND  
SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

Phormio  
Peripatetician  
reading Philo-  
sophie in  
Ephesus.

Annibals  
witty  
aunswer,  
unto king  
Antiochus.

## LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ANNIBAL  
AND  
SCIPIO  
AFRICAN

enemies never so covetous. This may truly be said of Annibal, that he obtained many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the destruction of his contry. Scipio in contrary manner did preserve his contry in such safetie, and also did so much increase the dominions thereof: that as many as shall looke into his desert, they can not but call Rome unthankfull, which liked rather that the African (preserver of the citie) should goe out of Rome, then that they would repress the fury and insolency of a few. And for myne owne opinion, I can not thinke well of that citie, that so unthankfully hath suffred so worthy and innocent a person to be injured: and so would I also have thought it more blame worthy, if the citie had bene an ayder of the injurys offred him. In fine, the Senate (as all men doe report) gave great thankes unto Tiberius Gracchus, because he did defend the Scipions cause, and the common people also following the African, when he visited all the temples of Rome, and left the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shewe how much they did love and honor the name of the Scipioes. And therefore, if we should judge the Citizens harts and good wills by those things, men would rather condemne them for cowards, to have suffered such outrage, then unthankfull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were very few that consented to so wicked a deede, and all of them in manner were very sory for it. Howbeit Scipio, that was a man of a great minde, not much regarding the malice of his enemies, was content rather to leave the citie, then by civill warres to destroy it. For he would not come against his contry with ensignes displaid, nether would he sollicite straunge nations and mighty kings to come with force, and their ayde, to destroy the citie, the which he had beautified with so many spoyles and triumphes: as Martius Coriolanus, Alcibiades, and divers others did, by record of auncient stories. For we may easily perceive howe carefull he was to preserve the libertie of Rome, because when he was in Spayne, he refused the title and name of king which was offred him: and for that he was marvelous angry with the people of Rome, because they would have made him perpetuall Consul and Dictator: and considering

