



Pericles.

PLUTARCH'S
LIVES
ENGLISHED
BY SIR
THOMAS
NORTH
IN TEN
VOLUMES
VOL. TWO

•MDCCXCVIII•PUBLISHED•BY•J.M.DENT•
•AND•CO: ALDINE•HOUSE•LONDON•E.C.

DE
7
P5.5
1898
v.2

LILLY LIBRARY

JUL 7 1965

EARLHAM COLLEGE

THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

The most of them compared together by that
grave learned Philosopher and Historio-
grapher Plutarch of Chæronea

THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES

THEMISTOCLES' parentage did little advance his His
glory : for his father Neocles was of small reputa- parent-
tion in Athens, being of the hundred of Phrearrie, age
and tribe of Leontis : of his mother an alien or
stranger : as these verses do witness,

Abrotonon I am, yborn in Thracia,
And yet this high good hap I have, that into Grecia
I have brought forth a son, Themistocles by name,
The glory of the Greekish bloods, and man of
greatest fame.

Howbeit Phanias writeth, that his mother was
not a Thracian, but born in the country of Caria :
and they do not call her Abrotonon, but Euterpe.
And Neanthes sayeth furthermore, that she was of
Halicarnassus, the chiefest city of all the realm of
Caria. For which cause when the strangers did
assemble at Cynosarges (a place of exercise with-
out the gate dedicated to Hercules, which was not
a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother

Of his was a mortal woman :) Themistocles persuaded boyhood divers youths of the most honourable houses, to go down with him, and to anoint themselves at Cynosarges, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right and alien sort. But setting apart all these circumstances, he was no doubt allied unto the house of the Lycomedians: for Themistocles caused the chapel of this family, which is in the village of Phlyae, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built up again at his own charges: and as Simonides sayeth, he did set it forth and enrich it with pictures. Moreover every man doth confess it, that even from his childhood they did perceive he was given to be very hot headed, stirring, wise, and of good spirit, and enterprising of him self to do great things, and born to rule weighty causes. For at such days and hours as he was taken from his book, and had leave to play, he never played, nor would never be idle, as other children were: but they always found him conning some oration without book, or making it alone by himself, and the ground of his matter was ever commonly, either to defend, or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his schoolmaister observing him, oft said unto him: Sure some great matter hangeth over thy head my boy, for it cannot be chosen but that one day thou shalt do some notable good thing, or some extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teach him anything, only to check his nature, or to fashion him with good manner and civility, or to study any matter for pleasure or honest pastime: he would slowly and carelessly learn of them. But if they delivered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning

state : they saw he would beat at it marvellously, Who
and would understand more than any could of his age and carriage, trusting altogether to his natural mother wit. This was the cause, that being mocked afterwards by some that had studied humanity, and other liberal sciences, he was driven for revenge and his own defence, to answer with great and stout words, saying, that indeed he could no skill to tune a harp, nor a viol, nor to play of a psalterion : but if they did put a city into his hands that was of small name, weak, and little, he knew ways enough how to make it noble, strong, and great. Nevertheless, Stesimbrotus writeth, how he went to Anaxagoras' school, and that under Melissus he studied natural philosophy. But herein he was greatly deceived, for that he took no great heed unto the time. For Melissus was captain of the Samians against Pericles, at what time he did lay siege unto the city of Samos. Now this is true, Pericles was much younger than Themistocles, and Anaxagoras dwelt with Pericles in his own house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion to believe those that write, Themistocles did determine to follow Mnesophilus Phrearian. For he was no professed orator, nor natural philosopher, as they termed it in that time : but made profession of that which then they called wisdom. Which was no other thing, but a certain knowledge to handle great causes, and an endeavour to have a good wit and judgement in matters of state and government : which profession beginning in Solon, did continue, and was taken up from man to man, as a sect of Philosophy. But those that came sithence, have mingled it with art of speech, and by little and little have translated

The privy the exercise of deeds, unto bare and curious words: grudge whereupon they were called Sophisters, as who between would say, counterfeit wise men. Notwithstanding Themistocles and Aristides began to meddle with the government of the common weal, he followed much Mnesiphilus. In the first part of his youth, his behaviour and doings were very light and unconstant, as one carried away with a rash head, and without any order or discretion: by reason whereof his manners and conditions seemed marvellously to change, and oftentimes fell into very ill favoured events, as himself did afterwards confess by saying: that a ragged colt oftentimes proves a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seem to add to this, are in my opinion but fables. As that his father did disinherit him, and that his mother for very care and sorrow she took to see the lewd life of her son, did kill herself. For there are that write to the contrary, that his father being desirous to take him from dealing in government, did go and shew him all along the sea-shore, the shipwracks and ribs of old galleys cast here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and said to him: Thus the people use their governors, when they can serve no longer. Howsoever it was, it is most true that Themistocles earnestly gave himself to state, and was suddenly taken with desire of glory. For even at his first entry, because he would set foot before the proudest, he stood at pike against the greatest and mightiest persons, that bare the sway and government, and specially against Aristides, Lysimachus' son, who ever encountered him, and was still his adversary opposite. Yet it seemeth the evil will

he conceived toward him, came of a very light cause. For they both loved Sestilaus, that was born in the city of Teos, as Ariston the Philosopher writeth. And after this jealousy was kindled between them, they always took contrary part one against another, not only in their private likings, but also in the government of the common weal. Yet I am persuaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions, did much increase the grudge and discord betwixt them. For Aristides being by nature a very good man, a just dealer, and honest of life, and one that in all his doings would never flatter the people, nor serve his own glory, but rather to the contrary would do, say, and counsel always for the most benefit and commodity of the common weal: was oft times enforced to resist Themistocles, and disappoint his ambition, being ever busily moving the people, to take some new matter in hand. For they report of him, that he was so inflamed with desire of glory, and to enterprise great matters, that being but a very young man at the battel of Marathon, where there was no talk but of the worthiness of Captain Miltiades that had won the battell: he was found many times solitary alone devising with himself: besides, they say he could then take no rest in the night, neither would go to plays in the day time, nor would keep company with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withal before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wondred to see him so in his muses, and changed, and asked him what he ailed; that Miltiades' victory would not let him sleep: because other thought this overthrow at Marathon, would have made an end

Themis-
tocles'
ambition

The of all wars. Howbeit Themistocles was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daily studied how to prevent them, and how to see to the safety of Greece, and before occasion offered, he did exercise his city in feats of war, foreseeing what should follow after. Wherefore, where the citizens of Athens before did use to divide among themselves the revenue of their mines of silver, which were in a part of Attica called Laurion : he alone was the first that durst speak to the people, and persuade them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among themselves, and employ the money of the same in making of galleys, to make wars against the Æginetes. For their wars of all Greece were most cruel, because they were lords of the sea, and had so great a number of ships. This persuasion drew the citizens more easily to Themistocles' mind, than the threatening them with King Darius, or the Persians would have done : who were far from them, and not feared that they would come near unto them. So this opportunity taken of the hatred and jealousy between the Athenians and the Æginetes, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an hundred galleys, with which they fought against King Xerxes, and did overcome him by sea. Now after this good beginning and success, he wan the citizens by degrees to bend their force to sea, declaring unto them, how by land they were scant able to make head against their equals, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defend themselves from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to command all Greece. Hereupon he made them good mari-

ners, and passing seamen, as Plato sayeth, where before they were stout and valiant soldiers by land. This gave his enemies occasion to cast it in his teeth afterwards, that he had taken away from the Athenians the pike and the target, and had brought them to the bank and the ower : and so he got the upper hand of Miltiades. Who inveighed against him in that, as Stesimbrotus writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this sea service to pass, whether thereby he did overthrow the justice of the common weal or not, I leave that to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preservation of all Greece stood at that time upon the sea, and that the galleys only were the cause of setting up Athens again, Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness, besides other proofs that might be brought thereof. For his army by land being yet whole, and unset on, when he saw his army by sea broken, dispersed, and sunk, he fled straight upon it, confessing as it were that he was now too weak to deal any more with the Grecians, and left Mardonius his lieutenant in Greece, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the Grecians should not follow him, than for any hope he had to overcome them. Some write of Themistocles, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, and careful to look to his things : for he did spend liberally, and loved oft to make sacrifices, and honourably to receive and entertain strangers : wherefore he had good reason to be careful to get, to defray his charges. Other to the contrary, blame him much, that he was too near, and miserable : for some say, he would sell presents of meat that were given him. He did ask one Philides on a time, which had a

by The-
mistocles'
persua-
sion

Themis- breed of mares, a colt of gift: who denying him
tocles ex- flatly, he was so angry, that he threatned him ere
tremely it were long he would make his house the horse of
bitious wood, with the which Troia was taken. Meaning
am- covertly to let him understand, that he would shortly
set strife and quarrel betwixt him, and his nearest
kinsmen and familiar friends. It is true that he
was the most ambitious man of the world. For
when he was but a young man, and scantily known,
he earnestly entreated one Epicles born at Her-
miona, an excellent player of the citherne, and
counted at that time the cunningest man in all
Athens at that instrument, that he would come
and teach his art at his house: and all was no
more, but that many people being desirous to hear
him play, should ask for his house and come thither
to him. And one year when he went unto the feast
and assembly of the plays Olympical, he would
needs keep open house for all comers, have his
tents richly furnished, and a great train of servants
and all other furniture, only to contend with Cimon.
This marvellously spited the Grecians, who thought
Themistocles' expenses fit for Cimon's countenance,
and ability, because he was a young gentleman, and
of a noble house: but for him that was but a new
come man, and would bear a greater part, than
either became his calling or ability, they thought
it not only unallowable in him, but mere presump-
tion and vainglory. Another time he defrayed
the whole charges of a tragedy which was played
openly: and being set out therein to have won the
prize, and the Athenians being marvellous desirous
of the honour in such plays, he caused this victory
of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedi-

cate and set up in a temple, with this inscription. Themistocles Phrearian defrayed the charges : Phrynicus made it : Adimantus was chief ruler. Yet notwithstanding he was well taken of the common people, partly because he would speak to every citizen by his name, no man telling him their names : and partly also because he showed himself an upright judge in private men's causes. As one day he answered the poet Simonides, born in Chio, who did request an unreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was governor of the city. Thou couldest be no good poet, Simonides, if thou diddest sing against the rules of music : neither my self a good governor of a city, if I should do any thing against the law. And mocking the same Simonides another time, he told him he was but a fool to speak ill of the Corinthians, considering they were lords of so great and strong a city : and that he was not wise to make himself to be drawn, being so deformed and ill favoured. But being grown in credit, and having won the favour of the people, he was such an enemy to Aristides, that in the end he made him to be expulsed and banished Athens, for five years. When news were brought that the King of Persia was onwards on his journey and coming down to make wars upon the Grecians : the Athenians consulted whom they should make their general. And it is reported, that all their common counsellors which were wont to speak in matters, fearing the danger, did draw back, save an orator called Epicydes, Euphemides' son, very eloquent in speech, but somewhat womanish, faint-hearted, and greedy of money, who offered himself to sue for this charge,

A wise
saying of
Themis-
tocles

Themistocles and had some hope to obtain it. Wherefore Themistocles fearing all would not be well, if it fell to general this man to be general of the army, he bought out Epicydes' ambition with ready money, and so made him let fall his suit. It fell out Themistocles was greatly commended, about that was done to the interpreter, that came with the King of Persia's ambassadors, and demanded the empire of the Grecians both by sea and land, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken, and put to death by a common consent, for using the Greek tongue in the service and commandment of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion, Arthmius born at Zeleia, was noted of infamy, both he, his children, and all his posterity after him, because he brought gold from the King of Persia, to corrupt and win the Grecians. But the greatest and worthiest act he did in those parts, was this: that he pacified all civil wars among the Grecians, persuading the cities to leave off their quarrels until the wars were done, in the which they say Chileus Arcadian did help him more than any other man. He being now chosen general of the Athenians, went about presently to embark his citizens into galleys, declaring to them they should leave their city, and go meet with the barbarous King by sea, so far from the coast of Greece as they could: but the people did not think that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of soldiers by land, into the country of Tempe with the Lacedæmonians, to keep the passage and entry into Thessaly, against the barbarous people, which country stood yet sound to Greece, and not revolted to the Medes. After-

wards the Grecians coming from thence without any act done, and the Thessalians also being won somewhat on the King's side, for that all the whole country unto Boeotia was at the devotion and good-will of the barbarous people : the Athenians began then to find, how Themistocles' opinion to fight by sea was very good. Whereupon they sent him with their navy to the city of Artemisium, to keep the strait. There the other Grecians would have had the Lacedæmonians and their admiral Eurybiades to have had the authority and commandment of the rest. But the Athenians would not set sail under any other admiral than their own, because theirs were the greatest number of ships in the army, and above all the other Grecians. Themistocles foreseeing the danger that was likely to fall out amongst themselves, did willingly yield the whole authority unto Eurybiades, and got the Athenians to agree unto it : assuring them, that if they behaved themselves valiantly in these wars, the other Grecians of their own accord would afterwards submit themselves unto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the original cause of the saving of Greece, and did most advance the honour and glory of the Athenians, by making them to overcome their enemies by force, and their friends and allies with liberality. In the mean time, Eurybiades seeing the barbarous fleet riding at anker, all alongst the Isle of Aphetæ, with such a great number of ships in the vaward, he began to be affraid. And understanding moreover, there were other two hundred sail that went to cast about the Isle of Sciathus, and so to come in : he presently would have retired further

of the
Athenians
against
Xerxes

Themistocles and the bribe into Greece, and would have drawn nearer unto Peloponnesus, to the end their army by sea might be near their army by land, as thinking it impossible to fight with King Xerxes' power by sea. Whereupon the inhabitants of the Isle of Eubœa, fearing lest the Grecians would leave them to the spoil of the enemy, they caused Themistocles secretly to be spoken withal, and sent him a good sum of money by one called Pelagon. Themistocles took the money, as Herodotus writeth, and gave it to Eurybiades. But there was one Architeles amongst the Athenians, captain of the galley called the Holy Galley, that was much against Themistocles' intended purpose: who having no money to pay his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with speed from thence. Themistocles stirred up then his soldiers more against him than before, insomuch as they went aboard his galley, and took his supper from him. Architeles being marvellous angry and offended withal, Themistocles sent him both bread and meat in a pannier, and in the bottom thereof he had put a talent of silver, bidding him for that night to sup with that, and the next morning he should provide for his mariners, or else he would complain, and accuse him to the citizens that he had taken money of the enemies. Thus it is written by Phanias Lesbian. Moreover these first fights in the Strait of Eubœa, between the Grecians, and the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the wars between them. For it was but a taste given unto them, which served the Grecians' turn very much, by making them to see by experience, and the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of ships, nor the pomp and

sumptuous setting out of the same, nor the proud barbarous shouts and songs of victory, that could stand them to purpose, against noble hearts and valiant minded soldiers, that durst grapple with them, and come to hand-strokes with their enemies: and that they should make no reckoning of all that bravery and brags, but should stick to it like men, and lay it on the jacks of them. The which (as it seemeth) the poet Pindarus understood very well, when he said touching the battell of Artemisium.

The stout Athenians have now foundation laid
Unto the liberty of Greece, by these assaults assayed.

For out of doubt the beginning of victory, is to be hardy. This place Artemisium is a part of the Isle of Eubœa, looking towards the north, above the city of Hestiaea, lying directly over against the country which sometimes was under the obedience of the Philoctetes, and specially of the city of Olizon. There is a little temple of Diana, surnamed Oriental, round about the which there are trees, and a compass of pillars of white stone, which when a man rubs with his hand, they shew of the colour and savour of saffron; and in one of those pillars there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect:

When boldest bloods of Athens by their might
Had overcome the numbers infinite
Of Asia: they then in memory
Of all their deeds and valiant victory,
Began to build this noble monument,
And to Diane the same they did present,
For that they had the Medes likewise subdued,
And with their blood their hardy hands imbruued.

There is a place seen also upon that coast at this

*The coast
of Arte-
misium*

Themis-tocles' strata-gem day, a good way into the land, in the middest whereof are great sands full of black dust like ashes: and they think that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and old shipwracks. News being brought what had been done in the country of Thermopylæ, how that king Leonidas was dead, and how that Xerxes had won that entry into Greece by land: the Grecians then brought their whole army by sea more into Greece, the Athenians being in the rearward in this retreat, as men whose hearts were lift up with the glory of their former valiant deeds. Now Themistocles passing by those places where he knew the enemies must of necessity fall upon the lee shore for harborow: he did engrave certain words spoken unto the Ionians, in great letters in stone, which he found there by chance, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbour for ships, and fit places also to lie in. These were the words, That the Ionians should take the Grecians' part being their founders and ancestors, and such as fought for their liberty: or at the least they should trouble the army of the barbarous people, and do them all the mischief they could, when the Grecians should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the Ionians to take their part, or at the least he should make the barbarous people jealous and mistrustful of them. Xerxes being already entred in the uppermost part of the province of Dorica, into the country of Phocis, burning and destroying the towns and cities of the Phocians: the other Grecians lay still and suffered the invasion, notwithstanding the Athenians did request them to meet with the barbarous army

in Boeotia, to save the country of Attica, as before they had done, when they went by sea to Artemisium. But they would not hearken to it in no wise, and all was because they were desirous they should draw to the Strait of Peloponnesus, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of Greece within the bar of the same, and make a strong substantial wall from the one sea to the other. The Athenians were very angry at this device, and were half discouraged and out of heart, to see themselves thus forsaken and cast off, by the rest of the Grecians. For it was out of all speech that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies : and therefore their only remedy was, to leave their city and to get them to the sea. The people were very unwilling to listen hereunto, making their reckoning it was needless to be careful to overcome, or to save themselves, having once forsaken the temples of their gods, and the graves of their parents. Wherefore Themistocles seeing that neither reason, nor man's persuasion could bring the people to like his opinion : he began to frame a device (as men do use sometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the Athenians with signs from heaven, with oracles and answers from the gods. And the occasion of Minerva's dragon served his turn for a celestial sign and token, which by good fortune did not appear in those days in the temple as it was wont to do : and the priests found the sacrifices which were daily offered to him, whole and untouched by any. Wherefore being informed by Themistocles what they should do, they spread a bruit abroad amongst the people, that the goddess Minerva, the protector and defender

Another
device
of the
serpent

The ^{Athenians} of the city, had forsaken it, pointing them the way unto the sea. And again he wan them by a prophecy, which commanded them to save themselves in walls of wood: saying, that the walls of wood did signify nothing else but ships. And for this cause he said, Apollo in his oracle called Salamis divine, not miserable nor unfortunate, because it should give the name of a most happy victory which the Grecians should get there. And so at the last they following his counsel, he made this decree, that they should leave the city of Athens to the custody of the goddess Pallas, that was lady and governor of the country, and that all those which were of age to carry any weapon should get them to the galleys: and for the rest, that every man should see his wife, children and bondmen placed in some sure place as well as he could. After this decree was past and authorised by the people, the most part of them did convey their aged fathers and mothers, their wives and little children, into the city of Troezen, where the Troezenians received them very lovingly and gently. For they gave order that they should be entertained of the common charge, allowing them a piece, two obulos of their money a day, and suffered the young children to gather fruit wheresoever they found it: and furthermore did hire schoolmaisters at the charge of the commonwealth, to bring them up at school. He that was the penner of this decree, was one called Nicagoras. The Athenians at that time, had no common money, but the Senate of the Areopagites (as Aristotle saith) furnished every soldier with eight drachmas, which was the only means that the galleys were armed. Yet Clidemus writeth, that

this was a craft devised of Themistocles. The Xanthip-Athenians being come down unto the haven of pus' dog Piræus, he made as though Pallas' target (on the which Medusa's head was graven) had been lost, and was not found with the image of the goddess: and faining to seek for it, he ransacked every corner of the galleys, and found a great deal of silver which private persons had hidden amongst their fardels. This money was brought out unto the people, and by this means the soldiers that were shipp'd had wherewithal, to provide them of necessary things. When time came that they were to depart the haven, and that all the city of Athens had taken sea: one way it was a pity to behold them; another way it made all sorts to wonder, that considered the boldness and courage of those men, which before sent away their fathers and mothers from them, and were nothing moved at their tears, cries, shrikes, and embracings of their wives, their children, and departures, but stoutly and resolutely held on their course to Salamis. Notwithstanding, there were many old citizens left still of necessity in Athens, because they could not be removed for very extreme age, which stirred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certain pity that made men's hearts to yearn, when they saw the poor dogs, beasts, and cattell run up and down bleating, mewing, and howling out aloud after their maisters, in token of sorrow, when they did embark. Amongst these, there goeth a strange tale of Xanthippus' dog, who was Pericles' father: which for sorrow his maister had left him behind him, did cast himself after into the sea, and swimming still by the galley's side

Strike, wherein his maister was, he held on to the Isle
but hear of Salamis, where so soon as the poor cur landed,
me his breath failed him, and died presently. They
say, at this day the place called the dog's grave,
is the very place where he was buried. These
were strange acts of Themistocles, that beholding
the Athenians sorry for the absence of Aristides,
and fearing lest of spite he taking part with the
barbarous nation, might have been the ruin and
destruction of the state of Greece, being banished
five years also before the wars by Themistocles'
procurement: that he did set forth a decree, that
all those which had been banished for a time,
might return home again, to do, to say, and to
give counsel to the citizens in those things, which
they thought best for the preservation of Greece.
And also where Eurybiades being general of the
Grecians' whole army by sea, for the worthiness
of the city of Sparta, but otherwise a rank coward
at time of need, would in any case depart from
thence, and retire into the Gulf of Peloponnesus,
where all the army of the Peloponnesians was by
land assembled: that Themistocles withheld him,
and did hinder it all he could. At that time also
it was, that Themistocles made so notable answers,
which specially are noted and gathered together.
For when Eurybiades said one day unto him,
Themistocles, those that at plays and games do
rise before the company, are whistled at. It is
true, said Themistocles: but those that tarry last,
do never win any game. Another time Eury-
biades having a staff in his hand lift it up, as
though he would have stricken him. Strike and
thou wilt, said he, so thou wilt hear me. Eury-

biades wondring to see him so patient, suffered him then to say what he would. Then Themistocles began to bring him to reason: but one that stood by, said unto him, Themistocles, for a man that hath neither city nor house, it is an ill part to will others that have, to forsake all. Themistocles turning to him, replied: We have willingly forsaken our houses and walls, said he, cowardly beast that thou art, because we would not become slaves for fear to lose things, that have neither soul nor life. And yet our city I tell thee is the greatest of all Greece: for it is a fleet of two hundred galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to save you if you list. But if you will needs go your ways and forsake us the second time: you shall hear tell ere it be long, that the Athenians have another free city, and have possessed again as much good land, as that they have already lost. These words made Eurybiades presently think, and fear, that the Athenians would not go, and that they would forsake them. And as another Eretrian was about to utter his reason against Themistocles' opinions, he could not but answer him: Alas, and must you, my maisters, talk of wars too, that are like to a Sleeve? Indeed you have a sword, but you lack a heart. Some write, that whilst Themistocles was talking thus from his galley, they spied an owl flying on the right hand of the ships which came to light on one of the masts of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other Grecians did agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by sea. But when the fleet of their enemies' ships shewed on the coasts of Attica, hard by the haven Phalericus, and covered all the rivers thereabouts,

Notable
sayings
of The-
mistocles

The as far as anybody could see, and that king Xerxes strata- himself was come in person with all his army gem by by land, to camp by the sea side : so that his whole which he won the power both by land and sea might be seen in fight : battle of then the Grecians had forgotten all Themistocles' Salamis goodly persuasions, and began to incline again to the Peloponnesians, considering how they might recover the Gulf of Peloponnesus, and they did grow very angry, when any man went about to talk of any other matter. To be short, it was concluded that they should sail away the next night following, and the maisters of the ships had orders given them to make all things ready for them to depart. Themistocles perceiving their determination, he was marvellously angry in his mind, that the Grecians would thus disperse themselves asunder, repairing every man to his own city, and leaving the advantage which the nature of the place, and the strait of the arm of the sea, where they lay in harbour together, did offer them : and so he bethought himself how this was to be holpen. Suddenly the practice of one Sicinnus came into his mind, who being a Persian born, and taken prisoner before in the wars, loved Themistocles very well, and was school-maister to his children. This Sicinnus he secretly sent unto the king of Persia, to advertise him that Themistocles (general of the Athenians) was very desirous to become his majesty's servant, and that he did let him understand betimes, that the Grecians were determined to fly ; and therefore that he wished him not to let them escape, but to set upon them, whilst they were troubled and affraid, and far from their army by land, to the end that upon a sudden he might

overthrow their whole power by sea. Xerxes Aristides supposing this intelligence came from a man that wished him well, received the messenger with great joy, and thereupon gave present order to his captains, by sea, that they should embark their men into the other ships at better leisure, and that presently they should put out with all possible speed, two hundred sail to follow the Grecians in the tail, to shut up the foreland of the strait, and to compass the isles all about, that not one of his enemy's ships might escape: and so it fell out. Then Aristides (Lysimachus' son) being the first that perceived it, went to Themistocles' tent, though he was his enemy, and through his only means had been banished before, as ye have heard: and calling him out, told him how they were environed. Themistocles, who knew well enough the goodness of this man, being very glad he came at that time to seek him out, declared unto him the policy he had used by the message of Sicienus, praying him to put to his help to stay the Grecians, and to procure with him, considering his word had more authority among them, that they would fight within the Strait of Salamis. Aristides commending his great wisdom, went to deal with the captains of the other galleys, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he said, until such time as there arrived a galley of Tenedus, whereof one Panætius was captain, who being stolen out of the host of the barbarous army, brought certain news, that the strait out of doubt was shut up. So that besides the necessity which did urge them, the spite which the Grecians conceived thereof, did provoke them to hazard the battell.

Sacrifice of three prisoners The next morning by break of day, King Xerxes placed himself on a marvellous steep high hill, from whence he might discern his whole fleet, and the ordering of his army by sea, above the temple of Hercules, as Phanodemus writeth. Which is the narrow way or channel betwixt the Isle of Salamis, and the coast of Attica: or as Acestdorus saith, upon the confines of the territories of Megara, above the point which they commonly call the horns. There Xerxes set up a throne of gold, and had about him many secretaries to write all that was done in the battell. But as Themistocles was sacrificing unto the gods in his galley that was admiral, they brought to him three young prisoners, fair of complexion, richly arrayed with gold and jewels, whom they said were the children of Sandaucé the king's sister, and of Prince Artaÿctus. So soon as Euphrantides the soothsayer had seen them, and at their arrival observed there rose a great bright flame out of the sacrifice, and at the very self same instant that one on his right hand had sneezed: he took Themistocles by the hand, and willed him to sacrifice all those three prisoners unto the god Bacchus, surnamed Omestes, as much to say, as the cruel Bacchus: for in doing it, the Grecians should not only be saved, but they should have the victory over their enemies. Themistocles wondred much, to hear so strange and terrible a commandment of the soothsayer. Nevertheless, the common sort following his custom, which is, to promise safety sooner in the greatest dangers, and most desperate cases by strange and unreasonable, rather than by reasonable and ordinary means: they began to call upon the god with one voice, and bringing the

three prisoners near unto the altar, they compelled him to perform the sacrifice in that sort as the soothsayer had appointed. Phanias Lesbian, an excellent philosopher, and well seen in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the ships of the barbarous navy: Æschylus the poet, in a tragedy which he entitled the Persians, knowing certainly the truth, saith thus:

The
battle of
Salamis

King Xerxes had a thousand ships I know:
Amongst the which, two hundred were (I trow)
And seven, which all the rest did oversail
With swifter course. This is withouten fail.

The Athenians had nine score, in every one of the which there were eighteen soldiers, whereof four of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. Themistocles also did with no less skill and wisdom choose his time and place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, until the hour was come, that of ordinary custom the sea wind arose, and brought in a rough tide within the channel, which did not hurt the Grecian galleys, being made low and snug, but greatly offended the Persian galleys, being high cargued, heavy, and not yare of steerage, and made them lie sidelong to the Grecians, who fiercely set upon them, having always an eye to Themistocles' direction, that best foresaw their advantage. At the same time, Ariamenes, Xerxes' admiral, a man of great valour and worthiest of the king's brethren, bestowed arrows and darts as it were from the walls of a castle, charging the galley of Aminias Decelean, and Sosicles Pedian, which were joined and grappled with him, and fiercely

The entering the same, was by them valiantly received
Grecians' upon their pikes, and thrust overboard into the sea.
victory Whose body floating amongst other shipwrecks
Artemisia knowing, caused to be carried to King
Xerxes. Now whilst this battell stood in these
terms, they say that there appeared a great flame in
the element toward the city of Eleusis, and that
a loud voice was heard through all the plain of
Thriasia unto the sea, as if there had been a
number of men together, that had sung out aloud,
the holy song of Bacchus. And it seemed by little
and little, that there rose a cloud in the air from
those which sang: that left the land, and came and
lighted on the galleys in the sea. Other affirmed,
that they saw armed men, which did reach out
their hands from the Isle of Ægina, towards the
Grecian galleys: and they thought they were the
Æacides, for whose help they all prayed before the
battell was begun. The first man of the Athenians
that took any of the enemy's ships, was Lycomedes
a captain of a galley: who having taken very rich
furniture and flags, did afterwards consecrate them
to Apollo Laurel, as ye would say, Victorious.
The other Grecians in the front being equally in
number with the barbarous ships, by reason of
the straitness of the arm of the sea wherein
they fought, and so straitned as they could not
fight but by one and one, whereby the barbarians
disorderly laid one another aboard, that they did
hinder themselves with their over multitude: and in
the end were so sore pressed upon by the Grecians,
that they were constrained to fly by night, after they
had fought and maintained battell, until it was very
dark. So that the Grecians wan that glorious and

famous victory : of the which may truly be affirmed
that, as Simonides saith :

Aristides'
counsel
unto The-
mистocles

Was never yet nor Greek nor barbarous crew
That could by sea so many men subdue:
Nor that obtained so famous victory
In any fight, against their enemy.

Thus was the victory won through the valian-
ness and courage of those that fought that battell,
but especially through Themistocles' great policy
and wisdom. After this battell Xerxes being mad
for his loss, thought to fill up the arm of the sea,
and to pass his army by land, upon a bridge, into
the Isle of Salamis. Themistocles, because he
would feel Aristides' opinion, told him as they were
talking together, that he thought best to go and
occupy the Strait of Hellespont with the army by
sea, to break the bridge of ships which Xerxes had
caused to be made : to the end, said he, that we
may take Asia into Europe. Aristides liked not
this opinion, for we have (said he) fought all this
while against this barbarous king, who thought but
to play with us : but if we shut him within Greece,
and bring him to fight of necessity to save his life :
such an enemy that commandeth so great an army,
will no more stand still as a looker on, and sit at
his ease under his golden pavilion, to see the pastime
of the battell, but will prove every way, and be him-
self in every place at all essays to save himself
from such a strait and danger. Thus with politic
care and foresight, he may easily amend his former
fault committed by negligence, and do well enough,
when he shall see his life and kingdom both depend
upon it. Therefore Themistocles, I would think

Themis-tocles' strata-gem not best to break his bridge at all, which he hath caused to be made ; but rather if we could, to build another to it, to drive him out of Europe as soon as we could. Themistocles then replied : Seeing you think this were good to be done, we must all lay our heads together, to devise how he may be forced to come out as soon as we could. They breaking off with this resolution, Themistocles sent immediately one of the king's eunuchs, called Arsaces, that was one of the grooms of his chamber, whom he found out amongst the prisoners, and by him he sent this message unto the king : That the Grecians having won the battell of him by sea, had decreed in their council, how they would go to the Strait of Hellespont, to break the bridge of the ships he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to advertise him for the good will he did bear him, and to the end he might bethink him betimes, to get him away to the sea within his own dominion, and so pass back again into Asia as soon as he could, whilst he gave order to his allies and confederates, to stay following him at the poop. The barbarous king understanding these news, was so afraid, that he hoised away with all possible speed. The further foresight and great wisdom of Themistocles, and Aristides, in marine causes, did manifestly appear afterwards in the battell the Grecians fought before the city of Platæa, against Mardonius, King Xerxes' lieutenant : who having but a small power of the king his sovereign's there, did yet put the Grecians to great distress, and in hazard to have lost all. Of all the towns and cities that fought in this battell, Herodotus writeth, that the city of Ægina

won the fame for valiancess above the rest: and of private men, among the Grecians, Themistocles was judged the worthiest man: although it was sore against their wills, because they envied much his glory. For after the battle done, all the captains being gotten into the Strait of Peloponnesus, and having sworn upon the altar of their sacrifices, that they would give their voices after their consciences, to those they thought had best deserved it: every one gave himself the first place for worthiness, and the second unto Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians carried him into Sparta, where they judged the honour and dignity to their admiral Eurybiades: but the wisdom and policy they attributed to Themistocles. In token thereof they gave him an olive-branch, and the goodliest coach that was in their city: and moreover they sent three hundred of their lusty youths to accompany him, and conduct him out of their country. They say, at the next feasts and assemblies of the plays Olympical that were made after this victory, when Themistocles was once come into the shew place where these games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, shewing him to the strangers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their hands did witness how much they esteemed him. Whereat he himself took so great delight, that he confessed to his familiar friends, he then did reap the fruit and benefit of his sundry and painful services he had taken in hand, for the preservation of Greece: so ambitious was he of nature, and covetous of honour, as we may easily perceive by certain of his deeds and notable sayings they have

Themis-
tocles
honoured
above
all the
Grecians

Notable sayings of Themistocles noted of him. For being chosen Admiral of Athens, he never despatched any causes private or public, howsoever they fell out, until the very day of his departure, and taking ship: and all because that men seeing him rid much business at once, and to speak with so many persons together, they should esteem him to be the notabler man, and of the greater authority. Another time he walked upon the sands by the seaside, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the sea had cast up upon the shore: and seeing some of them that had on still their chains of gold, and bracelets, he passed by on his way, but shewed them yet to his familiar friend that followed him, and said unto him: Take thou those, for thou art not Themistocles. And unto one Antiphates, who in his youth had been a goodly young boy, and at that time did scornfully behave himself unto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he saw him in authority came to see him, he said: O my young son, and friend, we are both even at one time (but too late) grown wise. He said the Athenians did not esteem of him in time of peace: but when any storm of wars were towards, and they stood in any danger, they ran to him then, as they run to the shadow of a plane tree, upon any sudden rain: and after fair weather come again, they cut away then the branches, and boughs thereof. There was a man born in the Isle of Seriphus, who being fallen out with him, did cast him in the teeth, that it was not for his worthiness, but for the noble city wherein he was born, that he had won such glory. Thou sayest true said he: but neither should I ever have won any great honour, if I had been

a Seriphian, nor thou also if thou hadst been an Athenian. Another time one of the captains of the city, having done good service unto the common weal, made boast before Themistocles, and compared his service equal with his. Themistocles to answer him, told him a pretty tale. That the working day brawled on a time with the holy day, repining against her, that he laboured for his living continually, and how she did nothing but fill her belly, and spend that they had gotten. Thou hast reason, said the holy day. But if I had not been before thee, thou hadst not been here now. And so, if I had not been then: where had you my maisters been now? His own son was a little too saucy with his mother, and with him also, bearing himself over-boldly of her good will, by means of her cockering of him. Whereupon being merrily disposed, he would say that his son could do more than any man in all Greece. For, saith he, the Athenians command the Grecians, I command the Athenians, my wife commandeth me, and my son commandeth her. Moreover because he would be singular by himself above all other men: having a piece of land he would sell, he willed the crier to proclaim open sale of it in the market-place, and with all he should add unto the sale, that his land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being suitors to his daughter, he preferred the honeste before the richer, saying: he had rather have to his son-in-law a man that lacked goods, than goods to lack a man. These were Themistocles' pleasant conceits and answers. But after he had done all these things we have spoken of before he took in hand to build again the city and walls

Pleasant
conceits
and
answers

A subtile fetch of Themistocles of Athens, and did corrupt the officers of Lacedæmonia with money, to the end they should not hinder his purpose, as Theopompus writeth. Or as all other say when he had deceived them by this subtlety, he went unto Sparta as ambassador, sent thither of purpose upon the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, for that the Athenians did enclose their city again with walls, who were accused unto the council of Sparta, by an orator called Polyarchus, who was sent thither from the Æginetes, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the Athenians. Themistocles stoutly denied it to them, and prayed them for better understanding of the troth, they would send some of their men thither to see it. This was but a fetch only to win by this delay the Athenians so much more time to raise up their walls, and that the Athenians should keep as hostages for surety of his person, those they should send to Athens, to bring back the report thereof: and so it fell out. For the Lacedæmonians being informed of the truth as it was, did him no hurt, but dissembling the disliking they had to be thus abused by him, sent him away safe and sound. Afterwards he made them also mend and fortify the haven of Piræus, having considered the situation of the place, and all to incline the city to the sea. Wherein he did directly contrary to all the counsel of the ancient kings of Athens: who seeking (as they say) to withdraw their people from the sea, and to accustom them to live upon the land, by planting, sowing, and plowing their grounds, did devise and give out abroad, the fable they tell of the goddess Pallas. And that is this, how she contending with Neptune about the patronage of

the country of Athens, brought forth and shewed to the judges the olive-tree, by means whereof she prevailed, and obtained the preheminence. Even so Themistocles did not join the haven of Piræus, unto the city of Athens, as the comical poet Aristophanes saith : but rather joined the city unto the haven of Piræus, and the land unto the sea. By this means he made the people strong against the nobility, and brought the communalty to wax bolder than they were before, by reason the rule and authority fell into the hands of sailors, mariners, pilots, shipmaisters, and such kind of seafaring men : so as the pulpit where all the orations were made, stood in the market-place of Pnyx, and did look towards the sea. But the Thirty Tyrants that came in afterwards, did remove it, and turn it towards the land : holding opinion to be strong by sea, was it that did maintain the authority of the popular state. And that contrariwise they which live by the labour and toil of the earth, do more willingly like the government of nobility. Themistocles called to mind another matter also of greater importance, to make the city of Athens of a greater power by sea. For after the retire of Xerxes, and that all the fleet and navy of the Grecians wintered in the haven of Pagasæ : he said one day in an open assembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficial for them, but it was not to be told openly. The people willed him then to impart it to Aristides : and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedily. Themistocles then told Aristides : the thing he had considered of, was to burn the arsenal where the Grecians' navy

A treach-
erous pro-
posal

The equity of the Athenians lay, and to set on fire all their ships. Aristides hearing his purpose, returned to the people, and told them: how nothing could be more profitable, but withal more unjust, than that which Themistocles had devised. The Athenians then willed Aristides it should be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the Lacedæmonians had exhibited their petition to the council of the Amphictyons (that is the general council of all the states of Greece assembled) how the towns and cities of Greece which had not been parties with the Grecians to the league, against the barbarous people, should be put off wholly from this council. Themistocles doubting that if the Argives, the Thessalians, and the Thebans also should by this means be exempted, that the Lacedæmonians would be then the greater number in voices, and by this means might do what they would in this council: he spake so considerately for the cities which they would have thus discharged, that he made the petitioners in the assembly utterly to change their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirty cities comprised only in the league, and yet that some of them were very weak and small: and how it were no reason, that rejecting all the rest of Greece, the greatest authority of this council should fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefest cities alone. For this cause chiefly the Lacedæmonians did ever bear him extreme hatred, and did set up Cimon all they could, to be always adversary opposite unto him, and as it were to beard him in all matters of state, and the government of Athens. They procured him besides the ill will and displeasure of all the friends and confederates of the

Athenians, for that he went sailing still to and fro **A neat answer** amongst the isles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the same. And this is to be known by the matter propounded by him to the Andrians (of whom he would have had money) and by the answer they made him, as Herodotus writeth. Which was, how he had brought them two mighty gods: Love, and Force. And they answered him again, that they also had two great goddesses, which kept them from giving of him any money: Poverty, and Impossibility. And to make this good also: Timocreon the Rhodian poet galled him to the quick, when he sharply taunted him, for calling many home again for money that were banished: and how for covetousness of money he had betrayed, and forsaken his host and friend. The verses wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effect:

Who list commend worthy Pausanias,
Xanthippus, or good Leotychides,
Yet shall I seem but light thereof to pass
Compared with valiant Aristides.
For yet was nay the like in Athens town,
Nor never shall come none of like renown.

Themistocles by right and due desert
Is hated of Latona, for his lies,
And for he bare a traitorous wicked heart,
Who like a wretch and niggard did devise,
For small reward, his host Timocreon
To hold out of his country Ialyson.

He took for bribe (unjustly yet therewhile)
Of ready coin three talents fair and bright,
Revoking such as pleased him, from exile,
And banishing full many a worthy wight,
Or putting them to death, without cause told:
He gat thereby great heaps of coin and gold.

Themis-
tocles and
Timoc-
reon

But in the end (O right reward for such)
 This bribing wretch was forced for to hold
 A tippling booth, most like a clown or snuch,
 At holy feasts and pastimes manifold,
 Which were amongst the people in those days:
 Isthmician folk did use the like always.

And there he served his guests with cold meat still,
 Whilst they that tasted of his cookery
 Gan wish that they (to ease their weary will)
 Had never lived, to see the treachery
 Of false Themistocles, and that he might
 No longer live, which wrought them such despight.

After this, he did more openly blaze him to the world, when he was banished and condemned, in a song that had beginning thus :

O Muse, let these my verses be disperst
 Throughout all Greece, since they deserve no less :
 And since the truth which is in them rehearst
 Deserveth fame, whom no man should suppress.

They say the cause, why this Timocreon was banished, was, the friendship which he had with the barbarous people, and for giving them intelligence. Whereof Themistocles was one that judicially condemned him. Wherefore when Themistocles himself was accused afterwards of the same fault, Timocreon then made these verses following against him.

Timocreon was not without his fere,
 Which did confer with Medés privily,
 Since others mo the self same blame might bear :
 Mo foxes lurk in dens as well as I.

Besides these verses, Themistocles' own citizens for the ill will they bare him, were contented to hear him ill spoken of. Therefore while he sought

ways, to redress all this: he was driven to use such mean, which more increased their hatred towards him. For in his orations to the people, he did oft remember them of the good services he had done them: and perceiving how they were offended withal, he was driven to say: Why, are ye weary so oft to receive good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he surnamed Diana (in the dedication of her temple he made unto her) Aristobulé, as much to say, as the good counsellor: meaning thereby, how he had given grave and wise counsel, both unto his city, and to all the rest of the Grecians. He built this temple also near his house, in a place called Melita, where the hang-men do cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throw the rags and halters' ends of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by law. There was also in our days in the temple of Diana Aristobulé, a little image of Themistocles, which shewed plainly, that he was not only wise, and of a noble mind, but also of a great majesty and countenance in the face. In the end the Athenians banished him Athens for five years, because they would pluck down his over-great courage and authority, as they did use to serve those, whose greatness they thought to be more, than common equality that ought to be among citizens would bear. For this manner of banishment for a time, called *ostracismos*, was no punishment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the envy of the people, which delighted to pluck down their stomachs that too much seemed to exceed in greatness: and by this means they took away the poison of his

Themis-
tocles
banished
for five
years

Themistocles suspected of treason

malice, with diminishing his glory and honour. So Themistocles being banished Athens, went to dwell in Argos. In this mean season Pausanias' treachery fell out, which gave his enemies occasion to lie heavy on his back. But he which became his accuser, and was partener of the treason, was one called Leobotes (Alcmeon's son) borne in a village called Agraula. Besides this, the Spartans also did set on his skirts, and charged him sorely. For Pausanias never before revealed to Themistocles the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familiar friend. But after he saw Themistocles was banished, and did take his exile very unpatiently : then Pausanias was bold to open his treason to him, to procure him to take his part, and shewed him the letters the King of Persia had written to him, and all to stir him up against the Grecians, as against ungrateful and unnatural people. Howbeit Themistocles shook him off, and told him plainly he would be no partener of his treason. Notwithstanding, he never revealed it to any living creature, nor discovered the practise he intended : hoping either he would have given it over, or that shortly it would appear by some other mean, considering he so fondly aspired to things of great danger, and without purpose or possibility. After Pausanias was condemned, and had suffered pains of death for the same : they found amongst his papers, certain writings and letters, which made Themistocles to be very sore suspected. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians on the one side cried out of him, and his enemies and ill willers at Athens accused him on the other side. To the which he made answer by letters from the beginning, and

wrote unto the people, it was not likely that he (who sought all the ways to rule, and was not born to serve, neither had any mind thereto) would ever have thought in his head, to sell his own liberty, and the Grecians also unto the barbarous people their enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation, the people by the procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the states of all Greece, to be judged by that council. Whereof Themistocles having intelligence in time, he did convey himself unto the Isle of Corfu, because the city there was greatly beholding to him, for a certain pleasure he had done them in times past. For they being at suit and strife with the Corinthians, he took up the matter between them, and gave judgement on their side, and condemned the Corinthians, to pay them twenty talents damages: and did set down an order, that they should occupy the Isle of Leucas in common together, as ground that had been inhabited with the people, as well of the one city, as of the other. From thence he fled to Epirus, whither being followed by the Athenians, and the Lacedæmonians, he was compelled to venture himself upon a doubtful and very dangerous hope. For he went to yield himself into the hands of Admetus, King of the Molossians. Who having heretofore made certain requests unto the Athenians, and being shamefully denied them by means of Themistocles (who then was at his chiefeſt height and authority) the king was marvellously offended with him: and it was a clear case indeed, that if he could then have laid hands on him, he would have been revenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the present misery of

Themis-
tocles
fled into
Corfu and
Epirus

The his exile, he thought he might less fear the king's manner old quarrel and displeasure, than the fresh hate of supplication and envy of his countrymen. Whereupon he went among unto King Admetus, trusting to his mercy, and the Molossians became an humble suitor to him in a strange extraordinary sort. For he took the king's little young son in his arms, and went and kneeled down before the altar in his chapel: which humble manner of suing the Molossians take to be most effectual, and such as they dare not deny nor refuse. Some say that Queen Phthia her self, the king's wife, did inform him of this their country custom and manner, and brought her little son also near unto the altar. Other write also, that it was Admetus himself that taught and shewed him this enforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuse himself to those that should come to demand Themistocles of him: that by duty of religion he was so straightly bound and restrained, that he might not deliver him out of his protection. In this mean time, Epicrates Acharnian found the means secretly to convey Themistocles' wife and children out of Athens, and did send them privily unto him whereupon he was afterwards accused, and put to death, upon Cimon's accusation and motion, as Stesimbrotus writeth. Who not rememb'ring those matters I know not how, or making as though Themistocles had not remembred himself doth say, that Themistocles sailed into Sicily, where he sought to marry Hieron's daughter, the tyrant of Syracuse: promising him if he would let him have her, he would assure him to conquer all Greece for him, and to bring them under his obedience. But Hieron refusing this offer, Themistocles went

from thence into Asia: but that is not likely. For Theophrastus writeth in his book intituled of Kingdoms, that Hieron having sent certain running horses to the feast of the games Olympical, and having set up a marvellous rich and sumptuous tent there: Themistocles made an oration to the Grecians, declaring unto them how they should tear the tyrants' tents in pieces, and not to suffer his horses to run with other swift and light horses, and to carry away the prize in those holy games. Thucydides again declarereth, how he went unto the other sea, and embarked in the city of Pydna, being not known of never a man in the ship, until such time as the wind began to carry them into the Isle of Naxos, which the Athenians by chance did besiege at that time, where being afeard to be set on land, he was forced to bewray himself to the maister of the ship, and the maister's mate, and wrought them, what with fair words and what with threats (by saying he would accuse them to the Athenians, that they did not ignorantly receive him in, but hired for money) so as he compelled them to sail on further, and to carry him into Asia. As for his goods, his friends saved the most part of them, and sent them into Asia to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate unto the state: Theopompus writeth, they did amount to the value of one hundred talents. And Theophrastus saith, but to four score talents only. So that all his goods was not worth three talents, when he began to govern the state of the common weal. When he came unto the city of Cymé, he perceived that all the coasts by sea were laid for him to apprehend him, and that he had many spials

Themis-
tocles and
Hiero

Themistocles' dream upon him : among the which, these were two special noted men, Ergoteles, and one Pythodorus, the reward being very great, for men that sought their gain any way they could. For the King of Persia had proclaimed by sound of trumpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him Themistocles. Whereupon he fled unto a little town of Æolia, called Ægæ, where no living body knew him, but his host only, called Nicogenes : who was the richest man of all the Æolians, and knew all the noble men of authority that were about the King of Persia. Themistocles continued hidden certain days in his house : in which time, on a night after the feast of a sacrifice, one Olbius, schoolmaister to Nicogenes' children, by some secret working of the gods, suddenly fell besides himself, and began to sing these verses out aloud :

Do thou believe what so the night thee tells,
And give thy voice, thy counsel and conceits
Unto the night, in darksomeness that dwels,
Thereon also thy victory awaits.

The next night following, Themistocles being fast asleep in his bed, dreamed that a snake wound it self round about his belly, and glided upwards to his neck, until it touched his face, and suddenly then it became an eagle, and embraced him with his wings : and so at length did lift him up into the air, and carried him a marvellous way off, until he thought he saw a golden rod (such as heralds use to carry in their hands) whereupon the eagle did set him, and so was delivered of all this fear and trouble he thought himself in. The troth was, Nicogenes had this device in his head, how

he might bring him safe to the King of Persia's court. The barbarous nations for the most part (and specially the Persians) are of a very strange nature, and marvellous jealous over their women, and that not only of their wives, but also of their bond-women, and concubines: which they keep so straightly locked up, that no man ever seeth them abroad at any time, but are always like house-doves kept within doors. And when they have any occasion to go into the country, they are carried in close coaches covered all about, that no man can look into them. Themistocles was conveyed into one of these coaches drest after this manner, and had warned his men to answer those they met by the way, that asked whom they carried: how it was a young Grecian gentlewoman of the country of Ionia, which they carried to the court for a noble man there. Thucydides, and Charon Lampacenian say, he went thither after the death of Xerxes, and spake with his son there. But Ephorus, Dino, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and many other write, that he spake with himself. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that Thucydides' words do best agree with the chronicles and tables, recording the succession of times, although they be of no great certainty. Themistocles being come now to the sword's point (as it were) and to the extremity of his danger: did first present him unto one Artabanus, colonel of a thousand footmen, and said unto him: Sir, I am a Grecian born, and desire to speak with the king: I have matters of importance to open to his Majesty, and such as I know he will thankfully receive. Artabanus answered him in this manner: My friend sir stranger, the laws and

How
Themis-
tocles
was con-
veyed to
the King
of Per-
sia's court

Themistocles seeks an audience customs of men are diverse, and some take one thing for honest, other some another thing: but it is most honesty for all men, to keep and observe the laws and manners of their own country. For you Grecians have the name to love liberty and equality above all things: and for us, amongst all the goodly laws and customs we have, we esteem this above the rest: to reverence and honour our king, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt fashion thy self after our manner to honour the king, thou mayest both see him, and speak with him: but if thou have another mind with thee, then must thou of necessity use some third person for thy mean. For this is the manner of our country; the king never giveth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. Themistocles hearing what he said, answered him again: My lord Artabanus, the great goodwill I bear unto the king, and the desire I have to advance his glory and power, is the only cause of my present repair unto his court: therefore I mean not only to obey your laws (since it hath so pleased the gods to raise up the noble empire of Persia unto this greatness) but will cause many other people also to honour the king, more than there do at this present. Therefore let there be no stay, but that my self in person may deliver to the king that I have to say unto him. Well, said Artabanus? whom then shall we say thou art? For by thy speech it seemeth, thou art a man of no mean state and condition. Themistocles answered him: As for that, Artabanus, none shall know before the king himself. Thus doth Phanias report it. But

Eratosthenes, in his book he wrote of Riches, addeth further; how Themistocles had access unto this Artabanus, being recommended to the king by a woman of Eretria, whom the king kept. Themistocles being brought to his presence, after he had presented his humble duty and reverence to him, stood on his feet, and said never a word, until the king commanded the interpreter to ask him what he was? and he answered: May it please your majesty, O noble King: I am Themistocles the Athenian, a banished man out of my country by the Grecians, who humbly repaireth to your highness, knowing I have done great hurt to the Persians, but I persuade my self I have done them far more good than harm. For I it was that kept the Grecians back they did not follow you, when the state of Greece was delivered from thraldom, and my native country from danger, and that I knew I stood then in good state to pleasure you. Now for me, I find all men's good wills agreeable to my present misery and calamity: for I come determined, most humbly to thank your highness, for any grace and favour you shall shew me, and also to crave humble pardon, if your majesty be yet offended with me. And therefore license me (most noble king) to beseech you, that taking mine enemies the Grecians for witnesses of the pleasures I have done the Persian nation, you will of your princely grace use my hard fortune, as a good occasion to shew your honourable vertue, rather than to satisfy the passion of your heat and choler. For in saving my life, your majesty saveth an humble suitor that put himself to your mercy: and in putting me to death, you shall rid

Themis-
tocles'
talk with
the King
of Persia

Themistocles away an enemy of the Grecians. Having spoken thus these words, he said further: That the gods by diverse signs and tokens had procured him to come to submit himself unto him, and told the king what vision he had seen in his dream in Nicogenes' house: and declared also the oracle of Jupiter Dodonian, who had commanded him that he should go unto him that was called as a god, and how he thought it was the person of his majesty, because that god and he in troth were called both great kings. The king having thus heard him speak, gave him then no present answer again, notwithstanding he marvellously wondred at his great wisdom and boldness. But afterwards amongst his familiars the king said, he thought himself very happy to meet with the good fortune of Themistocles' coming to him: and so besought his great god Arimanus, that he would always send his enemies such minds, as to banish the greatest and wisest men amongst them. It is reported also he did sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks therefore, and disposed himself presently to be merry. Insomuch as dreaming in the night, in the midst of his dream he cried out three times together for joy: I have Themistocles the Athenian. The next morning the king having sent for the chiefest lords of his court, he made Themistocles also to be brought before him: who looked for no goodness at all, specially when he saw the soldiers warding at the court gates, give him ill countenance and language both, when they beheld him, and understood his name. Moreover, Roxanes, one of the captains, as Themistocles passed by him going to the king (who was set in his chair of state, and

Themistocles honoured of the King of Persia

every man keeping silence) softly sighing, said unto him : O thou Greekish serpent, subtile and malicious ! the king's good fortune hath brought thee hither. Nevertheless when he came to the king, and had once again made him a very humble and low reverence : the king saluted him, and spake very courteously to him, saying : I am now your debtor of two hundred talents, for presenting your self. It is good reason I should deliver you the money promised him that should have brought you : but I give you a further warrant, be bold I charge you, and speak your mind freely, say what you think of the state of Greece. Themistocles then answered him : That men's words did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a piece of arras : for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seen, when they are unfolded and laid open. Contrariwise they appear not, but are lost, when they are shut up, and close folded : whereupon he said to the king, he must needs require some further time of answer. The king liked his comparison passingly well, and willed him to appoint his own time. Themistocles asked a year : in which time having prettily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the king himself without any interpreter. So, such as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the king of matters of Greece. But because the change and alteration of the court fell out great at that time, the noblemen imagined he had been so bold to common with the king of them also. Thereupon they greatly envied him, and afterwards murmured much against him. For indeed the king did honour Themistocles above all

Demaratus' fond demand of the king

other strangers whatsoever they were. On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him see his mother, with whom he grew familiar: and by the king's own commandment he was to hear the disputationes of the wise men of Persia touching secret philosophy, which they call magic. Demaratus the Lacedæmonian being at that time in the court of Persia, the king willing him to ask what gift he would, he besought the king to grant him this favour: to license him to go up and down the city of Sardis, with his royal hat on his head as the Kings of Persia do. Mithropaustes, the king's cousin, taking him by the hand, said unto him: Demaratus, the king's hat thou demandest, and if it were on thy head, it would cover but little wit: Nay though Jupiter did give thee his lightning in thy hand, yet that would not make thee Jupiter. But the king gave him so sharp a repulse for his unreasonable request, and was so angry with him for it, that it was thought he would never have forgiven him: howbeit Themistocles was so earnest a suitor for him, that he brought him into favour again. And the report goeth, that the king's successors which have been since that time, under whom the Persians have had more dealings with the Grecians, than in former days: when they would retain any great state or personage of Greece into their service, they wrote unto him, and promised him they would make him greater about them, then ever was Themistocles about Xerxes. That which is written of him, doth also confirm it. For he being stept up to great countenance and authority, and followed with great trains of suitors after him by reason of his greatness: seeing

himself one day very honourably served at his table, and with all sorts of dainty meats, he turned him to his children, and said unto them: My sons, we should have been undone, if we had not been undone. The most writers do agree, that he had given him the revenue of three cities for his allowance of bread, wine and victuals: to wit, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. But Neanthes Cyzicenian, and Phanius, do add two other cities more, Percota, and Palæscepsis: the one to defray his charges of apparel, and the other for his lodging. Afterwards Themistocles going into the low countries towards the sea, to take order against the practices of the Grecians; there was a Persian lord called Epixyes (governor of the High Phrygia) that had laid a train to kill him (having of long time hired certain murderers of Pisidia to do it) so soon as he should come into a town of his government, called the Lion's Head. But as he slept on a day in his house in the afternoon, the mother of the gods appeared unto him, and said, Themistocles, go not to the Lion's head, for fear thou meet with the Lion: and for this warning, I do ask thy daughter Mnesiptolema for my servant. Themistocles waking suddenly out of his dream, made his prayer unto his goddess, and turning out of the highway, fetched another compass about. Afterwards having passed that town, he took his lodging being benighted: but one of the beasts which carried his tent, fell by the way, unfortunately in a river, and all his arras and tapestry hangings being throughly wet, his servants were driven to lay them out a drying, by moon light. The Pisidians that lay in wait, and could not discern by moonlight

Themistocles escaped murder by a warning he had in his sleep

The at-
tempted
murder
that they were hangings laid out to dry, thought it
had been the very tent Themistocles' self did lie
in : whereupon they went unto it with their swords
drawn in their hands, hoping to have taken him
sleeping. But when they were come thither, and
began to lift up a piece of the hangings : some of
the people of Themistocles (which kept watch)
perceiving them, ran upon them, and took them.
So Themistocles having escaped this danger, won-
dered greatly at the favour of the goddess which
had appeared unto him. In recompense whereof,
when he was in the city of Magnesia, he built a
temple unto Dindymena, and made his daughter
Mnesiptolema prioress of the same. As he passed
by the city of Sardis for his recreation, he went to
visit the temples, and offerings that had been given
there. So he saw an image of a maiden in copper,
in the temple of the mother of the gods, being two
yards high, which they called the Hydrophora :
as much to say, as the water-carrier. And it was
a statue, which himself had heretofore dedicated
and caused to be made, with the fines of those
that had paid forfeitures, for stealing or turning
away the water course at Athens, at such time as
he was master surveyor of the water works and
conduits there. Wherefore, whether Themistocles
was sorry to see this goodly image a prisoner in the
hands of the barbarous people, or that he would
shew unto the Athenians the greatness of his credit
and authority through all the king's dominions : he
spake to the governor of Lydia, and prayed him
for his sake that he would send this image again to
Athens. But this barbarous governor was very
angry with his request, and told him he would

advertise the king thereof. Then Themistocles began to be afraid, and was driven to seek to the governor's women and concubines, whom he got for money to entreat him, and so made fair weather again with the governor. But from thenceforth, he took better guard of himself in all his doings, greatly fearing the envy of the barbarous people. For he progressed not up and down Asia, as Theopompus writeth, but lay a long time in the city of Magnesia, quietly enjoying the king's gracious gifts bestowed on him: where he was honoured and reverenced for one of the greatest persons of Persia, whilst the king was elsewhere occupied in the affairs of the high provinces of Asia, and had no leisure to think upon those of Greece. But when news was brought him, that Egypt was rebelled, by means of the favour and assistance of the Athenians, and that the Grecian galleys did scour the seas even unto the Isle of Cyprus, and unto the coasts of Cilicia, and that Cimon had all the sea in subjection: that made him then to bend all his thoughts how to resist the Grecians, that their greatness might not turn to his harm. Then commissions went out to levy men, to assemble captains, and to dispatch posts unto Themistocles at Magnesia, with the king's letters, straightly charging him to have an eye to the Grecians' doings, and moreover that he should faithfully keep his promise he had made to him. But he, to shew that he neither maliced his citizens, nor was moved with the desire of greatness and authority he might have grown unto in those wars, or else for that he thought the king's expectation would prove to [be] a greater matter, than he could

*Themis-
tocles'
love to his
country*

The manner of end or wade through, considering Greece was full at that time of famous captains, and that Cimon amongst the rest had marvellous good fortune, and that it should be a reproach to him to stain the glory of so many noble acts, so many triumphs, and so great victories as Cimon had done and won : he took a wise resolution with himself, to make such an end of his life, as the fame thereof deserved, for he made a solemn sacrifice unto the gods, and feasted at the same all his friends. And after he had taken his leave of them all, he drank bull's blood, as most men think (or as other say) poison, which despatcheth a man in four and twenty hours, and so ended his days in the city of Magnesia, after he had lived threescore and five years, and the most part of them always in office, and great charge. It is written, that the King of Persia understanding the cause and manner of his death, did more esteem him afterwards, than he did before, and that ever after he continued to use his friends and familiars in very good sort. For he left children behind him, which he had of Archippé (Lysander's daughter) of the town of Alopecé : Archeptolis, Polyeuctus, and Cleopantus, of whom Plato the philosopher maketh mention, saying that he was a good man at arms, but otherwise that there was no goodness in him. His other sons that were elder, as Neocles, died being bitten with a horse : and as for Diocles another son, his grandfather Lysander did adopt him for his son. He had many daughters, of the which Mnesiptolema (which he had by a second wife) was married unto her half-brother Archeptolis, for they were not both of one wenter. Another called Italia, was married unto one Panthoides of Chio :

Sybaris, unto Nicomedes an Athenian : and Nico-
maché, unto Phrasicles, Themistocles' nephew :
unto whom her brethren did marry her within the
city of Magnesia, after the death of their father.
This Phrasicles did bring up Asia, which was the
youngest of all his daughters. Furthermore his
sumptuous tomb standeth yet in the market-place
of Magnesia. But that Andocides writeth of his
bones, in a book he made to his friends, is not to
be credited, which was : that the Athenians having
found the ashes of his bones, did cast them up into
the air, as a device to stir up the noble men against
the people. And Phylarchus in his history (much
like unto the feigned subtleties of a tragedy) bringeth
in I cannot tell what Neocles and Demopolis, for
Themistocles' sons, to move the readers with com-
passion. Howbeit no man is so simple, but will
judge it straight a very feigning and device. Dio-
dorus the cosmographer also in a book he hath
written of tombs and monuments saith, by conjec-
ture, rather than of any certain knowledge : that
alongst the haven of Piræus, coming towards the
head of Alcimus, there is a foreland in form of an
elbow, within the which when they have doubled
the point, the sea is always calm, and there they
find a great and long foundation or base, upon the
which there is as it were the form of an altar, and
that is (saith he) Themistocles' tomb. And he
supposeth that Plato the comical poet doth witness
it in these verses.

Thy grave is set and plac't commodiously,
Where passengers and marchants that come by

Honour
done to
Themis-
tocles
after his
death

May visit thee, and where it may regard
All such as seek that port to be their ward.
Sometimes also, it may rejoice to see
The bloody fights upon the sea that be.

And furthermore, those of Magnesia did institute
certain honours unto the issue of Themistocles,
which continue yet unto this day. And in
my time, another Themistocles also of
Athens did enjoy the same honours,
with whom I was familiarly
conversant in the house
of Ammonius the
philosopher.

THE END OF THEMISTOCLES' LIFE

THE LIFE OF FURIUS CAMILLUS

AMONGST many great matters which are spoken Why
of this Furius Camillus, this seemeth most strange Camillus
and wonderful above the rest. That he having
borne the chiefest offices of charge in his country,
and having done many notable and worthy deeds
in the same: as one that was chosen five times
Dictator, and had triumphed four times, and had
won himself the name and title of the second
founder of Rome, and yet never came to be
Consul. But the only cause thereof was, that
the common weal of Rome stood then in such
state and sort. The people were then at dissen-
sion with the Senate. They would choose no
more Consuls, but other kind of governors whom
they called *Tribuni Militares*: these did all things
with like power and authority as the Consuls, yet
were they nothing so odious unto the people, by
reason of the number that was of them. For it
was some hope to them that could ill bear the rule
of the small number of nobility, that the govern-
ment of the state being put into six, and not into
two officers' hands, their rule would be the easier,
and tolerabler. Now Camillus being at that time
in his best credit and authority, and in the prime
and glory of his doings, did not desire to be made

Camillus
wisdom
and
modesty

Consul without the goodwill of the people, although whilst he was in authority, there were many times Consuls created. But being called and chosen to all other offices and dignities, he behaved himself in such sort, that when he was alone, he made his authority common to other: and when he had companions and associates, the glory of all redounded to himself alone. The cause whereof, was his modesty on the one side, for he commanded ever without envy: and his great wisdom and sufficiency on the other side, for the which all others willingly gave him place, and yielded to him. The house of the Furians being at that time of no great fame, he was the first that began to set himself forwards. For in a great battell which was fought against the Æques and Volsces, he being but a private man at arms under the Dictator Postumius Tubertus, was the first that riding out of the army, advanced himself and gave the charge. And being run into the thigh at that time with a staff broken upon his thigh, he plucked the truncheon out and retired not for all that: but giving charge again upon the stoutest of the enemy, he fought it out so valiantly to the encouraging of other, that he was the chief cause they turned their backs. Whereupon, to requite his service done at that time (besides other honours they did him) they made him Censor: an office at that time of great preheminence and dignity. In his office of Censorship, he did two notable acts. The one very honest: when he brought men that were not married, to marry the women whom the wars had left widows, which were in number many. To this he got them partly by persuasion, and partly by threatenings, to set

round fines upon their heads that refused. The other very necessary : in that he brought the orphans to be contributories, unto taxes, and subsidies, which before payed nothing. The cause thereof was, the continual wars, about the which the common weal sustained great charges, but specially about the siege of the city of Veians (which some call Venetanians) that was a very sore burden to them at that time. For it was the capital city of all Tuscany, the which for store of armour, and number of soldiers, was nothing inferior to the city of Rome. For the Veians being grown to stomack and courage in time, by reason of their wealth and prosperity, and for the sundry great battels they had fought against the Romans, that contended with them for glory and empire : and now it fell so out, that they finding themselves weakned by many great overthrows, which they had received of the Romans, they did let fall their former peacock's bravery and ambition, to bid them battell any more in the field. Howbeit the inhabitants of the city of Veies having raised the walls and made very great high rampers, began to fortify themselves, and made good provision for armour and munition, besides store of corn, shot, and other necessary things : they valiantly, and without fear of any thing, defended the siege of the Romans, that continued a long time, and was no less hard and painful unto them that did besiege, than it was unto those that were besieged. For where the Romans were wont before time to keep their houses in the winter season, and the field only in the sommer time : that was the first time they were compelled by the captains and *Tribuni Militares*, to build forts, and to entrench

The city
of Veies
besieged

Their camp with a wall, even in their enemy's wonder-
ful over-
flowing country, and to winter abroad as they were wont
to lie in the camp in sommer. Now this siege had
continued seven years together. The captains were
burthened that they did not their duties, nor stood
manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end
they were discharged, and other captains placed
in their rooms to follow the siege. Among those,
Camillus was one, whom then the second time they
created *Tribunus Militaris*. Who notwithstanding
did nothing then in that siege, because it was his
ap by lot, to make wars upon the Falerians,
and the Capenates. These people whilst the
Romans were occupied otherwhere, had invaded
their country and done them great harm, during the
time of their war with the Tuscans. But Camillus
having overthrown a great number of them in the
field, had the rest in chase, and drove them to take
their city, and did shut them up within their own
walls. The chance that happened at the Lake of
Albanus, about the time the Tuscan wars were
greatest, did marvellously amate the Romans, being
no less wonderful, than the most strange and un-
credible thing that could be told by man. For
they could not find out the cause of it by common
reason, nor any natural ground: considering it was
in the latter end of autumn, and sommer was ended,
and that there had not been much rain, nor notable
south winds. And although there are many lakes,
many brooks, and rivers, many springs, and other
waters in Italy: yet some of them dried up alto-
gether, others ran but faintly by reason of the
drought, and all the rivers then were (as they are
wont to be commonly in sommer) very low, and

there was scant any water. But the Lake Albanus of the contrariwise, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whither out of it self, being environed all about with hills and mountains, and where the earth is good: began to swell, and rise to every man's sight, without any cause at all (but secret and hidden unto the gods alone) and went always increasing amongst those hills' sides, until such time as it came to be even with the height of the highest mountain, gathering upwards still without any waves or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poor shepherds and herdsmen, keeping their cattell thereabouts, marvellously afraid. But at the length when the earth and the weight of one of the hills (which kept in the lake as a wall, from running over into the field) began to break by reason of the weight, and great quantity of water, that ran straight with a marvellous extreme force and violence over all the arable lands and grounds planted with trees, and so took his course into the sea: the Romans then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of Italy were wonderfully afraid, and judged that it was some sign and prognostication of some wonderful thing to come. And there was no other news current in the camp, which lay at siege of the city of Veies: insomuch as the very bruit of it flew over the walls of the city, unto them that were besieged. And as it happeneth very often in long sieges, that those which lie in camp do often-times talk with them that are besieged: there was a Roman who fell acquainted, and commonly used to talk familiarly with one of the city, who could tell of many old and strange things done and happened, and was very skilful

The above any other in the city, in the art of divina-craft of a
Roman tion, or soothsaying. The Roman then told him one day the violent breaking out of the Lake Albanus, and perceiving that the other after he had heard him, was as merry as a pie at the matter, and that he gibed at their siege: he told him further, that this wonderful chance was not only hap-pened unto the Romans at that time, but that they had been acquainted with many other far more strange than this, which he would very willingly open unto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affairs of the common weal had but hard success, yet he would procure that his own private matters might prosper well with him. The Veian answered him, he would hear them with a good will, and gave good care unto him, hoping to have heard some great secret. So the Roman training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his way, until he saw he was a good distance off from the gates of the city, he suddenly caught hold on him, and by strong hand carried him away with him, and with help of other soldiers which came running out of the camp unto him, he brought him to the captains. The Veian seeing himself thus forcibly used, and knowing also that fatal destiny cannot be avoided, began to declare unto the Romans, the ancient oracles and prophesies touching the fortune of their city: by which it was reported unto them, that the city of Veies should never be taken, until the enemy had caused the water of the Lake Albanus (which should break out) to be brought back again, and to turn it some other way from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was carried unto the Senate at

Rome, to be consulted of in the council: and there it was determined they should send to the oracle of Apollo, at the city of Delphes, and ask him what they should do therein. So thither were sent great and notable men, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Potitus and Fabius Ambustus: who having ended their journey by sea, and received answer of that they demanded, returned home again, and amongst other oracles they brought one that said thus: That through negligence they had omitted some ancient ceremonies in the holy days of the Latins. And another willed them, that they should by all possible means they could, keep the water of the Lake Albanus that it fell not into the sea, and should (if it were possible) bring it back again into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be drunk up in the middest of the fields. When these oracles were understood, the priests prepared all things for divine service, and the people went about the water of the lake to turn it again. After these things were done, the Senate in the tenth year of the wars against the Veians, put off all those which did bear office, and created Camillus Dictator, who named for general of the horsemen, Cornelius Scipio. And before he went in hand with any thing, he made a vow unto the gods, that if it pleased them to grant a happy end of these wars, in honour of them he would celebrate great plays, and build a temple unto the goddess which the Romans call Matuta: which seemeth to be her whom we call Leucothea, considering the ceremonies done in these sacrifices. For they cause a chamber-maid to enter into her

An oracle
brought
from
Delphes

The city temple, and there they box her about the ears.
of Veies Then they put her out of the temple, and do
taken by embrace their brothers' children rather than their
mining own. They make many other ceremonies, and
they are much like unto those that are done unto
Bacchus' nurses, and to the misfortunes that chanced
unto Ino, by reason of her husband's concubine.
After all these vows and prayers made, he entred
with his army into the Faliscians' territories, whom
he overthrew in a great battel, together with the
Capenates also, which came to aid them. From
thence he went to the siege of the city of Veies,
where perceiving to take it by assault, was not to be
done without great danger, he began to undermine it
(finding the earth all about very minable) and withal
so deep, that the enemies could perceive nothing.
Now when his mining fell out according to his
good hope, he gave an assault to the walls in all
places alike about the city at one instant, to bring
out all the inhabitants of the city to man the walls.
Whilst they were all thus upon the walls to make
defence, Camillus' soldiers entered secretly through
the mines within the castell, hard by the temple of
Juno : which was the chief Church of all the city,
and whereunto the citizens had most devotion.
They say that even at that present time the general
of the Tuscans did sacrifice unto the gods, and
that his soothsayer having considered the entrails of
the beasts offered up in sacrifice, cried out aloud,
that the gods gave the victory unto him, which
should happen to come upon them in this sacrifice.
The Romans which were within the mine hearing
this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out,
crying, and making noise with their weapons:

wherewith the enemies were so astonished, that they Camillus[¶] fled upon it, and so the Romans took the intrails prayer and carried them unto Camillus. And these be even much like the poets' tales and fables. Howbeit Camillus having by this means taken the city, and seeing from the top of the castell the infinite goods and riches within the city, which the soldiers spoiled and made havoc of, he wept for very pity. And when those that were about him told him he was a happy man : he lift up his hands unto heaven, and made this prayer. O mighty god Jupiter, and you O gods, which see and judge men's good and ill works : you know right well, that we have not willingly (without wrong and cause offered us) begun this war, but justly, and by compulsion, to be revenged of a city our enemy, which hath done us great injuries. But if to countervail this our great good prosperity, and victory, some bitter adversity and overthrow be predestined unto us : I beseech you then (most merciful gods) in sparing our city of Rome, and this her army, you will (with as little hurt as may be) let it all fall and light upon my person alone. And as he had spoken these words, and was turning on his right hand (according to the manner of the Romans after they have prayed unto the gods) he fell down flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somewhat troubled with the matter : but after he got up on his feet again, he told them that the thing he requested of the gods was happened unto him. And that was, a little hurt, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole city being spoiled and rifled, he was also desirous to carry Juno's image to Rome, to accomplish the

Plutarch's vow he had made. And having sent for workmen
judge-
ment of
miracles for this purpose, he did sacrifice first unto the goddess, beseeching her to accept well of the Romans' good will, and that she would willingly vouchsafe to come and dwell with the other gods, who had the protection of the city of Rome. Some say, that the image answered, she was contented. But Livius writeth that Camillus made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the assistants answered she was contented, and would go with a good will. Yet they which do affirm, it was the image self that spake, do favour this miracle, grounding their proof upon the opinion of the fortune of Rome: the which, from so base and mean beginning had impossibly attained unto so high glory and power as it had, without the singular favour of the gods, and that hath manifestly appeared unto the world, by sundry great proofs and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders. As, that images have heretofore let fall drops of sweat from them: that they have been heard to sigh: that they have turned: and that they have made certain signs with their eyes, as we find written in many ancient stories. And we could our selves also tell such like wonders; which we have heard men of our time affirm, which are not uncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for such matters, it is as dangerous to give too much credit to them, as also to discredit them too much, by reason of the weakness of man's nature, which bath no certain bounds, nor can rule it self, but runneth sometimes after vanity and superstition, and otherwhile also despiseth and contemneth holy and divine matters: and therefore the mean is the vertue, and not to go

too far in this, as in all other things besides, it is the best. Now Camillus, whether his late enterprise performed, in winning a city that stood out with Rome, and held siege with them ten years together, had put him into an overweening or conceit of himself: or that the words of the people, which did bless and praise him, had made him look high, and presume upon himself, more than became the modesty of a civil magistrate, and governor of the common weal, and one that was subject to the law: he shewed a stately triumph, set forth with all rich furniture, and specially for that himself was carried through Rome upon his triumphant charret drawn with four fair white coursers. This, never captain nor general before him durst undertake to do, neither any ever after him attempted it: for they think it as a sacred carriage, and only meet for the king, and father of the gods. This bred him much envy amongst the citizens, which had not been acquainted with so great stateliness. There was another occasion also that made them mislike him much: which was, because he stood against the law put forth that they should divide the city of Rome. For the Tribunes of the people did set out an edict, that the senate and people of Rome should be divided into two parts; and that those on whom the lot should fall, should abide still in Rome, and the other should go dwell in the new won city of Veies. These were the reasons to persuade this: that both the one and the other sort should be richer than they were before, and should more easily keep their lands and goods from the invasion of their enemies, by means of these two great cities. The people which were

A law
for the
people of
Rome to
dwell at
Veies

The chiefest cause of the people's malice against Camillus multiplied now into great numbers, and had served dutifully and dangerously, thought it the best way in the world: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with great tumult, about their pulpit for orations, praying that this law might be put unto the voices of the people. But the whole Senate, and wisest citizens among them, judging this motion of the Tribunes would be the destruction, and not the division of the city of Rome, could in no wise abide it should go any further. Whereupon they went and prayed Camillus' help: who fearing to bring it to the point, whether the law should pass or no, did always seek new occasions and lets, still to delay and put off the matter, and stay the confirmation of this law. For these causes, he was hated of the common people. But the original and apparent cause of the people's ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth part of their spoils: and it was not altogether without some reason, and to say truly the people did him much wrong to bear him such malice for that. For before he went to the city of Veies, he made a solemn vow to offer the tenth part unto the gods, of the spoils of the city, if he wan the same. But when it was taken and sacked, whether it was that he was loth to trouble the citizens, or having a world of business in his head, that he easily forgot his vow: he suffered the soldiers to divide the spoil amongst them, and to take the benefit to themselves. Shortly after he was discharged of his charge, he did inform the Senate of his vow. Furthermore, the soothsayers made report at that very time, how they knew by certain signs and tokens of their sacrifices, that the gods were

offended for somewhat, and how they must of ^{A cup} necessity be pacified again. Whereupon the Senate of gold sent to presently made an order, where it was unpossible Delphes every man should bring in again the self same things he had gotten, to make a new division of every man's share: that every one therefore upon his oath should present the tenth part of his gains he had gotten by that booty. There was great trouble about it. They were driven to use great extremity to the poor soldiers (which had travailed sore, and taken great pains in the wars) to make them to restore back such a collop out of their gain, and the rather because many of them had already spent it every penny: and for this trouble, they all cried out with open mouth against Camillus. But he not knowing otherwise how to excuse himself, was forced to bring forth as cold and as unreasonable an excuse as he could make, which was: forsooth that he had forgotten his vow he had made. The people notwithstanding were eager still against him, saying: how he had vowed then to offer the tenth part of the enemies' goods to the gods, and that now he would perform it with the tenths of the citizens' goods. Nevertheless, every man having brought that he should for his part: it was thought good they should cause a massy cup of gold to be made, to send to the temple of Apollo at Delphes. And small store of gold being in the city of Rome, as the officers of the city were searching up and down to get it: the women of Rome of their own voluntary wills without motion, agreed among themselves, that they would depart with all the jewels they had towards the making up of this offering, which came to the

A narrow weight of eight talents. In recompense whereof, to escape honour them withal, the Senate ordained that they should be praised openly with funeral orations at their burial, as they did use at honourable and noble men's obsequies. For before that law, it was not the manner to praise women openly at their funerals. Now there were appointed three of the noblest men of the city to go to carry this offering, and they sent them out in a galley well manned, stored also with good mariners, and trimly set forth in all triumphing manner: howbeit both in storm and calm weather, they were in danger of their lives. For after that they had scaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the wind was down again, they fell into another danger, which they escaped also beyond all hope. For hard by the Isles of Æolus, the galleys of the Liparians fell upon them, as if they had been rovers. But when the Liparians saw they made no resistance, and entreated them, holding up their hands: they gave no further charge upon them, but only fastened their galley unto theirs. So when they had hauled them to the shore, they declared they were pirates, and offered to make port sale of the men and goods, as if they had been a lawful prize: and had sold them indeed, had not the wisdom and authority of Timesitheus letted them, who was governor at that time of the city, and had great ado to persuade them to let them go. And he did not so leave them, but sent out certain of his own ships to accompany them in their journey, who did help them to go and perform their offering. For which courtesy of his, the Romans afterwards did him great honour at Rome, according to his well deserving. The Tribunes of

the people began now to set a foot against the law for the dividing of the inhabitants of Rome unto the city of Veies. But the wars of the Falisces fell out happily at that time, whereby the noble men did choose such officers as they would. So they chose Camillus *Tribunus Militaris* of the soldiers, and five others to assist him, the service in that case requiring a general, that carried both authority and reputation among them, as an old experienced soldier in the wars. When the people had confirmed the election, Camillus immediately entred the territories of the Falisces with the Roman army, where he laid siege unto the city of the Falerians, being very well fortified, victualled and stored, with all other munition of war. Knowing therefore that it was no small attempt to win this city, and that it would not be done in a short time : he politickly sought (whatsoever came of it) to keep his countrymen occupied about some thing, and to stay them for going home, lest by repairing to Rome, they should have many occasions to rebel, and raise some civil dissension. For the Romans did wisely use this remedy : to disperse abroad like good physicians, the humours which troubled the quiet state of their common weal at home. But the Falerians trusting in the situation of their city, which was very strong in all parts, made so little accompt of the siege, that those which kept not watch upon the walls, walked up and down in their gowns in the city, without any weapon about them, and their children went to school, the school-maister also would commonly lead them abroad out of the city a walking, to play and pass the time by the town walls. For the

Camillus
besiegeth
the Fale-
rians

Camillus' whole city had one common school-maister, as the worthy Grecians also have, which do bring up their children from little ones in company together, because one may be familiarly acquainted with another. This school-maister

spying his time to do the Falerians a shrewd turn, did accustomably take all his scholars out of the city with him, to play not far from the walls at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the city again after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroad thus once or twice, he trained them out every day a little further, to make them to be bold, persuading them there was no danger. But at the length, one day having gotten all the citizens' children with him, he led them within the watch of the Romans' camp, and there delivered all his scholars into their hands, and prayed them they would bring him unto their general. So they did. And when he came before Camillus, he began to tell him that he was school-maister unto all these children, nevertheless that he did more esteem to have his grace and favour, than regard his office he had by this name and title. Camillus hearing what he said, and beholding his treacherous part, he said to those that were about him: War of it self surely is an evil thing, for in wars many injuries and mischiefs are done; nevertheless, among good men there is a law and discipline, which doth forbid them to seek victory by wicked and traitorous means, and that a noble and worthy general should make war, and procure victory, by trusting to his own valiantness, and not by another's vileness and villainy. Therefore he commanded his sergeants to tear the clothes off the back of this vile school-maister, and to bind his hands

behind him : and that they should give the children rods and whips in their hands, to whip the traitor back again into the city, that had betrayed them, and grieved their parents. Now when the Falerians heard news that the school-maister had thus betrayed them, all the city fell a weeping (as every man may think for so great a loss) and men and women ran together one in another's neck, to the town walls, and gates of the city, like people out of their wits, they were so troubled. When they came thither, they saw their children bringing their school-maister back again, stark naked and bound, whipping of him, and calling Camillus their father, their god, and their saviour : so that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the citizens also in general, did conceive in themselves a wonderful admiration and great love, of the wisdom, goodness, and justice of Camillus. So that even presently they called a council, and there it was concluded they should send ambassadors forthwith unto him, to put their lives and goods to his mercy and favour. Camillus sent their ambassadors unto Rome, where audience being given unto them by the Senate, the ambassadors said : Because the Romans preferred justice above victory, they taught them to be better contented to submit themselves unto them, than to be their own men at liberty : confessing their vertue did more overcome them, than any force or power could do. The Senate dispatched letters unto Camillus, giving him commission to do and determine as he thought good. So he having taken a certain sum of money of the Falerians, did furthermore make peace and league with all the rest of the Falisces : and there-

The message
of
the am-
bassadors

The people cry out against Camillus upon returned back again to Rome. But the soldiers grudged marvellously at it. For they stood in hope to have had the sacking of the city. When there was no remedy, but they must needs return home empty handed, they began to accuse Camillus to the rest of the citizens, as soon as they came to Rome, saying : he loved not the common people, and how for spite he disappointed their army of the spoil. On the other side, the Tribunes of the people began to revive the law, for the dividing of the inhabitants of Rome, and were ready to pass it by the voices of the people. Camillus not fearing the ill will of the commons, did boldly speak, and do in open presence, all he could against it. So that plainly he was the chiefest cause, that the people against their wills (entreat what they could) were driven to let it alone. But withal they were so spiteful against him, that notwithstanding his sorrow and misfortune for the death of his son (dying of a sickness) was great : they would not of malice once take pity or compassion of him. The loss whereof (albeit he was of a very good and courteous nature) was so grievous, and made him so unquiet, that being accused before the people, he stirred not once out of his house, but was locked up with the women, which lamented for his son departed. He that did accuse him, was one Lucius Apuleius, burthening him that he had stolen and taken away part of the spoil of the Tuscans : and said they had seen certain brazen gates at his house, which had been brought out of Tuscany. Now the people were so maliciously bent against him, that every man might see, if they could once take him in a trip, upon any advantage

whatsoever, they would doubtless have condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friends and soldiers that had served under him in the wars, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number : he earnestly besought them, that they would not suffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through false and unjust accusations laid against him, nor to be so scorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends having laid their heads together, and consulted thereupon, made him answer : how for his judgement they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned, they would all join together with a very good will, to help to pay his fine. But he being of mind not to bear such an open shame and ignominy, determined in choler to leave the city, and to exile himself from it. And after he had taken his leave of his wife and children, bidding them farewell : he went out of his house to the gates of the city, and said never a word. When he came thither, he stayed suddenly, and returning back again, he lift up his hands towards the Capitol, and made his prayers unto the gods : that if it were of very spite and malice, and not of just deserving, that the common people compelled him thus shamefully to forsake the city, that the Romans might quickly repent them, and in the face of the world might wish for him, and have need of him. After he had made these prayers against the citizens (as Achilles did against the Grecians) he went his way, and was condemned for his contempt, in the sum of fifteen thousand asses of the Roman coin, which make of Greekish money, a thousand five hundred drachmas of silver : for an as was a little piece of money, whereof ten of them made a Roman penny. How-

Camillus
exileth
himself
from
Rome

Tokens
of the
wars of
the Gauls

beit there was not a Roman of any understanding, but believed certainly that some great punishment would follow them incontinently, and that the wrong and injury they had done him would be quickly requited, with some most sharp and terrible revenge, not only unpleasant to think upon, but further most notable to be spoken of through the world. There fell out so suddenly upon it, such mischief toward the city of Rome, and the present time also brought forth such occasion of danger and destruction thereof, to their shame and infamy: that it was uncertain whether it happened by chance, or else it was the handy work of some god, that would not suffer virtue recompensed with ingratitude to pass unrevenged. Their first token that threatened some great mischief to light upon them, was the death of Julius, one of the Censors: for the Romans do greatly reverence the office of a Censor, and esteem it as a sacred place. The second token that happened a little before Camillus' exile, was: that one Marcus Cædicius, a man but of mean quality, and none of the Senators (but otherwise a fair conditioned honest man, and of good conscience) told the *Tribuni Militares*, of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he said that the night before, as he was going on his way in the new street, he heard one call him aloud: and returning back to see what it was, he saw no living creature, but only heard a voice bigger than a man's, which said unto him: Marcus Cædicius, go thy way to-morrow morning to the *Tribuni Militares*, and bid them look quickly for the Gauls. The Tribunes were merry at the matter, and made but a jest at his warning, and straight after followed the condemna-

tion of Camillus. Now as touching the Gauls: How they came into Italy
They came (as they say) of the Celtæ, whose country not being able to maintain the multitudes of them, they were driven to go seek other countries to inhabit in: and there were amongst them many thousands of young men of service and good soldiers, but yet more women and little children by a great number. Of these people, some of them went towards the North Sea, passing the mountains Rhipæan, and did dwell in the extreme parts of Europe. Others of them remained between the mountains Pyrenei, and the greatest mountains of the Alps, near unto the Senones, and the Celtoii. There they continued a long time, until they for-
tuned in the end to taste of the wine, which was first brought out of Italy unto them. Which drink they found so good, and were so delighted with it, that suddenly they armed themselves: and taking their wives and children with them, they went directly towards the Alps, to go seek out the country that brought forth such fruit, judging all other countries in respect of that, to be but wild and barren. It is said, that the first man which brought wine unto them, and that did procure them to pass into Italy, was a nobleman of Tuscany called Arron, and otherwise of no ill-disposed nature: howbeit he was subject to this misfortune following. He was tutor unto an orphan child, the richest that was at that time in all the country of Tuscany, and of complexion was wonderful fair: he was called Lucumo. This orphan was brought up in Arron's house of a child, and though he was grown to man's state, yet he would not go from him, saying he was so well, and to his liking. But

The power of the Tuscans in old time indeed the cause was, that he loved his mistress (Arron's wife) whom secretly he had enjoyed a long time, and she him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the end, love having so possessed them both, that neither party could withdraw from other, much less conceal it: the young man stole her away from him, and kept her still by force. Arron put him in suit, but he prevailed not: for Lucumo overweighed him with friends, money, gifts, and charges. But he took it so grievously, that he left his country: and having heard talk of the Gauls, he went unto them, and was their guide to bring them into Italy. So they conquered at their first coming all that country which the Tuscans held in old time, beginning at the foot of the mountains, and stretched out in length from one sea unto the other which environeth Italy, as the names themselves do witness. For they call yet that sea which looketh unto the north, the Adriatic Sea: by reason of a city some time built by the Tuscans, which was called Adria. The other, which lieth directly over against the south, is called the Tuscan Sea. All that country is well planted with trees, and hath goodly pleasant pastures for beasts and cattell to feed in, and is notably watered with goodly running rivers. There was also at that time eighteen fair great cities in that country, all of them very strong and well seated, as well for to enrich the inhabitants thereof by traffic, as to make them to live delicately for pleasure. All these cities the Gauls had won, and had expulsed the Tuscans, but this was done long time before. Now the Gauls being further entred into Tuscany, did

besiege the city of Clusium. Thereupon the Clusians seeking aid of the Romans, besought them they would send letters and ambassadors unto these barbarous people in their favour. They sent unto them three of the best and most honourable persons of the city, all three of the house of the Fabians. The Gauls received them very courteously, because of the name of Rome: and leaving to assault the city, they gave them audience. The Roman ambassadors did ask them, what injury the Clusians had done unto them, that they came to make wars with them. Brennus, king of the Gauls, hearing this question, smiled, and answered them thus: The Clusians do us wrong in this: they being but few people together, and not able to occupy much land, do notwithstanding possess much, and will let us have no part with them, that are strangers, and out of our country, and stand in need of seat and habitation. The like wrong was offered unto you Romans in old time, by those of Alba, by the Fidenates, and the Ardeates: and not long sithence, by the Veians, and the Capenates: and partly by the Falisces and the Volsces: against whom ye have taken, and do take arms, at all times. And as oft as they will let you have no part of their goods, ye imprison their persons, rob and spoil their goods, and destroy their cities. And in doing this, ye do them no wrong at all, but follow the oldest law that is in the world, which ever leaveth unto the stronger, that which the weaker cannot keep and enjoy; beginning with the gods, and ending with beasts: the which have this property in nature, that the bigger and stronger have ever the vantage of the weaker and lesser. Therefore, leave your

Brennus,
king of
the Gauls

Brennus pity to see the Clusians besieged, lest you teach us reproveth Gauls to take compassion also of those you have oppressed. By this answer the Romans knew very well, there was no way to make peace with King **Brennus**. Wherefore they entred into the city of **Fabius** for breaking the law of arms Clusium, and encouraged the inhabitants to sally out with them upon these barbarous people : either because they had a desire to prove the valiantness of the Gauls, or else to shew their own courage and manhood. So the citizens went out, and skirmished with them hard by the walls : in the which one of the Fabians, called Quintus Fabius Ambustus, being excellently well horsed, and putting spurs to him, did set upon a goodly big personage of the Gauls, that had advanced himself far before all the troop of his companions. He was not known at the first encounter, as well for the sudden meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his glistering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had slain the Gaul, and came to strip him : Brennus then knew him, and protested against him, calling the gods to witness, how he had broken the law of arms, that coming as an ambassador, he had taken upon him the form of an enemy. Hereupon Brennus forthwith left skirmishing, and raising the siege from Clusium, marched with his army unto Rome gates. And to the end the Romans might know, that the Gauls were not well pleased for the injury they had received : to have an honest colour to begin wars with the Romans, he sent an herald before to Rome to demand delivery of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the meantime, he himself came marching after, by small journeys to receive their answer.

The Senate hereupon assembled, and many of the Senators blamed the rashness of the Fabians: but most of all, the priests called Fetiales. For they followed it very earnestly, as a matter that concerned religion and the honour of the gods: declaring how the Senate, in discharge of all the residue of the city of the offence committed should lay the whole weight and burden of it upon him alone, that only had done the fact. Numa Pompilius, the justest and most peaceable of all the kings of Rome that had been, was he that first erected the college of these Fetiales, and did ordain that they should be the keepers of peace, and the judges to hear and allow all the causes, for the which they should justly begin any wars. Nevertheless, the Senate in the end turned over the ordering of the matter, unto the whole will and judgement of the people, before whom these priests Fetiales did also accuse Fabius Ambustus. The people made so little account of their pro pounded religion, and honour of the gods in that case: that in stead of delivering of this Fabius unto the enemy, they did choose him for one of the Tribunes of the soldiers with his brothers. The Gauls understanding this, were so furious and angry thereat, that they would no longer linger their journeys, but marched with all speed unto Rome. The people that dwelt by the highways where they should pass by, were marvellously afraid to see the multitude of them, and their brave and universal furniture: and beginning to doubt the fury of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroy all the champion country before them, and afterwards would take all the strong

The
Gauls
march
towards
Rome

Too cities. They contrariwise did take nothing at all
many out of the fields, neither did any hurt or displeasure
rulers of unto any body: but passing by their cities, cried
an army out they went to Rome, and would have no wars
do con- but with the Romans, and how otherwise they
found all desired to be friends with all the world. These
order barbarous people marching on in this wise towards
Rome, the Tribunes of the soldiers brought their
army to the field to encounter them. They were
no less in number than the Gauls, for they were
forty thousand footmen. Howbeit most part of
them were raw soldiers, that had never served in
the wars before. They were very careless of the
gods, and dissolute in matters of religion: for they
passed neither for good signs in their sacrifices,
neither to ask counsel of their soothsayers, which
the Romans were religiously wont to do, before
they gave any battell. To make the matter worse,
the number of the captains having power and autho-
rity alike, did as much (or more than the rest)
disorder and confound their doings. For oft times
before, in far lesser matters and dangers than these,
they did use to chose special officers that had
sole and sovereign authority, which they called
Dictators: knowing very well of how great import-
ance it is, in dangerous times to have but one head
general, to command all and to have supreme
authority of justice in his hands, and not to be
bound to deliver account of his doings to any.
The injury also which they had too ungratefully
done to Camillus, brought great mischief and
inconvenience then upon them. For the captains
after him, durst no more command the people
roughly, but ever after did flatter them much.

When their army was now brought into the field, they encamped themselves by a little river called Allia, about the eleventh stone from Rome, and not far from the place where the same river falleth into Tiber. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who overthrew them in battell, by their disorder and lack of government. For the left point or wing of their battell was broken off at the first by the Gauls, who charged them so furiously that they drove them headlong into the river. The right wing then retiring out of the plain, before they had any charge given, and having gotten certain hills hard by them: they had little hurt, and most of them saving themselves, did recover Rome again. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night unto the city of Veies, thinking Rome had been lost, and all the city put to the sword. This overthrow was on the longest day in sommer, the moon being at the full: and the day before fortuned the great slaughter of the Fabians, of the which were slain by the Tuscans in one day three hundred, all of a name. The very day it self was afterwards called Allias, of the name of the little river, by the which the second overthrow was given. But for the difference of days, that some of them are naturally unfortunate, or that Heraclitus the philosopher had reason to reprove the poet Hesiodus, for making some days good, and some days ill, as though he understood they were not all of one nature: we have written and declared our opinion thereof in other places. Yet, because the matter delivereth present occasion to speak of the same, peradventure it will not be amiss to allege a few examples of it only. It

The
battell at
the river
of Allia

Supersti- fortuned the Bœotians on a time to win two honourable victories, on the first day of the month they call Hippodromius (and which the Athenians call Hecatombæon) that is now the moneth of June, by either of the which they did still restore the Grecians to their liberty. One was the battell of Leuctra: the other was the battell of Geræstus, which was two hundred years before, when they overcame Lattamyas and the Thessalians in battell. The Persians contrarily were overcome in battell by the Grecians, the sixth day of August, at the journey of Marathon. The third day, at the battell of Platæa. And on the self same day, near unto Mycalé. On the five and twentieth day, at the fight of Arbela, the Athenians wan the battell by sea, near unto the Isle of Naxos, under the charge and government of Chabrias, about the full of the moon, in the moneth of August. And on the twentieth of the same moneth, they wan the battell of Salamis: as we have written more amply in our history of difference of days. The moneth of April also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For Alexander the Great overcame the general of the King of Persia, at the field of Granicus, in the said moneth. The Carthaginians also were vanquished in Sicily by Timoleon, on the seven and twentieth day thereof. On which day also it is thought the city of Troy was taken: as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus, have written in their histories. Now contrariwise, the moneth of July, which the Bœotians call Panemus, hath not been gracious to the Grecians. For on the seventh day of the same, they were overthrown by Antipater at the battell of Cranon,

which was their utter destruction. They had observing before also lost a battell of the same moneth, near of days unto the city of Chæronea, by King Philip. On the same day also, and in the very self moneth and year, those which came into Italy with King Archidamus were slain every one of them, by the barbarous people of the country. The Carthaginians also fear the seven and twentieth day of the same month, as the day which had before time brought them into many great and sorrowful calamities. Contrarily also, I know very well, how about the feast of mysteries, the city of Thebes was destroyed by Alexander, and that the Athenians were compelled to receive a garrison of soldiers into their city, about the twentieth day of August, at which time they made holy procession of the mysteries of Bacchus. And on the self day the Romans lost their army and their general Cæpio, who was slain by the Cimbri. And how afterwards under the leading of Lucullus, they overcame King Tigranes and the Armenians. And that Attalus, and Pompey also, died both on the self same day they were born. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, unto whom after like revolutions of time there happened notable chances of good or ill. But to return again unto our history. The day of this overthrow, is one of those which the Romans take for one of the unfortunatest days that ever came unto them. And by reason of that day, they reckon two other days of every moneth very unfortunate, engendred through fear and superstition, which spreadeth far (as commonly it doth) upon such sinister misfortunes. But for this matter, we have written it more largely and exquisitely in the book we made,

The force of the ceremonies and customs of the Romans.
of fire Now after this battel lost, if the Gauls had hotly pursued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could have saved Rome from being taken, and the inhabitants thereof from being put unto the sword. For the Romans that fled from the battel, brought such a fear upon those that received them, and filled the whole city of Rome with such grief and trembling, that they wist not what to do. The barbarous people again, believing little their victory was so great as it was, fell to make good cheer for so great a joy received, and divided among them the spoil of their enemies' goods they found in the camp. So gave they time and leisure by this means, to the multitude of people that fled out of Rome, to seek them some place of safety: and to such as remained still, they left good hope to save themselves, and to make some provision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified themselves within Mount Capitol, and storing it with all kind of victual, armour, and munition, they wholly did forsake the rest of the city. But the first work they took in hand was this. They did bring into their said fort, part of their sacred reliques: and the professed vestals brought thither also their holy fire and all other their holy monuments. Some writers say, that they had nothing else in keeping, but the sempiternal fire, and were so consecrated by King Numa, who did first institute, that the fire should be worshipped, as the beginning of all natural things. For that it is the most motive and quickest substance that is of all natural things: notwithstanding, that generation also is a moving, or at the least not done without motion. For we see, that

all other substance which Jacketh heat, remaineth idle, and without action, and stirreth not, no more than doth a dead thing, which craveth the force and heat of fire: as the soul it self recovering heat, beginneth somewhat to move, and disposeth it self to do, and suffer something. Wherefore Numa being (as they say) a man of great learning and understanding, who for his wisdom was reported to talk many times with the Muses, did consecrate the same as a most sacred thing, and commanded that they never should suffer that fire to go out, and but keep it, as they would preserve the lively image of the eternal God, the only King and maker of the world. Other say, that the fire burned continually there before the holy and sacred things, signifying a kind and manner of purification, which opinion the Grecians hold also: howbeit behind the same fire, there were certain hidden things, which in no case any might see, but those holy Vestal Nuns. Many also hold an opinion, that the Palladium of Troy (as much as to say, as Pallas' image) is hidden also there, which was brought by Æneas into Italy. Other do report also, that Dardanus, at that time when he first began to build the city of Troy, brought thither the holy images of the gods of Samothracia, and he did offer them up there: and how Æneas after the city was taken, did steal them away, and kept them until he came to dwell in Italy. Some other also, that take upon them to know more therein than the common sort do, hold opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is empty and standeth open, the other is full and fast locked up, howbeit they are not to be seen but by

The ^{priests and consuls in the forum} these holy Nuns. Other think also, that these imaginers invented that they spake of their own heads, because the Vestal Nuns did cast all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the ground, within the temple of Quirinus: and therefore that very place carrieth the surname at this day of pipes. Howbeit they carried about them the most precious things they had, and fled amongst the river. Where one Lucius Albinus (one of the common people) flying also, and having brought away his wife and little children, and other household stuff he had in a cart, by chance he lighted upon the Vestal Nuns in the way. But so soon as he perceived these Holy Nuns (carrying the blessed reliques and jewels in their arms, dedicated unto the service of the gods) all alone, and that they were weary with going a foot: he caused his wife and his children to come out of the cart, and took down all his goods also, and willed them to get them up, and fly into some city or town of Greece. Thus, me thought I could not well pass over with silence, Albinus' reverence and devotion he showed unto the gods, in so dangerous a time and pinch of extremity. Furthermore the priests of other gods, and the most honorablest old men of the city of Rome (that had been Consuls before time, or had past the honour of triumph) had not the heart to forsake Rome: but putting on all their most holy robes and vestments did vow, and as it were willingly sacrificed themselves unto the fortune that should befall them for the safety of their country. And using certain words and prayers which their high Bishop Fabius had taught them, they went even thus apparelled into the great market

place, and did sit them down there, in chairs of **Rome taken by the Gauls** ivory, expecting the good-will and pleasure of the gods what should become of them. But within three days after, Brennus came to Rome with his army : who finding the gates of the city all open, and the walls without watch, he doubted some device in it, and feared some privy ambush had been laid, as one hardly believing to have found the Romans of so base a mind, as to forsake their city. After being informed of the troth, he entred into Rome by the gate Collina, and took the same little more than three hundred and threescore years after it was first builded : if it be true at the least that there hath remained any certain chronicles of those times unto this present day, considering the trouble and confusion of that time hath made many things more uncertain than that, doubtful unto us. But so it was, that the rumour ran to Greece incontinently how Rome was taken, but yet withal somewhat doubtfully and uncertainly. For Heraclides Ponticus (who was about that time) saith in a certain book he wrote of the soul, that there was news come from the West part, that an army which came from the Hyperboreans had taken a city of Greece called Rome, situated in that country near the great sea. But I wonder not that Heraclides (who hath written so many other fables and lies) did amplify the true news of the taking of Rome, with adding to of his own device, of the Hyperboreans, and by the great sea. It is a most true tale, that Aristotle the Philosopher had certain knowledge it was taken by the Gauls : howbeit he saith also it was recovered again afterwards by one called Lucius : where indeed it was, by Marcus Camillus, and not

The city of Rome rased by the Gauls by Lucius. But all this in manner is spoken by conjecture. Moreover Brennus being entered Rome, did appoint part of his soldiers to besiege those which were gotten into Mount Capitol. And he with the residue of his army, marched on towards the market place, where when he saw the ancient Senators set so gravely in their chairs and spake never a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw their enemies come armed against them, neither changed countenance nor colour at all, but leaned softly on their staves they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing afraid nor abashed, but looked one upon another, he marvellously wondred at it. This their so strange manner at the first did so damp the Gauls, that for a space they stood still, and were in doubt to come near to touch them, fearing lest they had been some gods; until such time as one of them went boldly unto Marcus Papirius, and laid his hand fair and softly upon his long beard. But Papirius gave him such a rap on his pate with his staff, that he made the blood run about his ears. This barbarous beast was in such a rage with the blow, that he drew out his sword and slew him. The other soldiers also killed all the rest afterwards: and so the Gauls continued many days spoiling and sacking all things they found in the houses, and in the end did set them all a fire, and destroyed them every one, for despite of those that kept the fort of the Capitol, that would not yield upon their summons, but valiantly repulsed them when they scaled the walls. For this cause they raced the whole city, and put all to the sword that came in their hands, young and old, man, woman, and child. Now this siege

continuing long, and the Romans holding them out very stoutly, victuals began to grow scant in the camp of the Gauls, insomuch as they were driven of force to seek it abroad without the city. Hereupon they divided themselves, whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitol: and the rest went a foraging and spoiling all the champion country and villages thereabout, scattered as it were by bands and companies, some here, some there, fearing nothing, nor passing upon watch or ward, they lived in such security of their victory. Howbeit the greatest company amongst them, went by fortune towards the city of Ardea where Camillus dwelt, living like a private man, meddling with no matters of state from the time of his exile, until that present time. But then he began not to bethink himself as a man that was in safety, and might have escaped the hands of his enemies, but rather sought to devise and find out all the means he could to subdue them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, considering that the inhabitants of Ardea were enough in number to set upon them, although faint-hearted, and cowardly, by reason of the sloth and negligence of their governors and captains, who had no manner of experience in the wars: he began to cast out these words among the young men: That they should not think the Romans' misfortune fell upon them, through the valianthood of the Gauls, nor that their calamity (who had refused good counsel) had happened unto them by any work or act of the Gauls, having done nothing for their part to make them carry away the victory: but that they should think it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would

Camillus'
words
with the
Ardeans

Camillus needs shew her power. Therefore, that it were
slew the now a notable and honourable enterprise (although
Gauls somewhat dangerous) to drive these strangers and
hard by barbarous people out of their country: considering
Ardea that the only end of their victory was, but to
destroy and consume as fire, all that fell into their
hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a
good lusty heart and courage unto them, he would
with opportunity and place, assure them the victory
without any danger. The young men were pleased
with these words of life and comfort. Whereupon
Camillus went to break the matter also unto the
magistrates and councillors: and having drawn
them by persuasion unto this enterprise, he armed
all that were of age to carry armour, and would
not suffer a man to go out of the city, for fear lest
the enemies (which were not far off) should have
intelligence of the same. Now after the Gauls
had run over all the champion country, and were
loden with all sorts of spoils, they did encamp them-
selves negligently in open fields, and never charged
watch nor ward: but having their full carriage of
wine laid them down to sleep, and made no noise
at all in their camp. Camillus being advertised
thereof by his several scouts, caused the Ardeans
with as little noise as might be, forthwith to go
out into the fields: and having marched somewhat
roundly the distance between the city and the camp
of the Gauls, they came thither much about mid-
night. Then he made his soldiers make great shouts
and cries, and the trumpets to be sounded on every
side, to put a fear in their enemies, who yet with
all the loud noise they made, could hardly be made
to wake, they were so deadly drunk. Yet there

The
Roman
fugitives
take heart

were some notwithstanding, that for fear to be taken tardy, did bustle up at this sudden noise: and coming to themselves, fell to their weapons to resist Camillus, which were slain by and by. The rest, and the greatest number of them lay here and there scattered in the middle of the field without any weapon dead asleep, stark drunk with wine, and were put to the sword and never strake stroke. Those that fled out of the camp that night (which were but few in number) were overthrown also the next day, by the horsemen which followed and killed them, as they took them straggling here and there in the fields. The bruit of this victory was blown abroad incontinently through all the towns and villages thereabouts, which caused many young men to come and join themselves to Camillus: but especially the Romans desired the same, that had saved themselves in the city of Veies, after the battell lost at Allia, who made their moans among themselves there, saying, O gods what a captain hath fortune taken from the city of Rome! What honour hath the city of Ardea by the valiantness and worthy deeds of Camillus: and in the mean season his natural city that brought him forth, is now lost and utterly destroyed! We, for lack of a captain to lead us, are shut up here within other walls, and do nothing but suffer Italy in the mean space to go to ruin and utter destruction before our eyes. Why then do we not send to the Ardeans for our captain? or why do we not arm ourselves, to go unto him? For he is now no more a banished man, nor we poor citizens: since our city is possessed with the foreign power of our hateful enemies. So they all agreed to this counsel, and sent unto Camillus

Pontius to beseech him to be their captain, and lead them.
Cominius But he made answer, he would in no case consent unto it, unless they that were besieged in the Capitol had lawfully first confirmed it by their voices. For those (said he) so long as they remain within the city, do represent the state and body thereof. Therefore if they commanded him to take this charge upon him, he would most willingly obey them: if otherwise they misliked of it, that then he would not meddle against their good wills and commandment. They having received this answer, there was not a Roman amongst them, but greatly honoured and extolled the wisdom and justice of Camillus. But now they knew not how to make them privy unto it, that were besieged in the Capitol: for they saw no possibility to convey a messenger to them: considering the enemies were lords of the city, and laid siege to it. Howbeit there was one Pontius Cominius amongst the young men (a man of a mean house, but yet desirous of honour and glory) that offred himself very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he took no letters to carry to them that were besieged, for fear lest they might be intercepted, and so they should discover Camillus' intention: but putting on an ill-favoured gown upon him, he conveyed certain pieces of cork under it, and travelling at noonday kept on his way without fear until he came to Rome, bringing dark night with him. And because he could not pass by the bridge, for that the barbarous people kept watch upon it: he wrapped such clothes as he had about his neck (which were not many, nor heavy), and took the river, and swimming with these corks he had brought, at the length he got over to the

other side where the city stood. Then taking up those lances always where he thought the enemies were not, seeing fire, and hearing noise in other places, he went to the gate Carmental, where he found more silence than in other places: on the which side also, the hill of the Capitol was more steep and upright, by reason of the great rocks that were hard to climb up upon. But he digged and crept up so long amongst them, that he got up with great pain unto the wall of the fortress, on the which side also the enemy kept no watch: and saluting the watch of the Capitol, he told them what he was. So they plucked him up unto them, and brought him to the magistrates that ruled them. Who caused the Senate to assemble presently, to whom he told the news of Camillus' victory, which they had not heard of before: and therewith also he did declare unto them, the determination of the Roman soldiers that were abroad, which was, to make Camillus their captain and general, and did persuade them also to grant him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whom the citizens gave their consents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitol, consulted thereupon amongst themselves, and so did choose Camillus Dictator, and returned the messenger Pontius Cominius back again, the self same way he came unto them. His fortune in returning back was like unto his coming thither: for the enemies never saw him. And so he brought report to them that were abroad, of the Senate's decree and consent, whereof they were all marvellous glad. Thus came Camillus to take this charge of general upon him, and found there were twenty thousand good

Camillus chosen Dictator the second time fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further aid also of their allies and confederates, and prepared daily to go and set upon the enemies. So was Camillus chosen now Dictator the second time, and went into the city of Veies where he spake with the Roman soldiers that were there, and levied a great number of the allies besides, to go fight with the enemies as soon as he could. But whilst Camillus was thus a preparing, certain of the barbarous people in Rome, walking out by chance on that side of the Capitol where Pontius Cominius had gotten up the night before: spied in divers places the prints of his feet and hands, as he had gripped and gotten hold, still digging to get up, and saw the weeds and herbs also growing upon the rocks, and the earth in like manner flat trodden down. Whereupon they went presently unto the King to let him understand the same: who forthwith came to view the place. And having considered it well, he did nothing at that time: but when dark night was come, he called a company of the lightest Gauls together, and that used most to dig in mountains, and said unto them: Our enemies themselves do show us the way how to take them, which we could not have found out but by themselves. For they having gone up before us, do give us easily to understand, it is no impossible thing for us to climb up also. Wherefore we were utterly shamed, having already begun well, if we should fail also to end well: and to leave this place as unvincible. For if it were easy for one man alone, by digging to climb up to the height thereof: much less is it hard for many to get up one after another, so that one do help another. Therefore sirs, I assure you, those that

do take pains to get up, shall be honourably rewarded, according to their just desert. When the King had spoken these words unto the Gauls, they fell to it lustily every man to get up: and about midnight, they began many of them to dig, and make steps up to the rock one after another, as softly as could possibly, with catching hold the best they could, by the hanging of the rock, which they found very steep, but nevertheless easier to climb than they took it at the beginning. So that the foremost of them being come to the top of the rock, were now ready to take the wall, and to set upon the watch that slept: for there was neither man nor dog that heard them. It chanced then there were holy geese kept in the temple of Juno, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full: but victuals being very strait and scant at that time even to find the men, the poor geese were so hard handled, and so little regarded, that they were in manner starved for lack of meat. This fowl indeed naturally is very quick of hearing, and so is she also very fearful by nature: and being in manner famished with their hard allowance, they were so much the more waking and easier to be afraid. Upon this occasion therefore, they heard the coming of the Gauls, and also began to run up and down and cry for fear: with which noise they did wake those that were within the castle. The Gauls being bewrayed by these foolish geese, left their stealing upon them, and came in with all the open noise and terror they could. The Romans hearing this larum, every man took such weapon as came first to his hand, and they ran suddenly to rescue that place from whence they understood the

The holy
geese
saved
the
Capitol

The noise : among those, the foremost man of all was
Gauls vexed with the plague Marcus Manlius, a man that had been Consul, who had a lusty body, and as stout a heart. His hap being to meet with two of the Gauls together, as one of them was lifting up his axe to knock him on the head, he prevented him, and strake off his hand with his sword, and clapt his target on the other's face so fiercely, that he threw him backward down the rock : and coming afterwards unto the wall with others that ran thither with him, he repulsed the rest of the Gauls that were gotten up, who were not many in number, neither did any great act. Thus the Romans having escaped this danger, the next morning they threw the captain down the rocks from the castle, who had charge of the watch the night before : and gave Manlius in recompense of the good service he had done, a more honourable than profitable reward, which was this. Every man of them gave him half-a-pound of the country wheat, which they call *far*, and the fourth part of the measure of wine, which the Grecians call *cotylé* : and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of every man by the day. After this repulse, the Gauls began to be discouraged, partly for that their victuals failed them, and durst no more forage abroad in the fields for fear of Camillus : and partly also for that the plague came amongst them, being lodged amongst heaps of dead bodies, lying in every place above ground without burial, and amongst burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes being blown very high by the wind and vehemency of heat, did give a dry piercing air, that did marvellously poison their bodies when they came to draw in the breath of it. But the greatest cause of

all their mischief was, the change of their wonted diet. Who coming out of a fresh country, where there were excellent pleasant places to retire unto, to avoid the discommodity of the parching heat of the sommer, were now in a naughty plain country for them to remain in, in the latter season of the year. All these things together did heap diseases upon them, besides the long continuance of the siege about the Capitol (for it was then about the seventh moneth) by reason whereof there grew a marvellous death in their camp, through the great numbers of them that died daily, and lay unburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the Gauls, the poor besieged Romans were nothing holpen the more, the famine still did grow so fast upon them. And because they could hear nothing of Camillus, they were grown almost unto a despair: and send unto him they could not, the Gauls kept so strict watch upon them in the city. Whereupon both parties finding themselves in hard state, first the watch of either side began to cast out words of peace amongst themselves: and afterwards by consent of the heads, Sulpicius, Tribune of the soldiers, came to parle with Brennus. In which parle it was articled: that the Romans should pay a thousand pound weight of gold, and that the Gauls should incontinently after the receipt of the same, depart out of their city, and all their territories. This decree being passed by oath from both, the gold was brought. And when it came to be weighed, the Gauls at the first privily began to deal falsely with them: but afterwards they openly stayed the balance, and would not let them weigh no more, whereat the Romans began to be angry with them. Then

The
Romans
went
about to
redeem
their
liberty
with gold

Væ victis Brennus, in scorn and mockery, to spite them more, pluckt off his sword, girdle and all, and put it into the balance where the gold was weighed. Sulpicius seeing that, asked him what he meant by it. Brennus answered him: What can it signify else, but sorrow to the vanquished? This word ever after ran as a common proverb in the people's mouths. Some of the Romans took this vile part of theirs in such scorn, that they would needs take the gold from them again by force, and so return into their hold, to abide the siege still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it best with patience to put up with this scorn of theirs, and not to think it was a shame to pay more than they had promised: but only to pay it by compulsion as they did, by misfortune of time, was to think it rather necessary, than honourable. And as they were debating the matter thus, as well amongst themselves, as with the Gauls: Camillus came to Rome gates with his army, and understanding all what had passed between them, he commanded the rest of the army to march fair and softly after him in good order, and he in the mean season with the best choice of men he had, went before with all speed. As soon as the other Romans within the city had spied him, they shouted out for joy, and received him every one with great reverence, without any more words, as their sovereign captain and prince, who had power over them all. And Camillus taking the gold out of the scales, gave it unto his men, and commanded the Gauls presently to take up their scales, and to get them going: for, sayeth he, it is not the Romans' manner to keep their country with gold, but with the sword. Then

Brennus began to be hot, and told him it was not honourably done of him, to break the accord that had passed between them before by oath. Whereunto Camillus stoutly answered him again, that accord was of no validity. For he being created Dictator before, all other officers and magistrates whatsoever, and their acts, by his election were made of no authority : and seeing therefore they had dealt with men, that had no power of themselves to accord to any matter, they were to speak to him, if they required aught. For he alone had absolute authority to pardon them if they repented, and would ask it : or else to punish them, and make their bodies answer the damages and loss his country had by them sustained. These words made Brennus mad as a March hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their swords on all sides, and laid lustily one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streets, where they could set no battell in order. But Brennus suddenly remembiring himself that it was no even match for him, retired with his men about him into his camp, before he had lost many of his people. The next night following, he departed out of Rome with all his army, and went to encamp himself about a threescore furlongs from thence, in the highway that goeth towards the city of the Gabians. Camillus with his whole army well appointed went after him immediately, and shewed at his camp by the break of day. The Romans having taken heart again unto them, did lustily give them battell: the same continued long, very cruel and doubtful, until the Gauls at the length were overthrown, and their camp taken with great slaughter. As for those that did escape the fury

Camillus
over-
throweth
the army
of the
Gauls

**Camillus
triumphed
of the
Gauls**

of the battell, they were killed, some by the Romans selves, who hotly followed the chase after the battell broken : the residue of them, and the greatest part, were slain by those of the cities and villages near abouts, that did set upon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the city of Rome strangely again recovered, that was before strangely won and lost, after it had continued seven moneths in the hands of the barbarous people. For they entred Rome about the fifteenth day of July : and they were driven out again, about the thirteenth day of February following. So Camillus triumphed as beseemed him, and as one that had saved and delivered his country out of the hands of their enemies, and set Rome again at liberty. Those that had been abroad all the time of this siege, came into Rome again, following his triumphing chariot : and those that had been besieged within the Capitol (looking for no other but to have died by famine) went and presented themselves before him, and each one embraced other, in weeping wise for joy. The priests and ministers of the temples also, presented their holy jewels, whole and undefaced, which some of them had buried in the ground within the city self : and other some had carried away with them, when they fled out of Rome. All these the people did as gladly see, as if the gods themselves had returned home again into their city. After they had sacrificed unto the gods, and rendred them most humble thanks, and had purged their city, as they had been taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the gods : Camillus began again to build up the temples that were there before, hard by the which he built

another new one also to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where Marcus Cædicius heard the voice warn him of the coming of the Gauls. So by Camillus' good diligence, and the priests' great pain and travail, the situations of these temples were with much ado found out again. But when they were to build again all the rest of the city, that was wholly burnt, and destroyed to the ground : the people had no mind to it, but ever shrank back, to put any hand to the work, for that they lacked all things necessary to begin the same. Furthermore, weighing their late and long sustained trouble and miseries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, than to begin new labour and toil, to kill their hearts and bodies altogether. For, neither were their bodies able to perform it, nor yet their goods to reach to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their minds to dwell in the city of Veies, which remained whole, untouched, and furnished of all things to receive them : they delivered to the prating Orators (whose tongues did never cease to speak *placentia* to the people) trim occasion to set this matter abroach. So they gave good ear, and were willing to hear certain seditious words spoken against Camillus, which were these : That for his private ambition he would deprive them of a city well furnished already, and would against their wills compel them to lodge in their own houses, wholly burnt and pulled down. And moreover, how he would make them to raise up again the great ruin the fire had made, to the end the people might call him, not only captain and general of the Romans, but the founder of Rome also, and so drown Romulus' honourable title thereof. The Senate considering

The busy-headed orators stir the people

Camillus of this matter, and fearing some tumult among the people : they would not suffer Camillus to leave his Dictatorship before the end of the year, notwithstanding no man ever enjoyed that office above six moneths. Then Camillus for his part did much endeavour himself, to comfort and appease the people, praying them all he could to tarry : and further pointed with his finger unto the graves of their ancestors, and put them in mind also of the holy places dedicated to the gods, and sanctified by King Numa, or by Romulus, or by other kings. But amongst many other tokens drawn out of holy and divine things, he forgat not to bring for example, the head of a man found new and fresh, in making the foundations of the Capitol, as if that place by fatal destiny had been once chosen to be the head and chief of all Italy. And moreover, that the holy fire of the goddess Vesta (which since the wars had bin kindled again by the holy Vestal Nuns) would again come to be put out by them, if they did not forsake their natural city : besides the great shame and dishonour it would be unto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by unknown strangers, or else to be left a common field and pasture, for beasts and cattle to graze in. Such sorrowful examples and griefs, the honest natural-born citizens did ever blow into the people's ears, as well privately, as openly. The people again to the contrary, did make their hearts to yearn for pity, when they laid before their eyes their penury and poverty they sustained : and besought them also not to enforce them to gather and join together again the broken pieces of a spoiled city (as of a shipwrack that had cast them naked into the sea,

having only saved bare life and persons) since that they had another city near at hand and ready to receive them. So Camillus' counsel was, that the Senate should consult upon this matter, and deliver their absolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this council, he himself brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leave in any case, the place of their natural birth and country: and so did many other Senators in like case, favouring that opinion. Last of all, after these persuasions, he commanded Lucius Lucretius (whose manner was to speak first in such assemblies) that he should stand up and deliver his opinion, and that the rest also in order as they sat, should say their minds. So every man keeping silence, as Lucretius was ready to speak, at that present time there passed by their council house, a captain with his band that warded that day, who spake aloud to his ensign-bearer that went foremost, to stay, and set down his ensign there: For, said he, here is a very good place for us to dwell in. These words being heard up into the Senate house, even as they stood all in a doubt and maze what would be the resolution of this matter: Lucretius began to say, that he most humbly thanked the gods, and allowed of the captain's judgement, and so every one of the rest in their order, said as much. Moreover there was a wonderful change and alteration of mind suddenly among the common people: for every man did persuade and encourage his fellow lively to put his hand to this work. In so much as tarrying for no division or appointing out of streets, nor setting out every man his place he should build in: they fell to work of all hands, every one

to dwell
in Rome
and to
forsake
Veies

Romulus' augur's staff found whole

choosing that place he liked best, and was most commodious for their building, without any other order or division amongst them. Whereupon, they running to this building on a head, the streets were confused on heaps together, and their houses all built out of order and uniformity. For the report goeth, that the whole city (as well common as private buildings) was built up new again in a year. But the surveyors, to whom Camillus had given charge to find out all the holy places where the temples had been overthrown: as they went about Mount Palatine, they came by chance to the place, where the chapel of Mars had stood, which the Gauls had wholly burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making clean the place, and surveying every corner, did find by chance Romulus' augur's crooked staff hidden under a great mount of ashes. This staff is crooked at one of the ends, and they call it *lituus*, which soothsayers do use to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will behold the flying of birds to tell of things to come. Romulus that was very skilful in this art, did use this staff: and after he was taken away from all men's sights, the priests took it, and kept it as a holy relique, suffering no creature to lay hands on it. Now they found this staff whole and unbroken, where all things else were consumed and perished by fire, they were in a marvellous joy thereat: for they interpreted this to be a sign of the everlasting continuance of the city of Rome. But before they could make an end of all their building, there grew a new war again upon them. For at one very instant, all the *Aeques*, the *Volsces*, and the *Latins*, entred with

all their might and main into the territories of the Romans. The Tuscans also went then and besieged Sutrium, that was in league and amity with the Romans. The *Tribuni Militares* got them straight to the field with their army, and encamped about Mount Marcian. The Latins besieged them so straitly, that their army stood in great danger to be overthrown, and they were driven to send to Rome for a new supply. Thereupon the Romans did choose Camillus Dictator again the third time. The occasion of this war is reported two manner of ways: whereof I will declare the first, which I do conceive to be but a tale. They say the Latins sent unto the Romans, to demand some of their free maids in marriage: which they did either to make a quarrel of war, or else as desirous indeed, to join both the peoples again by new marriages. The Romans were amazed very much at this, and sore troubled, as not knowing how to answer them, they were so afraid of wars. For they were yet scant new settled at home, and dreaded much lest this demand of their daughters, was but a summons made to give them hostages, which they finely cloaked under the name of alliance in marriage. Some say that there was at that time a bondmaid called Tutola, or as some say, Philotis, that went unto the Senate, and counselled them they should send her away with some other fair maids slaves, dressed up like gentle-women, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this device, and chose such a number of bondmaids as she desired to have, and trimming them up in fine apparel, begauded with chains of gold and jewels, they sent them forth to the Latins,

Camillus
chosen
Dictator
the third
time

The maidens' feast, called Nonæ Caprotinæ who were encamped not far from the city. When night was come, the other maids hid their enemies' swords. But this Tutola, or Philotis (call her as you will) did climb up to the top of a wild fig-tree, from which she shewed a burning torch unto the Romans, having made shift to hang somewhat behind her, to keep the light from sight of the enemies. For this signal the Senate of Rome had secretly appointed her to set up, which was the cause that the issuing out of the soldiers, being commanded to go out in the night, was full of trouble and tumult. For being pressed by their captains, they called one another, and there was a great ado to put them in order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies sleeping, who nothing mistrusting the same, were slain the most part of them within their camp. This was done on the fifth day of the month called then Quintilis, and now is named July: at which time they do yet celebrate a certain feast in remembrance of that act. For first of all, going out of the city, they call aloud many of their fellows' names which are most common: as Gaius, Marcus, and Lucius, shewing thereby how one of them called another after that sort, as they went in great haste out of the city. Afterwards all the maid-servants of the city being trimly apparelled, go playing up and down the town, pleasantly jesting with those they meet: and in the end they make as though they fought together, in token that they did help the Romans at that time to destroy the Latins. Then they are feasted, sitting under bowers made with wild fig-tree boughs: and this feast-day is called, *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, by reason of the wild fig-tree (as some

think) from the top whereof, the bond maid shewed to the Romans the burning torch. For the Romans call the wild fig-tree *caprificus*. Other say, that all these things are done and spoken, in remembrance of the mischance that happened unto Romulus, when he was taken out of their sight, the same day without the gates of the city, at which time there rose a sodain mist and dark cloud. Or as some other say, that then was the eclipse of the sun: and they hold opinion that the day was named *None Caprotinae*, because *capra* in the Roman tongue, signifieth a goat. Romulus vanished out of men's sights, as he was making an oration unto his people, near unto the place which is called Goat Marsh, as we have mentioned more at large in his life. The second occasion and beginning of this war (according to the opinion of most writers) was, that Camillus being chosen Dictator the third time, and knowing that the *Tribuni Militares* with their army were straitly besieged by the Latins and Volsces: he was enforced to arm all the old men, who for very age were privileged from further service in wars. And having fetched a great compass about Mount Marcian, because he would not be seen of his enemies, he came to lodge his camp behind them, where he raised fires, to make the Romans know that were besieged, how he was come: which as soon as they perceived, they took to them courage again and determined to fight. But the Latins and Volsces kept within their camp, and did entrench and fortify themselves with a wall of wood, which they laid across, because they saw they were beset both before and behind: and determined to

The
second
story of
this war

Camillus' tarry the relief of a new supply, as well of their strata-
gem own, as of some further aid besides from the Tus-
cans: which thing Camillus perceiving, and fearing
lest they should serve him, as he had already
handled them by compassing of them again behind,
he thought it necessary to prevent this. So consider-
ing the enclosure and fortification of their camp was
all of wood, and that every morning commonly,
there came a great wind from the side of the
mountains, he made provision of a number of fire-
brands. And leading out his army into the fields
by break of day, he appointed one part of them
to give charge upon the enemies on the one side,
with great noise and shouting: and he with the
other part determined to raise fire on the contrary
side, from whence the wind should come, looking
for opportunity to do the same. When he saw the
sun up, and the wind beginning to whistle, blowing
a good gale from the side of the hills, and that the
skirmish was begun on the other side: then he gave
a signal unto the company he led with him, to set upon
the enemies, and made them throw into the enclosure
of their camp, divers pots and darts with fire, so
that the flame finding matter to catch hold of, in
this enclosure of wood, and trees laid overthwart,
did raise straight an exceeding great flame in the
air, and still got way inwards into the Latins'
camp. Whereupon the Latins being unprovided
of present remedy to quench the flame, and seeing
their camp afire all about their ears: they gathered
themselves together at the first in a very small room.
Nevertheless, they were enforced in the end to get
them into the field, and there they found their
enemies ready armed, and in battell ray. So as

few of those escaped that came into the field, and their fellows that remained within their camp, were burnt to death with fire, until the Romans themselves came to quench it for greediness of their spoil and goods. When all this was done, Camillus left his son in the camp, to keep the prisoners and spoils : and he himself, with the rest of the army, went to invade his enemies' country, where he took the city of *Æques*. Then after he had overcome the Volscæ, he led his army presently from thence unto the city of Sutrium. For he had not yet heard of their misfortune. Therefore he hasted himself to aid them, because he thought they were yet besieged by the Tuscans. But such was their hard fortune, that they had already yielded up their city by composition, and saved no part of their goods, but the very clothes they had on their backs. So being turned out of all they had, they met Camillus by the way as they were wandering abroad, lamenting their misery, with their wives and little young children : whose misery went to the very heart of Camillus, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore when he saw the Romans weep for pity also, to see the moan that these unfortunate people made unto him, and that it grieved them heartily to behold their great mischance : he determined with himself not to defer revenge, but presently to go the self same day before the city of Sutrium, imagining that he should find the Tuscans out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good cheer, because they had newly taken a wealthy rich city, where they had left never an enemy in the same to hurt them, neither feared any abroad to come near to assault them. And indeed it fell out

The
lament-
able state
of the
people of
Sutrium

Camillus rightly as he gessed. For he had not only passed
~~wan the~~
~~city of~~
~~Sutrium~~ through the territories of the city, without any intelligence given to the enemies within the same: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walls, before they heard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept watch nor ward, but were dispersed abroad in the city, in every house, eating and drinking drunk together. Insomuch as when they knew their enemies were already within the city, they were so full fraught with meat and wine that the most of their wits served them not so much as to fly, but tarried until they were slain or taken, like beasts in the houses. Thus was the city of Sutrium twice taken in one day. And it chanced that those which had won it, lost it: and those which had lost it, recovered it again by Camillus' means. Who deserved both the honour and entry of triumph into Rome: the which wan him no less good will and glory, than the two first before had donee praise, and gotten fame. For even his greatest enemies that most spited and envied his former noble acts, ascribing them rather to fortune that favoured him, than to his valiantness or worthiness: were forced now by this deed of his to confess, that his wisdom and valiantness deserved praise and commendation to the skies. Camillus of all his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was Marcus Manlius, that was the first man that gave the Gauls the repulse that night they had entred the walls of the Capitol, and had thought to have taken it: whereupon they gave him the surname of *Capitolinus*. He aspiring to be the chief of the city, and finding no direct way to exceed the glory of Camillus, took the broad high way of them that practise

tyranny. For he began to flatter the common ~~Manilius~~ people, and specially those that were indebted: he clapt ~~in~~ took upon him to defend their causes, and pleaded ~~in~~ prison their case at the bar against their creditors. Sometimes he took the debtors out of the creditor's hands and carried them away by force, that for lack of ability to pay, were by rigour of the law condemned to be bond-slaves. But by this practice, in short time he got him a marvellous number of such needy followers, and poor men, that the noblemen and honest citizens were afraid of the insolent parts they played, and of the continual troubles and tumults they daily stirred up in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they did choose Quintus Capitolinus Dictator: who caused the said Manlius immediately to be apprehended, and committed him to prison. Whereupon the people began to change their apparel: which they were never wont to do, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing lest some commotion would rise hereupon, they did set him at liberty again. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wiser thereby, but did still stir up the commons, more boldly and seditiously than before. Then was Camillus chosen again *Tribunus Militaris*, and Manlius was accused in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the sight of the Capitol troubled his accusers much. For the very place itself where Manlius had repelled the Gauls by night and defended the Capitol, was easily seen from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he himself pointing with his hand, shewed the place unto the gods, and weeping tenderly he laid before them the remembrance of the

Marcus Manlius put to death hazard of his life, in fighting for their safety. This did move the judges' hearts to pity, so as they knew not what to do, but many times they did put over the hearing of his case unto another day, and neither would they give judgement, knowing he was convicted by manifest proofs: neither could they use the severity of the law upon him, because the place of his so notable good service was ever still before their eyes. Wherefore Camillus finding the cause of delay of justice, did make the place of judgement to be removed without the city, into a place called the wood Petelian, from whence they could not see the Capitol. And there the accusers gave apparent evidence against him: and the judges considering all his wicked practices, conceived a just cause to punish him, as he had deserved. So they gave sentence of death against him: that he should be carried to the Mount Capitol, and there to be thrown down headlong the rocks thereof. Thus, one and the self place was a memory of his notable good service, and also a memorial of his miserable and unfortunate end. Besides all this, they razed his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddess they call Moneta: and made a law also, that no Patrician from thenceforth should dwell any more in the Mount Capitol. Camillus after this, being called again to take the office of *Tribunus Militaris* the sixth time: he sought to excuse himself as well for that he saw he was well stept in years, as also for that he feared fortune's spite, or some mishap, after he had obtained such glory for his noble acts and service. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sickness, which troubled him much at that time. But the people

would allow no excuse by any means, but cried out, that they did not desire he should fight on foot nor on horseback, but that he should only give counsel and command: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to lead the army with one of his companions named Lucius Furius, against their enemies the Prænestines, and the Volsces, who joining together, did invade the confines of the Romans' friends. So he led his army out immediately to the field, and camped as near the enemy as he could: being minded for his part to draw the wars out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if need required) when he had recovered strength. But Furius contrarily coveting glory, was wholly bent to hazard the battell, whatsoever peril came of it: and to this end he stirred up, and encouraged the captains of every private band. Wherefore Camillus fearing lest they should think, for ill will he bore the young men, that he went about to hinder and take away the means to win their honour, and to do some noble act: suffered Furius against his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the mean season by reason of his sickness, remained with a few about him in the camp. So went Lucius upon a head to present battell to the enemy, and so was he as headily also overthrown. But Camillus hearing the Romans were overthrown: sick as he was upon his bed, got up, and taking his household servants with him, he went in haste to the gates of the camp, and passed thorough those that fled, until he came to meet with the enemies that had them in chase. The Romans seeing this that were already entred into the camp, they followed him at the heels forthwith: and those that fled also without, when

Camillus
wan the
field of
the Præ-
nestines

Camillus they saw him, they gathered together, and put themselves again in array before him, and persuaded one another not to forsake their captain. So their enemies hereupon stayed their chasing, and would pursue no further that day. But the next morning, Camillus leading his army into the field, gave them battell, and wan the field of them by plain force : and following the victory hard, he entred amongst them that fled into their camp pellmell, or hand over head, and slew the most part of them even there. After this victory, he was advertised how the Tuscans had taken the city of Sutrium, and had put to the sword all the inhabitants of the same, which were Roman citizens. Whereupon he sent to Rome the greatest part of his army, and keeping with him the lightest and lustiest men, went and gave assault unto the Tuscans, that now were harbour'd in the city of Sutrium. Which when he had won again, he slew part of them, and the other saved themselves by flight. After this, he returned to Rome with an exceeding spoil, confirming by experience, the wisdom of the Romans, who did not fear the age nor sickness of a good captain that was expert and valiant : but had chosen him against his will, though he was both old and sick, and preferred him far before the younger and lustier that made suit to have the charge. News being brought unto the Senate, that the Tusculanians were revolted, they sent Camillus thither again, willing him of five other companions to take out one he liked best, every of the which desired to be chosen, and made their suit unto him for the same. But he refusing all other, did choose again Lucius Furius beyond all expectation of men, seeing not long before he

needs would against his will hazard battell, in which he was overthrown. Howbeit Camillus, having a desire (as I think) to hide his fault and shame he had received : did of courtesy prefer him before all other. Now the Tusculanians hearing of Camillus coming against them, subtilly sought to colour the fault they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, some to plough, other to keep the beasts, as if they had been in best peace : and did set the gates of the city wide open, sent their children openly to school, their artificers wrought their occupation in their shops, the men of haviour and honest citizens walked in the market place in their long gowns, and the officers and governors of the city went up and down to every house, commanding them to prepare lodgings for the Romans, as if they had stood in no fear at all, and as though they had committed no fault. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make Camillus believe, but that they had intent to rebel against the Romans : yet they made Camillus pity them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to do. So he commanded them to go to Rome to the Senate, to crave pardon for their fault : and he himself did help them, not only to purge their city of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the privilege and freedom of Rome. And these be the chiefest acts Camillus did in the sixth time of his tribuneship. After this, one Licinius Stolo moved great sedition in the city, between the common people, and the Senate. For he would in any case that of the two Consuls, which were chosen yearly, the one of them should be a commoner, and not that both of them

Great sedition moved in Rome should be of the ancient noble families, called Patricians. The Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the election of the Consuls the people stayed: so that the common wealth went to decay, and declined to greater troubles, than ever it did before, for lack of government. But to suppress this, the Senate created Camillus the fourth time Dictator: but this was sore against his will, because it disliked the people much. Furthermore, he would not complain of the people, for that they having served under him in many wars and battels, might boldly, and truly say unto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the wars, than he had done by the Patricians in peace. Yet was he created Dictator in despite, to rule the people, and of envy in the noble men towards them. Thus necessity did urge him, either by force to suppress the people, if he were the stronger in this dissension: or else that he himself should be suppressed, if he became the weaker. Camillus notwithstanding, preparing to prevent this mischief, and knowing the day the Tribunes had determined, to prefer the passing of their law by voices of the people: he gave warning by proclamations set upon posts, that the same very day he would muster the people, and all was but to draw them from the market place into the field of Mars, and did set great penalties upon those that should be lacking at the musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrary part, did withstand his threats, and sware they would condemn Camillus self in fifty thousand drachmas of silver, if he did not let the people alone, but would go about to disturb them for giving their voices to such a law, as they

liked of. Camillus perceiving this, and fearing to be condemned and banished once again, which would fall out very ill for him, being now an old man, and one that had done so many great and notable acts, or else for that he thought himself not strong enough to withstand the force of the people: he kept his house that day, feigning himself to be sick, and certain other days following, and in the end he gave up his office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another Dictator, who named the same Licinius Stolo general of the horsemen, that was the author and furtherer of all this sedition: and besides did suffer him to prefer another law, and to pass it by voices of the people, that above all other laws, did most trouble the Patricians. Which law did forbid any citizen of Rome, to have, or occupy above five hundred *iugera*, which amount to 330 acres and a half, 12 pole, 121 parts of a pole. Then was this Stolo aloft, and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despite of the Senate established this law. Howbeit shortly after it was found out, that himself had more number of acres than his own law permitted. By reason whereof, he received the just punishment of his own devised forfeiture. Yet the most weighty matter of all this dissension that began first, and most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Consuls, remained still undetermined. But while these matters were thus in talk, the Romans had certain intelligence, how the Gauls were departed once again from the Adriatic Sea, and were coming with a great power straight unto Rome: upon report of which news, the wars followed immediately. For the Gauls destroyed the

The champion country as they went: and the poor Gauls country men that could not recover Rome, were come scattered here and there amongst the mountains. again to Rome The fear of this did somewhat appease the dissension. The people then assembling with the Senate, and the baser sort with the noble, did all with one voice and assent choose Camillus Dictator the fifth time. He was now a very old man, lacking little of fourscore years: but nevertheless, considering the necessity and present danger, without framing any excuse, or starting as he had before, he undertook the charge. Now that he had taken it upon him, he presently levied men, and prepared his army. And knowing very well, how the fierceness of these barbarous Gauls consisted in downright blows with the swords, with which they would strike off heads and shoulders of men at a blow, mangling them like butchers, without any art or skill of fight: he caused iron sallets and morions to be made for the most of his men, as smoothly wrought on the outside as could be, that their swords lighting on them, should either slide off, or break. Moreover, he caused their shields to have bars made about them of copper, because the wood self was not able to abide their blows. Furthermore, he did teach his soldiers to carry long javelins or punchion staves, wherewith they might wound their enemies lifting up their swords to strike them. Now when the Gauls were come near Rome, having pitched their camp upon the river of Anio, and being full laden and stuffed with all kinds of spoil and booties: then Camillus brought his army also into the field, and went to lodge on a little hill which was easy to get upon, where there were many little

caves, so that the most of his army was all hidden **Camillus'**
and covered, and those that were seen, seemed to be
retired thither into those high places for an advan-
tage, and of fear. Camillus to increase this opinion
more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder :
did suffer them to come and spoil even to the foot
of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not
once out to trouble them, but kept himself quiet in
his camp and well fortified ; until such time as he
spied occasion of advantage, that the best part of
their army was scattered here and there, a-foraging
all about the fields : and those which remained in
their camp, fell to eating and drinking as they used
carelessly at all hours. Then Camillus sent very
early before day, his lightest armed men, to vex and
trouble the barbarous people in coming out of their
camp, and to let them in any case from putting their
men in order of battell : and he at the break of day,
came down into the plain, and did set his other men
being well armed, in good array, which were a great
number, and lusty fellows, and were not as the bar-
barous people thought, few and fearful. This at
the very first discouraged the hearts of the Gauls
marvellously, because they thought themselves dis-
honoured, that the Romans should charge them
first. Afterwards also Camillus' vant-guard did set
upon the Gauls, and that on a sudden, before they
had leisure to put themselves in battell, or to order
their troops : compelling them to fight without order,
as they met out of order by chance. In the end
also, Camillus came upon the necks of them, with
all his whole force and army together : against
whom they ran notwithstanding, holding up their
naked swords aloft in their hands. But the

**Camillus
slew the
Gauls
again**

Romans thrusting with their armed javelins, received their enemies blows upon them, and thereby so rebated the edges of their swords (their blades being very sharp and thin ground, and of so soft a temper) that they bowed again, and stood crooked unreasonably: and furthermore, having pierced their shields through with their punching staves, the Gauls arms were so clogged and wearied with them, the Romans plucking them back to them again, that they threw away their swords and shields, and flying in, closed with the Romans, and caught hold of their javelins, thinking by plain force to have wrested them out of their hands. Howbeit they perceiving then the Gauls were naked, fell straight to their swords: and so was the slaughter of their first ranks very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all about the plain: because Camillus had caused all the hills and mountains about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither did they retire towards their camp, for that it was unfortified, and also knew well enough it would be easily taken. This battell (as they say) was thirteen years after their taking of Rome before. But after that field, the Romans' courages were good enough against these barbarous Gauls, whom they stood in fear of before: thinking the first time they came, that they had not overcome them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongst them, or through some other strange chance. For they did so fear them at that time, that they made a law, how their priests should be exempted from wars, so it were not against the Gauls. This overthrow was the last marshal act Camillus did in the wars. For, the taking of the city of Velitræ, was an accident

depending upon this journey : because they yielded straight unto him, without striking any stroke. But the seditiousness of the people of Rome about government, and the choosing of the year consuls, was the hardest matter he ever had in hand. For they returning home to Rome strong and of great power, by their late obtained victory : would in any case have one of the Consuls to be chosen of a commoner, which was directly against their ancient custom. But the Senate stoutly withstood it, and would not suffer Camillus to be put out of office : hoping the better by means of his authority, which was great then, that they should maintain and continue their ancient dignity, and prerogative of their nobility. But as Camillus was set in his chair in the market place, where he heard and dispatched causes ; there came a sergeant to him, sent from the Tribunes of the people, who commanded him to follow him, and therewithal laid violent hands upon him, as he would have carried him away by force. This made such a terrible tumult and uproar, that the like was never seen before in the market place. For Camillus' friends drove the sergeant back behind the chair. The common people cried out again to the sergeant from beneath, Pull him out of his chair. This so amazed Camillus, that he knew not well what to say to the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resign up his office, but taking those Senators he had about him, he went unto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would go into it, he returned back again unto the Capitol, and made his prayer unto the gods, that it would please them to bring his trouble again to a quiet, and so made a

Sedition
at Rome
about
choosing
of Con-
suls

Policy to solemn vow and promise (if these tumults and troubles
yield to might be pacified) that he would build a temple of
necessity Concord. When this matter came to debating be-
fore the Senate, there fell great contention and di-
versity of opinions among them: yet in the end, the
easiest way did carry it, and that was to grant the
common people's desire, that a commoner should be
chosen Consul with a noble man. The Dictator
having openly published to the people the Senate's
decree, confirming their desire: the common people
were so joyful, that at that present they let fall all
their malice against the Nobility and Senate, and
brought Camillus home to his house, with great
shouts of joy, and clapping of hands. The next
morning all the people being assembled together in
the market place, it was there decreed: that the
temple of Concord should be built at the com-
monwealth's charge (according to the vow Camillus had
made) in such a place, as it might be seen from the
market place self, where all the assemblies for mat-
ters of counsel were made. And further, it was
ordered that one day more should be added to the
feasts of the Latins: and that from thenceforth they
should solemnise four festival days, and should pre-
sently make general sacrifices unto the gods, in every
temple of the city, to give them thanks: and in token
of joy they should all wear garlands upon their
heads for this reconciliation. So Camillus proceed-
ing to election, there were chosen two Consuls,
Marcus Aemilius of the noble Patricians, and Lucius
Sextus of the Plebeians or commoners. And this
was the last act that ever Camillus did. For the
next year after the plague was in Rome, and took
away an infinite number of people that died, besides

many magistrates and officers of the city that departed among whom, Camillus also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had lived a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life, and was ripe for death : yet the Romans made more moan and lamentation for his death alone, than for all the rest the plague had already consumed.

THE END OF FURIUS CAMILLUS' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF P E R I C L E S

Wit CÆSAR seeing in Rome one day certain rich and always wealthy strangers, having little dogs and monkeys in their arms, and that they made marvellous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wisely reproving them by this question, for that they bestowed their natural love and affection upon brute beasts, which they should with all kindness and love bestow upon men. Nature in like case also, having planted in our minds a natural desire to learn and understand, we are in reason to reprove those that vainly abuse this good desire, fondly disposing it to learn things vain and unprofitable: and to cast behind them in the mean season things honest and necessary to be learned. For as touching our outward sense, which with passion receiveth impression of the thing it seeth, peradventure it will be necessary to consider indifferently the thing seen, whether it will fall out beneficial or hurtful unto him: but so fareth it not with our understanding, for every man may at his pleasure turn and dispose that to the thing he taketh delight in, the reason whereof we must always employ to the best part, and that not only to consider and look upon the thing, but also to reap the benefit and commodity

of the thing we see. For like as the eye is most delighted with the lightest and freshest colours : even so we must give our minds unto those sights, which by looking upon them do draw profit and pleasure unto us. For such effects doth virtue bring : that either to hear or read them, they do print in our hearts an earnest love and desire to follow them. But this followeth not in all other things we esteem, neither are we always disposed to desire to do the things we see well done : but contrarily oftentimes, when we like the work, we mislike the workman, as commonly in making these perfumes and purple colours. For both the one and the other do please us well : but yet we take perfumers and dyers to be men of a mean occupation. Therefore Antisthenes answered one very wisely, that told him Ismenias was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughty man, said he, otherwise he could not be so cunning at the flute as he is. Even so did Philip king of Macedon say to his son, Alexander the Great on a time, that at a certain feast had sung passing sweetly, and like a maister of music : Art thou not ashamed, son, to sing so well ? It is enough for a King to bestow his leisure sometime to hear musicians sing, and he doth much honour to the Muses to hear the masters of the science otherwhile, when one of them singeth to excel another. But he that personally shall bestow his time, exercising any mean science : bringeth his pains he hath taken in matters unprofitable, a witness against himself, to prove that he hath been negligent to learn things honest and profitable. And there was never any young gentleman nobly born, that seeing the image

A saying
of King
Philip

The power of Jupiter (which is in the city of Pisa) desired to become Phidias: nor Polyclitus, for seeing of Juno, in the city of Argos: nor that desired to be Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilochus, for that they took pleasure sometime to read their works. For it followeth not of necessity, that though the work delight, the workman must needs be praised. So in like case, such things do not profit those which behold them, because they do not move affection in the hearts of the beholders to follow them, neither do stir up affection to resemble them, and much less to conform our selves unto them. But virtue hath this singular property in all her actions: that she maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her so, that straight he liketh all her doings, and desireth to follow those that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only desire to have them in possession: but of virtue, we chiefly love the deeds. Wherefore we are contented to have goods from other men: but good deeds we would other should have from us. For virtue is of this power, that she allureth a man's mind presently to use her, that wisely considereth of her, and maketh him very desirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only understanding and knowledge of vertuous deeds, which suddenly bringeth unto him a resolute desire to do the like. And this is the reason, why me thought I should continue still to write on the lives of noble men, and why I made also this tenth book: in the which are contained the lives of Pericles and Fabius Maximus, who maintained wars against Hannibal. For they were both men very like together in many sundry vertues,

and specially in courtesy and justice : and for that they could patiently bear the follies of their people, and companions that were in charge of government with them, they were marvellous profitable members for their country. But if we have sorted them well together, comparing the one with the other, you shall easily judge that read our writings of their lives. Pericles was the tribe of the Acamantides, of the town of Cholargus, and one of the best and most ancient families of the city of Athens, both by his father and mother. For Xanthippus his father (who overcame in battell the lieutenants of the king of Persia in the journey of Mycalé) married Agaristé that came of Clisthenes, he who drove out of Athens Pisistratus' offspring, and valiantly overthrew their tyranny. Afterwards he established laws, and ordained a very grave form of government, to maintain his citizens in peace and concord together. This Agaristé dreamed one night that she was brought to bed of a lion : and very shortly after she was delivered of Pericles, who was so well proportioned in all the parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, saving that his head was somewhat too long and out of proportion to the rest of his body. And this is the only cause why all the statues and images of him almost, are made with a helmet on his head : because the workmen as it should seem (and so it is most likely) were willing to hide the blemish of his deformity. But the Attican Poets did call him Schinocephalos, as much to say, headed like an onion. For those of Attica do sometime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue *scilla*, that is to say, an onion of Barbary : *schinos*. And Cratinus the comi-

Pericles'
mother's
dream

The cal poet in his comedy he entitled *Chirones*,
 comic said :
 poets
 speak of Pericles

Old Saturn he, and dreadful dire Debate,
 Begotten have between them carnally
 This tyrant here, this heavy jolting pate,
 In courts of gods so termed worthily.

And again also in that which he nameth *Nemesis*,
 speaking of him, he saith :

Come Jupiter, come Jupiter,
 Come jolt-head, and come innkeeper.

And Teleclides mocking him also, saith in a place :

Sometimes he stands amaz'd when he perceives,
 That hard it were sufficiently to know
 In what estate his government he leaves.
 And then will he be seldom seen below,
 Such heavy heaps within his brains do grow.
 But yet sometimes, out of that monstrous pate,
 He thundreth fast, and threateneth every state.

And Eupolis in a comedy which he entitled *Demi*: being very inquisitive, and asking particularly of every one of the Orators (whom he feigned were returned out of hell) when they named Pericles the last man unto him, he said :

Truly thou hast now brought unto us here that
 dwell
 The chief of all the captains, that come from dark-
 some hell.

And as for music, the most authors write, that Damon did teach him music, of whose name (as men say) they should pronounce the first syllable short. Howbeit Aristotle saith, that he was taught

music by Pythoclides. Howsoever it was, it is Pericles' certain that this Damon was a man of deep understanding, and subtile in matters of government: for, to hide from the people his sufficiency therein, he gave it out he was a musician, and did resort unto Pericles as a maister wrestler, or fencer; but he taught him how he should deal in matters of state. Notwithstanding, in the end he could not so cunningly convey this matter, but the people saw his harping and music was only a visor to his other practice: wherefore they did banish him Athens for five years, as a man that busily took upon him to change the state of things, and that favoured tyranny. And this gave the Comical Poets matter to play upon him finely, among which Plato in a comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him:

O Chiron, tell me first: art thou indeed the man,
Which did instruct Pericles thus? make answer
if thou can.

He was sometime also scholar to the Philosopher Zeno, who was born in the city of Elea, and taught natural philosophy, as Parmenides did: but his profession was to thwart and contrary all men, and to allege a world of objections in his disputation, which were so intricate, that his adversary replying against him, knew not how to answer him, nor to conclude his argument. The which Timon Phliasius witnesseth in these words:

Zeno was subtile sure, and very eloquent,
And craftily could wind a man, by way of argument,
If so he were disposed, his cunning to descry,
Or show the sharpness of his wit to practise policy.

Pericles' manners and behaviour But Anaxagoras Clazomenian was he that was most familiar and conversant with him, and did put in him the majesty and gravity he shewed in all his sayings, and doings, who did far excel the common course of ordinary orators that pleaded before the people: and to be short, he it was that did fashion his manners, altogether to carry that grave countenance which he did. For they called Anaxagoras in his time, *Nous*, as much to say, as understanding. Either because they had his singular wit and capacity in such great admiration, being grown to search out the cause of natural things: or that he was the first man, who did ascribe the disposition and government of this world, not unto fortune or fatal necessity, but unto a pure, simple, and understanding mind, which doth separate at the first moving cause, the substance of such like parts as are meddled and compounded of divers substances, in all other bodies through the world. Pericles made marvellous much of Anaxagoras, who had fully instructed him in the knowledge of natural things, and of those specially that work above in the air and firmament. For he grew not only to have a great mind and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or gross country terms: but to a certain modest countenance that scantily smiled, very sober in his gait, having a kind of sound in his voice that he never lost or altered, and was of very honest behaviour, never troubled in his talk for anything that crossed him, and many other such like things, as all that saw them in him, and considered them, could but wonder at him. But for proof hereof, the report goeth, there was a naughty busy fellow on a time, that a whole day together did nothing but

rail upon Pericles in the market place, and revile Pericles' him to his face, with all the villainous words he patience could use. But Pericles put all up quietly, and gave him not a word again, dispatching in the mean time matters of importance he had on hand, until night came, that he went softly home to his house, shewing no alteration nor semblance of trouble at all, though this lewd varlet followed him at the heels, with words of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his own doors, being dark night, he commanded one of his men to take a torch, and to bring this man home to his house. Yet the poet Ion saith, that Pericles was a very proud man, and a stately, and that with his gravity and noble mind, there was mingled a certain scorn and contempt of other: and contrarily, he greatly praiseth the civility, humanity, and courtesy of Cimon, because he could fashion himself to all companies. But letting pass that which the poet Ion said: who would that virtue should be full of tragical discipline, bringing in with it, a certain satirical discourse to move laughter. Now Zeno contrarywise did counsel all those, that said Pericles' gravity was a presumption, and arrogancy: that they should also follow him in his presumption. For, to counterfeit in that sort things honest and vertuous, doth secretly with time breed an affection and desire to love them, and afterwards with custom even effectually to use and follow them. So Pericles by keeping Anaxagoras company, did not only profit himself in these things, but he learned besides to put away all superstitious fear, of celestial signs and impressions seen in the air. For to those that are ignorant of the causes thereof, such sights are terrible, and to the godly also fearful, as if they

What were utterly undone: and all is, because they have no certain knowledge of the reason that natural philosophy yieldeth, which in stead of a fearful superstition, would bring a true religion accompanied with assured hope of goodness. Some say a man brought Pericles one day from his farm out of the country, a ram's head that had but one horn, and that the prognosticator Lampon considering this head, that had but one strong horn in the middest of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the signification thereof. That being two tribes and several factions in the city of Athens touching government, the one of Pericles, and the other of Thucydides: the power of both should be brought into one, and specially into his part, in whose house this sign did happen. Further, it is said that Anaxagoras being present, did cause the ram's head to be cloven in two pieces, and shewed unto them that stood by, that the brain of this ram did not fill the pan of his natural place, but enclosed itself in all parts, being narrow like the point of an egg, in that part where the horn took his first root of budding out. So Anaxagoras was marvellously esteemed at that present by all those that stood by: but so was Lampon, soon after that Thucydides was driven away, and that the government of the whole common weal fell into the hands of Pericles alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the natural philosopher and the prognosticator did rightly meet together in troth: the one directly telling the cause, and the other the end of the event as it fell out. For the profession of the one, is to know how it cometh; and of the other, wherefore it cometh, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where some say, that to shew the

cause, is to take away the signification of the sign : Pericles' first beginning to deal in the common wealth they do not consider that in seeking to abolish by this reason the wonderful tokens and signs in the air, they do take away those also which are done by art. As the noise of basons, the lights of fire by the seaside, and the shadows of needles or points of dials in the sun : all which things are done by some cause and handiwork, to be a sign and token of some thing. But this argument peradventure may serve better in another book. And now again to Pericles. Whilst he was yet but a young man, the people stood in awe of him, because he somewhat resembled Pisistratus in his countenance : and the ancientest men of the city also were much afear'd of his soft voice, his eloquent tongue, and ready utterance, because in those he was Pisistratus up and down. Moreover he was very rich and wealthy, and of one of the noblest families of the city, and those were his friends also that carried the only sway and authority in the state : whereupon, fearing lest they would banish him with the banishment of *ostracismos*, he would not meddle with government in any case, although otherwise he shewed himself in wars very valiant and forward, and feared not to venter his person. But after that Aristides was dead, that Themistocles was driven away, and that Cimon being ever in service in the wars as general in foreign countries, was a long time out of Greece : then he came to lean to the tribe of the poor people, preferring the multitude of the poor communalty, above the small number of nobility and rich men, the which was directly against his nature. For of himself he was not popular, nor meanly given : but he did it (as it should seem) to avoid suspicion, that he should pre-

Too much familiarity breedeth contempt

tend to make himself king. And because he saw Cimon was inclined also to take part with the nobility, and that he was singularly beloved and liked of all the honester sort: he to the contrary inclined to the common people, purchasing by this means safety to himself, and authority against Cimon. So he presently began a new course of life, since he had taken upon him to deal in matters of state: for they never saw him afterwards at any time go into the city, but to the market place, or to the Senate house. He gave up going to all feasts where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friends, their company and familiarity. So that in all his time wherein he governed the common-weal, which was a long time, he never went out to supper to any of his friends, unless it were that he was once at a feast at his nephew Euryptolemus' marriage, and then he tarried there no longer, but while the ceremony was a doing, when they offer wine to the gods, and so he rose from the table. For these friendly meetings at such feasts, do much abase any counterfeit majesty or set countenance: and he shall have much ado to keep gravity and reputation, shewing familiarity to every known friend in such open places. For in perfect virtue, those things truly are ever most excellent, which be most common: and in good and virtuous men there is nothing more admirable unto strangers, than their daily conversation is to their friends. Pericles now to prevent that the people should not be glutted with seeing him too oft, nor that they should come much to him: they did see him but at some times, and then he would not talk in every matter, neither came much abroad among them, but reserved himself (as

Critolaus said they kept the Salaminian galley at Why
Athens) for matters of great importance. And in Pericles
the mean season, in other matters of small moment,
he dealt by means of certain orators his familiar friends, amongst whom Ephialtes (as they say) was one: he who took away the authority and power from the court of Areopagus, and did give too much liberty to the people, as Plato said. Upon which occasion, as the comical poets say, he became so stout and headstrong, that they could no more hold him back, than a young unbridled colt: and took such a courage upon him, that he would obey no more, but invaded the Isle of Euboea, and set upon the other islands. Pericles also because he would fashion a phrase of speech, with a kind of style altogether agreeable to the manner of life and gravity he had taken upon him; he gave himself to all matters which he had learned of Anaxagoras, shadowing his reasons of natural philosophy, with artificial rhetoric. For having obtained a deep understanding by studying of philosophy, and a ready way effectually to end any matter, he undertook to prove (besides that nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacity, as the divine Plato doth write, to bring any thing to serve his purpose) he did so artificially compass it with eloquence, that he surpassed all the orators in his time. And for this cause was he (as they say) surnamed *Olympius*, as much to say, as heavenly or divine. But some are of opinion he had that surname, by reason of the common buildings and stately works he raised up in the city of Athens, that did much set forth the same. Other think it was given him for his great authority and power

**Thucy-
dides,
Pericles'
adversary** he had in government, as well in wars, as in peace. But it is no marvel that this glory was given him, considering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the comedies the poets caused to be played in those times (in which there were many words spoken of him, some in earnest, some in sport and jest) do witness that he had that surname given him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported that he thundreded and lightned in his orations to the people, and that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an answer Thucydides, Milesias' son, should pleasantly make concerning the force of Pericles' eloquence. Thucydides was a noble man, and had long time contended against Pericles in matters of the commonweal. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, asked Thucydides on a time: whether he or Pericles wrestled best. Thucydides made him answer: When I have given him an open fall before the face of the world, he can so excellently deny it, that he maketh the people believe he hath no fall at all, and persuadeth them the contrary of that they saw. Notwithstanding he was ever very grave and wise in speaking. For ever when he went up to the pulpit for orations to speak to the people, he made his prayers unto the gods, that nothing might escape his mouth, but that he might consider before whether it would serve the purpose of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his works extant in writing, unless it be some few laws he made, and but very few of his notable sayings are brought to light, save only these. He said on a time that they must take away the city of Ægina, because it was a straw lying in

the eye of the haven Piræus. And another time he said that he saw the wars afar off, coming from Peloponnesus. Another time, as he took ship with Sophocles (his companion in commission with him as general of the army) who commended a fair young boy they met as they came to the haven : Sophocles, said he, a governor must not only have his hands, but also his eyes clean. And Stesimbrotus writeth, that in a funeral oration he made in the praise of those that were slain in the war of Samos, he said they were immortal as the gods. For we do not see the gods (said he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happiness they enjoy, we do conjecture they are immortal : and the same things are in those that die in service and defence of their country. Now where Thucydides doth write the government of the common-weal under Pericles to be as a government of nobility, and yet had appearance of a popular state : it is true that in effect it was a kingdom, because one alone did rule and govern the whole state. And many other say also, he was the first that brought in the custom to divide the enemy's lands won by conquest among the people, and of the common money to make the people see plays and pastimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this custom was ill brought up. For the common people that before were contented with little, and got their living painfully with sweat of their brows, became now to be very vain, sumptuous, and riotous, by reason of these things brought up then. The cause of the alteration doth easily appear by those things. For Pericles at his first coming, sought to win the favour of the people, as

Notable
sayings of
Pericles

Pericles and the Areopagus we have said before, only to get like reputation that Cimon had won. But coming far short of his wealth and ability, to carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open house to all comers, clothing poor old people, breaking open besides all enclosures and pales through all his lands, that every one might with more liberty come in, and take the fruits thereof at their pleasure : and seeing himself by these great means outgone far in goodwill with the common people, by Demonides' counsel and procurement (who was born in the Isle of Ios) he brought in this distribution of the common money, as Aristotle writeth. And having won in a short time the favour and goodwill of the common people, by distribution of the common treasure, which he caused to be divided among them, as well to have place to see these plays, as for that they had reward to be present at the judgements, and by other such like corruptions : he with the people's help, did inveigh against the Court of the Areopagites, whereof he never was any member. For it never came to be his hap to be yearly governor, nor keeper of the laws, nor king of the sacrifices, nor maister of the wars : all which were offices chosen in ancient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had behaved themselves well in their office, they were called forwards, and raised to be of the body of this Court of the Areopagites. Pericles now by these means having obtained great credit and authority amongst the people, he troubled the Senate of the Areopagites in such sort, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by Ephialtes' help : and in time made Cimon to be banished Athens, as one

that favoured the Lacedæmonians, and contraried Pericles the commonwealth and authority of the people. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest person of all the city, and one that had won so many glorious victories, and had so replenished Athens with the conquered spoils of their enemies, as we have declared in his life: so great was the authority of Pericles amongst the people. Now the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called *ostracismos*) was limited by the law for ten years. In which space the Lacedæmonians being come down with a great army into the country of Tanagra, the Athenians sent out their power presently against them. There Cimon willing to shew the Athenians by his deeds, that they had falsely accused him for favouring the Lacedæmonians: did arm himself, and went on his countrymen's side, to fight in the company of his tribe. But Pericles' friends gathered together, and forced Cimon to depart thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that Pericles fought that day more valiantly than ever he did, and he won the honour and name to have done more in the person of himself that day, than any other of all the army. At that battell also, all Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had burdened likewise to favour the Lacedæmonians' doings, died every man of them that day. Then the Athenians repented them much that they had driven Cimon away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this battell upon the confines of the country of Attica: because they feared sharp wars would come upon them again at the next spring. Which thing when Pericles perceived, he sought also to further that the common

Pericles' people desired: wherefore he straight caused a ~~modera-~~ decree to be made, that Cimon should be called ~~tion unto~~ home again, which was done accordingly. Now ~~Cimon~~ when Cimon was returned, he advised that peace should be made between both cities: for the Lacedæmonians did love Cimon very well, and contrarily they hated Pericles, and all other governors. Some notwithstanding do write, that Pericles did never pass his consent to call him home again, before such time as they had made a secret agreement amongst themselves (by means of Elpinicé, Cimon's sister) that Cimon should be sent out with an army of two hundred galleys, to make wars in the king of Persia his dominions, and that Pericles should remain at home with the authority of government within the city. This Elpinicé (Cimon's sister) had once before entreated Pericles for her brother, at such time as he was accused before the judge of treason. For Pericles was one of the committees, to whom this accusation was referred by the people. Elpinicé went unto him, and besought him not to do his worst unto her brother. Pericles answered her merrily: Thou art too old Elpinicé, thou art too old, to go through with these matters. Yet when his matter came to judgement, and that his cause was pleaded: he rose but once to speak against him (for his own discharge as it were) and went his way when he had said, doing less hurt to Cimon, than any other of his accusers. How is Idomeneus to be credited now, who accuseth Pericles that he had caused the orator Ephialtes to be slain by treason (that was his friend, and did always counsel him, and take his part in all kind of government of the commonweal) only for the

jealousy and envy he did bear to his glory? I can but muse why Idomeneus should speak so slanderously against Pericles, unless it were that his melancholy humour procured such violent speech: who though peradventure he was not altogether blameless, yet he was ever nobly minded, and had a natural desire of honour, in which kind of men such furious cruel passions are seldom seen to breed. But this orator Ephialtes being cruel to those that took part with the Nobility, because he would spare or pardon no man for any offence whatsoever committed against the people's authority, but did follow and persecute them with all rigour to the uttermost: his enemies laid wait for him by means of one Aristodicus Tanagrian, and they killed him by treason, as Aristotle writeth. In the mean time Cimon died in the Isle of Cyprus, being general of the army of the Athenians by sea. Wherefore those that took part with the Nobility, seeing Pericles was now grown very great, and that he went before all other citizens of Athens, thinking it good to have some one to stick on their side against him, and to lessen thereby somewhat his authority, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raised up against him, one Thucydides, of the town of Alopecé, a grave wise man, and father-in-law to Cimon. This Thucydides had less skill of wars than Cimon, but understood more in civil government than he, for that he remained most part of his time within the city: where continually inveighing against Pericles in his pulpit for orations to the people, in short time he had stirred up a like company against the faction of Pericles. For he kept the gentlemen and richer sort (which they call The
murther of
Ephialtes

A politick care for idle persons Nobility) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their estate and dignity was obscured, and trodden under foot. Moreover he did separate them from the people, and did assemble them all as it were into one body, who came to be of equal power with the other faction, and did put (as a man will say) a counterpoise into the balance. For at the beginning there was but a little secret grudge only between these two factions, as an artificial flower set in the blade of a sword, which made those shew a little, that did lean unto the people: and the other also somewhat that favoured the nobility. But the contention between these two persons, was as a deep cut, which divided the city wholly in two factions: of the which the one was called the nobility, and the other the communalty. Therefore Pericles giving yet more liberty unto the people, did all things that might be to please them, ordaining continual plays and games in the city, many feasts, banquets, and open pastimes to entertain the commons with such honest pleasures and devices: and besides all this, he sent yearly an army of three score galleys unto the wars, into the which he put a great number of poor citizens that took pay of the state for nine moneths of the year, and thereby they did learn together, and practise to be good sea men. Furthermore he sent into the country of Cherronesus, a thousand free men of the city to dwell there, and to divide the lands amongst them: five hundred also into the Isle of Naxos: into the Isle of Andros, two hundred and fifty: into Thracia, a thousand to dwell with the Bisaltes: and other also into Italy, when the city of Sybaris was built

The misuse
of the
Delian
treasure

again, which afterwards was surnamed the city of the Thyrians. All this he did to rid the city of a number of idle people, who through idleness began to be curious, and to desire change of things, as also to provide for the necessity of the poor towns-men that had nothing. For, placing the natural citizens of Athens near unto their subjects and friends, they served as a garrison to keep them under, and did suppress them also from attempting any alteration or change. But that which delighteth most, and is the greatest ornament unto the city of Athens, which maketh strangers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimony, to confirm that which is reported of the ancient power, riches, and great wealth of Greece, to be true and not false : are the stately and sumptuous buildings, which Pericles made to be built in the city of Athens. For it is the only act of all other Pericles did, and which made his enemies most to spite him, and which they most accused him for, crying out upon him in all councils and assemblies : that the people of Athens were openly defamed, for carrying away the ready money of all Greece, which was left in the Isle of Delos to be safely kept there. And although they could with good honesty have excused this fact, saying that Pericles had taken it from them, for fear of the barbarous people, to the end to lay it up in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safety : yet was this too overgreat an injury offered unto all the rest of Greece, and too manifest a token of tyranny also, to behold before their eyes, how we do employ the money, which they were enforced to gather for the maintenance of the wars against the barbarous people, in gilding, build-

Pericles' ing, and setting forth our city, like a glorious woman, excuse all to be gauded with gold and precious stones, and how we do make images, and build up temples of wonderful and infinite charge. Pericles replied to the contrary, and declared unto the Athenians that they were not bound to make any account of this money unto their friends and allies, considering that they fought for their safety, and that they kept the barbarous people far from Greece, without troubling them to set out any one man, horse, or ship of theirs, the money only excepted, which is no more theirs that paid it, than theirs that received it, so they bestow it to that use they received it for. And their city being already very well furnished, and provided of all things necessary for the wars, it was good reason they should employ and bestow the surplus of the treasure in things, which in time to come (and being thoroughly finished) would make their fame eternal. Moreover he said that whilst they continue building, they should be presently rich, by reason of the diversity of works of all sorts, and other things which they should have need of: and to compass these things the better, and to set them in hand, all manner of artificers and workmen (that would labour) should be set a work. So should all the towns-men, and inhabitants of the city, receive pay and wages of the common treasure: and the city by this means should be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintain it self. For such as were strong, and able men of body, and of years to carry weapon, had pay and entertainment of the common-wealth, which were sent abroad unto the wars: and other that were not meet for wars, as crafts-men and labourers, he

would also they should have part of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somewhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupy the common people with great buildings, and devices of works of diverse occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the end that the citizens remaining at home, might have a mean and way to take part of the common treasure, and enrich themselves, as well as those that went to the wars, and served on the sea, or else that lay in garrison to keep any place or fort. For some gained by bringing stuff: as stones, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress. Other got, to work and fashion it: as carpenters, gravers, founders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, dyers, goldsmiths, joiners working in ivory, painters, men that set in sundry colours of pieces of bone or wood, and turners. Other gained to bring stuff, and to furnish them: as merchants, mariners, and shipmaisters, for things they brought them by sea. And by land other got also: as cart-makers, carriers, carters, and cord-makers, saddlers, collar-makers, and pioneers to make ways plain, and miners, and such like. Furthermore, every science and craft, as a captain having soldiers, had also their army of the workmen that served them, labouring truly for their living, who served as apprentices and journeymen under the workmaisters: so the work by this means did disperse abroad a common gain to all sorts of people and ages, what occupation or trade soever they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatness and sumptuousness, being of excellent workmanship, and for grace and beauty not comparable: because every workman in his

Diverse
artificers
at Athens

The science did strive what he could to excel others, to eternal make his work appear greatest in sight, and to be most workmanly done in shew. But the greatest thing to be wondred at, was their speed and diligence. For where every man thought those works were not likely to be finished in many men's lives and ages, and from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilst one only governor continued still in credit and authority. And yet they say, that in the same time, as one Agatharchus boasted himself, that he had quickly painted certain beasts, Zeuxis another painter hearing him, answered: And I contrarily do rejoice, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly slight and sudden drawing of any thing, cannot take deep colours, nor give perfect beauty to the work: but length of time, adding to the painter's diligence and labour in making of the work, maketh the colours to continue for ever. For this cause therefore the works Pericles made, are more wonderful: because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and have continued so long a season. For every one of those which were finished up at that time, seemed then to be very ancient touching the beauty thereof: and yet for the grace and continuance of the same, it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finished, there is such a certain kind of flourishing freshness in it, which letteth that the injury of time cannot impair the sight thereof. As if every of those foresaid works, had some living spirit in it, to make it seem young and fresh: and a soul that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chief surveyor general of all these works, was Phidias, albeit that

thera were many other excellent work-masters in every science and occupation. For the temple of Pallas, which is called Parthenon (as a man would say, the temple of the virgin, and is surnamed Hecatompedos, for that it is a hundred foot every way) was built by Ictinus, and Callicrates: and the chapel of Eleusis (where the secret ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by Corocbus, who raised up the first pillars in order, standing beneath on the ground, and did set them up unto the maister chaptrels. But after he was dead, Metagenes, born in the town of Xypeté, turned the arches over, and then did set the pillars in order also which are above: and Xenocles of the town of Cholargos, was he that made the lantern or top of the steeple which covereth the sanctuary: but the long wall which Socrates heard Pericles himself give order for the building of it, was done by Callicrates, who undertook the work. Cratinus the poet, in a comedy he made, laughed at this work, to see how slowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, saying :

Pericles long ago did end this work begun,
And build it high with glorious words, if so it had
been done.
But as for deeds (indeed) he built nothing at all,
But let it stand: as yet it stands, much liker for to
fall.

And as for the theatre or place appointed for music, where they hear all musicians play, and is called Odeon: it is very well made within with divers seats and degrees, and many ranges of pillars, but the top of the roof is altogether round, which is somewhat hanging downward round about of itself,

The
chapel of
Eleusis
and the
Odeon

Pericles coming together into one point. And it is said that
erected this was made after the pattern and fashion of King
games Xerxes' royal pavilion, and that Pericles was the
for music first deviser and maker of it. Wherefore Cratinus
 in another place of his comedy he maketh of the
 Thracians, doth play very prettily upon him, saying :

Pericles here doth come, Dan Jupiter surnamed,
 (And onion's head) which hath in his great noddle,
 finely framed,
 The plot of Odeon, when he delivered was
 From banishment, and dangers deep, wherein he long
 did pass.

Pericles was the first that made marvellous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the feast called Panathenæa, they would set up games for music. And he himself being chosen ruler of these games, as judge to reward the best deserver : ordained the manner the musicians should ever after keep in their singing, playing on their flutes, or upon the cithern, or other instruments of music. So the first games that ever were for music, were kept within the Odeon : and so were the other after them also, ever celebrated there. The gate and entring into the castle was made and finished within the space of five years, under the charge of Mnesicles, that was maister of the works. And whilst these gates were a building, there happened a wonderful chance, which declared very well that the goddess Minerva did not mislike the building, but that it pleased her marvellously. For one of the most painfulest workmen that wrought there, fell by mischance from the height of the castle to the ground, which fall did so sore bruise him, and he was so sick withal, that the physicians and sur-

geons had no hope of his life. Pericles being very sorry for his mischance, the goddess appeared to him in his sleep in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he did easily heal the poor bruised man, and that in short time. And this was the occasion why he caused the image of the goddess Minerva (otherwise called of health) to be cast in brass, and set up within the temple of the castle, near unto the altar which was there before, as they say. But the golden image of Minerva was made by Phidias, and graven round about the base : who had the charge in manner of all other works, and by reason of the goodwill Pericles bare him, he commanded all the other workmen. And this made the one to be greatly envied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. For their enemies gave it out abroad, that Phidias received the gentlewomen of the city into his house, under colour to go see his works, and did convey them to Pericles. Upon this bruit, the comical poets taking occasion, did cast out many slanderous speeches against Pericles, accusing him that he kept one Menippus' wife, who was his friend and lieutenant in the wars : and burdened him further, that Pyrilampes, one of his familiar friends also, brought up fowl, and specially peacocks, which he secretly sent unto the women that Pericles kept. But we must not wonder at these satires, that make profession to speak slanderously against all the world, as it were to sacrifice the injuries and wrongs they cast upon honourable and good men, to the spite and envy of the people, as unto wicked spirits : considering that Stesimbrotus Thasian durst falsely accuse Pericles of detestable incest, and of abusing his own son's wife. And this is the reason, in my opinion,

The poets
raise up
slanders
against
Pericles

The noble why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect saying of knowledge of the truth of ancient things, by the Pericles monuments of historiographers: considering long process of time, doth utterly obscure the truth of matters, done in former times. For every written history speaking of men that are alive, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention: sometime for hate and envy, sometime for favour or flattery, doth disguise and corrupt the truth. But Pericles perceiving that the orators of Thucydides' faction, in their common orations did still cry out upon him, that he did vainly waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed upon the works, all the whole revenue of the city: one day when the people were assembled together, before them all he asked them, if they thought that the costs bestowed were too much. The people answered him: a great deal too much. Well, said he then, the charges shall be mine (if you think good) and none of yours: provided that no man's name be written upon the works, but mine only. When Pericles had said so, the people cried out aloud, they would none of that (either because that they wondred at the greatness of his mind, or else for that they would not give him the only honour and praise to have done so sumptuous and stately works) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any cost. But in the end, falling out openly with Thucydides, and putting it to an adventure which of them should banish other, with the banishment of *ostracismos*: Pericles got the upper hand, and banished Thucydides out of the city, and therewithal also overthrew the contrary faction against him. Now when he

had rooted out all factions, and brought the city Pericles' again to unity and concord, he found then the power whole power of Athens in his hands, and all the Athenians' matters at his disposing. And having all the treasure, armour, galleys, the isles, and the sea, and a marvellous seigniory and kingdom (that did enlarge it self partly over the Grecians, and partly over the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of nations subject unto them, with the friendship of kings, and with the alliance of divers other princes, and mighty lords: then from that time forward he began to change his manners towards the people, and not so easily to grant to all the people's wills and desires, no more than as it were to contrary winds. Furthermore he altered his over-gentle and popular manner of government which he used until that time, as too delicate and too effeminate an harmony of music, and did convert it unto an imperious government, or rather to a kingly authority: but yet held still a direct course, and kept himself ever upright without fault, as one that did, said, and counselled that, which was most expedient for the common-weal. He many times brought on the people by persuasions and reasons, to be willing to grant that he preferred unto them: but many times also, he drove them to it by force, and made them against their wills do that, which was best for them. Following therein the device of a wise physician: who in a long and changeable disease, doth grant his patient some time to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sort: and another time also, he doth give him a sharp or

Pericles bitter medicine that doth vex him, though it heal com- him. For (as it falleth out commonly unto people mended that enjoy so great an empire) many times misfor-tunes do chance, that fill them full of sundry pas-sions, the which Pericles alone could finely steer and govern with two principal rudders, fear, and hope: bridling with the one, the fierce and insolent rashness of the common people in prosperity, and with the other comforting their grief and dis-couragement in adversity. Wherein he manifestly proved, that rhetoric and eloquence (as Plato saith) is an art which quickneth men's spirits at her pleasure, and her chiefest skill is, to know how to move passions and affections throughly, which are as stops and sounds of the soul, that would be played upon with a fine fingred hand of a cunning maister. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to pass, as Thucydides witnesseth; but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthiness, because he would not any way be cor-rupted with gifts, neither had he any covetousness in him. For, when he had brought his city not only to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authority exceeded many kings and tyrants, yea even those which by their wills and testaments might have left great possessions to their children: he never for all that increased his father's goods and patrimony left him, the value of a groat in silver. And yet the historio-grapher Thucydides doth set forth plainly enough, the greatness of his power. And the comical poets also of that time do report it maliciously under covert words, calling his familiar friends, the new

Pisistratids: saying how they must make him swear and protest he would never be king, giving us thereby to understand, that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular government. And Teleclides (amongst other) saith that the Athenians had put into his hands the revenue of the towns and cities under their obedience, and the towns themselves, to bind the one, and to loose the other, and to pull down their walls, or to build them again at his pleasure. They gave him power, to make peace and alliance: they gave all their force, treasure, and authority, and all their goods wholly into his hands. But this was not for a little while, nor in a gear of favour, that should continue for a time: but this held out forty years together, he being always the chief of his city amongst the Ephialtes, the Leocrates, the Mironides, the Cimons, the Tolmides, and the Thucydides. For after he had prevailed against Thucydides, and had banished him: he yet remained chief above all other, the space of fifteen years. Thus having attained a regal dignity to command all, which continued as aforesaid, where no other captain's authority endured but one year: he ever kept himself upright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no ill husband, and could warily look to his own. As for his lands and goods left him by his parents, that they miscarried not by negligence, nor that they should trouble him much, in busying himself to reduce them to a value: he did so husband them, as he thought was his best and easiest way. For he sold in gross ever the whole year's profit and commodity of his lands, and afterwards sent to the market daily to buy the cates,

**Contem-
plative
and civil
life** and other ordinary provision of household. This did not like his sons that were men grown, neither were his women contented with it, who would have had him more liberal in his house, for they complained of his overhard and strait ordinary, because in so noble and great a house as his, there was never any great remain left of meat, but all things received into the house, run under accompt, and were delivered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his, was kept upright in this good order, by one Euangelus, steward of his house, a man very honest and skilful in all his household provision: and whether Pericles had brought him up to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not known. But these things were far contrary to Anaxagoras' wisdom. For he despising the world, and casting his affection on heavenly things, did willingly forsake his house, and suffered all his land to run to lays and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diversity between a contemplative life, and a civil life. For the one employeth all his time upon the speculation of good and honest things: and to attain to that, he thinketh he hath no need of any exterior help or instrument. The other applying all his time upon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an instrument not only necessary, but also honest. As, look upon the example of Pericles: who did relieve many poor people. And Anaxagoras specially among other: of whom it is reported, that Pericles being occupied about matters of state at that time, having no leisure to think upon Anaxagoras, he seeing himself old and forsaken of the world, laid

him down, and covered his head close, determining to starve himself to death with hunger. Pericles understanding this, run presently to him as a man half cast away, and prayed him as earnestly as he could, that he would dispose himself to live, being not only sorry for him, but for himself also, that he should lose so faithful and wise a counsellor, in matters of state and government. Then Anaxagoras shewed his face, and told him: O Pericles, those that will see by the light of a lamp, must put oil to it, to make the light burn. Now began the Lacedæmonians to grow jealous of the greatness of the Athenians: wherefore Pericles to make the Athenians' hearts greater, and so draw their minds to great enterprises, set down an order they should send ambassadors to persuade all the Grecians (in what part soever they dwelt in Europe, or Asia, as well the little as the great cities) to send their deputies unto Athens, to the general assembly that should be holden there, to take order for the temples of the gods which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the sacrifices they had vowed for the preservation of Greece, when they gave battel upon them: and touching sea matters also, that every man might sail in safety where he would, and that all might live together in good peace and love, one with another. To perform this commission, twenty persons were sent of this ambassiate, every one of them being fifty years of age and upward. Whereof five of them went to the Dorians, dwelling in Asia, and to the inhabitants of the Isles, even unto the Isles of Lesbos, and of the Rhodes. Five others went through all the country of Hellespont, and of

A general council to be holden at Athens

Pericles loved the safety Thracia, unto the city of Byzantium. Other five were commanded to go into Bœotia, unto Phocis, and through all Peloponnesus, and from thence by the country of the Locrians, into the upland country adjoining to it, until they came into the country of Acarnania, and of Ambracia. And the other five went first into the Isle of Eubœa, and from thence unto the Oetæans, and through all the Gulf of Malea, unto the Phthiotes, unto the Achaians, and the Thessalians: declaring to all the people where they came, the Athenians' commission, persuading them to send unto Athens, and to be present at the council which should be holden there, for the pacification and union of all Greece. But when all came to all, nothing was done, and the said cities of Greece did not assemble, by practise of the Lacedæmonians (as it reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refusal that was made of their summons, was at Peloponnesus. This have I written to make Pericles' noble courage to be known, how profound a wise man he shewed himself unto the world. Furthermore, when he was chosen general in the wars, he was much esteemed, because he ever took great regard to the safety of his soldiers. For by his good will he would never hazard battell, which he saw might fall out doubtful, nor in any thing dangerous: and moreover, he never praised them for good generals, neither would he follow them, that had obtained great victories by hazard, howsoever other did esteem or commend them. For he was wont to say, that if none but himself did lead them to the shambles, as much as lay in him, they should be immortal. And when he saw Tolmides, the son

of Tolmæus (trusting to his former victories, and of his
the praise and commendation of his good service) men in
did prepare upon no occasion, and to no purpose,
the wars
to enter into the country of Bœotia, and had pro-
cured also a thousand of the lustiest and most
valiant men of the city, to be contented to go with
him in that journey, over and above the rest of
the army he had levied: he went about to turn
him from his purpose, and to keep him at home,
by many persuasions he used to him before the
people's face, and spake certain words at that time,
that were remembred long after, and these they
were: That if he would not believe Pericles'
counsel, yet that he would tarry time at the least,
which is the wisest counsellor of men. These
words were prettily liked at that present time.
But within few days after, when news was brought
that Tolmides self was slain in a battell he had
lost, near unto the city of Coronea, wherein perished
also, many other honest and valiant men of Athens:
his words spoken before, did then greatly increase
Pericles' reputation and good will with the common
people, because he was taken for a wise man, and
one that loved his citizens. But of all his journeys
he made, being general over the army of the
Athenians, the journey of Cherronesus was best
thought of and esteemed, because it fell out to the
great benefit and preservation of all the Grecians
inhabiting in that country. For besides that he
brought thither a thousand citizens of Athens to
dwell there (in which doing he strengthened the
cities with so many good men) he did fortify the bar
also, which did let it from being of an Isle, with a
fortification he drew from one sea to another: so that

Pericles' he defended the country against all the invasions and journeys piracies of the Thracians inhabiting thereabouts, and delivered it of extreme war, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongst them, who only lived upon piracy and robbing on the seas. So was he likewise much honoured and esteemed of strangers, when he did environ all Peloponnesus, departing out of the haven of Pegæ, on the coast of Megara, with a fleet of a hundred galleys. For he did not only spoil the towns all along the sea-side, as Tolmides had done before him: but going up further into the mainland, far from the sea, with his soldiers he had in the galleys, he drove some of them to retire within their walls, he made them so afraid of him: and in the country of Nemea, he overcame the Sicyonians in battell, that tarried him in the field, and did erect a pillar for a notable mark of his victory. And embarking in his ships a new supply of soldiers which he took up in Achaia, being friends with the Athenians at that time, he passed over to the firm land that lay directly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the river of Achelous, he invaded the country of Acarnania, where he shut up the Oeniades within their walls. And after he had laid waste and destroyed all the champion country, he returned home again to Athens: having shewed himself in this journey, a dreadful captain to his enemies, and very careful for the safety of his soldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this journey (by chance or otherwise) unto the soldiers under his charge. And afterwards, going with a great navy marvellous well appointed unto the realm of Pontus, he did there

gently use and entreat the cities of Greece, and granted them all that they required of him : making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the great force and power of the Athenians, who sailed without fear all about where they thought good, keeping all the coasts of the sea under their obedience. Furthermore he left with the Sinopians thirteen galleys, with certain number of soldiers under captain Lamachus, to defend them against the tyrant Timeaileus : who being expulsed and driven away with those of his faction, Pericles caused proclamation to be made at Athens, that six hundred free men of the city, that had any desire to go, without compulsion, might go dwell at Sinopé, where they should have divided among them, the goods and lands of the tyrant and his followers. But he did not follow the foolish vain humours of his citizens, nor would not yield to their insatiable covetousness, who being set on a jollity to see themselves so strong, and of such a power, and besides, to have good luck, would needs once again attempt to conquer Egypt, and to revolt all the countries upon the sea coasts, from the empire of the king of Persia : for there were many of them whose minds were marvellously bent to attempt the unfortunate enterprise of entering Sicilia, which Alcibiades afterwards did much prick forward. And some of them dreamed besides, of the conquest of Tuscany, and the empire of Carthage. But this was not altogether without some likelihood, nor without occasion of hope, considering the large bounds of their Kingdom, and the fortunate state of their affairs, which fell out according to their own desire. But Pericles did hinder this going out, and

He would
not fol-
low the
covetous-
ness of
the people

Pericles cut off altogether their curious desire, employing an enemy to the Lacedæmonians the most part of their power and force, to keep that they had already gotten : judging it no small matter to keep down the Lacedæmonians from growing greater. For he was always an enemy to the Lacedæmonians, as he shewed himself in many things, but specially in the war he made, called the holy war. For the Lacedæmonians having put the Phocians from the charge of the temple of Apollo, in the city of Delphes, which they had usurped, and having restored the Delphians again unto the same : so soon as they were gone thence, Pericles went also with another army, and restored the Phocians in again. And whereas the Lacedæmonians had caused to be graven in the forehead of a wolf of brass, the privilege the Delphians had granted them, to be the first that should make their demands of the oracle : he having attained the like privilege of the Phocians, made his image also to be graven on the right side of the same image, of the brazen wolf. Now how wisely Pericles did govern Greece by the power of the Athenians, his deeds do plainly shew. For first of all, the country of Euboea did rebel, against whom he brought the army of the Athenians. And suddenly in the neck of that, came news from another coast, that the Megarians also were in arms against them : and how they were already entred into the country of Attica with a great army, led by Plistonax King of Lacedæmon. This occasion drew him homeward again, and so he marched back with speed into his country, to make preparation to encounter his enemies, that were already entered into the territories of Attica. He durst not offer them battell, being so great a number of valiant soldiers :

but hearing that king Plistonax was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by Cleandridas' counsel and direction (whom the Ephors had placed about him to counsel and direct him) he sought privily to corrupt Cleandridas. When he had won him soon with his money, he persuaded him to draw back the Peloponessians out of their country of Attica : and so he did. But when the Lacedæmonians saw their army cassed, and that the people were gone their way, every man to his own city or town : they were so mad at it, that the King was condemned in a great sum. The king being unable to answer his fine, which was so extreme great, he was driven to absent himself from Lacedæmon. Cleandridas on the other side, if he had not fled in time, even for spite had been condemned to death. This Cleandridas was Gylippus father, that afterwards overcame the Athenians in Sicilia, in whom it seemed nature bred covetousness, as a disease inheritable by succession from the father to the son. For he being shamefully convicted also, for certain vile parts he had played, was likewise banished from Sparta : as we have more amply declared in the life of Lysander. And Pericles delivering up the account of his charge, and setting down an article of the expense of ten talents he had employed, or should employ in needful causes : the people allowed them him, never asking question how, nor which way, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certain writers (among whom the philosopher Theophrastus is one) who wrote that Pericles sent yearly unto Sparta ten talents, with the which he entertained those that were in authority there, because they should make no wars with them : not to

His wise
policy in
foreign
entertain-
ment

The buy peace of them, but time, that he might in the
descrip- mean season, with better commodity, and that
tion of leisure, provide to maintain the wars. After that,
Aspasia as the army of the Peloponnesians were out of the
country of Attica, he returned against the rebels,
and passed into the Isle of Euboea with fifty sail,
and five thousand footmen well armed: and there
he overcame all the cities that had taken arms
against him, and drove away the Hippobotæ, who
were the most famous men of all the Chalcidians, as
well for their riches, as for their valiantness. He
drove away also all the Histæians, whom he chased
clean out of all the country, and placed in their
city only the citizens of Athens. And the cause
why he dealt so rigorously with them was, because
they having taken a galley of the Athenians
prisoner, had put all the men to death that were
in her. And peace being concluded afterwards
between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for
thirty years: he proclaimed open war against those
of the Isle of Samos, burdening them, that they
being commanded by the Athenians, to pacify the
quarrels which they had against the Milesians, they
would not obey. But because some hold opinion
that he took upon him this war against Samos, for
the love of Aspasia: it shall be no great disgression
of our story, to tell you by the way, what manner
of woman she was, and what a marvellous gift and
power she had, that she could entangle with her
love the chiefest rulers and governors at that time of
the common weal, and that the philosophers them-
selves did so largely speak and write of her. First
of all, it is certain that she was born in the city of
Miletus, and was the daughter of one Axiochus:

she following the steps and example of an old **Aspasia**
curtisan of Ionia, called Thargelia, gave herself only **a passing
wise
woman**
to entertain the greatest persons and chiefest rulers
in her time. For this Thargelia being passing fair,
and carrying a comely grace with her, having a
sharp wit and pleasant tongue : she had the acquaint-
ance and friendship of the greatest persons of all
Greece, and wan all those that did haunt her com-
pany, to be at the king of Persia's commandment.
So that she sowed through all the cities of Greece
great beginnings of the faction of the Medes : for
they were the greatest men of power and authority
of every city that were acquainted with her. But
as for Aspasia, some say that Pericles resorted
unto her, because she was a wise woman, and had
great understanding in matters of state and govern-
ment. For Socrates himself went to see her some-
times with his friends : and those that used her company also, brought their wives many times
with them to hear her talk : though her train about her were to entertain such as would
warm them by their fire. Æschines writeth, that
Lysicles a grasier, being before but a mean man,
and of a clubbish nature, came to be the chief
man of Athens, by frequenting the company of
Aspasia, after the death of Pericles. And to
Plato's book entitled Menexenus, although the
beginning of it be but pleasantly written, yet in
that, this story is written truly: that this Aspasia
was repaired unto by divers of the Athenians, to
learn the art of rhetoric of her. Yet notwithstanding
it seemeth most likely that the affection Pericles
did bear her, grew rather of love, than of any other
cause. For he was married unto a kinswoman of

Pericles his own, and that before was Hipponicus' wife, by married whom she had Callias, surnamed the rich: and had **Aspasia** afterwards by Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus.

But not liking her company, he gave her with her own goodwill and consent unto another, and married Aspasia whom he dearly loved. For ever when he went abroad, and came home again, he saluted her with a kiss. Whereupon in the ancient comedies, she is called in many places, the new Omphalé, and sometimes Deianira, and sometimes Juno. But Cratinus plainly calleth her whore in these verses:

His Juno she him brought, Aspasia by name,
Which was indeed an open whore, and past all
kind of shame.

And it seemeth that he had a bastard: for Eupolis in a comedy of his called Demi, bringeth him in, asking Pyronides thus:

I pray thee: is my bastard son yet alive?

And then Pyronides answered him:

A perfect man long since he surely had been
found,
If that this lewd and naughtie whore his vertue
had not drowned.

To conclude, this Aspasia was so famous, that Cyrus (he that fought against king Artaxerxes his brother, for the empire of Persia) called Aspasia his best beloved of all his concubines, which before was called Milto, and was born in Phocis, being Hermotimus daughter. And Cyrus being slain in the field, Aspasia was carried to the king his brother, with whom afterwards she was in great favour. As

I was writing this life, this story came in my mind : and me thought I should have dealt hardly, if I should have left it unwritten. But to our matter again. Pericles was charged that he made wars against the Samians, on the behalf of the Milesians, at the request of Aspasia : for these two cities were at wars together, for the city of Priené, but the Samians were the stronger. Now the Athenians commanded them to lay aside their arms, and to come and plead their matter before them, that the right might be decided : but they refused it utterly. Wherefore Pericles went thither and took away the government of the small number of nobility, taking for hostages, fifty of the chiefest men of the city, and so many children besides, which he left to be kept in the Isle of Lemnos. Some say every one of these hostages offered to give him a talent : and besides those, many others offered him the like, such as would not have the sovereign authority put into the hands of the people. Moreover Pissuthnes the Persian, lieutenant to the King of Persia, for the goodwill he bare those of Samos, did send Pericles ten thousand crowns to release the hostages. But Pericles never took penny ; and having done that he determined at Samos, and established a popular government, he returned again to Athens. Notwithstanding, the Samians rebelled immediately after, having recovered their hostages again by means of this Pissuthnes that stale them away, and did furnish them also with all their munition of war. Whereupon Pericles returning against them once more, he found them not idle, nor amazed at his coming, but resolutely determined to receive him, and to fight for the seigniory by sea. So

A good proof that Pericles was not covetous

Pericles' there was a great battell fought between them, near victory the Isle of Tragia. And Pericles wan the battell: having with four and forty sail only nobly overcome his enemies, which were three score and ten in number, whereof twenty of them were ships of war. And so following his victory forthwith, he wan also the port of Samos, and kept the Samians besieged within their own city: where they were yet so bold, as they would make sallies out many times, and fight before the walls of the city. But when there arrived a new supply of ships bringing a greater aid unto Pericles, then were they shut up of all sides. Pericles then taking three score galleys with him, launched out into the sea, with intent (as some say) to go meet certain ships of the Phoenicians (that came to aid the Samians) as far from Samos as he could: or as Stesimbrotus sayeth, to go into Cyprus, which me thinketh is not true. But whatsoever was his intent, he committed a foul fault. For Melissus (the son of Ithagenes, a great Philosopher) being at the time general of the Samians: perceiving that few ships were left behind at the siege of the city, and that the captains also that had the charge of them were no very expert men of war, persuaded his citizens to make a sally upon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the Samians overcame: the Athenians were taken prisoners, and they sunk many of their ships. Now they being lords again of the sea, did furnish their city with all manner of munition for wars, whereof before they had great want. Yet Aristotle writeth that Pericles self was once overcome in a battell by sea by Melissus. Furthermore the Samians, to be even with the Athenians for the injury they had

received of them before: did brand them in the forehead with the stamp of an owl, the owl being then the stamp of their coin at Athens, even as the Athenians had branded the Samian prisoners before with the stamp of *samena*. This Samæna is a kind of ship amongst the Samians, low afore, and well laid out in the midship, so that it is excellent good to rise with the waves of the sea, and is very swift under sail: and it was so called, because the first ship that was made of this fashion, was made in the Isle of Samos, by the tyrant Polycrates. It is said that the Poet Aristophanes, covertly conveying the stamp of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place of his comedies saith:

The Samians are great learned men.

Pericles being advertised of the overthrow of his army, returned presently to the rescue. Melissus went to meet him, and gave him battell: but he was overthrown, and driven back into his city, where Pericles walled them in round about the city, desiring victory rather by time and charge, than by danger, and loss of his soldiers. But when he saw that they were weary with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no means withhold them: he then divided his army into eight companies, whom he made to draw lots, and that company that lighted on the white bean, they should be quiet and make good cheer, while the other seven fought. And they say that from thence it came, that when any have made good cheer, and taken pleasure abroad, they do yet call it a white day, because of the white bean. Ephorus the historiographer writeth, that it

against
the
Samians

The **Samians** was there, where first of all they began to use engines of war to pluck down great walls, and that Pericles used first this wonderful invention: and that Artemon an enginer was the first deviser of them. He was carried up and down in a chair, to set forward these works, because he had a lame leg: and for this cause he was called Periphoretos. But Heraclides Ponticus confuteth Ephorus therein, by the verses of Anacreon, in the which Artemon is called Periphoretos, many years before this war of Samos began: and saith this Periphoretos was a marvellous tender man, and so foolishly afear'd of his own shadow, that the most part of his time he stirred not out of his house, and did sit always having two of his men by him, that held a copper target over his head, for fear lest any thing should fall upon him. And if upon any occasion he were driven to go abroad out of his house, he would be carried in a little bed hanging near the ground, and for this cause he was surnamed Periphoretos. At the last, at nine moneths' end, the Samians were compelled to yield. So Pericles took the city, and razed their walls to the ground: he brought their ships away, and made them pay a marvellous great tribute, whereof part he received in hand, and the rest payable at a certain time, taking hostages with him for assurance of payment. But Duris the Samian dilateth these matters marvellous pitifully, burdening the Athenians, and Pericles self with unnatural cruelty: whereof neither Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle himself maketh mention. And sure I cannot believe it is true that is written: That he brought the captains of the galleys, and the soldiers themselves of Samia, into the market place

of the city of Miletus, where he made them to be bound fast unto boards for the space of ten days, and at the end of the same, the poor men half dead, were beaten down with clubs, and their heads pashed in pieces : and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crows, and would not bury them. So Duris being accustomed to overreach, and to lie many times in things nothing touching him, seemeth in this place out of all reason to aggravate the calamities of his country, only to accuse the Athenians, and to make them odious to the world. Pericles having won the city of Samos, he returned again to Athens, where he did honourably bury the bones of his slain citizens in this war : and himself (according to their manner and custom) made the funeral oration, for the which he was marvellously esteemed. In such sort, that after he came down from the pulpit where he made his oration, the ladies and gentlewomen of the city came to salute him, and brought him garlands to put upon his head, as they do to noble conquerors when they return from games, where they have won the prize. But Elpinicé coming to him, said : Surely Pericles, thy good service done, deserveth garlands of triumph ; for thou hast lost us many a good and valiant citizen, not fighting with the Medes, the Phœnicians, and with the barbarous people as my brother Cimon did, but for destroying a city of our own nation and kindred. Pericles to these words, softly answered Elpinicé, with Archilochus' verse, smiling :

When thou art old, paint not thy self.

But Ion writeth, that he greatly gloried, and

Pericles'
taunt to
an old
woman

Cimon's stood much in his own conceit, after he had sub-
sons dued the Samians, saying : Agamemnon was ten
years taking of a city of the barbarous people ; and
he in nine months only had won the strongest city
of the whole nation of Ionia. Indeed he had good
cause to glory in his victory : for truly (if Thucy-
dides' report be true) his conquest was no less
doubtful, than he found it dangerous. For the
Samians had almost been lords of the sea, and taken
the seigniory thereof from the Athenians. After
this the wars of Peloponnesus being hot again, the
Corinthians invading the islanders of Corfu : Peri-
cles did persuade the Athenians to send aid unto
the Corfians, and to join in league with that island,
which was of great power by sea, saying : that the
Peloponnesians (before it were long) would have
war with them. The Athenians consented to his
motion, to aid those of Corfu. Whereupon they
sent thither Lacedæmonius (Cimon's son) with ten
galleys only for a mockery : for all Cimon's family
and friends, were wholly at the Lacedæmonians'
devotion. Therefore did Pericles cause Lacedæ-
monius to have so few ships delivered him, and
further, sent him thither against his will, to the
end that if he did no notable exploit in this service,
that they might then the more justly suspect his good-
will to the Lacedæmonians. Moreover whilst he
lived, he did ever what he could to keep Cimon's
children back from rising : because that by their
names they were no natural born Athenians, but
strangers. For the one was called Lacedæmonius,
the other Thessalus, and the third Eleus : and the
mother to all them three, was an Arcadian woman
born. But Pericles being blamed for that be sent

but ten galleys only, which was but a slender aid for those that had requested them, and a great matter to them that spake ill of him: he sent thither afterwards a great number of other galleys, which came when the battell was fought. But the Corinthians were marvellous angry, and went and complained to the council of the Lacedæmonians, where they laid open many grievous complaints and accusations against the Athenians, and so did the Megarians also: alleging that the Athenians had forbidden them their havens, their staples, and all traffic of marchandise in the territories under their obedience, which was directly against the common laws and articles of peace, agreed upon by oaths among all the Grecians. Moreover the Æginetes finding themselves very ill and cruelly handled, did send secretly to make their moan and complaints to the Lacedæmonians, being afraid openly to complain of the Athenians. While these things were a doing, the city of Potidæa, subject at that time unto the Athenians (and was built in old time by the Corinthians) did rebel, and was besieged by the Athenians, which did hasten on the wars. Notwithstanding this, ambassadors were first sent unto Athens upon these complaints, and Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, did all that he could to pacify the most part of these quarrels and complaints, entreating their friends and allies. So as the Athenians had had no wars at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would have granted to have revoked the decree they had made against the Megarians. Whereupon, Pericles, that above all other stood most against the revocation of that decree, and that

Pericles' malice against the Megarians

Pericles did stir up the people, and made them stand to
the author that they had once decreed, and ordered, against
of the the Megarians: was thought the original cause
wars and author of the Peloponnesian wars. For it is
said that the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors
unto Athens for that matter only. And when
Pericles alleged a law, that did forbid them to
take away the table whereupon before time had
been written any common law or edict: Polyalces,
one of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, said unto
him: Well, said he, take it not away then, but
turn the table only; your law I am sure forbiddeth
not that. This was pleasantly spoken of the am-
bassador, but Pericles could never be brought to
it for all that. And therefore it seemeth he had
some secret occasion of grudge against the Me-
garians: yet as one that would finely convey it
under the common cause and cloke, he took from
them the holy lands they were breaking up. And
to bring this to pass, he made an order, that they
should send an herald to summon the Megarians
to let the land alone, and that the same herald
should go also unto the Lacedæmonians to accuse
the Megarians unto them. It is true that this
ordinance was made by Pericles' means, as also it
was most just and reasonable: but it fortuned so,
that the messenger they sent thither died, and not
without suspicion that the Megarians made him
away. Wherefore Charinus made a law presently
against the Megarians: that they should be pro-
claimed mortal enemies to the Athenians for ever,
without any hope of after reconciliation. And also
if any Megarian should once put his foot within the
territories of Attica, that he should suffer the pains

of death. And moreover, that their captains taking ^{Pelopon-} ~~against~~ yearly their ordinary oath, should swear among ~~other articles,~~ that twice in the year they should go with their power, and destroy some part of the Megarians' land. And lastly, that the herald Anthemocritus should be buried by the place called then the gates Thriasians, and now called Dipylon. But the Megarians stoutly denying, that they were any cause of the death of this Anthemocritus: did altogether burthen Aspasia and Pericles with the same, alleging for proof thereof, Aristophanes' verses the poet, in his comedy he entitled the Acharnians, which are so common, as every boy hath them at his tongue's end.

The young men of our land (to drunken bibbing bent)
Ran out one day unrulily, and towards Megara went:
From whence in their outrage, by force they took away
Simætha, noble curtaian, as she did sport and play.

Wherewith enraged all (with pepper in the nose)
The proud Megarians came to us, as to their mortal foes,
And took by stealth away, of harlots eke a pair,
Attending on Aspasia, which were both young and fair.

But in very deed, to tell the original cause of this war, and to deliver the troth thereof, it is very hard. But all the historiographers together agree, that Pericles was the chiefest author of the war: because the decree made against the Megarians, was not revoked back again. Yet some hold opinion, that Pericles did it of a noble mind and judgement, to be constant in that he thought most expedient. For he judged that this commandment of the Lacedæmonians was but a trial to prove if the Athenians would grant them: and if they yielded to them in that, then they manifestly shewed that they were

Phidias the weaker. Other contrarily say, that it was done
the of a self-will and arrogancy, to shew his authority
image- and power, and how he did despise the Lace-
maker dæmonians. But the shrewdest proof of all, that
bringeth best authority with it, is reported after
this sort. Phidias the image-maker (as we have
told you before) had undertaken to make the image
of Pallas: and being Pericles' friend, was in great
estimation about him. But that procured him many
ill willers. Then they being desirous to hear by
him what the people would judge of Pericles; they
enticed Menon, one of the workmen that wrought
under Phidias, and made him come into the market-
place to pray assurance of the people that he might
openly accuse Phidias, for a fault he had com-
mitted about Pallas' image. The people received
his obedience, and his accusation was heard openly
in the market-place, but no mention was made of
any theft at all: because that Phidias (through
Pericles' counsel and device) had from the be-
ginning so laid on the gold upon the image, that
it might be taken off and weighed every whit.
Whereupon Pericles openly said to his accusers,
Take off the gold and weigh it. The glory of his
works did purchase him this envy. For he having
graven upon the scutcheon of the goddess, the
battell of the Amazons, had cut out the portraiture
of himself marvellous lively, under the person of an
old bald man, lifting up a great stone with both his
hands. Further, he had cut out Pericles' image,
excellently wrought and artificially, seeming in
manner to be Pericles' self, fighting with an Ama-
zon in this sort. The Amazon's hand being lift
up high, holdeth a dart before Pericles' face, so

passing cunningly wrought, as it seemed to shadow ^{and the} likeness and resemblance of Pericles: and yet notwithstanding appeareth plainly to be Pericles self on either side of the portraiture. So Phidias was clapt up in prison, and there died of a sickness, or else of poison (as some say) which his enemies had prepared for him: and all to bring Pericles into further suspicion, and to give them the more cause to accuse him. But howsoever it was, the people gave Menon his freedom, and set him free for payment of all subsidies, following the order Glycon made, and gave the captains charge they should see him safely kept, and that he took no hurt. And about the same time also Aspasia was accused, that she did not believe in the gods: and her accuser was Hermippus, maker of the comedies. He burdened her further, that she was a bawd to Pericles, and received citizens' wives into her house, which Pericles kept. And Diopithes at the same time made a decree, that they should make search and inquiry for heretics that did not believe in the gods, and that taught certain new doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things above in the element, turning the suspicion upon Pericles, because of Anaxagoras. The people did receive and confirm this inquisition: and it was moved also then by Dracontides, that Pericles should deliver an account of the money he had spent, unto the hands of the Prytanes, who were treasurers of the common fines and revenues, and that the judges deputed to give judgement, should give sentence within the city upon the altar. But Hagnon put that word out of the decree, and placed in stead thereof, that the cause should be judged by <sup>image of
Pericles</sup>

A practice of the fifteen hundred judges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for theft, for battery, or for injustice. As for Aspasia, he saved her, even for the very pity and compassion the judges took of him, for the tears he shed in making his humble suit for her, all the time he pleaded her case: as Æschines writeth. But for Anaxagoras, fearing that he could not do so much for him: he sent him out of the city, and himself did accompany him. And furthermore, seeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for Phidias' act, and for this cause fearing the issue of the judgement: he set the wars a-fire again, that always went backward, and did but smoke a little, hoping by this means to wear out the accusations against him, and to root out the malice some did bear him. For the people having weighty matters in hand, and very dangerous also: he knew they would put all into his hands alone, he having won already such great authority and reputation among them. And these be the causes why he would not (as it is said) suffer the Athenians to yield unto the Lacedæmonians in any thing: howbeit the truth cannot certainly be known. But the Lacedæmonians knowing well, that if they could weed out Pericles, and overthrow him, they might then deal as they would with the Athenians: they commanded them they should purge their city of Cylon's rebellion, because they knew well enough that Pericles' kin by the mother's side were to be touched withal, as Thucydides declareth. But this practice fell out contrary to their hope and expectation, that were sent to Athens for this purpose. For, weening to have brought Pericles into further suspicion and

displeasure, the citizens honoured him the more, to weed out Pericles and had a better affiance in him than before, because they saw his enemies did so much fear and hate him. Wherefore, before King Archidamus entred with the army of the Peloponnesians into the country of Attica, he told the Athenians, that if King Archidamus fortuned to waste and destroy all the country about, and should spare his lands and goods for the old love and familiarity that was between them, or rather to give his enemies occasion falsely to accuse him : that from thenceforth, he gave all the lands and tenements he had in the country, unto the commonwealth. So it fortuned that the Lacedæmonians with all their friends and confederates, brought a marvellous army into the country of Attica, under the leading of King Archidamus : who burning and spoiling all the country he came amongst, they came unto the town of Acharnæ, where they encamped, supposing the Athenians would never suffer them to approach so near, but that they would give them battell for the honour and defence of their country, and to shew that they were no cowards. But Pericles wisely considered how the danger was too great to hazard battell, where the loss of the city of Athens stood in peril, seeing they were three score thousand footmen of the Peloponnesians, and of the Bœotian together : for so many was their number in the first voyage they made against the Athenians. And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and to put themselves to any hazard, being mad to see their country thus wasted and destroyed before their eyes, Pericles did comfort and pacify them with these words : That trees being cut and hewn down,

Pericles did spring again in short time : but men being once a wise dead, by no possibility could be brought again.

pilot Therefore he never durst assemble the people in council, fearing lest he should be enforced by the multitude, to do some thing still against his will. But as a wise pilot, when he seeth a storm coming on the sea, doth straight give order to make all things safe in the ship, preparing every thing ready to defend the storm, according to his art and skill, not hearkening to the passengers' fearful cries and pitiful tears, who think themselves cast away : even so did Pericles rule all things according to his wisdom, having walled the city substantially about and set good watch in every corner ; and passed not for those that were angry and offended with him, neither would be persuaded by his friends' earnest requests and entreaties, neither cared for his enemies' threats nor accusations against him, nor yet reckoned of all their foolish scoffing songs they sung of him in the city, to his shame and reproach of government, saying that he was a cowardly captain, and that for dastardliness he let the enemies take all, and spoil what they would. Of which number Cleon was one that most defamed him, and began to enter into some pretty credit and favour with the common people, for that they were angry, and mislikèd with Pericles : as appeareth by these slanderous verses of Hermippus, which were then abroad :

O King of Satyrs thou, who with such manly speech
Of bloody wars and doughty deeds, dost daily to us preach:
Why art thou now afraid to take thy lance in hand,
Or with thy pike against thy foes courageously to stand ?
Since Cleon stout and fierce doth daily thee provoke,
With biting words, with trenchant blades, and deadly
daunting stroke.

All this notwithstanding, Pericles was never Plague at moved anything, but with silence did patiently Athens bear all injuries and scoffings of his enemies, and did send for all that a navy of a hundred sail unto Peloponnesus, whither he would not go in person, but kept himself at home, to keep the people in quiet: until such time as the enemies had raised their camp, and were gone away. And to entertain the common people that were offended and angry at this war: he comforted the poor people again, with causing a certain distribution to be made amongst them of the common treasure, and division also of the lands that were got by conquest. For after he had driven all the Æginetes out of their country, he caused the whole isle of Ægina to be divided by lot amongst the citizens of Athens. And then it was a great comfort to them in this adversity, to hear of their enemies' hurt and loss in such manner as it did fall out. For their army that was sent by sea unto Peloponnesus, had wasted and destroyed a great part of the champion country there, and had sacked besides many small cities and towns. Pericles self also entering into the Megarians' country by land, did waste the whole country all afore him. So the Peloponnesians receiving by sea as much hurt and loss at the Athenians' hands, as they before had done by land unto the Athenians: they had not holden out wars so long with the Athenians, but would soon have given over (as Pericles had told them before) had not the gods above secretly hindered man's reason and policy. For first of all there came such a sore plague among the Athenians, that it took away the flower of Athens' youth, and weakened

Accusa- the force of the whole city besides. Furthermore
tions the bodies of them that were left alive being in-
against fected with this disease, their hearts also were
Pericles so sharply bent against Pericles, that the sick-
ness having troubled their brains, they fell to flat
rebellion against him, as the patient against his
physician, or children against their father, even
to the hurting of him, at the provocation of
his enemies. Who bruted abroad, that the
plague came of no cause else, but of the great
multitude of the countrymen that came into the
city on heaps, one upon another's neck in the
heart of the sommer, where they were compelled to
lie many together, smothered up in little tents and
cabins, remaining there all day long, cowring down-
wards, and doing nothing, where before they lived
in the country in a fresh open air, and at liberty.
And of all this, (say they) Pericles is the only
cause, who procuring this war, hath pent and shrouded
the countrymen together within the walls of a city,
employing them to no manner of use nor service,
but keeping them like sheep in a pinfold, maketh one
to poison another with the infection of their plague
sores running upon them, and giving them no leave
to change air, that they might so much as take
breath abroad. Pericles to remedy this, and to
do their enemies a little mischief, armed a hundred
and fifty ships, and shipped into them a great number
of armed footmen and horsemen also. Hereby he put
the citizens in good hope, and the enemies in great
fear, seeing so great a power. But when he had
shipped all his men, and was himself also in the
admiral ready to hoise sail: sodainly there was a
great eclipse of the sun, and the day was very dark,

Pericles
deprived
of his
charge

that all the army was stricken with a marvellous fear, as of some dangerous and very ill token towards them. Pericles seeing the maister of his galley in a maze withal, not knowing what to do: cast his cloak over the maister's face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harm or no. The master answered him, he thought it none. Then said Pericles again to him: There is no difference between this and that, saving that the body which maketh the darkness is greater, than my cloke which hideth thy eyes. These things are thus disputed of in the schools of the philosophers. But Pericles hoising sail notwithstanding, did no notable or special service, answerable to so great an army and preparation. For he laying siege unto the holy city of Epidaurus, when every man looked they should have taken it, was compelled to raise his siege for the plague that was so vehement: that it did not only kill the Athenians themselves, but all other also (were they never so few) that came to them, or near their camp. Wherefore perceiving the Athenians were marvellously offended with him, he did what he could to comfort them, and put them in heart again: but all was in vain, he could not pacify them. For by the most part of voices, they deprived him of his charge of general, and condemned him in a marvellous great fine and sum of money, the which those that tell the least do write, that it was the sum of fifteen talents: and those that say more, speak of fifty talents. The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was Cleon, as Idomeus, or Simmias say, or as Theophrastus writeth: yet Heraclides Ponticus saith, one Lachratidas. Now his common griefs were soon blowen over: for

Pericles' the people did easily let fall their displeasures home towards him, as the wasp leaveth her sting behind troubles her with them she hath stung. But his own private affairs and household causes were in very ill case : both for that the plague had taken away many of his friends and kinsmen from him, as also for that he and his house had continued a long time in disgrace. For Xanthippus (Pericles' son and heir) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, and having married a young woman very prodigal and lavish of expense, the daughter of Tisander, son of Epilycus : he grudged much at his father's hardness, who scantily gave him money, and but a little at a time. Whereupon he sent on a time to one of his father's friends in Pericles' name, to pray him to lend him some money, who sent it unto him. But afterwards when he came to demand it again, Pericles did not only refuse to pay it him, but further also, he put him in suit. But this made the young man Xanthippus so angry with his father, that he spake very ill of him in every place where he came : and in mockery reported how his father spent his time when he was at home, and the talk he had with the Sophisters, and the maister Rhetoricians. For a mischance fortuning on a time, at the game of the throwing of the dart, who should throw best, that he that threw, did unfortunately kill one Epitimius a Thessalian : Xanthippus went prattling up and down the town, that his father Pericles was a whole day disputing with Protagoras the Rhetorician, to know which of the three by law and reason should be condemned for this murther : the dart, he that threw the dart, or the deviser of the game. Moreover Stesimbrotus writeth, that

the bruit that ran abroad through the city, how Pericles' Pericles did keep his wife, was sown abroad by constancy Xanthippus himself. But so it is, this quarrel and hate betwixt the father and the son continued without reconciliation unto the death. For Xanthippus died in the great plague, and Pericles' own sister also : moreover he lost at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kinsfolks, and those specially that did him greatest pleasure in governing of the state. But all this did never pull down his countenance, nor anything abate the greatness of his mind, what misfortunes soever he had sustained. Neither saw they him weep at any time, nor mourn at the funerals of any of his kinsmen or friends, but at the death of Paralus, his youngest and lawful begotten son : for, the loss of him alone did only melt his heart. Yet he did strive to shew his natural constancy, and to keep his accustomed modesty. But as he would have put a garland of flowers upon his head, sorrow did so pierce his heart when he saw his face, that then he burst out in tears and cried amain : which they never saw him do before all the days of his life. Furthermore, the people having proved other captains and governors, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of judgement and authority sufficient, for so great a charge : in the end, of themselves they called him again to the pulpit for orations to hear their counsels, and to the state of a captain also to take charge of the state. But at that time he kept himself close in his house, as one bewailing his late grievous loss and sorrow. Howbeit Alcibiades, and other his familiar friends, persuaded him to shew himself unto the people : who did excuse themselves

A law at
Athens
for base-
born
children

unto him, for their ingratitude towards him. Pericles then taking the government again upon him, the first matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to revoke the statute he had made for base born children, fearing lest his lawful heirs would fail, and so his house and name should fall to the ground. But as for that law, thus it stood. Pericles when he was in his best authority, caused a law to be made, that they only should be counted citizens of Athens, which were natural Athenians born by father and mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of Egypt having sent a gift unto the people of Athens, of forty thousand bushels of corn, to be distributed among the citizens there: many by occasion of this law were accused to be base born, and specially men of the baser sort of people, which were not known before, or at the least had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were falsely and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon so it fell out that there were no less than five thousand of them convicted and sold for slaves: and those that remained as free men, and were judged to be natural citizens, amounted to the number of fourteen thousand and forty persons. Now this was much disliked of the people, that a law enacted, and that had been of such force, should by the self same maker and deviser of the same be again revoked and called in. Howbeit Pericles' late calamity that fortuned to his house, did break the people's hardened hearts against him. Who thinking these sorrows' smart to be punishment enough unto him for his former pride, and judging that by God's divine justice and permission, this plague and loss fell upon him, and that his request also was tolerable: they

suffered him to enrol his base born son in the register of the lawful citizens of his family, giving him his own name, Pericles. It is the self same Pericles, who after he had overcome the Peloponnesians in a great battel by sea, near unto the Isles Arginusæ, was put to death by sentence of the people, with other captains his companions. Now was Pericles at that time infected with the plague, but not so vehemently as other were, but more temperately: which by long space of time, with many alterations and changes, that did by little and little decay and consume the strength of his body, and overcame his senses and noble mind. Therefore Theophrastus in his Morals declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether men's manners do change with their misfortunes, and whether corporeal troubles and afflictions do so alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reason: that Pericles in his sickness shewed a friend of his that came to see him, I cannot tell what a preserving charm that the women had tied (as a carkanet) about his neck, to let him understand he was very ill, since he suffered them to apply such a foolish bauble to him. In the end, Pericles drawing fast unto his death, the nobility of the city, and such his friends as were left alive, standing about his bed, began to speak of his vertue, and of the great authority he had borne, considering the greatness of his noble acts, and counting the number of his victories he had won (for he had won nine foughten battels being general of the Athenians, and had set up so many tokens and triumphs in honour of his country) they reckoned up among themselves all these matters, as if he had not understood them, imagining his senses

A notable had been gone. But he contrarily being yet of saying of perfect memory, heard all what they had said, and thus he began to speak unto them : That he marvelled why they had so highly praised that in him, which was common to many other captains, and wherein fortune dealt with him in equality alike, and all this while they had forgotten to speak of the best and most notable thing that was in him, which was, that no Athenian had ever worn black gown through his occasion. And sure so was he a noble and worthy person. For he did not only shew himself merciful and courteous, even in most weighty matters of government, among so envious people and hateful enemies : but he had thus judgement also to think, that the most noble acts he did were these, that he never gave himself unto hatred, envy, nor choler, to be revenged of his most mortal enemy, without mercy shewed towards him, though he had committed unto him such absolute power and sole government among them. And this made his surname to be Olympius (as to say, divine or celestial) which otherwise for him had been too proud and arrogant a name, because he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great liberty he had kept clean hands and undefiled : even as we esteem the gods authors of all good, and causers of no evil, and so worthy to govern and rule the whole monarchy of the world. And not as poets say, which do confound our wits by their follies, and fond feignings, and are also contrary to themselves, considering that they call heaven (which containeth the gods) the everlasting seat, which trembleth not, and is not driven nor moved with winds, neither is darkned with clouds, but is

always bright and clear, and at all times shining equally with a pure bright light, as being the only habitation and mansion place of the eternal God, only happy and immortal: and afterwards they describe it themselves, full of dissensions, of enmities, of anger and passions, which do nothing become wise and learned men. But this discourse peradventure would be better spoken of in some other book. Now the troubles the Athenians felt immediately after Pericles' death, made them then lament the loss of so noble a member. For those who unpatiently did brook his great authority while he lived, because it drowned their own: when they came after his death to prove other speakers and governors, they were compelled then to confess, that no man's nature living could be more moderate nor grave, with lenity and mercy, than was his. And that most hated power, which in his life time they called monarchy, did then most plainly appear unto them, to have been the manifest ramper and bulwark of the safety of their whole state and common weal: such corruption and vice in government of the state did then spring up immediately after his death, which when he was alive, he did ever suppress and keep under in such sort, that either it did not appear at all, or at the least it came not to that head and liberty, that such faults were committed, as were impossible to be remedied.

The
Athenians
lamented
the loss of
Pericles

THE LIFE OF FABIUS MAXIMUS

Origin of the house of Fabius HAVING already declared unto you such things worthy memory as we could collect, and gather of the life of Pericles: it is now good time we should proceed to write also of the life of Fabius Maximus. It is said the first Fabius, from whom the house and family of the Fabians did descend (being the greatest and noblest house of all other in Rome) was begotten by Hercules, whom he got of a nymph (or as other say, a woman of the country) by the river of Tiber. And some say, that the first of this house, were called at the beginning Fodians, because they did hunt wild beasts, with pitfalls and ditches. For unto this present the Romans call ditches, *fosse*: and to dig *fodere*. Since that time, the two second letters have been changed, and they have called them Fabians. But howsoever it was, this is certain, that many noble men have come out of that house: and among other, there was one of that house called Fabius Rullus, whom the Romans for his noble acts did surname Maximus, very great. After him Fabius Maximus, whose life we have now in hand, was the fourth lineally descended of the same line, and he was surnamed *Verrucosus*, because of a certain birth-mark he had upon one of his lips, like a little wart. And he was also surnamed *ovicula*, a little

Lamb, for his softness, slowness, and gravity of his ^{Child-}
doings whilst he was a child. But because of ^{hood of}
nature he was dull, still, and very silent, and that
he was seldom seen to play at any pastime among
the boys, and for that they saw he was but of slow
capacity, and hard to learn and conceive, and
withal that the boys might do to him what they
would, he was so lowly to his fellows: this made
men judge that looked not unto him that he would
prove a very fool and idiot. Yet other were of
contrary opinion of him: who considering more
deeply the man, perceived in his nature a certain
secret constancy and the majesty of a lion. But
Fabius self when he was called to serve the common
weal, did quickly show to the world, that which
they took for dullness in him, was his gravity,
which never altered for no cause or respect: and
that which others judged fearfulness in him, was
very wisdom. And where he shewed himself not
hasty, nor sudden in any thing: it was found in
him an assured and settled constancy. Where-
fore when he came to consider the great sove-
reignty of their common weal, and the continual
wars it was in: he did use his body to all hard-
ness, and brought up himself therewithal, that
he might be the better able to serve in the field:
and he gave himself much to eloquence also, as a
necessary instrument to persuade soldiers unto reason.
His tongue likewise did agree with his conditions,
and manner of life. For he had no manner of
affectation, nor counterfeit sinceness in his speech,
but his words were ever very grave and profound,
and his sentences even grafted in him by nature,
and (as some say) were much like Thucydides'

Sigⁿs and sayings. As appeareth in a funeral oration he made **wonders** before the people in the praise of his son, who died when he came out of his consulship, which is yet extant to be seen. Now as for him, having been five times chosen Consul, in his first year of his consulship, he triumphed over the Ligurians (which be people of the mountains, and upon the coast of Genoa) who being overthrown by him in a great battell, where they had lost many men, they were compelled to go their way, and to take the Alps for their succour, and durst no more appear upon the borders of Italy, whereupon they did confine. Hannibal entring Italy afterwards with a great army, and having won the first battel near unto the river of Trebia: he passed further, and went through Tuscany, wasting and destroying all the country as he passed by. This made Rome quake for fear. Besides they saw many signs and tokens, some common unto them, as thundring, lightning, and such other like: but other also more strange, never seen nor heard of before. For it was reported that certain targets were waxen all bloody of themselves, and that about the city of Antium they found wheat ears, which were all bloody when they were reaped: that there fell from heaven, burning stones all in a flame of fire: and in the country of the Falerians how the element seemed to open, and many little written scrolls fell down upon the ground, in one of the which were written these words, word for word: Mars doth now handle his weapons. But all these signs and wonders did nothing appal nor daunt the boldness of Caius Flaminius, Consul then: who besides the natural great courage, and aspiring mind he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the

wonderful good success he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home again, and that his fellow Consul stood against his intent : he for all that did give battell to the Gauls, in despite of them all, and wan the victory. Likewise, though all these signs and wonders in the air, did greatly trouble and amaze multitudes of people : yet did they nothing trouble Fabius, for he saw no apparent cause to be troubled withal. But he understanding the small number of his enemies and the lack of money that was among them : gave counsel, and was of opinion they should patiently forbear a little, and not to hazard battell against a man, whose army had been long trained in wars, and by many foughten fields was grown valiant and expert. Moreover, he thought good they should send aid to their subjects, and other their allies and confederates, as need required, to keep their cities still under their obedience: and in the mean season by tract of time, to wear out Hannibal's force and power, which was like straw set on fire, that straight giveth forth a blaze, and yet hath no substance to hold fire long. When Fabius had thus said enough to persuade Flaminus, yet it would not sink into Flaniinius' head : for, said he, I will not tarry until the wars come to Rome gates, neither will I be brought to fight upon the walls of the city, to defend it, as Camillus did, that fought within the city self in old time. Whereupon he commanded his captains to set out their bands to the field, and he himself took his horseback : which upon the sodain, without any cause was so afear'd, and took so on with himself, that he cast the Consul to the ground with his head

The forward. For all this fall he would not change his mind, but held on his journey toward Hannibal, and presented him battell in Tuscany by the lake called Trasimenus, which is the lake of Perusia. This battel was so fiercely fought on both sides, that notwithstanding there was such a terrible earthquake therewhile, that some cities were overthrown and turned topsy turvey, some rivers had their streams turned against their course, and the foot of the mountains were torn in sunder, and broken open: yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any such thing at all. Flaminius the Consul self was slain at that battel, after he had in his own person done many a valiant act, and many of the worthiest gentlemen and valiantest soldiers of his army lay dead about him: the residue being fled, the slaughter was great, for the bodies slain were fifteen thousand, and so many prisoners left alive. After this overthrow, Hannibal made all the search he could possible to find the body of Flaminius, to bury him honourably, because of his valiantness: but he could never be found amongst the dead bodies, neither was it ever heard what became of it. Now as touching the first overthrow at Trebia, neither the general that wrote it, nor the post that brought the first news to Rome, told the troth of it as it was, but feigned that the end was doubtful, and that they could not tell who had the best. But of this battell, so soon as the Prætor Pomponius had received the news, he called all the people to counsel, where without disguising or dissembling at all, he plainly said thus unto them. My Lords, we have lost the battel, our army is overthrown, and the Consul himself is slain in the

field: wherefore consider what you have to do, and provide for your safety. These words spoken to the people, as, it had been a boisterous storm of weather that had fallen on them from the sea, to put them in danger, did so terrify the multitude, and trouble the whole city for fear: that they were all in a maze, and knew not what to determine. Yet in the end they all agreed that it stood them upon to have a chief magistrate, called in Latin *dictatura*, that should be a man of courage, and could stoutly use it without sparing or fearing any person. And for this, Fabius Maximus was thought the only man meet to be chosen, as he, whose noble courage and grave behaviour was answerable to the dignity and sovereignty of the office: and moreover, that to his gravity and wisdom there was joined (by reasonable age) strength of body, and valiantness with experience. This counsel being confirmed by them all, Fabius was chosen Dictator, who named Lucius Minucius general of the horsemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would grant him he might have his horse in the wars: the which was not lawful for the Dictator, but expressly forbidden by an ancient order. Either because they thought the chiefest force of their army did consist in their footmen, which caused the making of this law: whereby the general should be amongst them in the day of the battell, and in no wise should forsake them. Or else because the authority of this magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a king: yet all this notwithstanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the Dictator should have absolute power over the

The
Dictator
might not
ride in the
wars

The
majesty
of Fabius
the Dic-
tator

people. Fabius at his first coming, because he would shew the majesty and dignity of his office, that every man, should be the more obedient and ready at his commandment: when he went abroad, he had four and twenty sergeants before him, carrying the bundles of rods, and axes. And when one of the consuls came to him, he sent a sergeant to command his bundle of rods that were carried before him, to be put down, and all other tokens of dignity to be laid aside: and that he should come and speak with him, as a private man. And first to make a good foundation, and to begin with the service of the gods: he declared unto the people, that the loss they had received, came through the rashness and wilful negligence of their captain, who made no reckoning of the gods nor religion: and not through any default and cowardliness of the soldiers. And for this cause he did persuade them not to be afraid of their enemies, but to appease the wrath of the gods, and to serve and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but did confirm their valiancy with true religion and godliness: and besides did utterly take away and assuage their fear of their enemies, by giving them certain hope and assurance of the aid of the gods. Then were the holy books of the Sibyl's prophecies perused, which were kept very secret, and therein they found certain ancient prophecies and oracles, which spake of the present misfortunes of the time. But what were contained therein, it is not lawful to be uttered to any person. Afterwards the Dictator, before the open assembly of the people, made a solemn vow unto the gods, that he would sacrifice all the profits and fruits that should fall the

next year, of sheep, of sows, of milch kine, and of goats in all the mountains, champion country, rivers, or meadows of Italy. And he would celebrate plays of music, and shew other sights in the honour of the gods, and would bestow upon the same the sum of three hundred three and thirty sestercians, and three hundred three and thirty Roman pence, and a third part over. All which sum reduced into Grecian money, amounteth to four score and three thousand, five hundred, and four score and three silver drachmas, and two obols. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this sum so precisely, and why he did divide it by three, unless it were to extol the power of the number of three: because it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the first of the odd numbers, which is the beginning of divers numbers, and containeth in it self the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers united and joined together. So Fabius having brought the people to hope and trust to have the aid and favour of the gods: made them in the end the better disposed to live well afterwards. Then Fabius hoping after victory, and that the gods would send good luck and prosperity unto men, through their valiantness and wisdom: did straight set forwards unto Hannibal, not as minded to fight with him, but fully resolved to wear out his strength and power, by delays and tract of time: and to increase his poverty by the long spending of his own money, and to consume the small number of his people, with the great number of his soldiers. Fabius camped always in the strong and high places of the mountains, out of all danger of his enemy's horsemen, and coasted

Fabius'
doings
against
Hannibal

**Strata-
gems and
policies
of Han-
nibal** still after the enemy : so that when Hannibal stayed in any place, Fabius also stayed : if Hannibal removed, he followed him straight, and would be always near him, but never forsook the hills, neither would he come so near him, as that he should be enforced to fight against his will. Yet always he followed the enemy at his tail, and made him ever afeard of him, thinking still that he sought to get the vantage, to give the charge upon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this sort, he became disliked of every body. For every man both in his own camp, and abroad, spoke very ill of him openly : and as for his enemies, they took him for no better, than a rank coward, Hannibal only excepted. But he perceiving his great reach and policy, and foreseeing his manner of fight, saw there was no remedy, but by plain force or flight to bring him to the fight : for otherwise his delay would overthrow the Carthaginians, when they should not come to handy strokes with him, wherein only consisted all their hope and strength, and in the meantime his soldiers should fall away, and die, and his money wax scant, and himself should grow the weaker. Thereupon Hannibal began to bethink him, and devise all the stratagems and policies of war he could imagine : and like a cunning wrestler, to seek out all the tricks he could to give his adversary the fall. For suddenly, he would go and give alarm to his camp : by and by again he would retire. Another time he would remove his camp, from one place to another, and give him some advantage, to see if he could pluck his lingring device out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for Fabius, he continued still re-

solute in his first determination : that delay of fight was the best way so to overthrow him. Howbeit Minucius, general of his horsemen, did trouble him much. For he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and braving of a lusty courage, crept into opinion with the soldiers, by his hot fury and desire to fight. Which wrought much in them, and so stirred up their courages, that they mocked Fabius altogether : and called him Hannibal's schoolmaister : and contrariwise they commended Minutius, for a valiant captain, and worthy Roman. This made Minutius look high, and have a proud opinion of himself, mocking Fabius because he ever lodged on the hills, with saying, the Dictator would make them goodly sports, to see their enemies waste and burn Italy before their face. Moreover, he asked Fabius' friends, whether he would in the end lodge his camp in the sky, that he did climb up so high upon mountains, mistrusting the earth : or else that he was so afraid his enemies would find him out, that he went to hide himself in the clouds. Fabius' friends made report of these jests, and advised him rather to hazard battell, than to bear such reproachful words as were spoken of him. But Fabius answered them : If I should yield to that you counsel me, I should shew my self a greater coward than I am taken for now : by leaving my determination, for fear of their mocks and spiteful words. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearful, and jealous, of the welfare and safety of his country : but otherwise to be afeard of the wagging of every straw, or to regard every common prating, it is not the part of a worthy man of charge, but rather of a

Minucius
and
Fabius

Hannibal base-minded person, to seek to please those whom he ought to command and govern, because they are but fools. After this, Hannibal chanced to fall into a great error. For intending to leave Fabius to bring his army into the plains, where there was plenty of victuals, and store of pasture to feed his horse and cattell: he commanded his guides to bring him straight after supper, into the plain of Casinum. They mistaking his words, and not understanding well what he said, because his Italian tongue was but mean, took one thing for another, and so brought him and his army to the end of a field near the city of Casilinum, through the midst of the which runneth a river, the Romans call Vulturnus. Now the country lying by it, was a valley compassed in with mountains round about, saving that the river went to the sea: where leaving his own banks, it spreadeth abroad into the marishes, and banks of sand very deep, and in the end fell into that part of the sea which is most dangerous, and there was neither succour or covert. Hannibal being now fallen as it were into the bottom of a sack, Fabius that knew the country, and was very perfect in all the ways thereabouts, followed him step by step, and stopped his passage, where he should have come out of the valley, with four thousand footmen, which he planted there to keep the strait, and disposed the rest of his army upon the hangings of the hills, in the most apt and fit places all about. Then with his light horsemen he gave a charge, upon the rearward of his enemy's battell: which put all Hannibal's army by and by out of order, and so there were slain eight hundred of his men. Whereupon Hannibal would have re-

moved his camp thence immediately, and knowing then the fault his guides had made, taking one place for another, and the danger wherein they had brought him : he roundly trussed them up, and hung them by the necks. Now to force his enemies to come down from the tops of the hills, and to win them from their strength, he saw it was unpossible, and out of all hope. Wherefore, perceiving his soldiers both afraid and discouraged, for that they saw themselves hemmed in on all sides, without any order to escape : Hannibal determined to deceive Fabius by a device. He caused straight two thousand oxen to be chosen out of the herd, which they had taken before in their spoils, and tied to their horns light bundels of reeds, and sallow faggots, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines : and commanded the drovers that had the charge of them, that when they saw any signal or token lift up in the air in the night, they should then straight set fire on those bundels and bunches, and drive up the beasts to the hills, toward the ways where the enemies lay. Whilst these things were a preparing, he on the other side ranged his army in order of battell : and when night came, caused them to march fair and softly. Now these beasts, whilst the fire was but little that burnt upon their horns, went but fair and softly up the hill from the foot of the mountains from whence they were driven. Insomuch as the herdmen that were on the top of the mountains, wondered marvellously to see such flames and fires about the horns of so many beasts, as if it had been an army marching in order of battell with lights and torches. But when their horns came

Hanni-
bal's stra-
tagem

A sleight to be burnt to the stumps, and that the force of the
of Han- fire did fry their very flesh: then began the oxen
nibal to fight together, and to shake their heads, whereby
they did set one another afire. Then left they
their soft pace, and went no more in order as
they did before, but for the extreme pain they
felt, began to run here and there in the moun-
tains, carrying fire still about their horns, and in
their tails, and set fire of all the boughs and cop-
pices they passed by. This was a strange sight
to look upon, and did much amaze the Romans
that kept the passages of the mountains, for they
thought they had been men that ran here and
there with torches in their hands. Whereupon
they were in a marvellous fear and trouble, sup-
posing they had been their enemies that ran thus
towards them, to environ them of all sides: so as
they durst no more keep the passages which they
were commanded, but forsaking their straits, began
to fly towards their main and great camp. There-
upon Hannibal's light horsemen immediately pos-
sessed the straits that were kept: by reason whereof,
all the rest of his army marched out at their ease
and leisure, without fear or danger, notwithstanding
that they were laden and troubled with marvellous
great spoils, and of all kind of sorts. Fabius then
perceived very well the same night, that it was but
a sleight of Hannibal: for some of the oxen that fled
here and there fell upon his army. Whereupon
fearing to fall upon some ambush by reason of the
dark night, he kept his men in battell ray, without
stirring, or making any noise. The next morning
by break of day, he began to follow his enemy by
the track, and fell upon the trail of the rearward,

with whom he skirmished within the straits of the mountains : and so did distress somewhat Hannibal's army. Hannibal thereupon sent out of his vanguard a certain number of Spaniards (very lusty and nimble fellows, that were used to the mountains, and acquainted with climbing up upon them) who coming down, and setting upon the Romans that were heavy armed, slew a great number of them, and made Fabius to retire. Thereupon they despised Fabius the more, and thought worse of him than they did before : because his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with Hannibal, but by wisdom and policy to overthrow him, whereas he himself by Hannibal was first finely handled and deceived. Hannibal then to bring Fabius further in disliking and suspicion with the Romans, commanded his soldiers when they came near any of Fabius' lands, that they should burn and destroy all round about them, but gave them in charge in no wise to meddle with Fabius' lands, nor any thing of his, and did purposely appoint a garrison to see that nothing of Fabius should miscarry, nor yet take hurt. This was straight carried to Rome, which did thereby the more incense the people against him. And to help it forward, the Tribunes never ceased crying out upon him in their orations to the people, and all by Metellus' special procurement and persuasion : who of himself had no cause to mislike with Fabius, but only because he was Minucius' kinsman (general of the horsemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bare to Fabius, would turn to the praise and advancement of Minucius. The Senate also were much offended with Fabius, for the composition he

Hanni-
bal's
craftiness
against
Fabius

Fabius made with Hannibal, touching the prisoners taken
redeem-
eth the
prisoners
with his
money

of either side. For it was articed between them, that they should change prisoners, delivering man for man, or else two hundred and fifty silver drachmas for a man, if the one chanced to have more prisoners than the other. When exchange was made between them, it appeared that Hannibal had left in his hands of Roman prisoners, two hundred and forty more, than Fabius had to exchange of his. The Senate commanded there should be no money sent to redeem them, and greatly found fault with Fabius for making this accord: because it was neither honourable, nor profitable for the common-weal, to redeem men that cowardly suffered themselves to be taken prisoners of their enemies. Fabius understanding it, did patiently bear this displeasure conceived against him by the Senate. Howbeit having no money, and meaning to keep his word, and not to leave the poor citizens prisoners behind him: he sent his son to Rome, with commission to sell his lands, and to bring him money immediately. The young man went his way to Rome, and sold his father's farms, and brought him money forthwith to the camp. Fabius therewith redeemed the prisoners, and sent their ransom unto Hannibal. Many of the prisoners whom he had redeemed, offered to repay him their ransom; but he would never take any thing again, and gave them all their ransom freely. Afterwards being called to Rome by the priests to do certain solemn sacrifices, he left the army in charge with Minucius, to govern the same in his absence, with condition not to set upon the enemy, nor to fight with him at all: the

which not only by his authority he did expressly forbid him, but also as his very friend, he did warn and entreat him in no wise to attempt. Howbeit Minucius little regarding his commandments or requests, so soon as Fabius' back was turned, began to be somewhat lusty, and doing with his enemies. So one day amongst the rest, Minucius perceiving Hannibal had sent a great part of his army abroad to forage and get victuals, came and set upon them that remained behind, and drove them into their camp, with great slaughter, and did put them in a marvellous fear that were saved, as men that looked for no less, but to have been besieged in their camp. Afterwards also, when their whole army came together again: he retired back in spite of them all, and lost not a man. This exploit set Minucius in a pride, and brought the soldiers to be more rash than they were before. The news of this overthrow went with speed to Rome, and there they made it a great deal more than it was. Fabius hearing of it, said: he was more afraid of Minucius' prosperity than of his own adversity. But the common people rejoiced marvellously, and made great shew of joy up and down the market place. Whereupon Metellus one of the Tribunes going up into the pulpit, made an oration unto the people, in which he highly magnified Minucius, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged Fabius no more of cowardliness, but with flat treason. Furthermore, he did accuse the nobility and greatest men of Rome, saying: that from the first beginning they had laid a plot to draw these wars out at length, only to destroy the people's power and authority, having brought the whole common-weal

Fabius to the state of a monarchy, and into the hands of a accused private person. Who by his remissness and delays, of treason would give Hannibal leisure to plant himself in Italy, and by time give open passage to the Carthaginians, at their pleasure to send Hannibal a second aid and army, to make a full conquest of all Italy. Fabius hearing these words, rose up straight, and spake to the people, and tarried not about the answering of the accusations the Tribune had burthened him withal, but prayed them they would dispatch these sacrifices and ceremonies of the gods, that he might speedily return again to the camp, to punish Minucius, for breaking his commandment, in fighting with the enemy. He had no sooner spoken these words, but there rose a marvellous tumult and hurly burly presently among the people, for the danger Minucius stood in then : because the Dictator had absolute power and authority to imprison and put to death, whom he thought good, without ordinary course of law or arraignment. Moreover, they did judge, since Fabius had of late left his accustomed mildness and affability, that he would grow to such severity in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appease him. Wherefore every man held their peace for fear, saving only Metellus the Tribune : he having authority by vertue of his office, to say what he thought good, and who only of all other kept still his place and authority, when any Dictator was chosen. Then all the officers that were put down, instantly besought the people not to forsake Minucius, nor to suffer the like to be done to him, as Manlius Torquatus did of late to his son, who stroke off his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemies and over-

came them, for breaking his commandment. And began to persuade them further, to take this tyranical power of the Dictatorship from Fabius: and to put their affairs into the hands of him, that would and could tell how to bring them safely to pass. The people were tickled marvellously with these seditious words, but yet they durst not force Fabius to resign his Dictatorship, though they bore him great grudge, and were angry with him in their hearts. Howbeit they ordained that Minucius thenceforth should have equal power and authority with the Dictator in the wars, a thing that was never seen nor heard of before, and yet the very same done in that sort again, after the battell of Cannæ. For Marcus Junius being at that time Dictator in the camp, they did choose another Dictator at Rome, which was Fabius Buteo, to name and create new Senators in the place of those that were slain in the battell. But after he had named them, and restored the full number again of the council of the Senate: he discharged the self same day the sergeants that carried the axes before him, and sent away the train that waited upon him, and did so put himself in praise of the people in the market place, and followed his own peculiar business as a private person. Now the Romans imagined, that when Fabius should see how they had made Minucius equal in authority with him, it would grieve him to the heart for very anger: but they came short to judge of his nature, for he did not think that their folly should hurt or dis honour him at all. But as wise Diogenes answered one that said unto him, Look, they mock thee: Tush (said he) they mock not me. Meaning

Minucius
made
equal in
authority

Minucius' thereby, that he took them to be mocked, that were pride offended with their mocks. Thus Fabius took every thing quietly, that the people offered him, and did comfort himself with the philosophers' rules and examples: who did maintain, that an honest and wise man, can no way be injured nor dishonoured. For all the displeasure he received by the people's folly, was in respect of the commonwealth: because they had put a sword into a mad man's hand, in giving Minucius authority to follow his rash humour and fond ambition in the wars. Wherefore, fearing lest he being blinded with vain glory, and presumptuous opinion of himself, should rashly (and upon a head) hasten to do some great hurt before he came to the camp: he departed suddenly out of Rome without any man's knowledge, to return again to the camp, where he found Minucius so proud and stout, that he was not to be dealt with. For he would needs have the authority to command the whole army when it came to his turn. But Fabius would not consent to that, but divided the one-half of the army between them: thinking it better he should alone command the one half, than the whole army by turns. So he chose for himself, the first and third legion: and gave unto him, the second and fourth, and divided also between them the aid of their friends. And when Minucius made his boast, that the majesty of the highest magistrate was brought lower for his sake: Fabius told him that he might think, if he were wise, he had not to fight with him, but with Hannibal: and if he would needs contend against his companion, yet he should have a special regard and consideration, that having won now the citizens' good wills, by whom

he was so much honoured, he should have no less care of their health and safety than he had, who was now trodden under foot, and ill intreated by them. Minucius took his lesson for a counterfeit mock, after old men's manners and fashion: and so taking the one half of the army unto him, went and lodged alone by himself. Hannibal hearing of their jar and squaring together, sought straight opportunity to make their discord finely to serve his turn. Now there was a hill between both their camps not very hard to be won, and it was an excellent place to lodge a camp safely in, and was very fit and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, did seem afar off to be very plain and even ground, because they had no covert of wood to shadow them, yet were there many ditches and little valleys in them: wherefore Hannibal, though he might easily have taken it at his pleasure if he had listed, did let it alone in the middest between them, for a bait to draw out his enemies to battell. Now when Hannibal saw Fabius and Minucius lodged asunder, he placed certain bands in the night, among those ditches and valleys. Afterwards the next morning by break of day, he sent a small number of men openly to win this hill: hoping by this policy to train Minucius out to the field, as it fell out indeed. For first Minucius sent thither his light horsemen, and afterwards all his men at arms: and lastly perceiving that Hannibal himself came to relieve his men that were upon the hill, he himself marched forward also with all the rest of his army in order of battell, and gave a hot charge upon them that defended the hill, to drive them thence. The fight continued equal a good

Hannibal
laid am-
bush for
Minucius

Fabius' foresight in the war space between them both, until such time as Hannibal saw his enemy come directly within his danger, and showed the rearward of his battell naked unto his men, whom before he had laid in ambush : he straight raised the signal he had given them. They upon that discovered all together, and with great cries did set upon the rearward of the Romans, and slew a great number of them at the first charge : and did put the rest in such a fear and disorder, as it is unpossible to express it. Then was Minucius' rash bravery and fond boasts much cooled, when he looked first upon one captain, then upon another, and saw in none of them any courage to tarry by it, but rather that they were all ready to run away. Which if they had done, they had been cast away every man : for the Numidians finding they were the stronger, did disperse themselves all about the plain, killing all stragglers that fled. Minucius' soldiers being brought to this danger and distress, which Fabius foresaw they would fall into, and having upon this occasion his army ready ranged in order of battell, to see what would become of Minucius, not by report of messengers, but with his own eyes : he got him to a little hill before his camp, where when he saw Minucius and all his men compassed about on every side, and even staggering and ready to fly, and heard beside their cries not like men that had hearts to fight, but as men scared, and ready to fly for fear to save themselves : he clapped his hand on his thigh, and fetched a great sigh, saying to those that were about him : O gods, how Minucius is gone to cast himself away, sooner than I looked for, and later than he desired ! But in speaking these

words, he made his ensigns march on in haste, **Fabius** resueth **Minucius** crying out aloud. O my friends, we must dispatch with speed to succour Minucius: for he is a valiant man of person, and one that loveth the honour of his country. And though with overmuch hardiness he hath ventred too far, and made a fault, thinking to have put the enemies to flight: time serveth not now to accuse him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he presently brake the Numides, and dispersed them, that lay waiting in the fields for the Romans, which they thought would have fled. Afterwards he went further, and did set upon them that had given charge upon the rearward of Minutius' battell, where he slew them that made head against him. The residue, fearing lest they should fall into the danger they had brought the Romans unto, before they were environed in of all sides, did turn tail straight to Fabius. Now Hannibal seeing this change, and considering how Fabius in person, with more courage than his age required, did make a lane in the middest of those that fought against the side of the hill, to come to the place where Minucius was: he made the battell to cease, and commanded to sound the retreat, and so drew back his men again into his camp, the Romans being very glad also they might retire with safety. They say Hannibal in his retiring, said merrily to his friends: Have not I told you (Sirs) many a time and oft, of the hanging cloud we saw on the top of the mountains, how it would break out in the end with a tempest that would fall upon us? After this battell, Fabius having stript those that were left dead in the field, retired again to his own camp,

The wis- and spake not an ill word of Minucius his com-
dom of panion. Minucius then being come to his camp,
Minucius assembled his soldiers, and spake thus to them.

My friends, not to err at all, enterprising great
matters, it is a thing passing man's nature: but to
take warning hereafter, by faults that are past and
done, it is the part of a wise and valiant man. For
my self, I acknowledge I have no less occasion to
praise fortune, than I have also cause to complain
of her. For that which long time could never
teach me, I have learned by experience in one
little piece of a day: and that is this. That I
am not able to command, but am my self fitter to
be governed and commanded by another: and that
I am but a fool to stand in mine own conceit,
thinking to overcome those, of whom it is more
honour for me to confess myself to be overcome.
Therefore I tell you, that the Dictator Fabius
henceforth shall be he, who alone shall command
you in all things. And to let him know that we
do all acknowledge the favour which we have
presently received at his hands, I will lead you
to give him thanks, and will my self be the first
man to offer to obey him in all that he shall com-
mand me. These words being spoken, he commanded
his ensign bearers to follow him, and he himself
marched foremost towards Fabius' camp. When
he came thither, he went directly to the Dictator's
tent: whereat every man wondered, not knowing
his intent. Fabius came out to meet him. Minucius
after he had set down his ensigns at his feet,
said with a loud voice, O father: and his soldiers
unto Fabius' soldiers, O maisters, which name the
bondmen that are enfranchised, do use to them that

have manumitted them. Afterwards every man being silent, Minucius began aloud to say unto him, My lord Dictator, this day you have won two victories. The one of Hannibal, whom valiantly you have overcome: the second, of my self your companion, whom also your wisdom and goodness hath vanquished. By the one, you have saved our lives: and by the other, you have wisely taught us. So have we also been overcome in two sorts: the one by Hannibal to our shame, and the other by your self, to our honour and preservation. And therefore do I now call you my father, finding no other name more honourable to call you by, wherewith I might honour you: acknowledging my self more bound unto you for the present grace and favour I have received of you, than unto my natural father that begot me. For by him only I was begotten: but by you, mine and all these honest citizens' lives have been saved. And having spoken these words, he embraced Fabius: and so did the soldiers also, heartily embrace together, and kiss one another. Thus the joy was great through the whole camp, and one were so glad of another, that the tears trickled down their cheeks for joy. Now when Fabius was afterwards put out of his office of Dictatorship, there were new Consuls chosen again: the two first followed directly Fabius' former order he had begun. For they kept themselves from giving Hannibal any battell, and did always send aid to their subjects and friends, to keep them from rebellion: until that Terentius Varro (a man of mean birth, and known to be very bold and rash) by flattering of the people, won credit among them to be made Consul. Then they

in ac-
know-
ledging
his fault

The rash-
ness of
Terentius
Varro thought that he by his rashness and lack of ex-
perience, would incontinently hazard battell: because
he had cried out in all the assemblies before, that
this war would be everlasting, so long as the people
did choose any of the Fabians to be their generals,
and vaunted himself openly, that the first day he
came to see his enemies, he would overthrow them.
In giving out these brave words, he assembled such
a power, that the Romans never saw so great a
number together, against any enemy that ever they
had: for he put into one camp four score and eight
thousand fighting men. This made Fabius and
the other Romans, men of great wisdom and judge-
ment, greatly affraid: because they saw no hope for
Rome to rise again, if it fortuned that they should
lose so great a number of goodly youth. Therefore
Fabius talked with the other consul, called Paulus
Aemilius, a man very skilful and expert in wars,
but ill beloved of the common people, whose fury
he yet feared, for that they had condemned him a
little before to pay a great fine to the treasury: and
after he had somewhat comforted him, he began to
persuade and encourage him to resist the fond rash-
ness of his companion, telling him, that he should
have as much to do with Terentius Varro for the
preservation and safety of his country, as to fight
with Hannibal for defence of the same. For they
were both marshal men, and had a like desire to
fight: the one because he knew not wherein the
vantage of his strength consisted, and the other
because he knew very well his weakness. You
shall have reason to believe me better, for matters
touching Hannibal, than Terentius Varro. For I
dare warrant you, if you keep Hannibal from battell

but this year, he shall of necessity, if he tarry, consume himself, or else for shame be driven to fly with his army. And the rather, because hitherto (though he seem to be lord of the field) never one yet of his enemies came to take his part: and moreover because there remains at this day in his camp not the third part of his army, he brought with him out of his country. Unto these persuasions, the Consul (as it is reported) answered thus. When I look into my self, my lord Fabius, me thinks my best way were rather to fall upon the enemy's pikes than once again to light into the hands and voices of our citizens. Therefore, sith the estate of the commonwealth so requireth it, that it behoveth a man to do as you have said: I will do my best endeavour to shew my self a wise captain, for your sake only, rather than for all other that should advise me to the contrary. And so Paulus departed from Rome with this mind. But Terentius his companion would in any case, they should command the whole army by turns, each his day by himself: and went to encamp hard by Hannibal, by the river of Aufide, near unto the village called Cannes. Now when it came to his day to command by turns, early in the morning he caused the signal of battell to be set out, which was a coat armour of scarlet in grain, that they did lay out upon the pavilion of the general: so that the enemies at the first sight, began to be afeard, to see the lustiness of this new come general, and the great number of soldiers he had also in his host, in comparison of them that were not half so many. Yet Hannibal of a good courage, commanded every man to arm, and to put themselves in order of

Fabius' counsel
to Paulus
Æmilius

Hannibal's battell: and himself in the mean time taking his horse back, followed with a few, gallopped up to the top of a little hill not very steep, from whence he might plainly discern all the Romans' camp, and saw how they did range their men in order of battell. Now one Gisco (a man of like state and nobility as himself) being with him at that time, told him, that the enemies seemed a far off to be a marvellous number. But Hannibal rubbing his forehead, answered him: Yea, said he, but there is another thing more to be wondered at than you think of, Gisco. Gisco straight asked him: What? Marry, saith he, this: that of all the great number of soldiers you see yonder, there is not a man of them called Gisco as you are. This merry answer delivered contrary to their expectation that were with him, looking for some great weighty matter, made them all laugh a good. So down the hill they came laughing aloud, and told this pretty jest to all they met as they rode, which straight from one to another ran over all the camp, in so much as Hannibal himself could not hold from laughing. The Carthaginian soldiers perceiving this, began to be of a good courage, imagining that their general would not be so merrily disposed as to fall a laughing, being so near danger, if he had not perceived himself a great deal to be the stronger, and that he had good cause also to make no reckoning of his enemies. Furthermore, he shewed two policies of a skilful captain in the battell. The first was, the situation of the place, where he put his men in order of battell, so as they had the wind on their backs: which raging like a burning lightning, raised a sharp dust out of the open

sandy valley, and passing over the Carthaginians' squadron, blew full in the Romans' faces, with such a violence, that they were compelled to turn their faces, and to trouble their own ranks. The second policy was, the form and order of his battell. For he placed on either side of his wings, the best and valiantest soldiers he had in all his army: and did fill up the midst of his battell with the worst of his men, which he made like a point, and was farther out by a great deal, then the two wings of the front of his battell. So he commanded those of the wings, that when the Romans had broken his first front, and followed those that gave back, whereby the middest of his battell should leave an hollow place, and the enemies should come in still increasing within the compass of the two wings: that then they should set upon them on both sides, and charge their flanks immediately, and so enclose them in behind. And this was cause of greater slaughter. For when the middle battell began to give back, and to receive the Romans within it, who pursued the other very hotly, Hannibal's battell changed her form: and where at the beginning it was like a point, it became now in the middest like a cressant or half-noon. Then the captains of the chosen bands that lay out in both the wings, made their men to turn, some on the left hand, and some on the right, and charged the Romans on the flanks, and behind, where they were all naked: so they killed all those that could not save themselves by flying, before they were environed. They say also, that there fell out another mischief by misfortune, unto the horsemen of the Romans, and by this occasion. The horse of Paulus Æmilius the

Hanni-
bal's
order of
battle at
Cannes

Paulus Consul being hurt, did throw his maister on the
Aemilius ground: whereupon those that were next him, did
scam light from their horse backs to help him. The residue of the horsemen that were a great way behind him, seeing them light, thought they had been all commanded to light: hereupon every man forsook their horse, and fought it out on foot. Hannibal when he saw that, said: Yea marry, I had rather have them so, than delivered me bound hand and foot. But for those matters, the historiographers do dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Consuls, Varro saved himself by his horse, with a few following him, within the city of Venusia. Paulus being in the middest of the throng of all the army, his body full of arrows that stuck fast in his wounds, and his heart sore laden with grievous sorrow and anguish to see the overthrow of his men: was set down by a rock, looking for some of his enemies, to come and rid him out of his pain. But few could know him, his head and face was of such a gore-blood: insomuch as his friends and servants also passed by him, and knew him not. And there was but one young gentleman of a noble house of the Patricians, called Cornelius Lentulus, that knew him, who did his best endeavour to save him. For he lighted on foot presently, and brought him his horse, praying him to get up upon him, to prove if he could save himself for the necessity of his country, which now more than ever had need of a good and wise captain. But he refused the gentleman's offer and his entreaty, and compelled him to take his horse back again, though the tears ran down his cheeks for pity: and raising himself up to take him by the hand, he said unto

him: I pray you tell Fabius Maximus from me, and witness with me, that Paulus Æmilius even to his last hour hath followed his counsel, and did never swarve from the promise he made him; but that first he was forced to it by Varro, and afterwards by Hannibal. When he had delivered these words, he bade Lentulus farewell: and running again into the fury of the slaughter, there he died among his slain companions. It is thought there were slain at this battell, fifty thousand Romans, and four thousand taken prisoners: and other ten thousand that were taken prisoners in two camps after the battell. When this noble victory was gotten, Hannibal's friends gave him counsel to follow his good fortune, and to enter Rome after the scattered number that fled thither: so as within few days following he might sup in their Capitol. A man cannot easily guess what was the cause that stayed him, that he went not, unless it was (as I think) some good fortune, or favourable god toward the Romans that withheld him, and made him afeard and glad to retire. Whereupon they say, that one Barca a Carthaginian, in his anger said to Hannibal: Sir, you have the way to overcome, but you cannot use victory. Notwithstanding, this victory made a marvellous change for him. For hereupon, all Italy in manner came in to submit themselves to him: where before he had no town at commandment, nor any storehouse or port through all Italy, yea he did marvellous hardly, and with much ado victual his army with that he could daily rob and spoil, having no certain place to retire unto, nor grounded hope to entertain these wars, but kept the field with his army, removing from

Fifty
thousand
Romans
slain

Fabius' place to place, as they had bin a great number
constancy of murtherers and thieves together. For the most
after the
over-
throw part of the country, did yield immediately unto him: as the city of Capua, being the chiefest and greatest city of all Italy but Rome, and did receive Hannibal, and were at his devotion. Thus we may plainly see, that as the poet Euripides sayeth: it is a great mischief not only to be driven to make trial of friends, but proof also of captains' wisdom. For that which before they accounted cowardliness and faint heart in Fabius, immediately after the battell, they thought it more than man's reason, and rather an heavenly wisdom and influence, that so long foresaw the things to come, which the parties selves that afterwards felt them, gave little credit unto before. Upon this occasion, Rome reposed incontinently all their hope and trust in Fabius, and they repaired to him for counsel, as they would have run unto some temple or altar for sanctuary. So as the first and chiefest cause of staying the people together from dispersing themselves abroad, as they did when Rome was taken by the Gauls, was the only opinion and confidence they had in Fabius' wisdom. For where before he seemed to be a coward, and timerous, when there was no danger nor misfortune happened: then when every man wept and cried out for sorrow, which could not help, and that all the world was so troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone up and down the city very modestly, with a bold constant countenance, speaking curteously to every one, and did appease their womanish cries and lamentations, and did forbid the common assemblies

and fond ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corpse at their burials. Then he persuaded the Senate to assemble in council, and did comfort up those that were magistrates, and he alone was the only force and power of the city: for there was not a man that bare any office, but did cast his eye upon Fabius, to know what he should do. He it was that caused the gates of the city straight to be warded, and to keep those in for going their way, that would have forsaken the city. He moreover did appoint the time and place of mourning, and did command whosoever was disposed to mourn, that he should do it privately in his own house, and to continue only but thirty days. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, and that the city might be clean from such unclean things. So the feast of Ceres falling about that time, he thought it better to leave off the sacrifices and procession they were wont to keep on Ceres' day: than by their small number that were left, and sorrow of those that remained, to let their enemies understand their exceeding great loss. For the gods delight to be served with glad and rejoicing hearts, and with those that are in prosperity. But all this notwithstanding, whatsoever the priests would have done, either to pacify the wrath of the gods, or to turn away the threatenings of these sinister signs, it was forthwith done. For they did send to the oracle of Apollo, in the city of Delphes, one of Fabius' kinmen surnamed Pictor. And two of the Vestal Nuns being deflowered: the one was buried alive according to the law and custom, and the other made her self away. But herein the great courage and noble clemency of the Romans, is marvellously

Fabius'
order-for
mourning

Fabius to be noted and regarded. For the Consul Terenius Varro returning back to Rome, with the shame of his extreme misfortune and overthrow, that he durst not look upon any man: the Senate notwithstanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the city to meet him, and did honourably receive him. Nay furthermore, those that were the chief magistrates and Senators, among whom Fabius was one, when silence was made, they commended Varro much: because he did not despair of the preservation of the common weal after so great a calamity, but did return again to the city, to help to reduce things to order, in using the authority of the law, and the service of the citizens, as not being altogether under foot, but standing yet in reasonable terms of good recovery. But when they understood that Hannibal after the battell was gone into other parts of Italy: then they began to be of good cheer again, and sent a new army and generals to the field, among which, the two chief generals were, Fabius Maximus, and Claudio Marcellus, both which by contrary means in manner, won a like glory and reputation. For Marcellus (as we have declared in his life) was a man of speedy execution, of a quick hand, of a valiant nature, and a right martial man, as Homer calleth them, that valiantly put themselves in any danger: by reason whereof, having to deal with another captain alike venturous and valiant as himself, in all service and execution, he shewed the self boldness and courage that Hannibal did. But Fabius persisting still upon his first determination, did hope that though he did not fight with Hannibal, nor stir him at all, yet continual wars would consume him.

and his army in the end, and bring them both to nought : as a common wrestler that forceth his body above his natural strength, doth in the end become a lame and bruised man. Hereupon Posidonius writeth, that the one was called the Romans' sword, and the other their target. And that Fabius' constancy and resoluteness in wars to fight with security, and to commit nothing to hazard and danger, being mingled with Marcellus' heat and fury : was that only, which preserved the Romans' empire. For Hannibal meeting always in his way the one that was furious, as a strong running stream, found that his army was continually turmoiled and overharried : and the other that was slow as a little pretty river, he found that his army ran softly under him without any noise, but yet continually by little and little it did still consume and diminish him, until he saw himself at the last brought to that pass, that he was weary with fighting with Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius because he fought not. For during all the time of these wars, he had ever these two captains almost against him, which were made either Prætors, Consuls, or Proconsuls : for either of them both had been five times before chosen Consul. Yet as for Marcellus : Hannibal had laid an ambush for him in the fifth and last year of his consulship, where he set upon him of a sudden, and slew him. But as for Fabius, he laid many baits for him, and did what he could by all the skill and reach he had, by ambuses, and other warlike policies to entrap him : but he could never draw him within his danger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a little trouble, and was in good hope then to have made him fall upon his ambush he had

Marcellus
slain by
an am-
bush of
Hanni-
bal's

Hanni-
ball's am-
bush laid
for Fa-
bius

laid for him: and by this policy. He had counterfeited letters written and sent unto him from the city of Metapont, to pray him to come to them, and they would deliver their city into his hands: and withal, that such as were privy to the contents of the same, desired no other thing but his repair thither. These letters prettily quickned Fabius, insomuch as he was determined one night to have taken part of his army, and to have gone to them. But because the signs of the birds did promise him no good success, he left off his purpose. Soon after he understood they were counterfeit letters, made by Hannibal's fine device to have drawn him out, and to have entrapped him, for whom himself lay in person in ambush near the city, looking and waiting for his coming: but the gods who would have him saved, were only to be thanked for his happy scape. Furthermore, concerning the revolt of the cities that were subject unto them, and the rising of their allies and friends against them: Fabius thought it far better to entreat them curteously, making them ashamed without occasion to rebel against them, rather than openly to suspect them, and to deal straightly with those that were so to be suspected. Now for this matter, it is reported that Fabius had a soldier in his camp that was a Marsian born by nation, a valiant man of his person, and also of as noble a house, as any that were of all the allies of the Romans: who had practised with other his fellows of the band he served in, to go serve the enemy. Fabius hearing of this practice he went about, gave him no ill countenance for it, but calling him to him, he said: I must confess there is no reckoning made

of you, as your good service doth deserve: wherefore for this time (said he) I blame the petty captains only, which in such sort do bestow their good-will and favour at adventure, and not by desert. But henceforth it shall be your own fault if you do not declare your mind unto me, and between you and me make me privy of your lack and necessity. When he had spoken these words to him, he gave him a very good horse for service, and did reward him with other honourable gifts, as men of good service and desert have commonly bestowed on them: and this did so encourage the soldier thenceforth, that he became a very faithful and serviceable soldier to the Romans. For Fabius thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of horses, and such like as take upon them to tame brute beasts, should sooner make them leave their savage and churlish nature by gentle usage and manning of them, than by beating, and shackling of them. And so a governor of men, should rather correct his soldier by patience, gentleness, and clemency: than by rigour, violence, or severity. Otherwise he should handle them more rudely, and sharply, than husbandmen do fig trees, olive trees, and wild pomegarnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, do alter their hard and wild nature, and cause them in the end to bring forth good figs, olives, and pomegarnets. Another time certain captains of his brought him word, that there was one of their soldiers which would ever go out of the camp, and leave his ensign. He asked them, what manner of man he was. They answered him all together, that he was a very good soldier, and that they could hardly find

Note how
Fabius
reclaimed
an evil
soldier

Tact of out such another in all their bands as he: and Fabius therewithal they told him of some notable service they had seen him do in person. Whereupon Fabius made a diligent enquiry to know what the cause was that made him go so oft out of the camp: in the end, he found he was in love with a young woman, and that to go see her was the cause he did so oft leave his ensign, and did put his life in so great danger, for that she was so far off. When Fabius understood this, he sent certain soldiers (unknowing to the soldier) to bring the woman away he loved, and willed them to hide her in his tent, and then called he the soldier to him, that was a Lucanian born, and taking him aside, said unto him thus. My friend, it hath been told me, how thou hast lyen many nights out of the camp, against the law of arms, and order of the Romans, but therewithal I understand also that otherwise thou art an honest man, and therefore I pardon thy faults past, in consideration of thy good service: but from henceforth I will give thee in custody to such a one, as shall make me accompt of thee. The soldier was blank when he heard these words. Fabius with that, caused the woman he was in love with to be brought forth, and delivered her into his hands, saying unto him. This woman hereafter shall answer me thy body to be forth coming in the camp amongst us: and from henceforth thy deeds shall witness for the rest, that thy love unto this woman, may be no cloke of thy departing out of the camp for any wicked practice or intent. Thus much we find written concerning this matter. Moreover, Fabius after such a sort, recovered again the city of Tarentum, and

brought it to the obedience of the Romans, which they had lost by treason. It fortuned there was a young man in his camp, a Tarentine born, that had a sister within Tarentum, which was very faithful to him, and loved him marvellous dearly: now there was a captain, a Bruttian born, that fell in love with her, and was one of those to whom Hannibal had committed the charge of the city of Tarentum. This gave the young soldier the Tarentine, very good hope, and way, to bring his enterprise to good effect: whereupon he revealed his intent to Fabius, and with his privity fled from his camp, and got into the city of Tarentum, giving it out in the city, that he would altogether dwell with his sister. Now for a few days at his first coming, the Bruttian captain lay alone by himself, at the request of the maid his sister, who thought her brother had not known of her love: and shortly after the young fellow took his sister aside, and said unto her. My good sister, there was a great speech in the Romans' camp, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefest captains of the garrison: I pray thee if it be so, let me know what he is. For so he be a good fellow, and an honest man (as they say he is) I care not: for wars that turneth all things topsy turvy, regardeth not of what place or calling he is of, and still maketh virtue of necessity, without respect of shame. And it is a special good fortune, at such time as neither right nor reason rules, to happen yet into the hands of a good and gracious Lord. His sister hearing him speak these words, sent for the Bruttian captain to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both their loves, and endeavoured himself to frame his sister's love in better sort towards him,

How Fa-
bius won
Taren-
tum
again

Fabius than it was before : by reason whereof, the captain took also began to trust him very much. So this young Tarentine saw it was very easy to win and turn the mind of this amorous and mercenary man, with hope of great gifts that were promised him, and Fabius should perform. Thus do the most part of writers set down this story. Howbeit some writers say, that this woman who wan the Bruttian captain, was not a Tarentine, but a Bruttian born, whom Fabius it is said, kept afterwards for his concubine : and that she understanding the captain of the Bruttians (who lay in garrison within the city of Tarentum) was also a Bruttian born, and of her own native country, made Fabius privy to her intent, and with his consent, she coming to the walls of the city, spake with this Bruttian captain, whom he handled in such sort, that she wan him. But whilst this gear was a brewing, Fabius, because he would train Hannibal out of those quarters, wrote unto the soldiers of Rhegium, which belonged to the Romans, that they should enter the borders of the Bruttians, and lay siege to the city of Caulonia, and raze it to the ground. These Rhegian soldiers were about the number of eight thousand, and the most of them traitors, and runagates, from one camp to another : and the worst sort of them, and most defamed of life, were those that Marcellus brought thither out of Sicily, so that in losing them all, the loss were nothing to the common-weal, and the sorrow much less. So Fabius thought, that putting these fellows out for a prey to Hannibal (as a stale to draw him from those quarters) he should pluck him by this means from Tarentum : and so it came to pass. For Hannibal incontinently went thence with his

army to entrap them: and in the meantime Fabius <sup>the city
of Taren-</sup> went to lay siege to Tarentum, where he had not ^{tum} lien six days before it, but the young man (who together with his sister had drawn the Bruttian captain to this treason) staled out one night to Fabius, to inform him of all, having taken very good marks of that side of the wall the Bruttian captain had taken charge of, who had promised him to keep in secret, and to suffer them to enter, that came to assault that side. Yet Fabius would not ground his hope altogether upon the Bruttians executing this treason, but went himself in person to view the place appointed, howbeit without attempting anything for that time: and in the mean season, he gave a general assault to all parts of the city (as well by sea as by land) with great shouts and cries. Then the Bruttian captain seeing all the citizens and garrison run to that part, where they perceived the noise to be greatest, made a signal unto Fabius, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought apace, whereupon himself with his company scaled the walls, and so wan the city. But it appeareth here, that ambition overcame him. For first he commanded they should kill all the Bruttians, because it should not be known he had won the city by treason. But this bloody policy failed him: for he missed not only of the glory he looked for, but most deservedly he had the reproach of cruelty and falsehood. At the taking of this city, a marvellous number of the Tarentines were slain, besides there were sold thirty thousand of the chiehest of them, and all the city was sacked: and of the spoil thereof was carried to the common store treasure at Rome, three thousand

Fabius' talents. It is reported also, that when they did second spoil and carry away all other spoils left behind, triumph the recorder of the city asked Fabius, what his pleasure was to do with the gods, meaning the tables, and their images: and to that Fabius answered him, Let us leave the Tarentines their gods that be angry with them. This notwithstanding, he carried from thence Hercules' statue, that was of a monstrous bigness, and caused it to be set up in the Capitol, and withal did set up his own image in brass on horseback by him. But in that act he shewed himself far harder hearted, than Marcellus had done, or to say more truly, thereby he made the world know how much Marcellus' courtesy, clemency, and bounty was to be wondred at: as we have written in his life. News being brought to Hannibal, that Tarentum was besieged, he marched presently with all speed possible to raise the siege: and they say he had almost come in time, for he was within forty furlongs of the city when he understood the troth of the taking of it. Then said he out aloud, Sure the Romans have their Hannibal too; for as we wan Tarentum, so have we lost it. But after that, to his friends he said privately (and that was the first time they ever heard him speak it) that he saw long before, and now appeared plainly, that they could not possibly with this small power keep Italy. Fabius made his triumph and entry into Rome the second time, by reason of taking this city: and his second triumph was much more honourable than the first, as of a valiant captain that held out still with Hannibal, and easily met with all his fine policies, much like the sleight tricks of a cunning wrestler, which car-

ried not now the former roughness and strength any more, because that his army was given to take their ease, and grown to delicacy, partly through the great riches they had gotten, and partly also for that it was sore wasted and diminished, through the sundry foughтен battells and blows they had been at. Now there was one Marcus Livius a Roman, that was governor of Tarentum at that time, when Hannibal took it, and nevertheless kept the castell still out of Hannibal's hands, and so held it until the city came again into the hands of the Romans. This Livius spited to see such honour done to Fabius, so that one day in open Senate, being drowned with envy and ambition, he burst out and said : that it was himself, not Fabius, that was cause of taking of the city of Tarentum again. Fabius smiling to hear him, answered him openly : Indeed thou sayest true, for if thou hadst not lost it, I had never won it again. But the Romans in all other respects did greatly honour Fabius, and specially for that they chose his son Consul. He having already taken possession of his office, as he was despatching certain causes touching the wars, his father (whether it was for debility of his age, or to prove his son) took his horse to come to him, and rode through the prease of the people that thronged about him, having business with him. But his son seeing him coming afar off, would not suffer it, but sent an officer of his unto him, to command him to light off his horse, and to come on foot if he had anything to do with the Consul. This commandment disliked the people that heard it, and they all looked upon Fabius, but said not a word : thinking with them-

Fabius' witty answer

Roman selves, that the Consul did great wrong to his discipline father's greatness. So he lighted straight, and went a good round pace to embrace his son, and said unto him. You have reason, son, and do well to shew over whom you command, understanding the authority of a Consul, which place you have received. For it is the direct course, by the which we and our ancestors have increased the Roman empire: preferring ever the honour and state of our country, above father, mother, or children. And truly they say, that Fabius' great grandfather being the greatest and most noble person of Rome in his time, having five times been Consul, and had obtained many triumphs, for divers honourable and sundry victories he had won: was contented after all these, to be his son's lieutenant, and to go to the wars with him, he being chosen Consul. And last of all, the Consul his son returning home to Rome a conqueror, in his triumphing chariot drawn with four horses, he followed him on horseback also, in troop with the rest: thinking it honour to him, that having authority over his son in the right of a father, and being also the noblest man of all the citizens, so taken and reputed, nevertheless he willingly submitted himself to the law and magistrate, who had authority of him. Yet besides all this, he had far more excellent virtues to be had in admiration, than those already spoken of. But it fortuned that this son of Fabius died before him, whose death he took patiently, like a wise man, and a good father. Now the custom being at that time, that at the death of a nobleman, their nearest kinsman should make a funeral oration in their praise at their obsequies: he himself made the same oration

in honour of his son, and did openly speak it in the market place, and moreover wrote it, and delivered it out abroad. About this time, Cornelius Scipio was sent into Spain, who drove out the Carthaginians from thence, after he had overthrown them in many battels, and had conquered many great cities, and greatly advanced the honour and estimation of the state of Rome: for the which at his return, he was as much, or rather more honoured, beloved and esteemed, than any other that was in the city of Rome. Hereupon Scipio being made Consul, considered that the people of Rome looked for some great matter at his hands, above all other. Therefore he thought, to take upon him to fight against Hannibal in Italy, he should but follow the old manner, and tread too much in the steps of the old man: whereupon he resolved immediately to make wars in Africa, and to burn and destroy the country even unto Carthage gates, and so to transfer the wars out of Italy into Libya, procuring by all possible device he could, to put it into the people's heads, and to make them like of it. But Fabius contrarily, persuading himself that the enterprise this young rash youth took in hand, was utterly to overthrow the common-weal, or to put the state of Rome in great danger: devised to put Rome in the greatest fear he could possible, without sparing speech or deed he thought might serve for his purpose, to make the people change from that mind. Now he could so cunningly work his purpose, what with speaking and doing, that he had drawn all the Senate to his opinion. But the people judged, it was the secret envy he bare to Scipio's glory, that drew him to encounter this device, only to blemish

Fabius
was
against
the coun-
sel of
Scipio

Fabius and Scipio Scipio's noble fortune, fearing, lest if he should happen to do some honourable service (as to make an end altogether of this war, or otherwise to draw Hannibal out of Italy) that then it would appear to the world, he had been too soft, or too negligent, to draw this war out to such a length. For my part, me thinks the only matter that moved Fabius from the beginning to be against Scipio, was the great care he had of the safety of the commonweal, by reason of the great danger depending upon such a resolution. And yet I do think also, that afterwards he went further than he should, contending too far against him (whether it was through ambition or obstinacy) seeking to hinder and suppress the greatness of Scipio: considering also he did his best to persuade Crassus, Scipio's companion in the Consulship, that he should not grant unto him the leading of the army, but if he thought good to go into Africk, to make wars upon the Carthaginians, that he should rather go himself. And moreover, he was the let that they gave him no money for maintenance of these wars. Scipio hereupon being turned over to his own credit, to furnish himself as he could: he levied great sums of money in the cities of Tuscany who for the great love they bare him, made contribution towards his journey. And Crassus remained at home, both because he was a soft and no ambitious nor contentious man of nature: as also, because he was the chiefest prelate and high bishop, who by the law of their religion, was constrained to keep Rome. Fabius seeing his labour lost that way, took again another course to cross Scipio, devising to stay the young men at home, that had great desire to go this

journey with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all assemblies of the Senate and people, that Scipio was not contented only to fly Hannibal, but that he would carry with him besides the whole force of Italy that remained: alluring the youth with sweet baits of vain hope, and persuading them to leave their wives, their fathers, mothers, and their country, even now when their enemy knocked at Rome gates, who did ever conquer, and was yet never conquered. These words of Fabius did so damp the Romans, that they appointed Scipio should furnish his journey only with the army that was in Sicilia, saving that he might supply to them if he would, three hundred of the best soldiers that had served him faithfully in Spain. And so it doth appear even to this present, that Fabius both did and said all things, according to his wonted manner, and natural disposition. Now Scipio was no sooner arrived in Africk, but news were brought to Rome incontinently, of wonderful exploits, and noble service done beyond measure: and of great spoils taken by him, which argued the troth of the news. As, the king of the Numidians taken prisoner, two camps of the enemy burnt and destroyed at a time, with loss of a great number of people, armour, and horses, that were consumed in the same: letters and posts for life running in the neck one of another from Carthage to call Hannibal home, and to pray him to hunt no longer after vain hope that would never have end, hasting himself with all speed possible to come to the rescue of his country. These wonderful great fortunes of Scipio, made him of such renown and fame within Rome, that there was no talk but of Scipio. Fabius notwithstanding

The famous acts done in Africk by Scipio

Scipio's victory over Hannibal standing desisted not to make a new request, being of opinion they should send him a successor, alleging no other cause nor reason, but a common speech of everybody: that it was a dangerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, so great exceeding prosperity and good success, because it is a rare matter to see one man happy in all things. These words did so much mislike the people, that they thought him an envious troublesome man, or else they thought his age had made him fearful: and that his courage failed with his strength, fearing Hannibal more doubtfully than he needed. For now though Hannibal was forced to leave Italy, and to return into Africk, yet Fabius would not grant, that the people's joy and security they thought they were in, was altogether clear, and without fear and mistrust: but gave it out that then they were in greatest danger, and that the commonweal was breeding more mischief now, than before. For when Hannibal (said he) shall return home into Africk, and come before Carthage walls, the Romans shall be less able to abide him there, than they have been before: and Scipio moreover, shall meet with an army yet warm, and embrued with the blood of so many Prætors, Dictators, and Consuls of Rome, which they have overcome, and put to the sword in Italy. With these uncomfortable speeches, he still troubled and disquieted the whole city, persuading them that notwithstanding the war was transferred out of Italy into Africk, yet that the occasion of fear was no less near unto Rome, than it was ever before. But within short space after, Scipio having overcome Hannibal in plain battell in the field, and trodden

under foot the glory and pride of Carthage, he brought a greater joy to Rome, than they ever looked for: and by this noble victory of his, he shored up again the declining state of the empire of Rome, which a little before was falling downright. Howbeit Fabius lived not to the end of this war, nor ever heard while he lived the joyful news of Hannibal's happy overthrow, neither were his years prolonged to see the happy assured prosperity of his country: for about that time that Hannibal departed out of Italy, a sickness took him, whereof he died. The stories declare, that the Thebans buried Epaminondas, at the common charges of the people: because he died in so great poverty, that when he was dead, they found nothing in the house but a little iron spit. Now the Romans buried not Fabius so, at the common charge of the city, but every man of benevolence gave towards his funeral charges, a piece of coin that carried the least value of their current money: not for that he lacked ability to bring him to the ground, but only to honour his memory: in making his obsequies at their charges, as of one that had been their common father. So had his virtuous life, an honourable end and burial.

The
death of
Fabius
Maximus

THE COMPARISON OF PERICLES WITH FABIUS

Pericles **HERE** have you heard what is written, of these and two great persons. And for as much as they have **Fabius** both left behind them, many noble examples of virtue, as well in martial matters, as in civil government, let us begin to compare them together. First of all, Pericles began to govern the commonweal, at what time the people of Athens were in their chiefest prosperity, and of greater power and wealth, than ever they had been of before or since. The which might seem to be a cause of the continual maintenance of the same in security without danger of falling, not so much for their worthiness, as for their common power and felicity: where contrariwise Fabius' acts fell out in the most dishonourable and unfortunate time, that ever happened to his country, in the which he did not only keep the city in good state from declining, but raised it up, and delivered it from calamity, and brought it to be better than he found it. Furthermore, Cimon's great good fortune and success, the victories and triumphs of Myronides, and of Leocrates, and many notable valiant deeds of arms of Tolmides, gave good cause to Pericles, to entertain his city in feasts, and plays, whilst he did govern the same: and he did not find it in such ill case and distress, that he was driven

to defend it by force of arms, or to conquer that as again which he had lost. But Fabius in contrary ~~generals~~ manner, when he saw before him many overthrows, great flying away, much murder, great slaughters of the generals of the Roman armies, the lakes, the plains, the woods filled with scattered men, the people overcome, the floods and rivers running all a gore-blood (by reason of the great slaughter) and the stream carrying down the dead bodies to the main sea: did take in hand the government of his country, and a course far contrary to all other: so as he did underprop and shore up the same, that he kept it from flat falling to the ground, amongst those ruins and overthrows other had brought it too, before him. Yet a man may say also, that it is no great matter of difficulty to rule a city already brought low by adversity, and which compelled by necessity, is contented to be governed by a wise man: as it is to bridle and keep under the insolency of a people, puffed up with pride, and presumption of long prosperity, as Pericles found it amongst the Athenians. The great multitude also of so many grievous calamities, as lighted on the Romans' necks at that time, did plainly shew Fabius to be a grave and constant man, which would never give way unto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could ever be removed from that he had at the first determined. The winning and recovering again of Tarentum, may well be compared to the taking of Samos, which Pericles wan by force: and the cities of Campania, unto the Isle of Eubœa: excepting the city of Capua, which the Consuls Fulvius and Appius recovered again. But it seemeth that Fabius never won battell, save that only for which

The gift he triumphed the first time: where Pericles set up nine triumphs, of battells and victories he had won, as well by sea as by land. And so also, they cannot allege such an act done by Pericles, as Fabius did, when he rescued Minucius out of the hands of Hannibal, and saved a whole army of the Romans: which doubtless was a famous act, and proceeded of a noble mind, great wisdom, and an honourable heart. But Pericles, again did never commit so gross an error as Fabius did when he was out-reached, and deceived by Hannibal's fine stratagem of his oxen: who having found his enemy by chance to have shut himself up in the strait of a valley, did suffer him to escape in the night by a subtlety, and in the day by plain force. For he was prevented by overmuch delay, and fought withal by him he kept enclosed. Now if it be requisite, a good captain do not only use well that he hath in his hands, but that he wisely judge also what will follow after, then the wars of the Athenians fell out in such sort, as Pericles said they would come to pass: for with ambition to embrace too much, they overthrew their estate. But the Romans contrary-wise, having sent Scipio into Africa to make wars with the Carthaginians, wan all that they took in hand: where their general did not overcome the enemy by fortune, but by valiantness. So that the wisdom of the one is witnessed, by the ruin of his country: and the error of the other testified, by the happy event of that he would have let. Now the fault is alike in a general, to fall into danger, for lack of forecast: as for cowardliness to let slip a fit opportunity offered, to do any notable piece of service. For like default and lack of experience,

maketh the one too hardy, and the other too fearful. And thus much touching the wars. Now for civil government: it was a foul blot to Pericles, to be the author of wars. For it is thought, that he alone was the cause of the same, for that he would not have them yield to the Lacedæmonians in any respect. And yet me thinks Fabius Maximus also would no more give place unto the Carthaginians, but stood firm and bold in all danger, to maintain the empire of his country against them. But the goodness and clemency Fabius shewed unto Minucius, doth much condemn Pericles' accusations and practices, against Cimon and Thucydides: both of them being noble and good men, and taking part with the Nobility, whom he expulsed out of Athens, and banished for a time. So was Pericles' power and authority in the commonweal greater: by reason whereof he did ever foresee, that no general in all his time did rashly attempt anything hurtful unto the commonweal, except Tolmides only: who fled from him, and in despite of him went to fight with the Boëtians where he was slain. As for all other generals, they wholly put themselves into his hands, and did obey him for the greatness of his authority. But Fabius, although for his part he never committed any fault, and that he went orderly to work in all government: yet because he was not of power to keep other from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was defective. For if Fabius had carried like authority in Rome, as Pericles did in Athens: the Romans had not fallen into so great misery as they did. And for liberality: the one shewed it, in refusing the money offered him: and the other, in giving unto those that needed, and redeeming his

The two
compared
for civil
govern-
ment

The poor captive countrymen. And yet Fabius might dispense no great revenue, for his whole receipts came only to six talents. But for Pericles, it is hard to say how rich he was, who had coming into him, great presents by his authority, as well of the subjects, as of the friends and allies of the Athenians, as also of kings and strange princes: yet he never took bribe for all that, of any person living. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of temples, the stately works and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that ever were in Rome, before the times of the Cæsars, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith Pericles did beautify and adorn the city of Athens. For neither in quality nor quantity was there any proportion or like comparison, between the exceeding sumptuousness of the one, and of the other.

THE END OF FABIUS MAXIMUS' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF ALCIBIADES

ALCIBIADES by his father's side, was anciently Alci-
descended of Euryaces, that was the son of Ajax, biades'
and by his mother side of Alcmæon: for his stock
mother Dinomaché, was the daughter of Megacles.
His father Clinias having armed, and set forth a
galley, at his own proper costs and charges, did
win great honour in the battell by sea, that was
fought amongst the coast of Artemisium, and he was
slain afterwards in another battell fought at Coronea,
against the Boëtians. His son Alcibiades' tutors,
were Pericles and Aiphron, Xanthippus' sons: who
were also his near kinsmen. They say, and truly:
that Socrates' goodwill and friendship did greatly
further Alcibiades' honour. For it appeareth not,
neither was it ever written, what were the names of
the mothers of Nicias, of Demosthenes, of Lamachus,
of Phormio, of Thrasibus, and of Theramenes:
all which were notable famous men in their time.
And to the contrary, we find the nurse of Alci-
biades, that she was a Lacedæmonian born, and
was called Amyclæ, and that his schoolmaister was
called Zopyrus: of the which, Antisthenes men-
tioneth the one, and Plato the other. Now for
Alcibiades' beauty, it made no matter if we speake
not of it, yet I will a little touch it by the way:

**Alci-
biades
lisped by
nature** for he was wonderful fair, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times, which made him marvellous amiable, and beloved of every man. For where Euripides saith, that of all the fair times of the year, the autumn or latter season is the fairest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proved true in Alcibiades, though in few other: for he was passing fair even to his latter time, and of good temperature of body. They write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, but gave a certain natural pleasant grace in his talk: which Aristophanes mentioneth, mocking one Theorus that did counterfeit a lisping grace with his tongue:

This Alcibiades, with his fat lisping tongue,
Into mine ears this trusty tale and song full often sung.
"Look upon Theolus" (quoth he): "Lo, there he bows,
Behold his comely crow-bright face with fat and flatling blows."

The son of Clinias would lisp it thus somewhiles,
And sure he lisped never a lie, but rightly hit his wiles.

And Archippus another poet also, mocking the son of Alcibiades, saith thus:

Because he would be like his father every way,
In his long trailing gown he would go jetting day
by day.

And counterfeit his speech, his countenance and face:
As though Dame Nature had him given therein a perfect grace.

To lisp and look aside, and hold his head awry,
Even as his father lookt and lispt, so would he prate
and pry.

For his manners they altered and changed very

oft with time, which is not to be wondered at, seeing his marvellous great prosperity, as also adversity that followed him afterwards. But of all the great desires he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition, seeking to have the upper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best person : as appeareth by certain of his deeds, and notable sayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have given him the fall : he got his fellow's arm in his mouth, and bit so hard, as he would have eaten it off. The other feeling him bite so hard, let go his hold straight, and said unto him : What Alcibiades, bitest thou like a woman ? No marry do I not (quoth he) but like a lion. Another time being but a little boy, he played at skales in the middest of the street with other of his companions, and when his turn came about to throw, there came a cart laden by chance that way : Alcibiades prayed the carter to stay a while, until he had played out his game, because the skales were set right in the highway where the cart should pass over. The carter was a stubborn knave, and would not stay for any request the boy could make, but drove his horse on still, insomuch as other boys gave back to let him go on : but Alcibiades fell flat to the ground before the cart, and bade the carter drive over and he durst. The carter being afraid, plucked back his horse to stay them : the neighbours flighted to see the danger, ran to the boy in all haste crying out. Afterwards when he was put to school to learn, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him any-

Anec-
dotes of
his child-
hood

A ~~vile~~ thing, saying that he disdained to learn to play ~~thing to~~ of the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no ~~play on a~~ gentlemanly quality. For, said he, to play on ~~flute~~ the viol with a stick, doth not alter man's favour, nor disgraceth any gentleman: but otherwise, to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and changeth so oft, that his familiar friends can scant know him. Moreover, the harp or viol doth not let him that playeth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so hard to it, that it taketh not only his words from him, but his voice. Therefore, said he, let the children of the Thebans play on the flute, that cannot tell how to speak: as for the Athenians, we have (as our forefathers tell us) for protectors and patrons of our country, the goddess Pallas, and the god Apollo: of the which the one in old time (as it is said) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skin over his ears, that played upon a flute. Thus Alcibiades alleging these reasons, partly in sport, and partly in good earnest, did not only himself leave to learn to play on the flute, but he turned his companions' minds also quite from it. For these words of Alcibiades, ran from boy to boy incountinently: that Alcibiades had reason to despise playing on the flute, and that he mocked all those that learned to play on it. So afterwards, it fell out at Athens, that teaching to play on the flute, was put out of the number of honest and liberal exercises, and the flute it self was thought a ~~vile~~ instrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accusations Antiphon wrote against Alcibiades, it is declared: that when he was a boy, he fled out of his tutor's house, into

the house of Democrates one of his lovers, and how Ariphron one of his tutors thought to have made a beadle cry him through the city. But Pericles would not suffer him, saying : that if he were dead, they should know it but one day sooner by crying of him : and if he were alive, that it would be such a shame to him while he lived, that he had bin better he had never been heard of again. The same Antiphon accuseth him further, that he had killed a servant of his that attended on him, in the wrestling place of Sibyrtius, with a blow of a staff. But there is no reason to credit his writing, who confesseth he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill-will he did bear him. Now straight there were many great and rich men that made much of Alcibiades, and were glad to get his good-will. But Socrates' love unto him had another end and cause, which witnessed that Alcibiades had a natural inclination to vertue. Who perceiving that vertue did appear in him, and was joined with the other beauty of his face and body, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignity and authority, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefest of the city, as of strangers, seeking to entice him by flattery, and by many other pleasures : he took upon him to protect him from them all, and not to suffer so goodly an imp to lose the hope of the good fruit of his youth. For fortune doth never so entangle nor snare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let and hinder him so, that philosophy should not take hold on him with her free, severe, and quick reasons. So Alcibiades was at the beginning, assayed with all delights, and shut up as it were in their company

Socrates'
love to
Alci-
biades

His holy that feasted him with all pleasures, only to turn him
and
honest that he should not hearken to Socrates' words, who
affection sought to bring him up at his charge, and to teach
him. But Alcibiades notwithstanding, having a
towards good natural wit, knew what Socrates was, and
Socrates went to him, refusing the company of all his rich
friends and their flatteries, and fell in a kind of
familiar friendship with Socrates. Whom when he
had heard speak, he noted his words very well, that
they were no persuasions of a man seeking his dis-
honesty, but one that gave him good counsel, and
went about to reform his faults and imperfections,
and to pluck down the pride and presumption that
was in him : then, as the common proverb saith,

Like to the craven cock he droop'd down his wings,
Which cowardly doth run away, or from the pit out-
flings.

And did think with himself, that all Socrates'
love and following of young men, was indeed a
thing sent from the gods, and ordained above for
them, whom they would have preserved, and put
into the pathway of honour. Therefore he began
to despise himself, and greatly to reverence Socrates,
taking pleasure of his good using of him, and much
embraced his vertue : so as he had (he wist not
how) an image of love graven in his heart, or rather
(as Plato saith) a mutual love, to wit, a holy and
honest affection towards Socrates. Insomuch as all
the world wondred at Alcibiades, to see him
commonly at Socrates' board, to play, to wrestle,
and to lodge in the wars with Socrates : and con-
trarily to chide his other well-willers, who could
not so much as have a good look at his hands, and

besides became dangerous to some, as it is said he was unto Anytus, the son of Anthemion, being one of those that loved him well. Anytus making good cheer to certain strangers his friends that were come to see him, went and prayed Alcibiades to come and make merry with them: but he refused to go. For he went to make merry with certain of his companions at his own house, and after he had well taken in his cups, he went to Anytus' house to counterfeit the fool amongst them, and staying at the hall door, and seeing Anytus' table and cubberd full of plate of silver and gold, he commanded his servants to take away half of it, and carry it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come no nearer into the house, but went his way home. Anytus' friends and guests misliking this strange part of Alcibiades, said it was shamefully and boldly done so to abuse Anytus. Nay, gently done of him, said Anytus: for he hath left us some, where he might have taken all. All other also that made much of him, he served after that sort. Saving a stranger that came to dwell in Athens: who being but a poor man as the voice went, sold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred staters, which he brought unto Alcibiades, and prayed him to take it at his hands. Alcibiades began to be merry, and being very glad to understand his good-will towards him, took his honest offer, and prayed him to come to supper to him: so he welcomed him very heartily, and made him good cheer. When supper was done, he gave him his money again, and commanded him not to fail the next morning to meet him where the farms and lands of the city are wont to be let out to those that bid

Alcibiades' insolency to Anytus

Alcibiades' liberal fact most, and charged him he should outbid all. The poor man would fain have excused himself, saying, the farms were too great for him to hire: but Alcibiades threatened to whip him, if he would not do it. For besides the desire he had to pleasure him, he bare a private grudge against the ordinary farmers of the city. The next morning the stranger was ready in the market-place, where they did cry out the letting of their farms, and he raised one to a talent more, than all other did offer. The other farmers were as mad with him as they could be, that they all did set upon him, crying out: Let him put in surety straight, supposing he could have found none. The stranger was marvellous blank thereat, and began to shrink back. Then cried Alcibiades out aloud to the officers that sat there to take the best offers: I will be his surety, saith he, put me in the book, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him say so, were at their wits' end, and wist not what to do. For they being always accustomed to pay their yearly rent as it went before, by the help of the rest of the years that followed after: perceiving now that they should not be able to pay the arrearages of the rents due to the common-weal, and seeing no other remedy, they prayed him to take a piece of money, and to leave the bargain. Then Alcibiades would in no wise he should take less than a talent, which they gave him willingly. So Alcibiades suffered the stranger then to depart, and made him gain by his device. Now Socrates' love which he bare him, though it had many mighty and great adversaries, yet it did stay much Alcibiades, sometime by his gentle nature, sometime by his grave counsel and advice: so as the reason thereof took so

deep root in him, and did so pierce his heart, that Alcibiades many times the tears ran down his cheeks. Another time also being carried away with the enticement of flatterers, that held up his humour with all pleasure and delights, he stole away from Socrates, and made him run after him to fetch him again, as if he had been a slave that had run away from his maister's house: for Alcibiades stood in awe of no man but of Socrates only, and indeed he did reverence him, and did despise all other. And therefore Cleanthes was wont to say, that Alcibiades was held of Socrates by the ears: but that he gave his other lovers hold, which Socrates never sought for: for to say truly, Alcibiades was much given over to lust and pleasure. And peradventure it was that Thucydides meant of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of body, and dissolute of life. Those that marred Alcibiades quite, did still prick forward his ambition and desire of honour, and did put him in the head to thrust himself into great matters betimes, making him believe that if he did but once begin to shew himself to deal in matters of state, he would not only blemish and deface all other governors, but far excel Pericles, in authority and power among the Grecians. For like as iron by fire is made soft, to be wrought in any form, and by cold also is shut and hardened again: even so Alcibiades being puffed up with vanity and opinion of himself, as oft as Socrates took him in hand, was made fast and firm again by his good persuasions, in so much that when he saw his own fault and folly, and how far wide he had strayed from virtue, he became suddenly very humble and lowly again. Now on a time when he was grown to man's estate,

Alci- he went into a grammar school, and asked the
biades schoolmaister for one of Homer's books. The
and schoolmaister answered him, he had none of them :
Socrates Alcibiades up with his fist and gave him a good
in battle box on the ear, and went his way. Another
grammariā told him on a time he had Homer
which he had corrected. Alcibiades replied, Why
what meanest thou, to stand teaching little children
their a-b-cee, when thou art able to correct Homer,
and to teach young men, not boys ? Another time
he came and knocked at Pericles' gate, desirous to
speak with him : answer was made him, he was not
at leisure now, for that he was busily occupied by
himself, thinking on his reckonings he had to make
with the Athenians. Why, said he, going his
way : it were better he were occupied, thinking
how to make no accompt at all. Moreover, being
but a young boy, he was at the journey of Potidæa,
where he lay still with Socrates, who would never
let him be from him in all battels and skirmishes he
was in : among which there was one, very hot and
bloody, where they both fought valiantly, and Alci-
biades was hurt. But Socrates stepped before him,
and did defend him so valiantly before them all, that
he saved him and his weapon out of the enemy's
hands. So the honour of this fight out of doubt,
in equity and reason, was due unto Socrates : but
yet the captains would fain have judged it on Alci-
biades' side, because he was of a noble house. But
Socrates, because he would increase his desire of
honour, and would prick him forward to honest and
commendable things, was the very first that wit-
nessed Alcibiades had deserved it : and therefore
prayed the captains to judge him the crown and

complete armour. Afterwards, in the battell of Delion, the Athenians having received the overthrow, Socrates retired with a few other on foot. Alcibiades being on horseback, and overtaking him, would not go from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a troop of his enemies that followed him, and slew many of his company. But that was a pretty while after, and before he gave a box of the ear unto Hipponicus, Callias' father: who was one of the greatest men of power in the city, being a nobleman born, and of great possessions, which was done upon a bravery and certain lustiness, as having laid a wager with his companions he would do it, and for no malice or quarrel that he bare the man. This light part was straight over all the city, and every one that heard it, said it was lewdly done. But Alcibiades the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was let in: so he stripping himself before him, delivered him his body to be whipped, and punished at his pleasure. Hipponicus pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gave him his daughter Hippareté afterwards in marriage. Howbeit some say, it was not Hipponicus that gave her to him: but Callias' son, with ten talents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of the first child he had by her, he asked ten talents more, saying: they were promised him upon the contract, if his wife had children. But Callias fearing lest this was an occasion sought of him to lie in wait to kill him for his goods: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heir general, if he died without heirs special of his body. This gentlewoman Hippareté being an honest true wife to Alcibiades, misliking

Alci- her husband did so much misuse her, as to entertain
Biades' common light strumpets, as well citizens as strangers :
great dog she went abroad one day to her brother's house,
and told him of it. Alcibiades passed not for it,
and made no further reckoning of the matter : but
only bade his wife, if she would, present her cause
of divorce before the judge. So she went thither
her self, to sue the divorce between them, accord-
ing to the law : but Alcibiades being there also,
took her by the hand, and carried her through the
market-place home to his house, and no man durst
meddle between them, to take her from him. And
so she continued with him all the days of her life,
which was not long after : for she died, when
Alcibiades was in his journey he made to Ephesus.
This force Alcibiades used, was not thought alto-
gether unlawful, nor uncivil, because it seemeth that
the law was grounded upon this cause : that the
wife which would be divorced from her husband,
should go her self openly before the judge to put
up her complaint, to the end, that by this means,
the husband might come to speak with his wife,
and seek to stay her if he could. Alcibiades had a
marvellous fair great dog, that cost him threescore
and ten minas, and he cut off his tail that was his
chief beauty. When his friends reproved him, and
told him how every man blamed him for it : he fell
a-laughing, and told them he had that he sought.
For, saith he, I would have the Athenians rather
prate upon that, than they should say worse of me.
Moreover, it is said, the first time that Alcibiades
spake openly in the common-weal, and began to
deal in matters, was upon a gift of money he gave
unto the people, and not of any pretence or former

purpose he had to do it. One day as he came through the market-place, hearing the people very loud, he asked what the matter was: they told him it was about money certain men had given to the people. Then Alcibiades went to them, and gave them money out of his own purse. The people were so glad at that, as they fell to shouting and clapping of their hands, in token of thankfulness: and himself was so glad for company, that he forgot a quail he had under his gown, which was so afraid of the noise, that she took her flight away. The people seeing the quail, made a greater noise than before, and many rose out of their places to run after her: so that in the end, it was taken up by a master of a ship called Antiochus, who brought him the quail again, and for that cause Alcibiades did love him ever after. Now albeit the nobility of his house, his goods, his worthiness, and the great number of his kinsmen and friends made his way open to take upon him government in the common-weal: yet the only way he desired to win the favour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To prove he was eloquent, all the comical poets do testify it: and besides them, Demosthenes the prince of orators also doth say, in an oration he made against Midias, that Alcibiades above all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we may believe Theophrastus, the greatest searcher of antiquities, and best historiographer above any other philosopher: he hath written, that Alcibiades had as good a wit to devise and consider what he would say, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit sometimes studying what he should say, as also to deliver

Alci-
b:aides
marvel-
lous
eloquent

His victory at the games Olympical good words, not having them very readily at his tongue's end : he many times took breath by the way, and paused in the middest of his tale, not speaking a word, until he had called it to mind, that he would say. His charge was great, and much spoken of also, for keeping of running horses at games : not only because they were the best and swiftest, but for the number of coaches he had besides. For never private person, no nor any prince, that ever sent seven so well-appointed coaches, in all furniture, unto the games Olympical, as he did : nor that at one course hath borne away the first, the second, and the fourth prize, as Thucydides saith : or as Euripides reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that ever strived for victory therein. For Euripides pronounced his praise, in a song he made of him, as followeth.

O son of Clinias, I will resound thy praise :
For thou art bold in martial deeds, and overcom'st
always.

Thy victories therewith do far exceed the rest
That ever were in Greece ygot : therefore I compt
them best.

For at th' Olympic games, thou hast with chariots won
The first prize, second, third and all, which there in
race were run.

With praise and little pain thy head hath twice been
crowned

With olive boughs for victory ; and twice by trumpets'
sound,

The heralds have proclaimed thee victor by thy name,
Above all those which ran with thee in hope to get
the game.

Howbeit the good affection divers cities did bear
him, contending which should gratify him best,

did much increase his fame and honour. For the Ephesians did set up a tent for him, very sumptuously and richly furnished. Those of the city of Chios, furnished him with provender for his horse, and gave him muttons besides, and other beasts to sacrifice withal. They of Lesbos also sent him in wine and other provision of victuals, to help him to defray the great charges he was at in keeping open house, and feeding such a number of mouths daily. Yet the spite they did bear him, or rather his breach of promise which he often made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gave the people more cause to speak of him than before. For they say there was one Diomedes at Athens, a friend of Alcibiades, and no ill man, who desired once in his life to win a game at the plays Olympical. This man being informed that the Argives had a coach excellently furnished, belonging to their common-weal, and knowing that Alcibiades could do very much in the city of Argos, because he had many friends in the same: he came to entreat Alcibiades to buy this coach for him. Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to himself, not regarding Diomedes' request he had made. Diomedes seeing that, fell stark mad for anger, and called the gods and men to witnesses, that Alcibiades did him open wrong: and it seemeth, that there fell out suit in law upon the same. For Isocrates wrote an oration, and drew a plea in defence of Alcibiades, being yet but a child, touching a couple of horses: yet in this plea, his adversary was called Tisias, and not Diomedes. Furthermore, Alcibiades being yet but a young man, when he came to practise and plead publicly, he put all

Alci-
biades
a breaker
of pro-
mise

His ad- other orators to silence, but only two that were
versaries ever against him : the one was Phæax the son of
in the Erasistratus, and the other Nicias the son of Nice-
common ratus. Of these two, Nicias was a man grown, and
wealth had won the name and reputation of a good cap-
tain. And Phæax began also to come forward as
he did, being of a good and honourable house : but
he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence
specially. For, he could more properly talk and
discourse among his friends privately, than he had
any good grace to open a matter openly before the
people. For he had, as Eupolis saith :

Words enow, but no eloquence.

There is a certain oration extant in writing
against Alcibiades and Phæax : where among other
accusations is brought in, how Alcibiades was ordi-
narily served in his house, with gold and silver plate
that belonged to the commonweal, and which were
used to be borne for state and magnificence, in
solemn processions before them, and how he used
them as boldly, as if they had been his own. Now
there was one Hyperbolus in Athens at that time,
born in the village of Perithoidæ : of whom Thucy-
dides maketh mention, as of a naughty wicked man,
serving as a fit subject and matter to all the taunts
and mocks of the comical poets of that time : but
he was so impudent a person, and cared so little
what men said of him, that he passed not though
he were defamed, neither did anything grieve him,
whatsoever they reported of him : which some do
call boldness, and courage, being no better indeed
than plain impudency, extreme madness, and despe-

rate folly. He would never please any man: and if the common people had any grudge to any nobleman or magistrate, whom they would any way accuse, Hyperbolus' wicked tongue was their instrument to utter their spite. Now the people (by Hyperbolus' procurement) being assembled, were ready to proceed to the banishment of *ostracismos* by most voices. The manner and custom of this kind of banishment was for a time to banish out of their city such a one, as seemed to have too great authority and credit in the city: and that was, rather to satisfy their envy, than for to remedy their fear. And because it was manifest it would fall out to one of them three to be banished (to wit, Alcibiades, Nicias, or Phæax) Alcibiades found means to join all their three factions in one, becoming friends one to another: and having conferred with Nicias about it, he made Hyperbolus self to be banished, who was the chief instrument to prepare the way of their banishment. Howbeit other say, he spake not with Nicias about it, but with Phæax, and joining his part with Phæax, he caused Hyperbolus to be banished, who fearing nothing less: for it was never seen before, that a man of mean countenance, and of small authority, fell into the hap of this banishment: as Plato the comical poet testifieth, speaking of Hyperbolus:

Although for his desert this pain to him is due,
Or greater punishment prepared, the which might
make him rue:

Yet since he was by birth a person mean and base,
Such punishment therefore did seem (for him) too great
of grace.

Since *ostracismos* was not made at first to be,
Nor yet devised as punishment, for such mean folk as he.

Hyper-
bolus
banished
for ten
years

Alci- But of this matter, we have spoken more at large
biades before: and now to return again to Alcibiades.
breaketh Nicias had great reputation among strangers, and his enemies grieved at it no less, than at the honour the citizens selves did unto him. For his house was the common inn for all Lacedæmonians when they came to Athens, and they ever lay with him: moreover he had very well entertained the Lacedæmon prisoners that were taken at the fort of Pylos. And afterwards when peace was concluded between Lacedæmon and Athens, and their prisoners re-delivered home again by Nicias' means only and procurement: they loved him more than ever they did before. This was blown abroad through Greece, that Pericles had kindled the wars amongst them, and Nicias had quenched it: so some called this peace *Nicium*, as one would say, Nicias' work. But Alcibiades stomacking this, and envying Nicias' glory, determined to break the peace whatsoever came of it. Wherefore to compass this matter, knowing first of all that the Argives had no liking of the Lacedæmonians, but were their mortal enemies, and that they did but seek matter to fall out with them: he secretly put them in hope of peace and league with the Athenians. Moreover he did persuade them to it, both by letters and word of mouth, speaking with the magistrates, and such as had greatest authority and credit amongst the people: declaring unto them, that they should not fear the Lacedæmonians, nor yield to them at all, but to stick to the Athenians, who would soon repent them of the peace they had made, and break it with them. Afterwards when the Lacedæmonians had made league with the Boeotians, and had re-delivered the

city of Panactum to the Athenians, all defaced and spoiled, contrary to the league : Alcibiades perceiving how the people were much offended thereat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithal brought Nicias in disgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelihood. As at that time when he was general : that he would never take any of the Lacedæmonians, when they were shut up within the Isle of Sphacteria, and much less distress them when he might : and moreover that when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had found the means to deliver them, and send them home again, to gratify the Lacedæmonians. Furthermore, that being their friend, he did not his duty to dissuade the people from making of league offensive and defensive with the Boeotians and the Corinthians : and again also, if there were any people of Greece that had a desire to become friends and allies with the Athenians, that he did the best he could to let them, if the Lacedæmonians had no liking of the matter. Now as Nicias was thus in disgrace with the people, for the causes above said : in the middest of this stir, ambassadors came by chance from Lacedæmon to Athens, who at their coming gave very good words, saying they had full power and commission to compound all controversies, under reasonable and equal conditions. The Senate heard them, and received them courteously, and the people the next day should assemble in council to give them audience : which Alcibiades fearing much, he went to labour the ambassadors, and spake with them apart in this sort. What mean you, my lords of Sparta? do ye not know that the Senate

the peace
of the
Grecians

Alci-
biades
beguileth
the
Lacedæ-
monians
hath always accustomed to be gracious and favour-
able unto those that sue unto them for any matter,
and that the people contrarily are of a proud nature,
and desirous to embrace all great matters? If
therefore at the first sight, ye do give them to
understand that you are come hither with full
power, to treat freely with them in all manner of
causes: do you not think that they will make
you stretch your authority, to grant them all that
they will demand. Therefore, my lords ambas-
sadors, if you look for indifference at the Athenians'
hands, and that they shall not please you too far
against your wills, to grant them any thing of
advantage: I would wish you a little to cover
your full commission, and in open manner to pro-
ound certain articles, and reasonable capitulations
of peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your
full power to agree in all things: and for my part,
I will assure you of my good-will in favour of the
Lacedæmonians. When he had told them this
tale, he gave them his faithful promise, and vowed
as it were to perform his word. Hereupon Alci-
biades turned the ambassadors from the trust they
reposed in Nicias, and wan them on his side: insomuch
as they gave credit to no man but to him,
wondering much at his great wisdom and ready
wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man.
The next morning the people were assembled to
give the ambassadors audience. They were sent
for, and brought into the market-place. There
Alcibiades gently asked them, what was the cause
of their coming. They answered: that they were
come to treat of peace, but they had no power to
determine anything. Then began Alcibiades to be

angry with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he any to them : calling them unfaithful, unconstant, and fickle men, that were come neither to do, nor say anything worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly : whereat Nicias was so ashamed and amazed withal, that he could not tell what to say, to see so sudden a change, knowing nothing of Alcibiades' malice and subtle practice with the ambassadors. So the ambassadors of Lacedæmon were dispatched without anything done, and Alcibiades chosen general : who presently brought the Argives, the Eleans, and the Mantineans in league with the Athenians. Though no man did commend this practice of his, in working it after this sort : yet was it a marvellous thing of him to devise to put all Peloponnesus in arms, and to procure such a number of soldiers against the Lacedæmonians, as he did before the city of Mantinea, and to shift off the miseries of war and hazard of battell, so far from Athens. Which if the Lacedæmonians did win, could not profit them much : and if they lost it, they could hardly save their city of Sparta. After this battell of Mantinea, the thousand men whom the city by an ancient order did keep continually in pay, as well in peace as in war, within the city of Argos, thinking now opportunity served them very trimly : attempted to take the sovereign authority from the common people, and to make themselves lords of the city. And to bring this to pass, the Lacedæmonians coming in the meantime, did aid them in their purpose, and so did put down the government of the people : notwithstanding, imme-

Alci-
biades
chosen
general

The diately after the people took arms again, and be-walls came the stronger. Alcibiades coming thither ~~even~~ at that time, did warrant them the victory, and so to the sea set up again the authority of the people. Then by the Argives he persuaded them to make their walls longer to join their city to the sea, to the end they might more easily be aided by sea, by the Athenians. He brought them also from Athens, many carpenters, masons, stone-hewers, and other workmen: and to conclude, he shewed them by all the means and ways he could, that he did bear good-will unto them, and thereby wan himself no less favour particularly among them, than generally he did good unto his country. He did persuade also the citizens of Patræ to join their town to the sea, by making long walls, which they built out even to the cliffs of the sea. And when one said unto them, Alas, poor people of Patræ, what do ye mean? the Athenians will eat you out. Alcibiades answered him, it may well be, but it shall be by little and little, beginning first at the feet: but the Lacedæmonians will devour you all at once, and begin at the head. Now although Alcibiades did make the city of Athens strong by sea, yet he did not leave to persuade the Athenians also, to make themselves strong by land. For he did put the young men oftentimes in mind of the oath they were made to swear in Agraulos, and did advise them to accomplish it in deed. Which was, that they should take all cornfields, vines, and olive-trees, to be the borders and confines of Attica, whereby they were taught to reckon all land theirs, that was manured, and did bring forth fruit. Yet with all these goodly deeds and fair words of Alcibiades, and with this great courage

and quickness of understanding, he had many great faults and imperfections. For he was too dainty in his fare, wantonly given unto light women, riotous in banquets, vain and womanish in apparel : he ware ever a long purple gown that swept the market-place as he walked up and down, it had such a train, and was too rich and costly for him to wear. And following these vain pleasures and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the planks of the poop thereof to be cut and broken up, that he might lie the softer : for his bed was not laid upon the overlop, but lay upon girths strained over the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides, and he carried to the wars with him a gilded scutcheon, whereon he had no cognisance, nor ordinary device of the Athenians, but only had the image of Cupid on it, holding lightning in his hand. The noblemen, and best citizens of Athens perceiving this, they hated his fashions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afeard withal of his rashness and insolency : he did so contemn the laws and customs of their country, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be king, and would subvert and turn all over hand. And as for the good-will of the common people towards him, the poet Aristophanes doth plainly express it in these words :

The people most desire what most they hate to have :
And what their mind abhors, even that they seem to crave.

And in another place he said also, aggravating the suspicion they had of him :

- Alci-
biades'
dis-
honesty**
- For state or common-weal much better should it be,
To keep within the country none such lions' looks
as he.
But if they needs will keep a lion to their cost,
Then must they needs obey his will, for he will rule
the roast.

For to say truly: his courtesies, his liberalities, and noble expenses to shew the people so great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more; the glorious memory of his ancestors, the grace of his eloquence, the beauty of his person, the strength and valiantness of his body, joined together with his wisdom and experience in martial affairs, were the very causes that made them to bear with him in all things, and that the Athenians did patiently endure all his light parts, and did cover his faults, with the best words and terms they could, calling them youthful, and gentlemen's sports. As when he kept Agatharchus the painter prisoner in his house by force, until he had painted all his walls within: and when he had done, did let him go, and rewarded him very honestly for his pains. Again when he gave a box of the ear to Taureas, who did pay the whole charges of a company of common players, in spite of him, to carry away the honour of the games. Also when he took away a young woman of Melus by his authority, that was taken among certain prisoners in the wars, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a child, which he caused to be brought up. Which they called a work of charity, albeit afterwards they burdened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poor Melians, saving the little children, because he had favoured and persuaded

that unnatural and wicked decree, which another ~~had propounded.~~ ~~and wan-~~ tonness had propounded. Likewise where one Aristophon a painter, had painted a curtain named Nemea, holding Alcibiades in her arms, and sitting in her lap, which all the people ran to see, and took great pleasure to behold it: the grave and ancient men, were angry at these foolish parts, accompting them impudent things, and done against all civil modesty and temperance. Wherefore it seemed Archestratus' words were spoken to good purpose, when he said, that Greece could not abide two Alcibiades at once. And on a day as he came from the council and assembly of the city, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by means hereof had obtained the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great train that followed him to his honour: Timon, surnamed Misanthropus (as who would say, Loup-garou, or the man-hater) meeting Alcibiades thus accompanied, did not pass by him, nor gave him way (as he was wont to do all other men) but went straight to him, and took him by the hand, and said, O, thou dost well, my son, I can thee thank, that thou goest on, and climbest up still: for if ever thou be in authority, woe be unto those that follow thee, for they are utterly undone. When they heard these words, those that stood by fell a-laughing: other reviled Timon, other again marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after, such sundry opinions they had of him for the unconstancy of his life, and waywardness of his nature and constitutions. Now for the taking of Sicily, the Athenians did marvellously covet it in Pericles' life, but

**Alci-
biades
the
author
of the
wars in
Sicilia** yet they did not meddle withal, until after his death: and then they did it at the first under colour of friendship, as aiding those cities which were oppressed and spoiled by the Syracusans. This was in manner a plain bridge made, to pass afterwards a greater power and army thither.

Howbeit the only procurer of the Athenians, and persuader of them, to send small companies thither no more, but to enter with a great army at once to conquer all the country together, was Alcibiades: who had so allured the people with his pleasant tongue, that upon his persuasion, they built castles in the air, and thought to do great wonders, by winning only of Sicilia. For where other did set their minds upon the conquest of Sicily, being that they only hoped after: it was to Alcibiades, but a beginning of further enterprises. And where Nicias commonly in all his persuasions, did turn the Athenians from their purpose to make war against the Syracusans, as being too great a matter for them to take the city of Syracusa: Alcibiades again had a further reach in his head, to go conquer Libya, and Carthage, and that being conquered, to pass from thence into Italy, and so to Peloponnesus: so that Sicilia should serve but to furnish them with victuals, and to pay the soldiers for their conquests which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently carried away with a marvellous hope and opinion of this journey, and gave good ear to old men's tales that told them wonders of the countries: insomuch as there was no other pastime nor exercise among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to sit round together, draw plates of Sicily, and describe the situation of Libya and

Carthage. And yet they say, that neither Socrates the philosopher, nor Meton the astronomer did ever hope to see any good success of this journey. For the one by the revealing of his familiar spirit, who told him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: and Meton, whether it was for the fear of the success of the journey he had by reason, or that he knew by divination of his art what would follow, he counterfeited the madman, and holding a burning torch in his hand, made as though he would have set his house afire. Other say, that he did not counterfeit, but like a madman indeed did set his house afire one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the market-place to pray the people, that in consideration of his great loss and his grievous calamity so late happened him, it would please them to discharge his son for going this voyage. So by this mad device, he obtained his request of the people for his son, whom he abused much. But Nicias against his will was chosen captain, to take charge of men in these wars: who disliked this journey, as well for his companion and associate in the charge of these wars, as for other misfortunes he foresaw therein. Howbeit the Athenians thought the war would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to Alcibiades' rashness and hardiness, but did join with him the wisdom of Nicias: and appointed Lamachus also for their third captain, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somewhat old, as one that had shewed himself no less venturous and hardy in some battels, than Alcibiades himself. Now when they came to resolve of the number of soldiers, the furniture and

The
divina-
tion of
Socrates
and
Meton

Images hewn and mangled at Athens order of these wars, Nicias sought crookedly to thwart this journey, and to break it off altogether: but Alcibiades withheld him, and got the better hand of him. There was an orator called Demosthenes, who moved the people also, that the captains whom they had chosen for these wars might have full power and authority to levy men at their discretion, and to make such preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condescended, and did authorise them. But when they were even ready to go their way, many signs of ill success lighted in the neck one of another: and amongst the rest this was one. That they were commanded to take ship, on the day of the celebration of the feast of Adonia, on the which the custom is, that women do set up in divers places of the city, in the middest of the streets, images like to dead corses which they carry to burial, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering, and beating themselves, in token of the sorrow the goddess Venus made, for the death of her friend Adonis. Moreover, the Hermes (which are the images of Mercury, and were wont to be set up in every lane and street) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled specially in their faces: which put divers in great fear and trouble, yea even those that made no accompt of such toys. Whereupon it was alleged that it might be the Corinthians that did it, or procured that lewd act to be done, favouring the Syracusans, who were their near kinsmen, and had been the first founders of them, imagining upon this ill token, it might be a cause to break off the enterprise, and to make the people repent them, that they

had taken this war in hand. Nevertheless, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their words that said, they should not reckon of any such signs or tokens, and that they were but some light-brained youths, that being tippled, had played this shameful part in their bravery, or for sport. But for all these reasons, they took these signs very grievously, and were indeed not a little afeard, as thinking undoubtedly that no man durst have been so bold to have done such an abominable fact, but that there was some conspiracy in the matter. Hereupon, they looked upon every suspicion and conjecture that might be (how little or unlikely soever it were) and that very severely: and both Senate and people also met in council upon it, very oft in few days. Now whilst they were busily searching out the matter, Androcles a common councillor and orator in the commonwealth, brought before the council certain slaves and strangers that dwelt in Athens: who deposed that Alcibiades, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that sort, and in a mockery had counterfeited also in a banquet that he made, the ceremonies of the holy mysteries, declaring these matters particularly. How one Theodorus counterfeited the herald, that is wont to make the proclamations: Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the priest, who sheweth the holy signs and mysteries: and that his other companions were the assistants, as those that make suit to be received into their religion and order, and into the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call **Mystæ.** These very words are written in the

Alci-
biades
accused
for pro-
faning
the holy
mysteries

The craft accusation Thessalus (Cimon's son) made against **of Alcibiades' enemies** Alcibiades, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddesses, Ceres, and Proserpina. Whereat the people being marvellously moved and offended, and the orator Androcles his mortal enemy aggravating and stirring them up the more against him: Alcibiades a little at the first began to be amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were prepared for the voyage of Sicily, and the soldiers also that were gathered, did bear him great good-will, and specially how the aid, and that band that came from Argos, and Mantinea (being a thousand footmen, well armed and appointed) did say openly, how it was for Alcibiades' sake they did take upon them so long a voyage beyond sea, and that if they went about to do him any hurt or wrong, they would presently return home again from whence they came: he began to be of a good courage again, and determined with this good favourable opportunity of time, to come before the council, to answer to all such articles and accusations as should be laid against him. Thereupon his enemies were a little cooled, fearing lest the people in this judgement would have shewed him more favour, because they stood in need of him. Wherefore to prevent this danger, they had fed other orators, who set a good face on the matter, as they had been Alcibiades' friends, and yet bare him no less good-will, than the rankest enemies he had. These fine fellows rose up in open assembly, and said: it was no reason, that he that was now chosen one of the generals of so mighty and puissant an army (being ready to hoise sail, and the aid also of their allies

and friends) should be driven to stay now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilst they should go about to choose judges, and appoint him his hours and time of answer. Therefore, they said, it was fit he should take his journey betimes, and when wars were done, that he should present himself to require justice, and to purge himself of such matters as should be objected against him. But Alcibiades smelling straight their fetch, and perceiving the practice of his stay, stept up, and declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a general of so great an army, his mind being troubled with continual fear of so grievous curses, as he should leave upon him: and that he deserved death, if he could not purge and justify himself, of all the unjust and surmised accusations against him. And if he had once cleared himself of all things, and had published his innocence: he should then have nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to think upon, but to go on lustily to fight with his enemies, and to cast behind him the danger of all his slanderous detractors. But all this could not persuade them. And so he was presently commanded in the behalf of the people, to embark, and ship away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the seas with his other companions, having in their navy about a hundred and forty galleys, all having three owers to a bank; and five thousand one hundred footmen, very well armed and appointed, and throwers with slings, archers, and other light-armed men, to the number of thirteen hundred, sufficiently furnished of all warlike and necessary munition. Now after they were arrived on the coast of Italy, they landed in His journey into Sicily

Charges against Alcibiades the city of Rhegium : where, holding counsel in what sort they should direct these wars, it was resolved in the end that they should go straight unto Sicily. This opinion was followed, although Nicias did contrary it, when Lamachus gave his consent thereunto : and at his first coming, he was the occasion of winning the city of Catana. But he never after did any exploit, for he was called home immediately by the Athenians, to come and answer certain accusations laid to his charge. For as we told you before, there was at the beginning, certain light suspicions and accusations put up against him, by some slaves and strangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burthened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken the images of Mercury : and had committed sacrilege, in counterfeiting in jest and mockery the holy ceremonies of the mysteries : and blew into the ears of the people, that both the one and the other proceeded of one set conspiracy, to change and alter the government of the state of the city. Upon these informations, the people took it in so ill part, that they committed all to prison, that were in any sort accused or suspected thereof, and would never let them come to their answer : and moreover did much repent them that they had not condemned Alcibiades, upon so great complaints and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offence was in question before them. And the fury and hatred of the people was such towards him, that if any of Alcibiades' friends and acquaintance came within their danger, they were the worse handled for his sake. Thucydides did not name his accusers, but some other do name

Dioclides and Teucer : amongst whom, Phrynicus ~~Perjured~~ ~~witnesses~~
the comical poet is one, who discovereth it in his
verses, by bringing in one that speaketh thus to the
image of Mercury :

My good friend Mercury, I pray thee take good heed,
That thou fall not and break thy neck : for so thou
mightst me breed
Both danger and distrust ; and though I guiltless be,
Some Dioclides falsely might accuse and trouble me.

Mercury answereth :

Take thou no thought for me, myself I shall well save :
And will foresee full well therewith that Teucer (that
false knave)
Shall not the money get, which he by law hath won,
For his promoters' bribing part, and accusation.

And yet for all this, these tokens do shew no certainty of anything. For one of them being asked, how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced these images ? he answered, that he knew them well enough by the brightness of the moon. And hereby it appeareth plainly that he was perjured, because that the same night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a conjunction of the moon. This did a little trouble and stay men of judgement : howbeit the common sort of people this notwithstanding, did not leave to be as sharp set, to receive all accusations and informations, that were brought in against him, as ever they were before. Now there was among the prisoners whose cause was hanging before them, the orator Andocides (whom Hellanicus the historiographer

Ando-
cides
the orator
cast into
prison

describeth to descend of the race of Ulysses) whom they took to be a man that hated the government of the common people, and bent altogether to favour the small number of the nobility. But one of the chiefest occasions why he was suspected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his house there was a fair great image set up in old time, by the family or tribe of the *Ægeidæ*, and that alone amongst all the rest of so many famous images, was left whole and unbroken: whereupon it is called at this day, the Mercury of Andocides, and is so called generally of everybody, albeit the inscription sheweth the contrary. Andocides being in prison, chanced to fall in acquaintance with one Timæus, with whom he was more familiar than with all the rest, who was also prisoner with him for the self cause. This Timæus was a man not so well known as he, but besides, a wise man, and very hardy. He persuaded him, and put into his head, that he should accuse himself, and certain other with him: for taking the matter upon him, and confessing it, he should receive grace and pardon, according to the course and promise of the law. Where contrarily, if he should stand upon the courtesy of the judge's sentence, he might easily endanger himself: because judgements in such cases are uncertain to all people, and most to be doubted and feared toward the rich. And therefore he told him it were his best way, if he looked into the matter wisely, by lying to save his life, rather than to suffer death with shame, and to be condemned upon this false accusation. Also he said if he would have regard to the commonwealth, that it should in like case be

wisely done of him, to put in danger a few of those (which stood doubtful whether in troth they were any of them or not) to save from the fury of the people, and terror of death, many honest men, who indeed were innocent of this lewd fact. Timæus' words and persuasions wrought such effect with Andocides, that they made him yield unto them, and brought him to accuse himself, and certain other with him: by means whereof Andocides according to the law had his pardon. But all such as he named and accused, were every man put to death, saving such as saved themselves by running away. Furthermore, to shadow his accusation with some appearance of troth, Andocides among those that were accused, did accuse also certain of his own servants. Now though the people had no more occasion to occupy their busy heads about the breakers of these images, yet was not their malice thus appeased against Alcibiades, until they sent the galley called Salaminia, commanding those they sent by a special commission to seek him out, in no case to attempt to take him by force, nor to lay hold on him by violence: but to use him with all the good words and courteous manner that they possibly could, and to will him only to appear in person before the people, to answer to certain accusations put up against him. If otherwise they should have used force, they feared much lest the army would have mutinied on his behalf within the country of their enemies, and that there would have grown some sedition amongst their soldiers. This might Alcibiades have easily done, if he had been disposed. For the soldiers were very sorry to see him depart, perceiving that the wars should be

Alci-
biades
sent for
to answer
to his
accusa-
tion

**Alci-
biades'** drawn out now in length, and be much prolonged
accusa- under Nicias, seeing Alcibiades was taken from
tion them, who was the only spur that pricked Nicias
forward to do any service: and that Lamachus
also, though he were a valiant man of his hands,
yet he lacked honour and authority in the army,
because he was but a mean man born, and poor
besides. Now Alcibiades for a farewell, dis-
appointed the Athenians of winning the city of
Messina: for they having intelligence by certain
private persons within the city, that it would yield
up into their hands, Alcibiades knowing them
very well by their names, betrayed them unto those
that were the Syracusans' friends: whereupon all
this practice was broken utterly. Afterwards when
he came to the city of Thurii, so soon as he landed,
he went and hid himself incontinently in such sort,
that such as sought for him, could not find him.
Yet there was one that knew him where he was,
and said: Why, how now Alcibiades, darest thou
not trust the justice of thy country? Yes very
well (quoth he) and it were in another matter:
but my life standing upon it, I would not trust mine
own mother, fearing lest negligently she should
put in the black bean, where she should cast in the
white. For by the first, condemnation of death
was signified: and by the other, pardon of life.
But afterwards, hearing that the Athenians for
malice had condemned him to death: Well, quoth
he, they shall know I am yet alive. Now the
manner of his accusation and indictment framed
against him, was found written in this sort. Thes-
salus the son of Cimon, of the village of Laciadæ,
hath accused, and doth accuse Alcibiades, the son

Alci-
biades
con-
demned,
being
absent

of Clinias, of the village of Scambonidæ, to have offended against the goddesses, Ceres and Proserpina, counterfeiting in mockery their holy mysteries, and shewing them to his familiar friends in his house, himself apparelled and arrayed in a long vestment or cope, like unto the vestment the priest weareth when he sheweth these holy sacred mysteries : and naming himself the priest, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the village of Phegæa the verger, and the other lookers-on, brethren, and fellow scorner with them, and all done in manifest contempt and derision, of holy ceremonies and mysteries of the Eumolpidæ, the religious priests and ministers of the sacred temple of the city of Eleusis. So Alcibiades for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his goods confiscate. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the religious priests and women should ban and accuse him. But hereunto answered one of the nuns called Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the village of Agraulé, saying that she was professed religious, to pray and to bless, not to curse and ban. After this most grievous sentence and condemnation passed against him, Alcibiades departed out of the city of Thurii, and went into the country of Peloponnesus, where he continued a good season in the city of Argos. But in the end fearing his enemies, and having no hope to return again to his own country with any safety : he sent unto Sparta to have safe conduct and licence of the Lacedæmonians, that he might come and dwell in their country, promising them he would do them more good being now their friend, than he ever did them hurt, while he was their enemy. The Lacedæmonians granted his

**Aci-
biades
fled to
Sparta** request, and received him very willingly into their city: where even upon his first coming, he did three things. The first was, that the Lacedæmonians by his persuasion and procurement, did determine speedily to send aid to the Syracusans, whom they had long before delayed: and so they sent Gylippus their captain to overthrow the Athenians' army, which they had sent thither. The second thing he did for them, was: that he made them of Greece to begin war upon the Athenians. The third, and greatest matter of importance, was: that he did counsel them to fortify the city of Decelea, which was within the territories of Attica self; which consumed, and brought the power of the Athenians lower, than any other thing whatsoever he could have done. And if he were welcome, and well esteemed in Sparta, for the service he did to the commonwealth: much more he wan the love and good-wills of private men, for that he lived after the Laconian manner. So as they that saw his skin scraped to the flesh, and saw him wash himself in cold water, and how he did eat brown bread, and sup of their black broth: would have doubted (or to say better, never have believed) that such a man had ever kept cook in his house, nor that he ever had seen so much as a perfuming pan, or had touched cloth of tissue made at Miletus. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they say was one, whereby he most robbed men's hearts: that he could frame altogether with their manners and fashions of life, transforming himself more easily to all manner of shapes, than the chameleon. For it is reported, that the chameleon cannot take white

colour : but Alcibiades could put upon him any manners, customs or fashions, of what nation soever, and could follow, exercise, and counterfeit them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very painful, and in continual exercise : he lived sparingly with little, and led a strait life. In Ionia, to the contrary : there he lived daintily and superfluously, and gave himself to all mirth and pleasure. In Thracia, he drank ever, or was always on horseback. If he came to Tisaphernes, lieutenant of the mighty king of Persia: he far exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pomp and sumptuousness. And these things notwithstanding, never altered his natural condition from one fashion to another, neither did his manners (to say truly) receive all sorts of changes. But because peradventure, if he had shewed his natural disposition, he might in divers places where he came, have offended those whose company he kept, he did with such a vizard and cloke disguise himself, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming himself into their natural countenance, as he that had seen him when he was at Sparta, to have looked upon the outward man, would have said as the common proverb saith :

It is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles self.

Even so it is even he, whom Lycurgus brought up. But he that had inwardly seen his natural doings, and good-will in deed lie naked before him : would contrarily, have used this common saying :

This woman is no changeling.

**More
change-
able than
the
chance-
leon**

Leotychides Alcibiades' bastard For he entertained Queen Timæa, King Agis' wife of Sparta, so well in his absence, he being abroad in the wars, that he got her with child, and she herself denied it not. For she being brought abed of a son, who was named Leotychides, openly to the world called him by that name: but when she was amongst her familiars and very friends, she called him softly Alcibiades, she was so far in love with him. And Alcibiades jesting out the matter, said he had done it for no hurt, nor for any lust of flesh to satisfy his desire: but only to leave of his race, to reign amongst the Lacedæmonians. This matter was brought by divers unto King Agis' ears, who at the length believed it: but specially when he began to make a reckoning of the time, how long it was since he lay with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ran out of his chamber for fear the house would fall on his head: so that it was ten months after ere he lay again with her. Whereupon, her son Leotychides being born at the end of ten months, he said he was none of his: and this was the cause that Leotychides did not succeed afterwards in the kingdom, because he was not of the blood royal. After the utter overthrow of the Athenians in Sicily, those of the isles of Chios and Lesbos, with the Cyzicenians, did send altogether their ambassadors to Sparta: to let the Lacedæmonians understand, they had good-will to leave the Athenians, so they would send them aid to defend them. The Bœotians favoured those of Lesbos: Pharnabazus, the King of Persia's lieutenant, favoured the Cyzicenians. This notwithstanding, the Lacedæmonians

were better affected to help those of Chios first, by the persuasion of Alcibiades, who took their matters in hand. And he took sea himself and went into Asia, where he almost turned the country of Ionia against the Athenians: and keeping always with the generals of the Lacedæmonians, he did much hurt the Athenians. Yet notwithstanding, King Agis did bear him ill-will, partly for the injury he did him in dishonouring and defiling his wife, and partly also, for that he envied his glory: because the rumour ran all about, that the most part of the goodly exploits of these wars did happen well, by Alcibiades' means. Other also of the greatest authority among the Spartans, that were most ambitious among them, began in their minds to be angry with Alcibiades, for the envy they bare him: who were of so great power, that they procured their governors to write their letters to their captains in the field, to kill him. Alcibiades hearing of this, did no whit desist to do all he could for the benefit of the Lacedæmonians: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occasions to fall into their hands. So in the end, for more surety of his person, he went unto Tisaphernes, one of the King of Persia's lieutenants, with whom he won uncontestedly such credit, that he was the first and chiefest person he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple person, but rather malicious, and subtle¹ of nature, and that loved fine and crafty men: did wonder how he could so easily turn from one manner of living to another, and also at his quick wit and understanding. Moreover, his company and manner to pass the time away, was commonly marvellous full of mirth and pleasure,

Alci-
biades
goeth to
Tisa-
phernes

Alcibiades and he had such pleasant comely devices with him, that no man was of so sullen a nature, but he would make him merry, nor so churlish, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also envied him: they were yet glad to see him, and it did them good to be in his company, and use talk with him. Insomuch as this Tisaphernes (that otherwise was a churlish man, and naturally hated the Grecians) did give himself so much unto Alcibiades' flatteries, and they pleased him so well: that he himself did study to flatter Alcibiades again, and make much of him. For he called Alcibiades his fair house of pleasure, and goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had many goodly gardens, sweet springs, green arbours, and pleasant meadows, and those in all royal and magnificent manner. Alcibiades despairing utterly to find any safety or friendship among the Spartans, and fearing on the other side King Agis also: he began to speak ill of them, and to disgrace all that they did, to Tisaphernes. By this practice he stayed Tisaphernes from aiding them so friendly as he might: moreover, he did not utterly destroy the Athenians. For he persuaded him that he should furnish the Lacedæmonians but with little money, to let them diminish and consume by little and little: to the end that after one had troubled and weakened the other, they both at the length should be the easier for the king to overcome. This barbarous man did easily consent to this device. All the world then saw he loved Alcibiades, and esteemed of him very much: insomuch as he was sought to, and regarded of all hands of the Grecians. Then were the Athenians sorry, and

repented them when they had received so great loss and hurt, for that they had decreeed so severely against Alcibiades, who in like manner was very sorrowful, to see them brought to so hard terms, fearing, if the city of Athens came to destruction, that he himself should fall in the end into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who maliced him to the death. Now about that time, all the power of the Athenians were almost in the Isle of Samos, from whence with their army by sea, they sought to suppress the rebels that were up against them, and to keep all that which yet remained. For they were yet prettily strong to resist their enemies, at the least by sea: but they stood in fear of the power of Tisaphernes, and of the hundred and fifty galleys which were reported to be coming out of the country of Phœnicia, to the aid of their enemies, which if they had come, the city of Athens had been utterly spoiled, and for ever without hope of recovery. The which Alcibiades understanding, sent secretly unto the chiefest men that were in the army of the Athenians at Samos, to give them hope he would make Tisaphernes their friend: howbeit not of any desire he had to gratify the people, nor that he trusted to the communality of Athens, but only to the honourable and honest citizens, and that conditionally so as they had the heart and courage to bridle a little the over licentiousness and insolency of the common people, and that they would take upon them the authority to govern, and to redress their state, and to preserve the city of Athens, from final and utter destruction. Upon this advertisement, all the heads and chief men did

The in-
constancy
of the
common
people

**Alci-
biades'
practice
with
Phry-
nichus** give very good ear unto it : saving only Phrynickus, one of the captains, and of the town of Dirades. Who mistrusting (that was true indeed) that Alcibiades cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chief government of Athens, the nobility, or the communalty, and did but seek all the devices and ways he could, to return again if it might be possible, in any manner of sort, and that he did but curry favour with the nobility, blaming and accusing the people : he stood altogether against the motion, whereupon Alcibiades' device was not followed. And having now shewed himself open enemy to Alcibiades, he did secretly advertise Astyochus then admiral to the Lacedæmonians, of Alcibiades' practice, and warned him to take heed of him, and to lay him up safe, as a double-dealer, and one that had intelligence with both sides : but he understood not how it was but one traitor to speak to another. For this Astyochus was a follower of Tisaphernes for his private commodity : and perceiving Alcibiades in such credit with him, he did discover to Alcibiades all that Phrynickus had advertised him. Alcibiades straight sent men of purpose to Samos, unto the captains there, to accuse Phrynickus of the treason he had revealed against them. Those of the council there, receiving this intelligence : were highly offended with Phrynickus. So, he seeing no better way to save himself for making of this fault, went about to make amends with committing a worse fault. Thereupon he sent again to Astyochus, complaining much he had disclosed him, and yet nevertheless he promised him, if he would keep his counsel, that he would deliver the whole fleet and army of the Athenians into his hands. Howbeit

this treason of Phrynicus did the Athenians no hurt at all, by reason of Astyochus' counter treason : for he did let Alcibiades again understand what offer Phrynicus had made him. Phrynicus looking to be charged with this again, the second time before the council, by means of Alcibiades, did first advertise the chief of the army of the Athenians : That their enemies would come and set upon them, and where, and how : and gave them therefore warning to keep near their ships, to make a strong watch, and to fortify themselves with all speed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other letters from Alcibiades, by the which he did warn them again to take heed of Phrynicus, because he had practised again with their enemies, to deliver the whole army of Athens into their hands. But they gave no credit to his second letters : for they thought that he knowing the preparations and minds of the enemies, would serve his own turn with the false accusing of Phrynicus. Notwithstanding this, there was some falsehood in fellowship : for one Hermon, openly in the market-place, stabbed Phrynicus in with a dagger and killed him. The fact being pleaded in law, and throughly considered of, the dead body by the sentence of the people was condemned for a traitor : and Hermon the murtherer, and his fellows, were crowned in recompense of their fact they had done to kill a traitor to the commonwealth. Wherefore those that were Alcibiades' friends, being at that time the stronger, and greatest men of the council in the army at Samos : they sent one Pisander to Athens, to attempt to alter the government, and to encourage the noblemen to take

Murder
of Phry-
nichus
and his
condem-
nation

Alci-
mades
called
home
from
exile upon them the authority, and to pluck it from the people : assuring them that Tisaphernes would give them aid to do it, by means of Alcibiades, who would make him their friend. This was the colour and cloke wherewith they served their turns, that did change the government of Athens, and that brought it into the hands of a small number of nobility : for they were in all but four hundred, and yet they called themselves five thousand. But so soon as they felt themselves strong, and that they had the whole authority of government, without contradiction in their hands : they made then no more reckoning of Alcibiades, and so they made wars more coldly and slackly than before. Partly because they mistrusted their citizens, who found the change of government very strange : and partly also because they were of opinion that the Lacedæmonians (who at all times did most favour the government of nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common people that remained still in the city, stirred not, but were quiet against their wills, for fear of danger, because there were many of them slain, that boldly took upon them in open presence to resist these four hundred. But those that were in the camp, in the isle of Samos, hearing these news, were so grievously offended : that they resolved to return incontinently again, unto the haven of Piræus. First of all, they sent for Alcibiades, whom they chose their captain : then they commanded him straightly to lead them against these tyrants, who had usurped the liberty of the people of Athens. But nevertheless he did not therein, as another would have done in this case, seeing himself so sordainly crept

again in favour with the common people : for he did not think he should incontinently please and gratify them in all things, though they had made him now their general over all their ships, and so great an army, being before but a banished man, a vagabond, and a fugitive. But to the contrary, as it became a general worthy of such a charge, he considered with himself, that it was his part wisely to stay those, who would in a rage and fury carelessly cast themselves away, and not suffer them to do it. And truly Alcibiades was the cause of the preserving of the city of Athens at that time from utter destruction. For if they had suddenly (according to their determination) departed from Samos to go to Athens : the enemies finding no man to let them, might easily have won all the country of Ionia, of Hellespont, and of all the other isles without stroke striking, whilst the Athenians were busy fighting one against another in civil wars, and within the compass of their own walls. This Alcibiades alone, and no other, did prevent, not only by persuading the whole army, and declaring the inconvenience thereof, which would fall out upon their sodain departure : but also by entreating some particularly apart, and keeping a number back by very force. To bring this about, one Thrasybulus, of the town of Stiria, did help him much : who went through the army, and cried out upon them that were bent to enterprise this journey. For he had the biggest and loudest voice as they say, of any man that was in all the city of Athens. This was a notable act, and a great piece of service done by Alcibiades : that he promised the five hundred sail of the Phoenicians (which the Lacedæmonians

He saved
Athens
from
destruc-
tion

The citizens of Athens sent for Alcibiades to return assuredly looked for, in their aid from the King of Persia) should not come at all, or else if they came, it should be in the favour of the Athenians. For he departed immediately, and went with great speed to Tisaphernes : whom he handled in such sort, that he brought not the ships that lay at rode before the city of Aspendus, and so he brake promise with the Lacedæmonians. Therefore Alcibiades was marvellously blamed and accused, both of the one and the other side, to have altered Tisaphernes' mind, but chiefly of the Lacedæmonians : who said that he had persuaded this barbarous captain, he should neither aid the one nor the other, but rather to suffer them one to devour and destroy each other. For it had been out of doubt, if this great fleet and navy of the king's had come, to join their force with either party: that they had taken from the one of them the seigniory and domination of the sea. Shortly after, the four hundred noblemen that had usurped the authority and government of Athens, were utterly driven away and overthrown, by means of the friendly aid and assistance that Alcibiades' friends gave those that took the people's part. So the citizens were very well pleased with Alcibiades, insomuch as they sent for him to return when he thought good. But he judging with himself it would be no honour nor grace unto him to return without some well-deserving, and before he had done some greater exploit, as only upon the people's favour and good-will, to the end that his return might be glorious and triumphant, he departed first from Samos with a small number of galleys, and went sailing up and down the isles of Cos and of Cnidos. There he was advertised, that Mindarus,

the admiral of the Lacedæmonians, was gone with all his fleet unto the strait of Hellespont, and that the captains of the Athenians gave chase unto him. Thereupon he went also and sailed thither with speed, to aid the Athenians: and by very good fortune came with eighteen galleys even at the very instant, when they were both in the middest of their fight, with all their ships before the city of Abydos. The battell was cruelly foughten between them from morning till night, both the one and the other having the better in one part of the battell, and the worst in another place. Now at the first discovery of Alcibiades' coming, both parties had indeed contrary imaginations of him. For the enemies took heart unto them: and the Athenians began to be afear'd. But Alcibiades set up straight his flag in the top of his admiral galley, to shew what he was. Wherewithal, he set upon the Peloponnesians, that had the better, and had certain galleys of the Athenians in chase: whereupon the Peloponnesians gave over their chase, and fled. But Alcibiades followed them so lustily, that he ran divers of them aground, and brake their ships, and slew a great number of men that leapt into the sea, in hope to save themselves by swimming a-land. So notwithstanding that Pharnabazus was come thither to aid the Lacedæmonians, and did his best endeavour to save their galleys by the sea-shore: yet the Athenians in the end won thirty galleys of their enemies, and saved all their own, and so did set up certain flags of triumph and victory. Alcibiades having now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs go shew himself in triumph unto Tisaphernes. So having prepared to present him

His vic-tory of the
Lacedæ-monians
by sea

Alcibiades taken prisoner at Sardis with goodly rich presents, and appointed also a convenient train and number of sail meet for a general, he took his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for. For Tisaphernes standing in great hazard of displeasure, and fear of punishment at the King's hands, having long time before bin defamed by the Lacedæmonians, who had complained of him, that he did not fulfil the king's commandment, thought that Alcibiades was arrived in very happy hour : whereupon he kept him prisoner in the city of Sardis, supposing the wrong he had done, would by this means easily discharge and purge him to the king. Yet at the end of thirty days, Alcibiades by fortune got a horse, and stealing from his keepers, fled unto the city of Clazomenæ : and this did more increase the suspicion they had of Tisaphernes, because they thought that underhand he had wrought his liberty. Alcibiades took then sea again, and went to seek out the army of the Athenians. Which when he had found, and heard news that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together in the city of Cyzicus : he made an oration to his soldiers, and declared unto them how it was very requisite they should fight with their enemies, both by sea and by land, and moreover that they should assault them within their forts and castles, because otherwise they could have no money to defray their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediately hoise sail, and so to go lie at anker in the isle of Proconnesus : where he took order that they should keep in all the pinnaces and brigantines among the ships of war, that the enemy might have no manner of intelligence of his coming. The great showers

of rain also, with thunder and dark weather that His victory at
fell out sodainly upon it, did greatly further him in Cyzicus
his attempt and enterprise: insomuch as not only his
enemies, but the Athenians that were there before,
knew nothing of his coming. So some made their
reckoning, that they could do little or nothing all
that day: yet he made them sodainly embark, and
hoise sail. They were no sooner in the main sea, but
they descried afar off the galleys of their enemies,
which lay at rode before the haven of Cyzicus. And
fearing lest the great number of his fleet would make
them fly, and take land before he could come to
them: he commanded certain captains to stay behind,
and to row softly after him, and himself with forty
galleys with him, went towards the enemies to pro-
voke them to fight. The enemies supposing there had
been no more ships, than those that were in sight: did
set out presently to fight with them. They were no
sooner joined together, but Alcibiades' ships that
came behind, were also descried: the enemies were so
afeard therat, that they cast about, and fled straight.
Alcibiades leaving his fleet, followed the chase with
twenty of the best galleys he had, and drove them
a-land. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued them
so courageously at their heels, that he slew a great
number of them on the mainland, who thought by
flying to have saved themselves. Moreover, Min-
darus, and Pharnabazus, being come out of the city to
rescue their people, were overthrown both. He slew
Mindarus in the field, fighting valiantly: as for Phar-
nabazus, he cowardly fled away. So the Athenians
spoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number)
of a great deal of armour and richea, and took besides
all their enemies' ships. After they took the city of

Another Cyzicus, Pharnabazus having left it. Then the victory Peloponnesians being slain, they had not only the possession of the whole country of Hellespont, which they kept: but they drove their enemies by force out of all parts of the sea. There were at that time certain letters intercepted, whereby a secretary gave advertisement unto the *Ephori* at Sparta, of the overthrow in this sort: All is lost, Mindarus is slain, our people die for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the soldiers of Athens that had been at this journey and overthrow, grew to such a pride and reputation of themselves, that they would not, and disdained also to serve with the other soldiers that had been beaten many times, and went away with the worse: where they to the contrary had never bin overcome, as a little before it happened, that the captain Thrasyllus had been overthrown by the city of Ephesus. And for this overthrow, the Ephesians had set up a triumph, and token of brass, to the utter shame and ignominy of the Athenians. For the which Alcibiades' soldiers did very much rebuke Thrasyllus' men, and did exceedingly extol their captain and themselves, and would neither encamp with them, neither have to do with them, nor yet keep them company. Until such time as Pharnabazus came with a great army against them, as well of footmen as horsemen, when they ran a-foraging upon the Abydenians: and then Alcibiades went to the rescue of them, and gave Pharnabazus battell, and overthrew him once again, and did together with Thrasyllus chase him even until dark night. Then both Alcibiades' and Thrasyllus' soldiers did company together, one rejoicing with another: and

so returned all with great joy into one camp. The next morning Alcibiades set up a triumph for the victory he had the day before, and then went to spoil and destroy Pharnabazus' country, where he was governor, and no man durst once come out to meet him. In this road there were taken prisoners, certain priests and nuns of the country: but Alcibiades freely delivered them afterwards without ransom. And preparing to make wars against the Chalcedonians, who were revolted from the Athenians, and had received a garrison and governor of the Lacedæmonians into their city: he was advertised that they had brought in all their goods and cattels out of their fields, and had delivered them to the safe custody of the Bithynians, who were their neighbours and friends. Hereupon he led his army into their borders, and sent a herald to summon the Bithynians, to make amends for the wrong they had done the Athenians. The Bithynians fearing lest Alcibiades would set upon them, did straight deliver him the goods they had as before in their custody, and moreover, made a league with the Athenians besides. That done, he went and laid siege to the city of Chalcedon, the which he environed all about from the one side of the sea to the other. Pharnabazus came thither, thinking to have raised the siege. And Hippocrates, a captain of the Lacedæmonians, that was governor of the city, assembled all the force he was able to make within the same, and made a sally out also upon the Athenians at the very same time. Whereupon Alcibiades putting his men in order of battell, so as they might give charge upon them both at

The vic-tory at Chalce-don

The one instant: fought so valiantly, that he forced Pharnabazus to run his way with shame enough, and slew Hippocrates in the field, with a great number of his men. Then took he the seas again, to go towards the country of Hellespont, to get some money, where upon the sodain he did take the city of Selymbria: because he valiantly put himself in hazard before the time appointed him. For certain of his friends within, with whom he had secret practice, had given him a token, that when time served, they would shew a burning torch in the air at midnight; but they were compelled to shew this fire in the air before they were ready, for fear lest one of their confederacy would betray the matter, who sodainly repented him. Now this torch burning in the air, was set up before Alcibiades was ready with his company. But he perceiving the sign set, took about thirty men with him in his company, and ran with them to the walls of the city, having commanded the rest of his army to follow him with all speed possible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirty men: besides them there followed twenty other light-armed men. Howbeit they were no sooner entred the city, but they heard the citizens armed come against them: so that there was no hope to escape, if they did tarry their coming. Nevertheless, considering that until that present time he was never overcome in battell, where he had taken charge, it grieved him very much to fly: wherefore it straight came in his head to make silence by sound of trumpet, and after silence made, he caused one of them that were about him to make proclamation with a loud voice, that the Selymbrians should not take arms against the

Athenians. This cooled them a little that would
fain have been doing, because they supposed that
all the army of the Athenians had been already in
the city : the other on the contrary side, were very
glad to talk of peace, without any further danger.
The
Chalce-
donians
receive
the Athe-
nians

And as they began to parle upon composition, the
rest of Alcibiades' army was come on. Now he
thinking indeed (which was true) that the Selymbria-
nians sought nothing but peace, and fearing lest the
Thracians which were many in number (and came
with good-will to serve him in that journey) would
sack and spoil the city, he made them all to go out
again : and so concluding peace with the chief of
the Selymbrianians, he did them no more hurt upon
their humble submission, but made them pay him
a sum of money, and so leaving a garrison of the
Athenians within the city, he departed thence.
Whilst Alcibiades was in treaty with the Selym-
brianians, the other Athenian captains that lay at
the siege of Chalcedon, made an agreement with
Pharnabazus, that he should give them a sum of
money, and give up the town into the Athenians'
hands, to enjoy it as they had before. And with
express condition also, that the Athenians should
make no roads into Pharnabazus' dominions, to hurt
or spoil any of his : and he likewise should be bound
to give good safe conduct unto the ambassadors of
the Athenians, to go and come safe from time to
time, to the King of Persia. The other captains
being sworn to this peace, Pharnabazus conditioned
also that Alcibiades at his return should likewise
be sworn to the peace and conditions thereof. But
Alcibiades said he would not be sworn at all, unless
Pharnabazus were first sworn for his part. Thus

**Alci-
biades'
strata-
gem at
Byzan-
tium** when oaths were taken of either side, Alcibiades went also against those of Byzantium, who in like case had rebelled against the Athenians. At his first coming thither, he environed the city round about with a wall. Afterwards he practised with two secret friends of his, Anaxiläus and Lycurgus, and certain other within the city, who promised him to deliver it into his hands, so they might be assured he would do them no hurt. To colour this practice, he gave it out, that he must needs leave the siege, and depart with speed, for certain news that were come out of Ionia: and thereupon he embarked presently, and went out of the haven at noon days with all his ships, howbeit he returned again the same night. And going a-land with the choicest and best armed men he had, he approached the walls of the city, without any manner of noise, having left order with them that remained in the ships, that in the mean season they should row with all force into the haven, with as great cries and shouts as might be, to fear and trouble the enemies: partly to fear the Byzantines the more with their sudden coming among them, and partly that his confederates within the city, might with better opportunity receive him and his company, into the town with the more assured safety, whilst every man ran to the haven, to resist them that were upon the galleys. Nevertheless they went not away unfought with. For those that lay in garrison within the city, some of them Peloponnesians, other Boeotians, and other Megarians, did so valiantly repulse them that came out of their galleys, that they drove them to retire aboard again. Afterwards hearing how the Athenians were entered

the city on the other side, they put themselves in battell ray, and went to meet them. The battell was terrible of both parts: but Alcibiades in the end obtained victory, leading the right wing of his battell, and Theramenes the left. The victory being gotten, he took 300 of his enemies prisoners, who had escaped the fury of the battell. But after the battell, there was not a Byzantine put to death, neither banished, nor his goods confiscated: because it was capitulated by Alcibiades with his confederates, that neither he, nor his, should hurt any of the Byzantines either in person or goods, nor any way should rifle them. And Anaxilaus being afterwards accused of treason in Lacedæmon, for this practice: he answered and justified himself in such sort, that they could not find he had committed the fault laid unto his charge. For he said, that he was no Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine: and that he saw not Lacedæmon in danger, but Byzantium, which the enemies had compassed about with a wall they had built, that it was unpossible to bring anything into the city. Moreover he alleged, that they having very small store of corn within the city (as was true indeed) the Peloponnesians, and Bœotians, that lay there in garrison did eat it up, while the poor Byzantines themselves, their wives and children, died for very hunger. Therefore it could not be said of him, that he had betrayed his country, but rather that he had delivered it from the miseries and calamities the wars brought upon it: wherein he had followed the example of the honestest men of Lacedæmon, who did acknowledge nothing honest and just, but that which was necessary and profitable for their

He
winneth
Byzan-
tium

**Alci-
biades'
honour-
able** country. The Lacedæmonians hearing his reasons he alleged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemn him, and therefore they let him go. Now Alcibiades desirous in the end to see his native country again (or to speak more truly, that his countrymen should see him) after he had so many times overthrown their enemies in battell: he hoisted sail and directed his course towards Athens, bringing with him all the galleys of the Athenians, richly furnished and decked all about with escutcheons and targets, and other armour and weapon gotten amongst the spoils of his enemies. Moreover, he brought with him many other ships which he had won and broken in the wars, besides many ensigns and other ornaments: all which being counted together one with the other, made up the number of two hundred ships. Furthermore, where Duris Samian writeth (who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the flute (that had won certain of the Pythian games) did play such a note, that at the sound thereof the galley slaves would keep stroke with their oars, and that Callippides another excellent player of tragedies, playing the part of a comedy, did stir them to row, being in such player's garments as every master of such science useth commonly to wear, presenting himself in theatre or stage before the people to shew his art: and that the admiral galley wherein himself was, entered the haven with a purple sail, as if some mask had come into a man's house after some great banquet made: neither Ephorus, nor Theopompus nor Xenophon, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, methinks it should not

be true, that he returning from exile after so long a banishment, and having passed over such sorrows and calamities as he had sustained, would so proudly and presumptuously shew himself unto the Athenians. But merely contrary, it is most certain, that he returned in great fear and doubt. For when he was arrived in the haven of Piræus, he would not set foot a land, before he first saw his nephew Euryptolemus, and divers other of his friends from the hatches of his ship, standing upon the sands in the haven mouth. Who were come thither to receive and welcome him, and told him that he might be bold to land, without fear of anything. He was no sooner landed, but all the people ran out of every corner to see him, with so great love and affection, that they took no heed of the other captains that came with him, but clustred all to him only, and cried out for joy to see him. Those that could come near him, did welcome and embrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers upon his head: and those that could not come near him, saw him afar off, and the old folks did point him out to the younger sort. But this common joy was mingled notwithstanding with tears and sorrow, when they came to think upon their former misfortunes and calamities, and to compare them with their present prosperity: weighing with themselves also how they had not lost Sicilia, nor their hope in all things else had failed them, if they had delivered themselves and the charge of their army into Alcibiades' hands, when they sent for him to appear in person before them. Considering also how he found the

**Alci-
biades'
oration
to the
people** city of Athens in manner put from the seigniory and commandment of the sea, and on the other side how their force by land was brought unto such extremity, that Athens scantly could defend her suburbs, the city self being so divided and turmoiled with civil dissension: yet he gathered together those few, and small force that remained, and had not only restored Athens to her former power and sovereignty on the sea, but had made her also a conqueror by land. Now the decree for his repair home again, was past before by the people, at the instant request of Callias, the son of Callæschrus, who did prefer it: as he himself did testify in his elegies, putting Alcibiades in remembrance of the good turn he had done him, saying:

I was the first that moved in open conference
The people's voice to call thee home, when thou wert
banisht hence.

So was I eke the first which thereto gave consent,
And therefore may I boldly say, by truth of such
intent:

I was the only mean, to call thee home again,
By such request so rightly made to move the people's
vein.

And this may serve for pledge, what friendship I thee
bear:

Fast seal'd with a faithful tongue, as plainly shall
appear.

But notwithstanding, the people being assembled all in council, Alcibiades came before them, and made an oration: wherein he first lamented all his mishaps, and found himself grieved a little with the wrongs they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the end to his cursed fortune, and some spiteful god that envied his glory and prosperity. Then

he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to have advantage of them ; and therewithal persuaded the people to be of good courage, and afraid of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crowns of gold, and chose him general again of Athens, with sovereign power and authority both by land and by sea. And at that very instant it was decreed by the people, that he should be restored again to his goods, and that the priests Eumolpidæ should absolve him of all their curses, and that the heralds should with open proclamation revoke the execrations and cursings they had thundered out against him before, by commandment of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, saving Theodorus the bishop, who said : I did neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurt to the commonwealth. Now Alcibiades flourished in his chiefest prosperity, yet were there some notwithstanding that disliked very much the time of his landing : saying it was very unlucky and unfortunate. For the very day of his return and arrival, fell out by chance on the feast which they call Plynteria, as you would say, the washing day, which they celebrate in honour of Minerva : on the which day, the priests that they call Praxiergidæ, do make certain secret and hidden sacrifices and ceremonies, being the five-and-twentieth day of the moneth of September, and do take from the image of this goddess, all her raiment and jewels, and keep the image close covered over. Hereupon the Athenians do ascribe that day, for a most unfortunate day, and are very circumspect to do any matter of importance on it. Moreover, it was

Chosen
general
with
sovereign
authority

Alci- commonly scanned abroad of everybody, that it
biades seemed the goddess was not content, nor glad of
~~restored~~ Alcibiades' return: and that she did hide herself,
because she would not see him, nor have him
come near her. Notwithstanding all these toys
and ceremonies, when Alcibiades found everything
fall out well at his return, and as he would have
wished it: he armed a hundred galleys presently,
to return again to the wars. Howbeit he wisely
regarded the time and solemnity of celebration of
these mysteries, and considerately stayed until they
had finished all. And it fell out, that after the
Lacedæmonians had taken and fortified the city of
Decelea, within the territory of Attica, and that
the enemies being the stronger in the field, did
keep the way going from Athens to Eleusis, so as
by no possible means they could make their solemn
procession by land, with such honour and devotion
as they were before accustomed to do: and there-
by all the sacrifices, dances, and many other holy
devout ceremonies they were wont to do by the
way, in singing the holy song of Iacchus, came of
very necessity to be left off, and clean laid aside.
Then Alcibiades thought he should do a mer-
itorious deed to the gods, and an acceptable to men,
to bring the old ceremonies up again upon the said
feast: and thereupon purposed to accompany the
procession, and defend it by power against all in-
vasion and disturbance by the enemies. As one
that foresaw one of two things would come to
pass: Either that Agis King of the Lacedæmonians
would not stir at all against the sacred ceremonies,
and by this means should much embase and diminish
his reputation and glory; or if he did come out to

the field, that he would make the battell very grateful to the gods, considering it should be in defence of their most holy feast and worship, and in the sight of his country, where the people should see and witness both his valiantness, and also his courage. Alcibiades being fully resolved upon this procession, went and made the priests Eumolpidæ, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, privy to his determination. Then he sent out scouts to watch on the side of the hills thereabouts, and to view the way of their perambulation. The next morning very early he sent out light horsemen also to scour the country. Then he made the priests, the professed, and all the ministers of religion, go in procession, together with those that followed the same : and he himself compassed them about with his army on every side, marching in battell ray, and very good order, and with great silence. This was an honourable and devout leading of an army, and such as if his greatest enemies would confess a truth, they could not but say, Alcibiades had as much shewed the office of a high bishop, as of a noble soldier and good captain. So he ended this procession, returning to Athens in all safe order again, and not an enemy that durst once look out into the field to set upon them. Now this did more increase the greatness of his mind, and therewith the people's good opinion of his sufficiency, and wise conduction of an army : insomuch as they thought him uninvincible, having the sovereign power and authority of a general. Furthermore, he spake so fair to the poor people, and meaner sort, that they chiefly wished and desired he would take upon him like a king : yea, and

Alci- many went to him to persuade him in it, as though
biades' he should thereby withstand all envy, and drive
second away the laws and customs of trying of matters by
journey the voices of the people, and all such fond devices,
as did destroy the state of the common-weal. And
furthermore, they said it was very needful that he
alone should take upon him the whole rule and
government of the city, that he might dispose all
things according to his will, and not stand in fear
of slanderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether
Alcibiades ever had any mind to usurp the king-
dom, the matter is somewhat doubtful. But this
is certain, the greatest men of the city fearing lest
indeed he meant some such thing, did hasten his
departure as soon as they could possible, doing all
other things according to his mind : and did assign
him such associates in his charge of general, as he
himself best liked. So in the end he departed with
a fleet of a hundred galleys, and first of all he fell
with the isle of Andros, where he overcame by
fight the inhabitants¹ of the said isle, and certain
Lacedæmonians that were amongst them : but he
took not the city, which was one of the first matters
his enemies did accuse him for. For if ever man
was overthrown and envied for the estimation they
had of his valour and sufficiency, truly Alcibiades
was the man. For the notable and sundry services
he had done, won him such estimation of wisdom
and valiantness, that where he slacked in any service
whatsoever, he was presently suspected, judging the
ill success not in that he could not, but for that
he would not : and that where he undertook any
enterprise, nothing could withstand or lie in his
way. Hereupon the people persuading themselves,

that immediately after his departure, they should hear that the isle of Chios was taken, with all the country of Ionia : they were angry they could have no news so suddenly from him as they looked for. Moreover, they did not consider the lack of money he had, and specially making war with such enemies, as were ever relieved with the great King of Persia's aid, and that for necessity's sake he was sundry times driven to leave his camp, to seek money where he could get it, to pay his soldiers, and to maintain his army. Now for testimony hereof, the last accusation that was against him, was only for this matter. Lysander being sent by the Lacedæmonians for admiral and general of their army by sea, used such policy with Cyrus the King of Persia's brother, that he got into his hands a great sum of money : by means whereof he gave unto his mariners four obols a day for their wages, where before they were wont to have but three, and yet Alcibiades had much ado to furnish his with three only a day. For this cause, to get money, Alcibiades sailed into Caria. But in the meantime Antiochus, whom Alcibiades had left his lieutenant behind him, and had given him charge of all the ships in his absence, being a very skilful seaman, but otherwise a hasty harebrained fool, and of small capacity : he being expressly commanded by Alcibiades not to fight in any case, though the enemies offered him battell, was so foolish rash, and made so little reckoning of his straight commandment, that he armed his own galley, whereof himself was captain, and another besides, and went to the city of Ephesus, passing all along his enemies' galleys, reviling

Antio- and offering villainy to those that stood upon the
chus' hatches of their galleys. Lysander being mar-
rashnessvellously provoked by these words, went and en-
countered him at the first with a few ships. The
other captains of the galleys of the Athenians,
seeing Antiochus in danger, went to aid him, one
after another. Then Lysander of his part also set
out all his whole fleet against him, and in the end
overcame them. Antiochus self was killed in the
conflict, and many galleys and men were taken
prisoners: wherefore Lysander set up shows of
triumph in token of victory. Alcibiades hearing
these ill-favoured news, returned presently with all
possible speed to Samos: and when he came thither,
he went with all the rest of his fleet to offer Lysander
battell. But Lysander quietly contenting himself
with his first victory, went not out against him.
Now this victory was no sooner won, but one Thra-
sybulus the son of Thrason, Alcibiades' enemy,
went incontinently from the camp, and got him to
Athens, to accuse Alcibiades to the people: whom
he informed how all went to wrack, and that he had
lost many ships, for that he regarded not his charge,
carelessly putting men in trust, whom he gave too
great credit to, because they were good fellows, and
would drink drunk with him, and were full of
mariners' mocks and knavish jests, such as they use
commonly amongst themselves. And that he in
the meantime took his pleasure abroad, here and
there, scraping money together where he could
come by it, keeping good cheer, and feasting of
the Abydenian and Ionian courtesana, when the
enemies' army was so near theirs as it was. More-
over, they laid to his charge, that he did fortify a

castle in the country of Thracia, near unto the city of Bisanthé, for a place to retire himself unto, either because he could not, or rather that he would not, live any longer in his own country. Upon those accusations, the Athenians giving over credit to the report : did immediately choose new captains, and thereby declared their misliking. Alcibiades hearing of this, and fearing lest they would do him some worse harm, did leave straight the Athenians' camp, and gathering a certain number of strangers together, went of himself to make war upon certain free people of the Thracians, who were subject to no prince nor state : where he got a marvellous mass of money together, by means whereof he did assure the Grecians inhabiting those marches, from all invasion of foreign enemies. Now Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus the Athenians' captains, being afterwards in a place commonly called the Goat's River, with all the galleys the city of Athens had at that time upon that coast : used every morning commonly to go to the sea, to offer battell to Lysander, who rode at an anker before the city of Lampsacus, with all the Lace-dæmonians' army by sea, and commonly returned again to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watch or ward, as men that were careless of their enemies. Alcibiades being on the land not far off, and finding their great fault and negligence : took his horse, and went to them, and told them that they lay on an ill shore, where there was no good road, nor town, and where they were driven to seek their victuals, as far as to the city of Sestos, and that they suffered their mariners to leave their ships, and go a land when they lay

Lysander
rode at
anker
before
Lampsacus

The at anker, straggling up and down the country as Athenians they would themselves, without regard that there regarded lay a great army of their enemies before them, not his ready to be set out at their general's command- good cument: and therefore he advised them to remove thence, and to go to cast anker before the city of Sestos. Howbeit the captains would not be advised by him: and that which was worst of all, Tydeus, one of the captains, stoutly commanded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to do with the matter, and that other had charge of the army. Whereupon Alcibiades fearing they would purpose some treason against him, did depart presently from them. And as he went his way, he said to some of his friends which accompanied him out of the camp at his return: that if the captains of the Athenians had not been so round with him, he would have forced the Lacedæmonians to have come to the battell in despite of their beards, or else he would have driven them to forsake their ships. Some took this for a glorious brag: other thought he was like enough to have done it, because he could have brought from land a great number of Thracians, both archers and horsemen, with whom he might have given a charge upon the Lacedæmonians, and done great mischief unto their camp. But now, how wisely Alcibiades did foresee the faults he told the Athenians' captains of: their great misfortune and loss that followed incontinently, did too plainly witness it to the world. For Lysander came so fiercely upon them on a sodain, that of all the ships that they had in their whole fleet, only eight galleys were saved, with whom Copon fled: and the other being not much

less than two hundred in number, were every one of them taken and carried away, with three thousand prisoners whom Lysander put to death. Shortly after, he took the city self of Athens, and razed their long walls even to the ground. After this great and notable victory, Alcibiades fearing sore the Lacedæmonians, who then without let or interruption of any, were only lords and princes by sea and by land: he went into the country of Bithynia, and caused great good to be brought after him, and took a marvellous sum of money with him, besides great riches he left also in the castles of Thracia, where he did remain before. Howbeit he lost much of his goods in Bithynia, which certain Thracians dwelling in that country, had robbed him of, and taken from him. So he determined to repair forthwith unto King Artaxerxes, hoping that when the king had once proved him, he should find him a man of no less service, than he had found Themistocles before him: besides that the occasion of his going thither, should be much juster than his was. For he did not go thither, to make war against the city of Athens and his country, as Themistocles did: but of a contrary intent, to make intercession to the king, that it would please him to aid them. Now Alcibiades thinking he could use no better mean, than Pharnabazus' help only, to see him safely conducted to the king's court: he proposed his journey to him into the country of Phrygia, where he abode a certain time to attend upon him, and was very honourably entertained and received of Pharnabazus. All this while the Athenians found themselves desolate, and in miserable state to see

Too late their empire lost: but then much more, when
Lysander had taken all their liberties, and did set
thirty governors over their city. Now too late,
after all was lost (where they might have recovered
again, if they had been wise) they began together
to bewail and lament their miseries and wretched
state, looking back upon all their wilful faults and
folly committed: among which, they did reckon
their second time of falling out with Alcibiades,
was their greatest fault. So they banished him
only of malice and displeasure, not for any offence
himself in person had committed against them,
saving that his lieutenant in his absence had shame-
fully lost a few of their ships: and they themselves
more shamefully had driven out of their city, the
noblest soldier, and most skilful captain that they
had. And yet they had some little poor hope left,
that they were not altogether cast away, so long as
Alcibiades lived, and had his health. For before,
when he was a forsaken man, and led a banished
life, yet he could not live idly, and do nothing.
Wherefore now much more, said they to them-
selves: If there be any help at all, he will not
suffer out of doubt the insolency and pride of the
Lacedæmonians, nor yet abide the cruelties and
outrages of these thirty tyrants. And surely the
common people had some reason to have these
thoughts in their heads, considering that the thirty
governors themselves did what they could possibly
to spy out Alcibiades' doings, and what he went
about. Insomuch as Critias at the last, declared to
Lysander, that so long the Lacedæmonians might
reckon themselves lords over all Greece, as they
kept from the common people the rule and autho-

riety of the city of Athens. And further he added, that notwithstanding the people of Athens could well away to live like subjects under the government of a few: yet Alcibiades whilst he lived, would never suffer them so to be reigned over, but would attempt by all device he could to bring a change and innovation among them. Yet Lysander would not credit these persuasions, before special commandment was sent to him from the Senate of Lacedæmon, upon his allegiance, that he should devise to kill Alcibiades by all means he could procure: either because in troth they feared the subtlety of his wit, and the greatness of his courage, to enterprise matters of great weight and danger, or else that they sought to gratify King Agis by it. Lysander being thus straightly commanded, did send and practise incontinently with Pharnabazus to execute the fact: who gave his brother Magæus, and his uncle Susamithres, commission to attempt the matter. Now was Alcibiades in a certain village of Phrygia, with a concubine of his called Timandra. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his concubine's apparel, and how she dandling him in her arms, had dressed his head, frizzled his hair, and painted his face, as he had been a woman. Other say, that he thought Magæus strake off his head, and made his body to be burnt: and the voice goeth, this vision was but a little before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it afire round about. Alcibiades spying the fire, got such apparel and hangings as he had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to have put it out: and so casting his cloke about his left arm, took

The
Lacedæ-
monians
will
Lysander
to kill
Alci-
biades

Timandra his naked sword in his other hand, and ran out
the of the house, himself not once touched with fire,
·curtisian saving his clothes were a little singed. These
·burieth murtherers so soon as they spied him, drew back,
·Alci- blades and stood asunder, and durst not one of them come
·biades near him, to stand and fight with him: but afar off,
they bestowed so many arrows and darts on him,
that they killed him there. Now when they had
left him, Timandra went and took his body which
she wrapped up in the best linen she had, and
buried him as honourably as she could possible,
with such things as she had, and could get together.
Some hold opinion that Lais, the only famous
curtisan, which they say was of Corinth (though
indeed she was born in a little town of Sicilia,
called Hyccara, where she was taken) was his
daughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death of
Alcibiades, there are some that agree to all the
rest I have written, saving that they say, it was
neither Pharnabazus, nor Lysander, nor the Lace-
dæmonians, which caused him to be slain: but that
he keeping with a young gentlewoman of a noble
house, whom he had stolen away, and enticed
to folly: her brethren to revenge this
injury, went to set fire upon the
house where he was, and that
they killed him as we
have told you, think-
ing to leap out
of the fire.

THE END OF ALCIBIADES' LIFE.

EPILOGUE

Those mighty cities, whose planting we read of in the first volume, in this volume undergo each in its turn the ruin and devastation of war. Xerxes razes the city of Athens to the ground, only that it may rise again more beautiful than a dream, adorned with sumptuous temples and stately works; Brennus and his Gauls pass like a blight over Rome, but are powerless to touch either the stronghold of the city or the indomitable will of its people. The two stories suggest a comparison in Plutarch's own manner between the genius of Athens and the genius of Rome. The shock was fatal to neither, for both were then in the freshness of youth; either was braced by it, but to results how different! The vigour of Athens was by this impulse concentrated into one short but glorious epoch. Like an aloe flower, which in a brief day rises high above its parent shrub, then dies; so the Greek race burst into a short-lived radiance of bloom, such as never before and never since has been beheld upon earth. Then, as at no other time and nowhere else, man's life was full and round, every faculty had scope, artistic genius was matched with perfect technical skill, unerring critical taste was satisfied with a succession of fresh literary masterpieces, hope and achievement went hand in hand. But the flower died down, the vigour was exhausted, there was no strength left to withstand the insidious germs of disease that were within. Inter-

nal discord and lax discipline ended in the ruin of Greece by internecine strife ; and, as always happens, when national self-respect departed, intellectual and moral vigour departed with it, and the hungry Greekling descended from heaven to common earth. Rome, on the other hand, was made of tough fibre, no radiant flower, but a gnarled oak. The sword did but prune her, and the fire charred the wounds. She grew slowly, yet ever more strong, and when she was assailed by a still more terrible foe than Brennus she was unmoved. Athens was ruined for ever at the Goat's River, but after Cannæ the Romans did not despair of the republic. History has no more noble picture than the long struggle of Fabius against Hannibal.

The same contrast is seen in the Grecian and Roman characters here described. Themistocles and Alcibiades are all brilliancy and fire ; the Romans, Fabius in chief, show a strength of will which neither bends nor breaks. When the Greeks conceive their plans they become blind to all risk, and defeat their adversaries by sheer surprise ; the Roman wins his battles by dogged tenacity and disregard of hard knocks. No less striking is the demeanour of either when in misfortune. Themistocles perhaps, and Alcibiades without doubt, was willing to turn against his country when his country turned against him ; in the early days of Rome both treachery and ingratitude seem equally impossible. Athens was ready to ostracise any citizen who rose too high above his fellows ; Rome would hardly censure a defeated general. That a Roman should be a coward was a thing inconceivable ; and if he returned without his army, in shame for his extreme misfortune and overthrow, he would be honourably received, and thanked because he did not despair of the preservation of the

common weal. Coriolanus is the only old Roman in whom vanity was stronger than patriotism ; and one touch of nature sufficed to make him repent.

There was one Greek, however, who showed something of the strong Roman spirit, and he was Pericles. In him is seen not only the brilliancy of the Greek genius, but the silent self-control and persistency of the Roman. As might have been looked for, his countrymen misunderstood him ; and nothing more clearly shows his power, than the mastery he used over the populace of Athens during so many years. Plutarch makes Pericles a thorough demagogue, and whilst paying a tribute to his great powers, implies that his chief aim was to obtain credit and authority with the mob. But some allowance must be made for Plutarch's strong bias against democracy ; and even so he has to admit that Pericles did not always follow the foolish vain humours of the citizens. The fact is certainly that Pericles was a restraining power in Athens ; and even his most democratic measures, dangerous as they often were to the State, may have been proposed by him to save something worse. It is not unknown that a conservative government should adopt in a modified form radical measures first proposed by their adversaries. The greatness of Pericles would be unquestionable if it rested on nothing more than his behaviour with regard to the Peloponnesian War. Plutarch is wrong in making him responsible for the war. It is clear that the Spartans meant fighting by hook or by crook ; and Pericles was keen enough to see it. He therefore determined to bring on the war at the time which best suited Athens, and in this showed himself a true statesman. Moreover, so long as his plans were carried out, Athens suffered no harm ; and had he lived and retained

his influence, there can be no reasonable doubt that Athens would have been victorious.

The figures described in this volume have not the Titanic grandeur of those which we read of in the first, but they are nearer to humanity. They are indeed not altogether without those "poets' tales and fables" which Plutarch cannot believe, yet the mists are clearing, and we leave the shadowy realm of the fabulous for plain history. And these lives are full of intimate touches which bring the men before us, with their graces, their faults and foibles. The world would be poorer without many of the anecdotes given here. Themistocles, with his "Strike, but hear me"; Fabius' magnanimity towards his rash lieutenant; and the last words of Pericles, are such things as stir the blood. Many a touch of humour bridges over the gap between the old world and the new. Of all the five, perhaps Alcibiades stands out most life-like: a personage full of contradictions; treacherous, yet generous; full of reckless extravagance, yet winning respect and devotion; cruel and false, yet beloved. It is hard to believe the same boy would risk his life on a trivial point of honour, and cut off his dog's tail for a jest. With all his vices, the man who loved Socrates, and was loved by him, could not have been all base.

EDITORIAL NOTE

NORTH's *Plutarch* was first published in 1579, and at once it became popular, as many as seven new editions appearing within the century following the first publication. Another translation bears the name of Dryden, who wrote the Introduction to it; and in latter days the translation of John and William Langhorne has been most widely read. Several of the Lives have also been translated by George Long. In point of accuracy, North's version (being made from the French, and not from the Greek direct) cannot compare with the Langhornes' or with Long's; but as a piece of English style it is far to be preferred before any other.

The present issue is based on the first edition of 1579, but in a few instances (which are pointed out in the Notes) an improvement has been adopted from one of the later editions. The spelling has been modernised, except in a few words where it testifies to the ancient pronunciation; but old grammatical forms have been kept unchanged. The proper names are spelt in an erratic manner by North, and are here corrected in accordance with common usage; except in a few words which all know, where North has englisch'd the ending, as

Delphes. Where, however, North is not always consistent (as in the endings *-ion* and *-ium*), the Editor has not felt bound to be so, but has kept as close to the original as possible.

The Notes draw attention to the chief places where North has mistaken the meaning of Amyot, or Amyot has mistranslated the Greek; and to those places where the translators had a reading different from the received text, that of Sintenis being taken as the standard. The shoulder-notes have been taken as far as possible from North's marginalia.

NOTES

Page

5. 'solitary alone': later edd. 'solitarily there alone,' which is less accurate.
'in his muses, and changed': ed. 1, 'see so great alteration in his manners.'
8. 'Themistocles' expenses': i.e. such expenses as T. used were permissible for Cimon, but not for Themistocles.
9. 'Chio:' so both translators. The Greek has Ceos, which is correct.
'and that he was not wise': a later reading is 'Likewise he was,' which would refer to Themistocles. But T. said it of Simonides, and the earlier reading is correct.
13. 'the Philoctetes': N. seems to have misread or misunderstood A., *de Philoctetes*. See Glossary.
19. 'then the Athenians would not go': the exact opposite of the Greek, due to Amyot's *craindre que les Atheniens ne s'en voulussent aller*.
- 'covered all the rivers': a sheer blunder for 'banks.' A. has *riuages*.
21. 'Tenediena': A. *une galere Tenediene*; the Greek has *Teredia*, perhaps by mistake for *Tryla*.
24. 'song of Bacchus': the name should be 'Iacchus' (and so A. has it), who was hymned in the Eleusinian Mysteries.
25. 'Asia into Europe': this should be 'in' Europe.
26. 'to stay following him at the poop': i.e. not to pursue close after. The previous 'he' is Themistocles.
40. The versicle translates very freely one line of Greek only, which A. more correctly renders:
*'Donne ta voix à la nuit noire,
Et ton conseil et ta victoire.'*

Page

43. 'I stood then': *then* is not in ed. 1.
45. 'to the king himself without any interpreter': the Greek means 'by himself.'
46. 'his royal hat' should be 'the royal hat.' A. is correct: *avec un chapeau royal*.
49. '[be]': not in N., but necessary to the construction.
50. 'His other sons': rather loosely expressed. The sense is: 'as regards the other sons.'
55. 'Venetanians': so A., and the common Greek text. Sintenis reads Οὐγγετραῖος 'Veientani' by conjecture; and North originally wrote (by a sheer blunder) 'Venetians.'
58. 'The Veian answered him': The texts read 'them,' which can hardly be right, and is probably due to 'them' immediately following. North doubtless wrote either 'him' (A. *luy respondit*), or possibly 'then.'
59. 'Potitus': N. has 'Politus,' a blunder. (A., *Potitus*.) 'all those which': ed. 1 has 'those that which.'
60. 'to come upon them in this sacrifice': rather, to 'follow up the sacrifice' or 'complete' it.
65. 'But he not knowing': some later copies add 'being set up, and' after 'he.'
74. 'conceal it': so ed. 1, correctly. Later editions vary.
79. 'Allias': a grecoising of *Alliensis*, regarded ever after as a *dies nefastus*.
80. The Treatise of Plutarch Περὶ ἡμερῶν has perished.
81. The Treatise Περὶ ἀλτῶν 'Πωμαῖκῶν' is *Quæstiones Romane*.
84. 'of pipes': Πιθίσκοι.
101. 'to dwell in': so A. and the Greek; in some later copies 'to ward in.'
105. For the Nonæ Caprotinæ, see Life of Romulus, (vol. i. p. 146).
106. 'by compassing of them': the text has 'him,' doubtless a misprint. A. *en les environnent*. There are evidences that the first edition was not carefully read for the press: e.g. 'Furius' is several times misspelt 'Frurlus' on p. 153 (p. 111 of this volume). See also note on p. 58.
121. '... course of life, and was ripe ...' So ed. 1. The passage was afterwards altered to a less correct

Page

- rendering: ' . . . life: yet he was as ready to die, and as patiently took his death, as any man living could have done. Moreover, the Romans,' etc.
122. 'bestow upon men': afterwards (strangely) altered to 'creatures.'
- 'with passion': A. *avec quelque passion*, Gr. κατὰ πάθος. The meaning is simply that we are the subjects of an impression; the thing seen being supposed in Greek philosophy to act or make an impression (*τοτεῖν*), the thing seeing to receive it (*πάσχειν*). What follows is accurately rendered thus: 'Perhaps it is necessary to see whatever appears, be it useful or not; but' there is no need to consider it with the mind.'
125. 'the Acamantides': Acamantis was the name of the tribe.
133. What Critolaus said was, that Pericles, like the Salaminian galley, kept himself for such things.
134. 'a straw': λίθην, 'sore' or 'styke.' A. has *paille*.
136. 'isle of los' should be 'deme of Oa.'
140. 'as an artificial flower,' etc. A. has *comme une feuille superficielle en une lame de fer*, and N. has misunderstood *feuille*, a 'flaw' or, rather, 'mark of juncture.' The Greek has διπλόη τις ὄπουλος, ωστερ ἐν σιδήρῳ, i.e. 'juncture.'
145. 'turned the arches over': there are no arches in old Greek work. The text has τὸ διδέμωμα καὶ τὸν ἀνά κλονας ἐπέτεινε 'placed on them the frieze and the upper pillars' (A. *la ceinture*). Below, 'lantern' and 'steeple' are not the right terms for δωτῖον, the 'window' (a kind of sunken gable or dormier window). See Fergusson, *The Parthenon*, pp. 73 and 97, for explanation of the Greek system of lighting.
151. 'Ephialtes,' etc.: all these names are to be taken as the plural, those which end in *s* being unchanged.
158. 'made his image also,' etc.: this should be 'made it also,' i.e. the concession of privilege to himself. A. has correctly *le fit engrauer*.
162. 'though her train,' etc.: a very free rendering. A. *combien qu'elle menoit un train qui n'estoit gueres beau ny honeste, pource qu'elle tenoit en sa maison de ieunes garces, qui faisoient gain de leurs corps: κατέρεπ οὐ κορυφοῦ*

NOTES

- προεστῶσας ἐργασίας αὐθὲ σεμνῆς, ἀλλὰ παιδίσκας
 ἀταιρούσας τρέφουσαν. ‘About her’ is wanting in
 ed. 1.
- ‘pleasantly written’: i.e. in jest, μετὰ παιδιά.
162. ‘Demi’: both translators have Demosii; but see above.
 ‘Milto’: this was a different woman, whom Plutarch
 confuses with her namesake.
171. ‘Thriasiants’: N. writes ‘Thriasiennes,’ which he takes
 from A., but he clearly intends it to have the plural
 form. Compare note to p. 13.
191. ‘dictatura’ is the name of the office, ‘dictator’ of the
 magistrate.
240. North adds this note: ‘The equivocation of these two
 Greek words, κόρα and κόλα, is hard to be expressed
 in English, instead whereof I have set flatling blows
 for flattering brows, observing the grace of lisping
 as near as I could, like to the Latin and French trans-
 lations, likewise Theolus for Theorus.’ A. has: ‘La
 rencontre ne se peut trouver du langage François,
 comme au Grec, à cause de ces deux dictions Corax et
 Colax, dont l’vne signifie Corbeau et l’autre flateur.’
242. ‘pulled his skin over his ears’: alluding to the
 challenge of the satyr Marsyas to Athena for a con-
 test in music. Marsyas being defeated was flayed
 alive.
254. ‘serving as . . . that time’: altered in later editions
 to: ‘whose tongue was a fit instrument to deliver
 matter to all the comical poets of that time, to pour
 out all their taunts and mocks against them.’ The
 earlier rendering is closer to A. and the Greek; and
 further, ‘them’ is unintelligible.
255. ‘who fearing nothing less’ should rather be ‘he fear-
 ing,’ etc. The construction is left incomplete, ‘fell into the hap of this banishment,’ applying both to
 the main subject ‘who’ and the parenthesis.
269. ‘three owers to a bank’: properly ‘three banks of
 oars.’ The mistake is Amyot’s.
297. So notwithstanding: ed. 1 omits ‘so.’
298. ‘Callius’: so also A., but the Greek text has ‘Critias.’

VOCABULARY

- AESYDOS**, a town on the south shore of the Hellespont.
- ACARNANIA**, a district to the west of N. Greece.
- ACHEANS**, a race inhabiting the north of the Peloponnese.
- ADMIRAL**, often used of the admiral's flagship, 22.
- ÆACIDÆ**, descendants of Æacus, who was born in Ægina.
- ÆGINA**, an island off the port of Athens, in the Saronic Gulf, long a rival of Athens.
- ÆOLUS, ISLES OF**, a group north-east of Sicily, i.e. Lipari, Stromboli, etc.
- AFFIANCE**, trust, 175.
- ASUS LOCUTIUS**, god of the Speaking Voice, a kind of personification common in the Roman Pantheon, 99.
- AJAX**, a legendary hero of Salamis, who fought in the Trojan War.
- ALBANUS**, a lake near Rome.
- AMATE**, dismay, 56.
- AMBRAZIA**, a wild district of NW. Greece.
- ANACKRON**, a Greek poet of love and wine, sixth century B.C.
- ANAXAGORAS OF CLAZOMENÆ**, B.C. 500-428, a philosopher. He held that "mind" or "intelligence" was the ruling principle of the universe.
- ANDRIANS**, people of Andros, an island in the Ægean, south-east of Eubœa.
- ANTIUM**, a town of Latium.
- APHETÆ**, a promontory off The-saly.
- APOLLO**, son of Zeus and Latona, born in Delos with his sister Artemis, had a sanctuary and oracle also at Delphi: god of prophecy and wisdom, later of the sun. The laurel was sacred to him.
- APPARENT**, clear, 110.
- ARBELA**, in Assyria, scene of Alexander's first victory over Darius B.C. 331.
- ARCHILOCHEUS**, an early Greek lyric poet and satirist, of the end of the eighth and the first part of the seventh century B.C.
- ARDREA**, a city of the Rutuli in Latium.
- AREOPAGITES**, the Council of the Areopagus or Mars' Hill, most reverend and ancient court of Athens.
- ARGINUSÆ**, a group of islands near Lesbos. The battle spoken of on p. 183 took place in B.C. 406; and the generals were punished for omitting to take up their dead after it.
- ARGOS**, a city in north-east of the Peloponnese.
- ARIMANIUS**, **AHRIMAN**, the Good Being of the Zoroastrian religion.
- ARISTIDES**, an Athenian statesman, called The Just, flourished about 500 B.C.
- ARISTOPHANES**, the chief poet of the Old Comedy at Athens, fifth century B.C.
- ARISTOTLE OF STAGIRA**, B.C. 384-322 the great philosopher.
- ARTEMISIUM**, a promontory north of Eubœa.
- ASPENDUS**, a city of Pamphylia, on the Erymmedon.
- ATTALUS**, name of several kings of Pergamus.
- AUPIDE**, the Aufidus, near Cannæ.
- BACCHUS OR DIONYSUS**, god of wine. The title Omestes means "raw-eater," in allusion to savage elements of his worship.
- BANKET**, banquet, 140.
- BRAVERY**, challenge, 249.
- BRUIT**, news, rumour, 57.
- BRUTTIUM**, a district of S. Italy.
- BYZANTIUM**, Constantinople.
- CÆPIO, Q. SERVILIUS**, defeated with a huge army by the Cimbri in 106 B.C.
- CAN**, know: "I can thee thank," I thank thee (just like the Greek idiom), 263.

VOCABULARY

- CANNES, CANNÆ, a village in Apulia, where Hannibal utterly defeated the Romans B.C. 216.
- CAPENA, an Etruscan town dependent on Veii.
- CARGUED, prowed, 23.
- CARKANET, necklace, 183.
- CASILINUM, a town in Latium, on the Volturnus.
- CASINUM, a town in Latium, near the borders of Campania.
- CASS, dismiss, 159.
- CATES, goods, 151.
- CATTELS, chattels, 291.
- CAULONIA, a town in Bruttium.
- CERES, Greek DEMETER, goddess of agriculture and corn. In her honour were celebrated the Mysteries of Eleusis.
- CHARONEA, in Boeotia, where Philip, father of Alexander the Great, defeated the Athenians and Boeotians B.C. 348.
- CHALCEDON, a Greek city of Bithynia, nearly opposite Byzantium.
- CHALCIS, a town in Eubœa.
- CHAMPION or CHAMPAIGN, level country, 77.
- CHAPTRRL, i.e. chapter or capitella; master chaptral used for master beam or architrave, 145.
- CHARGE, expense of money, 165.
- CHARRET, chariot, 63.
- CHERRONESUS or CHERSONESUS, a peninsula at the entering in of the Dardanelles.
- CIMON, son of Miltiades, an Athenian statesman famed for lavish generosity.
- CITY, often used of the Acropolis of Athens, 173.
- CLAZOMENÆ, a city of Asia Minor, on the Gulf of Smyrna.
- CLEON, a tanner and demagogue in Athens during the latter part of the fifth century B.C.
- CLUBBISH, rough, 161.
- CLUSIUM, a city of Etruria.
- CNIDOS, a promontory of Asia Minor (not an island) near Cos.
- COAST, side, 158.
- COAT-ARMOUR, a drapery (properly a tunic) with heraldic device upon it.
- COLLOP, slice, 65.
- COMMITTEE, a person to whom some trust is committed, 138.
- COMMON, commune, 45.
- CON, learn, repeat, 2.
- CONFINE, border, 188.
- CONJUNCTION OF THE MOON, Greek, ἐν καὶ νέᾳ, the day when the moon after waning began to wax again.
- CORFU, CORCVRA, a large island off the west of Epirus.
- CORONEA, a town near Lake Copais, in Boeotia. Here the Boeotians defeated Tolmides B.C. 447.
- COS, an island off the coast of Caria.
- COULD, knew, 3.
- CRANON, in Thessaly, where Antipater, Alexander's regent of Macedonia, defeated the revolting Greeks B.C. 322.
- CRATINUS, an Athenian poet of the Old Comedy, B.C. 519-422.
- CRESSANT, growing or crescent (moon), 213.
- CYME, a city of Mœolis, in Asia Minor.
- CYZICUS, a city on the Propontis.
- DAN, dominus, master, 146.
- DANGER, power, 206.
- DARIUS, King of Persia, defeated at the battle of Marathon B.C. 490.
- DEFEND, keep off, 176.
- DEIANIRA, wife of Hercules.
- DELION, in Boeotia, where the Athenians were defeated B.C. 424.
- DELOS, central island of the Cyclades, seat of a famous temple of Apollo, and treasury of the Confederation of Delos.
- DEMOSTHENES, the greatest orator of Athens, about B.C. 385-322.
- DEPART, part, 65.
- DIANA, Greek ARTEMIS, virgin goddess of the wild woodland, daughter of Leto, sister of Apollo. The epithet Oriental (p. 13) refers to the position of her temple, not to origin. She is the "queen and huntress, chaste and fair," and bears a "silver shining bow."
- DIogenes. (1) Of Crete, a natural philosopher. (2) Of Babylon, a Stoic. (3) Of Sinope, a Cynic.
- DRACHMA, a silver coin about the size of a franc.

- ELEMENT**, air, sky, 24.
- ELEUSIS**, a city hard by Athens, in the plain of Thriasia, where the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone were celebrated.
- EPIDAURUS**, a city in Argolis, on the south coast of the Saronic Gulf, opposite Athens.
- EPIRUS**, a district in the north west of N. Greece, part of modern Albania.
- ERETRIA**, a city in Euboea.
- EUBOEA**, or NEGROPONT, a large island close to Boeotia, in N. Greece.
- EUPOLIS**, an Athenian poet of the Old Comedy, born about 446 B.C.
- EURIPIDES**, B.C. 480-406, the third of the great Athenian tragic poets.
- FALERII**, a large city in Etruria.
- FARDEL**, bundle, 17.
- FATAL**, fated, 58.
- FAVOUR**, appearance, 242.
- GEAR**, fashion, 151.
- GERÆSTUS**, a promontory in Euboea. The battle mentioned on p. 80 is unknown; but the word has been amended to Κεραστός.
- GLORIOUS**, boastful, 306.
- GOAT'S RIVER**, ἘΓΩΣΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ, flows into the Hellespont. Here Lysander defeated the Athenians B.C. 405, and ended the Peloponnesian War.
- GRANICUS**, a river of Mysia, where Alexander defeated the Persians B.C. 334.
- HAPPILY, HAPLY**, by chance, 67.
- HARBOROW**, refuge, 14.
- HAVIOUS**, behaviour, 113.
- HEAD**: "upon a head," rashly, hot-headedly, headlong, 111.
- HERACLITUS OF EPHESUS**, a philosopher who flourished late in the 6th century B.C.
- HERODOTUS OF HALICARNASSUS**, the "father of history" and a great traveller, born B.C. 484, died not before 408.
- HESIOD**, the earliest didactic poet, 8th century B.C.
- HORSE**, frequently used as plural, e.g. 253.
- HUSBAND**, economiser, 151.
- IACCHUS**, a personage celebrated in the Eleusinian Mysteries.
- IALYSSOS**, a city in Rhodes.
- IMP**, offspring, son, child, 243.
- INCONTINENTLY**, immediately, 279.
- INO**, beloved by Athamas, son of Aeacus, who had to wife the cloud-goddess Nephele. The amour caused the madness of Athamas, and Ino cast herself and her son into the sea, after which they were deified as Leucothea and Melicertes. Plutarch seems to treat Ino as the lawful wife of Athamas.
- ION**, a tragedian of Chios, who worked at Athens (5th century B.C.).
- ISOCRATES**, an Athenian orator and rhetorician, B.C. 436-338.
- JOURNEY**, day, 80.
- JUPITER, DODONIAN**, the title of Zeus at his ancient oracle of Dodona, in Epirus.
- LAMACHUS**.
- LATONA or LETO**, mother of Apollo and Artemis (Diana).
- LEO IYCHIDES**. See MYCALE.
- LESBOS**, an island off the Troad.
- LRT**, hinder, 7.
- LEUCAS**, now SANTA MAURA, an island off the west of Acarnania.
- LEUCTRA**, in Boeotia, where Epaminondas and the Thebans overthrew the Spartans in B.C. 371.
- LUCULLUS**, L. LICINIUS, defeated Mithradates, and also Tigranes the Armenian, B.C. 69.
- MANTINEA**, a city in the Peloponnes, north of Sparta. In the battle mentioned on p. 259, 418 B.C., the Spartans were victorious against the League.
- MANUMISS**, set free (Latin), 209.
- MARATHON**, near Athens, where Miltiades and the Athenians overthrew the army of Darius, ten times their number, B.C. 490.
- MARCIUS or MECIUS**, a mountain some twenty-four miles from Rome, site unknown.
- MARISH**, marsh, 196.
- MARSHAL**, martial, 118.

VOCABULARY

MASK, band of revellers, 296.

MATUTA, a title of Juno, queen of the gods. A festival in her honour, the **Matronalia**, was celebrated yearly on June 11.

MEDDLE, mix, 188.

MEDUSA, a Gorgon, slain by Perseus. Her head was fabled to turn all beholders into stone; it was fixed on the cape or breastplate of Zeus, called the **egis**, which Athena wore.

MEGARA, a Doric city west of Attica.

MESSINA, a city in the north-east of Sicily.

METAPONT, **METAPONTUM**, **METAPONTIUM**, a city on the east coast of Lucania, in S. Italy.

MILETUS.

MINERVA, Greek **ATHENA**, goddess of wisdom and handicrafts, patron deity of Athens. There was a serpent sacred to her kept on the Acropolis.

MISTRUST, suspect, 104.

MONETA, a title of Juno.

MONETH, month, 80.

MORION, iron skull-cap, 216.

MUSES, the divine patronesses of the arts and sciences.

MYCALE, a cape of Asia Minor, over against Samos, where the Greeks under Leotychides and Xanthippus, B.C. 479, conquered the Persian fleet.

NAUGHTY, bad, worthless, 95.

NAXOS, an island in the **Ægean**. The battle under Chabrias was the end of the Naxian War, B.C. 376.

NEMEA, a city in the north part of the Peloponnese.

NEPTUNE, Greek **POSIDON**, brother of Zeus, and god of the sea. He had strife with Athena for Athens: each was to produce a gift. He produced the horse, she the olive, which was adjudged the most useful.

NICIAS.

OBULO, **OBOL**, a silver coin, which would now be worth about three-halfpence.

ONIADÆ, a city of Acaania.

OLYMPIA, a city in Elis, S. Greece, where every four years were celebrated the great Games.

OMPHALE, a woman who enslaved the passions of Hercules.

ORDINARY, fare, table, 152.

OSTRACISMOS, banishment for a time, implying no disgrace, decreed against any man who should seem too powerful for a private person.

OVERTOP, half-deck, 261.

OWER, oar, 7.

PAINFUL, careful, laborious, 146.

PALLADIUM, an ancient image of Pallas, bound up with the "luck of Troy." One legend says that Æneas brought it to Italy when he fled after the sack of Troy town.

PALLAS, Athena. See **MINERVA**.

PANACTUM, a town on the frontier of Attica and Boeotia.

PANATHENÆA, feast of Athena celebrated at Athens.

PARLE, parley, talk, 95.

PARMENIDES, a philosopher of Elea (Velia, in Italy), fifth century B.C. He held that the phenomena of sense were delusive. Like all the early Greek philosophers, he had theories on natural philosophy as well as mental.

PAUSANIAS, a Spartan, commander at the battle of Plataea (B.C. 472). He conceived the design of making himself tyrant, and corresponded with the Persian king, but his plan being betrayed, he took refuge in a temple and was starved to death.

PERIPHORETOS, i.e. "carried about," 166.

PHIDIAS, the greatest sculptor of the world (B.C. 490-432). His most famous work was the statue of Zeus at Olympia (Pisa). Phidias also made a great statue of Athena for the Parthenon. Both these were of gold and ivory over a wooden structure.

PHILEMON, a Greek poet of the New Comedy, or Comedy of Manners 4th century B.C.

PHILOCTETES, a celebrated archer in the Trojan War, who was chief of the ships of four cities (one of them Olizon).

PHRÆARRII, a deme or township of Attica.

PHTHIOTES, a Thessalian tribe.

PIPE, jar (*wibos*), 83.

PISA, in Elis, near Olympia, where was a famous temple and a statue of Zeus by Phidias.

PISISTRATUS, despot of Athens (with intermissions), B.C. 560-527.

PLACENTIA, pleasing things, 99.

PLATÆA, in Boeotia, where Pausanias and the Greeks overthrew Mardonius and the Persian army, B.C. 479.

PLATO. (1) A great Athenian philosopher and disciple of Socrates, B.C. 429-347. (2) An Athenian poet of the Old Comedy, fifth century B.C.

PNVX, the place of parliament or public assembly at Athens.

POLYCLITUS, a Greek sculptor of great fame (fl. B.C. 452-412). One of his chief works was a statue of Hera, near Argos.

POLYCRATES, a famous despot of Samos, sixth century B.C.

POMPEY, CN. **POMPÆIUS MAGNUS**, B.C. 106-48, the Roman general, died on his birthday, September 29.

PONTUS, a kingdom in Asia Minor, south of the Black Sea.

POTIDÆA, a Greek colony on the promontory of Pallene, in Macedonia.

POTIDÆA, a city in Pallene, revolted from Athens 432 B.C., taken 429.

PRACTISE, intrigue, 154.

PREASE, press, 227.

PRIENE, a city in Asia Minor, at the base of Mount Mycale, opposite Samos.

PROCONNESUS, an island in the Propontis.

PROSERPINA, Greek *Kore*, daughter of Ceres (Demeter). In honour of mother and daughter were celebrated the Eleusinian Mysteries.

PUNCHION, **PUNCHING**, a stout piece of timber, 116, 118.

PYDNA, a seaport of Macedonia.

PYLOS, an ancient city and fortress on the bay now called of Navarino,

where a Spartan army was defeated and taken A.C. 425.

QUIRINUS, the deified Romulus.

RACK, raze, 86.

RAMPER, rampire, rampart, 55.

REBATE, blunt, 118.

RECORDER, flageolet, 242.

RECOVER, get back to, regain a place, 116.

RHEGIUM, a district of S. Italy.

RHIPÆI MOUNTAINS, a vague name given to mountains in the north of Europe and Asia.

RHODES, an island off the south coast of Caria.

SALAMINIA, a state gallery of Athens, used chiefly for foreign missions.

SALAMIS, an island off the Piræus. Here in the strait the fleet of Xerxes was conquered and dispersed B.C. 480.

SALLET or **SALADE**, helmet, head-piece, 116.

SALLOW, willow or witby (*A. saule*), 197.

SAMÆNA, a ship of Samian build, 164.

SAMOS, an island off the coast of Asia Minor.

SAMOTHRACIA, an island in the north of the Ægean Sea, the seat of a mystic worship of the Cabiri.

SCIATHUS, north of Eubœa.

SECURITY, carelessness, confidence, 87.

SELYMBRIA, a town in Thrace, on the Propontis.

SESTERTIUS, a Roman coin worth $\frac{1}{2}$ asses, about twopence.

SESTOS, a city north of the Hellespont.

SIMONIDES OF CEOS, a lyric poet, B.C. 556-467.

SINOPE, a city on the south coast of the Black Sea.

SKALES, a game supposed to resemble skittles. The word is used on page 241 to translate "knuckle-bones," *ἀστράγαλος*; Fr. *osselets*.

SLEEVE, "a fish fashioned like a sword" (*North*). Gr. *τευθίς*.

SLEIGHT, trick, 198.

SLEIGHT, adj. smooth, tricksy, 226.

VOCABULARY

SNUCH or SNUUDGE, mean miserly person, 34.

SOCRATES, a philosopher of Athens, B.C. 469-399, the founder of dialectic teaching, teacher of Plato. He was guided in life by a voice which forbade him to do certain actions. This he called his *dæmon*. **SOLON**, the great lawgiver of Athens, B.C. (about) 638-558.

SPARTA, chief city in Laconia, S. Greece.

SPHACTERIA, in bay of Navarino, scene of the Spartan defeat of B.C. 425. *See PYLOS.*

STALE, decoy, 224.

STAPLE, used for market, 169.

STOMACK, pride, wrath, 35.

STRAIT, isthmus, 25.

STRAIT, ravine or pass, 196.

SUMPTUOUS, extravagant, luxurious, 135.

SUPERFLUOUSLY, luxuriously, 277.

SUTRIUM, an ancient town of Etruria, but friendly to Rome.

SVARIS, a city in the toe of Italy; after it was destroyed, Thurii was founded on the site.

TABLE, picture, 226.

TALENT, a sum of money representing bullion to the amount of about £240.

TANAGRA, a city in Boeotia.

TARENTUM, TARANTO, a Greek port of S. Italy.

TARGET, shield, 17.

TELECLIDES, an Athenian poet of the Old Comedy.

TEMPE, a pass leading into Thessaly from the north.

TEMPERATURE, proportion, 240.

TEOS, an Ionian city on the coast of Asia Minor.

THEOPHRASTUS OF LESBOS, a Greek philosopher and naturalist, died at a great age B.C. 287.

THUCYDIDES. (1) Son of Milesias, an Athenian statesman, leader of the

aristocratic party after the death of Cimon, B.C. 449. (a) Son of Olorus, born B.C. 471, the historian of the Peloponnesian War.

THURII, a city in the south-west of Italy.

TIMOLEON, a Corinthian, who delivered Sicily from the Carthaginians (B.C. 339 and following), and was virtual ruler of the island.

TIMON OF PHLIUS, a Sceptic philosopher of the third century a.c.

TRASIMENUS, a lake in Etruria, where Hannibal overthrew Flaminius B.C. 217.

TREBIA, a river falling into the Po, where Hannibal conquered the Romans B.C. 218.

TYRANNY, absolute despotism, 109.

VAWARD, vanguard, 11.

VELITRÆ, now VELLETRI, an ancient town in Latium.

VENTER, womb, 50.

VERNSIA, a town in Apulia, near Cannæ.

VERY, actual, 107.

VERY, true, 51.

VESTALS, a very ancient priesthood of the Latin races. They were six in number, vowed to virginity for thirty years, and had charge of the sacred fire and relics of Rome, with other duties and privileges.

VISOR, face-guard of a helmet, 127.

XANTHISSUS. *See MYCALE.*

XERXES, son of Darius, King of Persia, defeated at the battle of Salamis B.C. 480.

YARE, quick, ready, 23.

YGOT, gotten (*past part. pass.*), 252.

ZELRIA, a city of Mysia.

ZENO, born about 488 B.C. in Elea (Velia, in Italy), a disciple of Parmenides. He should not be confounded with Zeno the Stoic.