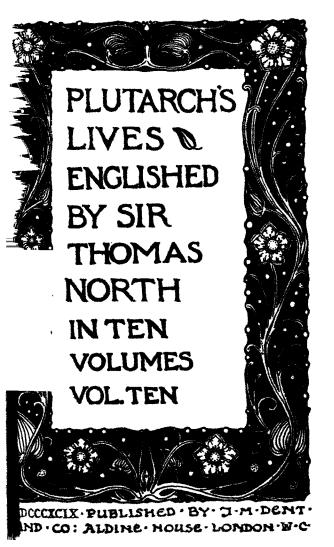
THE TEMPLE PLUTARCH



Edited by W. H. D. ROUSE M.A.



Scipio African from a bust at Naples.



THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

The most of them compared together by that grave learned Philosopher and Historiographer Piutarch of Chæronea

THE LIFE OF ARATUS

CHRISYPPUS the Philosopher (my friend Polycrates) A proverb being afraid as it seemeth of the evil sound of an corrected ancient proverb, not rightly as it was spoken, and in use, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this manner:

What children do their ancestors commend, But those whom fortune favours to the end?

But Dionysodorus Træzenian reproving him, doth rehearse the proverb rightly as indeed it is:

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

Saying, that this proverb stoppeth their mouths who of themselves are unworthy of praise, and yet are still boasting of the vertues of their ancestors, whose praise they highly extol. But before those that (as Pindarus saith):

Do match their noble ancestors in prowess of their own, And by their fruits commend the stock whence they themselves are grown,

The commonweal
of the
Sicyonians
ians

(As thy self that conformest thy life unto the
monweal
examples and manners of thy vertuous ancestors:)
t is no small good hap for them, often to remember the noble deeds of their parents in hearing them
spoken of, or otherwise for themselves oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lack of commendable vertues, that they report others' praise and glory: but in joining their own vertues, to the vertues of their ancestors, they do increase their glory, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their descent by blood. Therefore, having written the life of Aratus thy countryman, and one of thy ancestors, whose glory and greatness thou dost not blemish, I do send it unto thee, not that I think but that thou hast more diligently than any man else, searched out all his deeds and sayings: but yet, because that thy two sons, Polycrates, and Pythocles, reading, and still hearing something reported, might be brought up at home by the example of their ancestors, whose deeds shall lie before them to follow. For he loveth himself more, than he regardeth perfect vertue, or his credit: that thinketh himself so

perfect, as he need not follow any other's example.

The city of Sicyon, after it fell from her first government of the optimacy and nobility, which is proper to the city of the Dorians: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into civil wars and seditious practices, through the orators of the people; and never ceased to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, always changing new tyrants, until that Cleon being slain, they chose Timoclidas and Clinias their governors, two of the noblest men and of greatest authority in all the city. Now when

the commonwealth began to grow to a certain state converted of government, Timoclidas died: and Abantidas, into the son of Paseas, pretending to make himself lord tyranny of the city, he slew Clinias, and put to death some of his parents and friends, drave away others, and sought also to put his son Aratus to death, that was then but seven years old. But in this hurlyburly and tumult, Aratus flying out of his father's house, among them that ran away, and wandering up and down the city, being scared and afraid, finding no man to help him: by good fortune he got into a woman's house, called Soso, which was Abantidas' sister, and wife unto Periphantus, his father Clinias' brother. She being of a noble mind, and judging that the child Aratus by God's providence fled unto her: hid him in her house, and in the night secretly sent him unto the city of Argos. Now after that Aratus had escaped, and was safe from this danger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice against tyrants, the which still increased in him, as he grew in years. So he was vertuously brought up in the city of Argos, with his father's friends: and perceiving with him-self that he waxed big and strong, he disposed his body to divers exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in fine manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face, full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the majesty of his countenance argueth that he used such exercise: and such commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not give himself so much to pleading, as peradventure was requisite for a governor of a commonwealth. How-

Aratus' beit, some do judge by his commentaries he wrote, favour that he had an eloquenter tongue than seemed unto

some: because he wrote them in haste, having other business in hand, and even as things came first into his mind. But afterwards, Dinias and Aristotle logician, slew Abantidas, who did commonly use to sit in the market-place, to hear their matters, and to talk with them. And this gave them good means and opportunity to work their feat they did. After Abantidas' death, his father Paseas possessed the tyranny: whom Nicocles afterwards slew also by treason, and made himself tyrant in his place. is reported that this Nicocles did lively resemble the countenance of Periander, the son of Cypselus, as Orontes Persian was very like unto Alcmæon, the son of Amphiaraus, and another young Lacedæmonian, unto Hector of Troy, whom Myrsillus writeth, was trodden under men's feet, through the overgreat prease of people that came to see him, when they heard of it. This Nicocles was tyrant four moneths together, in the which he did wonderful great hurt to the city, and had almost lost it, the Ætolians coming on a sudden, who were like to have taken it. Now Aratus was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatly esteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they found in him, which was no small matter: and besides that, he had a majesty in his countenance, being wiser than was looked for in a young man of his years. Therefore the banished men from the city of Sicyon, repaired unto him before any other man. Nicocles for his part also was not careless of his doings, but had an eye ever to see what Aratus intended, although he little mis-

trusted any such bold enterprise, nor so dangerous Abanan exploit of him: but did only conjecture that tidas the he did stir up the kings which had been his dead slain father's friends. And so indeed Aratus took that course. But when he saw that Antigonus still delayed his promises, and did always tract time, and that the hope of aid from King Ptolemy of Egypt was too far off: at length he determined to undertake to destroy the tyrant himself. So he first consulted with Aristomachus and Ecdelus: of the which the one was banished from Sicyon, and the other an Arcadian, from the city of Megalopolis, a philosopher, and a valiant man of his hands, and had been scholar to Arcesilaus the Academic, in the city of Athens. These two men being contented to join with Aratus, he practised with others of the banished men also: of the which there were some that were ashamed, not to be partakers of his hope and noble attempt, and so did also join Howbeit the most part of them did with him. not only refuse to enter into that practice, but further, went about to dissuade Aratus from his enterprise, saying: That for lack of knowledge and experience, he understood not the danger in undertaking such a matter, altogether so unlikely. Now. as Aratus was thinking in his mind to keep a certain place in the territory of Sicyon, from whence they might make war with the tyrants: there came a prisoner unto them out of the city of Argos, that had broken prison from the tyrant of Sicyon: and was brother unto Xenocles, one of the banished men. He being brought by the same Xenocles unto Aratus, told that in the place whereby he had saved himself, the ground within was almost as

Aratus high as the top of the wall, the which in that part goeth joined unto high stony places: and that without bout to the wall the height was not so great, but that it was easily scalable with ladders. When Aratus heard that, he sent two of his men, Seuthas and Technon, with Xenocles to view the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to prove secretly to execute his pretended enterprise, and quickly to put it to a venture: than to begin a long war, and to prepare an open army, he being a private man, to go against the power of a tyrant. Xenocles being returned again to Aratus, after he had measured the height of the wall: he reported that the place was not unscalable, but yet very hard to come to it undiscovered, because of certain little curst curs a gardener kept hard by the wall, which would never leave barking. Howbeit Aratus would not leave off his enterprise so. Now it was not strange to see every man prepare themselves of armour and weapon, because at that time there were great robberies and cruel murders committed by highways, and one would assault another: but for the ladders. Euphranor that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not stick to make them openly, because his common occupation did take away all suspicion why they were made. For this carpenter was himself also a banished man from Sicyon, as the residue were. Furthermore, Aratus' friends he had in Argos, of those few men they had, did every man of them lend him ten men, and armed thirty of his own men: beside them, Aratus himself also did hire some pretty number of soldiers, by the practise of Xenophilus, whom the captains of the thieves did furnish him. They were given to understand that they should

be led to the territory of Sicyon, to take a prey of his cattell and colts of the king: and they were sent be-fore, some one way, some another, with command-tyranny ment, all to meet together at the tower of Polygnotus, where they should tarry. So he sent Caphisias also before, without any weapons, with four companions with him: who should come to this gardener's house in the night, like strangers and travellers, to lie in his house, and to lock him up and his dogs, because they had no other device to get in but that But in the meantime, there were certain spials of Nicocles the Tyrant discovered, that walked up and down the city (making no countenance of any matter) to see what Aratus did. Wherefore, Aratus went out of his house early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the marketplace with his friends. Then he went to the shew-place (or place of exercises) and there stripped himself, anointed him, and wrestled, and in the end took certain of the young gentlemen home with him, that were went to make merry, and to pass the time away with him: and immediately after, one of his servants was seen in the market-place, carrying of garlands of flowers. Another was seen also buying of links and torches, and another hiring of these common dancing and singing women, which follow feasts and banquets with their instruments. Nicocles' spials seeing that, were deceived: for one of them laughing on another said, That they might easily see by that, there was nothing more fearful and timorous than a tyrant: considering that Nicocles being lord of so great a city, was afraid of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rap and rend to keep him in his banishment, upon vain

Aratus' bankets, and feasts, at noondays. And thus were dangers the tyrant's spials finely mocked. Aratus self departed immediately after dinner out of Argos, and went unto his soldiers, whom he had appointed before to meet him at the tower of Polygnotus, and led them straight unto Nemea. There he told them openly his full intent and purpose, having before made an oration unto them to encourage them, and also made them marvellous fair promises. Then he gave them for their watchword, Apollo favourable, and so went directly to the city of Sicyon, marching with great speed at the first because of the going down of the moon, and afterwards slackened his pace a little, so that they had moonlight all the way as they came, and the maon went not down, until they were comes dener's house that was hard by the Caphisias, whom he had sent before gardaner's house, came to meet with hoonglet him word that he could not the because they ran away; howhest that he had made fast the gurdener in his own house. coursed the most part of all the company, who would needs have him in any case to return back again. But Aratus then began to comfort them, and promised that he would lead them back again, if it chanced that the dogs were too busy with them: and therewithal presently caused the ladder men to go before, whom Ecdelus and Mnasitheus led, and he himself came fair and softly after. The dogs made a foul barking, and were baying about Ecdelus and his company. This notwithstanding, they came safely to the wall, and did set up their scaling ladders. But even as the first men got up

on them, the captain of the watch that had given in deliverplace to him that should ward in the morning, came ing of his by chance, and passed hard by them, visiting the soldiers with a little bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noise of men that followed him. They that were upon the ladders hearing them, ducked down, and stirred not: and thereby the soldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning watch came towards them also, which did put them in great danger to be discovered: but yet they once again escaped them and were not discovered, because the second watch went beyond them, and stayed not. Then Ecdelus and Mnasitheus immediately scaled the wall, and sent Technon with all possible speed unto Aratus, to will him to make all the haste he could to come to them. Now there was no great distance betwixt the garden where the dogs were, and the wall, and a little tower where they kept a great greyhound to keep watch: but the greyhound never heard their coming, either because he was a cowardly cur of nature, or else for that he had been over-coursed and wearied the day before. But the gardener's little curs that bawled and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhound with their barking, who at the first began to answer them with a soft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out aloud, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Insomuch, that the scout which was farther off, called aloud to the hunt that kept the dog, and asked what he ailed, that he made such a barking, and whether there were anything stirring or not that angered him. The hunt within the tower answered. That it was nothing, but that

Aratus his dog was waked, and fell a-barking at the lights wan the of the watch that passed by, and at the noise of the city of Sicyon bolder: because they thought that the hunt had blood-been made privy to their enterprise, and that he shed went about to hide their secret attempt, and hoped also that there were many others within the city that would further their enterprise. When they came to get up upon the wall, it was of a great height, and very dangerous, because the ladders shook, and bowed by reason of the weight of the men, unless they did come up fair and softly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in some peril, because the cocks began to crow, and the country folk that brought things to the market to sell, began to come apace to the town out of every quarter. And therefore Aratus made haste to get up, having only forty men above with him, and looked for some besides to come up, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrant's palace, where his hired soldiers kept watch and ward: and coming suddenly upon them, laid hold of every man of them, and slew not one. Then he sent into the city to his friends, to will them to come unto him. Thereupon they ran out of every corner to Aratus. Now the day began to break, and straight the theatre was full of people that gathered together, because of the noise and stir they heard in the city, not knowing what the matter meant: until at length an herald proclaimed with open voice, that it was Aratus the son of Clinias, who called his countrymen and citizens to the recovery of their liberty. Then they persuading themselves, that the thing which they long wished

and looked for, was now come to pass: they Nicocles ran all in a troop together to the tyrant's house, the tyrant and set it afire. But the flame rose so high and great after the fire had taken it in every part, that it was seen to the city of Corinth: insomuch that the Corinthians wondering what the matter should be, were in mind to have gone to help it. Now for Nicocles, he saved himself, and got out of the city by secret vaults he had made under the ground. The soldiers on the other side quenching the fire with the help of the citizens, did sack all they found in the tyrant's palace: the which Aratus hindred not, but did moreover make all the rest of the tyrant's goods common amongst them. So his enterprise had so good success, that there was none of his own company slain he brought with him, neither any of their enemies that were within the city, fortune kept this exploit so pure and clean from any bloodshed. Then Aratus restored four-score men unto their lands and goods again, whom the tyrant Nicocles had banished: and others also, that had been banished by former tyrants, to the number of five hundred men, who had been well near fifty years' space banished out of their country. Now the most of them being come home poor and needy, would have entered on their goods and lands they enjoyed before: and so, entring again upon their lands in their country, and their houses in the city, they amazed Aratus withal, seeing Antigonus on the one side practice all the means he could to win Sicyon being now free, and they all in an uproar and mutiny in the city. Therefore, following the best counsel he could think upon and

the city of Sicyon

Aratus devise, considering the danger of the present time: . joineth he joined the city in league and friendship with the Achaians, and of them all, made but one body. And because the citizens of Sicyon were Dorians, they were glad to submit themselves to be goverened and protected by the name of the Achaians, who were at that time of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in little villages, and had no great bounds of lands, neither were they very special good, for that they stood upon the seaside, where was no manner of haven nor port, but stones and rocks good store: and the sea beating upon them, did eat into the mainland. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of Greece when it was united and governed by good policy was of great force, and almost invincible. For the Achaians being in comparison of the ancient force of Greece, of no regard, and but a part of one city enfeebled with civil and foreign war: so long as they could submit themselves to be ruled by the wisdom and vertue of their captain. and not envy and malice his prosperity and sovereignty: they did not only maintain themselves as freemen, in the midst of the servitude of so many great cities, large and mighty, but did also deliver many other people of Greece from their tyrants. Now, for Aratus' manners: he was one that in nature loved civil government, and equality among citizens in one self city: he was nobly minded, and more painful about the affairs of the common weal, than careful of his own business, and hated tyrants to the death, and employed his good or evil will wholly for the service of the commonwealth. And therefore he seemed not to be so

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sound a friend, as he was a gentle and merciful unto the enemy: framing himself in either of both, as time Achaians served for the commonwealth. To be short, it was a general and common voice among all the city's confederates, in private company, and at open meetings in the theatres: that Aratus loved nothing but vertue, and honesty. That in open wars he was not so valiant and courageous, as he was crafty and subtile, to take a city on the sudden. Furthermore, though he was valiant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would never have brought to pass: yet it seemeth he left many things possible undone, the which he might easily have done, for that he durst not venture on them. For as there be beasts whose sight is perfectest by night, and by day they can see nothing, because the subtilty of the humour and moisture in their eyes is dried up, and cannot abide the bright light of the day: even so, men that otherwise by nature are very wise, are easily afraid of danger, when they must venture on it at noondays, where contrarily they are bold in secret enterprises, suddenly to attempt anything. Now, this contrariety and difference in men well brought up, groweth through ignorance and lack of instruction of philosophy, which of itself doth nourish vertue, as fruit that springeth up without planting, or help of man's hand. But this is best discerned by examples. So Aratus having joined himself and his city Sicyon unto the Achaians, and serving in person as a man of arms among the rest: he was marvellously beloved of his generals, that saw him so obedient. For, notwithstanding that he had made so large a contribution as the estimation

Aratus of himself, and the force of his city unto the taketh commonwealth of the Achaians: yet he was as sea to go to King
Ptolemy
into were he of Dymæ, or of Tritæa, or of any other Egypt small village whatsoever. Furthermore, a great sum of money being sent him from King Ptolemy for a gift, amounting to twenty and five talents, he took it, but forthwith disposed it amongst his poor countrymen, both to relieve their want, as also to redeem prisoners. This notwithstanding the banished men still vexed and troubled them that had their goods and lands, to have them out of their hands, and otherwise would be satisfied by no means. Their commonwealth therefore being in great danger to fall into civil war, Aratus perceiving there was no other way to help this mischief, but by Ptolemy's liberality: he determined to go unto him, to pray him to help him with money, to pacify this grudge and tumult. So he embarked at the haven of Methone, above the foreland of Malea, to sail from thence into Egypt: howbeit he had such a contrary wind, and the sea rose so high, that the master of the ship was driven to let her go whither she would to take sea room. So being driven quite from his direct course, with great danger he got to the city of Adria, which was his enemy: because Antigonus kept it, and had a garrison in it. But Aratus did winely prevent it, going ashore, and wandered far from the sea, with one of his friends called Timanthes, and got into a wood, whereby they had an evil night's rest. He had not gone far after he had left his ship, but the captain of the garrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his servants The had mocked him finely, (being before instructed by pictures made in that he was gone, and fled into the Isle of Euboca. Sieyon Howbeit, the captain of the garrison stayed the ship, his men, and all things else she had in her, and took her for a good prize. Within few days after, Aratus being marvellously troubled, and at a strait with himself what he should do: there happily arrived a Roman ship hard by the place where he kept most, partly to hide himself, and partly also to see if he could discover anything. This ship was bound for Syria. So he had dealt with the master of the ship in that sort, that he took him aboard, and promised he would deliver him in Caria, and so he did. But he was in as much danger, this second journey again by sea, as he was in the first he made towards Egypt. From Caria, a long time after, Aratus went into Egypt, and spake with the king, who made very much of him: for Aratus fed him still by sending of him him: for Aratus fed him still by sending of him passing fair tables, and pictures of Greece, of excellent workmanship. And indeed having a singular good wit, he always got together, and bought the excellentest painted pictures he could get, but specially the pictures of Pamphilus and Melanthus, to send them unto the king. For learning flourished yet in the city of Sicyon, and they esteemed the painting of tables in that city, to be the perfectest for true colours, and fine drawing, of all other places. Insomuch as Apelles, (though he was then of a marvellous fame for painting) went thither, and gave to these two excellent painters a talent, to remain awhile in

The their company: not so much to attain to the persaying of fection of the art, as thereby to win himself fame.

Nealces And therefore when Aratus had restored his city again to liberty, he caused all the images of the tyrants to be defaced and plucked down: howbeit he stood doubtful a long time, whether he should deface Aristratus' picture or not, who reigned in the time of Philip. For it was painted with the hands of all the scholars of Melanthus, being by a triumphant chariot, that carried a victory, and as Polemon the Geographer writeth, Apelles' hand was to it. This picture was a passing piece of work to see to, so that Aratus at the first yielded, and was contented to save it for the excellency of the workmanship: yet in the end, overcome with the extreme hate he bore unto tyrants, he bade it should be defaced. Now it is reported also, that Nealces the Painter being one of Aratus' friends, prayed him with the tears in his eyes to pardon such a notable piece of work. But when he saw Aratus so hard-hearted that he would not grant it: he told him it was good reason to make war with tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let us then (quoth he) leave the chariot of triumph and victory, and I will make thee see Aristratus, willingly to come out of the table. Aratus was contented to let him have his will. Then Nealces defaced the picture of Aristratus, and in place thereof drew only a palm tree, and durst add nothing else to it of his own device. Some say, that under the chariot were conveyed Aristratus' feet defaced. So Aratus by means of these tables and pictures, was marvellously well-beloved of King Ptolemy. But after that he was acquainted

with him, and knew his conversation: he loved The him then better than before. Insomuch that he great liberality gave him a hundred and fifty talents to help his city withal: of the which, he carried forty lemy unto away with him unto Peloponnesus, and the king Aratus afterwards sent him the rest at sundry times. Now this was a marvellous matter of him to get such a mass of money together for his citizens: considering that the orators, captains and governors of free cities, for a little sum of money only which they have taken of kings and princes, have been cor-rupted and betrayed their towns and country. But this was a more wonder, that by means of this money, he made peace and love betwixt the poor and rich, and furthermore, saved upright all the people of Sicyon, where he shewed himself mar-vellous wise and temperate, being of that great power and authority he was. For after they had chosen him arbitrator to judge, compound, and absolutely to decide all quarrels and strife between the banished men: he would never undertake it himself alone, but took fifteen other of the chiefest citizens with him, and with them, with great pains and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not only all the inhabitants and citizens of Sicyon together, did not only decree public honours meet for him: but also the banished men themselves did privately cast his image in brass, and set it up, under the which they caused this inscription to be graven:

Thy prowess and thy feats of arms, thy counsel sage and wise,

Not only are among the Greeks extolied to the skies,

Antigonus' saying of Aratus But also to the utmost straits of Marrok blown by

And we that through thy goodness home into our country came,

Have set this image up to thee Aratus, as a sign
Of our deliv'rance through thy love and through the
power divine.

For thy good-nature furthred by good fortune doth restore

Us country, laws, and liberty, bereft us quite before.

Aratus having done all these things, he suppressed the envy of the citizens, through the great good turns he had done unto them. But then King Antigonus being angry with Aratus in his mind, and seeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of Ptolemy; he did him many other great curtesies. Aratus never seeking them at his hands. But one day specially above the rest, as he did sacrifice unto the gods at Corinth, he sent Aratus part of his wethers he had sacrificed, unto Sicvon. And at the feast of his sacrifice in the hearing of many noblemen that were bidden guests, he said openly of Aratus: I did always think that this young Sicyonian could not but have a liberal mind, loving the liberty of his country and countrymen: but I perceive now he is a man that can judge of princes' manners and affairs. For heretofore he made no account of us, because his hope was out of his country, and he greatly esteemed the riches of Egypt, hearing talk of so many elephants. of such a great fleet of ships, and of such a sumptuous court, as King Ptolemy's court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is only but a smoke and vain pomp, he is come to us: and for my part, he is welcome to me, and I will have you

all to take him for my friend. These words of Aratus'
King Antigonus, were straight taken at bound of doings as certain envious men, and carried for lack of better general matter unto King Ptolemy, every man striving who should write all the evil they could against him: so that Ptolemy thereupon sent a messenger of purpose unto him, to reprove him for it. Thus fell there out much envy and malice, between the earnest love of these princes and kings, that contended with each other who should have Aratus. Furthermore, the first time that Aratus was chosen lieutenant-general of the tribe of the Achaians, he foraged and spoiled the country of Locris, which lieth directly over against Achaia, and Calydonia also. Howbeit he came not time enough to aid the Bœotians, in the battell which they lost before the city of Chæronea, against the Ætolians: where Abœocritus, governor of Bœotia was slain in the field, with a thousand other Bœotians. Howbeit the next year following, he being the second time chosen lieutenant - general, he attempted to win the castell of Corinth again, being an enterprise which not only concerned the private benefit of Sicyon it self, and the tribe of the Achaians, but

also of all Greece besides. For, he was fully bent to drive the garrison of the Macedonians thence, the which seemed even a very yoke that held all the Grecians' noses to the grindstone. For, like as Chares, captain of the Athenians, having in a certain conflict, discomfited the king's lieutenants, wrote to the Athenians that had won a victory half-sister to the victory of Marathon: even so me thinks it were no disgrace to say, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of

Anti- the tyrants, which was done by Pelopidas Theban, and gonus Thrasybulus Athenian, saving that this last act was craffily more famous, because it was not against Grecians, but against strangers and foreign power and government, upon whom it was executed. For the isthmus or bar of Peloponnesus, which separateth the sea Ægeum from the sea Ionium, doth come and join the firm land of the rest of Greece, with the Presche an island of Peloponnesus. Even so likewise the mountain called Acrocorinth, on the which the castell standeth, rising up in the middest of Greece, when there is any garrison of men of war in it, it cutteth off all traffic and passage by, of any armies of them which inhabit within the strait: for them that are without the strait, both by sea and by land, and maketh him only lord of the country that keepeth the castle. So that it was not for sport, but for truth, and in good earnest, that Philip the young king of Macedon was wont to call the city and castle of Corinth the stocks and gyves of Greece. And therefore was this castell marvellously wished and desired of every man, but specially of kings and princes. But the desire Antigonus had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a frantic lover. For he did nothing else continually but study and devise how he might win it upon the sudden, from them that kept it: because otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of Alexander that kept that castle, being poisoned (as it is reported) by Antigonus' practice, the castle being left in the hands of his wife Nicæa, who governed the state of Corinth, and did carefully cause the Acrocorinth to be kept: he immediately sent his son Demetrius

thither, and put Nicæa in good hope to marry her the caswith this young prince: a thing that pleased this tell of the lady well, though she was very old. So, for her self she was won straight, by means of his young son Demetrius, whom he used as a stale to entrap her. Howbeit Nicæa for all this goodly offer, forsook not her castell, but always made it straightly to be looked unto. Antigonus seemed to make no account of it, but daily gave himself to make sumptuous sacrifices, feasts, and plays to the gods, within the city of Corinth for the marriage: as though he had meant no other thing, but banqueting and jollity all that might be. When the hour was come to see these sports, and that the musician Amœbeus began to sing: he himself made as though he would accompany Nicæa unto the theatre, being conveyed thither in a sumptuous rich litter, as it had been for a queen. She was very glad of this honour, and thought nothing less than of that which happened But when Antigonus came to the end of a street that turned to go up the hill towards the castle, he bade her keep on still to the theatre: and himself in the meantime left Amœbeus there with his singing, and all the feast of the marriage, and went straight up to the castell, forcing himself above his strength and years. When he was at the top of the hill, and found the gates shut, he knocked with his staff, and commanded the garrison to open him the gates. They wondring to see him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the castell, he was so exceeding joyful of it, that he had no reason to moderate his joy, but would banquet in the middest of streets, and in the marketplace, having minstrels to play upon their instru-

Aratus' ments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on determi-nation their heads for joy, and did so fondly and lightly behave himself, as if he had been a light young man, and not (as he was) an old man: who had proved such sundry changes of fortune, and yet suffered himself to be thus carried away with pleasure, that he embraced, and spake to every man he met. Whereby it is easy to judge, that joy possessing a man without wit or discretion, it maketh him beside himself, and doth more trouble his wits. than pain or fear. Now Antigonus having won the castell of the Acrocorinth, as you have heard, he put it into the hands of those he trusted best, to be safely kept: and therefore made Persæus the Philosopher captain of the castle. But indeed Aratus was in mind to have attempted the taking of the castell, in Alexander's lifetime: yet he let it alone, because he joined himself with the Achaians. But at that time there was offered him another occasion again to attempt it, and this it was. At Corinth, there were four brethren born in Syria, of the which, one of them being called Diocles, was a soldier of the garrison of the castle: and the rest, having robbed the king's treasure, went straight unto Sicyon, to Ægias the Banker, whom Aratus employed in his faculty. These three brethren immediately sold him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them called Erginus, coming often to see him, by little and little sold him all the rest. By this means Ægias fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garrison of the castle of the Acrocorinth. Erginus told him, that going unto his brother up those steep and high

rocks, he found a path as it were cut out of the for the rock, that went to a place of the wall of the castell, taking of which was very low. Ægias hearing that, answered him smiling: Alas, my friend, what mean you to steal a little piece of gold to hinder the king, when in one hour's space you can sell such a great mass of money together? For as well shall you die if you be apprehended for this felony, as if you were otherwise attainted for treason. Erginus with that fell a-laughing, and promised that he would feel his brother Diocles' mind in it, for he did not greatly trust his other brethren. So, returning shortly after, he bargained with Aratus to bring him to a place of the wall that was not above fifteen feet high, promising that he would help him to execute the rest, with his brother Diocles. Aratus promised then to give him fifty talents, if he brought his enterprise to pass: and if he failed, that he would then give either of them, a house and a talent. Erginus would have the whole fifty talents put into Ægias the Banker's hands. Aratus had not so much ready money, and besides, he would not take it up at usury, for fear of giving cause to suspect his enterprise. Wherefore he took all his plate of gold and silver, and his wive's jewels, and laid them to gage to Ægias, to disburse the said sum. But Aratus had so great and noble a mind in him, and was so bent to do notable acts: that knowing how Phocion and Epaminondas had been esteemed for the justest and honestest men of Greece, because they had refused great gifts that were offered them, and would never sell nor stain their honour for money: he yet surpassing them, was contented to spend his own, to bring any good

danger

The enterprise to pass, and did put his life in danger for the common benefit of his countrymen, they themand selves knowing nothing of his enterprise, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimity and courage of such a man, and that will not even now as it were, be willing to aid him: considering how dearly he bought so great a danger of his person, and how he laid his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middest of his enemies, where he was to fight for his own life, having no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of such a noble enterprise, and nothing else? But now, though the enterprise of it self was dangerous, an error chancing through ignorance at the first, made it yet more dangerous. For Aratus had sent Technon, one of his men, before with Diocles, to view the wall. This Technon had never spoken with Diocles, howbeit he thought in his mind what manner of man he was, by the marks that Erginus had given him of him: that he had a black curled hair, that his face was black, and that he had no beard. Now Technon being come to the place where Erginus said he would be with Diocles: he stayed before the town in a place called Ornis. So whilst he was tarrying there, the elder brother of Diocles, called Dionysius (who knew nothing of the enterprise, nor was made acquainted withal, and looked very like his brother Diocles) came that way by chance. Technon being moved by the marks he saw in him, like unto those he was told of: asked him if he were nothing akin unto Erginus. The other answered, He was his brother. Then Technon persuading himself it was certainly

Diocles that spoke to him, without asking him his by-likename, or making other inquiry of him: he took ness of him by the hand, and began to talk with him of men one unto the practice he had with Erginus, and to ask him another of it. Dionysius taking the matter upon him, and feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the city, holding him on still with talk, Technon mis-trusting nothing. But even as Dionysius was ready to take him fast by the collar: his brother Erginus came. Who, perceiving how Technon had mistaken the matter, and the danger he was in: beckoned to him with his head to fly, and so they both ran for life unto Aratus, to save themselves. Howbeit Aratus was nothing the more discouraged for this, but sent Erginus straight to carry his brother Dionysius money, and to pray him not to be acknown of anything: who furthermore brought him with him unto Aratus. But after they had him once, they made him sure for starting: for they bound him, and locked him up fast in a chamber, whilst they went about their enterprise. So when all things were ready, Aratus commanded the rest of his army that they should tarry behind, armed all night: and he himself with four hundred of the best men he had (not knowing themselves whither they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the gates of the city, passing by the temple of Juno. This was about the middest of summer, when the moon was at the full, and the element very clear without clouds: insomuch that they were afraid their armours would glitter by moonlight, and betray them. But as the foremost of them came near unto the city, there rose clouds out of the sea that darkened all the city and places

Aratus thereabouts, and shadowed them. Then all of them in great sitting down on the ground, plucked off their shoes, danger both because they should make less noise, as also for that their footing should be surer, and that they should slip less upon the ladders. But Erginus, and seven other companions with him like men that travel, came secretly into the gate of the city, and slew the porter and warders there. At that very instant, Aratus caused the ladders to be set up against the walls, and made an hundreth of his soldiers get up on them; and sent also to command the rest, that they should follow him with all possible speed-Then drawing up his ladders after him, as fast as he could, he went through the city with his hundred men toward the castell, with such a joyful cheer, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he saw he was not discovered. But as he went on, he saw four of the watch coming with a light against them. They saw not Aratus and his company, but the enemies saw them plainly afar off. Aratus and his men therefore stood up close against old walls to tarry their coming, and at the first onset, slew three of them: but the fourth having a blow on his head with a sword, ran away, making an outcry, that the enemies were in the city. The trumpets forthwith sounded the alarm, all the city was in an uproar, the streets were straight full of people running up and down, and of lights in every corner, both beneath in the city, as also in the castell, and the noise was great everywhere. Aratus in the meantime forced to get up the high rocks fair and softly at the first, and with great pain and difficulty, being out of his path he should have found, which he missed, being very deep into the rocks, and with

many crooks and cranks went to the foot of the The castell: but suddenly, even as it had been by miracle, happy the moon appearing through the clouds, when they benefit of the were in their worst way, it gave them light, and brought them to that part of the wall where they should be, and straight the moon was shadowed again. Now the three hundreth soldiers whom Aratus had left at the gate by the temple of Juno, when they were come into the city, being full of lights, and in uproar, and besides could not find the hights, and in uproar, and besides could not find the path by the which their captain Aratus went before them: they stood close together under a rock that shadowed them, sorrowfully looking to hear some news of Aratus: who was then fighting with the garrison of the castell, the which made head against him with all the force and power they could. Under the castell there was a great noise heard of men that fought, but yet the noise was so confused by the sound rebounding against the rocks and mountain, that they could not devise whence it should come. So they being in this perplexity, not knowing which way to turn themselves: Archelaus, captain of King Antigonus' men, having a good number of soldiers with him, went up the hill with great cries and noise of trumpets to set upon Aratus, and his company behind. But after he was passed by these three hundred soldiers of Aratus' band, they gave charge upon him, as if they had been laid there in ambush of purpose, and slew the first they encountered withal, and made the others so afraid, and Archelaus himself, that they dispersed them, and made some fly one way, some another way. So, as they were overthrown, Erginus came to these three bundled way. these three hundred men, coming immediately from

he Acrocorinth

Aratus them that fought, and brought them news that taketh Aratus and them of the castell, were come to the sword together, and valiantly defended themselves, lustily fighting for the wall, and therefore it was time for them to help him quickly. Then the soldiers bade him bring them thither straight, and so he did. So they climbing up the hill, did signify by their cries to their men, that they came to aid him. Furthermore, the moon being then at the full, and shining on their harness, made their enemies in the castle think that they were a greater number than indeed they were, because of the long way they had to make to get up upon the rocks: and also because of the sound in the night, that made their cry seem to be of a greater number than they were. At length they joining with Aratus, they fought it out so lustily, that they drave the garrison out of the walls, and by break of day wan the castell. So that their exploit was discovered by the rising of the sun, and besides, all the rest of their army that came from the city of Sicyon: whom the Corinthians very gladly received, and did set open their gates unto them, and aided them to take King Antigonus' men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was safe, then Aratus came from the castell unto the theatre of the city, whither repaired an infinite number of people, as well for the desire they had to see him, as also to hear him speak unto the Corinthians. So, having placed the Achaians of either side, at the coming into the theatre: Aratus being armed, went up into the chair or pulpit for orations, having his face quite changed, both for the great pains he had taken, and also for lack of sleep: so that his

body being overwearied, his spirits were even done. He join-Now when all the assembly of the people (seeing eith the him in the chair) did humble themselves to shew city of him all the honour and kindness they could possible: he took his spear out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and body somewhat, he leaned upon it, and so stood a great while in this manner before he spake, receiving the cries of joy and clapping of hands which the people made, praising his valiantness, and blessing his good hap and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet again, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration unto them in the name of all the tribe and commonwealth of the Achaians, meet for the and commonwealth of the Achaians, meet for the enterprise from whence he came: and persuaded them to join to the Achaians. So therewithal, they presently delivered him the keys of their city, the which were never before that time in their the which were never before that time in their power, since the reign of King Philip. Now touching the other captains of King Antigonus: Aratus having taken Archelaus prisoner, he let him go, but put Theophrastus to death, because he would not go out of Corinth. Persæus (captain of the castle) seeing the castle but lost: he secretly saved himself, and fled unto the city of Cenchreæ. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talk of philosophy, where one maintaining that a man could not be a good captain, unless he were a perfect wise man: This (quoth he) is one of Zeno's opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleased me best: but now this young Sicyonian Aratus, hath made me of another mind. Many writers do report this saying of Persæus. Furthermore, Aratus wan presently the temple of Juno,

Aratus and the haven of Lechæum where he took goeth five-and-twenty ships of King Antigonus, and about five hundred horse of service for the war, and four hundred Syrians, which he sold every one of The Achaians left within the castell of the Acrocorinth a garrison of four hundred horsemen, and fifty dogs, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the castell. Now, the Romans wondering at the valiantness of Philopoemen: they called him the last of the Grecians. Even so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this act is the last and most famous of all the Grecians. and deserveth to be equal, as well for valiantness, as also good success, with the greatest exploits of the most famous ancients: as that which followed immediately after doth amply declare. For the Megarians revolting from King Antigonus, did straight join with Aratus: and the Træzenians also with the Epidaurians, did likewise enter into league and friendship with the Achaians. So that the first invasion he made, he went to spoil the country of Attica, and crossed over to the Isle of Salamis, and spoiled and destroyed it, even as if he had delivered the power and force of the Achaians out of prison, to serve his own turn in anything he thought good of. Howbeit, he sent home the Athenian prisoners without paying of ransom: and all of policy to make them desirous to rebel against the Macedonians. Furthermore, he made King Ptolemy a friend and confederate of the Achaians, with condition, that he should be lieutenant-general both by sea and by land. For these respects Aratus was of marvellous estimation and credit with the Achaians; insomuch that where

they could not yearly choose him their general, to set being contrary to their law: they chose him at the least every second year, but in effect, all was done liberty by his advice and counsel. For they saw plainly, that it was neither honour, nor riches, nor friendship of kings and princes, nor the private benefit of his own city wherein he was born, nor any other thing else that he preferred, before the glory and increase of the commonwealth of the Achaians. For he was of opinion, that cities by themselves were but weak, and being joined together with the chain of common benefit, they were a strength one to preserve the other. And in like manner, even as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beasts have life and sustenance, being joined and knit together, and straight so soon as there is any separation of them the one from the other, they live no more and putrefy: even so cities also were brought to decay by them that did disperse their society among them, and in condid disperse their society among them, and in contrary manner did then again increase, when joining with any other great body and city, they were governed with wisdom and good counsel. So Aratus seeing the chiefest cities thereabouts enjoy their laws and liberties: thought it a shameful thing to leave the Argives in slavery and bondage. Wherefore he practised to kill the tyrant Aristonachus that governed them, both to shew himself thankful to the city for his himsing up thouse as also to to the city for his bringing up there: as also to join that great and mighty city unto the tribe of the Achaians. Now there were divers men, that had the hearts and courage to undertake to do it, of the which the chiefest were Æschylus and Charimenes the Soothsayer, but they had no swords: for they were straightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grievf Argos

Aristip- ous punishments ordained for them that should be ustyraut found with their swords. Aratus therefore caused certain little short daggers to be made at Corinth for them, the which he sewed up in packs carried on certain beasts laden with other baggage and stuff. But the soothsayer Charimenes, did impart this enterprise unto a third man, and made him one of the conspiracy with them. Æschylus being very much offended with it, began therefore to enter into practice by himself, and left their company. Charimenes perceiving that, took such a toy in his head in a mad mood, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterprise. This notwithstanding, the most part of the conspirators saved themselves, and fled to Corinth. So the tyrant Aristomachus was slain shortly after by his own men. But then another tyrant Aristippus, a crueller man than the first, made haste to take the tyranny before he could be resisted. This notwithstanding, Aratus, with all the young men of the Achaians able to serve in the field, went suddenly thither with aid, hoping to find them of the city very glad to recover their liberty. Howbeit, the people being acquainted, and of long time used patiently to bear the voke of bondage: there was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned back again, and did nothing, saving that thereby the Achaians were accused, because that in the open peace they had made war, and therefore they were put in suit before the Mantineans, at Aristippus' request, tyrant of Argos. The matter was pleaded in Aratus' absence, and the Achaians were condemned to pay the sum of thirty minas. After this proof and attempt of Aratus, Aristippus being affraid

of Aratus, and hating him to the death, sought ways The to kill him, with the help of Antigonus, who did miserable aid him in it: and almost there were spials in every corner, that did nothing else but lie in wait to execute Aristippus' mind. Now, there is no surer guard unto a prince, than the perfect love and goodwill of his subjects. For, after that the nobility and common people have been used to fear, not him, but those that for him command them: he then seeth with many eyes, heareth with many ears, and knoweth what is done far off. Here therefore I will a little digress from my history, to shew you the manner of Aristippus' life the tyrant, whereunto he was brought by this so much desired tyrannical government, and smoke of seigniory, so esteemed of all men. Now, though Aristippus had King Antigonus his friend, and that he kept a great guard of soldiers about him for the safety of his person, and that there was not an enemy of his left alive in all the city: yet he made his soldiers watch and lie without his palace, under the cloisters and galleries thereabouts, and after supper turned all his men out of the doors, and then shut his court gates to him, and locked himself alone with his concubine, in a little high chamber with a trap-door, and set his bed upon it, and so slept, as one that continually was afraid of himself. Then after he was come up, his concubine's mother came to take up the ladder, and locked it in another chamber: and so did let it down again the next morning, and called this trim tyrant, that went down out of his chamber, like a snake that should have crept out of her hole. Where Aratus in contrary manner, not having obtained by force of arms, but lawfully through vertue

Aratus a continual government, being simply apparelled attempts with a poor gown of small price, and shewing himself a mortal enemy unto all sorts of tyrants: hath left a race and noble offspring among the Grecians, which remain yet until this present day. Contrarily also, there are few tyrants that do usurp the castels of free cities, that keep so many soldiers in pay, that make such provision for armour and weapon, and have so many gates and drawbridges for the safety of their persons, that in the end can keep themselves from violent death. no more than hares: neither do leave also any posterity, house, or grave, why their memory should be honoured after their death. So Aratus having divers ways made sundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwise suddenly, to take the city of Argos, and to thrust out the tyrant Aristippus: he ever failed of his purpose, but specially one night among the rest, when he entered the city very dangerously, with a few soldiers with him, and slew the soldiers that came to give supply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the tyrant with all his forces came to set upon him: the Argives stirred not at all, as if Aratus had not fought for their liberty, but as though they had been judges appointed to sit to see the sports of the games Nemee, to judge the game unto the conqueror without partiality, and with indifferency. Aratus in the meantime fighting like a valiant man, was thrust at with a pike, and run through the thigh. This notwithstanding, at length he wan that part of the city where he fought, and was not thrust out till night, what force soever the enemies made upon him: and if he could possibly

have holden it out all night, he had undoubtedly the castle obtained his purpose. For the tyrant looked for of Argos none other but to fly, and had already sent divers of his goods to the sea. Howbeit no man once came to tell Aratus any news of it, besides also lacking water, and for that he could not help himself because of his wound, he was driven to lead his men away, and failed of his purpose. So, despairing that he could ever take it by stealth, he went thither with open wars, and spoiled and destroyed all the country of Argos: and having fought a great battell against the tyrant Aristippus, by the river of Chares, they blamed Aratus much, that he forsook the victory, and cowardly retired out of the battell. For the rest of his army doubtless had the better, and had followed the enemies far in chase: when he fled being afraid, not compelled by his enemies, but mistrusting his fortune, and re-tired to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chase of their enemies were offended, for that they having put them to flight, and also slain a greater number more of them than they had lost of theirs, and yet for cowardliness should suffer their enemies (whom they had overcome and put to flight) to set up marks of triumph in token of vic-tory: Aratus being ashamed of it, determined to fight once again, for the marks of triumph. Where-upon, resting his men but one day, he led them again into the field, and setting his army in battell ray, offered to fight once more. This notwith-standing, when he saw a great supply coming to his enemy, and that the tyrant's men came to fight more lustily, and with better courage than before: Aratus durst not abide them, but retired, and sent to de-

Aratus' mand leave to take away his dead men to bury strata- them, yet he could speak so courteously, and behave gem himself so wisely, by the experience he had in government, and also for the good-will they bore him: that they forgot the fault he committed, and he wan the city of Cleonæ unto the Achaians, where he caused the feasts of the games Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquity, rather unto the Cleoneans than unto the Argives. This notwithstanding, the Argives did keep it also, and then was the first time that the sanctuary and privilege was broken, which was wont to be granted unto all them that came to play for the games: because the Achaians did make them prisoners that fought in Argos, as they returned through their country, and sold them as enemies. So marvellously did Aratus and the Achaians hate all sorts of tyrants, without respect of pardon. Shortly after he was advertised, that the tyrant Aristippus did lie in wait to spy opportunity, to take the city of Cleonæ from him: howbeit that he was afraid of it, because he remained at that time in Corinth. So Aratus straight sent out commandment into every place, to assemble the army of the tribe of the Achaians, and that they should bring victuals with them for many days: and so craftily came down to the city of Cenchreæ, to entice Aristippus, by his going away so far off, that in his absence he should attempt to set upon the Cleonians, as indeed he did. For he failed not presently to go thither with his army. But Aratus returning from Cenchreæ unto Corinth, very late in the night, and having laid good watch every way: he suddenly brought the army of the Achaians unto Cleonæ with such

speed and quietness, that they were not seen as they came, but entered into the city of Cleonæ by night, and were ready to fight with the tyrant, before he knew they were come. So the gates of the city were set open by break of day, and the signal of battell given by sound of trumpets: and so setting upon the tyrant's men with great cries, they suspecting nothing, they were presently put to flight. And because the place where the overthrow was given, had many turnings: Aratus following the chase, took the way which he thought the tyrant fled in. The chase continued to the city of Mycenæ. There the tyrant was overtaken by a Cretan called Tragiscus, (as Dinias reporteth) who slew him: and there were slain of his men also, about fifteen thousand. But now Aratus having won such a famous victory, and lost never a man: he could not yet win the city of Argos, nor set it again at liberty. For one Ægias, and another Aristomachus, got into the town with the king's army, and kept it. But notwithstanding, by this noble victory Aratus did rase out a great part of the reproach that they gave him, and of the scoffs and slents the flatterers of the tyrants devised of him. Who to please them, reported that when they should come to fight in-deed, the general of the Achaians had the wind colic in his belly, and a dimness in his eyes with a giddiness in his head, when he heard but the sound of the trumpets. And furthermore also, when he had set his men in battell ray, and given them the word of battell: he asked the generals if he should need to be there in person, because he was hurt in the heel, and then would get him as far off as he could, to see the end of the battell. This

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philo- talk was so common, that the philosophers themselves disputing of it, to wit, whether to tremble and change colour in present danger and peril, be signs of a faint heart or of an evil complexion and coldness of body: they always vouched Aratus, that had been a good and valiant captain, and yet when he began to fight, he was ever in that taking. when he had overcome Aristippus, he sought means also to destroy Lysiadas Megalopolitan, who as absolute lord and king of the country, kept the city of Megalopolis. Notwithstanding he had no base mind in him, neither was he carried away with a cruel desire of tyranny to live at his pleasure, nor through extreme covetousness, as most princes be: but being a young man, and pricked forward with desire of honour and fame, and having unadvisedly conceived in his mind, (which was great and highly bent) the vain reasons he heard men talk of principality, as of a state most blessed, and worthy of admiration: he found the means to make himself lord of his country. But afterwards, he was soon weary of the dangers and troubles such manner of government bringeth with it, and desired to follow Aratus, whom he saw prosper, and of great honour. Furthermore, also fearing his secret practices against him, he took hold of a noble device: first to rid himself of the malice and fear of the prison and guard of his soldiers: and lastly, to be a benefactor to his country. So he sent for Aratus, gave up his government, and delivered up his city to the tribe of the Achaians. They so extolled him for this act, that they chose him their lieutenant-general of all their tribe. Wherefore, Lysiadas striving at the first to excel Aratus in honour, attempted divers

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things which were not very needful: as among others, to make war with the Lacedæmonians. But Aratus was very much against him in that, though some think it was for envy. Thereupon they chose Lysiadas general of the Achaians the second time: although Aratus openly both spake and made what means he could to the contrary, and would have had another to have been chosen. For, he himself was every other year general. So, Lysiadas was chosen again general of the Achaians the third time, with everybody's good will: and Aratus and he had absolute power and government by turns, one after the other. But when they saw that Lysiadas became open enemy unto Aratus, and did still accuse him in all their councils and assemblies: they fell in such misliking with him, that they rejected him. For they thought his but a counterfeit vertue, to contend with the perfectness of Aratus' vertue. Much like unto one of Æsop's fables, saying that little birds did answer the cuckoo on a time, asking them why they did fly from her: Because we are afraid (said they) thou wilt be a sparrow-hawk one day. Even so it seemeth, that there was a certain suspicion in men's minds of Lysiadas' tyranny, which made them mistrust that he went not from his tyranny with good will. Now Aratus on the other side, wan as great praise and honour by his doings against the Ætolians. For when the Achaians would needs have fought upon the confines of the territory of the Megarians, and that Agis, king of Lacedæmon, being come with his army to the camp of the tribe of the Achaians, did persuade them hardily to give battell: Aratus was stoutly against it, and did abide many mocks and taunts

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Aratus they gave him, saying, that it was for cowardliness setteth he would not go. This notwithstanding, he would pon his not leave his wise and safe determination, for all that open shame: but suffered the enemies to pass over the mountain Geranea, and to invade Peloponnesus, and would never fight with them. But afterwards, when he saw that at their first coming they had taken the city of Pallené: he then changed his mind, and would defer time no longer to tarry till all his power were come together, but marched forthwith against his enemies, with those few he had, who marvellously weakened themselves by their insolency and disorder after their victory, keeping no watch nor ward. For after they had entered the city of Pallene, the soldiers ran into every house, one thrusting in another's neck, and fighting for the goods they found. The captains also fell to ravishing of maids, and the Pallenians' wives, and put their burganets and morions upon their heads, that none other should take them, because that by the same the soldiers should know whose they were, and to whom the women belonged. So they being in this ruff and jollity: news came suddenly that Aratus was come. This made them quake for fear, when they saw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all understood of the danger by their sudden setting on them, the Achaians were fighting already within the suburbs and gates of the city, against the first that resisted, whom they slew. They being broken and put to flight, made the rest so afraid that were gathered together to aid them, that they wist not what to do. In this tumult and great hurly-burly, there was one of the ladies a prisoner, that was the daughter of

Epigethes, one of the noblest men of the city, and she a marvellous goodly woman, and passing fair: of Diana with the with the palle-captain had brought her that had chosen her for himself, and had put his burganet on her head: she suddenly ran to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when she heard the noise of them that fought, to see them fight. The citizens seeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater majesty, than any worldly creature. The enemies on the other side were so affraid to see her, thinking she had been some spirit: that not a man of them durst once defend themselves. So the Pallenians say, that the image of Diana all the rest of the time is kept locked up, and nobody toucheth it, and that when the nun that keepeth it doth carry it elsewhere, no man dare look on it, but every man turneth his eyes away: because the sight of it is not only fearful and hurtful unto men, but it also killeth the fruit of the trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the Ætolians' minds so much, because the nun removing the image of the goddess Diana, she turned it towards them. Howbeit Aratus in his commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but only writeth, that when he had defeated the Ætolians, following them in chase, he entered hand over head with them that fled into the city, out of the which he drave them, and slew seven hundred of them. This noble victory hath been esteemed amongst the chiefest afterwards: and the painter Timanthes hath drawn and set it forth in table very lively. This notwithstanding, because divers princes and

Aratus people did immediately prepare force against the attempt- Achaians: Aratus presently made peace with the Ætolians by the practice of Pantaleon, who bare great sway and authority amongst them. Furthermore, Aratus being desirous to set the Athenians at liberty, he suddenly attempted to take the haven of Piræus: for the which the Achaians reproved him, because he had broken the peace they had made with the Macedonians. But Aratus in his commentaries doth stoutly deny that it was he, and layeth the fault upon Erginus, by whose means he wan the castle of the Acrocorinth: saying that it was he, that of his own mind did set a scaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking under him, he fled upon it, and perceiving he was followed near by the enemies, he still cried out, Aratus as if he had been there, and by this policy mocked his enemies, and saved himself. Howbeit, me thinketh this answer is not true. For it is not credible, that Erginus a private soldier, and a Syrian born, should have so great an enterprise in his head, unless it had been by Aratus' consent and commandment, who had given him men, time and means to undertake it. And this appeared plainly afterwards, for, Aratus did not attempt it twice or thrice only, but oftener than so (as those that extremely desire a thing) to take the haven of Piræus on the sudden, not giving over for once failing, but rather emboldening himself again with good hope because he missed it but little, and that he came so near the taking of it. And another time also amongst others, flying through the plain of Thriasia, he broke his leg, and was driven to make many incisions to heal it:

so that he was a long time together carried in his to set litter unto the wars. After that King Antigonus was Athens at dead, and that Demetrius his son succeeded him liberty in the kingdom: he attempted then more earnestly than ever before, to set the city of Athens at liberty, making small account of the Macedonians. Aratus therefore being overthrown in battell near unto Phylacia, by King Demetrius' lieutenant, called Bithys, and the rumour running straight abroad, that Aratus was dead, or at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named Diogenes, captain of the haven of Piræus, wrote a letter unto Corinth, and commanded the garrison of the Achaians that kept it, to deliver the town for Aratus was dead. But he by chance was at the self same time in Corinth: so that they which brought the letters went home with a mock, without their purpose, and made all the company merry. Furthermore, King Demetrius himself sent a galley out of Macedon, to bring Aratus bound unto him. The Athenians themselves also to please the Macedonians, exceeding all lightness of flattery, wore garlands on their heads a whole day together, in token of common joy, when news was brought them of Aratus' death. Aratus was so mad in his mind to hear this, that he brought his army presently against them, even to the very suburbs of the Academy. Notwithstanding at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwards

the Athenians acknowledging his valiantness, when King Demetrius died: it took them in the heads to recover their liberty again. So Aratus, though that year another man was general of the Achaians, and that he kept his bed lying sick of a long disease:

Aratus yet to further this, he was carried unto Athens in a by per- litter, and so persuaded Diogenes, captain of the suasion garrison there, that for the sum of an hundred and fifty talents (towards the which Aratus gave of his own, twenty talents) he made him deliver to the Athenians the haven of Piræus, the castell of Munychia, the Isle of Salamis, and the castell of Sunium. After this the Æginetes, the Hermionians, and the most part of Arcadia it self, did presently join with the Achaians: so that the Macedonians being occupied with wars at that time in other places against their neighbours, the power of the Achaians marvellously increased, having also the Ætolians their confederates. Then Aratus to perform his old promise, and being angry to see the city of Argos (being so near neighbour unto them) yet kept in bondage: he sent unto Aristomachus, to persuade him to be contented to set his city again at liberty, and to join it to the tribe of the Achaians, as Lysiadas had done his town of Megalopolis, and rather to like to be made a general with honour and praise of so great and famous a state as the Achaians: than tyrant of one only city, hated, and every hour of the night and day in danger of his life. Aristomachus gave ear to his persuasions, and sent unto Aratus, telling him that he had need of fifty talents to discharge the soldiers he had about him. The money was straight prepared. And Lysiadas that was at that time general of the Achaians, and that marvellously desired this matter might be brought to pass by his means: he secretly sent unto Aristomachus to accuse Aratus, and shewed how he had been always a mortal enemy unto tyrants, and therefore counselled him rather to put himself into his

hands, as indeed he did. For Lysiadas brought delivered Aristomachus unto the council of the Achaians. Argos There all the council plainly shewed their goodwills, and the confidence they had in Aratus: for when he spake against it, that they should not receive Aristomachus, they rejected him with great anger. But afterwards also when Aratus was won, and that he began to move the contrary to the council: they straight agreed to receive the Argives, and the Phliasians in league with them, and also the next year following they chose Aristomachus lieutenant-general of all their tribe. Aristomachus seeing himself in credit now with the Achaians, would needs invade the country of Laconia with a main army, and sent for Aratus being then at Athens. Aratus wrote unto him, and wished him in any wise not to meddle with that journey, because he would not have the Achaians to deal with Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon, that was a courageous and stout young prince, and marvellously grown in short time. Howbeit Aristomachus being selfwilled in that point, Aratus obeyed him, and was there in person all that journey. So Cleomenes being come to them upon the sodain with his army, near unto the city of Palantium: Aristomachus would needs fight with him. But Aratus dissuaded him from it. Whereupon Lysiadas afterwards accused him to the Achaians, and the next year following he contended with him, suing to be general: howbeit he was rejected by most voices, and Aratus chosen general the twelfth time. The self same year he was overthrown in battell by Cleomenes, near unto the mountain Lycæum, and being fled, wandered up and down

Mantinea

Aratus in the night, that every man thought he had been took the slain, and it ran for good payment among all the city of Grecians. Howbeit he saved himself, and having gathered his men together again, not contenting him that he had escaped with life, but wisely taking the opportunity and occasion offered, no man knowing it, nor mistrusting his coming: he suddenly went to assail the Mantineans, which were confederates of Cleomenes, and having taken the city of Mantinea, he left a great garrison in it, and made the strangers that were there, free of the city. Thus Aratus was he alone, that being overcome wan the Achaians that, which they themselves could scarcely have won if they had been conquerors. Afterwards the Lacedæmonians invading the territories of the Megalopolitans with a great army, Aratus suddenly went thither to aid them, but would hazard battell no more, nor give Cleomenes vantage, who desired only to fight, and still constantly resisted the Megalopolitans, that provoked him to come into the field. For besides that in nature he was not meet for a set battell, at that time also he was the weaker in men, and had to do with a venturous young man, that was all fire: where his courage and ambition on the other side was cool, and quiet enough. Furthermore, he considered, that as King Cleomenes sought honour by valiant venturing, which he had not before: even so it was his part wisely to keep that which he had long since gotten, and to stand upon his guard and safety. This notwithstanding, the light-armed men being put out into the field, and having chased the Lacedæmonians even into their camp, and entring in with them hand over head

Aratus would never bring out his citizens, but Aratus stayed them in a great valley that lay between them both, and would not let them come on any farther. Wherewithal Lysiadas being mad with himself, and falling out with Aratus: he called for the horsemen and said that he would vet help them that followed the chase, and yet help them that followed the chase, and prayed them not to lose the victory so cowardly, of the which they were so sure: nor to forsake him at a pinch, fighting for the defence of their country. So having gotten a great number of choice horsemen together, he went with great fury, and gave charge on the right wing of his enemies' battell, and having dispersed them, and put them to flight, he unadvisedly followed them with great courage, into evil - favoured crooked ways, among trees, and great broad them with great courage, into evil-favoured crooked ways, among trees, and great broad ditches. Whereupon Cleomenes came, and so lustily set on him, that he slew him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending himself. The other men of arms flying also, rushed in again into the battell of the footmen, and so disordered their ranks, that they made all their army fly for fear. For this cause they greatly blamed Aratus, because he had forsaken Lysiadas: and being enforced unto it by the Achaians that went without his leave, he followed them at length, and fled himself also unto the city of Ægium. There the Achaians sitting in council, they decreed that they would furnish Aratus with no more money, neither would they pay his strangers any more: neither would they pay his strangers any more: and bade him pay them at his own charge, if he would entertain them for the war. Aratus perceiving that they did him great wrong, stood even

Aratus' indifferent to deliver up his commission of lieu-reproach tenancy, and to discharge himself of his office: but after he had bethought himself better, he bore it patiently, and led the Achaians directly to the city of Orchomen. There he valiantly fought with Megistonus, King Cleomenes' father-in-law, and had the upper hand of him: for he slew three hundred of his men, and took Megistonus self prisoner. Furthermore, where before every second year they did use to choose him their lieutenantgeneral: when his turn came about again, they called him to give him the office, but he refused it, and Timoxenus was chosen in his room. Now the cause alleged for his refusal, was said to be, for that he misliked of the common people. But that soundeth like a lie: for the truth of it, to my seeming was, for that he saw the state of the Achaians to decline. For King Cleomenes proceeded no more fair and softly as he did at the first, when he was controlled and bridled by the Ephori: but having slain them, and equally divided the lands through Lacedæmonia, and made the strangers free citizens of Sparta, being then absolute lord of Lacedæmon: he straight set upon the Achaians with all the power he could, and sought to conquer them. And therefore Aratus deserveth just reproof, for that he forsook his country in such extreme trouble and danger, that being as the master of a ship he gave another the stern to steer, when it had been most honourable and meetest for him to have taken it in hand (though they would not have given it him) to have saved his country. Or otherwise, if he had indeed utterly despaired of the good success of the

Achaians, he should then have put it rather into Æsop's Cleomenes' hands, and not to have poisoned Pelo-hunter ponnesus again, with the manners of the barbarous people (bringing in as he did, the garrison of the Macedonians, filling the castle of the Acrocorinth with Gauls and Illyrian soldiers, and making them his lords and maisters, whom he had so often overcome in wars, and deceived of their government, and of whom he also spake so much evil in his commentaries) nor to have put them into towns, and calling them friends and confederates, to think thereby to colour and disguise his wicked practice. Admit Cleomenes had been a tyrant, and a cruel man (if I should so term him) yet came he of the blood of Hercules, and was born in Sparta: from whence they should rather have chosen the meanest man governor, than the greatest king of Macedon, and those specially that prefer the honour and glory of Greece, before strangers. Yet King Cleomenes required no more of all the Achaians but the name only to be their lieutenantgeneral: and so they would grant him that honour, he promised he would be very good unto the cities confederate to Achaia. Where Antigonus notwithstanding, when they had chosen him their lieutenant-general with absolute power and authority, both by sea and also by land, refused the charge, unless they would let him have the castell of the Acrocorinth for his hire. The which was even like to Æsop's hunter, that bridled his horse. For he would not get up upon the Achaians that requested him, and that by their ambassadors and decrees of council did refer all unto himself: before he had first saddled and bridled them, by the

winneth the city of Mega-

Cleo- garrison he made them receive, and the pledges he menes caused them to give him, and yet he spake as much as might be to clear himself of the accusation against him, bearing them in hand that he was lopolis forced to it. Howbeit Polybius writeth: that long time before he was compelled, being afraid of Cleomenes' valiantness, he had secretly practised that with Antigonus, which he was openly seen in afterwards: and that he had enticed the Megalopolitans (who were the first that moved it to the council of the Achaians) to call King Antigonus to their aid, because they were nearest neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with Cleomenes' war, that always knocked at their gates to come and spoil them. Thus much is affirmed by Phylarchus in his history, who were hardly to be credited notwithstanding, had not Polybius confirmed it. For he loved Cleomenes so well, that it seemed he was ravished with some spirit as often as he spake of him: and frameth his history, as a common counsellor that should plead a case in law before the judges, still accusing the one, and defending the other. The Achaians lost the city of Megalopolis again, the which King Cleomenes took of them, and overcame them in a great battell, by Hecatombæon. Wherewithal they were so amazed, that they sent ambassadors presently unto him, and prayed him to come to the city of Argos, and there they would make him their lieutenantgeneral. But when Aratus heard he came indeed, and that he was not far from the city of Lerna with his army: being affraid, he sent other ambassadors to tell him that he should safely come with three hundred men only, as unto his friends and

confederates, and yet if he mistrusted craft and The evil dealing, that then they would give him pledges spiteful letters for the safety of his person. Cleomenes answered him, that was a plain mockery, and an injury they offered him. Wherefore he presently departed thence, and sent a letter before to the council of the Achaians, full of foul words and reproaches he gave unto Aratus: who likewise replied to him again, bitterly taunting each other, that they came to talk of their marriage and wives. After this letter, Cleomenes sent defiance by an herald unto the Achaians, and proclaimed open war against them: insomuch as he had almost gotten the city of Sicyon by practice of traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpose, he returned sud-denly, and went unto the city of Pallene, which he took, and drave out the general of the Achaians thence, and immediately after he wan the cities also of Pheneum, and Penteleon. After that, the Argives and Phliasians willingly yielded unto him, so that of all that which the Achaians had conquered, and joined unto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing else of certainty unto them. Then Aratus was marvellously troubled in his mind, to see all Peloponnesus in tumult and uproar, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by those that practised change and alteration. For no man was contented with the state and government at that time, but divers of the Sicyonians and Corinthians both were bewrayed which had secretly practised with Cleomenes, and that of long time maliced the government of the Achaians, desiring themselves to be lords and governors of their cities. Aratus having full commission and authority from

in danger

Aratus' the council of the Achaians, to make inquiry of constancy them, and to put them to death, without further trial of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faulty in the city of Sicyon. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at Corinth, he made inquiry of them, and put them to death: whereby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwise of themselves were weary of the government and subjection of the Achaians. The Corinthians therefore gathering together in the temple of Apollo, they sent for Aratus, intending to make him prisoner before they would openly enter into actual rebellion. Aratus went thither, to shew that he neither feared nor mistrusted them. but yet he held his horse in his hand following of him. Then many rose up against him, and did both reprove and injuriously entreat him. But Aratus with staid countenance and gentle words, prayed them to keep their places, and not to cry out in such rage upon their feet, and withal, caused them also to come in that were at the temple door. But as he spake unto them, by little and little he drew back out of the press, as though he meant to have given his horse to somebody to hold. being gotten out of the press, he gently spake without any fear unto the Corinthians he met, and bade them go to the temple of Apollo. When he was come to the castle, he then suddenly took his horseback, and commanded Cleopater, captain of the garrison of the Achaians there, to look well to the safe keeping of the castell. Then he set spurs to his horse, and galloped towards the city of Sicyon for life, being followed only by thirty of his soldiers, all the rest having forsaken him, and dispersed

themselves here and there. Shortly after, the The Corinthians understanding that Aratus was gone, city of they followed after, but could never overtake him: whereupon they straight sent for King Cleomenes, up to and delivered the city of Corinth into his hands. Cleothe gain whereof pleased him not so much, as he menes was sorry for the loss of Aratus, whom they had let go. So King Cleomenes joining unto him all the people dwelling alongst the sea coast, commonly called the river of Corinth, who yielded up themselves, holds and towns into his hands; he then entrenched in the castell of the Acrocorinth with a great trench. Furthermore, when Aratus came to the city of Sicyon, many of the Achaians gathered about him, and holding a council and assembly, he was chosen their lieutenant-general, having absolute power and authority to do what he would, and gave him of their own citizens to guard his person. So, he having managed the affairs of the state and common wealth of the Achaians, the space of threeand-thirty years together, and having all that time been counted of all men, the chiefest man of power and authority in Greece: he then found himself in poor estate, forsaken, and in great misery, as in the shipwreck of his country beaten with storm, and in great danger of himself. For when he sent unto the Ætolians for aid, they flatly denied him, and would send him none. Furthermore, the Athenians being very desirous to send aid for Aratus' sake, were dissuaded from it through the practice of Euclidas, and Micion. Aratus also had a house in Corinth, where all his money was: the which King Cleomenes at the first meddled not withal, neither would suffer any other to touch it, but sent

do send

The for his friends and officers, and charged them to Achaians look well to it, to give Aratus a good account of it afterwards. Furthermore, he privately sent Tripylus unto him, and his father-in-law Megistonus, and offered him great gifts, and specially an annual pension of twelve talents, which was double as much as King Ptolemy gave him, who sent him vearly six talents. Besides, he only prayed the Achaians that they would make him their lieutenantgeneral, and also that the garrison in the castell of the Acrocorinth, might be divided in common between them. Aratus made answer, that he had no absolute power in his hands, and that it was in the Achaians, not in him. Cleomenes thinking this but a device and excuse of Aratus, he presently invaded the country of the Sicyonians, and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three moneths. Aratus in the meantime stood doubtful how to determine, whether he should receive King Antigonus or not: because Antigonus would not aid him, before he delivered him the castell of the Acrocorinth into his hands. So the Achaians meeting at the city of Ægium to consult upon it, they sent for Aratus thither. Howbeit it was dangerous coming thither, because Cleomenes' camp lay hard by the city of Sicyon, besides also that the citizens kept Aratus, and held him by force, saying that they would not let him venture himself in such apparent danger, their enemies being so near unto them. Moreover, the women and little children hung about him, weeping, and compassing him about, as their common father and saviour. But Aratus comforting them, bade them not be afraid, and so took his horse, with ten of his friends (and his son

that was a young stripling grown) and went towards for King the sea, and embarked in certain ships that rode at Antianchor. Thence he sailed unto Ægium, where the gonus Diet or Parliament was kept: and there it was resolved, that they should send for Antigonus, and deliver the castle of the Acrocorinth into his hands. And so it was performed: for Aratus sent thither his own son among the other hostages. The Corinthians were so sore offended withal, that they made havock of his goods, and gave his house he had in Corinth, unto King Cleomenes. So King Antigonus being onwards on his way came into Peloponnesus with his army, bringing with him twenty thousand footmen, all Macedonians, and four hundred horsemen: Aratus, with the greatest states and officers of the Achaians, unwitting to their enemies, went to meet him as far as the city of Pegæ, having no great trust nor confidence in Antigonus, nor the Macedonians. For he remembered very well, that he came first to his greatness, by the injuries he had offered them: and how that the chiefest cause of his rising, was the malice he bare unto old Antigonus. Howbeit, making vertue of necessity, and weighing the instant occasion of their present extremity: (of governors, to be driven to be subjects) he put himself in adventure. So, when Antigonus was told that Aratus was come in person to him: having with good countenance after a common sort saluted those that came in his company: to Aratus self at his first coming he gave him an honourable welcome and entertainment. Afterwards also, finding him a good and discreet man: he fell into inward friendship and familiarity with him. For Aratus was not

Anti- only skilful to give direction in matters of state gonus touching good order and government: but moreover, his company and conversation was very pleasant, to entertain a prince's leisure with. Wherefore though Antigonus was but young at that time, yet seeing throughly into Aratus' nature, and that he was a meet man to be well thought of, and esteemed about a prince: he used his counsel and advice more than any other man's, in all matters, not only touching the affairs of the Achaians, but of the Macedonians also. And so all things came to pass, which the gods had promised in their sacrifices. For in a beast that was sacrificed, there were two galls wrapped in one self caul: the which the soothsayers interpreted did prognosticate, that two which before were mortal enemies, should now become assured friends. But Aratus made no account of their prediction, neither did also give any credit to their sacrifices, but trusted more to his own determination. So, the wars afterwards having good success, and Antigonus making a feast in the city of Corinth, where he had bidden many guests: he would needs have Aratus lie upon him at the table, and a little while after, commanded his men to bring him a coverlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a-cold. Aratus answered him, it freezed. Then Antigonus bade him come near him, and when the servants brought a coverlet for the king, they cast it over them both. Then Agatus remembering the sacrifice, fell a-laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had seen in the sacrifice, and what interpretation the soothsayers made of it. This was long after. So, Antigonus and Aratus being at that time in the city of Pegæ, they were sworn

brethren together: and then went both with all speed sworn against the enemies. Thus there fell out hot skir- brethren mishes between them, hard by the city of Corinth. For Cleomenes was very well fortified, and the Corinthians valiantly defended themselves. In the meantime, Aristoteles of Argos, (Aratus' friend) secretly sent him word, that he would make the city rebel, if he came himself with any number of soldiers. Aratus told it unto King Antigonus, who gave him fifteen hundred men, with the which he embarked, and passed over with great speed from the isthmus (or bar in the strait) unto the city of Epidaurus. Howbeit the Argives tarried not Aratus' coming, but were all up before he came and did set upon King Cleomenes' men, and had driven them into the castle. Cleomenes being advertised of it, and fearing lest his enemies (keeping the city of Argos) should cut off his way from returning into his country again with safety if he were driven to a strait: he forsook the castell of the Acrocorinth, and went his way by night to help his men in the city of Argos. So he came thither in time, and overthrew certain of his enemies. But shortly after, Aratus, and King Antigonus both being come thither with all their aid, Cleomenes was driven to fly to the city of Mantinea. After the recovery again of the city of Argos, all the residue of the cities of Peloponnesus did again return to the Achaians, and Antigonus took the castell of the Acrocorinth. Aratus being chosen general by the Argives, he counselled them to present Antigonus with all the tyrant's goods, and those that had been traitors to the common wealth. And after they had cruelly

Aratus' tormented the tyrant Aristomachus in the city of infamy Cenchrez, in the end they cast him into the sea, and drowned him. Aratus was marvellously reproved for his death, that would suffer the poor man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleasure: who through his persuasion willingly resigned up his tyranny, and delivered the city of Argos unto the Achaians. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else. For that the Achaians through his means had put the city of Corinth into Antigonus' hands, as though it had been some mean village: for that when they had sacked the city of Orchomen, they suffered him to place a garrison of the Macedonians there: for that they had enacted by Parliament, that they should neither write, nor send ambassadors any whither, without Antigonus' privity and consent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to give pay to the Macedonians: for that they made sacrifices, feasts, and games unto Antigonus, as if he had been a god, following the example of Aratus' citizens, who were the first that began, and had received Antigonus into the city by the persuasion of Aratus, that lodged and feasted him in his own house. With all these faults they burdened Aratus, and considered not that after they had put the reins of the government into Antigonus' hand, Aratus himself (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow she swing of the unbridled prince, having no other means to stay it, but only the liberty of speech to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparent and great danger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against Aratus'

mind, as amongst others, that Antigonus caused the Mantinea tyrant's images of Argos to be set up, which he called had before pulled down: and also that he made them to be overthrown, which Aratus had set up for those that had taken the castell of Corinth, and only left Aratus' own statue, notwithstanding all the earnest entreaty Aratus made to the contrary, yet he could get no grant of anything he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the Achaians dealt not so friendly with the Mantineans, as became Grecians one to another. For they having the city in their hands by Antigonus' means, did put all the noblest and chiefest men of Mantinea to death, others they sold as slaves, and sent the rest into Macedon with irons on their legs, and brought the poor women and children into bondage, and sold them for slaves: and of the money they got by spoil, they divided the third part among themselves, and left the other two parts unto the Macedonians. Now surely it cannot be said, but this was done for some cruel revenge. For though it was an over-great cruelty, in rage and passion of mind, to handle people of one self blood and language in this lamentable sort : yet, Simonides saith, when men are driven and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruel) thing, to ease their great stomachs in-flamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards unto the city, no man can excuse Aratus, nor say that he was either driven to it by necessity, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to do it. For King Antigonus having given the city of Mantinea unto the Argives, they determined to make it a colony, and chose Aratus their general: who made a decree, that henceforth

thrown in

Aratus the city should no more be called Mantinea, but over- Antigonea, as it beareth name unto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle Mantinea (for so the poets called it) was utterly destroyed, and bare the name of another city through Aratus' means, preferring the name of him that destroyed the city, and did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, King Cleomenes being overthrown in a great battell by the city of Sellasia, he left the city of Sparta, and fled into Egypt. So Antigonus having used Aratus with all kind of honourable courtesy, he returned again into Macedon. There falling sick, he sent Philip that should succeed him in the kingdom (being a young stripling grown) into Peloponnesus, and straightly charged him specially to follow Aratus' counsel, and to employ him when he would speak unto the cities, and become acquainted with the Achaians. So Aratus having received him in that sort, made him so well affected and loving towards him, that he sent him again into Macedon, being thoroughly determined to make wars with Greece. So after the death of Antigonus, the Ætolians began to despise the carelessness and cowardliness of the Achaians (because that they being acquainted to be defended by strangers, and having been altogether governed by the armies of the Macedonians, they lived very idly and dissolutely) whereupon they took upon them to make themselves lords of Peloponnesus. So they assembled an army, and by the way as they went, they only took some prey and spoil upon the lands of the Patræans, and the Dymæans: but invading the territory of Messenia with all their army, they destroyed the whole country before them. Aratus

being angry withal, and perceiving that Timoxenus The (who at that time was general of the Achaians) did Achaians still tract and delay time in vain, because he was upon his going out of his year: he being appointed philip general for the year following, did anticipate his time five days before, to go and aid the Messenians. Wherefore, leaving an army of the Achaians, whose persons were now neither exercised in arms, nor yet had any desire to go to the wars: he was overthrown by the city of Caphyæ. Now, because it was thought that he went somewhat too hotly and courageously to the wars, he so extremely cooled again, and left things in such case, that all hope being cast aside, he suffered the Ætolians in manner to tread Peloponnesus under their feet, before his eyes, with all the insolency and cruelty that might be possible, notwithstanding that they sundry times gave him great advantages of them. Thus were the Achaians once again forced to pray aid out of Macedon, and to send for young King Philip to make wars in Greece: hoping for the love he bare unto Aratus, and the great trust he had in him, that he would use them gently, and do as they would have him. But then first of all began Apelles, Megareus, and a few other courtiers to accuse Aratus: unto whom King Philip giving easy ear, he procured that one Eparatus, of contrary faction unto Aratus, was chosen general by the Achaians. Howbeit this new general Eparatus being extremely hated by the Achaians, and Aratus also leaving to deal any more with matters of state: no act was done to any purpose. Whereupon King Philip finding his fault, returned again unto Aratus, and was ruled altogether by him; and when he found

Aratus that his affairs prospered in all things he went about, a wise he then let him alone withal, as from whom came coun-sellor all his honour and greatness. Thereupon every man esteemed Aratus a wise governor, not only to rule a common wealth, but also a whole realm and kingdom. For his manners, intent, and chiefest purpose appeared, in the deeds of this young king, as a rich colour that did set forth and beautify them. For the clemency this young prince Philip used to the Lacedæmonians, that had offended him, the great courtesy he shewed to the Cretans, whereby in few days he wan all the Isle of Creta: and the journey he made against the Ætolians, which was a wonderful great exploit: wan the prince great fame, for following good counsel, and Aratus accounted to be a wise governor, and of deep understanding. Now the king's flatterers envying Aratus more than before, and perceiving that they got no good by secret backbiting of him: they then began with open mouth very insolently to revile him at the table, and with great derision: insomuch as one night going home to his tent after supper, they pelted him with stones all the way as he went. King Philip when he knew it, was so offended therewith, that he did condemn them in the sum of twenty talents: and afterwards also, because they troubled his affairs, he did put them to death. But King Philip in the end being puffed up with the good fortune and success of this war, which prospered as he would have it: he then grew to be covetous, and began to shew his naughty nature, and to bewray his dissimulation wherewith he disguised himself: and by little and little to make his vices plainly to appear. For first of all, he abused young Aratus' wife, which was

kept secret a long time, because he lay in their Dishouse, and began daily to grow more severe and pleasure betwixt cruel to the common weals: and then the world Aratus saw plainly, that he cared no more for Aratus. and
For the first suspicion and beginning of the mistrust Philip he had of Aratus, came for that which was done at Messené. For the Messenians being fallen together by the ears, and in great civil wars one with another: Aratus went thither to make peace between them. Howbeit King Philip came thither the next day following, and instead of pacifying the quarrel, he set them further out together than they were before. First he asked the governors of the city, and if they had no laws to bridle the insolency and stomach of the common people, and privately also talked with the heads of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not hands to defend themselves from tyrants. So both the one and the other faction trusting to King Philip, the governors would have laid hold of the orators of the city: but they rising with the common people, slew of their nobility and magistrates, well near two hundred of them. Aratus that came soon after this fact, shewed that he was greatly offended with King Philip, and caused his son with open mouth shamefully to reprove him. Now it seemed that this young Aratus was in love with King Philip before: but then he told him before all the people, that for this shameful act he had done, he thought him now no more fair of face, but the foulest creature that could be. Philip made no answer to it, although every man looked he would have answered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproved him, he bit it in with his teeth: but as if

Aratus

The wise he had not been offended at all with the big words answer of his son had spoken against him, for that he was a civil man, and mild of nature, he took Aratus the father by the hand, and carried him out of the theatre where the assembly was kept, to the castell of Ithome, to do sacrifice there to Jupiter, and to see the fort. This fort was of no less strength than the castell of the Acrocorinth: and when any garrison is in it, it keepeth all the country about it in obedience, and besides, it is very hard to drive them out of it. Now Philip being gotten up into that castell, he did sacrifice there; and when the soothsayer had brought him the entrails of the ox which they had sacrificed, he took it himself with both his hands and shewed them unto Aratus, and to Demetrius Phalerian, now turning to the one, then unto the other, and asked them what they judged of these signs of the sacrifice: whether he should keep the castle to himself, or else deliver it to the Messenians. Demetrius smiling answered him: If thou beest of the soothsayer's mind, then thou shalt deliver it up: but if thou hast a king's mind in thee, thou shalt then hold the ox by both horns. (By the ox, he meant the country of Peloponnesus, and moreover, that if he kept both these castels of Ithome, and the Acrocorinth, all Peloponnesus were wholly at his commandment). Aratus still held his peace, and said not a word. the end, Philip praying him to speak, he said: In Creta, and in the country of the Boeotians and Phocians, there are many strong castels situated on high hills from the valleys. Moreover, there are also many places of great strength in the marches of the Acarnanians, both within mainland, as also

upon the sea-coast: of all the which thou hast not Aratus taken one of them by force, and yet they all do the father willingly obey thee notwithstanding. It is for forsook Philip thieves to hide their heads in high rocks and mountains, but a king can have no stronger castell, than the love, faith, and good-will of men. That is it that opened the sea of Creta. That is it that hath brought thee into Peloponnesus. Those are the means which have made thee being so young a man, some of them to choose thee their captain, and others also to make thee their absolute lord and maister. Aratus going on with his tale, Philip gave the entrails again to the soothsayer that brought them, and taking Aratus by the hand, (as if by force he had cast him out of the castell, and had also taken the city of Messina from him) said unto him: Come on then, let us even take that course. But after that time Aratus came as little to the court as might be, and so by little and little left Philip's company. For when he went to make war in the realm of Epirus, he was earnestly in hand with Aratus to go that journey unto him. But Aratus prayed him to hold him excused, and so remained at home, being afraid to be brought into an evil name with Philip's doings. For Philip afterwards having shamefully lost his army by sea, against the Romans, and besides, having had also very evil success in all other his affairs: he returned again to Peloponnesus, and thought once more to have deceived the Messenians. But when they found his practice, then he began with open force to spoil their country. Aratus then flatly fell out with Philip, and utterly refused his friendship, for that he perceived then the injury he had done his

Philip of son's wife, the which grieved him to the heart, but a courteyet he made not his son privy to it: because he cous prince could get no other amends, than to know what injury had been done to him, considering that he had no way nor means to be revenged. For King Philip was marvellously changed, and from a courteous and chaste young prince, became a vicious and cruel tyrant: the which to speak truly, was not a change or alteration in nature, but a manifest declaration (when he was no more afraid of any man) of his wicked and devilish mind, the which through fear had of long time been kent which through fear had of long time been kept secret. Now, to prove that Philip's first love and good-will he bare unto Aratus, was also mingled with fear and reverence: that which he did afterwards unto him did plainly shew it. For he being wards unto him did plainly shew it. For ne being desirous to put Aratus to death, not thinking himself free so long as he lived, neither king, nor tyrant: he durst not go about to kill him himself, but procured one of his captains called Taurion, and commanded him to make him away as secretly as he could possible, and specially with poison, in his absence. This Taurion fell in friendship with Aratus, and poisoned him with no violent poison, but so tempered and qualified it, as it did by little and little heat the body, and procure a pretty cough which brought him into a consumption. Aratus knew he was poisoned, but because he saw it booted not to bewray it, he bare it patiently, and made no words of it, as if he had some natural disease about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefest friends being in his chamber with him, who wondered to see him spit blood as he did: he told him, Friend Cephalon mine, this is the reward of a king's love.

So he died of this poison in the city of Ægium, Aratus being the seventeenth time chosen general of the Achaians: who would have had him buried in the Self same place, and have made some honourable means monument for him, worthy of his noble life. But the Sicyonians thinking themselves dishonoured, if his body were buried anywhere else but in their own city: they so persuaded the council of the Achaians, that they suffered them to take Aratus' body with them. Yet was there an ancient law that forbade burial within the walls of the city, of any manner of person whatsoever: and besides that law, they had a certain superstitious fear in them that made them they durst not. Whereupon they sent to Apollo's temple at Delphes, to ask counsel of his nun that gave the Oracles, who made them

Thou happy soil of Sicyon, Aratus' native place, Whereas thou askest counsel in that noble captain's

this answer:

For keeping of a year-mind and for making feastfull

In honour of that worthy wight, to last henceforth always:

If any hinder your intent through fondness or through

Both sea and land and heaven it self will punish that same wight.

This oracle being brought, all the Achaians were marvellous glad of it, but the Sicyonians specially: who presently changing their mourning into public joy, they carried the body from the city of Ægium, and brought it home as in manner of procession, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heads, singing hymns and songs of joy, and dancing, till eath of

The they came to the city of Sicyon. And there they serable chose out the chiefest place, and buried him as their founder, father, and saviour of their city: and the place is called at this present time, Arateum. There they yearly make two solemn sacrifices, the one the fifth of November, at which time he delivered the city of Sicyon from tyranny, and they call this sacrifice Soteria, as much to say, as the feast of health: and the other on his birthday, as it is reported. For the first sacrifice, that was done by the priest of Jupiter the saviour. The second sacrifice also was done by Aratus' son, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple So during the sacrifice, they sang hymns upon the harp in praise of him, and the maister of the musicians made a procession round about, being accompanied with boys and young men of the city, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were disposed to go a procession. Howbeit the most part of the honours that were appointed to be done unto him, were left off by process of time, and change of things that followed afterwards. you see what the life of Aratus the father hath been, as we find in histories. Now Philip being a wicked man, and cruel of nature, caused his son Aratus also to be poisoned, not with a deadly poison, but with such poison as troubleth a man's wits so, that through their devilish receipt, he becometh a stark fool without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt strange and abominable things, and to have certain shameful and detestable desires: insomuch as his death (though he died in the prime of his youth) could be not thought miser-

able, but rather a happy deliverance to him of all King his miseries and mishaps. But Philip afterwards, Philip so long as he lived, payed unto Jupiter (protector of all justice and friendship) the punishment his wicked life deserved. For, after he was overcome in battell by the Romans, he was compelled to vield himself to their mercy, by whom he was deprived from all the rest of his lands and dominions he had, and of all his ships, but five only, and condemned besides to pay a thousand talents for a fine, and to give his son in hostage: and they only left him for pity's sake, the kingdom of Macedon, with all the appurtenances. And there he daily putting to death the chiefest of his nobility, and nearest of blood unto him: he filled his realm with cruelty and mortal hate against him. Furthermore, amongst such a heap of evils, having but one only joy, to have a vertuous son: he put him to death, for spite and malice that he saw the Romans honour him, and left his other son Perseus successor of his realm: who, as it is reported, was not his lawful begotten son, but taken for his son, and born of a tailor's wife called Gnathe-It is that Perseus whom Paulus Æmilius

overcame and led in triumph in Rome: and at him, the race of the kings descended from Antigonus, failed. Where the issue and offspring of Aratus, continueth yet until our time, in the cities of Sicvon and Pallene.

END OF ARATUS' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF

GALBA

Diverse IPHICRATES the Athenian captain said, that a mermyings cenary soldier should be covetous, a lover, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintain his pleasure, he should be the valianter, and readier to put himself into any danger. But most men think, that soldiers should be as one entire strong body, that stirreth not of itself without the moving of the general. And to approve this opinion, it is said that Paulus Æmilius arriving in Macedon, and finding the soldiers full of words and curiosity (every man meddling with the affairs of the general) he made open proclamation, no man so hardy to meddle with his office and affairs, but every man only to keep his sword sharp, and to be quick of hand against the enemy: and for the rest, to refer all to him, who would take sufficient order for things of his charge and government. Therefore Plato, that saith it little prevaileth to have a good and wise captain, if the soldiers also be not wise and obedient, thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to have men of a noble mind and good education, as otherwise it is meet for a captain to know how to direct and command well, considering it is that which with lenity and mildness doth mitigate all fury and choler: he hath divers other examples and sufficient proofs to prove his words true, and namely,

the great miseries and calamities which came to the The Romans after the death of Nero, do plainly shew, empire of that nothing is more dangerous nor dreadful in an empire, than a great army living licentiously and disorderly. For Demades after the death of Alexander the Great, compared Alexander's army, unto Cyclops Polyphemus after his eye was put out: considering how blindly and loosely they were governed. Howbeit the empire of Rome being divided into sundry factions at one self time, and rising against itself in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes and calamities feigned of the poets by the Titans: not so much through the ambitiousness of the emperors, as by means of the covetousness and insolency of the soldiers, who drave the emperors out of their imperial seats one after another, as one nail driveth out another. And Dionysius also the tyrant of Sicilia, was wont to call Pheræus, who had been only tyrant of Thessaly ten moneths space, a tyrant in a play, deriding his so sudden change of state. But the imperial house of the Cæsars at Rome received four emperors, in less than ten moneths space, the soldiers now putting in one, and then taking out another, as if they had been in a play on a scaffold. So that, the Romans being thus grievously oppressed, had yet this com-fort: that they needed not to seek to be revenged of them that did oppress them. For they saw one of them murther another, and him first and most justly of all other murthered, that had first of all corrupted the soldiers, in teaching them to make gain of the change of emperors: and so depraving a worthy deed of it self, which was their forsaking of Nero: and mingling it with bribery, made it plain treason.

and nobility of Galba

The For Nymphidius Sabinus, being a captain of the wealth emperor's guard, which are called the Prætorian soldiers, together with Tigellinus, when he saw Nero in despair of himself and of his estate, and that he was ready to fly into Egypt: he persuaded the guard they should call Galba emperor, as if Nero had not been at Rome, but fled and gone, and promised everyone seven thousand five hundred drachmas apiece. And to the rest of the soldiers that were dispersed up and down in garrison upon the provinces, twelve hundred and fifty drachmas a man. For the levying of which sum, they could not possibly do it, but they must needs commit ten thousand times more extortion to everybody, than Nero had done. This large promise made them presently put Nero to death, and shortly after him, Galba himself also. For the soldiers forsook Nero, for the hope they had to receive this promised gift: and shortly after they slew the second, which was Galba, because they received not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards also, in seeking who should still feed them with like gifts, before they could obtain their wished hope, one of them destroyed another by treason and rebellion. But now to set down all things particularly which happened at that time, it were to write one whole entire history: and therefore, I will content myself, not to pass over with silence the notablest deeds and lamentable calamities which happened at that time unto the Cæsars.

> It is manifestly known to all men, that Sulpicius Galba of a private man, was the richest and wealthiest that came to be in the number of the Cæsars: who, though he came of a very noble house, de-

riving himself from the race and family of the Galba's Servii: yet he was honoured the more, because he manners was akin unto Quintus Catulus, who for vertue and estimation, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise, he willingly resigned his authority and power unto others. So Galba thereby was somewhat akin unto Livia, the wife of Augustus Cæsar, and therefore for her sake he came out of the emperor's palace, when he went to take possession of his Consulship. Moreover, it is reported, that when he had charge of the army in Germany, he did valiantly behave himself. And in the government of Libya also, where he was Vice-consul, he did as honourably behave himself, as any man whatsoever. Howbeit his mean and simple ordinary of diet, void of all excess, was imputed misery and niggardliness in him, when he was proclaimed emperor: because the praise of sober and temperate diet which he would have brought in use, was then so raw a thing, that it was taken for a new and strange device. He was sent governor also into Spain by Nero, before he had learned to be afraid of the citizens of great authority: how-beit, besides that he was of a courteous and gentle nature, his age moreover increased the opinion they had of him, that he was timorous and fearful. For when the wretched officers of Nero did cruelly vex and torment the provinces, and that it lay not in Galba any way to help them: yet was it some comfort to them, which were judged and sold as slaves by the officers, to see that Galba did lament the miseries and calamities they endured, as if they had been done unto himself. So when any slanderous rimes were made against Nero, which were

Galba sung up and down in every place, he would neither saluted forbid them, nor yet was offended, as Nero's officers were. Therefore he was marvellously beloved in the country, with them that were acquainted with peror him: because he was then in the eighth year of his him: because he was then in the eighth year of his government as Pro-consul amongst them, at which time Junius Vindex being Pro-prætor of Gaul, rebelled against Nero, who, as it is reported, had written unto Galba, before he entered into open action of rebellion. But Galba, did neither believe him, nor also accuse and bewray him, as divers others which were governors of armies and pro-vinces did: who sent Vindex letters unto Nero which he himself had written unto them, and so did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterprise, who afterwards being of the conspiracy did confess they were traitors to themselves, as much as unto him. Howbeit, when Vindex afterwards had proclaimed open war against Nero, he wrote again unto Galba, and prayed him to take the imperial crown upon him, and to become the head of a strong and mighty body (which were the Gauls) that lacked mighty body (which were the Gauls) that lacked nothing but a head and governor, being a hundred thousand fighting men ready armed, and might also levy a great number more of them. Then Galba consulted thereupon with his friends, and among them, some were of opinion that he should stay awhile, to see what change and alteration would grow at Rome upon this stir. Howbeit Titus Junius, captain of the Prætorian Band, said unto him: O Galba, what meaneth this so doubtful a deliberation? Be not we wise men to call in question, whether we shall allow of Vindex' friendship, or accuse him? Yea, and with arms persecute him,

that desired rather to have thee emperor, than Nero Gaiba tyrant over the estate of Rome? Afterwards Galba judged an by bills set up everywhere, appointed a day certain, by the to enfranchise such as would make suit for it. This Senate rumour flying straight abroad, he gathered a great number of soldiers together, that were very willing to rebel: and he was no sooner gotten up into the tribunal or chair of state, but all the soldiers did salute him, by the name of emperor. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the first, but accusing Nero, and lamenting the deaths of the noblest men whom he had cruelly put to death: he promised that he would employ his best wit and discretion to the service and benefit of his country, neither naming himself Cæsar, nor emperor, but only lieutenant to the Senate, and state of Rome. Now, that Vindex did wisely to call Galba to be emperor, Nero himself in his doings doth witness it. Who having always made a countenance as though he passed not for Vindex, and that he weighed not the rebellion of the Gauls: when it was told him that Galba was called emperor, he being then at supper, for spite he overthrew the table. Moreover, though the Senate had judged Galba an enemy, yet Nero to be pleasant with his friends, made as though he was nothing afraid of it, and said, This news made all for him, because he stood in need of money, and also that it was a happy occasion offered him to help him withal. For said he, we shall soon have all the Gauls' goods, as the spoil of a just war, after we have once again overcome and conquered them: and more-over, Galba's goods also would quickly be in his hands, that he might sell them, considering that he

A battle was become his open enemy. So he presently commanded Galba's goods should be openly sold, to them that would give most. Galba understanding that, did also by sound of trumpet sell all Nero's goods he had in all the province of Spain, and did also find more men readier to buy, than there were goods to sell. Daily men rose against Nero in every country, who took Galba's part, Clodius Macer only excepted in Africk, and Verginius Rufus in Gaul, both of them having charge of legions appointed for the safekeeping of Germany: and both of them did follow several directions by themselves, varying in mind and intent. For Clodius Macer having robbed much, and put divers men also to death through his cruelty and covetousness: he shewed plainly, that he swam between two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet kept it. Verginius also on the other side, being general over great and mighty legions, who had sundry times called him emperor, and did in manner force him to take upon him the name and empire: he notwithstanding did ever answer them, That he neither minded to take the empire upon him, nor yet to suffer any other to do it, than such as the Senate should choose and call unto the same. This at the first somewhat amazed Galba. But when both the armies of Vindex and Verginius, in spite of their captains (who could not stay nor keep them back, no more than coachmen can keep back the horse with their bridles) were joined in a great battell together, where were slain twenty thousand Gauls in the field, and Vindex also slew himself shortly after: it was given out, that the conquerors after so great a victory obtained, would compel Ver-

ginius to take upon him to be emperor, or else that News they would take Nero's part again. Then Galba from being not a little perplexed, wrote unto Verginius, Rome and persuaded him to join with him, to hold up the empire and liberty of the Romans, and thereupon fled straight into a city of Spain called Colonia, rather repenting him of that he had done, and wishing for his wonted peaceable and quiet life wherewith he was brought up: then otherwise occupying himself about any necessary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterprise. Now it was about the beginning of summer, and one day toward evening, there came to Galba one of his slaves enfranchised, a Sicilian born, that was come from Rome in seven days; who understanding that Galba was alone, went presently to his chamber door and opened it, and coming in against the wills of the grooms of the chamber that stood at the door, he told him that Nero being yet alive, but seen no more, first the people of Rome, and then the Senate, had proclaimed him emperor, and that immediately after, news came that Nero was dead, the which he hardly believing notwithstanding, went thither himself, saw his body laid out upon the ground, and then made towards him with all speed to bring him these news. The news marvellously revived Galba, and a multitude of men thronged straight about his door, which began to be courageous, seeing him lively again, although the speed of the messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two days after, Titus also arrived, with certain other of the camp, who told Galba particularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalf. So. this Titus was called to great honour, and the slave

Nym- enfranchised had privilege given him to wear rings phidins of gold, and he was called Marcianus Vicellus, who Sabine afterwards of all the enfranchised bondmen, became the chiefest man about his master Galha. In the meantime, Nymphidius Sabine began at Rome, not covertly, but with open force, to take upon him the absolute government of the empire, persuading himself that Galba was so old, that he could hardly be brought in a litter unto Rome, being at the least three-score and thirteen year old: besides also, that the army of the Prætorians which were in Rome, did bear him good-will of long time, and then acknowledged none other lord but him only, for the large promise he had made them, for the which he received the thanks, and Galba remained the debtor. So he presently commanded Tigellinus, his companion and captain with him of the army of the Prætorians, to leave off his sword: and disposing himself to banqueting and feasting, he sent for all those that had been Consuls, Prætors, or Pro-consuls of provinces, and made them all to be invited in the name of Galba. So there were certain soldiers gave out this rumour in the camp, that they should do well to send ambassadors unto Galba, to pray him that Nymphidius might be their only captain still, without any companion joined with him. Furthermore, the honour and good-will the Senate bear him, calling Nymphidius their benefactor, and going daily to visit him in his house, procuring him to be author of all their decrees passed in Senate, and that he should authorise them: this made him high-minded, and the bolder by much, insomuch that shortly after, they that came to honour him in this sort, did not only hate and mislike his doings,

but moreover he made them afraid of him. Further- taketh more, when the Consuls had given to common upon him pursuivants any commissions under seal, or letters patents signifying the decrees of the Senate, to carry them to the emperor, by vertue of which letters patents, when the officers of the city do see the seal, they straight provide the pursuivants of coaches and fresh horses to further their speed and hasty journey: Nymphidius was very angry with them: because they did not also come to him for his letters, sealed by him and his soldiers, to send likewise unto the emperor. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to have deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing themselves unto him, and craving pardon, did appease his anger. And to please the commons also, he suffered them to put any of Nero's friends to death they could meet withal. Among other, they slew a fencer called Spiculus, whom they put under Nero's statues, which they dragged up and down the city. Another also called Aponius, one of Nero's accusers, they threw him to the ground, and drave carts over him loden with stone. And divers others also, whom they slew in that manner: of the which some had done no manner of offence. Hereupon one Mauriscus, one of the noblest men of the city and so esteemed, said openly in the Senate: I fear me we shall wish for Nero again, before it be long. So Nymphidius being come in manner to the fulness of his hope; he was very glad to hear that some repined at him, because he was the son of Caius Cæsar, that was the next emperor after Tiberius. For this Caius Cæsar, when he was a young man, had kept Nymphidius' mother, which

emperor

Nym-phidius

The had been a fair young woman, and the daughter parent- of one Callistus, one of Cæsar's enfranchised bondage of men, whom he had gotten of a laundress he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this Nymphidius was born before Caius Czsar could know his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a fencer called Marcianus, with whom his mother Nymphidia fell in fancy, for that he had a great name at that time in Rome, and indeed Nymphidius was liker to him in favour, than unto any other. So, he confessed that he was the son of this Nymphidia, howbeit he did ascribe the glory of the death of Nero unto himself, and thought himself not sufficiently recompensed with the honours they gave him, neither also with the goods he enjoyed, neither for that he lay with Sporus whom Nero loved so dearly, whom he sent for to Nero's funeral whilst his body was yet a-burning, and kept him with him as if he had been his wife, and called him Poppæus. Furthermore, all this did not content him, but yet secretly he aspired to be emperor, partly practising the matter in Rome it self, by the means of certain women and Senators which were secretly his friends: and partly also through one Gellianus, whom he sent into Spain, to see how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of Nero, all things prospered with Galba, saving Verginius Rufus only, who stood doubtful yet, and made him sorely mistrust him, for that he was afraid (besides that he was general over a great and puissant army, having also newly overthrown Vin dex, and secretly ruling the best part of the empir of Rome, which was all Gaul, and then in tumult and uproar, ready to rebel) lest he should hearken

unto them that persuaded him to take the empire Verginius to himself. For there was no captain of Rome a famous at that time so famous, and of so great estimation as captain Verginius, and that deservedly, for that he had done great service to the empire of Rome in time of extremity, having delivered Rome at one self time from a cruel tyranny, and also from the danger of the wars of the Gauls. This notwithstanding, Verginius persisting still in his first determination, referred the election of the emperor unto the Senate: although, that after the death of Nero was openly known, the common sort of soldiers were earnestly in hand with him, and that a tribune of the soldiers (otherwise called a colonel of a thousand men) went into his tent with a sword drawn in his hand, and bade Verginius either determine to be emperor, or else to look to have the sword thrust into him. Yet after that Fabius Valens, captain of a legion, was sworn unto Galba, and that he had received letters from Rome, advertising him of the ordinance and decree of the Senate: in the end, with much ado, he persuaded the soldiers to proclaim Galba emperor, who sent Flaccus Hordeonius to succeed him, unto whom he willingly gave place. So, when Verginius had delivered up his army unto him, he went to meet with Galba, on whom he waited, coming on still towards Rome. And Galba all that time neither shewed him evil countenance, nor yet greatly esteemed of him, Galba himself being cause of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but specially Titus Junius: who for the malice he bare unto Verginius, thinking to hinder his rising, did unwittingly indeed further his good

The con- hap, and delivered him occasion to draw him out ditions of of the civil wars and mischiefs, (the which lighted afterwards upon all the other captains) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, ambassadors were sent from the Senate, and met with Galba at Narbona, a city of Gaul: where after they had presented their humble duty, they persuaded him to make all the haste he could possible to shew himself to the people of Rome, who were marvellous desirous to see him. Galba received them very graciously and curteously, and made them great cheer, howbeit very modestly notwithstanding. For notwithstanding that Nymphidius had sent him divers officers, and store of Nero's movables: vet he would never be served with any of them, at any feasts or banquets he made, with other than his own stuff, wherein he shewed his noble mind, and how he could master all vanity. But Titus Junius shortly after told Galba, that this noble mind and civil moderation, without pride or pomp, was too lowly a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certain respect of honesty that knew not it self, and became not his greatness and majesty. So, he persuaded him to use Nero's money and stuff, and to be sumptuous and princely in his feasts, without niggardliness. To conclude, the old man Galba began plainly to shew that he would be ruled by Titus Junius: who above all other was extreme covetous, and besides too much given to women. For when he was a young man, the first time he went to the wars under Calvisius Sabine, he brought his captain's wife (which liked good fellowship) disguised like a soldier into the camp, into his

general's tent (which the Romans called Princi- Nym-pia) and there was somewhat bold with her: phidina's wherefore Caius Cæsar committed him to prison, practises but he escaped at his death. Another time, when he supped with Clodius Cæsar, he stole a silver pot. Clodius hearing of it, bade him again to supper the next night: but he commanded his men they should give him drink in an earthen cruse. Thus this theft (through Cæsar's pleasantness) seemed rather a matter of sport, than of anger: howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extreme covetousness of money, (at what time he ruled Galba, and bare all the sway about him) gave unto some just cause, and unto others apparent colour of tragical mischiefs, and grievous calamities. For Nymphidius, so soon as Gellianus was returned out of Spain, whom he had sent thither to see what Galba did: he informing him that Cornelius Laco was captain of the guard and house of the emperor, and that Titus Junius did all in all about him, and that he could never be suffered to come near Galba, nor to speak with him apart, because those which were about Galba did mistrust him, and ever had an eye to him to see what he did, he was marvel-lously perplexed withal. Thereupon he called for all the centurions, captains, and petty captains of the camp of the Prætorian army, and persuaded them that Galba touching his own person, was a good old and discreet man, howbeit that he did not follow his own advice and counsel, but was ruled altogether by Junius and Laco, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good before they came to be of greater power, and to have such

The great authority in managing the affairs of the emoration of pire, as Tigellinus had before, to send ambassadors Antonius to the emperor in the name of all the camp, to Honoratus tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcome unto Rome, and to all men else besides. The captains utterly misliked this device. For they thought it too strange, and beyond all reason, to seem to teach an old emperor, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to govern: and to appoint him what servants and friends he should keep, and whom he should trust or mistrust. Nymphidius perceiving this, took another course, and wrote letters unto Galba to terrify him, one time sending him word that he was marvellous evil beloved of many in Rome, and that they were ready to rebel against him: another time also, that the legions of Germany were revolted, and that he understood the like from the legions in Jewry and Syria. And another time also, that Clodius Macer in Africk stayed all the ships freighted with corn that were bound for Rome. But in the end, finding that Galba made no account of him, and that he gave no credit to his words nor writings: he determined first of all to set upon him. Howbeit Clodius Celsus, born in the city of Antioch, a wise man, and his faithful friend, dissuaded him marvellously not to do it: declaring unto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in Rome that would call Nymphidius, Cæsar. Howbeit in contrary manner, divers others mocked Galba and specially one Mithridates of the realm of Pont, that said he was a bald writhen man. For the Romans (said he) have him indeed now in some

estimation, but when they have once seen him, they unto his will think it a perpetual shame and reproach to our mutinous time, that he was called Cæsar. So they thought soldiers it good to bring Nymphidius about midnight into the camp, and there openly to proclaim him emperor. Howbeit the chief Tribune of the soldiers called Antonius Honoratus, gathered his soldiers together in the night, and before them all did first openly reprove himself, and then them, for that they had so often turned and changed in so short time, without any wit or discretion, having no judgement to choose the best way, but to be pricked forward and carried headlong in that sort by some wicked spirit, which brought them out of one treason into another. "And yet (said he) our first change had some countenance of reason, to wit, the horrible vices and faults of Nero: but now, wherein can we accuse Galba, to have any countenance to falsify our faith unto him? hath he slain his mother? hath he put her to death? hath he shamefully played the tumbler or common player upon a scaffold in the theatre? And yet for all these vile parts, we never durst once begin to forsake Nero, but gave credit to Nymphidius' words, who told us that Nero had first forsaken us, and that he was fled into Egypt. What shall we do? Shall we kill Galba after Nero? what, shall we kill him that is akin to Livia, to make the son of Nymphidia emperor: as we have already slain the son of Agrippina? or shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entered into this enterprise, and thereby to revenge the death of Nero, and to shew ourselves faithful soldiers unto Galba?" All the soldiers yielded straight to the colonel's words, and therewith went

Nymto their other companions to persuade them to
phidius keep their faith and promise they avowed unto
sabine
the emperor: so that they made many of them
revolt again from Nymphidius. Thereupon the
noise and cries being great, Nymphidius supposing
(as some thought) that the soldiers did call for
him, or else hoping betimes to quench this tumult,
to stay such as were yet wavering; he went thinself with great store of torchlight, and carried an oration in his hand, the which Cingonius Varro had made for him, and the which he had learned without book to speak unto the soldiers. But when he found the gates of the camp shut, and saw divers men armed upon the walls, he began to be afraid: and coming nearer, asked them what they meant by it, and by whose commandment they had armed themselves as they did. Answer was made him by them all, that they did acknowledge no other em-peror but Galba: the which he seemed to like of, and also commanded them that followed him to do the like, and therewithal drew nearer. Whereupon certain of the soldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and suffered him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit as soon as he was come in, first there was a dart thrown at him, the which one Septimius that went before him re-ceived upon his shield, and then others also came with their swords drawn in their hands to set on him, and followed him as he fled into a soldier's cabin, where they slew him. Then they laid his body in an open place, and railed it about, that every man that would, might the next day see it. So Nymphidius being slain in this sort, Galba understanding of his death, commanded that all

Nymphidius' friends and confederators that had not The been slain at that time, should for his sake be put cruelty of to death, as indeed they were. Amongst them they slew Cingonius that had made the oration for Nymphidius, and Mithridates also of Pont. Howbeit, though indeed they had deserved it, yet men thought it a very cruel part to command these men to be put to death in that sort, which were men of such quality and calling as they were, without due form and order of law. For every man stood in good hope upon the coming in of this new emperor, to have seen another manner of government, than they had yet seen: howbeit they were deceived of their hope at the first chop. But yet they misliked this most of all. when he commanded them to kill Petronius Tertullianus, that had been Consul, because he was Nero's faithful friend. But now for the death of Clodius Macer, whom Trebonianus slew in Africk by his commandment, and for Fonteius that was also stain in Germany by Valens: he had some reason to fear them, because they were in arms, and commanded great armies. But for Tertullianus that was an old man, naked, and unarmed: truly he should have put him to his trial by law, if he would have ministered justice, the which he promised to keep at his first coming to the imperial crown. Herein they greatly reproved Galba. Now, when he drew near to Rome within five and twenty furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of mariners and seafaring men, that kept the highway on every side, wandring up and down in every place. These were the men whom Nero had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the oar and made them soldiers. So

Galba they were come thither to be suitors to him, that entred Rome with murther so pressed arrogantly upon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the new emperor, to see him nor speak with him: but they fell to tumult and uproar, crying out to have ensigns for their legion, and to be appointed a place to lie in, in garrison. Galba referred them over to another time, and bade them they should then let him understand their demand. They told him again, that this delay was a kind of denial, and thereupon fell to plain mutiny, and followed him with great cries: insomuch that some of them stuck not to draw out their swords. Then Galba commanded the horsemen he had about him, to set upon them. So there was not a man of them that resisted, but some of them were overthrown, and trodden under their horse feet: and others also slain as they fled. This was a very evil sign and presage for him, to enter into Rome with such bloodshed, upon so many poor men's dead bodies as lay slain on the ground. Howbeit, where some before did despise and mock him for an old and feeble man, every man then was afraid of him, and quaked for fear. Furthermore, because he would shew a great change and alteration from the vain unreasonable vain gifts and expenses of Nero: it seemeth he did many uncomely things. As when one Canus, an excellent player on the recorder, had played all supper-time, because it was a marvellous sweet music to hear: he praised and commended it marvellously and commanded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he took a few crowns, and put them into his hand, saying, that it was not money of

the common treasure, but of his own. Further- The vilemore, he gave straight commandment that they ness of should require and call back again the gifts Nero had given, and bestowed upon common players, minstrels, wrestlers, and people of such kind of faculty and profession, and to leave them only the tenth part. But he got little by this device. For the most part of those that had gifts given them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that live without any rule or order, and spent at night that which they get in the day: and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought anything of them, and to make them to restore it again. But this was an endless work, for things had been so conveyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of men's hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonour returned to Galba himself, though the malice and hatred lighted on Titus Junius: who only made the emperor straitlaced to all others, whilest he himself took unreasonably of all men, making port-sale of everything that came to hand. For Hesiodus the poet saith:

As well when the vessel is full that it spill, As when it is empty, thirst craveth drink still,

But Junius perceiving Galba to be old and feeble, would wisely take his fortune and time, while time served, supposing it almost to be at an end, so soon as he began to enter into it. So in the meantime he did much dishonour the poor old man, over-greatly abusing (under cloke of his authority) the chiefest and weightiest matters, in reproving, or altogether hindering those, the which the prince himself had a good desire to deal uprightly in, as to punish the

Galba officers of Nero. For he put some of them to killeth death, among the which Helius was one, and cer-Nero's tain other, as Polyclitus, Petinus, and Patrobius: servants tain other, as Polychtus, Fethus, and Fatronia.

servants whereat the people marvellously rejoiced, and cried officers out as they went to execution through the market-place, that it was a goodly and blessed procession, and required Tigellinus of the gods and men, that had been chief maister and guide of all Nero's tyranny. Howbeit the trim man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed Junius before: for afterwards he put poor Tertullianus to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated Nero, being as he was, and had never offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he played when he was alive. Whereas he that made Nero worthy of death, and that afterwards had also betrayed him: he was left alone, and nothing said unto him, being a manifest proof to all others, that they should not doubt to hope to obtain anything at Titus Junius' hands, so they fed him with gifts. For the com-mon people of Rome never desired thing so much, as to see Tigellinus to be carried to execution: and they never left crying out to demand him in all assemblies of the theatre or shew-place, until such time as the Emperor Galba did forbid them by pro-clamation, the which declared that Tigellinus would not live long, because he was sick of a consumption of the lungs, which by little and little did wear him to nothing: and Galba prayed the people that they would not make his empire tyrannical and bloody. The people were much offended with this, but yet they seemed to laugh at it: and Tigellinus did sacrifice to the gods for his health and safety, and prepared a sumptuous feast. Where Junius rising

from supper, being set by the emperor, went unto The Tigellinus to be merry with him, and took his noble daughter being a widow with him, unto whom Tigellinus drank, and offered her a gift of five and twenty myriads of silver: and commanded one of his chiefest concubines to take a carcanet from her neck she wore, and to give it the other, being worth fifteen myriads. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done uprightly and with justice, were reproved and taken in evil part: as the thing that was granted to the Gauls, because they did rebel with Vindex. For men thought that they were not discharged of the sub-sidies and taxes they were wont to pay, and that they were made free of Rome, so much through the bounty and liberality of the emperor, as it was by Junius' means, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the people hated the Emperor Galba. Howbeit the soldiers still lived in good hope, for the gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promised them, they should yet enjoy as much as Nero had given them. But Galba understanding that they complained of him, he spake a word meet for so noble and worthy a prince as he was: That he used to choose solutions diers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the soldiers, it bred a marvellous mortal hatred in them against him: because they thought it was not only to take the gift away from them which they hoped presently to have received, but that it was also a precedent to teach the emperors that should come after him, what they should do. Howbeit the rebelling minds of the Prætorian

Galba guard at Rome appeared not yet, but was secretly offended kept in for the reverence they bare unto the majesty the and person of Galba, who kept them that were desirous to rebel, because they saw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did somewhat smother and keep in the shew of their wicked intent. But they which had before served under Verginius, and were at that time under Flaccus in Germany, thinking themselves worthy of great reward for the battell they had won against Vindex, and having nothing given them in recompense: they would not be pleased with anything their captain said unto them, neither did they make any account of Flaccus, because he could not stir himself, he was so plagued with the gout, and besides that, he had no manner of experience in wars. So one day when certain sports were made, at the bringing in of the which, the colonels and captains (according to the manner of the Romans) made prayers unto the gods for the health and prosperity of the Emperor Galba: there were divers of them that made a noise at the first, and afterwards when the captains continued on their prayers, in the end the soldiers answered, If he be worthy. The legions in like manner under Tigellinus' charge, did oftentimes use such insolent parts: whereof Galba's officers did advertise him by letters. Wherefore Galba being afraid, and mistrusting that they did not only despise him for his age, but also because he had no children: he determined to adopt some young gentleman for his son, of the noblest house of the city of Rome, and to proclaim him his successor in the empire. At that time there was one Marcus Otho, of a noble house, but ever given to sensuality and

pleasure from his cradle, as much as any Roman Otho's could be. And as Homer oftentimes doth call manners Paris, the husband of the fair Helen, naming him by the name of his wife, because he had no other commendable vertue in him: even so Otho came to be known in Rome, by marrying Poppæa, whom Nero loved when she was Crispinus' wife, howbeit bearing some respect to his wife, and being afraid also of his mother, he had enticed Otho to be his bawd unto her. Nero loved Otho dearly, and much delighted in his company, because he was so good a fellow and free of his flesh: and was very glad sometime to hear how he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as Nero on a time was anointing himself with precious oils and perfumes, he cast a little upon Otho as he went by: who the next day made him a feast in his house, where suddenly were thrust into the hall, divers vessels of gold and silver full of this perfumed oil, that ran out of them like conduit water, and did wet all the hall. So Otho having first possessed Poppæa, and abused her under hope of Nero's love: he persuaded her to be divorced from her husband. The which she did, and he received her home to his own house, as his lawful wife: not being so well pleased to have part, as he was sorry and angry also to let another enjoy her. Now Poppæa herself (as it is reported) did not mislike this his jealousy, for sometimes she would shut her door against Nero, though Otho were not within: either because she would keep Nero in breath, and in love liking still, or else as some thought, because she would not have Cæsar to her husband, and likewise that she would not refuse

Galba

Othe's him for her friend, because she was wantonly given. credit But so it is, Otho was in danger of his life by about marrying of Poppæa: and so was it also a strange thing, that Nero having put his wife and sister to death, only to marry Poppæa, he did yet pardon Otho, and saved his life. Howbeit it was for Seneca's sake that was his friend, through whose persuasion he was sent to the farthest part of Spain alongst the ocean sea, to be governor of Lusitania. And there he governed so wisely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troublesome unto the country: knowing that this honourable charge was given him, only to mitigate and hide his banishment. Afterwards when Galba had rebelled, he was the first of all the governors of the provinces that joined with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both gold and silver, unto the mint-master, he gave it him to put into bullion, and so to be converted into current coin. Moreover he gave of his officers unto Galba, those which he thought the meetest men to serve a prince: and otherwise, when he was tried, he shewed himself as faithful and skilful in matters of state, as any one that followed the emperor's train. Insomuch as all the way he went many days' journey in coach with Galba himself, and did marvellously curry favour with Titus Junius, bestowing great gifts upon him, and also entertaining him with pleasant speeches: but specially, because he willingly gave him the upper hand whereby he was assured to be the second person in credit about Galba. So in all that he did, he far excelled Junius, for that he granted men's suits frankly and freely without one penny taking, and was besides easy to be spoken with of every man that had any suit to him: but

specially of the soldiers, whom he did greatly help Otho's and further, and caused divers also to be called to practise honourable office, he himself partly moving the emperor for them, without any labour or suit made unto him, and partly also obtaining them at Junius' hands, and of the two enfranchised bondmen of Galba, Icelus, and Asiaticus. For, these three men did bear all the sway and credit about the emperor in the court. Moreover, always when he invited the emperor to his house, he bribed the Prætorian guard that waited upon him, and gave every soldier a crown. Now this in sight, seemed chiefly to be done to honour the emperor with: though indeed it was a fine device to overthrow him, to bribe the soldiers in that sort as he did. So Galba consulting whom he should make his successor: T. Junius preferred Otho unto him: the which he did not simply of himself, nor without reward, but only with promise that Otho should marry his daughter if Galba did adopt him his son, and proclaim him successor in the empire. Howbeit Galba did alway specially regard the commonwealth before his private liking, and sought to adopt such an one, as should not so much please himself, as otherwise he should be profitable and meet for the empire. But surely in my opinion, Galba would not make Otho his heir of his goods, considering what an unreasonable spender he was, and how sumptuous in all his things, and besides, far gone in debt: for he owed above five thousand myriads. So when he had heard Junius' counsel about this adoption, he gently without other answer, did put over his determination until another time, and made Otho only Consul at that time, and T. Junius Consul with

Germany

The him: whereby it was straight supposed, that at the legions in beginning of the new year, he would proclaim him his successor in the empire. Which was the thing the soldiers most desired of all other. But now, delaying still his determination, the legions of the Romans in Germany, did rise and rebel against him all at an instant. For he was generally hated of all his soldiers, because he paid them not the gift he had promised them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleged for their cause of rising, that he had dishonourably rejected Verginius Rufus: and that the Gauls which had fought against them, were rewarded with great and rich privileges, and they that took not part with Vindex, had been grievously punished and put to death. Moreover, that Galba did only honour Vindex' death after he was dead, as acknowledging his good-will unto him, offering public oblations and funeral sacrifices for him, as if by him only he had been proclaimed emperor. Now such speeches and rumours ran through the camp amongst them, when the first day of the year came, which the Romans call the calends of January, on which day when Flaccus had called the soldiers together, to swear them to the emperor according to the custom: they plucked down Galba's images, and sware only in the name of the people, and the Senate of Rome. The captains seeing what course they took, were as much afraid of the danger to be without a head, as they stood doubtful of the mischief of their rebellion. So there stepped up one amongst them and said: "My fellows in arms, what do we mean? We neither choose any other emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is emperor at this present: whereby

we show plainly, that we do not only refuse Galba, do rebel but also all other to be our head and emperor that against may command us. Now for Flaccus Hordeonius, that is but Galba's shadow and image: I would wish we should let him alone there as he is. And for Vitellius, governor of the lower Germany, he is not far from us, but one day's journey only, whose father was Censor at Rome, and thrice also Consul, and that was in a manner a peer and companion of Clodius Cæsar in the government of the empire: whose poverty if any man mislike in him, is a manifest proof of his goodness and magnanimity. Him therefore let us choose and let the world know that we can tell how to choose an emperor, better than the Spaniards or Lusitanians." Some of the soldiers that stood by, confirmed these words, but others also misliked of them: insomuch that among the rest there was an ensign-bearer that stale secretly out of the camp, to carry Vitellius news hereof, who that night made a great supper, and had great store of good company with him. These news running straight through his camp, Fabius Valens, colonel of a legion, came the next morning with a great number of horsemen, and was the first man that named Vitellius emperor, who before seemed to refuse that name, as one that was afraid to take the charge of so great an empire upon him: but after dinner, being full of wine and meat, he came out among them, and accepted the name of Germanicus which they gave him, and refused the name of Cæsar. But therewithal incontinently after, Flaccus' soldiers leaving their goodly popular oath which they had sworn in the name of the people and Senate, they all then took their oaths faithfully to do what it should please

Galba the Emperor Vitellius to command them. Thus adopted Vitellius was chosen emperor in Germany. So Galba hearing of this new change, thought it not good to defer time any longer for the adoption he intended, wherefore certainly understanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with Dolabella, and the most part of them with Otho, he neither liking the one nor the other, suddenly without any word spoken to any man, he sent for Piso (that was the younger son of Crassus and Piso, whom Nero had put to death) a young man fairer conditioned, and shewed by his grave and modest countenance he had by nature, that he was endued with many noble vertues. Galba came down presently from his palace, and went straight to the camp to proclaim Piso Cæsar, and his successor in the empire. Howbeit at his setting out of his palace, there appeared many great signs in the firmament which followed him. And moreover, when he was also come into his camp, and that he began to say without book part of his oration, and partly also to read it: it lightened all the while he spake, and there fell such a great shower of rain upon it, and a marvellous thick mist in the camp, and over all the city, that men might easily see the gods did not like this adoption, and that it would not prosper. The soldiers themselves shewed their discontentment by their heavy looks, and the rather, because at that time there was no speech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also, marvelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of Piso) that Piso nothing rejoiced at this great favour, although he

lacked not wit and understanding otherwise to ac- his knowledge it. And on the other side also, they successor found easily by Otho's looks, many signs and proofs that he was marvellously offended in his mind, to see that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the man that was first spoken of, and thought most worthiest of all other, and being come also so near unto it: now to see himself thus wiped out of it, he supposed that it was a plain proof that Galba had no good opinion of him, and that he maliced him in his heart, so that after that time he still stood in fear of his life. For he being afraid of Piso, hating also Galba, and being grievously offended with T. Junius: he went his way full of divers thoughts in his mind. For the soothsayers, astronomers, and Chaldeans which he ever kept about him, they did persuade him not to be discouraged for this, and to cast all hope aside: but specially one Ptolemy, in whom he had great confidence, because he had oftentimes before foretold and assured him, that Nero should not put him to death, but contrarily, that Nero should die first, and he himself survive him, and should become emperor of Rome. Whereby Ptolemy having proved his first prediction true unto him, he bade him be bold, and fear not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly complained unto him, did prick him forward the more, sighing to see him so evil dealt with by Galba, and divers of them chiefly, which bare great authority and credit about Tigellinus and Nymphidius: who being then cast off, and discountenanced, came all unto him, and stirred him up the more. As amongst others, Veturius and Barbius chiefly, of the which the one had been

Otho Optio, and the other Tesserarius: (for so the Romans bribed call those that be their messengers, spials, and officers to the captains) who with an enfranchised bond-soldiers man of his called Onomastus, went unto the camp, and there corrupted some soldiers with ready money, and other some with fair words, being of themselves evil inclined, and expected but occasion to utter their malice. For otherwise, had the soldiers been all of one mind, it had not been an enterprise to have been brought to pass in four days' space (being no more betwixt the adoption and murther) to make a whole camp rebel in that sort. For they were slain the fifteenth day of January, on which day Galba did sacrifice in the morning within his palace, before his friends. But at that time the soothsayer called Ombricius, when he had the entrails of the beasts sacrificed in his hands, and had looked upon them: he spake not doubtfully, but plainly, that he saw signs of great tumult and rebellion, and that the emperor was in present danger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the gods had put Galba into Otho's hands: for he stood at that time behind Galba, and both heard and saw all that the soothsayers did. So he seeming to be grieved withal in his mind, and his colour changing oft for the fear he was in: his enfranchised bondman Onomastus came and told him that the masons and chief carpenters were come to speak with him, and tarried for him. This was the watchword agreed upon between them, at which time Otho should then go unto the soldiers. Then Otho said, that he went to look to an old house he had bought, which was falling down, and in decay, and that he would show it unto the workmen.

he went his way, and came from the palace, by the Otho place they call Tiberius' house, into the market-called place, where the golden pillar standeth, where also emperor the greatest highways of all Italy do meet together. There certain met him that first called him emperor, which were not in all above three and twenty persons. Thereupon, though Otho was not un-constant as it appeared, notwithstanding he was so fine and effeminate a man, but rather resolute and stout in instant danger: yet fear so oppressed him at that time, that he would fain have left his enterprise. Howbeit the soldiers would not suffer him, but compassing his litter round about with their arms, and their swords drawn in their hands, they commanded the litter men to go forward. So Otho as he went hastening on his drivers, he often muttered to himself, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondered, than that they were otherwise troubled, to see such a small number of men about him, that they durst venture upon so hard an enterprise. Now as he was carried through the market-place, he was met withal by certain others, and afterwards by others, by three and by four in a company: all the which came and joined with him, and cried Cæsar, Cæsar, having their swords drawn in their hands. Now the colonel appointed for that day to guard the field of Mars, knew nothing of this conspiracy, but being amazed and afraid with their sudden coming, he suffered them to come in. So when Otho was come in, he found no man that resisted him. For they that knew nothing of the practice, being com-passed in with those that were made privy to it, and had known it of long time: being found

Tumult straggling here and there, by one and by two, they for Galba followed the rest for fear at the first, and afterwards for good-will. This was brought straight to Galba to the palace, the soothsayer being yet busy about his sacrifice: insomuch that they which before gave no credit to those divinations, began then to marvel much at this heavenly sign. Then there ran immediately a great number of people from the market-place, unto the palace. Thereupon Junius and Laco, and certain other of Galba's enfranchised bondmen, stood to guard Galba's person with their swords drawn in their hands. Piso also went out to speak unto the soldiers that guarded the emperor's person. Moreover, because the Illyrian legion lay out of the camp in a place called Vipsania: they despatched away Marius Celsus with all speed, a very honest man, to get that place. Galba in the meantime stood in doubt whether he should come out of the palace or not: for Junius would not let him go, but Celsus and Lacon persuaded him to go out. Insomuch as they fell at great words with Junius, that went about to dissuade him from it. In this stir there ran a rumour that Otho was slain in the field. Immediately after came Julius Atticus, one of the noblest soldiers of all the emperor's guard, and shewed his sword drawn, crying that he had slain Cæsar's enemy: and thrust through the press, and got to Galba, and shewed him his sword bloodied. Galba looking him in the face, asked him who commanded him to do it. The soldier answered him: The faith and oath he had made unto him. Therewith all the people that stood by cried out, it was nobly done of him, and clapped their hands for joy. Then Galba taking his litter,

went out of his palace to do sacrifice to Jupiter, and The also to shew himself openly. Howbeit he was no valiantsooner come into the market-place, but he heard fidelity of contrary news, that Otho was lord and master of the whole camp and army. Then, as it happeneth in so great a prease of people, some cried out to him to return back again, others would have him to go forward: others bade him be afraid of nothing, and others willed him to look to himself. So his litter being thus turmoiled to and fro, as tossed upon the sea, sometime borne back, otherwhile carried forward: first of all they saw certain horsemen, and then footmen also armed, coming from Paul's palace, all of them together crying out with loud voice, Hence, hence, private man. Then all the people set upon a running, not flying dispersedly, but in heaps upon porches and stalls in the marketplace, as it had been to have seen some fight or sport. Then one called Atilius Sarcello, overthrew one of the images of Galba, which was as it were a beginning of open wars. Others round about threw darts on every side of him against his litter. But when they saw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his litter with their swords drawn in their hands, and never a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, saving one man only, whom the sun saw that day, amongst so many thousands of men, worthy of the empire of Rome: and he was called Sempronius. He having received privately no manner of pleasure at Galba's hands, but only to discharge his oath and duty: stepped before the litter, and lifting up a vine-branch he had in his hand (with the which the Roman cap-tains do use to beat their soldiers that have offended)

The he fell out with them that did set upon him, and death of prayed them to hold their hands, and not to hurt Galba their emperor. But in the end when he saw they would not leave, but that they fell to it in good earnest: he then drew his sword, and bare off the blows as well as he could, until they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then Galba's litter being over-thrown right in the place called Curtius' lake: Galba lay on the ground armed in his cuirass. The traitorous soldiers flew upon him, and gave him many a wound: and Galba holding out his neck unto them, bade them strike hardly, if it were to do their country good. So he had many wounds on his arms and his thighs, as it is reported: howbeit the soldier that slew him, was called Camurius. of the fifteenth legion. Others do report that it was one Terentius, other also say Arcadius: and some other do call him Fabius Fabulus: who having stricken off his head, wrapped it in the lap of his gown, because he could not otherwise take hold of it, for that he was all bald. Howbeit his fellows and consorts would not suffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done should be seen. Therefore he set it upon the point of his lance, and so shaking the face of this poor old man, (a wise and temperate prince, and chief bishop, and Consul) he ran up and down (like mad women possessed with the spirit and fury of Bacchus at the feasts of Bacchus) bowing down his lance being all of a gore blood. When his head was brought to Otho, it is said he cried out aloud: Tush my fellows, this is nothing: unless you bring me also Piso's head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man

being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called The Marcus, who slew him hard by the temple of wurther vesta. So did they also kill Titus Junius: who openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracy against Galba, and cried out to them that slew him, that Otho did not know they did kill him. This notwithstanding, the soldiers strake off his head and Laco's also, and brought them both to Otho to receive the reward. Howbeit, as the poet Archilochus saith:

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

So there were divers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murder, had blooded all their hands and swords, and so shewed them blooded to have reward also: but Vitellius notwithstanding made inquiry of them afterwards, and caused them to be put to death. There came into the field also, one Marius Celsus, whom divers men accused to have persuaded the soldiers to aid Galba, and the common people cried out, and bade he should be put to death. Howbeit Otho would not suffer them to kill him: and yet being afraid to contrary the soldiers' minds, he told them they should not kill him so rashly, because he was first to learn some things more of him. So he commanded them to bind him, and delivered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Afterwards, the Senate were presently assembled: who, as if men had been suddenly changed from them they were, or as if there had been new gods, they all sware by the name of Otho, (the which oath he himself had before sworn unto Galba, and did not keep it) and

Citizens' called him besides, Augustus, and Cæsar, the bodies heads of them that were slain lying yet headless on the Rome ground in the market-place, all in their Consul's robes. And as for their heads, the soldiers after they could tell no more what to do with them, they sold the head of Titus Junius unto his daughter, for the sum of two thousand five hundred drachmas. And for Piso's head, his wife through entreaty, begged it of one called Veranius. On the other side, for Galba's head, they gave it unto Patrobius and Vitellius' servants: who, after they had used it as vilely as they could devise, they threw it at length in a place, where their bodies are cast, whom the Cæsars put to death, the which they call Sester-tium. Now for his body, Helvidius Priscus, through Otho's sufferance, carried it away, and Argius, one of his enfranchised bondmen, buried it by night. Thus have you heard the history of Galba, a man that in nobility and wealth, was inferior to few Romans, and in them both was the chiefest man of all his time, and had alway lived in honourable fame and estimation, in the reign of five emperors. So that he overcame Nero by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his own force and power. For of them that strove to make themselves emperors at that time, some found no man that thought them worthy of it: others did put forth themselves, as thinking them-selves worthy of it. Howbeit Galba was called unto it, and obeyed them that called him, using his name against Vindex' boldness: whereby he procured, that his rising (which before was called innovation and rebellion) was then called civil war, after that his faction came to have a man to

be their head, thought worthy to be their emperor. The And therefore he did not so much desire to be manners emperor for himself, as to do good to his country and commonwealth. But yet he erred, in seeking to command the soldiers whom Tigellinus and Nymphidius had spoiled by their flatteries: even as in old time Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus did command the soldiers of the empire of Rome at that time. So he being now a very old man. shewed himself a good emperor and after the old sort, in his behaviour towards the soldiers only: but in all other things else, being carried away with the covetousness of T. Junius and Laco, and of other his enfranchised bondmen, he left none desirous to be governed by him, but many that were sorry for his death.

THE END OF GALBA'S LIFE

THE LIFE OF

OTHO

Otho's THE next morning, the new emperor by break of modera- day went unto the capitol, and sacrificed, and there sent for Marius Celsus to come unto him, whom he courteously saluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cause of his imprisonment, than to remember his delivery. Marius Celsus made him a wise and noble answer again, and said that the matter for the which they would have accused him unto him, did witness his behaviour. shewing himself faithful unto Galba, who never did him any pleasure. These words of them both did marvellously please the people: and so did they like the soldiers also wonderfully well. Moreover, after he had very favourably graciously taken order for matters in the Senate, the rest of the time he had to be Consul, he employed partly about Virginius Rufus, and did also establish them Consuls in their place and degree, which had been called unto that dignity by Nero, or otherwise by Galba: and he also honoured the oldest Senators and of greatest estimation with certain priesthoods. Besides all this. he restored unto all those Senators that were banished by Nero, and called home again, all their goods yet unsold. Whereupon the chiefest magistrates and noblemen of the city that quaked

before for fear, supposing that he was not a man, at the but rather a devil or fury of hell that was come beginto be emperor: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling and gracious reign they were so lately entered into. Moreover, nothing pleased all the Romans together more, nor wan him the goodwill of all men so much, as that he did unto Tigellinus. For it was punishment enough for him, if he had had no more but the fear of the punishment every man threatened. the fear of the punishment every man threatened him withal, as a thing due to the commonwealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his body was infected withal. Now, though the noblemen thought his unreasonable insolency and lust of the flesh, (following naughty packs, and common strumpets, burning still in filthy concupiscence) an extreme punishment, comparable to many deaths, and being also no better than a dead man in manner, still following pleasure and sensuality as long as he could: this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they should see such a wicked creature as he live, that had put so such a wicked creature as he live, that had put so many noblemen to death. So Otho sent for him, who lived very pleasantly at his houses in the country, by the city of Sinuessa, and had ships ever ready upon the sea coast, to fly if necessity drave him to it. Thereupon he first sought to bribe him with money, which was sent with commission to apprehend him, and persuaded him to frame him to his mind wet he refrained not to frame him to his mind, yet he refrained not to give him gifts, and prayed him to give him leave to shave his beard. The other granted him. Then Tigellinus took a razor, and did cut his

Tumult own throat. So, Otho having pleased the people amongst thus well, he sought not otherwise to be revenged of his private injuries. Moreover, to curry favour with the common people, he refused not to be called Nero, in any open assemblies at the theatres. Also when certain private men had set up Nero's images in open sight. Otho was not offended withal: but moreover Clodius Rufus writeth, that letters patent and commissions were sent into Spain by posts, subscribing the goodly name of Nero, with the name of Otho. Howbeit when it came to his ears that the noblemen of Rome misliked of it: he left it off, and would write it no more in his letters. So Otho having begun in this sort to stablish his empire, the soldiers marvellously troubled him. For they continually persuaded him to take heed to himself, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came near unto him: the which they did, either for that indeed they bearing him good-will, were afraid some treachery or treason would be secretly practised against him: or else it was some feigned device to set all together by the ears, and to bring it to civil war. For when Otho himself had sent Crispinus with his seventeenth legion to bring him certain prisoners, and that Crispinus was ready before day, going to perform the effect of his commission, having loden carts with armour and weapon for his soldiers: the desperatest and boldest men among men, began to cry out, and said that Crispinus meant no good in his heart, and that the Senate went about to make some change and stir, and that his armour and weapons were not for Cæsar, but against him.

These words moved many men's consciences, and

made them to rebel: so that some laid hold upon the Carts to stay them, others slew two centurions out of hand, and Crispinus himself also that would have stayed them. Thereupon all of them together, one encouraging another, went directly to Rome, as meaning to aid the emperor. But when they came thither, understanding that there were fourscore senators at supper with the emperor, they ran straight to the palace, crying out that it was a good occasion offered them to kill all Cæsar's enemies at a clap. Hereupon all Rome was straight in arms, looking immediately after to be sacked and spoiled of all that ever they had: and the people ran up and down the palace, here and there, Otho himself also being in great fear and distress. For men might easily see he was afraid, because of his guests he had bidden, not for himself, seeing them all amazed with the matter for because of his guests he had bidden, not for himself, seeing them all amazed with the matter for fear, not speaking a word unto him, but staring on him still, and specially those that came and brought their wives with them to supper. So Otho sodainly sent the captains unto the soldiers and commanded them to speak with them, and to pacify them as well as they could: and therewithal he made them take away the board, and conveyed his guests out of his palace by secret posterns. So they saved themselves, passing through the soldiers, a little before they entered into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of Cæsar's enemies. So the emperor rising from his bed, he pacified them with emperor rising from his bed, he pacified them with gentle words, the tears standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he sent them all away. The next morning he liberally bestowed upon every

Vitellius' soldier, a thousand two hundred and fifty drachmas: rebellion and then he went into the market-place, and there gave great commendation to the common people for their ready good wills they had shewed unto him: howbeit, he said there were some among them, that under colour and pretext of honesty, did commit many lewd parts, and made his goodness and grace towards them to be evil spoken of, and their constancy and faith also to be misliked of, and prayed them his grief might be theirs, and that the offenders might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bade him aloud he should do it. So Otho thereupon caused two of them only to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatly offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loved and trusted him, marvelled much to see this change. Other were of opinion, that it stood him upon to do so, to win the soldiers' hearts, because of the war at hand. Now news came flying to him out of all parts, that Vitellius had taken upon him the authority to be emperor, and posts came to him one in another's neck, to tell him that numbers of people came in daily to submit themselves unto Vitellius. Others told him also, how the legions remaining in Pan-nonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, had chosen Otho. Immediately after, friendly letters were brought him also from Mucianus and Vespasianus, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Judæa, with great and mighty armies. Whereupon Otho giving credit unto them, wrote unto Vitellius and bade him beware how he meddled with any deeper enterprise, than became a private soldier: and that he would give him gold and silver enough, and a

great city, where he might live quietly, and take Wonders his pleasure. Vitellius gently answered him at the seen at Rome falling out one with another, spiteful letters were sent betwixt either parties, one of them reproaching another, not falsely but fondly, and foolishly detecting each other's vices. For indeed it was hard to judge, which of them two was most licentiously given, most effeminate, least skilful, poorer, or most indebted before. Now at that time they talked of wonderful signs that had had been seen: howbeit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to justify them. But in the Capitol there was the image of Victory set upon a triumphing chariot: the which everybody saw did let slack the reins of the bridles of the horses which she had in her hands, as though she could not stay them any more. The statue of Caius Cæsar also within the island, which standeth in the middest of the river of Tiber at Rome, without any earthquake or storm of wind, turned of itself from the west to the east: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that Vespasian began to take upon him to be emperor. Many also took the overflowing of the river of Tiber for an evil sign. For indeed it was at that time of the year when rivers do swell most, yet was it never so great before, neither had it ever done so much hurt as it did at that time. For it had overflown her banks, and drowned the most part of the city, and specially the corn market: insomuch that they suffered famine many days after in Rome. In all this stir, news came that Cæcina and Valens, (two of Vitellius' captains) had taken the mountains of the Alps:

The and moreover in Rome, Dolabella, a nobleman, forward- was suspected by the Prætorian soldiers, that he practised some treason. Now Otho, either because he was afraid of him, or of some other: he sent him to the city of Aquinum, promising him he should have no other hurt. Then choosing the choicest gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he took Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, and did not deprive him of any jot of his honour and dignity. Moreover, he was very careful to see his wife and mother safe, that they should not be afraid of themselves. Besides all this, he appointed Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, governor of Rome in his absence: and did it for Nero's sake, who had before given him the same honour and authority the which Galba had taken from him: or else to make Vespasian see, that he loved and trusted him. So he tarried behind at Bresselle, a city standing upon the river of Po: and sent his army before under the conduct of Marius Celsus, of Suetonius Paulinus, and of Gallus and Spurinna, all noble and great personages, howbeit they could not have their wills to rule the army as they would, because of the insolency and stubbornness of the soldiers, who would have no other captains but the emperor only, saying that he, and none other, should command them. Indeed. the enemies' soldiers also were not much wiser, nor more obedient to their captains, but were brave and lusty upon the self same occasion: howbeit they had this advantage over the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the wars, and could away with pains and hardness, and never shrunk from it. Whereas the Prætorian soldiers

that came from Rome, were fine meal-mouthed of Otho men, because they had been long from the wars, and and had lived at ease in Rome, and taken their pleasure in banqueting and plays: and therefore in a brawery and jollity, they would needs have men think that they disdained to do what their captains commanded them, as men that were too good to do commanded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine-fingered, and loth to take pains. So that when Spurinna would have compelled them, he was in danger of death, and scaped very narrowly that they slew him not. For they stuck not to revile him, and give him as foul words as they could: calling him traitor, and cursing him, saying that he marred all Cæsar's affairs. Yea and there were some of them that having their full cups went in the night to his tent, to ask him leave to depart, saying that they would go to the emperor, and complain to him of him. But the flout they had given them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of Placentia, did stand Spurinna and his affairs to great purpose. For Vitellius' soldiers coming hard to the walls of the city, did mock Otho's men that were at the cranews of the same, and called them fine dancers, and goodly stage-players, that had seen nothing but plays and feasts: and that for feats of arms, and battels, they knew not what it meant: and that the greatest act they ever did, was for that they strake off the head of a poor naked old man, meaning by Galba: and that to come to fight a battell in the field before men, their hearts were in their heels. These vile words galled them to the heart, and made them so mad withal, that they came of themselves to pray Spurinna to command

Otho's them what he thought good, promising that from captains thenceforth they would never refuse any pains or danger he would put them to. Thereupon, there was a hot assault given to the city of Placentia, with great store of sundry engines. Howbeit Spurinna's men had the better, and having with great slaughter repulsed the assailants, they saved one of the goodliest, the greatest, and most flourishing cities of all Italy. So Otho's captains were far more familiar, courteous, and civil to deal with cities and private men, than Vitellius' soldiers were. For, of Vitellius' captains, Cæcina was neither for person nor manners accompanible for the people, but strange, monstrous, and trouble-some to see him only, a mighty made man, wearing gally-gaskons, and coats with sleeves, after the fashion of the Gauls, and spake in this attire unto the ensign-bearers, and captains of the Romans. Furthermore, he had his wife always with him bravely mounted a-horseback, gallantly apparelled, and accompanied with a troop of the choicest men of arms of all the companies. The other, Fabius Valens, he was so coveteous, that no spoil of enemies, no polling of subjects, nor bribes taken of their friends and confederates, could quench or satisfy his unsatiable covetousness: whereby it seemeth that was the let, that coming on so slowly, he was not at the first battell. Howbeit others do blame Cæcina for it, that made too much haste, for the desire he had to have the only honour of the victory to himself: and this was the cause, that besides his other light faults, he also made this, that he gave battell out of due time and season, and when it came to the point indeed, yet he fought

it out not valiantly, so that he had almost cast all Panlinus away. For when he had the repulse from Placen- accused tia, he went unto Cremona another great city. And coward Annius Gallus going to aid Spurinna, who was besieged in the city of Placentia: when he heard by the way that the Placentines had the better, and that the Cremonenses were in great danger and distress: he marched thither with his army, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that also, the other captains of either side came to aid their men. Howbeit Cæcina having laid a great number of his best soldiers well armed in ambush, in certain thick groves and woods: he commanded his horsemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retire little and little, making as though they fled, until they had drawn them within his ambush. were certain traitors that bewrayed the ambush unto Marius Celsus, who came against them with his choice men of arms, and did not follow them over rashly, but compassed in the place where the ambush lay, the which he raised, and in the meantime sent to his camp with all possible speed to his footmen to make haste thitherward: and it seemeth, that if they had come in time, they had not left one of their enemies alive, but had marched upon the bellies of all Cæcina's army, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should have done. But Paulinus being come too late to aid them, for that he came so slowly: he was burdened that he did not the duty of a captain, that bare the name and countenance he carried. Furthermore, the common soldiers accused him of treason unto Otho, and stirred up their emperor against him, and spake

Otho's very big words of themselves, saying, that they had consultation overcome for their own parts, had not the cowardliness of their captains been, who put them by the
victory. So Otho did not trust him so much, that he would not make him believe but that he mistrusted somewhat. Therefore he sent his brother Titianus to the camp, and Proclus with him, cap-tain of the Prætorian guard, who indeed commanded all, but in fight Titianus had all the honour, as bearing the name of the emperor's lieutenant. Marius Celsus, and Paulinus followed after, bearing name of counsellors and friends only: howbeit otherwise they meddled with nothing, neither had any authority given them. On the other side, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially, whom Valens led. For when news was brought of the conflict that was between them in this ambush, they were angry with him, because they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to help their men that were slain: insomuch that he had much ado to pacify and quiet them, they were so ready to have flown upon him. So Valens at length removed his camp, and went and joined with Cæcina. Howbeit Otho being come to his camp at the town of Bedriacum, which is a little town hard by Cremona: he consulted with his captains whether he should give battell or not. So Proclus and Titianus gave him counsel to fight, considering that the soldiers were very, willing to it, by reason of the late victory they had won, and wished him not to defer it: for thereby he should but discourage his army, which was now willing to fight, and also give their enemies leisure to tarry for their chieftain Vitellius, who came him-

self out of Gaul. But Paulinus in contrary manner of giving alleged, that the enemies had all their force and battell power present, with which they thought to fight with them, and also to overcome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas Otho looked for another army out of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an army as his enemies had already, so that he could tarry his time, and not serve his enemies' turn: and also, that if the soldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they should then be much more encouraged, when they should have greater company, and should also fight with better safety. Furthermore he persuaded them, that to delay time was their avail, considering that they had plenty and store of all manner of provision: where the enemies on the other side being also in their enemies' country, their victuals would quickly fail them. Marius Celsus liked very well of these persuasions. And so did Annius Gallus, who was not present at this council (but gone from the camp, to be cured of a fall he had from his horse) but he was written to by Otho to have his opinion also. So Annius Gallus returned answer. that he thought it not best to make haste, but to stay for the army that came out of Mysia, considering they were onwards on their way. Howbeit Otho would not hearken to to this counsel, but followed their minds that concluded of battell: for the which were alleged divers occasions. But the chiefest and likeliest cause of all was, that the soldiers which are called the Prætorian guard (being the daily guard about the emperor's person) finding then in effect what it was to profess to be a soldier, and to live like a soldier: they lamented their con-

Fresh-tinuing in Rome, where they lived at ease and water pleasure, feasting and banqueting, never feeling the soldiers lament discommodities and bitter pains of war, and did their therefore so earnestly cry out to fight, that there pleasing was no staying of them, as if they should at their life first cry and setting forward, have overthrown their enemies. Moreover, it seemed also that Otho himself could no more away with the fear and doubt of the uncertain success to come, neither could any longer abide the grievous thoughts of the danger of his estate, he was so effeminate, and unacquainted with sorrow and pains. This was the cause that carried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put all at adventure. The matter is thus reported by Secundus the orator, and Otho's secretary. Others also do report, that both armies had divers determinations and minds: as to join all together in one camp, and jointly to choose among them, if they could agree, the worthiest man of all the captains that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a place together, and there to suffer the Senators to choose such a one emperor, as they liked best of. And sure it is very likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called emperors, was thought meet for the place they had: and therefore that these counsels and considerations might easily fall into the Roman soldiers' heads (who were wise men and expert soldiers) that indeed it was a thing for them justly to mislike, to bring themselves into the like miserable time and calamity, which their predecessors before them had caused one another to suffer, first for Sulla and Marius' sakes, and afterwards for

Cæsar and Pompey, and now to bestow the empire The fireof Rome either upon Vitellius, to make him the barges abler to follow his drunkenness and gluttony: or else upon Otho, to maintain his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moved Celsus to delay time, hoping to end the wars without trouble and danger: and that caused Otho also to make the more haste, being afraid of the same. Howbeit Otho returning back again to Bresselle, he committed another fault, not only because he took his mens' good-wills from them to fight, the which his presence, and the reverence they bare unto him did put in them: but because also he carried away with him for the guard of his person, the valiantest soldiers and most resolute men of all his host. About that time there chanced a skirmish to fall out by the river of Po, because Cæcina built a bridge over it, and Otho's men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they saw they prevailed not, they laded certain barges with faggots and dry wood, all rubbed over with brimstone and pitch, and setting them a-fire, then sent them down the stream. When the barges were in the middest of the stream, there suddenly rose a wind out of the river, which blew upon this woodstack they had prepared to cast among the enemies' works of this bridge, that first made it smoke, and immediately after fell all on a great flame, which did so trouble the men in the barges, that they were driven to leap into the river to save themselves: and so they lost their barges, and became themselves also prisoners to their enemies, to their great shame and mockery. Furthermore, the Germans under Vitellius, fighting with Otho's fencers, which of them

Battell should win a little island in the middest of the river: betwixt they had the upper hand, and slew many of the fencers. Thereupon Otho's soldiers which were in Bedriacum, being in a rage withal, and would needs fight: Proclus brought them into the field, and went and camped about fifty furlong out of the city, so fondly, and to so little purpose, that being the spring of the year, and all the country thereabout full of brooks and rivers, yet they notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their camp to meet with their enemies the same day, and were driven to march about a hundred furlong. Now Paulinus persuaded them to go fair and softly, and not to make more haste than needed, and would not so soon as they should come, (being wearied with their journey and travel) set upon their enemies that were well armed, and besides had leisure and time enough to set their men in battell ray, whilst they were coming so long a journey with all their carriage. Now the captains being of divers opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from Otho, one of those they call the nomads, that brought them letters, in the which Otho commanded them to make all the haste they could, and to lose no time, but to march with all speed towards the enemy. So when these letters were read, the captains presently marched forward with their army. Cæcina understanding of their coming, was astonished at the first, and suddenly forsook the work of his bridge to return to his camp, where he found the most part of his soldiers already armed, and Valens had given them their signal and word of battell. And in the meantime, whilst the legions were taking their places to set

themselves in battell ray: they sent out before the the choicest horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now Othonians and there ran a rumour (no man knew how, nor upon what cause) that Vitellius' captains would turn on Otho's side in battell. Insomuch that when these men of arms came near to meet with the voward of Otho's army: Otho's men did speak very gently to them, and called them companions. Vitellius' men on the other side took this salutation in evil part, and answered them again in rage, as men that were willing to fight. Insomuch that those that had spoken to them, were quite discouraged: and the residue also began to suspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traitors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being ready to join battell. Further-more, on the enemies' side also, all was out of order: for the beasts of carriage ran in amongst them that fought, and so did put them marvellously out of order. Besides that also, the disadvantage of the place where they fought, did compel them to disperse one from another, because of sundry ditches and trenches that were between them, whereby they were compelled to fight in divers companies together. So there were but two legions only, the one of Vitellius, called the Devourer: and the other of Otho, called the Helper: which getting out of these holes and ditches apart by themselves, in a good plain even ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of battell. Otho's soldiers were men of goodly personages, strong, and valiant of their hands, howbeit they had never served in the wars, nor had ever foughten battell but that. And Vitellius' men on the other side.

The were old beaten soldiers, and had served all their Otho- youth, and knew what wars and battells meant. overcome So when they came to join, Otho's men gave such in battell a lusty charge upon the first onset, that they overthrew, and slew all the first rank, and also wan the ensign of the eagle. Vitellius' men were so ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they took heart again unto them, and ran in so desperately upon their enemies, that at the first they slew the colonel of all their legion, and wan divers ensigns And furthermore, against Otho's fencers (which were accounted the valiantest men, and readiest of hand) Varus Alfenus brought his men of arm: called the Batavi, which are Germans in the lower part of Germany, dwelling in an island compassed about with the river of Rhine. There were few of his fencers that stuck by it, but the most of them ran away towards the river, when they found certain ensigns of their enemies set is battell ray, who put them all to the sword, and not a man of them scaped with life. But abovall other, none proved more beasts and cowards than the Prætorian guard. For they would no tarry till the enemies came to give them charge, bu cowardly turned their backs, and fled through their own men that were not overthrown; and so die both disorder them, and also make them afraid This notwithstanding, there were a great number of Otho's men who having overthrown the voward c them that made head against them, they force a lane through their enemies that were conquerors and so valiantly returned back into their camp But of their captains, neither Proclus nor Paul inus durst return back with them, but fled anothe

way, being afraid of the fury of the soldiers, that The they would lay all the fault of their overthrow upon their captains. Howbeit Annius Gallus received the freshwater water after this overthrow, and told them that the battell soldiers was equal betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But Marius Celsus gathering the noblemen and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to consultation what they should do in so great a calamity, and extreme slaughter of the Roman citizens. For if Otho himself were an honest man, he should no more attempt fortune: considering that Cato and Scipio were both greatly blamed, for that they were the cause of casting away many men in Africk to no purpose, (though they fought for the liberty of the Romans) and only of self-will, for that they would not yield to Julius Cæsar after he had won the battell of Pharsalia. For though fortune in all other things have power over men: yet extremities happening to good men, she cannot pre-vent them to determine the best for their safety. These persuasions straight carried away the captains, who went presently to feel the minds of the private soldiers, whom they found all of them desirous of peace. So Titianus persuaded them to send ambassadors unto the enemies to treat of peace: and Celsus and Gallus took upon them the charge to go thither, to break the matter unto Cæcina, and Valens. But by the way they met with certain centurions, who told them how all the army of the enemies were coming onwards on their way, to come directly to the city of Bedriacum, and that their chieftains had sent before to offer treaty of

Otho's peace. Celsus and his companion Gallus being glad of this, prayed the centurions that they would them return with them unto Cæcina. But when they were come near unto him, Celsus was in great danger of his life: because the men of arms which he had overthrown certain days before in an ambush, coming before, when they spied him, they flew upon him with great shouts. Howbeit the centurions that were in his company, stepped before him, and closed him in: and so did the other captains that cried unto them they should do him no hurt. Cæcina understanding what the matter was, rode thither, and pacified the tumult of these men of arms: and then saluting Celsus very courteously, he went with him towards Bedriacum. But now Titianus in the meantime, repenting himself that he had sent ambassadors unto the enemies, he placed the desperatest soldiers he had upon the walls of the city, and encouraged the rest also to do the like, and to stand to the defence. But Cæcina came to the wall, and being on horseback, held up his hand unto them. Then they made no more resistance, but those that were upon the walls, saluted the soldiers: and they that were within the city opened the gates, and thrust in amongst Vitellius' men, who received them, and did no man any hurt, but courteously embraced them, and saluted each other. Then they all sware and took their oaths to be true to Vitellius, and so yielded themselves unto him. So do the most part of those that were at this battell, report the success thereof: granting notwithstanding, that they knew not everything that was done, because of the great disorder among them. But as I travelled on a time through

the field where the battell was stricken, with Metrius unto

Florus that had bin Consul: he shewed me an old Vitellius man that when the field was fought in that place, was young, and against his will was at the same battell on Otho's part. Who told us, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to survey the number of those that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heap, of the height of those that came to view them. And said moreover, that he made inquiry of the matter, but he neither could imagine it himself, nor be satisfied by others. Now indeed it is likely, that in civil wars between countrymen of one self city, where one of the two armies is overthrown, that there should be greater slaughter among them, than against the other enemies, because they take no prisoners of either side: for those they should take, would serve them to no good purpose. But after they were slain, one to be laid on heaps so by another, that is a hard thing to judge. But now to the matter. The news of this overthrow came first but obscurely unto Otho, a common thing in a matter of so great importance: but afterwards, when some that were hurt came and brought him certain news of it, it was no marvel then to see Otho's friends and familiars to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheer, and not to be discouraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderful great love and good-will which the private soldiers shewed unto him at that time, did pass and exceed all speech and expectation. For they forsook him not, neither went they to submit themselves to their enemies the conquerors, neither took they any regard of themselves, to see their emperor in that despair: but all of them

The jointly together went unto his lodging, and called great him their emperor. Then he came out, and they fell down at his feet, as men represented in a triumph lying on the ground, and kissed his hands, with the tears running down their cheeks, and besought Otho him not to forsake and leave them to their enemies, him not to forsake and leave them to their enemies, but to command their persons whilst they had one drop of blood left in their bodies to do him service. All of them together made this spetition to him. But amongst others, there was a poor soldier drawing out his sword, said unto him: Know, O Cæsar, that all my companions are determined to die in this sort for thee, and so slew himself. But all these lamentable things did never melt Otho's heart: who looking with a stout countenance round about him, and casting his eyes everywhere, spake unto them in this manner. "I think this is a more happy day for me, my fellows, than that in the which you first chose me emperor: to see you love me so well, and do me such honour, with so great shew of loyalty. But yet I beseech you not to deny me of a greater favour, which is: to die valiantly and honourably, for the safety of so many honest men as you be, and so good citizens of Rome. If by your election you made me worthy to take upon me the imperial crown: I must now needs shew myself an emperor, not sparing to spend my life for your and my country's safety. I am certain that the victory is not altogether mine enemies'. For news are not altogether mine enemies'. For news are come unto me, that our armies of Mysia and Pan-nonia are in their way coming to us, and that they are not far off from the Adriatic Sea. Asia, Syria, and Egypt, and the legions that made war in Jewry,

are all ours. The Senate taketh our part, and our The enemies' wives and children be in our hands. But noble this war is not against Hannibal, nor Pyrrhus, nor courage of Otho against the Cimbri, to fight who should be owners of Italy: but it is against the Romans themselves. For in this civil war, both the conqueror and vanquished do offend their country: for where the conquerors have benefit, the country and commonwealth always receiveth loss. Assure your selves I had rather die, than reign emperor: considering also that my life with victory cannot so much benefit the Romans, as the sacrifice of the same may do my country good, for the peace and quietness of my countrymen, keeping Italy thereby from seeing such another battell, as this hath been." when he had made this oration unto them, and put those by, that would have dissuaded him the contrary: he commanded all the Senators and his friends that were present, to avoid. Then he wrote letters to them that were absent, and also unto the cities where through they passed, to use them very courteously, and to see them safely conveyed. Then came his nephew Cocceius to him, who was yet but a young boy, and he did comfort him, and bade him not to be afraid of Vitellius, for he had safely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had been as careful of them, as if they had been his own: and that he would not yet adopt him for his son, though he was desirous to do it, until such time as he saw the end of this war: to the end that if he overcame, he should quietly reign emperor with him: and if he were overcome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cause of his death. But this one thing only, I command and

nephew

Otho's charge thee, my son, even as the last command-words to ment that I can give thee: that thou do not forget his altogether, neither overmuch remember, that thine uncle hath been emperor. When he had told him this tale, he heard a noise at his door: they were the soldiers that threatened the Senators which came from him, and would kill them, if they did not remain with him, but would forsake their emperor. Upon this occasion he came out once again among them, being afraid lest the soldiers would do the Senators some hurt, and made the soldiers give back, not by entreating of them, nor speaking courteously to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage: insomuch that they all shrunk back, and went away for fear. So when night came, he was athirst, and drank a little water: and having two swords, he was proving a great while which had the best edge. In the end, he put by the one, and kept the other in his arms. Then he began to comfort his servants, and liberally to give out his money among them, to some more, to some less, not prodigally throwing it away without discretion, as being another man's money: but discreetly gave to every one according to his desert. Then after he had despatched them away, he laid him down to sleep all the rest of the night, that the grooms of his chamber heard him snort, he slept so soundly. In the morning he called one of his enfranchised bondmen, whom he had commanded to help to save the Senators, and sent him to see if they were all safe, and gone. So when he understood that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: Come on, said he then unto him, look

to thy self I read thee, and take heed the soldiers Otho

see thee not, if thou wilt scape with life, for sure slew himthey will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to self kill my self. So as soon as his enfranchised bondman was gone out of his chamber, he took his sword with both his hands and setting the point of it to his breast, he fell down upon it, seeming to feel no other pain, saving that he fetched a sigh: whereby they that were without, knew that he had done himself hurt. Thereupon his friends made straight an outcry, and all the camp and city was incontinently full of tears and lamentation. The soldiers suddenly ran with a great noise to his gates, whereby they bitterly bewailed, and lamented his death, falling out with themselves that they were such villains so slenderly to have guarded their emperor, that they kept him not from killing himself for their sakes. So there was not a man of them that left his body, though the enemies were hard at hand: but having honourably buried him, and prepared a great stack of wood, they conveyed him armed to the fire of his funerals, every man thinking himself happy, that could first set his shoulders to the coffin to help to carry him. Others coming to it, kneeled down on their knees, and kissed his wound. Others took and kissed his hands. Others that could not come near him, honoured him, and did reverence him afar off, and some there were also that after the stack of wood was set on fire, slew themselves hard by the fire: who had never received benefit by him that was dead, (at the least to any man's knowledge) neither had they any occasion to be afraid of him that was

Otho's conqueror. And truly me thinks, never king nor tomb tyrant was so ambitiously given to reign, as they vehemently desired to be commanded by Otho, and to obey him: considering that their desire left them not even after his death, but was so lively rooted in their minds, that in the end, it turned to a deadly hate unto Vitellius. But of this we will speak more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried Otho's ashes, they did set up a tomb for him, neither for magnificence of building, nor for glorious epitaph, subject unto envy. For I have seen his tomb in the city of Bresselle, a mean thing, and the epitaph upon it translated out of Latin, saith no more but this: This is the tomb of Marcus Otho. He died being but seven-andthirty years old, and was emperor but three moneths: and there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reproved his life. For though he lived not much more honester than Nero, yet he died far more honourably. Furthermore, when Pollio, one of the captains would have compelled his soldiers presently to have taken their oaths to be true to Vitellius, they fell out with him: and understanding that there were yet remaining some Senators, they would not meddle with them, but only troubled Virginius Rufus. For they came to his doors armed, and called him by his name, and commanded him to take charge of them, and to go as ambassador to entreat for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already overcome, considering he refused it when they had overcome: and also he was afraid to go ambassador to the Germans, because he had

compelled them to do things against their wills. A new
Therefore he went out at his back door, and liege
saved himself. So when the soldiers heard
of it they were at length contented to
be brought to be sworn unto Vitellius, and so joined themselves
with Cæcina's soldiers,
so they might be pardoned for all that

THE END OF OTHO'S LIFE.

was past.

THE LIVES OF

HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO **AFRICAN**

Translated into French by Charles de l'Escluse. and Englisht by Sir Thomas North

The 1r we do call to mind the first Punic war the

parent- Carthaginians had with the Romans: we shall find many captains, who by the glory of their noble deeds, have left great fame and renown unto their posterity. Howbeit amongst all the captains of the Carthaginians, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commended of all Greek and Latin authors, than Hamilcar, Hannibal's father, otherwise surnamed Barca, a valiant man doubtless, and in his time a skilful soldier as any was. The same Hamilcar first of all made war with the Romans, a longer time in Sicily than was looked for, who had done great hurt to his country and commonwealth. After that also in the wars of Africk (at what time the mercenary soldiers through their rebellion did put the country of Carthage in great danger) he did so valiantly appease the insurrection: that to every man's judgement, he was reputed the only preserver of his country. Then he was sent governor and captain into Spain, and carried with him at that time, (as it is reported) his son Hannibal, being but a young boy, where he did noble service. In

fine, in the ninth year of his abode there in that The province, he died fighting valiantly against the sharp wit Vettons. After his death, Hasdrubal his son-position in-law, (whom the Carthaginians through the aid of Hanand friendship of the Barcinian faction had made nibal general of all their army) remained governor there the space of eight years. This Hasdrubal sent for Hannibal into Spain, after his father Hamilcar's death, against the minds of the chief of the contrary faction; to the end that as he had been trained from his youth in the discipline of wars, in his father Hamilcar's life, even so in like manner, that now being come to man's state, he should the better harden his body, to away with the pains and dangers of the wars. Now although at the first, the remembrance of his father was a great help unto him to win the love and goodwill of the soldiers: yet he himself afterwards, through his diligence and industry so handled the matter, that the old soldiers forgetting all other captains, they only desired to choose him (and none other) for their governor. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for, in a noble captain or general. He had a present and ready wit to give counsel what was to be done, in most greatest attempts: and besides, he lacked neither manhood nor industry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and invincible mind, even in greatest dangers and adversities of body: the which are wont to stay others from performing their endeavours and duty. He would watch and ward as any private soldier, and was quick and ready to do any kind of service, either like a valiant soldier, or a good captain. In this sort Hannibal continued in service in the wars, the

Divers space of three years, under the conduct of Has-causes of drubal. In that time he so wan the hearts of all the army, that immediately after Hasdrubal's death, he was chosen to be lieutenant-general, with the common consent of all the soldiers: and this honour was laid upon him without contradiction of any of the Carthaginians through the friendship and good-will of the Barcinian faction. Hannibal was now six-and-twenty years old, when the sol-diers made him their lieutenant-general. For at what time his father Hamilcar brought him into Spain, he was then but nine years old: and from that time unto Hasdrubal's death (according to Polybius' declaration) it was seventeen years more. So he was no sooner made lieutenant-general of all the camp, and his country: but he bent himself to make war with the Romans, having long before determined it. For first of all, he chiefly maintained almost a common hate of all the Carthaginians against the Romans, because of the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. Besides also, he bare them a secret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father Hamilcar: who, of all the captains the Carthaginians ever had, was the mortallest enemy unto the Romans. And it is written also. that at what time Hamilcar made his preparation to go into Spain, he compelled Hannibal being but a boy, to swear in a sacrifice he made, that he would be a mortal enemy to the Romans, as soon as ever he came to the state of a man. So, the remembrance of these things were still fresh in the young man's mind, as the idea (or image) of his father's hate, and still provoked him to spy out all the means he could, how to destroy the empire of Rome. Besides also, the Barcinian faction

never left to prick him forward unto it, because by mortal wars he might raise himself to greatness, and so increase his estate. These causes, as well common as particular, enticed Hannibal to attempt war against the Romans, and gave the stout young man occasion by these means to practice innovation. There was a people at that time called the Saguntines, who confined indifferently betwixt the Romans and Conthesizings, and were left free by Romans and Carthaginians: and were left free by the former peace concluded. These Saguntines ever after took part with the Romans, and by means of the league that was made betwixt them, the Romans always found them very true and faithful to the empire of Rome. Hannibal therefore thought with himself, he could not devise to make a better match to anger the Romans withal, and to kindle the fire of his malice also against them. them: than to make war with the Saguntines, their confederates. Howbeit, before he would be openly seen to set upon them, he first determined to lead his army against the Olcades, and other people on the other side of the river of Iberus: and after he had overcome them, then to find occasion to molest the Saguntines, to make it appear that the war was rather begun by them, than purposely intended by him. So after he had overcome the Olcades, he did set upon the Vaccæans, spoiled their country, besieged many cities, and took Hermandice, and Arbocole, great and rich cities. Now he had in manner overcome all the whole country, when divers fugitives from the city of Herman-dice encouraging one another, conspired against him, levied men, and enticed the Olcades that were fled, to take their part. Then they per-

suaded the Carpentanians their neighbours, that spiracy of the they would all agree suddenly to set upon Hannibal at his return. They being a people that desired nothing more than to fight, and considering also that they had received injuries by Hannibal, did easily hearken unto that counsel: and thereupon levying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thousand, they went to assail Hannibal at his return from the Vaccæans, by the river of Tagus. When the Carthaginians discovered their army, they staid upon it, and were marvellously affraid. And doubtless, they had had a great overthrow, if they had fought with those so fierce people, being afraid of their sudden coming, and also loden as they were with so great spoils: the which Hannibal deeply considering, like a wise captain as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his camp in the place where they were. Then the next day fol-lowing, he passed his army over the river with as little noise as he could, leaving the passage where the enemies might easiliest come over, unguarded: because under pretence of dissembled fear, he might entice the barbarous people to pass over the river, to take the opportunity and occasion offered them. Now indeed as he was the subtilest captain, and had the finest stratagems of any other captain of his time: so his policy was not in vain, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy. For the wild barbarous people reposing too great trust in the multitude of their men, supposing the Carthaginians had been afraid: with great fury entered the river to pass it over. So they being greatly troubled, and out of order by this means, and specially before they could pass all over the

river, they were set upon by the Carthaginians: first against by certain horsemen, and afterwards with the whole Hannibal army, so that there was a great number of them slain, and the residue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the river of Iberus, yielded themselves unto him, saving the Saguntines: who, though they saw Hannibal at hand coming towards them, trusting to the friendship of the Romans, they prepared to defend themselves against him: and therewithal sent ambassadors presently to Rome, to shew the Senate in what great danger they were, and also to pray aid against their so great enemy, that made wars hotly with them. The ambassadors that were sent to Rome, were scant gone out of Spain, when Hannibal made open war on them, with all his army, and pitched his camp before the city of Saguntum. When this matter was reported at Rome, and consulted of for the wrongs that had been done to their confederates: the Senators dealt but slackly in it, and by decree only sent P. Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Bæbius Pamphilus unto Hannibal, to will him to raise his siege from Saguntum: and if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they should thence repair to Carthage, and to pray them to deliver their general Hannibal unto them, because he had broken the peace. Polybius writeth, that Hannibal did hear these ambassadors, howbeit that he made them a slender answer. Livius writeth in contrary manner, that they were never heard, nor came at any time to his camp. Howbeit they both agree thus far, that they came into Spain, and afterwards went into Africk, and from thence came to Carthage, where after they had delivered their message

Two unto the council, the Barcinian faction were so much factions Rome, and obtained not their desire. Now, in the in Car- Rome, and obtained not their desire. Now, in the thage Senate of Carthage, there were two contrary parts and factions of the which, the first took his beginning from the government of Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, and so descended as it were by succession to his son Hannibal, and grew afterwards unto such greatness, that that faction (as well abroad, as at home) ruled all matters judicial. The second faction came of Hanno, a grave man, and of great authority in the same commonwealth: howbeit a man more given to embrace peace and quietness, than otherwise disposed to war and trouble. It is he only (as it is reported) who at that time when the ambassadors of the Romans came to Carthage, to complain of the injuries done to their confederates: that did then in manner against the will of all the whole Senate, counsel them to keep peace with the Romans, and to beware of wars, the which one day might peradventure utterly destroy their country. Doubtless, if the Carthaginians would have followed the grave counsel of Hanno, rather than to have given place to their desires, and had followed the author of peace, and not to have been ruled by them that gave counsel to make wars: they had not tasted of those miseries which their country afterwards came unto. But giving place to the fury and ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped such mischiefs on their heads, as afterwards fell out upon them. Therefore it is very meet for wise magistrates and governors of commonweals, always rather to have an eye to the beginning of any matters, than to the end: and ever to decide

all matters by advice and counsel, before they should Hannibal take any wars in hand. Now the Saguntines wan the seeing themselves besieged by Hannibal, and that Sagunagainst all reason and equity he made wars upon tum them: they notwithstanding valiantly defended the siege, many moneths together. Yet in fine, though Hannibal had many more men than they (having a hundred and fifty thousand men in his camp) and that the most part of their ramparts were battered and overthrown: they liked rather to abide the sack of their city, than to yield themselves to the mercy of their mortal enemy. So some do report, that Saguntum was taken the eight moneth after siege was laid unto it. But Livy seemeth not to agree to that, neither to set down any certain time of the continuance of the siege. Now, the taking of this so wealthy a city, was a great furtherance divers ways to Hannibal's enterprises. For many cities taking example of the sack of Saguntum, who before misliking to be subject to the Carthaginians, were ready to rebel: they kept themselves quiet, and the soldiers also waxed lively and courageous: seeing the rich spoils that were divided in the camp. Hannibal sent great presents of the spoils of the Saguntines unto Carthage, whereby he wan the chiefest men of the city, and made them like the better of wars: whom he determined to lead with him against the Romans, not in Spain, as many supposed, but into Italy it self. Whilst these matters were in hand, the ambassadors returned from Carthage to Rome, and declared in open Senate, the slender answer they had received, in manner at the self same time when they had intelligence of the sack of Saguntum. Hereupon the Romans greatly

Wars repented themselves, (though somewhat too late) pro- for that they aided not their friends and confederates chaimed in so great a danger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very sorry for it, and therewith also marvellously offended, they divided the provinces unto the Consuls, to wit: Spain unto Publius Cornelius, and Africk and Sicily also unto Titus Sempronius. Afterwards, certain of the noblest men of the city were sent ambassadors unto Carthage, to make their complaints in open Senate for breach of the peace, and also to denounce unto them the cause of the war to come, and therewith boldly to proclaim open war against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of themselves. This was as bravely received of the Carthaginians, as lustily offered unto them: but therein they were not so well advised, as the success of that war in the end sufficiently proved it to them. Now Hannibal being advertised how things were concluded in the Senate at Carthage, and thinking with himself that it was time to go into Italy, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the possible speed he could to prepare his ships and things ready, and so required aid of the cities that were his best friends and confederates, and commanded that all the bands should meet him at New Carthage. So when he came to Gades, he appointed good garrisons in places most convenient, in Africk and Spain, which he thought above all things else to be most necessary: because that when he should go into Italy, the Romans should not win it from him. Therefore he sent into Africk, twelve hundred horsemen, and thirteen thousand footmen, all Spaniards: and besides, he brought out of divers

parts of Africk four thousand soldiers, and placed with the them in garrison in Carthage, obtaining both hostages Carthaand soldiers by this means. So he left the govern- ginians ment of Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, and gave him an army of fifty ships of war, two thousand horsemen, and twelve thousand footmen. These were the garrisons he left in both those provinces. Now he thought them not sufficient to withstand the power of the Romans, if they bent their wars into Spain, or Africk: but because he thought them strong enough to stay the enemy from overrunning of the country, until that having brought his army by land, he had set foot in Italy. Moreover, he knew that the Carthaginians were strong enough to levy a new army if they listed, and if need so required, to send him aid also into Italy. For, after that they had driven away this so dangerous a war, procured against them through the spite of the mercenary soldiers, having ever after obtained victory: first under the conduct of Hamilcar: secondly, under Hasdrubal: and lastly under Hannibal: they were grown to such greatness and strength, that at what time Hannibal came into Italy, their empire and dominions were marvellously enlarged. For they had all the coast of Africk, which lieth over against the sea Mediterranean, from the altars of the Philænians, which be not far from the great Syrt, unto Hercules' pillars: and containeth in length two thousand paces. So, after they had passed the strait which divideth Africk from Europe, they possessed almost all Spain, to the mountains Pyrenees, which do divide Spain from Gaul. Thus order being taken for all things in Africk, and Spain: Hannibal returned again to New Carthage, where

mineth to invade Italy

Hannibal his army was ready for him, and well-appointed. deter- So, meaning to delay time no longer he called his men together, and encouraging them with great and large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of Italy: and made great account unto them of the friendship of the Gauls, and in the end he bade them be of good courage, and set lustily forward. Thereupon, the next day following he departed from Carthage, and brought his army all alongst the coast, unto the river of Iberus. It is reported, that the next day following, Hannibal dreamed he saw a young man, of a marvellous terrible look and stature, who bade him follow him into Italy: but afterwards, that he saw a snake of a wonderful greatness, making a marvellous noise: and being desirous to understand what the same might signify, it was told him that it betokened the destruction of Italy. It is not to be marvelled at, though the great care and thought he took in the daytime for the war of Italy, made his mind to run of such fancies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destruction, or such other calamities of war. For they are things that happen often, as Cicero the Orator saith: that our thoughts and words do beget such things in our dream, as Ennius the poet writeth of Homer: to wit, like to those his mind most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now, after Hannibal had passed over the mountains Pyrenees, and that he had also won the Gauls' hearts with bountiful gifts: in few days he came to the river of Rhone. The head of the river of Rhone, is not far from the heads of the rivers of the Rhine and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at

Geneva. Then it runneth from thence towards The the west, and divideth the Gauls a pretty way: Volcae and then being increased by the river of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other rivers, in the end it falleth into the sea with divers heads. betwixt the Volcæ, and the Cavarians. The Volcæ, at that time inhabited both the sides of the river of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richest of all the other Gauls. They having understanding of Hannibal's coming, passed over the river, and armed themselves, and prepared on the other side to stop the Carthaginians, that they should not pass over. Now, though Hannibal had won all the other Gauls, yet those he could never win neither by gifts, nor threats, to cause them rather to prove the friendship of the Carthaginians, than their force. Therefore Hannibal perceiving he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commanded Hanno the son of Bomilcar, secretly to pass over the river of Rhone, with part of the army, and so to set upon the Gauls on the sodain. Thereupon Hanno as he was commanded, made a long journey: and having passed over the river at passable fords, he shewed himself hard by the enemies' camp, before they saw him, or that they knew what it was. The Gauls hearing their shouts and cries behind them, and having their hands full of Hannibal before them, who had many boats ready to pass over his men: they having no leisure to consult of the matter, neither to arm themselves to stand to defence, left their camp, and fled for life. So they being driven from the other side of the river, the rest of the army of the Carthaginians passed over it with safety. In the meantime, P. Cornelius Scipio, that

subrians

The but a little before was come unto Massilia, still heard Boians news of Hannibal's army. Wherefore, to be more and In-assured of the matter, he sent a band of choice horsemen to discover what the enemies' intent was: who making great speed as they were commanded, met by chance with five hundred horsemen of the Numidians, whom Hannibal had also sent to bring him word of the Roman army. So, they first sodainly gave charge upon the Numidians, and after a hot and valiant conflict between both the parties, in the end the Romans overcoming them, they made them fly, but with great loss of their men: howbeit the greatest loss and slaughter fell upon the enemies. So Hannibal by this means found where the Romans lay, and stood in a great doubt with himself, whether he should keep on his way into Italy, or else lead his army against the Consul that then was, and so to prove his hap and success. At length, debating many ways in his mind, and uncertain which way he would determine: the ambassadors of the Boians persuaded him to leave all other devices, and to go on into Italy. For before that Hannibal had passed over the mountains Pyrenees, the Boians having by craft taken the Roman ambassadors, and done great mischief unto Manlius the Prætor, and enticed the Insubrians also: they were revolted from the Romans, and took part with Hannibal, and only because the Romans had replenished the cities of Placentia and Cremona with people, and had made them colonies to Rome. So Hannibal being ruled by their counsel, raised his camp, and keeping the river-side, still going against the river: in few days he came to the place which the Gauls do call the Island, the which the

river of Arar and Rhodanus coming from divers revolt mountains do make there. So at this present, there from the is the famous city of Lyons in Gaul, which they say was built long time after, by Plancus Munatius. From thence he came to the country of the Allobroges, and having pacified the variance betwixt two brethren, for the realm, he came through the country of the Castinians and Vocontians, to the river of Durance. The head of this river cometh from the Alps, and from thence running with a swift stream, falleth into the river of Rhone; and as it oftentimes changeth her course, so hath it in manner no passable ford. Yet Hannibal having passed it over, he led his army unto the Alps, through open and plain countries, as far as he could: howbeit as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Insomuch that some that were living at that time, did affirm, that they heard Hannibal himself say, that he had lost above thirty thousand men, and the most part of his horsemen. For he was forced not only to fight with the inhabitants of the mountains, but also compelled to make ways through the straits: so that in certain places of the highest rocks, he was driven to make passages through, by force of fire and vinegar. when he had passed the Alps in fifteen days' space, he came down into the valley, not far from the city of Turin. Whereby it seemeth to me, that he passed over the mountain they commonly call Geneva, the which on the one side of it hath the river of Druentia, and on the other side it goeth down to the city of Turin. Now it is hard to say truly, what number of men he had when he was come into Italy: because of men's diversities of opinions.

army in

Hanni- For some write, that he had a hundred thousand bal's footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen: others also write, that he had twenty thousand footmen, and six thousand horsemen, all Africans and Spaniards. But others, reckoning the Gauls and Ligurians, do count fourscore thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his army was so great, as the first men report, and specially having passed through so many countries, and also received such loss as he had: neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters do make it, if a man will consider the famous exploits and great enterprises he did afterwards. So that I like their opinions best, which keep the mean between them both: considering that he brought into Italy, the better part of fourscore thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, the which he had levied in Spain: as it is manifestly known also, that a great number of the Ligurians and Gauls came to join with him, for the great malice they bare unto the Romans, that gave no place nor ground unto the Carthaginians. So Hannibal being come from Turin, into the country of the Insubrians: he was met withal by Publius Cornelius Scipio, who marching with wonderful speed from Massilia, and having passed the rivers of Po and Ticin, he camped not far from the enemy. So shortly after, both the generals being come into the field to view each other's camp, the horsemen of either side grew to skirmish, which continued long, and was not to be discerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the Romans seeing the Consul hurt, and also that the horsemen of the Numidians, by little and little came to compass them

in: they were driven to give ground, and so prettily Hanniretired, defending the Consul the best they could bal's first to save him, and so at length recovered their conflicts camp. It is reported that Publius Cornelius Scipio, Romans was saved at that time through his son's help, who afterwards was called African, and at that time was but a young stripling: whose praise though it was wonderful in so green a youth, yet it is likely to be true, because of the famous and valiant acts that he did afterwards. Now Scipio having proved how much his enemy was stronger than himself in horsemen: he determined to place his camp so, as his footmen might be in best safety, and also fight with greatest advantage. And therefore the next night following he passed the river of Po, and made as little noise as he could, and went unto Placentia. The like shortly after did T. Sempronius Longus, who had been restored from banishment by the Senate, and sent for out of Sicily: because both the Consuls should govern the commonwealth by one self authority. Hannibal also followed them both with all his army, and pitched his camp near unto the river of Trebia: hoping that because both camps lay so near together, some occasion would be offered to fight, the which he chiefly desired, both because he could not long maintain war for lack of victuals, as also that he mistrusted the fickleness of the Gauls. Who like as they soon fell in league and friendship with him, drawn unto it with hope of change, and with the fame also of his victory obtained: so he mistrusted that upon any light occasion, as if the war should continue any long time in their country) they would turn all the hate they bare unto the Romans, against him,

Hannihal

Ambush as the only author of this war. For these respects laid by therefore, he devised all the means he could to come to battell. In the meantime, Sempronius the other Consul, met with a troop of the enemies, loden with spoil, straggling up and down the fields, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like success of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withal: he had good hope of victory, if once both the armies might come to fight. Therefore being marvellous desirous to do some noble enterprise before Scipio were recovered of his hurt, and that the new Consul should be chosen: he determined to join battell against the will of his other colleague and fellow - Consul Scipio, who thought nothing could be to less purpose, than to put all the state and common-wealth in jeopardy, specially having all the whole Gauls in manner in the field against him. Now, Hannibal had secret intelligence of all this variance, by spials he had sent into the enemies' camp. Wherefore, he being politic and subtile as he was, found out a place straight between both camps. covered over with bushes and briers, and there he placed his brother Mago to lie in ambush, with a company of chosen men. Then he commanded the horsemen of the Numidians, to scurry to the trenches of the Romans, to entice him to come to battell: and thereupon made the residue of his army to eat, and so put them in very good order of battell, to be ready upon any occasion offered. Now the Consul Sempronius, at the first tumult of the Numidians, suddenly sent his horsemen to encounter them, and after them put out six thousand footmen, and in the end, came himself out of his

camp with all his army. It was then in the middest to entrap of winter, and extreme cold, and specially in the Sempro-places enclosed about the Alps, and the mountain nius Apennine. Now the Numidians as they were commanded, enticed the Romans by little and little on this side the river of Trebia, until they came to the place where they might discern their ensigns: and then they suddenly turned upon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the Numidians, oftentimes to fly of set purpose, and then to stay upon the sudden when they see time, to charge their enemy more hotly and fiercely than before. Whereupon Sempronius incontinently gathered his horsemen together, and did set his men in battell ray, as time required, to give charge upon his enemy, that stayed for him in order of battell. For Hannibal had cast his men into squadrons, ready upon any occasion. The skirmish began first by the light horsemen, and afterwards increased hotter by supply of the men of arms: howbeit the Roman knights being unable to bear the shock of the enemies, they were quickly broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with such fury and noble courage, that they had been able to have resisted, so they had fought but with footmen only. But on the one side, the horsemen and elephants made them afraid, and on the other side the footmen followed them very lustily, and fought with great fury against famished and frozen men. Wherefore the Romans not withstanding, suffering all the miseries that vexed them on every aide, with an unspeakable courage and magnanimity, such as was above their force and strength: they fought still, until that Mago coming

Hanni- out of his ambush, came and suddenly assailed them bal's with great shouts and cries, and that the middle squadron of the Carthaginians also (through Hannibal's commandment) flew upon the Cenomanians.

Then the Romans seeing their confederates fly, their hearts were done, and utterly discouraged. It is said that there were ten thousand footmen of the Romans got to Placentia, and came through the enemies. The rest of the army that fled, were most part of them slain by the Carthaginians. The Consul Sempronius also escaped very narrowly from the enemies. The victory cost Hannibal the setting on also: for he lost a great number of his men, and the most part of all his elephants were slain. After this battell, Hannibal overcame all the country, and did put all to fire and sword, and took also certain towns: and with a few of his men made a great number of the countrymen fly, that were disorderly gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the spring, he brought his army into the field sooner than time required: and meaning to go into Tuscany, he was driven back by a great tempest at the very top of the height of the Apennine, and so compelled to bring his army about Placentia: howbeit shortly after he put himself again into the field for divers urgent and necessary causes. For had he not saved himself by that policy, he had almost been taken tardy by the ambush of the Gauls: who being angry with him that the war continued so long in their country, they sought to be revenged of him, as the only author and occasion of the war. Therefore perceiving it was time for him to avoid this danger, he made all the haste he could to lead his army into some other province. Furthermore,

he thought it would increase his estimation much He lost among strangers and also greatly encourage his own one of his people, if he could make the power of the Carthaginians to seem so great, and also their captain to be of so noble a courage, as to dare to make war so near to the city of Rome. All things therefore set apart, he marched with his camp by the mountain Apennine, and so coming through the country of the Ligurians, he came into Tuscany, by the way that bringeth them into the champion country, and to the marishes about the river of Arnus. The river of Arnus at that time was very high, and had overflown all the fields thereabouts. Hannibal therefore marching with so great an army as he had, could not avoid it, but that he must needs lose a number of his men and horse, before he could get out of those evil-favoured marishes. Insomuch that he himself lost one of his eyes, by reason of the great pains he had taken day and night without sleep or rest, and also through the evil air: though sleep or rest, and also through the evil air: though he was carried upon a high elephant's back, which only was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meantime, C. Flaminius Consul, to whom the charge of Sempronius' army was given: he was come unto Aretium against the Senate's mind, who were marvellously offended with him, because he left his companion Cn. Servilius at Rome, and went unto his province by stealth as it were, without the furniture of a Consul and his officers. This was a very hearty man of nature and officers. This was a very hasty man of nature, and one that the people had brought to that dignity and office: so that he was become so proud and insolent that men might see he would hazard all things without wit or judgement. Hannibal having intelligence

Battell thereof, thought it the best way to anger the Consul, betwixt and to do what he could possible to allure him into Hannibal and the field, before his fellow-Consul should come Flami- to join with him. Therefore, he marching forward nius with his camp through the country of Fæsulæ, and Aretium, he burnt and spoiled all the country thereabouts, and filled them all with fear, never leaving to destroy all before him, until he came to the mountains Cortonenses, and so to the lake called Trasimene. When he had viewed the place he went about to surprise his enemy by some ambush: whereupon he conveyed certain horsemen under the hills, hard by the straight that goeth unto Trasihills, hard by the straight that goeth unto Trassmene, and behind the mountains also, he placed his light horsemen. Then he himself with the rest of his army came down into the field, supposing that the Consul would not be quiet: and so it fell out. For hot stirring heads are easily entrapped, and fall into the enemies' ambush, and oftentimes do put all in hazard, because they will follow no counsel nor good advice. C. Flaminius therefore seeing their country utterly spoiled, the corn destroyed and cut down, and the houses burnt: he made great haste to lead his army against the enemy contrary to all men's minds, who would have had him tarried for his companion Cn. Servilius the other Consul. So even at sunset, when he was come to the straits of the lake of Trasimene, he caused his camp to stay there, although his men were not weary with the long journey they had taken by the way. So the next morning by break of day making no view of the country, he went over the mountains. Then Hannibal who long before was prepared for this, did but stay for the opportunity

to work his feat: when he saw the Romans come by the into the plain, he gave a signal unto all his men to give charge upon the enemy. Thereupon the Carthaginians breaking out on every side, came before and behind, and on the flanks to assail the enemy, being shut in between the lake and the mountains. Now in contrary manner, the Romans beginning to fight out of order, they fought enclosed together, that they could not see one another, as if it had been dark: so that it is to be wondered at, how, and with what mind they fought it out so long, considering they were compassed in on every side. For they fought it out above three hours' space, with such fury and courage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that present time, neither did they offer to fly or stir a foot: until they heard that the Consul C. Flaminius going from rank to rank to encourage his men, was slain by a man of arms called Ducarius. Then when they had lost their general, and being void of all hope, they fled, some towards the mountains, and others towards the lake, of the which, divers of them flying, were overtaken and slain. So there were slain fifteen thousand in the field, and there escaped about ten thousand. Furthermore the report went, that there were six thousand footmen which forcibly (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountain, and there stayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came down upon Hannibal's promise: but they were betrayed, and slain, every mother's son of them. After this great victory, Hannibal did let divers Italian prisoners go free without ransom paying, after he had used them marvellous courteously: because that the fame of his clemency and courtesy

natural Hannibal

The should be known unto all nations, whereas indeed his own nature was contrary to all vertues. For he was hasty and cruel of nature, and from his youth was brought up in wars, and exercised in murder, treason, and ambushes laid for enemies: and never cared for law, order, nor civil government. this means he became one of the cruellest captains, the most subtile, and craftiest to deceive and entrap his enemy, that ever was. For as he was always prying to beguile the enemy: so those whom he could not overcome in war by plain force, he went about to entrap by sleight and policy. The which appeareth true by this present battell, and also by the other he fought against the Consul Sempronius, by the river of Trebia. But let us return to our matter, and leave this talk till another time. Now when the news of the overthrow and death of the Consul Flaminius was reported at Rome, having lost the most part of his army: there was great moan and lamentation made through all the city of Rome. Some bewailing the common misery of the commonwealth, others lamenting their private particular loss, and some also sorrowing for both together. But indeed it was a woful sight, to see a world of men and women to run to the gates of the city, every one privately asking for their kin and friends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very sorry and pensive, despairing of the safety of their sons, died suddenly for the extreme joy they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they saw their sons alive and safe. At the self same time, Cn. Servilius, the other Consul with C. Flaminius, did send him four thousand horsemen, not understanding yet of the battell that was

fought at the lake of Trasymene. But when they Q. Fabius heard of the overthrow of their men by the way, Maximus and therefore thought to have fled into Umbria: they were compassed in by the horsemen of the enemies, and so brought unto Hannibal. Now the empire of Rome being brought into so great extremity and danger, because of so many small losses one in the neck of another: it was ordained, that an extraordinary governor or magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an office specially used to be reserved for the last hope and remedy, in most extreme danger and peril, of the state and commonwealth. But because the Consul Servilius could not return at that time to Rome, all the ways being kept by the enemy: the people contrary to their custom, created Q. Fabius Dictator, (who afterwards attained the surname of Maximus, to say, very great) who likewise did name M. Minucius general of the horsemen. Now this Fabius was a grave and wise counsellor, and of great authority and estimation in the commonwealth: insomuch as the citizens had all their hope and confidence in him only, persuading themselves, that the honour of Rome might be better preserved under the government and conduct of such a general, rather than under the government of any other man whatsoever. So Fabius knowing it very well, after he had carefully and diligently given order for all things necessary: he departed from Rome, and when he had received the army of the late Consul Cn. Servilius, he added unto them two

other legions, and so went unto the enemy. Now Hannibal was gone from the lake of Trasymene, and went directly towards the city of Spoletum, to

The see if he could take it at the first assault. But Lingerer when he saw that the townsmen stood upon the ramparts of their walls, and valiantly defended themselves: he then left the town and destroyed the country as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into Apulia, through the marshes of Ancona, and the country of the Marsians and Pelignians. The Dictator followed him at the heels, and camped hard by the city of Arpi, not far from the camp of the enemy, to the end to draw out the war at length. For the rashness and fool-hardiness of the former captains afore time, had brought the state of Rome into such misery: that they thought it a victory unto them, not to be overcome by the enemy, that had so often overcome them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the change and alteration of the captain. For, though Hannibal had set his men in battell ray, and afterwards perceiving his enemy stirred not, went and destroyed the country, hoping thereby to entice the Dictator to fight, when he should see the country of his confederates so spoiled, as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moved withal, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. Hannibal was in a marvellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often removed his camp, to the end that going divers ways, some occasion or opportunity might fall out to deceive the enemy, or else to give battell. So when he had passed the mountain Apennine, he came unto Samnium. But because shortly after, some of Campania, who having been taken prisoners by the lake of Trasy-

mene, had been set at liberty without ransom:

they putting him in hope that he might take the Hannicity of Capua, he made his army march forward, bal's and took a guide that knew the country, to bring stratahim unto Casinum. Now the guide overhearing the mounCasinum, understood it Casilinum, and so mistaking tains the sound of the word, brought the army a clean contrary way unto Calentinum, and Calenum, and from thence about Stella. So when they came into a country environed about with mountains and rivers, Hannibal knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guide to death. Fabius the Dictator, did in the meantime bear all this patiently, and was contented to give Hannibal liberty to take his pleasure which way he would: until he had gotten the mountains of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his garrison, being places of great advantage and commodity. So the army of the Carthaginians was in manner compassed in every way, and they must needs have died for famine in that place, or else have fled, to their great shame and dishonour: had not Hannibal by this stratagem prevented the danger. Who knowing the danger all his army stood in, and having spied a fit time for it: he commanded his soldiers to bring forth two thousand oxen which they had gotten in spoil in the fields, having great store of them, and then tying torches of fire-links unto their horns, he appointed the nimblest men he had to light them, and to drive the oxen up the hill to the top of the mountains, at the relief of the first watch. All this was duly executed according to his commandment, and the oxen running up to the top of the mountains with the torches burning, the whole army marched after them fair and softly. Now the

The dic- Romans that had long before placed a strong gartator sum- rison upon the mountains, they were afraid of this moned to strange sight, and mistrusting some ambush, they forthwith forsook their pieces and holds. himself mistrusting also that it was some stratagem of the enemy, kept his men within the camp, and could not well tell what to say to it. In the meantime, Hannibal got over the mountain, not far from the baths of Suessa, which the countrymen do call the tower of the baths, and brought all his army safe into Alba: and shortly after, he marched directly as though he would go to Rome, howbeit he suddenly turned out of the way, and went presently into Apulia. There he took the city of Gerunium, a very rich and wealthy town, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, and came and camped by Larinum, not far from the Carthaginian's camp. So he being sent for from Rome about weighty affairs of the state, there was no remedy but that he must needs depart from thence with all the speed he could: howbeit before he went, he left Marcus Minucius general of the horsemen, his lieutenant of all the army, and commanded him in his absence not once to stir nor to meddle with the enemies. For he was fully bent to follow his determination, which was: not to vex the enemy, nor to fight with him, though he were provoked unto it. Howbeit Marcus Minucius little regarding the Dictator's commandment, his back was no sooner turned, but he set upon a company of the enemies dispersed in the field aforaging, and slew a great number of them: and fought with the rest even into their camp. The rumour of this skirmish flew straight to Rome, and there was

such great account made of it, that it was esteemed The rashfor a victory: and the common people were so ness of joyful of it, that they straight made the power of Minucins the lieutenant, equal with the Dictator Fabius: the which was never heard of before. Fabius patiently bearing this extreme injury with a noble courage, having no way deserved it: he returned again unto the camp. Thus there were two Dictators at one self time (a thing never seen nor heard of before) who after they had divided the army between them, either of them commanded his army apart, as the Consuls were wont to do before. Marcus Minucius thereupon grew to such a pride and haughty mind, that one day he ventured to give battell, and made not his companion Fabius a counsel withal: the which Hannibal having so often overcome, durst scantly have enterprised. So he led his army into such a place, where the enemy had compassed them in: insomuch that Hannibal slew them at his pleasure, without any hope left them to escape, if Fabius had not come in time (as he did) to aid them, rather respecting the honour of his country, than remembering the private injury he had received. For he coming fresh with his army to the battell, made Hannibal afraid, that the Romans' legions had liberty to retire with safety. Whereby Fabius wan great fame for his wisdom and valiantness, both of his own soldiers, as also of the enemies themselves. For it was reported that Hannibal should say, returning into his camp: that in this battell he had overcome M. Minucius, but withal, that he was also overcome by Fabius. And Minucius' self also confessing Fabius' wisdom, and

The considering that (according to Hesiodus' saying) difference it was good reason to obey a better man than himself: he came with all his army unto Fabius' camp, and renouncing his authority, came and camp, and renouncing his authority, came and humbly saluted Fabius as his father, and all that day there was great joy, and rejoicing among the soldiers. So both the armies being placed in garrison for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Consuls! created: L. Paulus Æmilius, and C. Terentius Varro, one that of a mean man (through the favour of the common people) was brought to be Consul. So they had liberty and commission to levy a greater army than the generals before them had done. Whereby the legions were newly supplied, and also others added unto them, more than were before. Now when the Consuls were come into the army, as they were of several dispositions, so did they also observe diverse manners in their government. Lucius Paulus, who was a grave wise man, and one that purposed to follow Fabius' counsel and fashions: he did desire to draw out the war in length, and to stay the enemy without fighting. Varro on the other side was a hasty man, and venturous, and desired nothing but to fight. So it chanced, that not long after it was known, to the great cost and danger of the city of Rome, what difference there was betwixt the modesty of Æmilius, and the fool-hardiness of Varro. For Hannibal being afraid of some stir and tumult in his camp for lack of victuals, he departed from Gerunium, and going into the warmest place of Apulia, came and camped with all his army, by a village called Cannes. So he

was followed with both the Consuls, who came betwixt and camped severally hard by him, but so near the two one to another, that there was but the river of Consuls Aufid that parted them. This river as it is reported, doth alone divide the mountain of the Apennine, and taketh his head on that side of the mountain that lieth to the seaside, from whence it runneth to the sea Adriaticum. Now. Lucius Paulus finding that it was impossible for Hannibal being in a strange country to maintain so great an army of such sundry nations together: he was fully bent to tract time, and to avoid battell, persuading himself that it was the right and only way to overcome him, being as much to the enemies' disadvantage, as also marvellous profitable and beneficial for the commonwealth. And sure if C. Terentius Varro, had carried that mind, it had been out of all doubt, that Hannibal's army had been overthrown by the Romans, without stroke striking. Howbeit he had such a light head of his own, and was so fickle-minded, that he neither regarded wise counsel, nor Paulus Æmilius' authority: but in contrary manner would fall out with him, and also complained before the soldiers, for that he kept his men pent up, and idle whilst the enemy did put forth his men to the field in battell ray. So when his turn came, that he was absolutely to command the whole army, (for they both had absolute power by turns) he passed over the river of Aufid by break of day, and gave the signal of battell without the privity of his companion Æmilius, who rather followed him against his will than willingly, because he could do none otherwise. So he caused a scarlet coat of arms to

Battell at be put out very early in the morning, for a signal Cannes of battell. Hannibal on the other side was as

glad of it as might be possible, that he had occasion offered him to fight (considering that the continual delaying of battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his army over the river, and had straight put them in very good order. For he had taken great spoils of his enemies to furnish himself very bravely. Now the army of the Romans stood southward, insomuch that the south wind (which the men of the country call Vulturnus) blew full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrary manner had the vantage of the wind and sun upon their backs, and their battell stood in this manner. The Africans were placed in both the wings, and the Gauls and Spaniards set in a squadron in the midst. The light horsemen first began the skirmish, and after them followed the men of arms: and because the space betwixt the river and the footmen was very narrow, so as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruel fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So, the horsemen of the Romans being overthrown, the footmen came with such a lusty courage to receive the charge, that they thought they should not have day enough to fight. How-beit the over earnest desire they had to overcome their enemies, made their overthrow more miserable, than their joy and good hap was great at the beginning. For the Gauls and Spaniards, (who as we have said before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withstand the force of the Romans, they retired towards the Africans in the wings. The Romans perceiving that, ran upon

the enemy with all the fury they could, and had A stratathem in chase and fought with them, till they gem of Hannibal were gotten in the middest of them. Then the Carthaginians that were in both wings, came and compassed them in before they were aware. Moreover, there were five hundred of the Numidian horsemen, that colourably fled unto the Consuls, who received them very courteously, and placed them in the rearward of the army. They seeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, and did suddenly give them charge. Then the army of the Romans was utterly overthrown, and Hannibal obtained victory. Livy writeth that there were slain in this battell forty thousand footmen, and above two thousand seven hundred horsemen. Polybius saith, that there were many more slain. Well, letting this matter pass, it is certain that the Romans had never greater loss, neither in the first war with Africk, nor in the second by the Carthaginians, as this overthrow that was given at Cannes. For there was slain, the Consul Paulus Æmilius himself, a man undoubtedly deserving great praise, and that served his country and commonwealth even to the hour of death: Cn. Servilius, Consul the year before, he was also slain there, and many other that had been Consuls, Prætors, and others of such like dignity, captains, chieftains, and many other Senators and honest citizens, and that such a number of them, that the very cruelty itself of the enemy was satisfied. The Consul Terentius Varro, who was the only author of all this war and slaughter, seeing the enemy victor every way, he saved himself by flying. And Tuditanus a chieftain of a band, coming through his enemies

Romans

The con- with a good company of his men, he came unto stancy Canusium. Thither came also about ten thousand of the men, that had escaped from their enemies, as out of a dangerous storm: by whose consent, the charge of the whole army was given unto Appius Pulcher, and also unto Cornelius Scipio, who afterwards did end this war. Thus was the end of the battell fought by Cannes. News flew straight to Rome of tought by Cannes. News flew straight to Rome of this overthrow, the which though they justly filled all the city with sorrow and calamity, yet the Senate and people of Rome kept always their countenance and greatness, even in this extreme misery. Insomuch they had not only good hope to keep their city safe, but furthermore they levied a new army and made young men to bear armour, and yet left not Sicily and Spain unprovided in the meantime: so that they made the world to wonder at them, to consider these things how that sould in at them, to consider these things how they could in so great calamity and trouble have so noble hearts, and such wise counsel. But to let pass the former overthrows, and great losses they sustained at Ticinus, at Trebia, and at the lake of Trasvmene: what nation or people could have borne this last plague whereby the whole force and power of the Romans was in manner utterly destroyed and overthrown? and yet the people of Rome so held it out, and that with so great wisdom and counsel: that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Besides to help them the more, Hannibal being conqueror, trifling time in taking his leisure, and refreshing his army: he gave the Romans leisure that were overcome to take breath again, and to restore themselves. For doubtless, if Hannibal being conqueror, had immediately after the victory obtained, brought his army directly to Rome: surely in exthe Romans had been utterly undone, or at the least tremity had been compelled to have put all in venture. So it is reported, that Hannibal oftentimes afterwards repented himself he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counsel which wished him to let his soldiers rest, than Maharbal's advice, general of his horsemen, who would have had him gone straight to Rome, and so to have ended all this war. But he seeing Hannibal's delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now common in every man's mouth: Hannibal, thou knowest how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to use victory. But what? all things are not (as Nestor saith in Homer) given to men altogether. For some had no skill to overcome, others knew not how to follow their victory, and some also could not keep that they had won. Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes that made war with the Romans, was one of the famousest captains that ever was: yet as men write of him, though he was marvellous fortunate to conquer realms, he would never keep them. Even so in like manner, some captains have been endued with excellent vertues, and yet notwithstanding have been insufficient in martial affairs, deserving praise in a captain: as we may read in divers histories. Now after this battell fought by Cannes, the Atellanians, the Calatinians, the Samnites, after them also, the Bruttians, Lucanians, and divers other nations and people of Italy, carried away with the fame of this great victory: they all came and yielded to Hannibal. And the city of Capua also (which Hannibal was desirous to have won long before) forsaking their

The city old friends and confederates, made new league and of Capua friendship with Hannibal, the which wan him great estimation with other nations. For at that time the city of Capua was very populous and of great power, and the chiefest city of estimation of all Italy next unto Rome. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of Capua, it is certain that it was a colony of the Tuscans, the which was first called Vulturnum, and after that Capua, by the name of their governor called Capius: or otherwise, (as it is most likely) because of the fields round about it. For on every side of it, there are goodly pleasant fields, full of all kinds of fruits growing on the earth, called in Greek Kepi. Furthermore, all the country is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the sea there dwell the Suessanians, the Cumanians, and the Neapolitans. On firm land also towards the north, are the Calentinians, and the Calenians. On the east and south side, the Daunians and the Nolians. Furthermore, the place is of a strong situation, and on the one side is compassed in with the sea, and on the other side with great high mountains. Now the Campanians flourished marvellously at that time: and therefore, seeing the Romans in manner utterly undone by the battell they had lost at Cannes, they quickly took part with the stronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore besides that they made league with Hannibal, they received him into their city with great triumph, hoping that the war being ended, they should be the chiefest and wealthied of all Italy. But mark how men are commonly deceived in their expectation. Now, when Hannibal came into the city of Capua, there was a world of

people that went to see him, for the great fame they Conheard of him. For there was no other talk, but of spiracy his happy victories he had won of the enemy. So against Hannibal being come into the city, they brought him unto Pacuvius' house, his very familiar friend, who was a man of great wealth and authority, as any among all the Campanians. Then he made him a notable banquet, to the which no citizens were bidden, saving only Jubellius Taurea a stout man, and the son of Pacuvius his host: who through his father's means, with much ado, was reconciled to Hannibal, for that Hannibal hated him as he did, because he followed Decius Magius, who always took the Romans' part. But now let us consider a little I pray you, how great men sometime unwares are subject to great dangers and misfortunes. For this young man dissembling his reconciliation with Hannibal, watching time and occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feast, while they were making merry, he took his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turn, to redeem the favour and goodwill again of the Romans, the which they had lost through their great wickedness. Then he told him how he was determined to kill Hannibal, the enemy of his country, and all Italy besides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authority, was marvellously amazed withal, to hear what his son said: wherefore embracing him with the tears running down his cheeks, he prayed him to leave off his sword, and to let his guest be safe in his house. The which his son in the end yielded to with great ado. Thus Hannibal having before with-

Hannibal stood all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of at Capus the Gauls, and having brought with him also a great army from the sea, and the farthest part of Spain, through so many great and mighty nations: he scaped killing very narrowly by the hand of a young man, whilst he was at the table making merry. The next morning Hannibal had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promises, and told them many things, which the Campanians easily believed, and therefore flattered themselves, that they should be Lords of all Italy: howbeit they reckoned beside their host. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit themselves to Hannibal: that it seemed they had not only suffered him to come into their city, but that they had also made him their absolute lord, like men that neither remembered, nor regarded their liberty. And this appeareth plainly by one example I will shew you amongst many. Hannibal willed them to deliver him Decius Magius, the head of the contrary faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humility, but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the marketplace, in the presence of all the people: who, because he would not forsake the ancient league and friendship with the Romans, had shewed himself a more faithful citizen to his country and commonwealth, than unto the barbarous people. Now whilst these things passed thus in Capua, Mago (Hannibal's brother) went to Carthage, to report the news of his happy victory to his countrymen, which they had won of the enemies: and withal, before the Senate to declare the noble exploits of arms done by Hannibal, and to prove the words

true he spake, he poured out at the coming in of Marcelthe Senate house, the golden rings which had been lus' victaken from the Roman knights: of the which there tory at were (as some do report) about a bushel full, and as other some do write, about three bushels full and a half. After that he prayed a new supply for Hannibal's army: which was granted him by the Senate with greater joy, than afterwards it was sent. For the Carthaginians persuaded themselves by the things present, that the war would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fair, they thereupon decreed to continue the war, and to aid Hannibal's attempts, by levying of soldiers. Now no man withstood this new supply to be sent to Hannibal, but Hanno, a perpetual enemy of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the Carthaginians weighed not his counsel and advice then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsel for them, as oftentimes before he had used the like. So when Hannibal had made league with the Campanians, he led his camp before the city of Nola, hoping they would yield of themselves without compulsion. And certainly so had it come to pass, had not the sudden coming thither of Marcellus the Prætor been, who both kept the people in, pacified the sedition, and repulsed the enemy that was coming into the city, by a sally he made upon him at three several gates, chasing and killing them even to their camp with great loss. This is that noble captain and valiant soldier Marcellus, who with a noble courage made the world know that Hannibal was not invincible. Hannibal perceiving that there was no other way, but to let Nola alone till another time: he came to Acerræ, and took and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on

at Capua

Hanni- further with great power unto Casilinum, a fit place bal's to offend the Capuans, he went about to win them diers that lay there in garrison: but when he saw that with ease neither his fair promises, nor otherwise his threats could prevail, he left part of his army to besiege the city, and bestowed the residue in garrisons before Howbeit, he chose for his the winter season. chiefest seat and strength the city of Capua, which stood very pleasantly, and had plenty of all things. There it was that Hannibal's soldiers being used to lie hard, and easily to away with cold, hunger and thirst, became then of valiant men, rank cowards: of strong men weaklings: and of serviceable and ready men, timorous and effeminate persons, through the daily pleasures they enjoyed at will. For sweet enticing pleasures, do corrupt the strength and courage of the mind, and man's disposition unto vertue: moreover they spoil his wit, and take all good counsel from him, all which things are dangerous for men. And therefore Plato rightly calleth pleasure, the bait of all evils. And doubtless in this case, the pleasures of Campania did hurt the Carthaginians more than otherwise the highest Alps. and all the armies of the Romans did. For one only winter passed over in such pleasure and wantonness, was of such great force to extinguish the vehement courage in the soldiers: that when they were brought into the field at the beginning of the spring, sure you would rightly have said that they had forgotten all martial discipline. Thus the winter being passed over, Hannibal returned again to Casilinum, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yield unto him, after they had abidden so long a siege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all

extremity, before they would yield to their so cruel Hannian enemy, although they lacked victuals. Where- bal's fore living first by spelt, or beer barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had received of the began to Romans, by the river of Vulturnus: they held it out so long, that Hannibal in the end being angry with the continuance of the siege, he was content to take the city upon composition, the which he had refused before. Now this war in the which the Carthaginians had always had great victories and good fortune, and received any loss worthy of memory: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great change and alteration. For the league that was made with Philip king of Macedon, and the new aid and supply that was sent from Carthage, and the taking of Petilia, Consentia, and of other cities of the country of the Bruttians, kept the Carthaginians in good hope. On the other side, the great victories which the Romans had won upon the enemies of Spain, and Sardinia, did greatly encourage them, and gave them also good hope that their affairs would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent captains, Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, and Marcus Marcellus, a man most worthy of praise for martial discipline: who so wisely governed the affairs of the state, that Hannibal found he should make war with an enemy, no less politic and wise, than hardy and valiant. For, first of all, he was driven from the city of Cumæ, with great slaughter of his men, by Sempronius Gracchus, and forced to raise his siege: and shortly after he was overcome by Marcellus, in a battell he fought at Nola. For there were slain above a thousand Romans, and

fail him

in Nola

Two six thousand Carthaginians slain, and taken flying. factions Now it is easily seen what great importance that battel was of: because Hannibal immediately upon it, raised his siege from Nola, and went into Apulia to winter his army there. By this means came the Romans to recover again, as out of a great sickness, and sent a great power against the enemy: and were not content only to keep their own, but they durst also invade others. So their chiefest intent was, to besiege the city of Capua, for the injury they had but lately received of the Campanians. For incontinently after the battell, was fought at Cannes, they forsook the Romans, even in their greatest extremity and misery, and took part with Hannibal that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleasures their city had received in old time by the Romans. On the other side the Campanians, knowing they had made a fault, and being afraid of this new preparation of the Romans, they sent to Hannibal into Apulia, to pray him to come and aid their city (being of the number of their confederates) in their greatest necessity. Hannibal departed out of Apulia without delay, and came on with great journeys into Campania, and camped by Tifata over Capua, whereby he rather deferred till another time, than prevented the plague hanging over the Campanians' heads: so spoiling the country round about Naples, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take Nola by treason. For in Nola, the people and Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were likewise in divers other cities of Italy. The common people desirous of change, favoured Hannibal and the noblemen, and men of authority, took part with the people of

Rome. So when Hannibal went to take the city Tarenof Nola, Marcellus met him with his army in battel tum won of Noia, Marcellus met nim with his atmy in batter ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to son fight with him, even at the first meeting. There the Romans overcame, and drave the enemy with such manhood and readiness: that if the horsemen which had taken another way had come in in time, as Marcellus commanded them: no question the Carthaginians had been utterly overthrown. Hannibal after he had retired his army into his camp with great slaughter, he shortly after departed thence, and went into the country of the Salentinians. For certain young Tarentines that had been taken prisoners in former battels, where the Romans had been overthrown, and that were afterwards delivered free without ransom: they to shew themselves thankful, had put Hannibal in hope to deliver him the city of Tarentum, so he would bring his army before the city. Hannibal enticed by their promises, did what he could to obtain it, because he might have some city upon the sea in his power, the which he had desired of long time. And indeed, of all the cities upon the sea-coast, there was none so meet as Tarentum, to bring aid out of Greece thither, and also to furnish the camp with many things that were to be occupied daily. So though this thing was drawn out in length, by the garrison of the Romans that valiantly resisted: yet Hannibal never gave over his enterprise, until that Nico and Philomenes the authors of the treason, had delivered him the city into his hands. The Romans kept only the castel, the which is in manner environed with the sea on three sides: and on the fourth side, that lay upon the firm land, it was very strong with ram-

Taren- pers and bulwarks. Hannibal perceiving that he tum won could do no good on that side, because of their great strength: he determined to shut up the mouth of the haven of Tarentum, hoping that was the only way to make the Romans yield, when their victuals should be cut from them. Yet the enterprise seemed very hard, because the enemies had all the straits of the haven in their power, and the ships also that should besiege the issue of the haven, were shut up in a narrow little place, and were to be drawn out of the haven, at the foot of the castell, to bring them into the next sea. But when never a man of the Tarentines could devise how to bring this enterprise to pass: Hannibal himself perceived that these ships might be drawn out of the haven with certain engines, and then to cart them through the city to the sea. So having set cunning workmen in hand with the matter, the ships within few days after were taken out of the haven, and carried into the sea, and then came and shewed before the bar of the haven. Thus the city of Tarentum, being won again, after the Romans had kept it the space of a hundred years: Hannibal leaving the castell besieged both by sea and land, he returned unto Samnium. For the Consuls of the Romans had spoiled and stripped the Campanians that went out to forage, and having brought their army before Capua, they determined (if it might be) to win it by siege. Wherefore Hannibal being very sorry for the siege of Capua, he came with all his army against the enemy: and seeing shortly after that the Romans did not refuse to fight, they both marched forward, and doubtless to fight, it would have proved a bloody battell, had not Sempronius' army severed

them as he did, which came into Campania, under by Hannithe conduct of Cn. Cornelius, after they had lost bal Sempronius Gracchus in the country of Luke. For they seeing this army far off, before they could know who they were, the Romans and Cartha-ginians both were afraid and so retired into their camp. Afterwards the Consuls went into several countries, the one into Luke, and the other towards Cumæ, to make Hannibal remove from Capua: who went into Lucania, and found occasion to fight with M. Centenius, who very fondly and desperately did hazard his army left him in charge, against a subtile and dangerous enemy. The battel being begun, M. Centenius was slain valiantly fighting, and few other escaped. After this also there happened another loss. For Hannibal returning shortly after into Apulia, he met with another army of the Romans, the which Fabius the Prætor led, who also entrapped that army by ambushes, and slew the most of them: so that of twenty thousand men two thousand scant escaped the edge of the sword. In the meantime the Consuls perceiving that Hannibal was gone, they came with all their army unto Capua, and did besiege it round. This being come to Hannibal's ear, he came with his army into Campania, in very good order and well appointed: and at his first coming he set upon the camp of the Romans, having first willed the Campanians at the self same instant to make a sally out on them. The Roman Consuls at the first tumult of their enemies,

divided the army between them, and went against them. The Campanians were easily driven again into the city: howbeit against Hannibal, the battell

Hanni- was very bloody. For if ever he proved himself hal's a valiant captain or noble soldier, that day he strata-shewed it. He attempted also to surprise the Romans by some stratagem. For as his men were about to break into the Romans' camp, he sent one thither that had the Latin tongue excellently well, who cried out, by the commandment of the Consuls, that the Romans should save themselves in the next mountains, considering they had almost lost all their camp and strength. This cry made on the sudden, had easily moved them that heard it, if the Romans being throughly acquainted with Hannibal's subtilties, had not found out his deceit. Wherefore one of them encouraging another, they made the enemy retire, and compelled him in despite of his beard to fly into his camp. When Hannibal had done what he could by all device and practice possible to raise his siege from Capua, and perceiving all would not serve, being sorry for the danger of his confederates: he then determined to call a council, the which he had passed over a long time, having reserved it for the last refuge. For he trussed up his carriage, and marched away with his army, and as quietly as he could, he passed over the river of Vulturnus, and coasting through the countries of the Sidicinians, Alifamians, and Cassinians, he came to Rome with ensigns displayed, hoping thereby he should make them raise their siege, being so earnestly bent to win Capua. This flying straight to Rome by couriers, they were so afraid there, as Rome was never in like fear it stood in then. For they saw their mortal enemy come to them with ensigns displayed, whom they had so often proved, almost to the utter de-

struction of their empire: and now they saw him present, whom they could not resist being absent, cometh to threatening to bring the Senate and people of Rome into subjection. So all Rome being in fear and tumult, it was ordained that Fulvius Flaccus (one of the Consuls lying before Capua) should be sent for home. And that the new Consuls Sulpicius Galba, and Cornelius Centumalus, should lie in contract of the site and that Consuls Sulpicius camp out of the city: and that C. Calpurnius Prætor, should put a strong garrison into the Capitol, and also that the citizens that had borne any office or dignity, should be appointed by their countenance and authority, to pacify the sudden tumults that might happen in the city. So Hannibal marched forward without stay, till he came to the river of Anio, and there camped within twentyfour furlongs of Rome: and shortly after that, he came with two thousand horse so near unto Rome, that riding from the gate Collina, unto Hercules' temple, he had leisure to view at his pleasure, the situation and walls of so great a city. Fulvius Flaccus seeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certain men at arms of the Romans against sent out certain men at arms of the Romans against him: who coming with great fury to give charge upon him as they were commanded, they easily sent him packing. The next morning Hannibal brought his army out of the camp, and did set them in battell ray, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The Romans on the other side did the like. So, both armies marched one against the other with such life and courage, that to see them, they appeared men that feared no danger, so they might obtain the victory that day. For on the one side, the Carthaginians

A wonder were to fight (in manner) for the empire of the world: the which they thought depended upon this battell, as being the last they should fight. The Romans in contrary manner, they were to fight for their country, liberty, and their goods to see whether they could keep them, or that they should come to their enemies' hands. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memory. For as they were ready set in battell ray, tarrying but for the signal of battell to give charge: there fell such a wonderful great shower and storm upon them, that both of them were driven in spite of their teeth, to bring back their army into their forts again. The next day following in like manner, unto the which it seemed the battell had been deferred: when they had again both of them set their men in battell ray, there fell the like storm upon them, which did as much hurt the Romans and Carthaginians, as the first: so that it forced them only to look to save themselves, and not to think otherwise to fight. Hannibal perceiving this, he turned to his friends and told them, that the first time he thought not to win Rome, and that at the second time the occasion was taken from him. So there was a thing that greatly troubled Hannibal, and that was this. That though he came so near to Rome, with an army of horsemen and footmen: yet he heard that the Romans had sent aid into Spain, and that they had redeemed the country where he had been, at a far greater price than reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withal, he caused all the goldsmiths' and bankers' shops of the Roman citizens to be sold by the crier. But afterwards casting with himself what a hard enterprise it was to take the city of Rome,

or else being afraid to lack victuals: (for he had Hannibal stored himself only but for ten days) he raised his fell in camp, and removing thence came unto the holy love wood of the goddess Feronia, and rifled the rich temple there, and afterwards went thence into the country of the Bruttians and Lucanians. The Capuans having intelligence thereof being left out of all hope: they yielded up their city unto the Romans. The city of Capua being thus yielded up, and brought again to the subjection of the Romans, it was of great importance to all the people of Italy, and withal brought a great desire of change. Hannibal himself also following evil counsel, did spoil and destroy many cities he could not keep: whereby he did stir up the hearts of divers nations against him. For where before when he was conqueror, he had often let prisoners go without ransom paying, through which liberality he had won the hearts of many men: even so at that present time, his bar-barous cruelty made divers cities (misliking to be subject to the Carthaginians) to rebel against him, and to take part with the Romans. Amongst them was Salapia, the which was yielded up unto the Consul Marcellus, by Blacius means, chief of all the Roman faction: and a band also of choice horsemen which was left there in garrison, were in manner slain every man of them. This is the city where Hannibal fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reprove his immoderate lust and lasciviousness. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continency of this captain, say that he did never eat lying, and never drank above a pint of wine, neither when he came to make war in Italy, nor after that he returned into

Thedeath Africk. Some there be also that say, Hannibal of Fulvius was cruel and unconstant, and subject to divers such other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chastity or incontinency. But they report that his wife was a Spaniard, born in Castulo, a good town: and that the Carthaginians granted her many things, and trusted her very much, because of the great faith and constancy of that nation. Now Hannibal after he had lost (as we have told you) the city of Salapia: he found the means to cry quittance, and to make the Romans lose more than he had lost. For at the self same time Fulvius Vice-consul, lay besieging of Herdonia, hoping to win the city without resistance. And because he stood in no fear of any enemy round about him, (for Hannibal was gone into the country of the Bruttians) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martial affairs, contrary to the nature of the Roman captains. Hannibal being advertised thereof by spials, would not lose such a goodly opportunity: and therefore coming into Apulia with his army ready, he came so hastily unto Herdonia, that he had almost stolen upon Fulvius, unprovided in his camp. Howbeit the Romans valiantly received the first charge with such courage, that they fought it out longer than it was looked for. Notwithstanding in the end, as the Romans two years before that had been overcome not far from thence, with their Consul Fulvius: even so likewise under the conduct of this Fulvius Vice-consul, the Roman legions were utterly overthrown, and their captain slain, with the most part of his army. The Consul Marcellus was at that time in the city of Samnium, who being advertised of this great overthrow, de-

sired to be even with him: and though it seemed Diverse he came too late to help things past remedy, yet he brought his army into the country of the Lucanians, whither he understood Hannibal was gone after his with victory, and came and camped directly over against Hannibal his enemy, and soon after came to battell. The which the Carthaginians refused not, but gave such a fierce onset on either side, that they fought it out till sunset, and no man knew who had the better, and so the night parted them. The next morning the Romans shewing again in field in battell ray, made it known that the enemies were afraid of them. For Hannibal kept his men within the camp, and the next night following stole away without any noise, and went into Apulia. Marcellus also followed him foot by foot, and sought to put all to hazard by some notable battell: for he bare himself thus in hand, that of all the Roman captains there was none matchable with Hannibal but himself, either in counsel, wit, or policy: or else in martial discipline, or warlike stratagems. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any set battell with the enemy: for after he had made a few light skirmishes, because he would not trouble his soldiers any more in vain, he bestowed them in garrison for the winter time. At the beginning of the next spring, procured partly by Fabius' letters (who was one of the new Consuls for that year,) and partly also through his own disposition: he brought out his garrisons sooner than they were looked for, and came with his army against Han-nibal, who lay at that time at Canusium. Now it chanced, that through the nearness of both their

Hanni camps, and the good desire they both had to fight:
bal's in few days they fought three several times. The
words
of Mar. cellus in manner with like hope of both sides, and that it could not be judged which of them had the better: they both of purpose retired into their camp again. The second day Hannibal was conqueror, after he had slain almost two thousand seven hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to flight. The third day, the Romans to recover the shame and dishonour they had lost the day before: they were the first that prayed they might fight, and so Marcellus led them out to battell. Hannibal wondering at their valiantness, said unto his people: that he dealt with an enemy that could neither be quiet conqueror, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloody and cruel than any that was before: because the Romans did their best to be revenged of their loss, and the Carthaginians on the other side were mad in their minds, to see that the vanquished durst provoke the vanquishers unto battell. In the end, the Romans being sharply reproved, and also persuaded by Marcellus to stick to it valiantly like men, that the news of their victory might come to Rome, before the news of their overthrow: they flew in among the prease of their enemies, and never left fighting, till that after they had thrice broken their enemies, they made them all fly. At the self same time Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum again, almost after the self same sort it was lost. This being reported unto Hannibal, he said: the Romans have also their Hannibal. The next year following, Marcellus and Crispinus were chosen Consuls. who

preparing to put themselves in readiness for war, He layeth they led both the armies against the enemy. Han-nibal despairing that he was not able to resist them in battell, he sought all the wits he had to devise some way to entrap them by subtilty, whom he could not overcome by battell. So Hannibal's head being occupied thus, there was offered him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to pass, than he looked for. Between both camps, there was a pretty grove, in the which Hannibal laid certain bands of the Numidians in ambush, to entrap the enemies passing to and fro. On the other side, the Consuls by consent of them all, thought it best to send to view this grove, and to keep it if need required: lest in leaving it behind them, the enemies should come, and so be upon their jacks afterwards. Now before they removed their army, both the Consuls went out of their camp, with a small company of horsemen with them, to view the situation of this place: and so going on very undiscreetly, and worse appointed than became men of their authority and place, they unfortunately fell into Hannibal's ambush. So, when they saw themselves in a moment compassed about on every side with enemies, that they could not go forward, and were also fought with all behind: they defended themselves the best they could, rather by compulsion, than of any determination they had to fight. So Marcellus was slain fighting valiantly: and Crispinus the other Consul also very sore hurt, who hardly scaped the enemies' hands. Hannibal being advertised that Marcellus was slain, who was the chiefest man of all the Roman captains, that had most hindered the happy success of his vic-

The tories, and had besides troubled him most: he power presently went and camped there where the battell of magwas fought, and when he had found Marcellus' body, he gave it honourable pomp and funeral. Hereby we may see how magnanimity, and excel-lent vertues, are esteemed of all men: considering that the cruel and most mortal enemy, gave honourable burial to so noble and excellent a captain. The Romans in the meantime seeing one of their Consuls dead, and the other Consul very sore hurt: they drew straight to the next mountains, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit Crispinus had sent to the next towns of the mountains, to advertise them that Marcellus his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ring he sealed his letters withal: wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in Marcellus' name. Crispinus' messenger came but newly unto Salapia, when letters were brought also from Hannibal in the behalf of Marcellus, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The Salapians knowing his craft, they sent his messenger away, and carefully looked for Hannibal's coming. About the fourth watch of the night, Hannibal came to the city of Salapia, who of purpose had put all the Romans that had fled, in the vantguard, because that they speaking the Latin tongue, might make them believe that Marcellus was there in person. So when the citizens had suffered six hundred of them to come in, they shut to the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the army, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the city. Thus Hannibal being in a marvellous rage he had missed of his purpose: he removed

thence, and went into the country of the Bruttians, A dan-to aid the Locrians that were besieged by the gerous Romans, both by sea and by land. After all these things, at the earnest request of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous captains, and valiant soldiers, Marcus Livius, and Claudius Nero: who having divided the army betwixt them, went unto their several charge and provinces. Claudius Nero went into the country of the Salentinians, and M. Livius into Gaul, against Hasdrubal Barcinian, who was come over the Alps, and made haste to join with his brother Hannibal, bringing with him a great army both of footmen and horsemen. Now it chanced at the same time, that Hannibal had received great loss by Claudius the Consul. For first of all, he overcame him in the country of the Lucanians, using the like policies and fetches that Hannibal did. Afterwards again, meeting with Hannibal in Apulia, by the city of Venusia: he fought such a lusty battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the field. By reason of these great losses, Hannibal suddenly went to Metapont, to renew his army again. So having remained there a few days, he received the army from Hanno the which he joined unto his, and then returned unto Venusia. C. Nero lay not far from Venusia with his camp: who having intercepted letters of his enemies, he understood by them that Hasdrubal was at hand with his army. Thereupon, he bethought himself night and day, what policy he might use to prevent the joining of two so great armies together as these. So after he had taken advice of himself, he fol-

lowed in sight a dangerous determination: but

Defeat of peradventure necessary, as the time required. For, Hasdru-bal leaving the camp unto the charge of his lieutenant, he took part of the army with him, and making great journeys, came to Picenum (being the marches of Ancona) so that on the sixth day he came to There both the Consuls joined their forces together, and setting upon Hasdrubal by the river of Metaurus, they had very good luck at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were six and fifty thousand of the enemies slain on that day: so that they almost had as great an overthrow, as the Romans had received before at the battell of Cannes. Now Claudius Nero, after this famous victory, returning as speedily unto Venusia as he went thence, he set up Hasdrubal's head, where the enemies kept their watch: and did let certain prisoners go, to carry news to Hannibal of this great overthrow. For afterwards it was known, that Hannibal knew nothing yet of Claudius' secret enterprise, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had Whereat sure I can but wonder, that so subtile a captain as Hannibal, could be deceived by Claudius, considering both their camps lay so near together: so that he first heard the news of the overthrow of his brother, and all his army, before he understood anything of the Consul's departure, or heard of his return again to the camp. Now Hannibal having not only received a general, but also a particular great loss by the death of his brother: he said then he plainly saw the change and alteration of the Carthaginians' good fortune, and shortly after removed his camp, and went thence into the country of the Bruttians. For he knew that this great overthrow given by the river Metaurus,

was a marvellous encouragement to the Romans, and Hannibal would also be a great log in his way, for the success sent for would also be a great tog in his way, for the success of all this war. This notwithstanding, he gathered Africk together all his power he had left in Italy, after so many great battels and conflicts, and so many cities taken: and maintained the war with an invincible courage. But the most strangest thing in Hannibal was this: that through his authority or wisdom, he kept all his army in peace and amity together, (being a medley of Spaniards, Africans, Gauls, and of divers other nations) and never man heard that there was any brawl or tumult among them. Howbeit the Romans themselves, after they had won Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain again, they could never utterly overcome him, nor drive him out of Italy, before they had sent P. Cornelius Scipio into Africk: who making war with the Carthaginians, he brought them to such great extremity, that they were driven to send for Hannibal home out of Italy. Hannibal at that time, (as I have said before) was in the country of the Bruttians, making war by inroads and sudden invasions, rather than by any fought battell: saving that once there was a battell fought in haste betwixt him and the Consul Sempronius, and immediately after he came and set upon the same Sempronius with all his army. At the first battell, Hannibal had the victory: but at the second, Sempronius overcame him. Since that time, I can find in no Greek nor Latin author, that Hannibal did any famous act in Italy worthy memory. For being sent for into Africk by the Carthaginians, he left Italy, sixteen years after this Africk war was begun, greatly complaining of the Senate of Carthage, and of himself also. Of the

Hannibal Senate, because that all the time he had been in his and enemies' country so long, they had allowed him so Scipio's little money, and so scanted him besides with all other things necessary for the wars: and of him-self, because that after he had so often overcome the Romans, he had always delayed time after the victory, and had given the enemy liberty to gather force again. It is reported also, that before he embarked and took sea, he set up a triumphing arch or pillar, by the temple of Juno Lacinia, in the which were briefly graven his noble victories, both in the Punic and Greek tongue. So when he was departed out of Italy, the wind served him well, that in few days he arrived at Leptis, and landing all his army, he first came to Adrumetum, and afterwards unto Zama. There receiving advertisement how the affairs of the Carthaginians prospered: he thought it best to devise some way to end this war. For this cause he sent unto Scipio, to pray him to appoint him some convenient place where they might both meet, and talk together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly known, whether Hannibal did this of his own head, or by commandment from the Senate. Scipio refused not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous generals of mighty nations, in a great plain together, either of them having his interpreter, to talk together of divers matters touching peace and war. For, Hannibal was altogether bent to peace; because he saw the affairs of the Carthaginians wax worse and worse every day: that they had lost Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain: because the war was brought out of Italy into Africk: because Syphax (a mighty king) was

taken prisoner of the Romans: and also because Scipio's that their last hope consisted in the army he had victory brought into Africk: which was the only remain and relief of so long a war as he had made in Italy: and also because that the Carthaginians had so small a power left (both of strangers, and also of citizens) that there were scarce men enough to defend the city of Carthage. So he did his best to persuade Scipio, with a long oration he made, rather to agree to peace, than to resolve of war. Howbeit Scipio that lived in hope to being this war to a good and that lived in hope to bring this war to a good end, he would not seem to give ear to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either side, in the end they brake off, and made no agreeside, in the end they orake on, and made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battell stricken by the city of Zama, in the which the Romans obtained victory. For first of all, they made the Carthaginians' elephants turn upon their own army, so that they did put all Hannibal's horsemen out of order. And Lælius and Masinissa, who made both the wings, increasing their fear, gave the horsemen no leisure to gather themselves in order again. Howbeit the footmen fought it out a long time, and with a marvellous great courage: insomuch that the Car-thaginians (trusting in their former victories) thought that all the safety and preservation of Africk, was all in their hands, and therefore they laid about them like men. The Romans on the other side had as great hearts as they, and besides, they stood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeed did the Romans great service to help them to the victory: and that was, Lælius and Masinissa's return from the chase of the horsemen, who rushed into the battell of the enemy with great fury, and did

The put them in a marvellous fear. For at their coming, flying of the Carthaginians' hearts were done, and they saw no other remedy for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slain that day, about twenty thousand Carthaginians in the field, and as many more prisoners. Hannibal their general, after he had tarried to see the end of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwards when he was sent for to Carthage, to help to save his country: he persuaded the Senate not to hope any more in wars, but did counsel them, that setting all devices apart, they should send unto Scipio the Roman captain, to make . peace with him upon any condition. When the ten ambassadors had brought the capitulation and agreement unto Carthage of the articles of peace: it is reported that there was one Gisgo, who misliking to hear talk of peace, he made an oration, and persuaded all he could to renew war against the Romans. Wherefore Hannibal perceiving that divers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to see such beasts, and men of no understanding, to dare to speak of such matters, in so dangerous a time: he cast him down headlong. whilst he was yet in his oration. So when he saw that the citizens, and all the whole assembly, thought this too presumptuous a part of him, and unmeet altogether for a free city: he himself got up into the pulpit for orations, and said: Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath been alway out of Carthage, and brought up all his life-time in wars, be ignorant of the laws and ordinances of the city. After that, he spake so wisely to the articles of peace, that the Carthaginians being im-

mediately moved by the authority of so great a Hannibal person: they all agreed to accept the conditions could not which the vanquisher, and the necessity of time offered them. The articles out of doubt were very talk extreme, and such as the vanquished are wont to receive with all extremity by the conquerors. But besides all other things, the Carthaginians were bound to pay the Romans an annual tribute, until a certain time were run out. So when the day came that the first pension was to be paid to the Romans, and that every man grudged when the subsidy was spoken of: some say that Hannibal being offended with the vain tears of the Carthaginians, he fell a-laughing. And when Hasdrubal Hædus reproved him because he laughed in such a common calamity of all the city, he answered, that it was no laughter nor rejoicing from the heart, but a scorning of their fond tears, that wept when there was less cause (and only because it touched every private man's purse) than before, when the Romans took from the Carthaginians their ships, armour, and weapons, and their spoils of the great victories which they had won before, and now gave laws and ordinances unto them that were vanquished. know some authors write, that Hannibal immediately after he had lost the battell, fled into Asia, for that he was afraid they would deliver him into Scipio's hands, that perhaps might demand him of them. But whether that was done suddenly, or some time after the battell was lost at Zama. it makes no great matter: considering that all the world knoweth, that when he saw things brought to extremity, he presently fled into Asia unto King Antiochus. So is it most true, that King Anti-

fannibal ochus received him with great courtesy, and used banisht him very honourably: insomuch as he made him of man counsel with him all in all, both in private and public causes. For the name of Hannibal carried great reputation with all men: besides that, he had a common and mortal hate to the Romans, which was a pricking spur still to move war against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hour into that country, not only to prick forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set wars at liberty against the Romans. So he told him, that the only way to make war with the Romans, was to go into Italy to levy Italian soldiers, by whom only, that victorious country of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred ships, sixteen thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen only. With this small army he promised to invade Italy, and that he would marvellously trouble the Italians, whom he knew yet to stand in no small fear of him, for the very sound of his name only: because of the late wars he had made there, so fresh vet in memory. Furthermore, he took heart again unto him to renew the wars of Africk, if the king would licence him to send men unto Carthage, to stir up the Barcinian faction, whom he knew hated the Romans to death. When he had gotten the king to grant him his request, he called Aristo Tyrian unto him, a fine subtle fellow, and meet for such a purpose: to whom he made large promises, and persuaded him to go to Carthage to his friends, and to carry them letters from him. Thus Hannibal being a banished man, and fled out of his country, raised war in all parts against the Romans.

And surely his counsel had taken good effect, had His King Antiochus rather followed his advice, as he judgedid at the first, than the vain persuasions of his ment of the most fine courtiers. But envy, a common plague fre- famous quenting princes' courts, bred Hannibal great enemies. captains For they being afraid that by his counsels he should grow in great favour with the king, (for he was a wise and politic captain) and that thereby he should bear great sway and authority: to prevent it, they lacked no device to bring him in disgrace with the king. And so it chanced at that time, that P. Villius, who came ambassador unto Ephesus, he had often conference with Hannibal. Hereupon his privy enemies took occasion to accuse him, and withal, the king himself became so jealous of it, that from thenceforth he never more called him to counsel. At the self same time also, as some do report, P. Cornelius Scipio African (who was one of the ambassadors sent unto King Antiochus) talking familiarly with Hannibal, prayed him amongst other things to tell him truly, whom he thought the worthiest captain of all others. Hannibal answered him: First he thought Alexander, king of Macedon the chiefest: next unto him, Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes: and thirdly, himself. Then Scipio African smiling, asked him: What wouldest thou say, Hannibal, if thou haddest overcome me? Truly said he, then I would be chiefest myself. This answer pleased Scipio marvellous well, because he saw he was neither despised, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peerless, by some secret flattery of Hannibal. After these things, Hannibal found occasion to talk with King Antiochus,

Iannibal and began to lay open his life unto him from his stirs up youth, and bewray the malice he had always borne war unto the Romans: whereby he so satisfied the king, that he was again received into his grace and favour, which he had almost utterly lost. Thereupon the king was determined to have made him admiral of his army by sea, the which he had put in readiness for Italy, and also to make proof of his great courage and service, whom he knew to be a worthy man, and a mortal enemy to the Romans. But one Thoas, prince of the Ætolians, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or else for that his fancy was such: he altered the king's mind, and clean changed his purpose, the which was a matter of great importance for the war he pretended to make. For he gave counsel unto Antiochus, that he should go himself into Greece, and direct his own affairs: and that he should not suffer another to carry away the honour and glory of this war. So King Antiochus shortly after went into Greece, to make war with the Romans. Within few days after, when he consulted whether he should make league with the Thessalians. Hannibal's opinion was specially asked: who spake so wisely touching the state of the Thessalians, and the chiefest matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gave their consents unto it. Now his opinion was, that they should not need much to care for the Thessalians. but rather to make all the means they could, to get King Philip of Macedon to take their part: or else to persuade him to be a neuter, and to take neither part. Furthermore, he gave counsel to make war with the Romans in their own country.

and offered himself to aid him the best he could. against Every man gave good ear to his words, but his the opinion was rather commended, than followed. Romans Wherefore every man marvelled, that such a captain as he, that had so many years made war with the Romans (who had in manner conquered all the world) should then be so light set by of the king, when it specially stood him upon, to have such a man's help and counsel. For, what captain living could a man have found more skilful or politic, or meeter to make war with the Romans, than him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the first beginning of this war: but shortly after, disdaining all their counsel, he confessed that Hannibal only saw what was to be done. For after the Romans had obtained victory in the war he made in Greece: Antiochus fled out of Europe into Ephesus, where making merry, and there following pleasure, he hoped to live in peace, little thinking the Romans would come with any army into Asia. Now, these flattering courtiers still fed his humour: a perpetual plague to kings and princes, that suffer themselves to be flattered, and are contented to be deceived, because they give good ear to that that pleaseth them. But Hannibal, who knew the power and ambition of the Romans, persuaded the king to hope for anything rather than peace, and bade him trust to it, that the Romans would never stay, till they had proved whether they could enlarge the dominions of their empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in Africk, and Europe. Antiochus persuaded by the authority of such a man, straight commanded Polyxenidas,

Hannibal a very serviceable man, and skilful in sea service. fled to that he should go meet with the army of the Prusias Romans that was coming thither. Then he sent Hannibal into Syria, to levy a great number of ships together, and afterwards made him, and Apollonius, (one of his favoured courtiers) generals of his army by sea: who notwithstanding that Polyxenidas was put to the worst by the Romans, they went and set upon the Rhodians, that were confederates with them. Hannibal in this battell assailing Eudamus the captain of the Rhodians, that led the left wing: he had already compassed in the admiral galley, and doubtless had obtained the victory, but that the other wing came in to rescue, after they had followed Apollonius in chase, and took the victory from him, that was his own. After this battell by sea, which had no great good success: we do not find that Hannibal did anything worthy memory. For King Antiochus being overcome, besides other conditions, the Romans offered him: they desired that Hannibal (the mortal enemy of their country) should be delivered unto them. Hannibal foreseeing this long before, he suddenly stale from Antiochus, after this notable battell that was fought by Magnesia, where the king's power was overthrown. So, after Hannibal had wandered up and down a long time, he fled at length unto Prusias, king of Bithynia, for succour. Now he did not so much trust to his friendship, but because he sought for the meetest place he could come by, as also for the safest, the which he most desired: considering that the Romans had the most part of the sea and land in their subjection. Some say, that after

King Antiochus was overcome, Hannibal went king of into Creta unto the Gortynians: and that the Bithynia rumour ran immediately, he had brought a great mass of gold and silver with him. Wherefore being afraid lest the Cretans should offer him some violence, he devised this shift to scape the danger, he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and sent them into the temple of Diana, feigning that he was marvellous careful for them, as though all his treasure had been there. On the other side he had hid all his gold in images of brass, the which he had left carelessly lying on the ground in the In the meantime, whilst they watched the temple carelessly, that these earthen pots should not be carried away without their privity: Hannibal hoised sail, and fled into Bithynia. In Bithynia there is a village upon the seaside, which the countrymen call Libyssa, of the which by some men's saying, there ran an old oracle and prophecy in this sort:

The land of Libyssa shall cover under mould The valiant corpse of Hannibal, when he is dead and cold.

There Hannibal lay, not spending his time idly, but passing it away in exercising of the mariners, riding of horses, and training of his soldiers. Some authors also do write, that at that time Prusias made war with Eumenes, king of Pergamum, who was a confederate and friend of the Romans: and that he made Hannibal his lieutenant-general of his army by sea: who assailing Eumenes with a new found and unknown device, wan the victory of the battell by sea. For before they began to

The fight, it is reported that Hannibal had gotten an inconinfinite number of snakes into earthen pots, and
when the battell was begun, and they busily tending their fight: he threw those pots with snakes into the enemies' ships, and that by this fearful and strange device he made them fly. Now whether this was true or not, the old chronicles do make no manner of mention, but only Æmilius and Trogus. And therefore I report me to the authors. So, the news of the dissension betwixt these two kings, Prusias, and Eumenes being brought to Rome: the Senate sent T. Q. Flamininus ambassador into Asia, whose name was famous for the noble victories he had obtained in Greece. to the end (as I conjecture) to make peace betwixt these two kings. Flamininus being come unto King Prusias, he was marvellously offended, and sorry in his mind to see Hannibal yet alive, (that was the mortalest enemy of the Romans) after the conquests of so many nations, and the sacking of so many people: therefore, he was very earnestly in hand with King Prusias, to deliver him Hannibal. Hannibal from the first beginning mistrusted King Prusias' inconstancy very much, and therefore had digged divers vaults in his house, and made seven several vents to fly out at, if he were suddenly taken. The report of Flamininus' coming did increase his suspicion the more, for that he thought him the greatest enemy he had in Rome: both generally for the hate he bare unto all the Romans, as also particularly for the remembrance of his father Flamininus, that was slain in the battell fought by the lake of Trasymene. So Hannibal being full of care and grief (as it is reported) he

found devices to escape, the which stood him to Hannibal no purpose against such a great power. For when poisoned the king's guard which were sent to take him, had himself compassed his house about: Hannibal thought to fly at their first coming, and to save himself by the secretest vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the guard, then he determined to rid himself out of the Romans' hands, by destroying himself. So, some do report, that he was strangled by one of his men, whom he had commanded to help to despatch him. write again, that he had drunk bull's blood, and when he had drunk it, died, as Clitarchus, and Stratocles do falsely report of Themistocles. Howbeit Titus Livius, that famous historiographer writeth, that Hannibal called for the poison he had ready for such a mischief, and that holding this deadly drink in his hand, before he drank he said: Come on, let us rid the Romans of this pain and care, sith their spite and malice is so great, to hasten the death of a poor old man that is half dead already. The ancient Romans advertised Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes, who came with ensigns displayed to the very walls of the city of Rome, that he should look to himself, and beware of poisoning: and these Romans now do make a friend forgetting his kingly state and faithful promise, vilely to betray his poor guest. After he had said, bitterly cursing King Prusias, he poisoned himself, being three score and ten year old, as some writers do testify. His body was buried in a tomb of stone by Libyssa, on the which was engraven no more but this: Here lieth Hannibal. The Romans being advertised of his death, every

Opinions man said his opinion, as his fancy served him.

of his Some greatly blamed T. Q. Flaminious' cruelty,

death who to make himself famous by some notable act (as he thought) made a poor old man put himself to death, that was in manner half dead by age, and besides, was past doing the state of Rome any more hurt, they being conquerors in manner of all i the world. But some again on the other side, commended Flamininus for it, and said it was a good deed of him, to rid the Romans of their mortal enemy: who though he had a weak body, yet he lacked no wit, wise counsel, and great experience in wars, to entice King Prusias to make war, and to molest all Asia besides with new wars. For at that time, the power of the king of Bithynia was so great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, Mithridates king of the same Bithynia, did marvellously molest the Romans both by sea and by land, and more-over fought battells with L. Lucullus, and Cn. Pompey, famous captains of the Romans. And so the Romans might also be afraid of Prusias, and specially having Hannibal his captain. So some judge, that Q. Flamininus was specially sent ambassador unto King Prusias, secretly to practise Hannibal's death. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that Q. Flamininus was not so desirous to have Hannibal so suddenly put to death, as he would have been glad otherwise to have brought him again to Rome, that had done such mischief to his country: and this had been a great benefit for Rome, and much honour also unto himself. Such was the death of Hannibal the Carthaginian, a famous man doubtless, and highly to be com-

mended for martial praise, setting his other vertues The aside. So we may easily judge, of what power and praise of force his noble mind, his great wisdom and courage, and his perfect skill of martial discipline was in all things. For in all the war the Carthaginians had so vehemently, and with such great preparation enterprised: they never thought themselves overcome, till Hannibal was overthrown at that great battell by Zama. So it appeareth, that all their strength and skill of wars began, and also ended, with Hannibal their captain.

THE END OF HANNIBAL'S LIFE.

THE LIFE OF SCIPIO AFRICAN

Scipio

The Publius Scipio a patrician, of the family of the parent- Cornelii, who was the first Roman captain against age of whom Hannibal fought in Italy: was the father of Cornelius Scipio afterwards surnamed African, the first so called, because he had conquered that The same Scipio, after he had obtained many great victories in Spain, and done notable feats of arms: was in the end slain with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and encouraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest danger and fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother Cn. Scipio also end his life, much after one self manner, and was slain valiantly fighting. these two captains, besides the fame they achieved by their poble deeds, left behind them great praise of their faithfulness, modesty, and courage: the which made them not only wished for of their soldiers that were then living, but also of all the Spaniards besides. Cn. Scipio had a son called P. Cornelius Nasica, one that had bin Consul and had also triumphed: who being but a young man, was thought the meetest man of all the city of Rome to receive Idæa, the mother of the gods. This Publius had two sons, the so famous Scipios: of the which the one was called Asian, because he

conquered Asia: and the other African, because His first he subdued Africk at that famous battell of Zama, soldier where he overthrew Hannibal and the Cartha- fare ginians, as we said before. Whose life we purpose now to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (so famous by all the Greek and Latin authors) the greater by our history: as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds, and moral vertues, to the end that all princes and noble captains in reading it, should behold the lively image of perfect vertue, which may move an earnest desire in them to follow the example of P. Cornelius Scipio's life, who from his childhood gave great hope and shew of a noble nature, and excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of martial discipline, under the conduct of his father. He was carried into the field at the beginning of the second war with the Carthaginians, followed the camp being but seventeen years old, and in a very short time grew so toward and forward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all manner of pains like a soldier, that he wan great commendation of his own father, and besides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit, and noble courage: that it made him beloved, and also feared of his enemies. For this Scipio was present at the battell of the horsemen, where P. Cornelius Scipio the Consul fought with Hannibal, by the river of Ticin: and some writers do affirm, that Cornelius the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemy, had not his son Scipio saved him, who had then but a little down on his beard, he was so young. After that also, at the battel that was

Honours fought by Cannes, to the great loss, and in manner done to utter destruction of the empire of Rome, when the Scipio ten thousand men that fled to Canusium, had all together with one consent referred the government of the army unto Appius Pulcher, that had been Ædilis, and unto Cornelius Scipio, that was yet but very young: the same Scipio shewed them by his deeds, what noble mind and courage was in him. For when he saw certain young men consult together between themselves to forsake Italy: he thrust in among them, and drawing out his sword, made them all swear they would not forsake their country. These, and such like deeds done by him with a lively courage and noble mind, being then but a young man: wan him such favour with the Romans, that not respecting his young years, nor their ancient custom, they called him forward, and laid offices of great charge and government upon him. Insomuch that when he sued for : the office of Ædilis before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his suit, because he was so young a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, and so was presently chosen Ædilis with the most voices. So after his father and uncle, (both famous and noble captains) had been slain one after the other in Spain, and that the Romans were in consultation to appoint some worthy captain in the room: they could find no man that durst undertake this so dangerous war, considering the loss of two so great captains before. Wherefore the whole assembly being called to choose a Vice-consul, all the other princes and peers of the realm being silent at so worthy a

motion: Scipio only of all the rest, being but Scipio's four and twenty years old, stood up in the middest great of them, and said, with a good hope and confidence he would willingly take the charge upon him. He had no sooner offered this promise, but he was age presently made Vice-consul of Spain, with the wonderful good-will and favour of the people, who gave him all their voices. Howbeit the Senators afterwards considering better of the matter, against what captains and nations he should make war: they thought it unpossible so young a man could perform so weighty a charge. Wherefore men's minds were wonderfully changed again on the sudden, as if the tribes of the people had repented them of their voices and election. Scipio perceiving it, called an assembly presently, and made such an oration of his age, and discipline of wars, that every man that heard him wondered at him, and the people began again to renew the good hope they had of him for the wars. For he had not only a noble courage in him, being endued with many singular vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, and very comely of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance: all which things together, are great means to win him the love and good-will of every man. Moreover, even in his gesture and behaviour, there was a certain princely grace. Now, the glory of martial discipline, being joined unto those his rare gifts of mind and nature: it was to be doubted, whether his civil vertues made him more acceptable unto strangers, than wonderful for his skill in wars. Furthermore, he had filled the common people's hearts with a certain superstitious fear, because he did daily (after he had

Scipio's taken the man's gown) use to go up to the capitol, journey and so into the church without any company: insomuch that all men began to think that he learned some secret things in the temple, which others might not know, as they were persuaded long before, that Numa Pompilius was taught by the nymph Egeria. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like original of Science and the like original of the like original of the like original the like opinion of Scipio, as in old time they had of Alexander king of Macedon, to wit: that oftentimes there was a snake seen in his mother's chamber. But let these things go. Scipio departing out of Italy with ten thousand footmen, and a fleet of thirty galleys, every one of them having five oars to a bank: he sailed into Spain, and in few days arriving at Emporia, he landed his men, and marched by land to Tarracon. There he kept a council, and many ambassadors of the cities kept a council, and many ambassadors of the cities their confederates came thither, who being courteously received, returned to their lodgings with such answer as they liked. After this, Scipio being carefully bent to prosecute the war he had taken upon him, he thought it best to join the remain of the old bands with his army, which had been saved through the manhood and valiantess of Lucius Marcius. For after both the Scipios of Lucius Marcius. For after both the Scipios were slain, and both Spains almost lost, and the Roman legions also overthrown and put to flight: L. Marcius a Roman knight, having gathered together the remnant of both armies, resisted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed up with glory of the victory they had gotten, and with great valiantness, and unspeakable industry he maintained war in Spain, against three captains of the Carthaginians. Now Scipio being come to

this army that lay in garrison for the winter time, He be-every man did certainly persuade themselves that the war should prosper: and when they saw him, they remembered their old captains, insomuch that there was never a soldier could have his fill, with looking upon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the soldiers for their noble courage, not despairing for the calamity of their country: he greatly honoured Lucius Martius, to shew, that who so trusteth in his own vertues, need not envy the glory of another man. So winter being past, he took the old and new bands out of the garrisons, and first of all determined to go and lay siege unto New Carthage. For of all the cities of Spain it was the wealthiest, and none more meeter to make war both by sea and land, than that. Moreover, the captains of the Carthaginians had bestowed in this city all their munition, and greatest treasure: and left a strong garrison, both in the city, and castle. But the captains themselves were divided in divers countries, to the end that they three might keep the whole region from spoil, least of all looking then that Carthage should be besieged. But Scipio having put all in readiness, he came to besiege New Carthage with all his army both by sea and land. This seemed to be a marvellous hard enterprise, and would continue long, both because the city was very strong of it self, and also for that the men within it were so courageous: that they did not only think themselves able to defend the city, but their hearts served them also to make sallies out upon the enemy, and to skirmish with them, even to the very trenches of the Romans' camp. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a

Carthage

Scipio man cannot attain by force, he may win by inwan the dustry. Now Scipio knew, that the lake or mer city of New arthage by ford on that side where they might easiliest come to the walls: so, he thinking to embrace this occasion, and that he could not possibly meet with a better device to take Carthage: when he saw his time, he set his men in battell ray, and having divided them into several squadrons, gave a more desperate assault unto the city, than he had done before. In the meantime, he chose out a band of the valiantest men he had, and commanded them to wade over the lake, and to scale the walls on that side, where they within the town made least account of it. So, these soldiers that were commanded to give this attempt, after they had passed over the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watch or guard, because the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other side of the city. Therefore they easily getting up on the wall, came and assailed the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of the garrison, perceiving they were unawares fallen into that great danger: they immediately forsook the walls, and seeing themselves charged on every side, betook them to their legs, and fled. The Romans pursued them so hotly, that they wan the city, and sacked it: where they found a wonderful great spoil, and abundance of all things necessary for war. Scipio greatly praised his soldiers, and did reward them, for that they had done so valiant service. Howbeit when he should come to give the scaling crown of the walls, unto give this attempt, after they had passed over the come to give the scaling crown of the walls, unto

the first man that got upon the wall: there were Thegreat two soldiers at such variance for the matter, that chastity all the army was in danger of division and mutiny upon that occasion. Thereupon Scipio called his men together, and in open assembly told them, that he knew they both got up on the wall together, and so gave them both a scaling crown: and by this means their tumult was presently pacified. Afterwards he sent unto all the cities of Spain, the hostages that were found in the city, which were a marvellous number: the which wan him great fame for his courtesy and clemency, whereby he allured many nations to yield themselves unto the Romans, and to forsake the Carthaginians. But one thing above all the rest, chiefly increased his praise, and wan him great love and good-will, as a mirror and example of all vertue. There was a young lady taken prisoner, that in beauty excelled all the women in Carthage: whom he carefully caused to be kept, and preserved from violence and dishonour. And afterwards when he knew that she was married unto Lucceius, prince of the Celtiberians: he sent for her husband that was a very young man, and delivered her unto him, untouched or dishonoured. Lucceius not forgetting touched or dishonoured. Lucceius not forgetting his noble courtesy unto her, did let all his subjects understand the great bounty, modesty, and rare excellency of all kind of vertues that were in this Roman general: and shortly after he returned again to the Romans' camp, with a great number of horsemen. The three captains of the Carthaginians (Mago, Hasdrubal Barcinian, and the other Hasdrubal Barcinian and Barci drubal, the son of Gisgo) knowing that the loss of New Carthage did them great hurt, as well in the

A battle impairing of their credit with other strange nations, as also by the conjecture divers made of the success of this war: they first practised to dissemble the loss of it, and then in speech to make light of it as much as they could. Scipio having joined unto him divers nations and princes of Spain, (among the which were the two little kings, Mandonius, and Indibilis) understanding where Hasdrubal Barcinian lay: he marched towards him with his army, man lay: he marched towards him with his army, to fight with him, before Mago and the other Hasdrubal came to join with him. Hasdrubal Barcinian lay in camp by the river of Besula, and was very desirous to fight, trusting wholly to his strength and army. But when he heard that Scipio was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of pretty strength. The Roman legions followed him, and strength. The Roman legions tollowed him, and gave him no respite, but pursued so near, that they came and assaulted his camp at their first coming. So they fought it out upon the trenches and ramparts, as if they had been at the assault of a city. The Carthaginians trusting to the strength of the place, and driven unto it of necessity, (the which maketh cowards most desperate) they valiantly resisted their enemies the best they could. The Romans in contrary manner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out lustily like men, and the fight was so much more cruel, for that it was in the sight of their general Scipio, and of all the army besides: insomuch that their valiant service there could not be hidden. Therefore they never gave over the assault, until that having done their uttermost endeavour, they got up upon the rampers, and entered in divers places into the enemies' camp, and made them fly. Hasdrubal, captain of the

Carthaginians, saved himself by flying, with a few Scipio's with him, before the Romans entered into their fort. liberality After this battell, Scipio according to his manner, to his enemies caused all the Spanish prisoners to be brought before him, and then gave them liberty to depart, without paying of ransom. Among the prisoners, there was a young gentleman of the king's blood, and nephew unto Masinissa, whom when he had used very honourably, he sent unto Masinissa, with great and rich gifts: to shew thereby, that a general of an army should be as bountiful and full of civil vertues, as otherwise skilful and expert in martial discipline. For the end of war is victory: the benefit whereof consisteth in bounty, and clemency. From thence cometh the glory and all other praises due to captains: as it happened in those things whereof we now treat. For a great number of Spaniards being present, wondering at the great clemency of the general of the Romans: they could do no less but call him king, to honour and recompense his vertue. But Scipio strake that word dead straight, the which was no common sound to the Romans' ears, and therefore he would by no means allow that title, which he knew to be hateful to the noblemen of his country, and also unmeet for the liberty of the Romans. He only prayeth the Spaniards, that if they had any mind and desire not to shew themselves unthankful to him, that then they would be faithful and loving to the people of Rome. whilst these things were done by Scipio, the other two captains of the Carthaginians, (Mago, and Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo) after they understood of the overthrow of their men by the river of Besula: they made all the speed they could join

in battell

Hanno together, and shortly after came and met with Hasovercome drubal Barcinian, to consult together, and to take order for the war. So after they had laid their heads together, and considered all things, they concluded thus: That Hasdrubal Barcinian should go into Italy to his brother Hannibal, where the war was greatest: and that Mago, and the other Hasdrubal should remain in Spain, should send for aid from Carthage, and should not fight with the Romans until all their forces looked for were assembled, and so might make a great and puissant army. When Hasdrubal was gone into Italy, Hanno was sent from Carthage in his place. But practising in his = journey to make the Celtiberians to rebel, M. Silanus came and set upon him by Scipio's command-ment, and was so fortunate, that he overcame him in battell, and took him prisoner. Now there was a city which the countrymen called Oringe, the which was very wealthy, and meet to renew the war. Lucius Scipio was sent thither with part of the army to besiege it: but finding it a very strong situation, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he environed the town, and within few days took and sacked it. Winter came on apace, and the time of the year made them both to retire into their garrisons, for the winter. So Scipio having had so good fortune in this war, he went unto Tarracon: Mago, and the other Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, went to the seaside. The next summer, wars growing more bloody and cruel than before in the lower Spain, the Romans and Carthaginians met, and joined battell by the river of Besula, and fought set battels. After they had fought a long time together, Scipio at length got the victory, and

made the enemies fly: (of the which there were Masi-slain a great number in the field) and giving them nissa offereth his friend-ship lowed the chase so hotly, that Hasdrubal and Mago were driven to leave the mainland, and to fly to Gades, after they had lost all their army. In the army of the Carthaginians, there was a young man of a noble courage, and very wise, called Masinissa, who finding means to have secret conference with Silanus, he was the first man that offered him friendship, either being brought to it through Scipio's liberality, or else because he thought the time was come, that it was the surest way to take part with the Romans, which were the conquerors. It is that Masinissa that afterwards, (through the goodness of the Romans) became the great and mighty king of Numidia, and indeed he was divers ways a profitable friend unto the Romans. Furthermore, the self same year, (which was the fourteenth of the second war with the Africans) Spain was the first nation and people of the upland men dwelling in the heart of the realm, that was conquered under the happy conduct of the Viceconsul Scipio: howbeit it was the last realm that was made a province long time after, by Augustus Cæsar. Now Scipio not contenting himself with the great victories he had obtained, in very short time in Spain (for he had an imagination and good hope also to conquer Africk) he thought that his best way, to make all the means he could possible to get Syphax, king of the Massæsylians, a friend to the Romans. Wherefore after he had felt the king's mind, perceiving that he was well inclined to

King make league with the Romans: he presently set all Syphax his other affairs aside, and sailed into Africk with two galleys only, at five oars to a bank. At the self same time also came Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo thither, from Gades: so that both these valiant and lusty captains came of purpose to the king, envying one the other, to crave the king's good-will, unto their country and commonwealth. Syphax welcomed them both into his court, and did use them very honourably and courteously, and appointed that they should both eat at one table, and lie in one self chamber, because the one should not think his entertainment better than the other. It is reported, that Hasdrubal wondering at the magnanimity and great wisdom of Scipio that was present, he considered with himself the great danger the city of Carthage and all Africk besides was in, through that man's means: for he saw him yet a young man, quick, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continually obtained such victories, and therefore considering the lusty youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it was unpossible to persuade him to embrace peace, rather than war. Besides, he was afraid also that Syphax, moved by the personage and authority of him that was present, would take part with the Romans: and indeed his mind gave him rightly, for so it happened. For though Syphax at the first shewed himself indifferent to them both, and had moved talk to end the war betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians: yet afterwards when Scipio told him he could conclude no peace without consent of the Senate of Rome, he rejected Hasdrubal, and inclining to Scipio's request, he made league with

the people of Rome. So Scipio being returned maketh again into Spain, himself partly by force, and league partly also by L. Marcius' means, conquered Iliturgium, Castulo, and certain other places that refused to yield themselves unto the Romans. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kind of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunately obtained so many famous victories: when he was come to New Carthage, he caused the famours to propose themselves to folk with the fencers to prepare themselves to fight with great pomp, where there were many great estates, not only to see that pastime, but also they themselves to handle the weapons in person. But amongst other Spaniards of noble houses, there were two called Corbis and Orsua, which were at strife together for the kingdom: but that day they ended their quarrel, the one being slain by the other's hand. The fight was very lamentable and grievous to the beholders: but the death of him that was slain, troubled them much more, for they were both cousins-german. After all this, Scipio having his mind still occupied in matters of greater weight and importance, than those which he had weight and importance, than those which he had already brought to pass: he fell sick. His sickness being carried through all Spain, and as it happeneth often, his disease being reported to be much greater and dangerous than it was indeed: thereupon, not only the nations of Spain began to rise in hope of change, but the army self also of the Romans, the which he had left at Sucro. First of all, martial discipline was corrupted, through the absence of the general. Afterwards also, the report of his sickness, and danger of his life being spread abroad in the army, raised such

The a rebellion among them: that some of them little rebellion of the negarding the authority and commandment of the Roman soldiers and chose two mean soldiers for their captains, who presumptuously took upon them the name given unto them by men of no authority, and yet with more arrogancy, made the bundles of rods and axes to be carried before them. Such folly doth fury and vain ambition oftentimes work in men's minds. On the other side, the Spaniards slept not, and specially Mandonius and Indibilis: who aspiring to the kingdom of Spain, came to Scipio when he was conqueror, after he had taken New Carthage. But afterwards, being offended to see the power of the Romans increase daily, they sought occasion to make some alteration. So after they had heard, not only of Scipio's sickness, but also how he was at death's door, and did believe it: they presently levied an army, and went and made war with the Suessitans which were confederates of the Romans. But Scipio being recovered again of his sickness, like as upon the false rumour of his death every man began to rise: even so after the truth was known indeed of his recovery, they were all put down again, and not a man of them durst proceed any further in their rebellion. Scipio being more skilful in martial discipline, than acquainted with sedition and rebellion: although he was marvellously offended with the soldiers that had committed this folly, yet in the end, lest following his anger, men should have thought him to have exceeded all bounds of reason in punishing of them, he referred all unto the council. The most part of them gave advice, that the authors of the rebel-

lion should be punished, and all the rest pardoned: Scipio's for by this means said they, the punishment shall great light upon a few that have deserved it, and all the wisdom rest shall take example by them. Scipio followed that advice, and presently sent for all the seditious bands, to come to New Carthage to receive their pay. The soldiers obeyed his commandment, some of them making their fault less than it was, as men do often flatter themselves: others also trusting to the captain's clemency, as knowing him not to be extreme in punishment. For Scipio was wont to say, that he had rather save the life of one Roman citizen, than to kill a thousand enemies. The rumour ran also, that Scipio had another army ready, the which he looked for to join with them, and then to set upon the kings (Mandonius and Indibilis) who made war with the Suessitans. These soldiers departing from Sucro, with good hope to obtain pardon, came unto Carthage. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the town, they were brought into the market-place: where their armour and weapons being taken from them, they were environed with all the legions' army. Then the Roman general sitting in place of judgement, shewed himself before all the company in as good health and good disposition of body, as ever he was in all his youth. Then he made a sharp and bitter oration, full of grievous complaints: insomuch as there was not one of all the soldiers that were unarmed, that durst cast up their eyes or look their general in the face, they were so ashamed. For their consciences did accuse them for the fault they had committed, and the fear of death did take their wits and senses

Scipio did from them, and the presence of their gracious put the captain, made them blush as well that were innoauthors cent, as the parties that were offenders. Where-rebellion fore there was a general and sorrowful silence of to death all men. So after he had ended his oration, he caused the chief authors of this rebellion to be brought forth before the whole assembly, who, after they had been whipped according to the manner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearful and lamentable sight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, Scipio made all the other matters thus pacified, Scipio made all the other soldiers to be sworn again, and then went and proclaimed war against Mandonius and Indibilis. For they considering with themselves, how the Roman soldiers that had rebelled in the camp, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtain any pardon. Therefore they had levied an army of twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and came down with them against the men, and came down with them against the Romans. Scipio having intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, and that other nations could rebel: he departed from Carthage, and went with as great speed as he could to meet with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted so to their army, that they were not determined to provoke the enemy, nor also to refuse the battell if it were enemy, nor also to refuse the battell if it were offered them. Howbeit it chanced by the nearness of both camps, that within few days, they being provoked by the Romans, came down and set their men in battell ray, and joined battell with Scipio: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloody and cruel. But at length the Spaniards seeing themselves compassed in behind,

and being driven to fight in a ring to defend the A noble and being driven to fight in a ring to defend the A noble enemy on every side, they were overcome: so that thing to the third part of them scarcely saved themselves by flying. Mandonius and Indibilis seeing themselves utterly undone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left: they sent ambassadors unto Scipio, humbly to pray him to receive them to mercy, and to pardon them. But Scipio knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the Romans wet thinking it more hopewishle to overseen mans, yet thinking it more honourable to overcome the enemy by courtesy and clemency, than by force: he did pardon them, and only commanded them to give him money to pay his soldiers. In the mean-time Masinissa came from Gades, and landed: because he would himself in person confirm the friendship he had offered Scipio in his absence, by the means of M. Silanus, and also speak with him face to face, whom he judged to be a worthy man, for the famous victories he had obtained. And in truth Masinissa was not deceived in the opinion he had of the valiantness and vertues of Scipio, but found him the self same man whom he before had imagined him to be in his mind: the which but seldom happeneth so notwithstanding. For besides the great rare gifts of nature that Scipio had above all others, there was in him also a certain princely grace and majesty. Furthermore, he was marvel-lous gentle and courteous unto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to win every man. He was very grave in his gesture and behaviour, and ever wore long hair. Masinissa being come to salute him, when he saw him, he had him in such admiration as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes off him, nor

Scipio's have his fill of looking on him. So he thanked return him marvellously for sending his nephew unto him, out of and promised him that his deeds should confirm Spain and witness the friendship agreed upon between them: the which he ever after inviolably kept unto the Romans, even to the hour of his death. So all the nations of Spain became subject to the empire of Rome, or at the least their confederates: whereupon those of Gades also following the example of others, came and yielded themselves unto the Romans. This is a very ancient nation, and if we may credit the report of it: as Carthage was in Africk, and Thebes in Bœotia, so was Gades upon the sea, a colony of the Tyrians. Scipio after he had conquered all Spain, and driven out the Carthaginians, considering that there remained nothing more for him to do: he left the government of the province unto L. Lentulus, and to Manlius Acidinus, and returned to Rome. When he was arrived at Rome, the Senate gave him audience out of the city, in the temple of Bellona. There, when he had particularly told them of the things he had valiantly, and fortunately brought to end: and further, that he had overcome four captains in divers foughten fields and also put to flight four armies of the enemies, and driven the Carthaginians out of both Spains, and that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the Romans, the Senate gave judgement, that all these things were worthy of a noble triumph. But because never man yet was suffered to enter into Rome in triumph, for any victories he had obtained, whilest he was only but Vice-consul, and had not yet been Consul: the Senators

thought it not good, and Scipio himself also Scipio made no great suit for it, because he would not made be an occasion to bring in any new custom, and to break the old. So when he came into the city, he was afterwards declared Consul, with the great good-will and consent of the whole assembly. It is reported that there never came such a world of people to Rome, as were there at that time, not only for the assembly's sake, but more to see Publius Cornelius Scipio. Wherefore, not the Romans only, but all the strangers also that were there, all their eyes were upon Scipio, and said both openly and privately: That they should send him into Africk, to make war with the Carthaginians, at home in their own country. Scipio also being of the same opinion, said, that he would ask advice of the people, if the Senate would be against such a worthy enterprise. For amongst the peers and Senators, there were some that vehemently inveighed against that opinion, and among the rest, Fabius Maximus specially, a man of great fame and authority. Scipio went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to overcome the Carthaginians, and to drive Hannibal out of Italy, but that only: and that all other counsels were in vain, and unprofitable. After this matter was long debated in council, Sicily was appointed unto Scipio, and the whole Senate gave him commission to go with all his army into Africk, if he thought it meet and profitable for the commonwealth. The decree of the Senate being published, every man's mind ran of so great enterprises, that they persuaded themselves Africk was already their own, and had great hope

Scipio's to end this war. Howbeit Scipio saw it a hard policy in matter to make his preparation for this journey, Sicily because of the poverty of the common treasure, and for lack of young men: the flower and choice of the which was utterly gone, by the former great losses and overthrows Hannibal had given them. Howbeit to satisfy every man's expectation of him, he made all the possible speed he could, to prepare things necessary for the wars. So divers people of Tuscany, and of the Umbrians, offered to help him to their best power: some of them gave him timber to build his ships, others helped him with armour, and others also furnished him with corn, and all other kind of victuals and munition for his army. The ships being built, and all the army by sea put in readiness, in the space of five and forty days, a thing incredible to many: Scipio departed out of Italy, and sailed towards Sicily. But when he came to take muster of his army, he specially chose those that had served long time in the wars, under the conduct of M. Marcellus, the which were all esteemed for very expert soldiers. And for the Sicilians, he partly wan them by courtesy, and partly by compulsion compelled them to give him aid for the war he took in hand, the which he meant to make in Africk, when the time of the year should serve for it. Among other things, it is reported that Scipio chose out of divers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the said province, and commanded them to meet at a certain day appointed, every man with horse and armour. Then coming at the day appointed, according to his commandment: the Consul bade them choose whether they would

follow him in the wars of Africk, or else deliver up their armour and horse, to as many other Romans policy in as they were in number. So when they all prayed Sicily they might be dismissed from the war, Scipio appointed three hundred other young Romans in their places, whom he had brought out of Italy with him unarmed, because he would mount and arm them at the Sicilians' cost, as indeed it chanced. Afterwards, they did him great service in Africk, in many great battels. Now time was come on for Scipio to put his army in garrison for the winter time, when he came to Syracusa, taking order not only for the preparation of war, but also for the affairs of Sicily. There when it was told him by complaint of divers, that there was a great company of Italian soldiers in that city, who would not restore the spoils which they had gotten in the wars, but kept them still in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enjoined them by special command-ment to make restitution to the Syracusans: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senate's commandment. Whereby he wan all the people's hearts of Sicily, and was reported to be a just and upright Consul. In the meantime he was advertised by Caius Lælius, that returned out of Africk with great spoil: how King Masinissa was very desirous of his coming thither, and that he instantly prayed him he would come into Africk, as soon as he could possible, so it were without the prejudice of the commonwealth. More-over, that divers nations and people of Africk had the like desire: who hating the government of the Carthaginians, desired nothing more, than some good occasion to rebel. Now this journey was not

Q. Fabius deferred through Scipio's fault or negligence, considering that such a captain could hardly be found that was more careful and diligent in his charge than he. Howbeit the affairs of Sicily, and the opportunity he had to recover Locri again, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpose to pass according to his mind. Furthermore, his lieutenant Pleminius' disorder grieved him much: because that having left him at Locri, he fell to all sorts of insolency, as to deflower women, and to spoil the poor citizens: insomuch that they being marvellously offended with these infinite troubles and villainies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, than to be subject to the government of so vile and wicked a man. So the ambassadors of Locri being arrived at Rome, and exhibiting their complaints in open Senate of the great wrongs and injuries Pleminius did them: the noble men took the matter so grievously, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same Pleminius, but also against P. C. Scipio himself. Whereupon Scipio's enemies having gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirm, that he was acquainted with the injuries offered the Locrians, with the licentiousness of Pleminius, and with the rebellions of his soldiers also: and that he had suffered all these things more negligently, than became the office or duty of a Consul. They added thereto moreover, that his army he had in Sicily was altogether unruly and unserviceable, and regarded not the ordinances of the camp: and that the captain himself was careless, and altogether given over to pleasure and idleness. But above all others, Fabius Maximus

was his heavy enemy, and so vehement against him a great in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all adversary modesty and reason, and thought good to call him unto presently home out of Sicily, and to dismise him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, and extreme. Wherefore following Quintus Metellus' counsel, the Senators appointed ten ambassadors to go into Sicily, to make diligent inquiry, whether the accusations objected against Scipio were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they should command him in the name of the Senate presently to return into Italy. And on the other side, if they found that he was unjustly accused, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies and detractors: then that they should send him to his army, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this war. So when the ambassadors were arrived in Sicily, after they had made diligent inquiry according to the articles of their commission: they could not find that Scipio was faulty in anything, saving that he had too lightly passed over the wrongs and injuries Pleminius had done unto the Locrians. For Scipio was very liberal in rewarding of his men, and exceeding courteous and merciful also in punishing of them. But when they saw his army, his ships, and all his other furniture and munition for war: it is reported that they wondred so much to see the great abundance and good order taken for all things, that when they returned to Rome, they greatly commended Scipio, and rejecting all the accusations of his accusers, they did promise the Senate and people of Rome, assured hope of victory. So when all these home troubles at Rome were taken away,

King there chanced other outward troubles abroad that Syphax grieved him much. For the ambassadors of King Syphax came and told him that their master had made new league with the Carthaginians, and was become friend to Hasdrubal, whose daughter he had married: and therefore that he wished him if he meant to do his country good, to make no attempt upon Africk, for he was determined to reckon the Carthaginians' friends his, and also to set upon them whom the Carthaginians account their enemies. Scipio quickly returned the ambassadors again unto Syphax, because the effect of their coming should not be blown abroad in his camp: and gave them letters, in the which he praised King Syphax, that remembering his league and faithful promise, he should beware he attempted nothing unworthy the name of a Roman, and faith of a king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told them, that the ambassadors of King Syphax were come into Sicily, to complain of his long tarrying, as Masinissa had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his journey to go into Africk, and thereupon commanded all his soldiers to put themselves in readiness, and to provide all things necessary for their journey. The Consul's commandment being published through all Sicily, there repaired immediately unto Lilybæum a multitude of people not only of those that were to sail into Africk, but of others also that came to see the fleet and army of the Romans: because they never saw an army better furnished, nor set out with all things necessary for war, nor better replenished with soldiers than that. So Scipio, all things being ready, embarked at Lilybæum with so earnest a desire

to pass over the sea, that neither oars nor wind did revolteth content his mind. Yet he was brought in few days' from the sailing, to the promontory or mountain called fair, and there he put all his men a-land. The news of his arrival flying straight to Carthage, all the city was presently in such an uproar, that suddenly they sounded the alarm, and guarded the gates and walls, as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from M. Regulus' time, unto that present day, it was almost fifty years' space since any Roman captain ever entered Africk with force of arms. And therefore it was no marvel though they were afraid, and grew to uproar. The name of Scipio did increase their fear the more, because the Carthaginians had no captain matchable with him. Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo had the name at that time of a lusty captain, whom they knew had notwithstanding been overcome, and driven out of Spain by Scipio. Howbeit putting all the hope and safety of their country in him, and in King Syphax that mighty king: they never left entreating the one, nor persuading the other, to come and help the affairs of Africk, with all the speed they could possible. So, whilst they two were preparing to join both their armies together, Hannibal the son of Hamilcar, being appointed to keep the next country adjoining to it, came against the Romans. Scipio after he had destroyed the country, and enriched his army with great spoil: he camped by the city of Utica, to see if it were possible for him to win so noble and wealthy a city, and being besides so commodious for the wars both by sea and land. At the self same time Masinissa came to the Romans' camp, and was inflamed with a vehement desire to make war against

and alain

Hanno King Syphax, by whom he had before been driven overcome out of his kingdom and inheritance. Scipio, that had known him in Spain, a young prince of an excellent wit, and quick and valiant of his hand: he sent him to discover the army of the enemies, before the Carthaginians could gather any greater power, and willed him to use all the device and means he could possible to entice Hanno to fight. Masinissa as he was commanded, began to provoke the enemy, and drawing him out by little and little, he brought him where Scipio lay with all his legions armed, looking for a good hour to fight. The army of the enemies was now wearied, when the Romans came to set upon them with their fresh army. Hanno at the first onset was overcome and slain, with most of his men: and all the rest fled, and dispersed themselves here and there, where they thought they might best scape. After this victory, Scipio returning back again to besiege the city of Utica: the sudden coming of Hasdrubal and King Syphax, made him to leave off his enterprise, for that they brought with them a great army both of footmen and horsemen, and came and camped not far from the Romans. Scipio perceiving that, raised his siege immediately, and came and fortified his camp upon a hill, from whence he might go and fight with the enemy, and molest them of Utica, and also keep his ships safe that rode at anchor. Howbeit the time of the year being come, that both armies were to dispose their men in garrisons for the winter season: he determined to send unto King Syphax to feel his mind, and to make him leave the friendship of the Carthaginians if it were possible. For he knew well it was his marriage

- with Sophonisba, that through her flattering per- Scipio's sussions had brought him to that fury, that he had craft not only forsaken the friendship of the Romans, but also meant to destroy them, contrary to his faith and promise: and that if he had once satisfied the heat of his love with her, he thought then he might be called home again. Syphax having understood Scipio's message sent him, he answered, that indeed it was time not only to leave the league with the Carthaginians, but also to give up all thought of war: and so promised, that he would be a good mean to make peace. Scipio gave good ear unto it, and caught hold of an excellent fine device. He chose the valiantest soldiers in his army, apparelled them like slaves, and made them wait upon the ambassadors, and gave them instructions what they should do. These fellows, whilst the ambassadors and King Syphax were in talk together about the articles and conditions of peace, and that the consultation held longer than it was wont to do: they went and walked up and down through the enemies' camp, to see all the ways and entries into it, according unto Scipio's instructions. After they had done this divers times, they came again to Scipio. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, Scipio seemed to make preparation for wars, (as being out of hope of any peace) and to make his army ready by sea, preparing engines of battery to return to besiege Utica, as he had done before. He gave out this rumour through all the country, to persuade his enemies that it was true: howbeit having called the captains and petty captains of his army together, he made them privy to his intent and enterprise. He told them that both the enemies'

A marvel- camps lay not far asunder, of the which, the one of lous great them had all their tents and cabins of wood: and slaughter the building of the other camp was all of reeds, so Cartha-that they were both easy to be burnt. Whereupon ginians having sent for Masinissa, and Caius Lælius to come unto him, he gave them charge about midnight to give alarm unto Syphax' camp, and to set it a-fire: and that he himself on the other side, would set upon the Carthaginians' camp. They two obeyed Scipio's commandment, performed his will without delay, and came at the hour appointed them to assail the Numidians' camp, and so did set the houses of reeds on fire, which took fire in such sort, as the flame was immediately round about the camp. The Numidians at the first, thinking the fire had come by misfortune, ran thither straight unarmed to But when they found themselves among the legions of the Romans, and that there was nothing but killing downright, seeing themselves so compassed in on all sides, they saw their best remedy was to fly. On the other side also, where Scipio's army was: the Carthaginians' camp was almost all burnt, and the enemies put to flight with such cruel slaughter, that some writers affirm there were slain that night about forty thousand men, as well Carthaginians as Numidians. This great overthrow and slaughter being carried to Carthage, did put the citizens there in such a fear and terror, that some thought best to send for Hannibal out of Italy: and others gave advice to make peace with Scipio. Howbeit the Barcinian faction which was rich and wealthy, and altogether against the peacemakers: they so pre-vailed, that they levied a new power to begin war

again. King Syphax and Hasdrubal, having levied Syphax a great multitude of footmen and horsemen again, overcome renewed their army sooner than was looked for, and came again to pitch their camp directly over against the enemies. Scipio having understanding of that, would not tarry, but determined to give them battell, whilst his men were in good heart, and willing to fight. So it chanced at the first, by the nearness of both their camps, that there were certain skirmishes: but in the end, the armies came to join battell, and the Romans fought with such courage and terror, that at the first onset, they made the Numidians and Carthaginians fly, and slew the most part of them. Hasdrubal and Syphax scaped, by flying out of the slaughter. Scipio sent Masinissa and Caius Lælius with the light horsemen to give them chase. Syphax being come into Numidia, and from thence into his own realm and kingdom he levied an army in haste, of all sorts of people, and came to meet with Masinissa and Caius Lælius, and was not afraid to give them But it was a fond part of him, considering that he was nothing like so strong as his enemy, neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in likelihood of soldiers. For neither the soldiers, nor captains of his army were matchable with the soldiers and captains of the Romans' camp: and therefore King Syphax was easily overcome by such skilful soldiers, and moreover was himself taken in battell, with many other great noblemen, whom Masinissa would hardly have looked for: and then they were brought unto Scipio. At the first there was a marvellous joy among them, when it was told them that King Syphax should be

Masin- brought prisoner unto the camp: but afterwards issa and when they saw him bound, they were all sorry to Sophon- see him in such pitiful state, remembering his former isba greatness and regal majesty. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had been but a little before, what wonderful great wealth he had, and also the power of so great a realm and kingdom. Howbeit Scipio the Roman Consul, received him very courteously, and gently asked him what he meant to change his mind in that sort, and what moved him to make war with the Romans. Then the king remembering his former friendship and faithful promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the love he bare to his wife Sophonisba, who only had procured him to deal so dishonourably with the Romans: howbeit, that he had so smarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they brake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreme misery, to see that his mortal enemy Masinissa was also taken with that frenzy and mad humour, wherewith he before was possessed. For after Syphax was overcome and taken, Masinissa went unto Cirta, the chief city of the realm, the which he wan, and found Sophonisba there, with whom he fell in fancy: who after she had finely wrapped him in with her deceitful flatteries and kindness, he promised her also to deliver her out of the Romans' hands: and because he might the better perform his promise made, he took her to his wife, and married her. When Scipio was informed of these things, it grieved him marvellously. For it was known to all men, that Syphax was overcome under the conduct, and through the Romans' means: and

therefore all that was belonging to Syphax, was at The great the disposition of the Romans. Wherefore if and rare Masinissa had without Scipio's consent, undertaken to defend Sophonisba's quarrel: then it appeared Scipio plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, and the majesty of the people of Rome. Furthermore, his filthy lust did aggravate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intolerable, by how much the continency of the Roman Consul was the greater, the which Masinissa saw daily before his eyes, and might have been a pattern and example unto him. For Scipio, besides many other proofs and shews of his vertues, in all places where he obtained victory, he always kept the women undefiled, which were taken prisoners. So, Scipio being much offended with Masinissa, (though he shewed it not before company) received him very lovingly at his return to the camp: yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproved him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a severe captain. Whereupon Masinissa went into his tent and wept, and could not tell what way he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiving that it was unpossible for him to keep promise with Sopho-misba, which grieved him to the heart: he sent her poison, and a message withal, the which she drank immediately, and so willingly made herself away. Furthermore, the Carthaginians after they had received such wonderful great losses and overthrows, one after another, perceiving that their affairs were brought to such a strait and extremity, that they were no more to look after the enlarging of their dominions, but only to consider

Hannibal which way they might keep their own country: returning with great speed into Africk, before he did anything else, he thought good first to talk with P. Scipio about peace: either because he was afraid of the good fortune of this young man, or else for that he mistrusted he could not otherwise help his country and commonwealth, which he saw decaying, and like to be destroyed. Wherefore a place was appointed, where they might meet according to his desire: where when they were both met, they had long talk together about the ending of this war. In the end, Scipio offered Hannibal such conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the Romans were not weary of war, and that Scipio himself being a young man, had better hope to obtain victory, than great desire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being set aside, they brake off their talk, and the next morning two famous and worthy captains of the most noble nations that could be, prepared themselves to battell, either to give or take away in short time from their commonweals, the seigniory and empire of all the world. The place where they employed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the city of Zama: in the which the Romans being conquerors, did first make the elephants fly, then the horsemen, and in the end brake so fiercely into the footmen, that they overthrew all the army. It is reported, that there were slain and taken by the Romans, above forty thousand Carthaginians. Hannibal fled out of the fury of the battel, and saved himself, though that day he had shewed himself like a

valiant and famous captain. For at this battel he Battel at had set his army in better order than ever he had Zama done before, and had strengthened it, both with the commodity of the place, and relief beside: and even in the very fury and terror of the battell he so bestirred himself among his soldiers, that the enemies themselves did commend and praise him, for a noble captain. After this victory, Scipio meeting with Vermina king Syphax' son, that brought aid to the Carthaginians: he put him to flight, and came and brought his army to the walls and haven of Carthage, thinking (as indeed it fell out) that the Carthaginians would sue to him for peace. For, as the Carthaginians before had been very good soldiers, and ready to make wars: so were they now become timorous and faint-hearted, specially when they saw their general Hannibal overcome, in whom they chiefly reposed all their hope and trust, for defence of their country. Wherefore they being (as I have said) out of heart, sent ambassadors unto Scipio, to pray him that according to his accustomed clemency he would grant them peace. Now was great suit made at Rome, to have the government of the province of Africk, and one of the new Consuls made haste to come and make war, with such charge and preparation as was meet for his dignity and calling: and therefore Scipio doubting that another should carry away the glory for ending of so great a war, he was the better contented to yield to the Carthaginian ambassadors' requests. So, the capitulation of the articles of peace was offered unto the Carthaginians, according to the conquerors' mind: and besides all other things,

Scipio

Five hun- the whole fleet of all their ships and galleys (in dred ships the which consisted much their hope) were taken burnt by from them. For when the whole fleet was burnt, it was such a lamentable eight unto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if Carthage had been destroyed and razed to the very ground. For as some do write, there were five hundred ships burnt of all sorts. These things therefore should make us all beware of human frailty, the which we often forget in our prosperity. For they that before persuaded themselves to conquer the world, after they had won so many great battels and victories of the enemy, and in manner conquered all Italy, and so valiantly besides besieged the city of Rome: were in short time after brought to such misery and extremity, that all their power and force being overcome, they had left them no more but the walls of Carthage, and yet they were not sure to keep them, but through the special grace and favour of the enemy. After these things were done, Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not only restore King Masinissa to his realm again, but also adding thereunto the best part of all King Syphax' country, they made him one of the mightiest kings of all Africk: and afterwards he gave honourable gifts unto every man as he had deserved. In fine. after he had set all the affairs of Africk at good stay, he brought his army back again into Italy: at what time there came to Rome a world of people, to see so great and famous a captain, returning from such wonderful great victories. So he entered into Rome with pomp of triumph,

Terentius Culeo following of him with a hat on Scipio's his head, because that through his favour and triumph friendship he was taken out of bondage. Polybius writeth, that King Syphax was led in triumph: howbeit some say he died before Scipio triumphed. Indeed divers that did triumph, some before him during the wars of the Carthaginians, and others afterwards in the wars of Macedonia and Asia, they made greater show of plate, both of gold and silver in their triumph, and led also a greater number of prisoners: howbeit one only Hannibal that was overcome, and the glory of so great a war ended, did make the triumph of P. Scipio so excellent and famous, that it far passed all the gold and magnificent pomp of all others' triumphs. For after Africk was conquered, no nation then was ashamed to be overcome by the Romans. For he made this province, as it were a bridge and open passage to increase and enlarge the empire of Rome, both in Macedon, and also in Asia, and in other parts of the world besides. Now Scipio (whom I may rightly call African, after the conquest of Africk) being returned to Rome, he lacked no temporal dignities nor honours. For in the council holden for the election of Censors although there were divers others of the noblest houses of Rome that sued for that office: yet he himself, and Ælius Pætus were preferred before all the rest, and after they were created Censors, they did govern in their office like good men, and with good quietness. Afterwards the Censors that followed them, did still one after another choose Scipio African prince of the Senate: the which dignity was wont to be given to them only, that obtained

Scipio the type of all honour, through their great conquests consul and benefits done to their country. Shortly after, he was again chosen Consul with Sempronius Longus, the son of that Sempronius whom Hannibal overcame in that great overthrow, at the battell by the river of Trebia. They two were the first (as it is reported) that divided the noblemen and Senators from the people, in the shew place to see people of Rome, and they were marvellously offended with the Consuls for it: because they took it, that increasing the house pastime. This separation was very odious to the took it, that increasing the honour of the state of the Senators, they thereby did discountenance and embase them. Some say also, that Scipio African afterwards repented himself that he had taken away the old custom, and brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variance betwixt Masinissa and the Carthaginians touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate sent Scipio thither with two other commissioners: who after they had heard the cause of their quarrel, they left the matter as they found it, and would proceed no further in it. And this they did, because that the Carthaginians being troubled with civil wars at home, should take upon them no other wars abroad, neither should have leisure to attempt any alteration otherwise. For the Romans had great war with King Antiochus, and Hannibal Carthaginian was there with him, who still stirred up the old enemies against the Romans, and practised to raise up new enemies against them, and in all things to counsel the Carthaginians to cast away the yoke of bondage, which the Romans had

brought them into under the title of peace, and

to prove the friendship of the kings. Howbeit The natushortly after, the Romans having obtained victory, ral love of and driven King Antiochus out of Greece: they Scipio to his intended also to conquer Asia: and therefore all brother their hope was in Scipio African, as a man that was born to end wars of great importance. Howbeit, Lucius Scipio and Caius Lælius were Consuls. and either of them made suit for the government of Asia. The matter being consulted upon, the Senate stood doubtful what judgement they should give, betwixt two so famous men. Howbeit, because Lælius was in better favour with the Senate. and in greater estimation: the Senate began to take his part. But when P. Cornelius Scipio African, the elder brother of Lucius Scipio, prayed the Senate that they would not dishonour his house so, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was besides very wise, and that he himself also would be his lieutenant: he had no sooner spoken the words, but the Senators received him with great joy, and presently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordained in open Senate, that Lucius Scipio should go into Greece to make war with the Ætolians, and that from thence he should go into Asia, if he thought good to make war with King Antiochus: and also that he should take his brother Scipio African with him, because he should go against Hannibal, that was in Antiochus' army. Who can but wonder at the love and natural affection of Publius Cornelius Scipio African, the which he first shewed from his youth unto his father Cornelius, and afterwards also unto his brother Lucius Scipio, considering the great things he had done? For, notwithstanding

of Scipio

The he was that African by name that had overcome fidelity Hannibal, that had triumphed over the Cartha-and love ginians, and excelled all others in praise of martial discipline: yet of his own good nature he made himself inferior to his younger brother, because he might have the honour of obtaining the government of that province from his fellow Consul Lælius, that was so well beloved, and of great estimation. Lucius Scipio the Consul brought great honour to his country by that war, for that he followed the sound and faithful counsel of his brother. For first of all going into Greece, he took truce for six moneths with the Ætolians, through the advice of his brother African: who counselled him, that setting all things apart, he should straight go into Asia, where the war was rifest. Afterwards also he wan Prusias king of Bithynia from Antiochus' friendship, who before was waving up and down, doubtful which side to take, and all through his brother African's means and practice. So the authority of the African was very great, and all those that would obtain anything of the Consul, came first to the African to be their mean and intercessor. Now when he came into Asia, Antiochus' ambassador, and Heraclides Byzantine, came unto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly told their message, perceiving that they could not obtain reasonable conditions of peace: they privately talked with Scipio African as they were commanded, and practised the best they could to make him King Antiochus' friend. For they told him, that Antiochus would send him his younger son which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his com-

panion in the government of all his realm, only to his reserving the name and title of the king. Howbeit country P. Scipio, excelling no less in faithfulness and bounty, than in many other vertues, after he had answered them to all other matters, he told them, that for his son he would take him for a marvellous friendly gift: and that for a private good turn, he would do the best he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counsel the king above all things to leave off thought of war, and to receive those offers and conditions of peace, which the Senate and people of Rome would offer him. Shortly after, Antiochus sent P. Scipio his son according to his promise: who (as it is reported) had been taken prisoner from the first beginning of the war, as he went from Chalcid, unto Oricum: or as other writers say, as he passed by in a pinnace. Yet some hold opinion, that he was taken as he went to discover the counsel of the enemies, and that he was then sent again unto his father, lying sick at the city of Elea. This great courtesy of King Antiochus was marvellous well thought of of the African, and not without cause: for to see his son after he had been away so long, it did greatly lighten his spirits, and diseased body. But P. Scipio to shew some token of a thankful mind, prayed the ambassadors that came unto him, greatly to thank King Antiochus for the exceeding pleasure he had done him, to send him his son. Afterwards he gave Antiochus advice also that he should not give battell, till he understood of his return from Elea to the camp. So Antiochus being persuaded by the authority of so worthy a man, he kept close in his camp for a certain time, and deter-

Antiochus mined to draw the war out at length, hoping in the being end that he might come to speak with the Consul, overcome by the African's means. But afterwards, the Consul camping hard by Magnesia, did so vex and provoke the enemy, that the king came out to battell, and set his men in battell ray. It is reported that Hannibal himself was present at the battell, being one of the generals for the king. So Antiochus being overcome, and his army discomfited, perceiving that there was no help in his affairs: he came unto the African, (who being newly recovered of his sickness, came to the camp within a little after the field was won) and by his means obtained of the Consul to be contented to talk of peace. When Antiochus' ambassadors were come to the camp, and that they had humbly craved pardon in the behalf of their king, and also prayed that they would give them such conditions of peace, as they best liked of: Scipio African with the consent of them all answered them, that it was not the manner of the Romans to yield to adversity, neither also to be proud in prosperity: and therefore that he now made him the self same offers and conditions of peace, which he did before the victory. That the king should not meddle with Europe, that he should surrender up all he had in Asia from the mountain Taurus, unto the river of Tanais: that he should pay tribute twenty years together: that he should also put in such hostages as the Consul would choose out: and that specially above all the rest, they should deliver Hannibal Carthaginian unto the Consul, who was the only author and procurer of this war. But he, as we have written in his life, perceiving that King Antiochus'

army was overthrown both by sea and by land, escaped accepteth the Romans' hands, and went unto Prusias king of conditions Bithynia. Antiochus having accepted the offers of peace and conditions of peace, said, that the Romans used him very favourably, to rid him of so great care, and to appoint him so small a kingdom. For great kingdoms, and overmuch wealth which every man coveteth, are full of great and sundry troubles: insomuch that Theocritus' words are as true, as otherwise excellently written:

The things I wish are neither wealth nor sceptre, robe, nor crown,

Nor yet of swiftness and of strength to bear away

But singing with a merry heart in simple shed, to look Aloof upon the troublous seas, that are so hard to

So when the mighty king of Asia was overcome, and that so great a war was so easily ended beyond all men's opinion: the Consul L. Scipio returned to Rome, and made his entry into the city, shewing a great and honourable triumph. He also deserved the surname of the province and country subdued by him. So that as his elder brother before was called African, for that he had conquered Africk: even so was Lucius Scipio surnamed Asian, for conquering Asia unto Rome. And P. Scipio, through whose counsel his brother Lucius had brought his wars to happy end, he went not clear without honour also. For shortly after, two noble Censors, T. Q. Flaminius, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus chose him Prince of the Senate the third time. Now at that time, the house and family of the

Scipio's Scipios and Cornelians flourished, with supreme defence degree of honour: and the authority of Scipio African was grown to such height and greatness, as no private man could wish to be any greater in a free city. Howbeit the secret malice of wicked hearts, which could no longer abide this greatness and authority, began at length to burst out, and to light upon those that were the authors of so great things. For two Tribunes of the people, suborned (as it is reported) by Porcius Cato: they accused P. Scipio African for keeping back King Antiochus' money, and because he brought it not into the common chamber or treasury. Scipio African knowing his innocency, being called by the magistrate, shewed himself obedient, and came into the market-place with a bold countenance, and there made an oration, declaring what things he had done for the benefit and commodity of his country and commonwealth. The rehearsal of these things did not mislike the common people that were present: because he did it rather to avoid the danger prepared for him, than otherwise for any vainglory or ostenta-tion. Howbeit the Tribunes not being so contented, were vehement against him, and spared no injurious words, but accused him as though he had indeed been in fault, howbeit upon suspicion, rather than of any due proof. The next morning being commanded to come before them again, he appeared at the hour appointed, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole assembly, and went up to the pulpit for orations. When he saw that every man kept silence, then he spake in this manner: I remember my lords, that on such a day as this, I wan that famous victory of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, His voland therefore leaving aside this contention, I think untary it good we go unto the Capitol to give God thanks banishfor the victory. So he departed thence, and all the whole assembly followed him, not only to the Capitol, but also to all the other temples of the city, leaving the two Tribunes all alone with their sergeants. That day was the very last date of all the African's good fortune, for the great assembly and multitude of people that waited upon him, and for the great good-will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the country, far from all ambition, and the company of people: and so went unto Linternum in a marvellous rage, that for reward of his so great service, and so sundry benefits as he had brought unto his country, he received but shame and reproach: or else, for that indeed being as he was of a noble mind, he thought it more honour willingly to give place to his enemies, than to seek to maintain his greatness by force of arms. So when the Tribunes did accuse him of contempt, and that his brother Lucius did excuse his absence by reason of his sickness: Tiberius Gracchus, one of the Tribunes that was against the African, took his excuse (beyond all men's opinions) for good payment, and did so well defend Scipio's cause, sometime honourably praising him, another time also threatening his enemies: that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were marvellously offended for the great injury they did him. Some do write, that P. Scipio himself, before he went unto Linternum, did with his own hands tear the book his brother had brought unto the Senate. to

African

The ac- deliver the account of his charge: and that he did cusation it not for any deceit nor pride, but with that self of the boldness of mind he had aforetime used to the treasurers, when he did against the law require the keys of the common treasure, to supply the present need of the state. Now some there be also that say, it was not the African, but Scipio Asian that was accused before the Tribunes: and that Scipio African was sent in commission at that time into Tuscan. Who, understanding of his brother's accusation at his return to Rome, and finding his brother Lucius condemned, and the sergeants waiting on him to carry him, being bound, into prison: he was in such a rage withal, that he rescued his brother by force out of the sergeants' hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beside, that Tiberius Gracchus one of the Tribunes, complaining first that the authority of the Tribuneship was trodden under feet by a private person: he afterwards letting fall all the malice and envy he bare unto the Scipios, defended their cause, because the Tribunes should rather seem to be overcome by a Tribune, than by a private person. They said moreover, that the self same day the Senate supped in the Capitol, he persuaded the African to let Tiberius Gracchus marry his younger daughter. This promise was no sooner made, but P. Scipio coming home to his house, told his wife that he had bestowed their daughter: whereupon she being angry, told him again that he should not have married her without consent of her mother, though he could have bestowed her upon Tiberius Gracchus. This answer liked Scipio marvellous well, when he saw that his wife was of his mind, touching the

marriage of their daughter. I know it is thought His wife of some, that it was attributed to Tiberius the son, and chiland to Appius Claudius his father-in-law. Polybius, and other ancient writers affirm, that Cornelia, the mother of Caius and Tiberius Gracchi. was married unto Gracchus after the African's death. For Scipio African was married unto Æmilius the daughter of L. Paulus Æmilius Consul, that was slain at the battell of Cannes. By her he had two daughters, of the which the eldest was married unto P. Cornelius Nasica, and the younger unto Tiberius Gracchus, either before, or after the death of his father. Now touching his son, there is little mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We have spoken of his younger son that was taken by King Antiochus, and afterwards frankly sent unto his father: of whom notwithstanding afterwards I find no mention in writing, saving that some say he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by means of Cicereius his father's secretary. There appeareth in writing also, that the younger African was adopted by the son of P. Scipio. Cicero in his book intituled Cato Major saith, How weak (said he) was the son of P. African that adopted thee his son? And in his sixth book also De Republica, Æmilius the father exhorteth Scipio his son, to follow justice and piety, as his grandfather Scipio African had done. And touching the death of P. Scipio African, writers do diversely vary: for some say that he died and was buried at Rome. And for proof thereof they do bring forth the monument that was set up for him by the gate Capena, over the which stood three statues or

taph of Scipio

The epi- images, two whereof were the images of P. and Lucius Scipio, and the third was of Q. Ennius the poet. And surely that which Cicero wrote, seemeth to confirm it true: Our Ennius (said he) was marvellously beloved of African the Great, and therefore it is thought that he was buried in Scipio's tomb. Other authors write also (and surely they agree best with the common report) that Scipio African died at Linternum, and that there he was buried at his own appointment: because his country so unthankfully acknowledging his service, should do him no honour at his death: and that there they set him up a tomb, and his statue upon that, the which afterwards was blown down by a tempest of wind, and the which Livy himself witnesseth he saw. Furthermore, by Caieta this epitaph was graven in a plate of copper, set in a marble tomb:

> The man that vanquished Hannibal and conquered Carthage town,

> And eke increased the Romans both in empire and renown.

> Lies here a heap of dust and earth hid underneath this

His deeds, his prowess, and his life, are altogether

Whom neither Europe could withstand, nor Africk in times past,

(Behold man's frailty) here he lies in little room at last.

Now touching the time of his death, having made great search for it, I have found in certain Greek authors, that the African lived four and fifty years, and died shortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble captain, and worthy of all commendation for martial discipline, and besides excelled in

all other vertues: the which did so delight his The mind, that he was wont to say, he was never power of less idle, than when he took his ease: neither vertue less solitary, than when he was alone. For sometimes he would withdraw himself out of the assembly, and from all men's company, and thought himself safe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deeds was so great, that wheresoever he went, all sorts of people would come and see him. The common report went, that when he was at Linternum, there came certain rovers unto him to see so famous a man, and to kiss that so

faithful and victorious a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all sorts of people: because it doth not only make the good, but the evil also to love and honour it.

THE COMPARISON OF

HANNIBAL WITH P. SCIPIO **AFRICAN**

Hannibal Now let us compare Hannibal and Scipio's deeds

and together, as touching their civil discipline. First Scipio if we remember their deeds in wars, it is manifest that both of them have been great and famous captains in war, and that they have not only been comparable with the noblest kings and princes in their time (being also in that age when wars flourished most) but with those also that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they having great and heavy enemies in their country, (who sought to overthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly go through with so great matters, and to obtain such happy and famous victories, in strange and foreign wars. Therefore passing over all other matters, what ado had P. Scipio, before he could obtain to be sent into Africk, to make war with the Carthaginians, Fabius Maximus, and other noblemen of the city being greatly against it? Again, what enemy had Hannibal of Hanno, who was prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now they both having overcome such great troubles at home, did notwithstanding bring things to end worthy perpetual memory: not by chance as it happeneth unto many, but through their industry, great wisdom, and

counsel. So divers do wonder greatly at Hannibal's in wars courage and noble mind: who after he had sacked the city of Saguntum, came boldly from the farthest part of the world into Italy, and brought with him a great army of footmen and horsemen, and came to make war with a great state and commonwealth, the which his predecessors always dreaded: and after he had won many battels, and slain sundry Consuls and captains of the Romans, he came and camped hard by the city of Rome itself, and procured strange kings and far nations to make war with the Romans. He that was able to do so great things as these, men cannot otherwise think of him, but that he was a great and valiant captain. Others also speaking of Scipio do greatly praise and commend him for the four chieftains he overcame, and for the four great armies which he defeated, and put to flight in Spain, and also for that he overcame and took that great king Syphax prisoner. In fine, they come to praise that famous battell in the which Scipio overcame Hannibal at Zama. For if Fabius (said they) were praised, because he was not overcome by Hannibal: what estimation will they make of the African, that in a pitched battell overcame that so famous and dreadful captain Hannibal, and also did end so dangerous a war ! Besides also, that Scipio did always make open war, and commonly fought with the enemy in plain field. Where Hannibal in contrary manner did always use craft and subtility, and was full of stratagems and policy. And therefore all authors, both Greek and Latin, do count him very fine and subtile. Furthermore, they greatly commend Hannibal for that he maintained his army of so sundry nations, so long time in

Hanni- peace, as he had war with the Romans: and yet bal's that there was never any mutiny or rebellion in his cruelty camp. On the other side, they blame him again, because he did not follow his victory, when he had overcome the Romans at that famous battell of Cannes: and also because he spoiled his soldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of Campania and Apulia, whereby they were so changed, that they seemed to be other soldiers than those that had overcome the Romans, at the sundry battels of Trebia, Trasimene, and Cannes. All writers do reprove these things in Hannibal, but specially his cruelty. For amongst other things, what cruelty was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from Arpi to his camp, and afterwards to burn them alive? What shall a man say of them whom he cruelly put to death, in the temple of Juno Lacinia, when he departed out of Italy? Scipio African on the other side, if we shall rather credit the best authors that write, than a number of other detractors and malicious writers: we may say. he was a bountiful and temperate captain, and not only lively and valiant in fight, but also courteous and merciful after victory. For oftentimes his enemies proved his valiantness, the vanquished his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithful-Now therefore, let us tell you what his continency and liberality was, which he shewed in Spain unto a young lady taken prisoner, and unto Lucceius Prince of the Celtiberians: doth it not deserve great praise? Now for their private doings, they were both virtuously brought up, and both of them embraced learned men. For as it is reported, Hannibal was very familiar with Socillus

Lacedæmonian, as the African was with Ennius Hannithe poet. Some say also, that Hannibal was so well bal's learned in the Greek tongue, that he wrote a witty history in Greek touching the deeds of Manlius Volso. Now truly I do agree with Cicero, that said in his book De Oratore, that Hannibal heard Phormio Peripatetician in Ephesus, discoursing very largely of the office and duty of a chieftain and general, and of the martial laws and ordinances: and that immediately after being asked what he thought of that philosopher, he should answer in no very perfect Greek, but yet in Greek, that he had seen many old doting fools, but that he had never seen a greater dotard than Phormio. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talk, and Hannibal had a sharp taunting wit in his answers. When King Antiochus on a time prepared to make war with the Romans, and had put his army into the field, not so well furnished with armour and weapon, as with gold and silver: he asked Hannibal if he thought his army sufficient for the Romans? Yea (Sir) quoth he, that they be, were the enemies never so covetous. This may truly be said of Hannibal, that he obtained many great victories in the wars, but yet they turned to the destruction of his country. Scipio in contrary manner did preserve his country in such safety, and also did so much increase the dominions thereof: that as many as shall look into his desert, they cannot but call Rome unthankful, which liked rather that the African (preserver of the city) should go out of Rome, than that they should repress the fury and insolency of a few. And for mine own opinion, I cannot think well of that city, that so unthank-

Scipio's fully hath suffered so worthy and innocent a person great to be injured: and so would I also have thought it mind more blameworthy, if the city had been an aider of the injury offered him. In fine, the Senate (as all men do report) gave great thanks unto Tiberius Gracchus, because he did defend the Scipios' cause: and the common people also following the African, when he visited the temples of Rome, and left the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shew how much they did love and honour the name of the Scipios. And therefore, if we should judge the citizens' hearts and good wills by those things, men would rather condemn them for cowards, to have suffered such outrage, than unthankful for forgetting of his benefits: for there were very few that consented to so wicked a deed, and all of them in manner were very sorry for it. Howbeit Scipio, that was a man of a great mind, not much regarding the malice of his enemies: was content rather to leave the city, than by civil wars to destroy it. For he would not come against his country with ensigns displayed, neither would he solicit strange nations and mighty kings to come with force, and their aid, to destroy the city, the which he had beautified with so many spoils and triumphs as Marcius Coriolanus, Alcibiades, and divers others did, by record of ancient stories. For we may easily perceive how careful he was to preserve the liberty of Rome, because when he was in Spain, he refused the title and name of king which was offered him: and for that he was marvellous angry with the people of Rome, because they would have made him perpetual Consul and Dictator: and considering also that he commanded they should set

up no statue of him, neither in the place of the Their assembly, nor in the judgement-seat, nor in the Capitol. All which honours afterwards were given by the citizens unto Cæsar, that had overcome Pompey. These were the civil vertues of the African, which were great and true praises of continency. Now therefore, to deliver you the sum and effect of these things: these two famous captains are not so much to be compared together in their civil vertues (in the which Scipio chiefly excelled) as in the discipline of wars, and in the glory of their famous victories.

To conclude, their deaths were somewhat alike: for they both died out of their countries, although Scipio was not condemned by his country as

Hannibal was, but would by voluntary banishment die out of the city.

The end of Plutarch's Lives.

EPILOGUE

In that strange medley of tragedy and farce, which for a great part of the first century makes the history of Rome, there is little to attract a student like Plutarch. So wild was the garboil of affairs, fortune's whirligig whizzed about so incomprehensibly, that even a strong man had small chance of making his mark. If Galba was one deemed by common consent fit to rule, he came to the front too late in his life to do more than point an epigram. Otho had not altogether drowned his good parts in dissipation; yet his courage and magnanimity, and the love of his soldiers to him, could not save his life or keep him upon the throne beyond a bare three months. Hence an incompleteness about these two sketches, which are less satisfying to the reader from all points of view than those which have gone before. It seems to be rather the tragedy of the empire which Plutarch here has in his eye, that strange vicissitude of things which so strongly attracted his imagination. We could wish he had taken a wider oversight of history, and had closed his gallery of portraits with some mature reflections on the fate of empires and the influence of men upon circumstance.1 We have seen on occasion how far in advance of his day Plutarch often showed himself

to be. Not only does he advocate clemency in conquest, humane treatment of captured cities, and respect for women in war; but he forestalls modern ideas in other things also. Utilitarians still laugh at the thought of conquest for any other end than gain or glory; all nations, perhaps, save the branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, rule their conquests for the rulers' fancied good, and care little for the subject; yet Plutarch could speak in good faith of the honest colour which cloaks ambitious desires, when barbarous people are brought to a civil life. He might have said something on the evils and perhaps the benefits of a democratic government, more weighty and calmly reasoned than the hints he continually lets fall. Political corruption he had seized on as one of the chief causes of national ruin,2 and he felt a true Greek's detestation for irresponsible tyranny. It is likely that he never meant to do this, for he tells us frankly he is not to write history, but lives; 3 yet it does not appear to me that he had finished his task as he conceived it. There is evidence that he published his book in bits, and certainly it cannot have been written all at one time. Can we believe that he would have planned a biographical library, and willingly omitted Scipio African and Hannibal?

One more omission we regret, that Plutarch did not give us a sketch of his own life. The few sentences he writes of himself and his own family are full of interest, and in their unassuming simplicity reach the heart at once. A kindly and gentle nature breathes in every page of his book; his was a mind full of high thoughts, an eye keen to mark all that is noble and of good report, a calm judgement which makes

^{.1} vi. 321.

² iii, 21.

³ vii. 1

allowances and is strangely free from prejudice. What a treasure would have been Plutarch's sketch portraits of his own friends! As Theodoric and the provincial nobles live in the pages of Sidonius, so in this we should see Nero and Domitian, perhaps Trajan, as they appeared to one who stood somewhat aloof; and the society of his own little town, or the clashing of wits in the university of Athens, would be clear to us. And by how much Plutarch's literary instinct is truer than the frigid affectations of the Roman, so much the

more life would there be in the picture.

To speak critically of North's version would ask for more space than can here be given, but a word or two may be in place. We have seen that he blunders many a time and oft, sometimes ludicrously. His knowledge of Greek perhaps did not go far beyond the alphabet, and he is by no means impeccable in his French. But these drawbacks are all forgotten in the strength and vigour of his style. It may be true that he owes much to Amyot in this matter, and indeed he translates according to his lights very closely. Yet he is no less forcible and dignified when he leaves Amyot, and there is sufficient general resemblance between North and others of his age to show that he owed more to England than to France. In any case, the proverbs and racy colloquialisms which fill his pages are all his To a generation which corresponds on postcards and talks like a sixpenny telegram, North's sentences may appear long-winded and involved; as Demosthenes would be when compared with Mac-aulay, or Cicero to "Lipsius his hopping stile." But after a while the ear becomes attuned to these resounding periods, as in hearing a fugue of Bach roll off a cathedral organ we care no more for trivial morceaux de

salon. There is none of the library dust about North, who writes as a man of action; one that has lived in the open air; the captain of three hundred men of Elv in the year of the Armada, who had himself worn a morion and wielded a halberd. We who pride ourselves on a polisht correctness of diction have much to learn from such a book as this. The new criticaster holds it unpardonable to attract a verb out of its number, or a pronoun out of its case, and North will shock his susceptibility on every page; but if his professional reading of cheap novels have left him any sense of literary charm, he will find it to the full in a writer who is never dull, always fresh, and with heart and soul delights

in his work.

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 englished 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 shouldernotes have been taken as far as possible from North's

marginalia.

NOTES

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'Ecdelus': 'In another place he calleth him Ecdemus.'—N.

 'waked': the first edition has naked, clearly a misprint (A. esueillé); it is corrected in the later editions.

23. 'Presche': this absurd blunder has been made before, vol. iv. p. 213 note. Amyot has correctly la presqueisle du Peloponnese, 'the peninsula of the Peloponnese,' and North takes presque for a name.

'wive's,' i.e. 'wife's,' the regular spelling.

53. 'river of Corinth' should be 'coast lands,' A. la riviere.
61. 'Megareus': the text has Megalæus, emended in

Sintenis to Megaleus.

- 77. 'Colonia': 'Others read Clunia.' N. from A.; so Sintenis.
- 78. 'Vicellus': vulgate 'Sicelus,' Sintenis by conjecture 'Icelus.'

79. 'Mauriscus': corrected in Sintenis to Mauricus.

'Tertullianus': North writes, 'Cornelius Tacitus calleth him Turpilianus,' translating Amyot; so Sintenis.

103. 'Paul's palace': the Basilica Paulli Æmilii.

'Sarcello': emended to Βεργελίωνος in Sintenis. N. adds a note from A. 'Tacitus doth call him Virgilio.' Sempronius': 'Cornelius Tacitus doth call him Densus.' N. from A. Sintenis reads Sempronius 'Densus' for the vulgate 'Indrisus.'

106. 'Sestertium': emended by Bekker to Sessorium.

134. The Lives of Hannibal and Scipio are not in Plutarch. 165. Plutarch in the Life of Fabius saith, that there were

50,000 slain and 14,000 taken prisoners.'—N. from the French.

174. 'six thousand': 'Plutarch in the Life of Marcellus, speaketh of five thousand Carthaginians slain, and only of five hundred Romans.'—N. from the French.

233. 'should': the mark of oblique speech in English.

VOCABULARY

ABANTIDAS, murdered Clinias, father of Aratus, and became tyrant of Sicyon 264 B.C., soon afterwards was himself slain.

ABUSE, trick, 138.

ACADEMICS, the philosophical school founded by Plato, who taught in the Academia, a grove near Athens.

ACADEMY, a plantation near Athens. where Plato taught; so the title of the Platonic School of Philosophers.

Acerræ, a town in Campania.

ACIDINUS, L. MANLIUS, served against Hasdrubal 207 B.C., in Spain 206-

Acknown, acquainted, 28.

ADRUMETUM, HADRUMETUM, a Phoenician colony in Africa, capital of Byzacena.

ÆGIUM, a city near Sicyon, on the Gulf of Corinth.

Æsop, 6th century B.C., famous for his fables, was a slave; afterwards set free.

Agis, King of Sparta from 244 to 240 B.C., tried to reform the state, but was put to death by the Ephori.

ALBA, a town S. of Rome, in the hills.

ALCIBIADES, about 450-404 B.C., an Athenian statesman and general, famous for his beauty and profligacy, power and success.

ALCMAEON, son of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle, took part in the legendary expedition of the Epigoni against Thebes, and slew his mother for treachery to his father,

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 356 - 323, B.C., son of Philip of Macedon, conquered Greece, defeated the Persians at the Granicus 334, the Issus 333, took Tyre 332, founded Alex-andria 331, defeated Darius finally at Gangamela (Arbela) 331, penetrated central Asia and India, died in Babylon.

ANIO, a small affluent of the Tiber.

ANTIGONUS, called GONATUS, son of Demetrius, City-sacker, became king of Macedon 277 B.C.; he tried to prevent the formation of the Achæan League; died 230.

ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, 223-187 B.C., king of Syria, a doughty warrior, fought against Egypt and against the Romans, crossed to Greece 192, defeated at Thermopylæ 191, by L. Scipio at Nat Sipylus 190.

APELLES, most famous of all the Greek painters, 4th century B.C.

Apollo, god of wisdom and prophecy, later of the sun; his chief temple and oracle was at Delphi, where he was called Pythius.

APPARENT, clear, 58. AQUINUM, a city of the Volsci.

ARBOCULA, in Hispania Tarraconensis.

ARCHILOCHUS, an early Greek iambic poet and satirist, 7th century B.C.

ARETIUM, one of the chief cities of Etruria. Argos, a city and district in the N.

of the Peloponnese. ARNUS, the Arno, chief river of

Etruria. AUGUSTUS. See OCTAVIUS.

Avoid, depart, 129. AWAY WITH, to endure, 114.

BACCHUS, Greek god of wine. BANKET, banquet, 8.

BECAUSE, in order that, 26. BELLONA, Roman goddess of war. BRAVELY, finely (of dress), 164. BRAVERY, defiance, 115. Bresselle, Brixellum, on the Po,

where Otho killed himself a.D. 69. BURDEN, accuse, 117. BURGANET, helmet, 40.

CAESAR, C. JULIUS, born 100 B.C., consul 59, in Gaul 58-50, crossed the Rubicon 49, conquered Pompey at Pharsalia 48, dictator 48-44, murdered 44.

CALENDS, first of the month.

CALVISIUS SABINUS, C., one of Cæsar's legates in the Civil War.

CALYDONIA, a district of N. Greece bordering on the Gulf of Corinth.

CANNES, CANNÆ, in Apulia, where Hannibal defeated the Romans 216

CANUSIUM, a town on the borders of Apulia.

CAPHYA, a town in Arcadia. CAPITOL, one of the Seven Hills of Rome, where stood the Castle and the Temple of Jupiter.

CAPUA, chief city of Campania.

CARCANET, necklet, 91.

CARRIAGE, baggage, 122. Casilinum, in Campania.

Casinum, a town in Latium.

Castulo, a town on the Bætis, now Cazlona.

CATO, M. PORCIUS, called of Utica, from the place of his death, 95-46 B.C.; opposed Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus; after the battle of Thapsus had made his cause hopeless, he killed himself.

CENCHREÆ, a port of Corinth in the Saronic Gulf.

CENOMANIANS, a Gallic tribe of N. Italy.

CENTIMALUS, CN. FULVIUS (not Cornelius), consul 211 B.C., defeated and slain by Hannibal 210, at Herdonia.

CHÆRONEA, in Bœotia, scene of several battles.

Champion, Champaign, flat land,

CHEER, look, 26.

CICERO, M. TULLIUS, the orator statesman, and literary man, 106-43 B.C., as consul in 63 crushed the rebellion of Catiline, banished 58, returned 57; opposed Cæsar, but was generously pardoned by him, killed by orders of Antony 43.

CINGONIUS VARRO, a Roman senator who supported Nymphidius, and was therefore put to death by Galba.

CIRTA, now CONSTANTINE, in Numidia.

CLEOMENES, king of Sparta from 236-222 B.C., tried to reform the State, but was afterwards defeated, and died in exile 220.

CLEONÆ, a city in Argolid. CLODIUS MACER, governor of Africa A.D. 68, claimed the throne, but was murdered.

Colourably, by pretence, 165. COMMODITY, advantage, 144.

CONFINE, to border, to be on the marches, 137.

CONTINENCY, self-control, 257. CORIOLANUS, C. MARCIUS, a hero of

early Roman history or legend, who fought against his country. Cornelius Laco, a lawyer, made

one of Galba's favourites. CORTONENSIS, of Cortona, a city of Etruria.

CRANEW, cranny, loophole, 115. CREMONA, city in N. Italy, near Mantua.

CUMÆ, a city in Campania, near Naples.

Curst, snappish, 6.

Cyclors, one of a mythical tribe of one-eyed giants, who were wild and lawless.

DELPHES, DELPHI, in Phocis, seat of the famous oracle of Apollo Pythian.

DEMADES, an Athenian orator, who favoured the Macedonians, put to death by Antipater 318 B.C.

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM, DOTT about 345 B.C., orator, statesman, philosopher, and poet.

DIANA, Greek ARTEMIS, virgin goddess of the wild woodland, daughter of Leto, and sister of Apollo; she

is queen and huntress, chaste and fair, and bears a silver bow.

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER, 430-367 B.C., soldier of fortune, and tyrant of Syracuse; he fought with Carthage, and with many of his neighbouring

Discommodity, inconvenience, 120. Drachma, a silver coin about the size

DURANCE, the Druentia, a tributary of the Rhone.

DYMAS, one of the twelve Achaian cities.

Eight, eighth, 141.

Element, upper air, 25.

EPIDAURUS, a city and health resort on the S. side of the Saronic Gulf.

Ennius, Q., 239-169 B.C., one of the chief early Roman poets.

EPAMINONDAS, a Theban, statesman and general, freed Thebes from the Spartans 379 B.C., commanded at Leuctra 371, founded Messene 369, conquered Spartans at Mantinea 362, where he was killed.

EPHORI, a board of magistrates at Sparta who controlled the kings. EUBCEA, OF NEGROPONT, a large island

off the coast of Bocotia. EUMENES, King of Pergamus.

FABIUS MAXIMUS, O., called Cunctator, the Dallier, the first Roman who successfully opposed Hannibal, whom he outwearied by refusing to fight a pitched battle.

FÆSULÆ, Fiesole, near Florence. FERONIA, an ancient goddess of the Sabines, whose chief shrine was at

Tarracina. FETCH, trick, 186.

FLACCUS, HORDRONIUS, put to death by his troops A.D. 68.

FONDLY, foolishly, 22.

Gades, Cadiz.

GALBA, 3 B.C.-A.D. 69, sixth Roman emperor, A.D. 68-69, a strong man and able general.

GALLY-GASKONS, wide breeches, 116, GERANEA, a range of hills to the SW. of Cithæron, in the Megaris.

GIRN, growl, 9.

HANNIBAL, son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, defeated the Romans at the Trebia 218, lake Trasimenus 217, Cannæ 216, defeated by Scipio at Zama 202, fled to Antiochus, then to Prusias, finally took poison about 183.

HAPPILY, by chance, 15.

HASDRUBAL, brother of Hannibal, killed 207 B.C.

HASDRUBAL HARDUS, one of the peace party in Carthage.

HECTOR, son of Priam, the great hero of the Trojan side in the ten years' siege.

HERCULES, national hero of Greece. His labours were undertaken at the bidding of Eurystheus. They were: (1) Nemean lion, (2) Lernean hydra, (3) Arcadian stag, (4) Erymanthian boar, (5) cleansing of the stables of Augeas, (6) Stymphalian birds, (7) Cretan bull, (8) Mares of Diomedes, (9) Queen of Amazons' girdle, (10) oxen of Geryones, (11) golden apples of the Hesperides, (12) Cerberus brought up from Hades. After death he was deified.

HERDONIA, In Apulia.

HERMANDICA, Salamanca. HESIOD, eighth century B.C., a Greek didactic poet.

Hoise, hoist, 199. HOMER, the great epic poet of Greece. To him are ascribed the Iliad (of the siege of Troy and wrath of Achilles) and the Odyssey (of the wanderings of Ulysses). Modern critics believe these to have been written by at least two poets on the basis of popular ballads.

HOUGH, hamstring, 104. Humour, moisture, 13. HUNDRETH, hundred, 26. Hunt, huntsman, 9.

IBERUS, the Ebro, in Spain.

IDEA, i.e. Cybele, whose worship was brought to Rome from Pessinus during the war with Hannibal. She was worshipped on Mount Ida.

Incontinently, immediately, 131.

3

IPHICRATES, an Athenian general, famous as having invented an improvement in tactics which enabled him to destroy a Spartan regiment 302 B.C.

ITHOME, a mountain in Messenia. on which the chief city was built.

Juno, queen of heaven and wife of Jupiter. As Lacinia, she was honoured on a headland of Bruttium, called Lacinium.

JUPITER, Greek ZEUS, king of the gods; one of this titles was the

Saviour.

LECHEUM, the port of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf.

LILYBEUM, a town in the W. of Sicily.

LINTERNUM, on coast of Campania. LIVIUS, T., of Patavium, 59 B.C.-A.D. 17, author of a history of Rome.

LUCULLUS, L. LICINIUS, conqueror of Mithridates, died about 57 B.C.

Luke, Lucania, a district in S. Italy.

MAGNESIA, name of two cities of Lydia in Asia Minor, (1) on the Mæander, (2) near Mount Sipylus, and (3) a district of Thessaly.

MALEA, the easternmost of the three prongs of the Peloponnese.

Mantinea, a city in Arcadia.

MARATHON, near Athens, where Miltiades conquered the Persian host 400 B.C.

MARCHES, borders, 188.

MARISH, marsh, 153.

MARIUS CELSUS, P., an able general under Galba and Otho.

MARIUS, C., a plebeian soldier, seven times consul, conqueror of Jugurtha and of the Cimbri 102, caused a civil war, and died 86.

MARROK, Morocco.

MASSÆSYLIANS, a Numidian tribe.

MASSILIA, Marseille.

MEGALOPOLIS, a city of Arcadia, founded by Epaminondas, centre of the Arcadian League.

MEGARA, a city between Athens and Corinth.

MELANTHUS OF MELANTHIUS, a

famous Greek painter of the Sicv. onian school, fourth century B.C. MESSENE, capital of Messenia, built

upon Mount Ithome.

MESSENIA, the plain W. of Laconia. parted from it by Mount Taygetus METAPONTUM, a Greek colony in S.

METAURUS, a river in Umbria, where Hasdrubal was defeated by Nem

207 B.C.

METHONE, a harbour of Messenia, in the Peloponnese.

MINA, a sum of money equal m bullion to some £4.

MITHRIDATES OF MITHRADATES THE GREAT, 120-63 B.C., king of Pontus. long time successfully resisted the Romans, an able ruler and leader.

MONETH, month, 4.

MORION, metal headpiece, 40. Mycenæ, an ancient city and fortress

near Argos.

Narbona, Narbonne,

NAUGHTY, worthless, 62.

NEALCES, a Greek painter of the fourth century B.C.

NEMBA, a town betwist Corinth and

NEMEE, Nemean Games, celebrated every two years in honour of Zeus at Nemea.

NERO, A.D. 37-68, fifth emperor of Rome 54-68, proverbial as a monster of cruelty, cowardice, and vice. NESTOR, an old man in Homer,

famous for wise saws.

NEW CARTHAGE, a city on the E. of Spain.

NICOCLES, four months' tyrant of Sicyon, deposed by Aratus 251 B.C.

Nola, in Campania.

Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, was fabled to have received constant counsel from a nymph Egeria.

ioint - com-NYMPHIDIUS SABINUS, mander of the Prætorian Guard with Tigellinus, tried to seize the empire 68 B.C., but killed by Galba's friends

OCTAVIUS, C., grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, who adopted him, whereat

he took the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, 68 B.C -A.D. 14. At Caesar's murder he was but twenty, yet with great tact and skill organised the party of revenge, conquered his enemies, and after the battle of Actium, 31 s.c., became emperor. His imperial title Augustus was given him 27 B.C.

OLCADES, a people of Hispania Bætica.

OPTIO, adjutant (Lat.).

ORCHOMBNUS, (1) a city in Bosotia, (2) a city in Arcadia.

ORINGE, ORENSE, Aquæ Originis in Portugal.

OTHO, A.D. 32-60, seventh emperor of Rome A.D. 69, reigning for three months only.

PACK, abandoned person, 109.

PAINFUL, careful, 12.

PALLENE, most westerly of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice, in Macedon.

PAMPHILUS OF AMPHIPOLIS, fourth century B.c., a famous Greek painter of the Sicvonian school.

PARIS OF ALEXANDER, son of Priam, who by abducting Helen caused the Trojan War.

Passing, surpassing, 16.

PAULUS, L. ÆMILIUS, called MACE-DONICUS, defeated Persians at Pydna 168 B.C.

PEGÆ or PAGÆ, a town near Me-

Pelopidas, a Theban general and patriot, who helped in the revolt against Sparta 379 B.C.

PERIANDER, tyrant of Corinth from

625 to 585 R.C.

PERIPATETICS OF WALKABOUTS, the school of philosophy founded by Aristotle, who taught while walk-

Perseus, last king of Macedon, 178-168 B.C., defeated by L. Æmilius

Paulus at Pydna 168.

PHARSALIA, a plain in Thessaly, where Caesar defeated Pompey 48 R.C. PHILIP, king of Macedon from 220-

177 B.C., a successful leader, fought against the Romans, and defeated by Flamininus at Cynoscephalæ

PHILOPŒMEN OF MEGALOPOLIS, about 252-183, B.C., a patriot and general, who spent his life in struggling for the Achæan independence

PHOCION, an Athenian general and statesman, fourth century B.C., famous for his integrity.

PHORMIO OF EPHESUS, a Peripatetic

philosopher. PHYLARCHUS, third century B.C.,

wrote a History of 272-220 B.C. PINDAR OF THEBES, a great Greek

lyric poet, about 522-442 B.C. C. CALPURNIUS, conspired against Nero A.D. 65, and was put

to death. PLACENTIA, Piacenza.

PLANCUS, L. MUNATIUS, a friend of Cæsar, governor of Gaul; took sides for a time with Antony, but was reconciled to Octavius.

PLATO, the Athenian philosopher and friend of Socrates, 429-347 B.C. He taught in the Academia, hence his followers were called Academics.

PLEMINIUS, Q., legate of Scipio Afri-can, conquered Locri B.C. 205, but ill-treated the people, for which he was accused at Rome, but before trial died in prison.

POLEMON OF ATHENS, a Stoic philosopher and a great geographer,

second century B.C.

POLYBIUS of MEGALOPOLIS, second century B.C., lived at Rome and wrote its history.

POLVPHEMUS, a Cyclops blinded by Ulysses in the ninth Odyssey.

POMPEY, Cn. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, 106 B.C., one of the Triumvirate 59, one of the most successful of Sulla's generals, fought against Sertorius 76-71, consul 70, popular hero, cleared the sea of pirates 67, took Jerusalem 63, killed in Egypt 48.

Pont, Pontus, a kingdom in Asia Minor, S. of the Black Sea.

Poppaus, a nickname, given in allusion to Poppæa, mistress and wife of Nero.

PRACTICE, plot, 5. PREASE, press, 4.

PREFER, propose, 95.

PRESENTLY, at once, 179.
PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, king of
Egypt 309-247 s.C., reigned 285-247,
a patron of literature and science, a
powerful king, who lived an un-

eventful and prosperous reign.

PULPIT, platform, 28. PUISSANT, powerful, 214.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus 318-272 B.C., invaded Italy, defeated at Beneventum 275 B.C.

RAMPER, rampart, 176.

RAP, seize, in the phrase "rap and rend," 7.

RAY, array, 35.

REGULUS, M. ATILIUS, fought against Carthage, taken prisoner 256 B.C., when he is said to have been sent to Rome to treat for ransom. He advised the Romans to leave the prisoners to their fate, and returned to death.

SAGUNTUM, in Spain, besieged by Hannibal 219 B.C.

SALAMIS, an island opposite the Peirzeus.

SALAPIA, a town of the Danai in Apulia.

SAMNIUM, a district (not city) in S. Italy.

SCAFFOLD, stage, 71.

SCIPIO, CORNELIUS: (1) Publius, called Africanus the Elder, 234-183 (?) E.C., one of the greatest men of Rome, he took New Carthage 210, was consul 205, defeated Hannibal at Zama 202: (2) Lucius, called Asiaticus, brother of Publius, defeated Antiochus 190 E.C.

SELF, same, 248.

SELLASIA, a city near Sparta to the N. SEMPRONIUS GRACHUS, Tis., fought in the Second Punic War, fell in battle 212 s.C., honoured by Hannibal.

SENA GALLICA, Sinigaglia, on the

coast of Umbria.

SENECA, L. ANNÆUS, of Corduba, one of the chief advisers of Nero; a Stoic philosopher, but very rich, died at Nero's command A.D. 65. SICYON, a city W. of Corinth.
SIMONIDES, (7) of Amorgos, an iambic
poet, seventh century B.C.; (2) of
Cos, a famous lyric poet, sixth
century B.C.

Sinurssa, on the marches of Latium and Campania.

SLEIGHT, trick, 156-

SLENT, gibe, reproach, 37.

SODAIN, sudden, 145. SPARTA, chief city in the Pelopon-

nese, capital of Laconia.

SPITE, anger, jealousy, 75.
SPURINNA, VESTRITIUS, a Roman

general, who fought under Otho and Trajan.

STAND UPON, to be important or becoming, 112.

STELLA, the Stellatis Campus, a part of the plain of Campania.

STOMACH, rage, 59.

Sucro, a town in Hispania Tarraconsensis.

Suessa Pometia, a town of the Volsci in Latium.

Surronius Paulinus, C., an able general under Claudius, ruled Britain under Nero A.D. 59-62.

Sulla, L. Cornellus, 138-78 s.c., a noble, profligate, but a great general and statesman, made himself dictator 82 s.c., when his proscriptions made Rome run with blood.

Supracy, reinforcement, 35.

Syrt; the Syrtes were two bays in N. Africa full of quicksands and dangerous currents.

TABLES, pictures, 15.

TALENT, 60 minæ, 6000 drachmæ, a sum in bullion equal to about £240.

TANAIS, the river Don.

TARENTUM, a Greek colony on the sea coast of S. Italy, near Taranto. TESSERARIUS, orderly who conveys

the watchword (Lat.)

THEMISTOCLES, an Athenian statesman and soldier of the fifth century B.C.; to him is due the credit for the victory of Salamis.

THEOCRITUS, third century B.C., a pastoral poet of Alexandria, born at

Syracuse.

THRASYBULUS, an Athenian patriot, who defeated and expelled the Thirty Tyrants 403 B.C., killed 390.

THRIASIA, the plain of Eleusis, next that of Athens.

TICIN, TICINUS, a stream running into the Po, where Hannibal defeated Scipio 218 B.C.

TIFATA, a mountain E. of Capua. TIGELLINUS SOPHONIUS, a vile creature of Nero's.

TIMANTHES OF SICYON, a famous Greek painter, flourished 400 B.C.

TITANS, a race of beings who ruled the universe before the dynasty of Zeus.

Tov, whim, 32.

TRACT, protract, 67.

TRASIMENUS, a lake in Etruria, where Hannibal defeated the consul Flamininus 217 B.C.

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

TRITEA, one of the twelve Achaian

TROEZEN, a city on the S. side of the Saronic Gulf.

TRUSS UP, pack, tie, hang, 178.

UPRIGHT, outright, 17. UTICA, a city in N. África.

VALENS, FABIUS, a general of Vitehus A.D. 60, defeated Otho.

VANTGUARD, vanguard, 186. VARRO, C. TERENTIUS, consul 216 B.C., when he was defeated by Hannibal at Cannæ.

Vent, exit, 200.

VERGINIUS RUFUS, consul A.D. 63, refused to be made emperor, died A.D. 97.

VERY, real, 19.

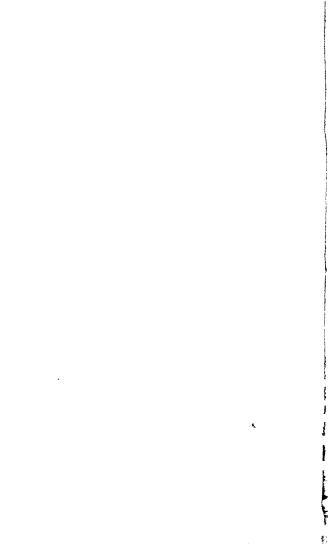
VITELLIUS, A.D. 15-69, eighth Roman emperor A.D 60, a glutton.

WAVE, waver, 242. WHERE, whereas, 31. Wist, knew, 40. WRITHEN, twisted, 84.

YEAR-MIND, memorial year-feast, 67.

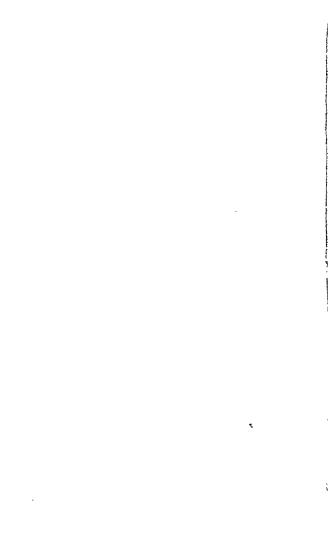
ZAMA, near Carthage, where Scipio defeated Hannibal 202 B.C. ZENO OF CITIUM, in Cyprus, founder

of the Stoic philosophy, third century B.C.



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