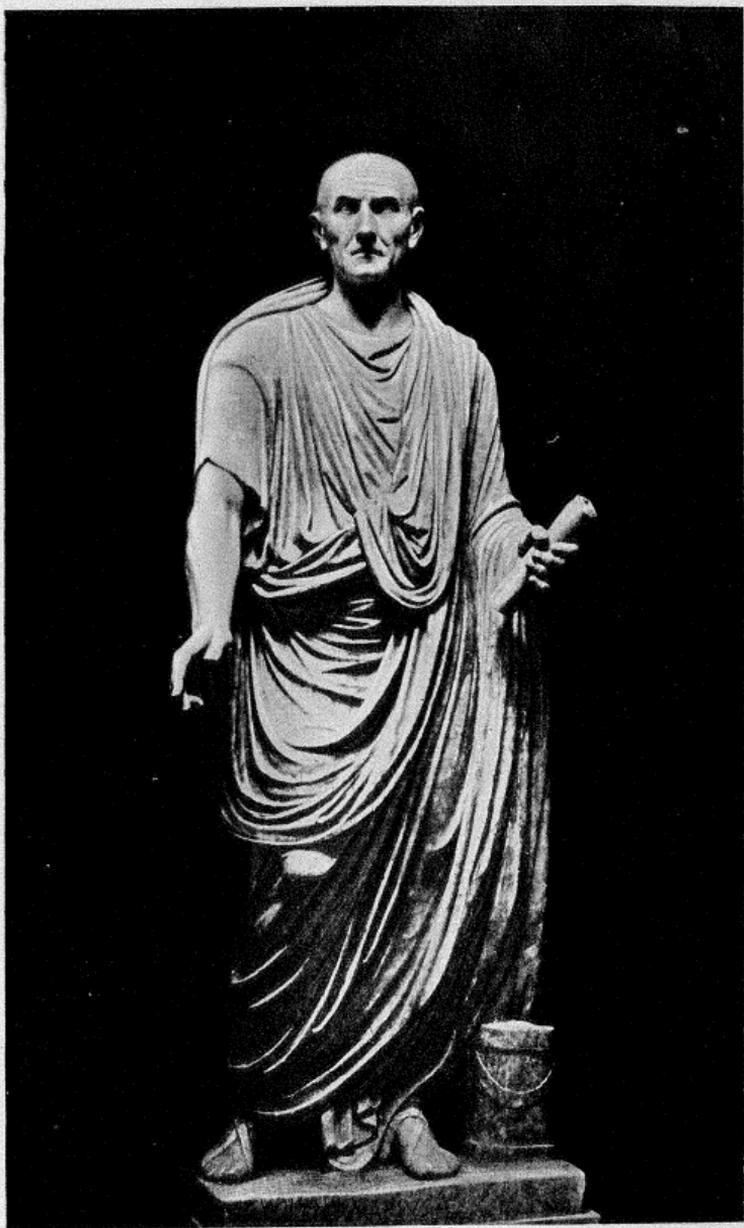


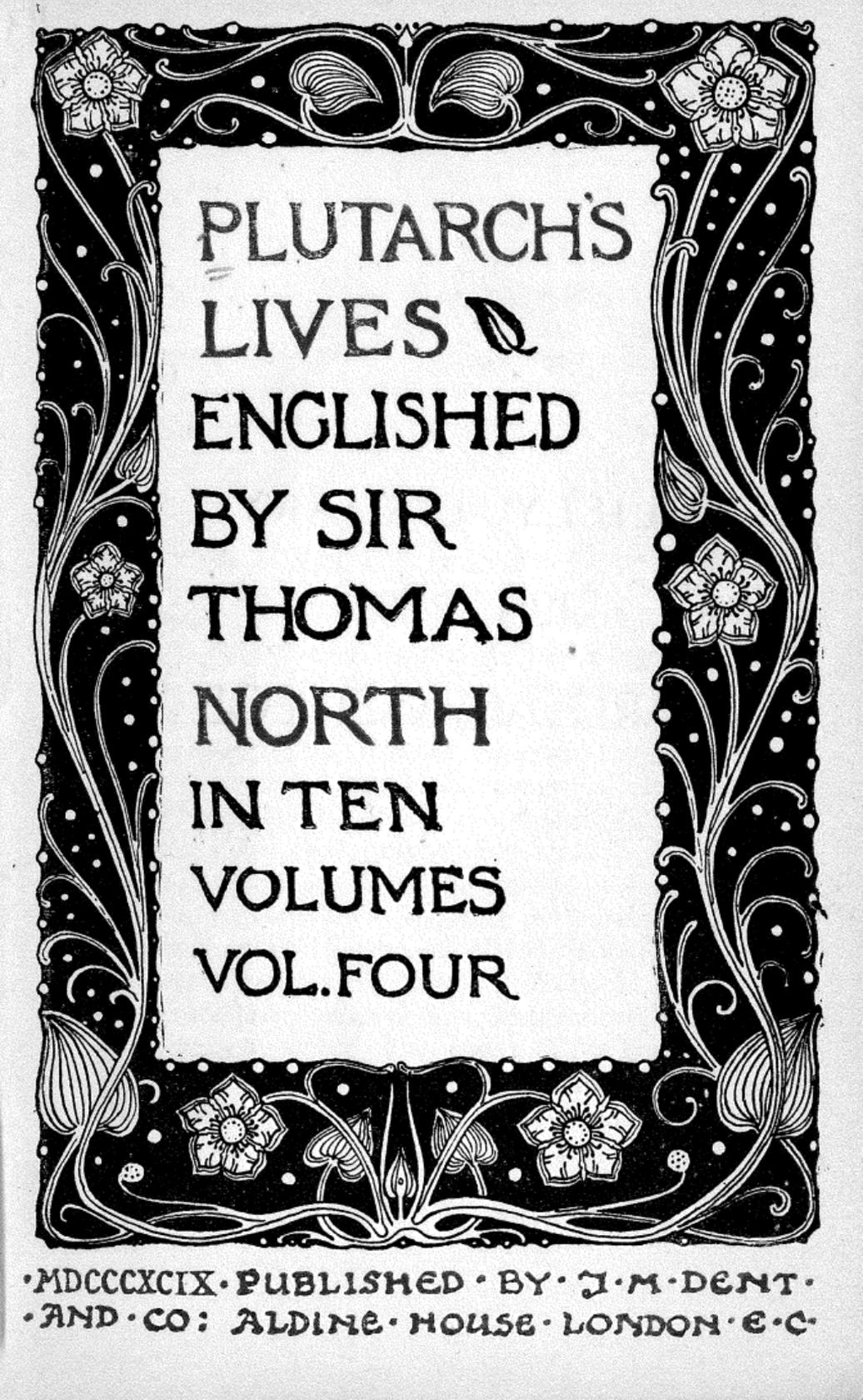
**THE  
TEMPLE  
PLUTARCH**



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



*Marius*  
*from the reputed statue in the Vatican.*



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# THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

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

## THE LIFE OF ARISTIDES

ARISTIDES the son of Lysimachus, was certainly of the tribe of Antiochis, and of the town of Alopecé. But for his goods and wealth, they diversely write of him. For some say, he lived poorly all the days of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reason of their poverty, lived unmarried many years after their father's death. And many of the oldest writers do confirm that for truth. Yet Demetrius Phalereus, in his book entitled *Socrates*, writeth the contrary: that he knew certain lands Aristides had in the village of Phalerum, which did yet bear the name of Aristides' lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to shew that he was well to live, and that his house was rich and wealthy, he bringeth forth these proofs. First, that he was one year mayor or provost of Athens, whom they called *Archon Eponymos*, because the year took the name of him that had it yearly. And they say he came to it, by drawing

Aristides'  
wealth

**Good men may take gifts,** of the bean, according to the ancient use of the Athenians, and their wonted manner of making their election of the said office : In which election none were admitted to draw the bean, but such as were highest set in their subsidy books, according to the value and rate of their goods, whom they called at Athens, *Pentacosimedimni*, as you would say, those that might dispend five hundred bushels of wheat by the year, and upwards. Secondly, he allegeth he was banished by the Ostracismos, which banisheth the nobility and great rich men only, whom the common people envy, because of their greatness, and never dealeth with poor men. The third and last reason he makes is, that he left of his gift, threefooted stools in the temple of Bacchus, which those do commonly offer up, as have won the victory in comedies, tragedies, or other such like pastimes, whereof they themselves had borne the charge. And those threefooted stools remain there yet, which they say were given by Aristides, and have this inscription upon them : The tribe of Antiochis wan the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges of the games, and Archestratus the poet taught them to play his comedies. This last reason, though it seem likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For Epaminondas (whom every man knoweth was poor even from his birth, and always lived in great poverty) and Plato the philosopher, took upon him to defray the charges of games that were of no small expense, the one having borne the charges of flute players at Thebes, and the other the dance of the children which danced in a round at Athens : towards the furnishing of which charges

Dion the Syracusan gave Plato money, and Pelopidas also gave Epaminondas money. Now, this is not spoken that vertuous men should always refuse the gifts of their friends, and that they might not in some sort accept their friends' courtesy offered them: but because they should think it uncomely and dishonourable for them, to take any thing to enrich themselves, or to spare and hoard up. Howbeit where there is any honourable act to be done, or any public shew to be made, not tending to their private benefit: in such a case they should not refuse their friends' loving offer, and goodwill towards them. And where Demetrius saith the threefooted stool was offered up in the temple of Bacchus, Panætius declareth plainly, that Demetrius was deceived by the semblance of the name. For since the time of the wars of the Medes, unto the beginning of the war of Peloponnesus, in all the registers and records kept of the defrayers of the charges of common plays, there were found but two men bearing name of Aristides that obtained victory: and neither of them both was son unto Lysimachus, whom we write of at this present. For the one is expressly named the son of Xenophilus, and the other was long after the same Aristides we now speak of: as appeareth easily by the writing and orthography, which is according to the grammar rules, we have used in Greece ever since Euclides' time. Moreover it is easy to be known, by the name of the poet Archestratus that is adjoined to it. For there is no man that maketh mention of a poet of this name, in all the wars of the Medes: but in the time of the wars of Peloponnesus, many do put him in for an author and maker of rimes but after  
a sort

**Damon  
banished  
because  
he was  
too wise**

and songs that were sung in common dances. Yet for all Panætius' objections, the matter is to be better looked into, and considered of. But for the Ostracismos banishment, it is true, that such as were great men in estimation above the common people, either in fame, nobility, or eloquence, they only were subject unto this banishment. For Damon himself, being Pericles' schoolmaster, was banished: only because the common people thought him too wise. Moreover, Idomeneus writeth, that Aristides was their provost for a year, not by lot of beans, but by voices of the Athenians that chose him. And if he were provost since the journey of Platæa, as Demetrius writeth: it is likely enough that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable service, which other were wont to obtain for their riches. But this Demetrius doth not only defend Aristides, but also Socrates' poverty, as if it were a foul vice and reproach to be poor. For he writeth, that he had not only a house of his own, but also threescore and ten minas at usury, which Criton gave him interest for. But now to our story again. Aristides was Clisthenes' very friend, he that restored the government at Athens after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, and did reverence Lycurgus the Lawmaker of the Lacedæmonians for his laws, above all the men in his time: and therefore he ever favoured the state of Aristocratia, that is, where the noble men rule, and have the sovereignty. Howbeit he ever had Themistocles (Neocles' son) his continual adversary, as taking part with the contrary, and defending the popular state of government. Some say, that being scholars and brought up together, they were ever

contrary one to another in all their actions and doings, were it in sport, or in matters of earnest: and ever after, men began to see the natural inclination of them both, by their contrary affections. For Themistocles was quick, nimble, adventurous, and subtle, and would venter on any thing upon light occasion. Aristides contrariwise was very quiet, temperate, constant and marvellous well stayed, who would for no respect be drawn away from equity and justice, neither would lie, flatter, nor abuse anybody, though it were but in sport. Notwithstanding, Aristus of Chios writeth, that their malice began first of light love, and that it grew to greatness by process of time between them: for (saith he) both the one and the other of them fell in love with Stesileus, born in the Isle of Ceos. This fond light love of theirs, fell not easily from them, nor the envy they conceived one against another, but continued against each other in matters of state: such was their malice towards one another. In which calling, Themistocles sought the way to win friends, by whose means he came to great preferment in short time, and had made himself very strong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told him one day, he was worthy to govern the city of Athens, and were very fit for it, if he were indifferent, and not partial. The gods forbid (quoth he) I should ever occupy the place of a governor, where my friends should not find more favour than strangers, that do me no pleasure. But Aristides taking another course by himself, would not stand upon his friends in government. First, because he would do no man wrong, with pleasuring his friends: nor yet would anger them, by denying their

**Aristides  
and  
Themis-  
tocles  
adver-  
saries**

**Aristides' manner of dealing with the common wealth** requests. Secondly, because he saw many rulers and men of authority bold to do injustice, and manifest wrong, bearing themselves upon their friends: but he carried this opinion, that no honest man, or good citizen, should trust to any bolstering of friends, but to his own just and upright doings. Notwithstanding, Aristides perceiving that Themistocles did rashly alter many things, and ever encountered all his ways, and hindered his doings: he was enforced sometime to cross Themistocles again, and to speak against that he preferred, partly to be even with him, but most to hinder his credit and authority, which increased still through the people's favour and goodwills towards him: thinking it better by contrarying him a little to disappoint sometime a thing that might have fallen out well for the common wealth, rather than by giving him the head, to suffer him to grow too great. To conclude, it fortun'd on a time that Themistocles having preferred a matter very profitable for the common wealth, Aristides was so much against it, as Themistocles' purpose took no place. Moreover Aristides was so earnest against him, that when the council brake up after Themistocles' motion was rejected, he spake it openly before them all: that the common wealth of Athens would never prosper, until they both were laid in Barathrum, which was a prison or hole, wherein they put all thieves and condemned men. Another time, Aristides mov'd a matter to the people, which divers were against, but yet it went with him. And when the judge or president of the council did put it to the people, to know their allowance of it: Aristides perceiving by the arguments made against

it, that the matter he preferred was hurtful to the common wealth, he gave it over, and would not have it pass. Many times also Aristides spake by other men, when he would have a thing go forward, for fear lest Themistocles' spite towards him, would hinder the benefit of the common wealth. They found him very constant and resolute in matters of state, whatsoever happened: which wan him great commendation. For he was never the prouder for any honour they gave him, nor thought himself disgraced for any overthrow he received: being always of this mind, that it was the duty of an honest citizen, to be ever ready to offer his body and life to do his country service, without respect and hope of reward of money, or for honour and glory. Therefore when certain verses were repeated in the theatre, of one of the tragedies of Æschylus made in commendation of the ancient soothsayer Amphiaraus, to this effect.

Aristides'  
justice

He will not only seem a just man by his face,  
 But just indeed he will be found, and vertue still  
 embrace  
 With all his thought and soul: from whence there may  
 proceed  
 Grave counsels for to beautify his country's crown  
 indeed.

All the people straight cast their eyes upon Aristides, as upon him, that in truth above all other most deserved the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so stout and resolute, not only to resist favour and friendship: but to reject hate and anger also. For in case of justice, neither could friendship make him go away for his friends' sake; nor

Aristides  
chosen  
treasurer

envy could move him to do injustice, to his very enemy. For proof hereof it is written, that he had an enemy of his in suit of law, and did prosecute it to judgement: insomuch as after the plaint was read, the judges were so angry with the offender, that without any more hearing of him, they would have given sentence against him. But Aristides rising from his place, went and kneeled at the judges' feet with the offender his enemy, and besought them to give him leave to speak, to justify and defend his cause, according to the course of the law. Another time he being judge between two private men that pleaded before him, one of them said unto him: Aristides, this fellow mine adversary here, hath done you great injury. My friend (quoth Aristides again) I pray thee tell me only the injury he hath done thee, for I am judge here to do thee right, and not my self. Moreover, he being chosen high treasurer of all the revenues of Athens, did declare that all the officers before him, and other his late predecessors, had greatly robbed and spoiled the common treasure, but specially Themistocles: who was a wise man, and of great judgement, but yet somewhat light fingered. Therefore when Aristides was to give up his account, Themistocles, and many other suborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abusing his office, and followed him so hard, that through their practice they condemned him, as Idomeneus writeth. Yet the noblest citizens seeing what injury they offered Aristides, took his cause in hand, and found means to procure the people not only to release the fine imposed upon him, but to restore him again to his office of high treasurer for the year following: in the which he

seemed to repent his former straightness and government the year before, and so dealt more favourably with those he had to do, and would not examine everything so straightly as he did before. Whereupon such as were thieves and stealers of the treasure of the common wealth, did marvellously praise and like him, and became suitors for him to continue in the office. But when the day of election came, that the Athenians would choose him again, Aristides self reproveth them, and said, When I faithfully discharged the duty of mine office committed to me by you, I then received shame and reproach at your hands: and now that I have dissembled, not seeming to see the thefts and robberies done upon your treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good citizen. But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainly, I am more ashamed of the honour you do me now, than I was of the fine you did set upon me, when you condemned me the last year: and I am sorry to speak it, that you should think it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, than to preserve the common wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had betrayed the common thefts the officers of the city did commit: he stopped the thieves' mouths that so highly praised and commended him for so honest a man, but yet of the noble and honest citizens he was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when Datis lieutenant to Darius king of Persia, was come with all his navy to go a land about Marathon, in the country of Attica, upon pretence (as he said) to be revenged only of the Athenians that had burnt the city of Sardis, but indeed of mind to conquer all Greece, and to destroy the whole country before

**He open  
reproveth  
close  
thieves  
in the  
common  
wealth**

**Miltiades  
chief of  
the ten  
captains**

him : the Athenians chose ten captains to go to the wars, among whom Miltiades was the chiefest man of authority. But Aristides drew very near him in reputation and credit, because he did very good service in obtaining the victory, specially when he agreed with Miltiades in council, to give battell upon the barbarous people : and also when he willingly gave Miltiades the whole rule and order of the army. For every one of the ten captains did by turns lead the whole army for one whole day : and when Aristides' turn came about, he gave his preferment thereof unto Miltiades, teaching his other companions, that it was no shame, but honour for them to be ruled by the wisest. Thus by his example, he appeased all strife that might have grown among them, and persuaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counsel, that had best experience in war. And so he did much advance Miltiades' honour. For after that Aristides had once yielded his authority unto him, every one of the rest did the like when it came to their turn : and so they all submitted themselves unto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battell, the place where the Athenians were most cumbered, was in the midst of the battell, where they had set the tribes of Leontis, and of Antiochis : for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, and made their greatest fight in that place. By which occasion, Themistocles and Aristides fighting one hard by another, for that the one was of the tribe Leontis, and the other of Antiochis, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, envying one another : so as the barbarous people at the last being overthrown, they made them fly, and drave them to their ships.

But when they were embarked and gone, the captains of the Athenians perceiving they made not towards the isles, which was their direct course to return into Asia, but that they were driven back by storm of wind and pyrries of the sea, towards the coast of Attica, and the city of Athens, fearing least they might find Athens unfurnished for defence, and might set upon it: they thereupon sent away presently nine tribes that marched thither with such speed, as they came to Athens the very same day, and left Aristides in the camp at Marathon, with his tribe and countrymen, to look to the prisoners and spoil they had won of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceived the opinion they had of his wisdom. For notwithstanding there was great store of gold and silver, much apparel, moveables, and other infinite goods and riches in all their tents and pavilions, and in the ships also they had taken of theirs: he was not so covetous as once to touch them, nor to suffer any other to meddle with them, unless by stealth some provided for themselves. As amongst other, there was one Callias, one of Ceres' priests, called Dadouchos, as you would say the torch bearer: (for in the secret sacrifices of Ceres, his office was to hold the torch) whom when one of the barbarous people saw, and how he wore a band about his head, and long hair, he took him for some king, and falling on his knees at his feet, kissed his hand, and showed him great store of gold he had hidden and buried in a ditch. But Callias, like a most cruel, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, took away the gold, and killed the poor fool that had shewed him the place, because he should not tell it to others.

**Miltiades' victory of the Persians**

The  
praise of  
justice

Hereof it cometh, that the comical poets do call those that came of him in mockery, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a ditch: because of the gold that Callias found in it. Immediately after this battell, Aristides was chosen provost of Athens for the year: albeit Demetrius Phalereus writeth, that it was a little before his death, after the journey of Platæa. For in their chronicles, where they set in order their provosts of Athens for the year, since Xanthippides' time, there appeareth no one name of Aristides in that year, that Mardonius the king of Persia's lieutenant was overthrown by Platæa, which was many years after. But contrariwise they find Aristides, enrolled among the provosts immediately after Phanippus, in the year the battell was fought at Marathon. Now the people did most commend Aristides' justice, as of all other his vertues and qualities: because that vertue is most common and in use in our life, and delivereth most benefit to men. Hereof it came, that he being a mean man, obtained the worthiest name that one could have, to be called by the whole city, a just man. This surname was never desired of kings, princes, nor of tyrants, but they always delighted to be surnamed, some Poliorcetes, to say, conquerors of cities: other Cerauni, to say, lightning or terrible: other Nicanores, to say, subduers: and some other, Aëti and Hieraces, to say, eagles or falcons, or such like birds that prey: desiring rather (as it should appear by those surnames) the praise and reputation growing by force and power, than the commendation that riseth by vertue and goodness. Yet notwithstanding, God whom men desire most to be likened to, doth excel all human nature in three special

things: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the most honourable and precious thing. For as the natural philosophers reason, all the four elements and vacuum, are immortal and uncorruptible, and so are force and power, earthquakes, lightning, terrible storms, running rivers, and inundations of waters: but as for justice and equity, no man is partaker of them, save only God, by means of reason and understanding. Therefore, because men commonly have three sundry honours to the gods: the first, that they think them blessed: the second, that they fear them: the third, that they reverence them: it appeareth then that they think them blessed, for the eternity and immortality of their godhead: that they fear them, because of their omnipotency and power: and that they love and worship them, for their justice and equity. And yet notwithstanding, of those three, men do covet immortality, which no flesh can attain unto: and also power, which dependeth most upon fortune: and in the meantime they leave vertue alone, whereof the gods of their goodness have made us capable. But here they shew themselves fools. For justice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, seem divine and celestial: where without justice and dealing unjustly, his life is most beastly, and odious to the world. But now again to Aristides. This surname of a just man at the beginning, made him beloved of all the people: but afterwards it turned him to great ill will, and specially by Themistocles' practice. Who gave it out everywhere, that Aristides had overthrown all justice, because by consent of the parties he was ever chosen

**Themis-  
tocles  
envieth  
Aristides'  
justice**

**Aristides  
banished  
with the  
Ostra-  
cismos**

arbitrator to end all controversies: and how by this means he secretly had procured the absolute power of a king, not needing any guard or soldiers about him. The people moreover being grown very dissolute and licentious, by reason of the victory of Marathon, who sought that all things should pass by them, and their authority: began now to dislike, and to be greatly offended, that any private man should go before the rest in good fame and reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all shires of Attica into the city of Athens, and so banished Aristides with the Ostracismos: disguising the envy they bare to his glory with the name of fear of tyranny. For this manner of banishment called Ostracismos, or Exostracismos, was no ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed: but to give it an honest cloke, they said it was only a pulling down and tying short of too much greatness and authority, exceeding far the manner and countenance of a popular state. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwise, than a gentle mean to qualify the people's envy against some private person: which envy bred no malice to him whose greatness did offend them, but only tended to the banishment of him for ten years. But afterwards that by practice, this Ostracismos banishment was laid upon mean men, and malefactors, as upon Hyperbolus that was the last man so banished: they never after used it any more at Athens. And by the way, it shall not be amiss to tell you here, why and wherefore this Hyperbolus was banished. Alcibiades and Nicias were the chiefest men of Athens at that time, and they both were ever at square together, a common thing amongst great

men. They perceiving now by the people's assembling, that they went about to execute the Ostracismos, were marvellously affraid it was meant to banish one of them: wherefore they spake together, and made both their followers friends with each other, and joined them in one tribe together, insomuch, when the most voices of the people were gathered to condemn him that should be banished, they found it was Hyperbolus. The people therewith were much offended, to see the Ostracismos so embased and scorned, that they never after would use it again, and so left it off for ever. But briefly to let you understand what the Ostracismos was, and after what sort they used it, ye are to know: that at a certain day appointed, every citizen carried a great shell in his hand, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would have banished, and brought it into a certain place railed about with wooden bars in the market place. Then, when every man had brought in his shell: the magistrates and officers of the city, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were less than six thousand citizens, that had thus brought these shells together: the Ostracismos was not full and perfect. That done, they laid apart every man's name written in these shells: and whose name they found written by most citizens, they proclaimed him by sound of trumpet, a banished man for ten years, during which time notwithstanding, the party did enjoy all his goods. Now every man writing thus his name in a shell, whom they would have banished: it is reported there was a plain man of the country (very simple) that could neither write nor read, who came to Aristides (being the first man he met

The nature of the Ostracismos

**A tale of a plain man that came to Aristides with his shell** with) and gave him his shell, praying him to write Aristides' name upon it. He being abashed withal, did ask the country man, if Aristides had ever done him any displeasure. No, said the country man, he never did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it grieves me to hear every man call him a just man. Aristides hearing him say so, gave him no answer, but wrote his own name upon the shell, and delivered it again to the country man. But as he went his way out of the city, he lift up his hands to heaven, and made a prayer contrary to that of Achilles in Homer, beseeching the gods that the Athenians might never have such troubles in hand, as they should be compelled to call for Aristides again. Notwithstanding, within three years after, when Xerxes king of Persia came with his army through the countries of Thessaly and Boeotia, and entered into the heart of the country of Attica: the Athenians revoking the law of their Ostracismos, called home again all those they had banished, and specially, because they were afraid Aristides would take part with the barbarous people, and that his example should move many other to do the like, wherein they were greatly deceived in the nature of the man. For before that he was called home, he continually travelled up and down, persuading and encouraging the Grecians to maintain and defend their liberty. After that law was repealed, and published, and that Themistocles was chosen the only lieutenant general of Athens, he did always faithfully aid and assist him in all things, as well with his travel, as also with his counsel: and thereby wan his enemy great honour, because it stood upon the safety and preservation of his

country. For when Eurybiades, general of the army of the Grecians, had determined to forsake the Isle of Salamis, and that the galleys of the barbarous people were come into the midst of the seas, and had environed the isles all about, and the mouth of the arm of the Strait of Salamis, before any man knew they were thus enclosed in: Aristides departing out of the Isle of Ægina with a marvelous boldness, ventured through the midst of all the barbarous ships and fleet, and by good hap got in the night into Themistocles' tent, and calling him out, spake with him there in this sort. Themistocles, if we be both wise, it is high time we should now leave off this vain envy and spite we have long time borne each other, and that we should enter into another sort of envy more honourable and profitable for us both. I mean, which of us two should do his best endeavour to save Greece: you, by ruling and commanding all like lieutenant general: and I, by counselling you for the best, and executing your commandment: considering you are the man alone that will roundliest come unto the point that is best: which is in my opinion, that we should hazard battell by sea within the Strait of Salamis, and that as soon as might be possible. But if our friends and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you your enemies do help it forward. For it is said, that the sea both before and behind us, and round about us, is covered all over with their ships, so as they that would not before, shall be now compelled of force, and in spite of their hearts, to fight and bestir them like men: because they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them

**Aristides'  
acts and  
counsels  
against  
King  
Xerxes**

**Aristides' words of Themistocles** to escape, nor to fly. Whereunto Themistocles answered: I am sorry, Aristides, that herein your honesty appeareth greater than mine: but since it is so, that you have deserved the honour in beginning, and procuring such an honourable and commendable strife between us, I will henceforth endeavour my self to exceed you in continuing this your desire. After which answer, he told Aristides, how he purposed to mock the barbarous king, and prayed him to entreat Eurybiades to yield to his device, and to persuade him that there was no other way to save Greece, but to fight by sea: for Eurybiades gave more credit to Aristides' persuasions, than he did to Themistocles' words. For when all the captains were called to counsel, to determine whether they should give battell or not: one Cleocritus Corinthian said to Themistocles, that his counsel did not like Aristides at all as it seemed, because he spake never a word to it being present. Aristides answered him straight, that he utterly mistook him. For, quoth he, if I did not think his counsel good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, not for any good will I bear him, but because I find his counsel wise and sound. While the captains of the Grecians were reasoning in this sort, Aristides seeing Psyttaleia (a little island before Salamis within the strait) full of men of war of their enemies: embarked immediately the valiantest and lustiest soldiers he had of all his countrymen, into the least foistes or pinnaces he had among all his galleys: and went with them, and landed in that isle, and overthrew all the barbarous people he found there, and put them to the sword every man, taking the

chiefest of them only prisoners, among which, were three sons of Sandauce, the king's sister, whom he sent unto Themistocles. These three lords were all slain by the commandment of Euphrantidas the soothsayer, and sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes, as to say, the cruel Bacchus, and eater of raw flesh, and all upon an oracle they had received. That done, Aristides dispersed his soldiers about the isle, to receive all such as were by fortune of war, or of the sea, cast into the island: to the end that no enemy of theirs should scape their hands, nor any of his friends should perish. For the greatest fleet of all their ships, and the sharpest encounter of the whole battell, was about this little island: and therefore the tokens of triumph were set there. After the battell was won, Themistocles to feel Aristides' opinion, said unto him: We have done a good piece of service, but yet there is another behind of greater importance, and that is this. We must bring all Asia into Europe, which we may easily do, if we sail with all speed to the Strait of Hellespont, and go break the bridge the king hath made there. Then Aristides cried out, Stay there, never speak of that: but I pray you let us rather seek all the ways we can, how to drive this barbarous king out of Greece, least if we keep him in still with so great an army (and he shall see no way before him to escape out) we drive him then to fight like a desperate man, and peril ourselves, we cannot tell to what. When Themistocles had heard his opinion, he secretly sent the eunuch Arnaces his prisoner, unto King Xerxes, to advertise him from him, that he had altered the Grecians' purpose, which was fully bent to have broken up

**Aristides'  
wise  
counsel  
for  
Xerxes  
flying out  
of Greece**

**Xerxes**  
**left Mar-**  
**donius his**  
**lieutenant**  
**in Greece**

the bridge he had made at the Strait of Hellespont, to pass over his army : and that he was the willinger to let him understand it, that he might the better provide for the safety of his person. King Xerxes being nettled with this advertisement, took straight his journey, and with all speed went to recover the Strait of Hellespont, and left Mardonius his lieutenant general in Greece, with three hundred thousand of the best soldiers of his army. This Mardonius was marvellously dreaded of all the Grecians, for the wonderful great army he had by land, and he did threaten them also by his letters he wrote unto them. You have, (said he) with your ships by sea, overcome men acquainted to fight by land, and that never handled ower : but now, the plains of Thessaly, or the fields of Boeotia, are very fair and large for horsemen and footmen to make proof of their valiantness, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the Athenians, by the king his maister's commandment, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build up their city again, to give them a great pension, and furthermore to make them lords of all Greece, so they would give over, and leave off these wars. The Lacedæmonians being forthwith advertised of his letters written to the Athenians, and fearing lest they would have been persuaded by them : sent their ambassadors with all speed to Athens, to pray them to send their wives and children unto Sparta, and also to offer them victuals, to relieve their poor old people, because of the great scarcity that was at Athens, for that their city was burnt and razed, and all their country besides destroyed by the barbarous

people. The Athenians having heard the offers of the ambassadors of Lacedæmon, made them a marvellous answer through Aristides' counsel, and this it was. That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all things were to be sold for gold and silver, because they esteemed nothing more precious, nor better in this world, than to be rich and wealthy: but on the other side, they were greatly offended with the Lacedæmonians, that they only regarded the present poverty and necessity of the Athenians, and did forget their vertue and noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the preservation of Greece, by offering them victuals to live withal. The people approving this answer, Aristides then caused the ambassadors of Sparta to come to the assembly, and commanded them to tell the Lacedæmonians by word of mouth, that all the gold above, or under the ground, could not corrupt the Athenians, to make them take any sum of money or reward, to leave the defence of the liberty of Greece: and to the herald that came from Mardonius, he shewed him the sun, and said unto him: So long as yonder sun keepeth his course about the world, so long will the Athenians be mortal enemies unto the Persians, because they have spoiled and destroyed all their country, and have defiled and burnt the temples of their gods. Besides, he willed that the priests, by commandment of the people, should excommunicate and curse him that would procure them to send unto the Persians to make peace with them, and to break their league and alliance with the other Grecians. Hereupon, when Mardonius came again the second time to overrun the country of

The noble mind of the Athenians

**Aristides**  
**lieutenant**  
**general**  
**of the**  
**Athe-**  
**nians**

Attica: the Athenians got them again into the Isle of Salamis, and then they sent Aristides ambassador unto the Lacedæmonians. He sharply took them up, and reprov'd their sloth and negligence, because they had again forsaken Athens, and left it to the spoil of the barbarous people: and prayed them yet they would look to save the rest of Greece. The Ephori (which were certain officers that ruled all things within the city of Sparta) when they had heard Aristides' persuasions: straight took order for aid, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheer, keeping that day one of their solemn feasts they called Hyacinthia. Howbeit the next night following, they sent out five thousand citizens born in Sparta, into the field, all proper men and valiant soldiers, every one of them carrying with him seven Helots (which are the countrymen and slaves in the country of Lacedæmonia) not making the ambassadors of Athens privy to it at all. Wherefore Aristides came again another time into their council, to complain of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and said he dreamed, or else he mocked them: for their army which they had sent against the strangers (for so they called the Persians) was already at the city of Oresteion in Arcadia. Aristides hearing their answer, replied, that they were to blame to mock them in that sort, to send away their men so secretly, that they might not know of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceive their friends, but their enemies rather. Idomeneus in his story reporteth the matter thus in every point. Notwithstanding, in the decree that was made to send

ambassadors to Sparta, Aristides is not named for ambassador, but there are other appointed: as Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides. Afterwards Aristides was chosen by voices of the people, lieutenant general of the army of Athens, in this war against the Persians, and went unto the camp of the Grecians by the city of Platæa, with eight thousand footmen well armed and appointed. There he found King Pausanias the only general of all the whole power and army of the Grecians, who brought with him the force of Sparta: and there came daily into his camp one after another, a marvellous great multitude of other Grecians. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they encamped all alongst the river of Asopus; but because their camp stretched out a marvellous way in length, they were not entrenched at all, but had only fortified a piece of ground four square with a wall about, which was ten furlongs on every side, to place all their carriage and chiefest things in. And for the Grecians again, the soothsayer Tisamenus, born in the city of Elis, had told Pausanias, and all the Grecians together, that they should have the victory, so they did not assault at all, but only defend. And Aristides, that had sent to the oracle of Apollo, at Delphes, in the name of the Athenians, had answer: they should overcome their enemies, so they did sacrifice and make special prayers, unto Jupiter and Juno of Mount Cithæron, unto Pan, and unto the Nymphs Sphragitides, and also unto the demi-gods, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polyidus: and so that they did hazard battell also within their own territories, and in the plain of

against  
Mar-  
donius

**Arim-  
nestus'** dream Ceres Eleusinian, and of Proserpina. This oracle troubled Aristides marvellously, because the demi-gods whom they had commandment to do sacrifice unto, were the founders and ancestors of the Platæans: and the cave of the Nymphs Sphragitides, is one of the tops of Mount Cithæron, looking towards the west, where the sun setteth in summer. They say there was an oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many inhabitants thereabouts, and bestraight them of their wits: whereupon, they called those so possessed, Nympholepty, as who would say, taken with the Nymphs. And again to tell the Athenians they should have the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plain of Ceres Eleusinian, and within their own territory: it was even to send them back again into the country of Attica. Aristides being thus perplexed, Arimnestus captain of the Platæans, had such a vision in the night in his sleep. Him thought that Jupiter the Saviour did appear unto him, and asked him what the Grecians intended to do? and that he answered: My lord, we must to-morrow remove our camp into the territories of Eleusis, and there we will fight with the barbarous people, according to the commandment the oracle of Apollo hath given us. Then that Jupiter replied, that they were greatly deceived: for all that Apollo had declared by his oracle was meant within the territory of the Platæans, and that they should find it true, if they considered it well. Arimnestus having plainly seen this vision in his sleep, when he did awake in the morning, he straight sent for the oldest citizens, and considering with them where this place should be, he found at the length, that at the foot of Mount Cithæron,

by the city of Nysia, there was an old temple they called the temple of Ceres Eleusinian, and of her daughter Proserpina. When he heard them say so, he went straight and told Aristides of it, and found that it was an excellent place to set an army in battell ray, that had but few horsemen: for that the foot of Mount Cithæron did let the horsemen, they could not go to the place where the temple stood, and where the plain and valley did end: besides also, that the chapel of Androcrates was even in that place, which was all hidden with thick wood round about it. And because they should lack nothing to hinder the express commandment of the oracle for hope of victory: the Platæans (through Arimnestus' counsel and advice) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of Platæa should be taken away towards Athens' side, and that the land thereof should be given clearly unto the Athenians, because they should fight with the barbarous people in their own land, for the defence and preservation of Greece, according to the commandment of the oracle. This noble gift and present of the Platæans was so famous, as many years after, King Alexander the Great having conquered the empire of Asia, built up the walls again of the city Platæa, and when he had done, made a herald openly proclaim it at the games Olympical, that Alexander had done the Platæans that honour and dignity, for a memorial and honour of their magnanimity. Because in the war against the Persians, they had freely and liberally given away their land unto the Athenians, for the safety of the Grecians: and had shewed themselves of a noble courage also, and very willing to defend the state of Greece. Now when the army of the

The magnanimity of the Platæans

**Aristides** Grecians came to be set in order of battell, there  
**wisely** fell a strife between the Athenians and the Tegeates,  
**pacified** because the Athenians would needs (according to  
**the** their old custom) have the left wing of the battell,  
**mutiny** if the Lacedæmonians had the right wing: and the  
 Tegeates on the contrary part, would have the pre-  
 eminence before the Athenians, alleging the famous  
 acts and notable service of their ancestors in former  
 wars, whereupon the Athenians did mutine. But  
 Aristides stepped between them, and told them, that  
 it was no time now to contend with the Tegeates  
 about their nobility and valiantness: And as for you,  
 my lords of Sparta, said he, and you also my maisters  
 of Greece: we tell you, that the place neither giveth  
 or taketh vertue away, and we do assure you that  
 wheresoever you place us, we will so defend and  
 keep it, as we will not impair nor blemish the honour  
 we have won in former foughten battells, and gotten  
 victories. For we are not come hither to quarrel  
 and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our  
 common enemies: nor to brag of our ancestors'  
 doings, but to shew ourselves valiant in defence of  
 all Greece. For this battell will make good proof  
 to all the Grecians, how much estimation every city,  
 every captain, and particular person will deserve for  
 his part. When Aristides had spoken, the captains  
 and all other of the council concluded in favour of  
 the Athenians, that they should have one of the  
 wings of the battell. But by this means, all Greece  
 stood in marvellous garboil at that time, and the  
 state of the Athenians specially in great danger.  
 For a number of the noblest citizens of Athens, and  
 that brought great substance with them to the wars,  
 being now at low state, and in poverty, their goods

being spent and gone, and seeing themselves dis-  
countenanced, not bearing that rule and authority in  
the common wealth they were wont to do, because  
other were called to authority, and preferred to the  
offices of the city : they gathered together, and met  
at a house in the city of Plataea, and there conspired  
to overthrow the authority of the people of Athens :  
and if they could not obtain their purpose, then that  
they would rather lose all, and betray their country  
unto the barbarous people. While these things  
were practised in the camp, many being of the con-  
spiracy, Aristides came to an inkling of it, and was  
marvellous afraid, because of the time : wherefore  
he began to be careful of the matter, being of such  
importance as it was, and yet would not be curious  
to understand the whole conspiracy, little knowing  
what a number might be drawn into this treason, if  
it were narrowly looked into, but rather respected  
that which was just, than what was profitable for the  
time. So he caused eight persons only of the great  
number to be apprehended, and of these eight, the two  
first whom they would have indicted as principals,  
and were most to be burdened for the conspiracy,  
Æschines of the town of Lampræ, and Egesias of  
the town of Acharnæ, they found means to fly out  
of the camp, and to save themselves. And for the  
other Aristides set them at liberty, and gave them  
occasion that were not discovered, to be bold, and  
to repent them of their follies : saying, that the  
battell should be their judge, where they should  
purge themselves of all accusations laid against them,  
and shew the world also, that they never had any  
other intention but honest and good, towards their  
country. Mardonius, to prove the courage of the

The con-  
spiracy of  
the rich  
noblemen  
of Athens

The  
attack  
of the  
Persian  
horsemen

Grecians, had sent all his horsemen, (wherein he was far stronger than the Grecians) to skirmish with them. Who were lodged at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in strong places and full of stones, saving the three thousand Megarians, that camped in the plain: by reason whereof, they were sore troubled and hurt, by the horsemen of the barbarous people that set upon them on every side, for they might charge them where they would. Insomuch, in the end, perceiving they alone could no longer resist the force of so great a multitude of the barbarous people: they sent with all speed possible to Pausanias, to pray him to send them present aid. Pausanias hearing this news, and seeing in his own sight the camp of the Megarians almost all covered with shot and darts which the barbarous people threw at them, and that they were compelled to stand close together in a little corner: he wist not what to do. For, to go thither in person with the Lacedæmonians that were footmen heavy armed, he thought that was no way to help them. So he proved to put some ambitious desire and envy of honour, among the private captains and generals of the army of the other Grecians, which were then about him: to see if he could move any man's courage and desire, to offer himself willingly to go aid the Megarians. Howbeit they had all deaf ears, but Aristides: who promised to go in the name of the Athenians, and brought Olympiodorus into the field, (one of the valiantest captains that served under him) with his company of three hundred chosen men, and certain shot mingled amongst them. These soldiers were ready in a moment, and marched straight in battell ray, a great pace towards the barbarous people.

Masistius, that was general of the horsemen of the Persians, a goodly tall man, perceiving their coming towards him: turned his horse, and galloped to them. The Athenians tarried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very hot, because both the one and the other side did the best they could at this first onset to put the rest of the battell in jeopardy: and they fought so long, that Masistius' horse was shot through the body with an arrow, that put him to such pain, as he never lin flinging, till he cast his maister on the ground, armed as he was at all pieces. So being on the ground, he could not rise again, as well for the weight of his armour, as for that the Athenians came so suddenly upon him. And notwithstanding there were many about him to hew him in pieces, yet they could find no way how to kill him, he was so throughly armed and loden with gold, copper, and iron, not only upon his body and his head, but also on his legs and arms: until at the length there was one that thrust the head of his dart through his beaver, and so killed him. The Persians perceiving that, fled immediately, and forsook the body of their general. Shortly after it appeared to the Grecians that they had sped well at this skirmish, not because they had slain many enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous people made for the loss of Masistius. For his death did so grieve them, that they powled themselves, they clipped off their horse and moyles' hairs, and filled besides all the field thereabouts with pitiful cries and shrieks, as those that had lost the valiantest and chiefest man of authority of all their camp, next unto Mardonius the king's lieutenant. After this first skirmish, both

The  
battell at  
the city of  
Platæa

Alexander king  
of Macedon re-  
vealeth

the one and the other side kept their camp, and would not come into the field many days after: for the soothsayers did promise both sides the victory, as much the Persians, as the Grecians, so they did but only defend: and contrariwise, they did threaten them to be overthrown that did assault. But Mardonius finding victuals waxed scant, and that they were stored but for few days, and moreover how the Grecians daily grew stronger by continual repair to their camp, the longer he delayed: in the end he resolved to tarry no longer, but to pass the river of Asopus the next morning by break of the day, and suddenly to set upon the Grecians. So he gave the captains warning the night before what they should do, because every man should be ready: but about midnight there came a horseman without any noise at all, so near to the Grecians' camp, that he spake to the watch, and told them he would speak with Aristides, general of the Athenians. Aristides was called for straight, and when he came to him, the horseman said unto Aristides, I am Alexander king of Macedon, who for the love and great good-will I bear you, have put my self in the greatest danger that may be, to come at this present time to advertise you, that to-morrow morning Mardonius will give you battell: because your enemies' sudden coming upon you, should not make you afraid, being suddenly charged, and should not hinder also your valiant fighting. For it is no new hope that is come to Mardonius, that makes him to fight: but only scarcity of victuals that forceth him to do it, considering that the prognosticators are all against it that he should give you battell, both by reason of the ill tokens of their

sacrifices, as also by the answers of their oracles, which hath put all the army in a marvellous fear, and stand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at adventure, or else if he will needs lie still, to be starved to death by very famine. After King Alexander had imparted this secret to Aristides, he prayed him to keep it to himself, and to remember it in time to come. Aristides answered him then, that it was no reason he should keep a matter of so great importance as that, from Pausanias, who was their lieutenant general of the whole army: notwithstanding, he promised him he would tell it no man else before the battell, and that if the gods gave the Grecians the victory, he did assure him, they should all acknowledge his great favour and good will shewed unto them. After they had talked thus together, King Alexander left him, and returned back again: and Aristides also went immediately to Pausanias' tent, and told him the talk King Alexander and he had together. Thereupon the private captains were sent for straight to counsel, and there order was given, that every man should have his bands ready, for they should fight in the morning. So Pausanias at that time (as Herodotus writeth) said unto Aristides, that he would remove the Athenians from the left to the right wing, because they should have the Persians themselves right before them, and that they should fight so much the lustier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also because they had overcome them before in the first encounter: and that himself would take the left wing of the battell, where he should encounter with the Grecians that fought on the Persians' side. But when all the other private

the Persians' secret counsel unto Aristides

**Aristides' speech to the Athenians** captains of the Athenians understood it, they were marvellous angry with Pausanias, and said he did them wrong, and had no reason to let all the other Grecians keep their place where they were always appointed, and only to remove them, as if they were slaves, to be appointed at his pleasure, now of the one side, then of the other, and to set them to fight with the valiantest soldiers they had of all their enemies. Then said Aristides to them, that they knew not what they said, and how before they misliked, and did strive with the Tegeates, only for having the left wing of the battell, and when it was granted, they thought themselves greatly honoured that they were preferred before them, by order of the captains: and now where the Lacedæmonians were willing of themselves to give them the place of the right wing, and did in manner offer them the preheminance of the whole army: they do not thankfully take the honour offered them, nor yet do reckon of the vantage and benefit given them to fight against the Persians selves, their ancient enemies, and not against their natural countrymen anciently descended of them. When Aristides had used all these persuasions unto them, they were very well contented to change place with the Lacedæmonians: and then all the talk among them was to encourage one another, and to tell them that the Persians that came against them, had no better hearts nor weapons, than those whom they before had overcome, in the plain of Marathon. For said they, they have the same bows, the same rich embroidered gowns, the same golden chains and carcanettes of womanish persons, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint hearts: where we have

also the same weapons and bodies we had, and our hearts more lively and courageous than before, through the sundry victories we have since gotten of them. Further, we have this advantage more. That we do not fight as our other confederates the Grecians do, for our city and country only, but also to continue the fame and renown of our former noble service, which we wan at the journeys of Marathon and Salamis: to the end, the world should not think that the glory of these triumphs and victories was due unto Miltiades only, or unto fortune, but unto the courage and worthiness of the Athenians. Thus were the Grecians throughly occupied to change the order of their battle in haste. The Thebans on the other side that took part with Mardonius, receiving intelligence of the altering of their battell, by traitors that ran between both camps: they straight told Mardonius of it. He thereupon did suddenly also change the order of his battell, and placed the Persians from the right wing to the left wing of his enemies: either because he was afraid of the Athenians, or else for greater glory that he had a desire to fight with the Lacedæmonians, and commanded the Grecians that took his part, that they should fight against the Athenians. This alteration was so openly done, that every man might see it: whereupon Pausanias removed the Lacedæmonians again, and set them in the right wing. Mardonius seeing that, removed the Persians again from the left wing, and brought them to the right wing (where they were before) against the Lacedæmonians: and thus they consumed all that day in changing their men to and fro. So the captains of the Grecians sat in council at

The  
treason  
of the  
Thebans

The stubbornness of Amompharetus night, and there they agreed, that they must needs remove their camp, and lodge in some other place where they might have water at commandment : because their enemies did continually trouble and spoil that water they had about them, with their horses. Now when night came, the captains would have marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed : but the people went very ill-willing to it, and they had much ado to keep them together. For they were no sooner out of the trenches and fortification of their camp, but the most part of them ran to the city of Platæa, and were marvellously out of order, dispersing themselves here and there, and set up their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them : and there were none that tarried behind, but the Lacedæmonians only, and that was against their wills. For one of their captains called Amompharetus, a marvellous hardy man, that feared no danger, and longed sore for battell : he was in such a rage with these trifling delays, that he cried it out in the camp, that this removing was a goodly running away, and swore he would not from thence, but would there tarry Mardonius' coming with his company. Pausanias went to him, and told him he must do that the other Grecians had consented to in council, by most voices. But Amompharetus took a great stone in his hands, and threw it down at Pausanias' feet, and told him there is the sign I give to conclude battell, and I pass not for all your cowardly conclusions. Amompharetus' stubbornness did so amaze Pausanias, that he was at his wits' end. So he sent unto the Athenians that were onwards on their way, to pray them to tarry

for him, that they might go together : and there-withal made the rest of his men to march towards the city of Platæa, supposing thereby to have drawn Amompharetus to have followed him, or else he meant to remain alone behind. But in trifling thus, the day broke : and Mardonius understanding that the Grecians did forsake their first lodging, he made his army presently march in battell ray to set upon the Lacedæmonians. So the barbarous people made great shouts and cries, not thinking to go fight, but to go sack and spoil the Grecians flying away, as indeed they did little better. For, Pausanias seeing the countenance of his enemies, made his ensigns to stay, and commanded every man to prepare to fight : but he forgot to give the Grecians the signal of the battell, either for the anger he took against Amompharetus, or for the sudden onset of the enemies, which made them that they came not in straight nor altogether to the battell after it was begun, but straggling in small companies, some here, and some there. In the meantime, Pausanias was busy in sacrificing to the gods, and seeing, that the first sacrifices were not acceptable unto them, by the soothsayers' observations they made : he commanded the Spartans to throw their targets at their feet, and not to stir out of their places, but only to do as he bade them, without resisting their enemies. When he had given this straight order, he went again and did sacrifice, when the horsemen of the enemies were at hand, and that their arrows flew amongst the thickest of the Lacedæmonians, and did hurt diverse of them, and specially poor Callicrates among the rest, that was one of the goodliest men in all the

**Calli-  
crates  
slain  
without  
fighting**

Note the  
obedience  
of the  
Spartan  
soldiers  
unto  
death

Grecians' host and army. He having his death's wound with an arrow, before he gave up the ghost, said his death did not grieve him, because he came out of his country to die for the defence of Greece: but it grieved him to die so cowardly, having given the enemy never a blow. His death was marvellous lamentable, and the constancy of the Spartans wonderful: for they never stirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to defend themselves against their enemies that came upon them, but suffered themselves to be thrust through with arrows, and slain in the field, looking for the hour the gods would appoint them, and that their captain would command them to fight. Some write also, that as Pausanias was at his prayers, and doing sacrifice unto the gods a little behind the battell, certain of the Lydians came upon him, and overthrew and took away all his sacrifice: and how Pausanias, and those that were about him, (having no other weapons in their hands) drove them away with force of staves and whips. In memory whereof, they say there is a solemn procession kept at Sparta on that day, which they call the Lydians' procession, where they whip and beat young boys about the altar. Then was Pausanias in great distress, to see the priests offer sacrifice upon sacrifice, and that not one of them pleased the gods: at the last he turned his eyes to the temple of Juno, and wept, and holding up his hands, besought Juno Cithæron, and all the other gods, (patrons and protectors of the country of the Plataæans) that if it were not the will of the gods the Grecians should have the victory, yet that the conquerors at the least should buy their deaths dearly, and that they

should find they fought against valiant men and worthy soldiers. Pausanias had no sooner ended his prayer, but the sacrifices fell out very favourable, insomuch the priests and soothsayers came to promise him victory. Thereupon, he straight gave commandment to march toward the enemy, which flew from man to man incontinently how they should march. So as he that had seen the squadron of the Lacedæmonians, would have said it had been like the body of a fierce beast raising up his bristles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people saw they should have a hot battle, and that they should meet with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they covered their bodies with great targets after the Persian fashion, and bestowed their arrows lustily upon the Lacedæmonians. But they keeping close together, and covering themselves with their shields, marched on still upon them, until they came to join with the enemy so lustily, that they made their targets fly out of their hands, with the terrible thrusts and blows of their pikes and spears upon their breasts, and overthwart their faces, that they slew many of them, and laid them on the ground. For all that, they died not cowardly, but took the Lacedæmonian's pikes and spears in their bare hands, and broke them in two by strength of their arms: and then they quickly pluckt out their scimitars and axes, and lustily laid about them, and wrung the Lacedæmonians' shields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now, whilst the Lacedæmonians were busily fighting with the barbarous people, the Athenians stood still imbattelled far off, and kept

**Battell  
betwixt  
the  
Grecians  
and the  
Persians**

The  
Grecians'  
victory  
of the  
Persians  
at  
Plataea

their ground. But when they saw the Lacedæmonians tarry so long, and that they came not, and heard a marvellous noise of men as though they were fighting, and besides that there came a speedy messenger unto them sent from Pausanias, to let them understand they were fighting: then they marched with all speed they could to help them. But as they were coming on a great pace over the plain, unto that part where they heard the noise: the Grecians that were on Mardonius' side came against them. Aristides seeing them coming towards them, went a good way before his company, and cried out as loud as he could for life, and conjured the Grecians in the name of the gods, the protectors of Greece, to leave off these wars, and not to trouble the Athenians that were going to help them that ventured their lives, to defend the common wealth and safety of all Greece. But when he saw they would needs fight for any request and conjuration he could use, and that they came still upon him, bending themselves to give charge: then he stayed his going to relieve the Lacedæmonians, and was compelled to make head against those that set upon him and his company, they being about fifty thousand men, of the which, the most part notwithstanding went their ways, and left the army, specially when they understood the Persians were overthrown and fled. The fury of the battell, and cruelest fight (as they say) was where the Thebans were: because the nobility and chiefest men of the country fought very earnestly for the Persians, but the people refused, being led by a small number of the nobility that commanded them. So they fought that day in two places, the Lacedæmonians being the first that

overthrew the Persians, and made them fly: and they slew Mardonius the king's lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one Arimnestus a Spartan gave him upon his head, rightly as the oracle of Amphiaraus had prophesied before unto him. For Mardonius before the battell had sent thither a Lydian, and a Carian, unto the oracle of Trophonius, of the which the prophet made answer unto the Carian, in the Carian tongue: and the man of Lydia lay within the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, where he thought in his dream that one of the priests of the temple willed him to go out of the place he was in, and he denying it, the priest took up a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was slain with the blow. And thus it is written. And furthermore, the Lacedæmonians did chase the Persians flying, into their fortification they had in a wood: and the Athenians also shortly after overthrew the Thebans whereof they slew in the field, a three hundred of the noblest and chiefest of them. For even as the Thebans began to turn tail, news came unto the Athenians, that the Persians had entrenched themselves within their fort and strength in the wood, where the Lacedæmonians did besiege them. The Athenians suffered the Grecians that fled to save themselves, and they went to help the Lacedæmonians, to take the fort of the barbarous people: who went before but slenderly about it, because they had no experience to make an assault, nor force upon a wall. But so soon as the Athenians came in to them, they straight took it by assault, and made great slaughter of the Persians and barbarous people. For of three hundred thousand fighting men that Mardonius had in his camp,

**Mardonius slain with a blow of a stone**

**How many of either side were slain** there were saved only but forty thousand led under Artabazus: and of the Grecians' side, there were not slain above thirteen hundred and three score in all, amongst which also there were two and fifty Athenians, all of the tribe of Æantis, the which had done more valiantly that day, than any other tribe, as Clidemus writeth. And this is the cause why the Æantids made a solemn sacrifice unto the Nymphs Sphragitides, at the common charge, according to the order given them by the oracle of Apollo, to give them thanks for this victory. Of the Lacedæmonians there died four score and eleven: and of the Tegeates, sixteen. But I marvel Herodotus saith, that none but these people only fought in that journey against the barbarous nation, and no other Grecians besides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graves also do shew, that it was a general victory and exploit of all the Grecians together. And moreover, if there had been but these three people only that had fought against them, and that all the rest had stood and looked on, and done nothing: sure there had been no such epigram as this, engraven upon the altar or tomb that was set up in the place of the battell:

When the victorious Greeks had driven out of their  
land

The Persians by force of arms, which long did them  
withstand,

They built to mighty Jove this holy altar here,  
And made it common for all Greece, as plainly may  
appear:

In guerdon of the good which he did them restore,  
In guerdon of their liberty, which liked them evermore.

This battell was fought the fourth day of the

moneth which the Athenians call Boëdromion, that is, about the moneth of July, or after the Bœotians' account, the six and twenty of the moneth, they call Panemus, on which day there is yet kept a common assembly of the estates of Greece, in the cities of Plataea, where the Platæans make a solemn sacrifice unto Jupiter, protector of their liberty, to give him thanks always for this victory. It is no marvel that there was such difference then betwixt the moneths and days, considering that even now when astronomy is more perfectly understood, than it was then: some do yet begin and end their moneths at one day, and some at another. After this great battell and overthrow of the barbarous people, there rose great strife betwixt the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, touching the reward and honour of the victory. For the Athenians would not give place unto the Lacedæmonians, nor suffer them to set up any tokens or signs of triumph. Whereupon the Grecians running to arms in mutiny together, by this occasion they had almost spoiled one another: had not Aristides through his wisdom and wise persuasions, stayed and quieted the other captains his companions, and specially one Leocrates and Myronides, whom he wan with such discreet and gentle words, that they were contented to refer it wholly unto the arbiterment and judgement of the other people of Greece. So the Grecians met in the same place together, purposely to decide their controversy. In this council holden there, Theogiton a captain of the Megarians, said for his opinion: that to avoid the civil war might grow between the Grecians upon this quarrel, he thought it very requisite, to appoint over the reward and

**Strife  
betwixt  
the Athe-  
nians and  
Lacedæ-  
monians**

The Grecians grant the honour of the victory unto the Platæans

honour of this victory, unto some other city, than to any of the two that fell out about it. After him rose up Cleocritus Corinthian, seeming to every man there that he would have requested this honour for the city of Corinth, being indeed the third city in estimation of all Greece, next unto Sparta and Athens : howbeit he made an oration in commendation of the Platæans, which was marvellously liked, and well thought of of every man. For his opinion went flatly with the Platæans, that to end this strife, they should give the honour of this victory unto the city of Platæa, and so would neither of both parties be angry that they should be honoured. Upon his words, Aristides first agreed on the Athenians' behalf, and then Pausanias for the Lacedæmonians, that the Platæans should have the reward. Now they both being agreed, before the spoil was divided between them, they set aside fourscore talents that were given to the Platæans, with the which they built a temple unto Minerva, and gave her an image, and set out all her temple with pictures that remain whole until this day : and the Lacedæmonians notwithstanding, did set up their tokens of victory by themselves, and the Athenians theirs also by themselves. So, they sending unto the oracle of Apollo in the city of Delphes, to know unto what gods, and how they should do sacrifice : Apollo answered them that they should build up an altar unto Jupiter, protector of their liberty, howbeit that they should put no sacrifice upon it, until they had first put out all the fire throughout the whole country, because it had been polluted and defiled by the barbarous people : and then, that they should fetch pure and clean fire at the common

altar, whereon they do sacrifice unto Apollo Pythias, in the city of Delphes. This answer being delivered, the great lords and officers of Greece went through all the country, to put out the fire everywhere. And there was a man of the same city of Plataea at that time called Euchidas, that came and offered himself, and promised he would bring them fire from the temple of Apollo Pythias, with all possible speed that might be. So when he came to the city of Delphes, after he had sprinkled and purified his body with clean water, he put a crown of laurel upon his head, and went in that manner to take fire from the altar of Apollo. When he had done, he hied him again as fast as he could run for life, unto the city of Plataea, and came thither before the sun was set, having come and gone that day a thousand furlongs. But after he had saluted his citizens, and delivered them the fire he brought: he fell down dead at their feet, and gave up the ghost. The Plataeans lift him up stark dead, and buried him in the temple of Diana Eucleia, to say, of good renown: and caused afterwards this epitaph following to be graven upon his tomb.

The wonderful speed of Euchidas the Plataean a foot

Engraved here doth lie Euchidas, speedy man,  
 Who in one day both to and fro to Delphes lightly  
 ran:  
 Even from this self same place which thou dost here  
 behold,  
 Such haste, post haste, he swiftly made, thereof thou  
 maist be bold.

Many think that this goddess Eucleia is Diana, and so they call her. But other hold opinion she was the daughter of Hercules, and of Myrto the Nymph, Menœtius' daughter, and Patroclus' sister,

**Solemn sacrifices and funerals kept by the Platæans yearly** that died a virgin, and was honoured afterwards as a goddess, of the Bœotians and of the Locrians. For in all their cities and towns in open places, they find an altar and image dedicated unto her: and all that are married, do sacrifice to her upon that altar. Afterwards there was a general council holden by all the Grecians, in the which Aristides made a motion, that all the cities of Greece should yearly send their deputies at a certain day appointed, unto the city of Platæa, there to make their prayers and sacrifices unto the gods: and that from five years, to five years, they should celebrate common games, that should be called the games of liberty: and that they should also levy through all the provinces of Greece, for maintenance of the wars against the Persians and barbarous people, ten thousand footmen, a thousand horsemen, and a fleet of a hundred sail. Also that the Platæans thenceforth should be taken also for devout and holy men, and that no man should be so hardy as to hurt or offend them, and that they should only tend the sacrifices unto the gods, for the health and prosperity of Greece. All which articles were enacted in form and manner aforesaid, and the Platæans bound themselves yearly to keep solemn sacrifices and anniversaries for the souls of the Grecians that were slain in their territories, fighting for defence of the liberty of the Grecians. And this they observe yet unto this day in this sort. The sixteenth day of the moneth of Mæmacterion (which the Bœotians call Alalcomenius, and is about the moneth of January) they go a procession, and before the processsion there goeth a trumpeter that soundeth the alarum. Then there follow certain chariots

laden with branches of fir tree, and with nosegays and garlands of triumph: then a black bull, and certain young gentlemen noblemen's sons, that carry great cawdrons with two ears, full of wine and milk, such as they use to pour upon the graves of dead men for propitiatory oblations, and other young boys free born, that carry oils, perfumes, and other sweet odours in vial glasses. For no servant or bondman may lawfully be admitted to have any office about this mystery, for that they whose memory they honour, died all fighting for defence of the liberty of Greece. After all this shew, followeth the provost of the Platæans for that time being, last of all: who may not all the rest of the year besides so much as touch any iron, nor wear any other coloured gown but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a purple-coloured coat, and holdeth a funeral pot in one of his hands, which he taketh in the town-house, and a naked sword in the other hand, and so goeth through the city in this sort after all the pomp aforesaid, unto the churchyard where all their graves be that were slain at that battell. So when he commeth thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the same he washeth the four-square pillars and images that stand upon those tombs, and then anointeth them with oils and sweet savours: afterwards, he sacrificeth a bull, and layeth him upon a heap of wood hard by him, as they do when they burn the bodies of dead men, and making certain prayers and petitions unto Jupiter, and Mercury, gods of the earth, he doth solemnly invite the souls of those valiant men that died, fighting for the liberty of Greece, unto the feast of this funeral sacrifice. Then he taketh

for the  
Grecians  
that were  
slain at  
the battell  
of Platæa

**A wicked device of Themistocles** a cup full of wine in his hand, and spilling it all upon their tombs, he speaketh these words aloud: I drink to the worthy and valiant men, that died sometime in defence of the liberty of Greece. This solemn ceremony and anniversary, the Platæans do duly observe unto this present day. Now when the Athenians were returned to Athens, Aristides perceiving the people were bent to establish a popular state, where the people might bear the whole rule and authority, judging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noble service and valiant courage they had shewn in this war: and considering also that they would hardly be brought to like of any other government, being yet in arms, and very stout, by reason of the famous victories they had obtained: he caused a law to be made, that all authority of government should run in equality among the citizens, and that thenceforth all burgesses (as well poor as rich) should be chosen by voices of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreover, when Themistocles told in open assembly, that he had a thing in his head would be greatly to the profit and commodity of the state, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for diverse respects: the people willed him to tell it unto Aristides only, and to take his advice in it, to know whether it was meet to be done or not. Then Themistocles told him secretly between them, that he thought to set the arsenal on fire, where all the Grecians' ships lay, alleging that by this means the Athenians should be the greatest men of power in all Greece. Aristides hearing that, without any more, came presently to the people

again, and told the whole council openly: that nothing could be more profitable indeed for the whole common wealth, and withal more wicked and unjust, than that Themistocles thought good to do. When the people heard Aristides' answer, they willed Themistocles to let his device alone whatsoever it were: so great justicers were the Athenians, and so much did they trust Aristides' wisdom and equity besides. So they made Aristides afterwards general of the army of the Athenians together with Cimon, and sent them to make war against the barbarous people. Aristides at his coming thither, seeing Pausanias, and the other captains that were generals over the whole army, dealing hardly and churlishly with people their confederates: he on the contrary side, spake gently unto them, and shewed himself as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and just to everybody, not oppressing some to ease other, in defraying the charges of the wars. Aristides taking this course, it was not noted how by little and little he cut off the rule and authority of the Lacedæmonians in Greece, not by force of arms, nor by ships, nor by numbers of horses, but only by his grave and wise government. For if the justice and vertue of Aristides, and the mildness and courtesy of Cimon made the government of the Athenians to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of Greece: the covetousness, pride, and fierceness of Pausanias, made it much more to be desired. For Pausanias never spake unto the other captains of the people, allies, and confederates, but it was ever in choler, and he was too sharp with them: and for the poor

**Aristides' sentence upon Themistocles' device**

**Pausanias' cruel punishing of his soldiers**

private soldiers, he would cause them to be cruelly whipped for every small offence, or else to make them stand a whole day together on their feet, laying a heavy iron anchor upon their shoulders. No man durst go forage, neither for straw nor reeds to make them couches of, nor durst water their horse before the Spartans: for he had set scouts for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when Aristides thought to have spoken to him, and to have told him something: he frowned upon him, and said he had no leisure to speak with him now, and so would not hear him. Whereupon the captains of the other Grecians, and specially those of Chios, of Samos, and of Lesbos, did afterwards follow Aristides, and persuaded him to take upon him the charge and authority to command the other people of Greece, and to take into his protection the allies and confederates of the same, who long sithence wished to revolt from the government of the Lacedæmonians, and only to submit themselves unto the Athenians. Aristides answered them thus: that they had not only reason to do that they said, but that they were also constrained to do it. Notwithstanding, because the Athenians might have good ground and assurance of their undoubted fidelity and good service, they should deliver them manifest testimony and assurance thereof, by some famous act attempted against the Lacedæmonians, whereby their people hereafter durst never fall from the league of the Athenians. Uliades Samian, and Antagoras of Chios hearing him say so, both captains of galleys confedered together: they went one day to set upon the admiral galley of Pausanias,

hard by Byzantium, the one of the one side of her, and the other on the other side, as she was rowing before all the fleet. Pausanias seeing them, stood up straight in a marvellous rage against them, and threatened them that before it were long he would make them know they had been better to have assaulted their own natural country, than to have set upon him as they had done. But they answered him, and bade him get him away quickly and he were wise, and let him thank fortune hardly, that granted the Grecians victory at the battell of Platæa under his leading: and that it was nothing else but the only reverence and respect of the same, that had made the Grecians hold their hands till now, from giving him that just punishment his pride and arrogancy had deserved. So the end was, they left the Lacedæmonians, and stack unto the Athenians: wherein was easily discerned the great courage, and wonderful magnanimity of the Lacedæmonians. For when they saw their captains were marred and corrupted, through the over great authority and liberty they had, they willingly gave up their commandment over the other Grecians, and did no more send their captains to be generals of the whole army of Greece: thinking it better for their citizens, that they should be obedient, and in every point observe the discipline and law of their country, than if they had been otherwise the only rulers and lords over the whole country. Now at what time the Lacedæmonians did command all Greece, as lords: the cities and people of Greece did pay a certain sum of money, towards defraying of the charges of the wars against the barbarous people. But after that their seigniory

**The temperance of the Lacedæmonians**

**Aristides  
did sess  
the cities  
of Greece**

and rule was taken from them, the Grecians were contented a tax should be levied, and that every city should be reasonably sessed, according to their wealth and ability: because every city might know what they should pay. And for this purpose, they prayed the Athenians they would appoint Aristides to take order for it, unto whom they gave full power and authority to tax and sess every city indifferently, considering the greatness of the territory, and the revenues of the same, as every one was reasonably able to bear it. But if Aristides were poor when he entered into that great charge and office of authority, wherein all Greece in manner did refer themselves unto his discretion: he came out of that office more poor, and had made this assessment and taxation not only justly and truly, but also so indifferently according unto every man's ability, that there was no man could find fault with his doings. And like as the ancient men in old time did celebrate and sing out the blessedness of those that lived under the reign of Saturn, which they called the golden age: even so did the people and confederates of the Athenians afterwards honour the assessment made by Aristides, calling it the fortunate and blessed time of Greece, and specially, when shortly after it did double, and treble on the sudden. For the tax Aristides made, came to about four hundred and threescore talents: and Pericles raised it almost unto a third part. For Thucydides writeth, that at the beginning of the wars of Peloponnesus, the Athenians levied six hundred talents yearly upon their confederates. And after the death of Pericles, the orators and counsellors for matters of state, did raise it up

higher by little and little, until it mounted unto the sum of thirteen hundred talents. And this was not, because the wars did rise to so great a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the losses the Athenians had received: but for that they did accustom the people to make distributions of money by hand unto every citizen, to make them set up games, and make goodly images, and to build sumptuous temples. Thus was Aristides therefore justly honoured, praised, and esteemed above all other, for this just imposition of taxes, saving only of Themistocles: who went up and down fleering at the matter, saying it was no meet praise for an honest man, but rather for a coffer well barred with iron, where a man might safely lay up his gold and silver. This he spake to be even with Aristides, which was nothing like the sharp gird Aristides gave him openly, when Themistocles talking with him, told him it was an excellent thing for a captain to be able to know, and to prevent the counsels and doings of the enemies: and so is it, said Aristides again, not only a needful, but an honest thing, and meet for a worthy general of an army, to be clean fingered, without bribery or corruption. So Aristides made all the other people of Greece to swear, that they would truly keep the articles of the alliance, and he himself as general of the Athenians, did take their oaths in the name of the Athenians: and so pronouncing execrations and curses against them that should break the league and oath taken, he threw iron wedges red hot into the sea, and prayed the gods to destroy them even so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstanding, afterwards (in my opinion) when there

**Taunts  
betwixt  
Themis-  
tocles  
and  
Aristides**

**Aristides gloried in his poverty** fell out great alteration in the state, and that the Athenians were forced to rule more straitly than before: Aristides then willed the Athenians to let him bear the danger and burden of perjury and execration, and that they should not let for fear thereof to do anything whatsoever they thought meet or necessary. To conclude, Theophrastus writeth, that Aristides was not only a perfect, an honest, and just man, in private matters betwixt party and party: but in matters of state, and concerning the common weal, he did many things oftentimes according to the necessity of the time, and troubles of the city, wherein violence and injustice was to be used. As when the question was asked in open counsel, to know whether they might take away the gold and silver that was left in the Isle of Delos safely laid up in the temple of Apollo, to bear out the charges of the wars against the barbarous people, and to bring it from thence unto Athens, upon the motion of the Samians, although it was directly against the articles of the alliance, made and sworn among all the Grecians. Aristides opinion being asked in the same, he answered: it was not just, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding Aristides had brought his city, to rule and command many thousands of people: yet was he still poor for all that, and until his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his poverty, than for all the famous victories and battels he had won: and that plainly appeareth thus. Callias Ceres' torch-bearer, was his near kinsman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stood in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the judges, his

accusers very faintly, and to little purpose, uttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other by-matters, left the chiefest matter, and spake thus to the judges. My lords, you all know Aristides the son of Lysimachus, and you are not ignorant also that his vertue hath made him more esteemed, than any man else is, or can be, in all Greece. How think ye doth he live at home? when you see him abroad up and down the city, in a threadbare gown all to-tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starve at home for lack of meat and relief, whom we all see quake for very cold, being so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet Master Callias here his cousin-german, the richest citizen in all Athens, is so miserable: that notwithstanding Aristides hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authority among you, he suffereth him, and his poor wife and children ready to beg, to starve for any help he giveth him. Callias perceiving the judges more angry with him for that, than for any matter else he was accused of: he prayed Aristides might be sent for, and willed him to tell truly whether he had not offered him good round sums of money, many a time and oft, and entreated him to take it, which he ever refused, and answered him always, that he could better boast of his poverty, than himself could of his riches: (which he said many did use ill, and few could use them well) and that it was a hard thing to find one man of a noble mind, that could away with poverty, and that such only might be ashamed of poverty, as were poor against their wills. So Aristides confirmed all he spake to be true: and every man that was at the hearing of this matter,

**A hard  
thing to  
away  
with  
poverty**

**Aristides** went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poor as Aristides, than rich as Callias. **com-**  
**mended** This tale is written thus by Æschines the Socratician  
**of Plato** philosopher: and Plato reporteth of him also, that notwithstanding there were many other famous and notable men of Athens, yet he gave Aristides praise above them all. For others, said he, (as Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles) have beautified the city with stately porches, and sumptuous buildings of gold and silver, and with stone of other fine superfluous devices: but Aristides was only he, that vertuously disposed himself and all his doings, to the furtherance of the state and common weal. His justice and good-nature appeared plainly in his doings and behaviour towards Themistocles. For though Themistocles was ever against Aristides in all things, and a continual enemy of his, and that by his means and practice he was banished from Athens: yet when Themistocles was accused of treason to the state, having divers sharp enemies against him: as Cimon, Alcmaeon, with divers other: Aristides sought not revenge, when he had him at this advantage. For he neither spake nor did anything against him at that time to hurt him: neither did he rejoyce to see his enemy in misery, no more than if he had never envied him in his prosperity. And touching Aristides' death, some write that he died in the realm of Pontus, being sent thither about matters of the state: and other think he died an old man in the city of Athens, greatly honoured and beloved of all the citizens. But Craterus the Macedonian writeth of his death in this sort. After that Themistocles (saith he) was fled, the people of Athens became very stubborn

and insolent : whereupon, many lewd men grew to be common appeachers and accusers of the noble-men and chiefest citizens, and to stir up the malice and ill will of the common people against them, who were waxen proud by reason of their prosperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Among the rest, Aristides was condemned for extortion and ill behaviour in the common wealth, upon one Diophantus' accusation, of the village of Amphitrope : who burdened him, that he took money of the Ionians, to make the annual tribute cease which they paid unto Athens : and so Craterus saith, that because Aristides was not able to pay the fine they set upon his head (which was five minas) he was driven to forsake Athens, and to get him into Ionia where he died. Yet doth not Craterus bring forth any probable matter to prove this true he writeth : as his pleading, his sentence and condemnation, or any decree passed against him, although he used great diligence else in collecting all such matters, and vouching his authors. Furthermore, all other writers that have specially noted the faults and offences committed by the people of Athens in former times against their captains and governors : they do declare Themistocles' exile, Miltiades' captivity that died in prison, Pericles' fine wherein he was condemned, and Paches' death that slew himself in the pulpit for orations, when he saw he was condemned : and tell divers such stories, adding too also Aristides' banishment : but yet they make no manner of mention of the condemnation which Craterus speaketh of. Moreover, Aristides' tomb is to be seen at this day upon the haven of Phalerum, which was set up for him at the charge of the

**Aristides  
con-  
demned  
for  
extortion**

The Athenians' thankfulness unto Aristides' children common wealth, as it is reported, because he died so poor a man, as they found nothing in his house to bury him with. Other go further, and say that his daughters were married by decree of the people, at the charge of the common wealth, and that the city gave every one of them three thousand drachmas : and his son Lysimachus, a hundred minas of silver, and a hundred *jugera*, and at Alcibiades' request, who was the author of the decree, they gave him four drachmas a day besides, of ordinary allowance. Furthermore, when this Lysimachus died, he left alive one only daughter called Polycrité, whom the people appointed, as Callisthenes writeth, as much provision to live withal, as they gave to any that wan the Olympian games. And sithence, Demetrius Phalerian, Hieronymus Rhodian, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle the philosopher, at the least if the book intituled of Nobility be any of Aristotle's works : all these agree together, that one Myrto, Aristides' daughter's daughter, was married to the wise Socrates, who took her to his wife (having a wife already) because she was a poor widow, and could not be married for her poverty, having much ado to live. Yet Panatius doth write against them, in his book of Socrates' life. But Demetrius Phalerian writeth in his book he intituled Socrates, that he could remember very well he had seen one Lysimachus, Aristides' son's son, or his daughter's son, that was very poor, and lived off that he could get to interpret dreams, by certain tables, wherein was written the art to interpret the signification of dreams : and that he kept commonly about the temple of Bacchus called Iaccheon, unto whom, together with his mother and his sister, he

said he had caused the people to give them a triobolum apiece, every day towards their living. It is very true that the self same Demetrius Phalerian, when he reformed the state of Athens, ordained that his mother and sister should have each of them a drachma by the day to find them withal, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, nor strange thing, that the people of Athens were so careful to help, and to relieve, the women that dwelt in the city: considering that in times past, Aristogiton having a little daughter in the Isle of Lemnos, in very hard and poor state, and that could not be bestowed in marriage for her poverty, they caused her to be brought to Athens, and married her in one of the noblest houses of the city, and made her a jointure besides in the village of Potamos. Which great courtesy and humanity of theirs, hath ever deserved great fame and commendation, and yet continueth even until this day, in that noble city of Athens, in the mouth of every man there.

The Athenians commended for liberality

THE END OF ARISTIDES' LIFE

THE LIFE OF  
MARCUS CATO THE CENSOR

**Cato** **MARCUS CATO** and his ancestors, were (as they say) called an upstart of the city of Tusculum : but before he went unto the wars, and dealt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and lived in the country of the Sabines, upon certain land his father left him. And though to many his ancestors were known to have been obscure : yet he himself did highly commend his father Marcus, by bearing his name, and saying he was a soldier, and had served valiantly in the field. And he telleth also of another Cato that was his great-grandfather, who for his valiant service had been oft rewarded of the generals, with such honourable gifts, as the Romans did use to give unto them, that had done some famous act in any battel : and how that he having lost five horses of service in the wars, the value of the same were restored to him again in money of the common treasure, because he had shewed himself trusty and valiant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speech at Rome to call them upstarts, that were no gentlemen born, but did rise by vertue : it fortun'd Cato to be called one of them. And for his part he did confess it, that he was of the first of the house that ever had honour, and office of state : but by reason of the noble acts and good service of his ancestors, he maintained he was very

ancient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, Priscus: but afterwards by reason of his great wisdom and experience he was surnamed Cato, because the Romans call a wise man, and him that hath seen much, Cato. He was somewhat given to be red-faced, and had a pair of staring eyes in his head, as this man telleth us, that for ill-will wrote these verses of him after his death :

Pluto (the god) which rules the furies infernal,  
Will not receive the damnéd ghost of Porcius in his  
hall:

His saucy coppered nose, and fiery staring eyes,  
His common slanderous tales, which he did in this  
world devise,

Made Pluto stand in dread that he would brawl in  
hell,

Although his bones were dry and dead, on earth he  
was so fell.

Furthermore, touching the disposition of his body, he was marvellous strong and lusty, and all because he did use to labour and toil even from his youth, and to live sparingly, as one that was ever brought up in the wars from his youth: so that he was of a very good constitution, both for strength of body, as for health also. As for utterance, he esteemed it as a second body, and most necessary gift, not only to make men honest, but also as a thing very requisite for a man that should bear sway and authority in the common wealth. He practised to speak well in little villages near home, whither he went many times to plead men's causes in courts judicial, that would retain him of counsel: so as in short time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in process of time became an excellent orator. After he was thus well known, they that

**Cato a  
soldier at  
seventeen  
years of  
age**

were familiar with him, began to perceive a grave manner and behaviour in his life, and a certain noble mind in him, worthy to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not only refuse to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he maintained : but furthermore made no reckoning of the estimation he won by that manner and practice, as though that was not the only mark he shot at. But his desire reached further, rather to win himself fame by service in the wars, and by valiant fighting with his enemy : than with such a quiet and pleasing manner of life. Insomuch as when he was but a young stripling in manner, he had many cuts upon his breast, which he had received in divers battels and encounters against the enemies. For he himself writeth, that he was but seventeen years old, when he went first unto the wars, which was about the time of Hannibal's chief prosperity, when he spoiled and destroyed all Italy. So when he came to fight, he would strike lustily, and never stir foot nor give back, and would look cruelly upon his enemy, and threaten him with a fearful and terrible voice, which he used himself, and wisely taught other also to use the like : for such countenances, said he, many times do fear the enemies more, than the sword ye offer them. When he went any journey, he ever marched afoot, and carried his armour upon his back, and had a man waiting on him that carried his victuals with him, with whom he was never angry (as they say) for anything he had prepared for his dinner or supper, but did help to dress it himself for the most part, if he had any leisure, when he had done the duty

of a private soldier in fortifying the camp, or such other needful business. All the while he was abroad in service in the wars, he never drank other than clean water, unless it were when he found he was not well, and then he would take a little vinegar: but if he saw he were weak, he would then drink a little wine. Now it fortun'd that Manius Curius the Roman, who had triumphed thrice, had a pretty house and land hard by Cato, where he kept in times past, which Cato for a walk would visit oft. And he considering how little land he had to his house, and what a little house he had withal, and how poorly it was built, wondered with himself what manner of man Curius had been, that having been the greatest man of Rome in his time, and having subdued the mightiest nations and people of all Italy, and driven King Pyrrhus also out of the same: yet himself with his own hands did manure that little patch of ground, and dwell in so poor and small a farm. Whither notwithstanding, after his three triumphs, the Samnites sent their ambassadors to visit him, who found him by the fireside seething of parsnips, and presented him a marvellous deal of gold from their state and communalty. But Curius returned them again with their gold, and told them, that such as were contented with that supper, had no need of gold nor silver: and that for his part, he thought it greater honour to command them that had gold, than to have it himself. Cato remembering these things to himself, went home again, and began to think upon his house, of his living, of his family and servants, and also of his expenses: and to cut off all superfluous charges, and fell himself to labour with his own hands, more

**Cato  
wondered  
at the  
thrif-  
tiness of  
Manius  
Curius**

Cato's  
studies  
and  
teachers

than ever he had done before. Furthermore, when Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum again, Cato served under him being very young, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with Nearchus the Pythagorean philosopher, in whom he took marvellous delight to hear him talk of philosophy. Which Nearchus held the same opinion of pleasure, that Plato did, by calling it the sweet poison and chiefest bait to allure men to ill: and saying that the body was the first plague unto the soul, and that her only health, remedy, and purgation stood upon rules of reason, good examples and contemplations, that drive sinful thoughts and carnal pleasures of the body, far off from her. Cato moreover gave himself much to sobriety and temperance, and framed himself to be contented with little. They say he fell in his very old age to the study of the Greek tongue, and to read Greek books, and that he profited somewhat by Thucydides, but much more by Demosthenes, to frame his matter, and also to be eloquent. Which plainly appeareth, in all his books and writings, full of authorities, examples, and stories taken out of Greek authors: and many of his sentences and morals, his adages and quick answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a nobleman of Rome at that time, one of great authority, and a deep wise man besides, who could easily discern buds of vertue sprouting out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honourable disposition to help forward, and to advance such. His name was Valerius Flaccus, a near neighbour unto Cato, who was informed by his servants of Cato's strange life, how he would be doing in his ground with his own hands: and how

he would be gone every day betimes in the morning to little villages thereabout, to plead men's causes that prayed his counsel, and that when he had done, he would come home again: and if it were in winter, that he would but cast a little coat on his shoulders, and being summer he would go out bare-naked to the waist, to work in his ground among his servants and other workmen: and would besides, sit and eat with them together at one board, and drink as they did. Moreover, they told him also a world of such manners and fashions which he used, that shewed him to be a marvellous plain man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they told him what notable wise sayings and grave sentences they heard him speak. Valerius Flaccus hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with Cato, and perceiving he was of a very good nature, and well given, and that he was a good griffe to be set in a better ground: he persuaded him to come to Rome, and to practise there in the assembly of the people, in the common causes and affairs of the common weal. Cato followed his counsel, who having been no long practiser among them, did grow straight into great estimation, and wan him many friends, by reason of the causes he took in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken also, by means of the special favour and countenance Valerius Flaccus gave him. For first of all, by voice of the people he was chosen Tribune of the soldiers, (to say, colonel of a thousand footmen) and afterwards was made treasurer: and so went forwards, and grew to so great credit and authority, as he became Valerius

Cato  
goeth  
to Rome

**Cato's  
offices in  
the state**

Flaccus' companion in the chiefest offices of state, being chosen Consul with him, and then Censor. But to begin withal, Cato made choice of Quintus Fabius Maximus, above all the Senators of Rome, and gave himself to follow him altogether: and not so much for the credit and estimation Fabius Maximus was of, (who therein exceeded all the Romans of that time) as for the modesty and discreet government he saw in him, whom he determined to follow, as a worthy mirror and example. At which time Cato passed not for the malice and evil will of Scipio the great, who did strive at that present being but a young man, with the authority and greatness of Fabius Maximus, as one that seemed to envy his rising and greatness. For Cato being sent treasurer with Scipio, when he undertook the journey into Africk, and perceiving Scipio's bountiful nature and disposition to large gifts without mean to the soldiers: he told him plainly one day, that he did not so much hurt the common wealth in wasting their treasure, as he did great harm in changing the ancient manner of their ancestors: who used their soldiers to be contented with little, but he taught them to spend their superfluous money (all necessaries provided for) in vain toys and trifles, to serve their pleasure. Scipio made him answer, he would have no treasurer should control him in that sort, nor that should look so narrowly to his expenses: for his intent was to go to the wars with full sails as it were, and that he would (and did also determine to) make the state privy to all his doings, but not to the money he spent. Cato hearing this answer, returned with speed out of Sicily unto Rome, crying out with

Fabius Maximus in open Senate, that Scipio spent infinitely, and that he tended plays, comedies, and wrestlings, as if he had not been sent to make wars, invasions, and attempts upon their enemies. Upon this complaint the Senate appointed certain Tribunes of the people, to go and see if their informations were true: and finding them so, that they should bring him back again to Rome. But Scipio shewed far otherwise to the commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparent victory, through the necessary preparation and provision he had made for the wars: and he confessed also, that when he had despatched his great business, and was at any leisure, he would be privately merry with his friends: and though he was liberal to his soldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duty and charge in any matter of importance. So Scipio took shipping, and sailed towards Africk, whither he was sent to make war. Now to return to Cato. He daily increased still in authority and credit by means of his eloquence, so that divers called him the Demosthenes of Rome: howbeit the manner of his life was in more estimation than his eloquence. For all the youth of Rome did seek to attain to his eloquence and commendation of words, and one envied another which of them should come nearest: but few of them would file their hands with any labour as their forefathers did, and make a light supper and dinner, without fire or provision, or would be content with a mean gown, and a poor lodging, and finally would think it more honourable to defy fancies and pleasures, than to have and enjoy them. Because the state was waxen now of such power and wealth, as it could no more retain the

Cato's  
emulation  
with  
Scipio  
the Great

Cato's  
wonder-  
ful thrift

ancient discipline, and former austerity and straightness of life it used : but by reason of the largeness of their dominion and seigniory, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their subjects, it was even forced to receive a medley of sundry country fashions, examples, and manners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at Cato's vertue, when they saw other straight wearied with pains and labour, tenderly brought up like pulers : and Cato on the other side never over common, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coveted honour, nor in his age also when he was grey-headed and bald, after his Consulship and triumph, but like a conqueror that had gotten the maistry, he would never give over labour even unto his dying day. For he writeth himself, that there never came gown on his back that cost him above a hundred pence, and that his hinds and workmen always drank no worse wine, when he was Consul and general of the army, than he did himself : and that his cater never bestowed in meat for his supper, above thirty asses of Roman money, and yet he said it was, because he might be the stronger and apter to do service in the wars for his country and the commonwealth. He said furthermore, that being heir to one of his friends that died, he had a piece of tapestry by him with a deep border, which they called then the Babylonian border, and he caused it straight to be sold : and that of all his houses he had abroad in the country, he had not one wall plastered, nor rough cast. Moreover he would say, he never bought bondman or slave dearer, than a thousand five hundred pence, as one that sought not for fine-

made men, and goodly personages, but strong fellows that could away with pains, as carters, horse-keepers, neat-herds, and such like: and again he would sell them when they were old, because he would not keep them when they could do no service. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a man bought anything dear, that was for little purpose: yea, though he gave but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to bestow so little, for that which needed not. He would have men purchase houses, that had more store of arable land and pasture, than of fine hortyards or gardens. Some say, he did thus, for very misery and covetousness: other think, and took it that he lived so sparingly, to move others by his example to cut off all superfluity and waste. Nevertheless, to sell slaves in that sort, or to turn them out of doors when you have had the service of all their youth, and that they are grown old, as you use brute beasts that have served whilst they may for age: me thinks that must needs proceed of too severe and greedy nature, that hath no longer regard or consideration of humanity, than whilst one is able to do another good. For we see, gentleness goeth further than justice. For nature teacheth us to use justice only unto men, but gentleness sometimes is shewed unto brute beasts: and that cometh from the very fountain and spring of all curtesy and humanity, which should never dry up in any man living. For to say truly, to keep cast horses spoiled in our service, and dogs also not only when they are whelps, but when they be old: be even tokens of love and kindness. As the Athenians made a law, when they builded their temple called Hecatompedos: that they should suffer the moyles and mulets that

Cato's  
sharpness

Gentle-  
ness to be  
used unto  
brute  
beasts

did service in their carriages about the building of the same, to graze everywhere, without let or trouble of any man. And they say, there was one of their moyles thus turned at liberty, that came herself to the place to labour about, going before all the other draught beasts, that drew up carts laden towards the castle, and kept them company, as though she seemed to encourage the rest to draw: which the people liked so well in the poor beast, that they appointed she should be kept whilst she lived, at the charge of the town. And yet at this present are the graves of Cimon's mares to be seen, that won him thrice together the game of the horse-race at the games Olympian, and they are hard by the grave of Cimon himself. We hear of divers also that had buried their dogs they brought up in their house, or that waited on them: as among other, old Xanthippus buried his dog on the top of a cliff, which is called the Dog's Pit till this day. For when the people of Athens did forsake their city at the coming down of Xerxes the king, this dog followed his maister, swimming in the sea by his galley's side, from the firm land, unto the Isle of Salamis. And there is no reason, to use living and sensible things, as we would use an old shoe or a rag, to cast it out upon the dunghill when we have worn it, and can serve us no longer. For if it were for no respect else, but to use us always to humanity; we must ever shew our selves kind and gentle, even in such small points of pity. And as for me, I could never find in my heart to sell my draught ox that had ploughed my land a long time, because he could plough no longer for age: and

much less my slave to sell him for a little money, out of the country where he had dwelt a long time, to pluck him from his old trade of life wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shall be as unprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller. But Cato on the other side gloried, that he left his horse in Spain he had served on in the wars during his Consulship, because he would not put the common-wealth to the charge of bringing him home by sea into Italy. Now a question might be made of this, and probable reason of either side, whether this was nobleness, or a niggardliness in him: but otherwise to say truly, he was a man of a wonderful abstinence. For when he was general of the army, he never took allowance but after three bushels of wheat a moneth of the common-wealth, for himself and his whole family: and but a bushel and half of barley a day, to keep his horse and other beasts for his carriage. On a time when he was Prætor, the government of the Isle of Sardinia fell to his lot. And where the other Prætors before him had put the country to exceeding great charge, to furnish them with tents, bedding, clothes, and such like stuff, and burdened them also with a marvellous train of servants and their friends that waited on them, putting them to great expense in feasting and banqueting of them: Cato in contrary manner brought down all that excess and superfluity, unto a marvellous near and incredible saving. For when he went to visit the cities, he came on foot to them, and did not put them to a penny charge for himself: and had only one officer or bailiff of the state, that waited on him, and carried his gown and a

Cato's  
strict life

Cato's  
speech  
and  
writing

cup with him, to offer up wine to the gods in his sacrifices. But though he came thus simply to the subjects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed himself severe and bitter to them in matters concerning justice: and spared no man, in any commandment or service for the state and common-wealth. For he was therein so precise, that he would not bear with any little fault. So by this means he brought the Sardinians under his government, both to love and fear the Empire of Rome, more than ever they did before. As appeareth plainly by the manner both of his speaking and writing: because it was pleasant and yet grave: sweet and fearful: merry and severe: sententious, and yet familiar, such as is meet to be spoken. And he was to be compared unto Socrates: who (as Plato said) at the first sight seemed a plain simple man to them that knew him not outwardly, or else a pleasant taunter or mocker: but when they did look into him, and found him throughly, they saw he was full of grave sentences, goodly examples, and wise persuasions, that he could make men water their plants that heard him, and lead them as he would by the ear. Therefore I cannot see any reason that moves men to say, Cato had Lysias' grace and utterance. Notwithstanding, let us refer it to their judgements that make profession to discern orators' graces and styles: for my part I shall content my self to write at this present, only certain of his notable sayings and sentences, persuading my self that men's manners are better discerned by their words, than by their looks, and so do many think. On a time he seeking to dissuade the people of Rome, which would needs

make a thankful distribution of corn unto every citizen, to no purpose: began to make an oration with this preface. It is a hard thing (my Lords of Rome) to bring the belly by persuasion to reason, that hath no ears. And another time, reproving the ill government of the city of Rome, he said: it was a hard thing to keep up that state, where a little fish was sold dearer than an ox. He said also that the Romans were like a flock of sheep. For saith he, as every wether when he is alone, doth not obey the shepherd, but when they are all together they one follow another for love of the foremost: even so are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be led by the noses by such, whose counsel not a man alone of you would use in any private cause of your own. And talking another time of the authority the women of Rome had over their husbands, he said: Other men command their wives, and we command men, and our wives command us. But this last of all he borrowed of Themistocles' pleasant sayings. For his son making him do many things by means of his mother, he told his wife one day, The Athenians command all Greece, I command the Athenians, you command me, and your son ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him use the liberty he hath with some better discretion, fool and ass as he is, sithence he can do more by that power and authority, than all the Grecians besides. He said also that the people of Rome did not only delight in divers sorts of purple, but likewise in divers sorts of exercises. For said he, as divers commonly dye that colour they see best esteemed, and is most pleasant to the eye: even so the lusty

Notable  
sayings  
of Cato

**Notable  
sayings  
of Cato**

youths of Rome do frame themselves to such exercise, as they see your selves most like, and best esteem. He continually advised the Romans, that if their power and greatness came by their vertue and temperance, they should take heed they became no changelings, nor wax worse: and if they came to that greatness by vice and violence, that then they should change to better, for by that means he knew very well they had attained to great honour and dignity. Again he told them, that such as sued ambitiously to bear office in the common-wealth, and were common suitors for them: did seem to be afraid to lose their way, and therefore would be sure to have ushers and sergeants before them, to shew them the way, lest they should lose themselves in the city. He did reprove them also, that often chose one man to continue one office still: for it seemeth, saith he, either that you pass not much for your officers, or that you have not many choice men you think worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that led a marvellous wicked and an abominable life, of whom he was wont to say, that when his mother prayed unto the gods that she might leave her son behind her, she did not think to pray, but to curse: meaning to have him live for a plague to the world. And to another also that had unthriftilly sold his lands which his father had left him, lying upon the sea-side: he pointed unto them with his finger, and made as though he wondered how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger than the sea. For that which the sea hardly consumeth, and eateth into, by little and little a long time: he had consumed it all at a clap. Another time, when

King Eumenes was come to Rome, the Senate entertained him marvellous honourably, and the noblest citizens did strive, envying one another, who should welcome him best. But Cato in contrary manner shewed plainly, that he did suspect all this feasting and entertainment, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar friends told him, I marvel why you fly from King Eumenes' company, that is so good a prince, and loves the Romans so well. Yea, said he, let it be so, but for all that, a king is no better than a ravening beast that lives off the prey: neither was there ever any king so happy, that deserved to be compared to Epaminondas, to Pericles, to Themistocles, nor to Manius Curius, or to Hamilcar, surnamed Barca. They say his enemies did malice him, because he used commonly to rise before day, and did forget his own business to follow matters of state. And he affirmed, that he had rather lose the reward of his well-doing, than not to be punished for doing of evil: and that he would bear with all other offending ignorantly, but not with himself. The Romans having chosen on a time three ambassadors to send into the realm of Bithynia, one of them having the gout in his feet, the other his head full of cuts and great gashes, and the third being but a fool: Cato laughing, said the Romans sent an ambassade that had neither feet, head nor heart. Scipio sued once to Cato at Polybius' request, about those that were banished from Achaia. The matter was argued afterwards in the Senate, and there fell out divers opinions about it. Some would have had them restored to their country and goods again: other were wholly against it. So Cato rising up at the last, said unto

Cato  
would  
punish  
himself  
for  
offending

Merry  
sayings  
of Cato

them : It seems we have little else to do, when we stand beating of our brains all day, disputing about these old Grecians, whether the Romans or the Achaïans shall bury them. In the end, the Senate took order they should be restored unto their country again. Whereupon Polybius thought to make petition again unto the Senate that the banished men whom they had restored by their order, might enjoy their former estates and honours in Achaïa, they had at the time of their banishment : but before he would move the suit unto the Senate, he would feel Cato's opinion first, what he thought of it. Who answered him, smiling : Methinks Polybius thou art like Ulysses, that when he had scaped out of Cyclops' cave, the giant, he would needs go thither again, to fetch his hat and girdle he had left behind him there. He said also, that wise men did learn and profit more by fools, than fools did by wise men. For wise men, said he, do see the faults fools commit, and can wisely avoid them : but fools never study to follow the example of wise men's doing. He said also that he ever liked young men better that blushed, than those that looked ever whitely : and that he would not have him for a soldier, that wags his hand as he goeth, removes his feet when he fighteth, and routeth and snorteth louder in his sleep, than when he crieth out to his enemy. Another time when he would taunt a marvellous fat man : See, said he, what good can such a body do to the commonwealth, that from his chin to his codpiece is nothing but belly ? And to another man that was given to pleasure, and desired to be great with him : My friend, said Cato, as refusing his acquaintance, I

cannot live with him that hath better judgement in the palate of his mouth, than in his heart. This was also his saying, that the soul of a lover, lived in another's body: and that in all his lifetime he repented him of three things. The first was, if that he ever told secret to any woman: the second, that ever he went by water, when he might have gone by land: the third, that he had been idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious old man, he would say, to reprove him: O grey beard, age bringeth many deformities with it, help it not besides with your vice. And to a seditious Tribune of the people that was suspected to be a poisoner, and would needs pass some wicked law by voice of the people, he would say: O young man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drink the drugs thou givest, or to receive the laws thou offerest. Another time being reviled by one that led a lewd and naughty life: Go thy way, said he, I am no man to scold with thee. For thou art so used to revile, and to be reviled, that it is not dainty to thee: But for myself, I never use to hear scolding, and much less delight to scold. These be his wise sayings we find written of him, whereby we may the easilier conjecture his manners and nature. Now, when he was chosen Consul with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of Spain fell to his lot, that is on this side of the river of Bætis. So, Cato having subdued many people by force of arms, and won others also by friendly means: suddenly there came a marvellous great army of the barbarous people against him, and had environed him so, as he was in marvellous danger, either shamefully to be taken

Cato's  
doings in  
Spain

**Cato's** prisoner, or to be slain in the field. Wherefore, he  
**absti-** sent presently unto the Celtiberians, to pray aid of  
**neace** them, who were next neighbours unto the marches  
**from** where he was. These Celtiberians did ask him  
**spoil** and two hundred talents to come and help him: but  
**and** the Romans, that were about him, could not abide  
**bribery** to hire the barbarous people to defend them. Then  
 Cato told them straight, there was no hurt in it,  
 nor any dishonour unto them. For said he, if the  
 field be ours, then we shall pay their wages we  
 promised, with the spoil and money of our enemies:  
 and if we lose it, then ourselves and they lie by it,  
 being left neither man to pay, nor yet any to ask it.  
 In the end he wan the battell, after a sore conflict,  
 and after that time he had marvellous good fortune.  
 For Polybius writeth, that all the walls of the  
 cities that were on this side the river of Bætis,  
 were by his commandment razed all in one day,  
 which were many, and full of good soldiers.  
 Himself writeth, that he took more cities in Spain,  
 than he remained there days: and it is no vain  
 boast, if it be true that is written, that there were  
 four hundred cities of them. Now, though the  
 soldiers under him had gotten well in this journey,  
 and were rich, yet he caused a pound weight of  
 silver to be given to every soldier besides: saying,  
 he liked it better that many should return home with  
 silver in their purses, than a few of them with gold  
 only. But for himself he affirmed: that of all the  
 spoil gotten of the enemies, he never had anything,  
 saving that which he took in meat and drink. And  
 yet, saith he, I speak it not to reprove them that  
 grow rich by such spoils: but because I would  
 contend in vertue rather with the best, than in

money with the richest, or in covetousness with the most avaricious. For, not only he himself was clear from bribes and extortion, but his officers also under him kept the same course. In this Spanish journey, he had five of his servants with him, whereof one of them called Paccius, bought three young boys that were taken in the wars, when the spoil was sold to them that would give most. So Cato knew it. But Paccius being afraid to come near his maister, hung himself: and then Cato sold the boys again, and put the money made of them into the treasury chests of saving at Rome. Now while Cato was in Spain, Scipio the great that was his enemy, and sought to hinder the course of his prosperity, and to have the honour of conquering all the rest of Spain: he made all the friends he could to the people, to be chosen in Cato's place. He was no sooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible speed he could to be gone, that he might make Cato's authority cease the sooner. Cato hearing of his hasty coming, took only five ensigns of footmen, and five hundred horsemen to attend upon him home: with the which, in his journey homeward, he overcame a people in Spain called the Lacetaniens, and took five hundred traitors also that were fled from the Romans' camp to their enemies, and did put to death every mother's child of them. Scipio storming at that, said Cato did him wrong. But Cato to mock him finely, said: it was the right way to bring Rome to flourish when noble-born citizens would not suffer mean-born men, and upstarts as himself was, to go before them in honour: and on the other side when mean-born men would contend in vertue, with those

Discord  
betwixt  
Cato and  
Scipio

**Cato's acts** that were of noblest race, and far above them in calling. For all that, when Cato came to Rome, the Senate commanded that nothing should be changed nor altered otherwise, than Cato had appointed it, whilst he was in his office. So that the government for which Scipio made such earnest suit in Spain, was a greater disgrace unto him, than it was unto Cato: because he passed all his time and office in peace, having no occasion offered him to do any notable service worthy memory. Furthermore, Cato after he had been Consul, and had granted to him the honour to triumph: did not as many others do, that seek not after vertue, but only for worldly honour and dignity. Who, when they have been called to the highest offices of state, as to be Consuls, and have also granted them the honour to triumph: do then leave to deal any more in matters of state, and dispose themselves to live merrily and quietly at home, and not to trouble themselves any more. Now Cato far otherwise behaved himself. For he would never leave to exercise vertue, but began afresh, as if he had been a young novice in the world, and as one greedy of honour and reputation, and to take as much pains and more than he did before. For, to pleasure his friends or any other citizen, he would come to the market-place, and plead their causes for them that required his counsel, and go with his friends also into the wars. As he went with Tiberius Sempronius the Consul, and was one of his lieutenants at the conquest of the country of Thrace, and unto the provinces adjoining to the river of Danuby upon those marches. After that, he was in Greece also, colonel of a thousand footmen, under

Manius Aquilius, against King Antiochus surnamed the Great, who made the Romans so much afraid of him, as ever they were of enemy but Hannibal. For, when he had conquered all the regions and provinces of Asia, which Seleucus Nicanor enjoyed before, and had subdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was so proud-hearted, as he would needs have wars with the Romans, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some honest shew and pretence of wars, saying: it was to set the Grecians at liberty, who had no cause thereof, considering they lived after their own laws, and were but lately delivered from the bondage of King Philip, and of the Macedonians, through the goodness of the Romans. Notwithstanding, he came out of Asia into Greece with a marvellous great army, and all Greece was straight in arms and in wonderful danger, because of the great promises and large hopes the governors of divers cities (whom the king had won and corrupted with money) did make unto them. Whereupon Manius despatched ambassadors unto the city, and sent Titus Quintius Flaminius among others, who kept the greatest part of the people from rebelling (that were easily drawn to give ear to this innovation) as we have expressed more amply in his life: and Cato being sent ambassador also, persuaded the Corinthians, those of Patras, and the Ægians, and made them stick still to the Romans, and continued a long time at Athens. Some say they find an oration of his written in the Greek tongue, which he made before the Athenians, in commendation of their ancestors: wherein he said, he took great pleasure to see Athens, for the

after his  
consul-  
ship and  
triumph

**King Antiochus' army** beauty and stateliness of the city. But this is false. For he spake unto the Athenians by an interpreter, though he could have uttered his oration in the Greek tongue if he had been disposed : but he did like the laws and customs of his own country, and the Roman tongue so well, that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greek tongue. As he did once mock Postumius Albinus, who wrote an history in the Greek tongue, praying the readers in his preface to bear with him, if they found any imperfection in the tongue : Marry, said Cato, he had deserved pardon indeed, if he had been forced to have written his story in the Greek tongue, by order of the states of Greece, called the council of the Amphictyons. They say the Athenians wondered to hear his ready tongue. For what he had uttered quickly in few words unto the interpreter : the interpreter was driven to deliver them again with great circumstances, and many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the Grecians' words lay all in their lips, and the Romans words in their heads. Now King Antiochus kept all the straits and narrow passages of the mountains called Thermopylæ (being the ordinary way and entry into Greece) and had fortified them as well with an army that camped at the foot of the mountain, as also with walls and trenches he had made by hand, besides the natural strength and fortification of the mount itself in sundry places : and so he determined to remain there, trusting to his own strength and fortifications aforesaid, and to turn the force of the wars some other way. The Romans also, they despaired utterly they should be able any way to charge

him before. But Cato remembering with himself the compass the Persians had fetched about beforetime likewise to enter into Greece: he departed one night from the camp with part of the army, to prove if he could find the very compass about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climbed up the mountain, their guide that was one of the prisoners taken in the country, lost his way, and made them wander up and down in marvellous steep rocks and crooked ways, that the poor soldiers were in marvellous ill taking. Cato seeing the danger they were brought into by this lewd guide, commanded all his soldiers not to stir a foot from thence, and to tarry him there: and in the meantime he went himself alone, and Lucius Manlius with him (a lusty man, and nimble to climb upon the rocks) and so went forward at adventure, taking extreme and uncredible pain, and in much danger of his life, grabbing all night in the dark without moonlight, through wild olive trees, and high rocks (that let them they could not see before them, neither could tell whither they went) until they stumbled at the length upon a little pathway, which went as they thought directly to the foot of the mountain, where the camp of the enemies lay. So they set up certain marks and tokens, upon the highest tops of the rocks they could choose, by view of eye to be discerned farthest off upon the mountain called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned back again to fetch the soldiers, whom they led towards their marks they had set up: until at the length they found their pathway again, where they put their soldiers in order to march. Now they went not far in this path they found, but the

Cato's  
doings  
against  
King Ar-  
tiochus

The bold-  
ness and  
valiant  
attempt  
of Cato's  
soldiers

way failed them straight, and brought them to a bog : but then they were in worse case than before, and in greater fear, not knowing they were so near their enemies, as indeed they were. The day began to break a little, and one of them that marched foremost, thought he heard a noise, and that he saw the Greeks' camp at the foot of the rocks, and certain soldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon Cato made them stay, and willed only the Firmanians to come unto him, and none but them, because he had found them faithful before, and very ready to obey his commandment. They were with him at a trice to know his pleasure : so Cato said unto them. My fellows, I must have some of our enemies taken prisoners, that I may know of them who they be that keep that passage, what number they be, what order they keep, how they are camped and armed, and after what sort they determine to fight with us. The way to work this feat standeth upon swiftness and hardiness to run upon them suddenly, as lions do, which being naked fear not to run into the midst of any herd of fearful beasts. He had no sooner spoken these words, but the Firmanian soldiers began to run down the mountain as they were, upon those that kept the watch : and so setting upon them, they being out of order, made them fly, and took an armed man prisoner. When they had him, they straight brought him unto Cato, who by oath of the prisoner, was advertised how that the strength of their enemies' army was lodged about the person of the king, within the strait and valley of the said mountain : and that the soldiers they saw, were six hundred Ætolians, all brave soldiers, whom they had chosen and appointed to

keep the top of the rocks over King Antiochus' camp. When Cato had heard him, making small account of the matter, as well for their small number, as also for the ill order they kept: he made the trumpets sound straight, and his soldiers to march in battell with great cries, himself being the foremost man of all his troop, with a sword drawn in his hand. But when the Ætolians saw them coming down the rocks towards them, they began to fly for life unto their great camp, which they filled full of fear, trouble, and all disorder. Now Manius at the same present also, gave an assault unto the walls and fortifications the king had made, overthwart the valleys and straits of the mountains: at which assault King Antiochus self had a blow on the face with a stone, that struck some of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for very pain and anguish he felt, he turned his horse back, and got him behind the press. And then there were none of his army that made any more resistance, or that could abide the fierceness of the Romans. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, because it was impossible for them to scatter and straggle, being holden in with high rocks on the one side of them, and with bogs and deep marishes on the other side, which they must needs fall into if their feet slipped, or were thrust forward by any: yet they fell one upon another in the straits, and ran so in heaps together, that they cast themselves away, for fear of the Romans' swords, that lighted upon them in every corner. And there Marcus Cato, that never made ceremony or niceness to praise himself openly, nor reckoned it any shame to do it: did take a present occasion

Cato  
took the  
strait of  
Ther-  
mopylæ

Cato  
would  
praise  
his own  
doings

for it, as falleth out upon all victory and famous exploits: and so did set it out with all the ostentation and brave words he could give. For he wrought with his own hands, and such as saw him chase and lay upon his flying enemies that day, were driven to say, that Cato was not bound to the Romans, but the Romans bound unto Cato. And then Manius the Consul self, being in a great heat with the fury of the battell, embraced Cato a great while, that was also hot with chasing of the enemy: and spake aloud with great joy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of Rome could recompense Cato for his valiant service that day. After this battell, the Consul Manius sent Cato to Rome, to be the messenger himself to report the news of the victory. So he embarked incontinently, and had such a fair wind, that he passed over the seas to Brindes without any danger, and went from thence unto Tarentum in one day, and from Tarentum in four days more to Rome. And so he came to Rome in five days after his landing in Italy, and made such speed, that himself was indeed the first messenger that brought news of the victory. Whereupon he filled all Rome with joy and sacrifices, and made the Romans so proud, that ever after they thought themselves able men to conquer the world both by sea and land. And these be all the martial deeds and noble acts Cato did. But for his doings in civil policy and state, he seemed to be of this opinion. That to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thing an honest man and good governor of the common wealth could employ himself unto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which

they preferred. And to be short, he did always stir up some accuser, as he did Petilius against Scipio. But Scipio, by reason of his nobility, the greatness of his house, and the magnanimity of his mind, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all fear, they should be able to condemn him. And so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he joined with other that accused Lucius Scipio, his own brother, and followed the matter so sore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great sum of money to the common wealth: who being unable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people revoked his condemnation. It is said that Cato coming through the market-place one day, and meeting with a young man by the way that had overthrown his adversary in suit, and put one of his late father's greatest enemies to open shame and foil before the people, he embraced him with a good countenance, and said unto him: Oh my son, sacrifices that good children should offer to their father's soul, be not lambs nor kids, but the tears and condemnations of their enemies: But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free himself from danger, in administration of the common wealth. For if they could catch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him: so they say he was accused almost a fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of fourscore years. And then he spoke a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thing to give up an account of his life before men in any other world, than in this amongst whom he lived. And yet was not this

**Cato an  
accuser of  
men, and  
fifty times  
accused**

The dig-  
nity and  
office of  
Censor

the last suit he followed: for four years after, when he was fourscore and ten years of age, he accused Servius Galba. And thus he lived as Nestor, in manner three ages of man, always in continual suit and action. For when he wrestled with the first Scipio the African about matters of state and common wealth: he went on unto the time of the second, that was adopted by the first Scipio's son, the natural son of Paulus Æmilius, who overcame Perseus, king of Macedon. Furthermore, Marcus Cato ten years after his consulship, sued to be Censor, which was in Rome the greatest office of dignity that any citizen of Rome could attain unto: and as a man may say, the room of all glory and honour of their common wealth. For among other authorities, the Censor had power to examine men's lives and manners, and to punish every offender. For the Romans were of that mind, that they would not have men marry, beget children, live privately by themselves, and make feasts and banquets at their pleasure, but that they should stand in fear to be reprov'd and inquired of by the magistrate: and that it was not good to give everybody liberty, to do what they would, following his own lust and fancy. And they judging that men's natural dispositions do appear more in such things, than in all other things that are openly done at noon days, and in the sight of the world: used to choose two Censors, that were two surveyors of manners, to see that every man behaved himself vertuously, and gave not themselves to pleasure, nor to break the laws and customs of the common wealth. These officers were called in their tongue, Censors, and always of custom one of them was a patrician,

and the other a commoner. These two had power and authority to disgrace a knight by taking away his horse, and to put any off the Senate, whom they saw live dissolutely and disorderly. It was their office also, to assess and rate every citizen according to the estimation of their goods, to note the age, genealogy, and degrees of every man, and to keep books of them, besides many other prerogatives they had belonging to their office. Therefore when Cato came to sue for this office among other, the chiefest senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very envy, thinking it shame and dishonour to the nobility, to suffer men that were meanly born, and upstarts (the first of their house and name, that ever came to bear office in the state) to be called and preferred unto the highest office of state in all their commonwealth. Other also that were ill livers, and knowing that they had offended the laws of their country: they feared his cruelty too much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, having the law in his own hands. So when they had consulted together about it, they did set up seven competitors against him, who flattered the people with many fair words and promises, as though they had need of magistrates to use them gently, and to do things for to please them. But Cato contrariwise, shewing no countenance that he would use them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatening those that had lived naughtily and wickedly, he cried out, that they must reform their city, and persuaded the people not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpest physicians: and that himself was such a one as they needed, and among the patricians

Senators  
and  
nobility  
bent all  
against  
Cato's  
suit

**Cato**  
**chosen**  
**Censor** Valerius Flaccus another, in whose company he hoped (they two being chosen Censors) to do great good unto the common wealth, by burning and cutting off (like Hydra's heads) all vanity and voluptuous pleasures, that were crept in amongst them: and that he saw well enough, how all the other suitors sought the office by dishonest means, fearing such officers as they knew would deal justly and uprightly. Then did the people of Rome shew themselves nobly minded, and worthy of noble governors. For they refused not the fairness or severity of Cato, but rejected those mealy-mouthed men, that seemed ready to please the people in all things: and thereupon chose Marcus Cato Censor, and Valerius Flaccus to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had been present officer, and no suitor for the office, being in themselves to give it to whom they thought good. The first thing he did after he was staled in his Censorship, was that he named Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his friend and fellow Censor with him, prince of the Senate: and among many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate, he put Lucius Quintus Flaminius off the Senate, that had been Consul seven years before, and was brother also unto Titus Quintus Flaminius that overcame Philip king of Macedon in battell, which was greater glory to him, than that he had been Consul. But the cause why he put him off the Senate, was this. This Lucius Quintus carried over with him a young boy to the wars, whom he gave as good countenance and credit unto, as to any of his best familiar friends he had about him. It fortun'd on a time whilst Lucius Quintus was Consul and governor of a province, that he made

a feast, and this boy being set at his table, hard by him, as his manner was, he began to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was prettily merry: and soothing him, told him he loved him so dearly, that upon his departing from Rome, when the swordplayers were ready to fight for life and death with unrebated swords to shew the people pastime, he came his way, and left the sight of that he never saw, that was very desirous to have seen a man killed. Then this Lucius Quintius, to make him see the like, said: Care not for the sight thou hast lost, boy, for I will let thee see as much. And when he had spoken these words, he commanded a prisoner condemned to die, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith done according to his commandment. Then asked he the boy, if he would straight see the man killed: Yea sir, said the boy: and with that he bade the hangman strike off his head. Most writers report this matter thus. And Cicero to confirm it also, wrote in his book *De Senectute* that the same was written in an oration Cato made before the people of Rome. Now Lucius Quintius being thus shamefully put off the Senate by Cato, his brother Titus being offended withal, could not tell what to do, but besought the people that they would command Cato to declare the cause, why he brought such shame unto his house. Whereupon Cato openly before the people, made recital of all this feast. And when Lucius denied it, affirming it was not so: Cato would have had him sworn before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withal. But Lucius prayed them to pardon him,

Why  
Cato put  
Quintius  
off the  
Senate

Banquet-  
ing and  
feasts put  
down by  
Cato

who said he would not swear: Whereupon the people judged straight that he deserved well that shame. So not long after, certain games being shewn in the theatre, Lucius came thither, and passing beyond the ordinary place that was appointed for those that had been Consuls, he went to sit aloof off amongst the multitude. The people took pity on him, and made such ado about him, as they forced him to rise, and to go sit among the other senators that had been Consuls: salving the best they could, the shame and dishonour happened unto so noble a house. Cato put out of the Senate also, one Manlius, who was in great towardness to have been made Consul the next year following, only because he kissed his wife too lovingly in the day-time, and before his daughter: and reproving him for it, he told him, his wife never kissed him but when it thundered. So when he was disposed to be merry, he would say it was happy with him, when Jupiter thundered. He took away Lucius Scipio's horse from him, that had triumphed for the victories he had won of the great king Antiochus: which wan him much ill will, because it appeared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did bear Scipio the African, that was dead. But the thing that most grieved the people, of all other extremities he used, was his putting down of all feasts and vain expenses. For a man to take it clean away, and to be openly seen in it, it was impossible, because it was so common a thing, and every man was given so to it. Therefore Cato to fetch it about indirectly, did praise every citizen's goods, and rated their apparel, their coaches, their litters, their wives' chains and

jewels, and all other movables and household stuff, that had cost above a thousand five hundred drachms apiece, at ten times as much as they were worth: to the end that such as had bestowed their money in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidy to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were over-valued at. Moreover he ordained for every thousand asses that those trifling things were praised at, the owners thereof should pay three thousand asses to the common treasury: to the end that they who were grieved with this tax, and saw others pay less subsidy (that were as much worth as themselves, by living without such toys) might call home themselves again, and lay aside such foolish bravery and fineness. Notwithstanding Cato was envied every way. First, of them that were contented to pay the tax imposed, rather than they would leave their vanity: and next, of them also, that would rather reform themselves, than pay the tax. And some think that this law was devised rather to take away their goods, than to let them to make any show of them: and they have a fond opinion besides, that their riches are better seen in superfluous things, than in necessary. Whereat they say Aristotle the philosopher did wonder more, than at any other thing: how men could think them more rich and happy, that had many curious and superfluous things, than those that had necessary and profitable things. And Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his familiar friends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, and to make him grant it the sooner, told him it was a thing he might well spare, and did him no good: Marry saith he, all the goods I have,

**Cato's  
counsel  
for  
reforming  
excess at  
Rome**

Basilica  
Porcia  
built by  
Cato

are in such toys as do me no good. So this covetous desire we have to be rich, cometh of no necessary desire in nature, but is bred in us by a false opinion from the common sort. Now Cato caring least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grew to be more straight and severe. For he cut off the pipes and quills private men had made to convey water into their houses and gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their common conduit heads, and did pluck down also men's porches that were made before their doors into the street, and brought down the prices of common works in the city, and moreover raised the common farms and customs of the city, as high as he could: all which things together made him greatly hated and envied of most men. Wherefore, Titus Flaminius, and certain others being bent against him in open Senate, caused all Cato's covenants and bargains made with the master workman for repairing and mending of the common buildings and holy places, to be made void, as things greatly prejudicial to the common wealth. And they did also stir up the boldest and rashest of the Tribunes of the people against him, because they should accuse him unto the people, and make request he might be condemned in the sum of two talents. They did marvellously hinder also the building of the palace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market-place under the Senate house: which palace was finished notwithstanding, and called after his name, Basilica Porcia: as who would say, the palace Porcius the Censor built. Howbeit it seemed the people of Rome did greatly like and commend his government in the Censor-

ship. For they set up a statue of him in the temple of the goddess of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumph, but only engraved this inscription word for word, to this effect by translation: For the honour of Marcus Cato the Censor: because he reformed the discipline of the common wealth of Rome (that was far out of order, and given to licentious life) by his wise precepts, good manners, and holy institutions. Indeed, before this image was set up for him, he was wont to mock at them that delighted, and were desirous of such things: saying, they did not consider how they bragged in founders, painters and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for himself, the people did always carry lively images of him in their hearts, meaning the memory of his life and doings. When some wondred why diverse mean men and unknown persons had images set up of them, and there were none of him, he gave them this answer: I had rather men should ask why Cato had no image set up for him, than why he had any. In the end, he would have no honest man abide to be praised, unless his praise turned to the benefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would most praise himself. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awry, and that men had gone about to reprove them: he would say they were not to be blamed, for they were no Catos that did offend. And such as counterfeited to follow any of his doings, and came short of his manner, he called them left-handed Catos. He would say that in most dangerous times the Senate used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers on the sea do look upon the

Cato's  
image set  
up in the  
temple

What  
Cato was  
at home  
in his  
house

maister of the ship in a storm : and that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put over matters of importance, until he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by others as by himself. His authority was great in matters of state, for his wisdom, his eloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendation, they praised him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, and a good saver for his profit : for he was never careless of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore methinks I must needs tell you by the way some part of his well-doing, to follow our declaration of him. First of all he married a gentlewoman more noble than rich, knowing that either of both should make her proud and stout enough : but yet he thought the nobler born, would be the more ashamed of dishonesty, than the meaner born : and therefore they would be more obedient to their husbands, in all honest manner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he said : that he that beat his wife or his child, did commit as great a sacrilege, as if he polluted or spoiled the holiest things of the world : and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good husband than a good senator. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of old Socrates, than his patience, in using his wife well, that was such a shrew, and his children that were so hare-brained. After Cato's wife had brought him a son, he could not have so earnest business in hand, if it had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his house, about the time his wife did unswaddle the young boy to wash and shift him : for she gave it suck with her own

breasts, and many times would let the slaves' children suck of her also, because they might have a natural love towards her son, having sucked one milk, and been brought up together. When his son was come to age of discretion, and that he was able to learn anything, Cato himself did teach him, notwithstanding he had a slave in his house called Chilo (a very honest man, and a good grammarian) who did also teach many other: but as he said himself, he did not like, a slave should rebuke his son, nor pull him by the ears, when peradventure he was not apt to take very suddenly that was taught him: neither would he have his son bound to a slave for so great a matter as that, as to have his learning of him. Wherefore he himself taught him his grammar, the law, and to exercise his body, not only to throw a dart, to play at the sword, to vault, to ride a horse, and to handle all sorts of weapons, but also to fight with fists, to abide cold and heat, and to swim over a swift running river. He said moreover, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with his own hand, because his son might learn in his father's house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excel them. He said also, that he took as great heed of speaking any foul or uncomely words before his son, as he would have done if he had been before the Vestal Nuns. He never was in the hot-house with his son: for it was a common use with the Romans at that time, that the sons-in-law did not bathe themselves with their fathers-in-law, but were ashamed to see one another naked. But afterwards they having learned of the Greeks to wash themselves naked with men,

**Cato  
taught  
his son**

Cato's son a puling, but valiant it taught them also to be naked in the bath even with their wives. There lacked no towardliness, nor good disposition in Cato's son, to frame himself virtuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed himself willing to follow whatsoever his father had taught him. Howbeit he was such a weak puling, that he could not away with much hardness, and therefore his father was contented not to bind him to that straight and painful life, which himself had kept. Yet he became valiant in the wars. For he fought marvellous stoutly in the battell, in which Perseus king of Macedon was overthrown by Paulus Æmilius: where his sword being stricken out of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweaty besides, he fell into a great fury and prayed some of his friends to help him to recover it. So they all together ran upon the enemies in that place where his sword fell out of his hand, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much ado, being under such a heap of dead bodies and other weapons as well Romans as Macedonians, one lying on another. Paulus Æmilius the general hearing of this act of his, did highly commend the young man. And at this day there is a letter extant from Cato to his son, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toil of his, for the recovering of his sword again. Afterwards, this Cato the younger married Tertia, one of Paulus Æmilius' daughters, and sister unto Scipio the second, and so was matched in this noble house, not only for his own vertue's sake, but for respect of his father's dignity and authority: where-

by the great care, pains and study that Cato the father took in bringing up his son, in vertue and learning, was honourably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his son. He ever had a great number of young little slaves which he bought, when any would sell their prisoners in the wars. He did choose them thus young, because they were apt yet to learn anything he would train them unto, and that a man might break them, like young colts, or little whelps. But none of them all, how many soever he had, did ever go to any man's house, but when himself or his wife did send them. If any man asked them what Cato did: they answered, they could not tell. And when they were within, either they must needs be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleep: for he loved them well that were sleepy, holding opinion that slaves that loved sleep were more tractable, and willing to do anything a man would set them to, than those that were waking. And because he thought that nothing did more provoke slaves to mischief and naughtiness, than lust and desire of women: he was contented his slaves might company with his bondwomen in his house, for a piece of money he appointed them to pay, but with straight commandment besides, that none of them should deal with any other woman abroad. At the first when he gave himself to follow the wars, and was not greatly rich, he never was angry for any fault his servants did about his person: saying that it was a foul thing for a gentleman or nobleman, to fall out with his servants for his belly. Afterwards, as he rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his

**Cato's  
discipline  
to his  
slaves**

Cato's  
good hus-  
bandry  
for in-  
creasing  
his  
wealth

friends and familiars, they were no sooner gone, but he would scourge them with whips and leather thongs, that had not waited as they should have done at the board, or had forgotten anything he would have had done. He would ever craftily make one of them fall out with another: for he could not abide they should be friends, being ever jealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserved death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to die, he would put him to death before them all. Howbeit in his latter time he grew greedy, and gave up his tillage, saying that it was more pleasant, than profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his money surely, and bring a certain revenue to his purse, he bestowed it upon ponds, and natural hot baths, places fit for fullers' craft, upon meadows and pastures, upon copices and young wood: and of all these he made a great and a more quiet revenue yearly, which he would say, Jupiter himself could not diminish. Furthermore, he was a great usurer, both by land and by sea: and the usury he took by sea, was most extreme of all other, for he used it in this sort. He would have them to whom he lent his money unto, that trafficked by sea, to have many partners, to the number of fifty: and that they should have so many ships. Then he would venture among them for a part only, whereof Quintius his slave whom he had manumitted, was made his factor, and used to sail, and traffick with the merchants, to whom he had lent his money out to usury. And thus he did not venture all the money he lent, but a little piece only for his part, and got marvellous riches by his

usury. Moreover he lent money to any of his slaves, that would therewith buy other young slaves, whom they taught and brought up to do service, at Cato's charge and cost: and then they sold them again at the year's end, and some of them Cato kept for his own service, and gave his slaves as much for them, as any other offered. Therefore to allure his son in like manner to make profit of his money: he told him it was no wise man's part to diminish his substance, but rather the part of a widow. Yet this was a token of a most greedy covetous mind, that he durst affirm him to be divine, and worthy immortal praise, that increased his wealth and patrimony more, than his father left him. Furthermore, when Cato was grown very old, Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic, were sent from Athens as ambassadors to Rome, to sue for a release of a fine of five hundred talents which they had imposed on the Athenians upon a condemnation passed against them for a contempt of appearance, by the sentence of the Sicyonians, at the suit of the Oropians. Immediately when these two philosophers were arrived in the city of Rome, the young gentlemen that were given to their books, did visit and welcome them, and gave great reverence to them after they had heard them speak, and specially to Carneades: whose grace in speaking, and force of persuading was no less, than the fame ran of him, and specially when he was to speak in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppress his praise. Rome straight was full, as if a wind had blown this rumour into every man's ear: that there was a Grecian arrived, a famous

**Carneades and Diogenes sent to Rome**

Cato mis-  
liked the  
Greek  
tongue

learned man, who with his eloquence would lead a man as he list. There was no other talk a while through the whole city, he had so inflamed the young gentlemen's minds with love and desire to be learned: that all other pleasures and delights were set aside, and they disposed themselves to no other exercise, but to the study of philosophy, as if some secret and divine inspiration from above had procured them to it. Whereof the lords and senators of Rome were glad, and rejoiced much to see their youth so well given to knowledge, and to the study of the Greek tongue, and to delight in the company of these two great and excellent learned men. But Marcus Cato, even from the beginning that young men began to study the Greek tongue, and that it grew in estimation in Rome, did dislike of it: fearing lest the youth of Rome that were desirous of learning and eloquence, would utterly give over the honour and glory of arms. Furthermore, when he saw the estimation and fame of these two personages did increase more and more, and in such sort that Caius Aquilius, one of the chieftest of the Senate, made suit to be their interpreter: he determined then to convey them out of the city by some honest mean and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the ambassadors were long there, and had no despatch: considering also they were cunning men, and could easily persuade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this only might persuade them to determine some answer for them, and so to send them home again so to their schools, to teach their children of Greece, and to let alone the children of Rome, that they might learn to obey the

laws and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any private ill will or malice he bare to Carneades, as some men thought: but because he generally hated philosophy, and of ambition despised the muses and knowledge of the Greek tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had said, the ancient Socrates was but a busy man, and a stirrer up of sedition, and sought by all means possible to usurp tyranny, and rule in his country: by perverting and changing the manners and customs of the same, and alluring the subjects thereof to a disliking of their laws and ancient customs. And he laughed at Socrates' school, that taught the art of eloquence: saying his scholars waxed old, and were still so long in learning, that they meant to use their eloquence and plead causes in another world, before Minos when they were dead. Therefore to pluck his son from the study of the Greek tongue, he said to him with a strained voice, and in a bigger sound than he was wont to do: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecy or inspiration) that so long as the Romans disposed themselves to study the Greek tongue, so long would they mar and bring all to naught. And yet time hath proved his vain words false and untrue. For the city of Rome did never flourish so much, nor the Roman Empire was ever so great, as at that time, when learning and the Greek tongue most flourished. Howbeit Cato did not only hate the philosophers of Greece, but did dislike them also, that professed physic in Rome. For he had either heard or read the answer Hippocrates made, when the King of Persia sent for him, and offered him a great sum

**Cato**  
desires to  
pluck his  
son from  
the study  
of Greek

Cato's  
physical  
books

of gold and silver, if he would come and serve him: who swore he would never serve the barbarous people, that were natural enemies to the Grecians. So Cato affirmed, it was an oath that all other physicians swore ever after: wherefore he commanded his son to fly from them all alike, and said he had written a little book of physic, with the which he did heal those of his house when they were sick, and did keep them in health when they were whole. He never forbade them to eat, but did always bring them up with herbs, and certain light meats, as mallard, ringdoves and hares: for such meats, said he, are good for the sick, and light of digestion, saving that they make them dream and snort that eat them. He boasted also how with this manner of physic, he did always keep himself in health, and his family from sickness. Yet for all that, I take it he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife, and his son also. But he himself was of a strong nature, and a lusty body, full of strength, and health, and lived long without sickness: so that when he was a very old man and past marriage, he loved women well, and married a young maiden for that cause only. After his first wife was dead, he married his son unto Paulus Æmilius' daughter, the sister of Scipio, the second African. Cato himself being a widower, took pains with a pretty young maid that waited in his house, and came by stealth to his chamber: howbeit this haunt could not long continue secret in his house, and specially where there was a young gentlewoman married, but needs must be spied. So, one day when this young maid went somewhat boldly by the chamber of young Cato, to go in to

his father, the young man said never a word at it : yet his father perceived that he was somewhat ashamed, and gave the maid no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his son and daughter-in-law were angry with the matter, saying nothing to them of it, nor shewing them any ill countenance : he went one morning to the market-place (as his manner was) with a train that followed him, amongst whom was one Salonius, that had been his clerk, and waited upon him as the rest did. Cato calling him out aloud by his name, asked him if he had not yet bestowed his daughter. Salonius answered him, he had not yet bestowed her, nor would not before he made him privy to it. Then Cato told him again : I have found out a husband for her, and a son-in-law for thee, and it will be no ill match for her, unless she mislike the age of the man, for indeed he is very old, but otherwise there is no fault in him. Salonius told him again, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter also, praying him even to make what match he thought good for her : for she was his humble servant, and relied wholly upon him, standing in need of his favour and furtherance. Then Cato began to discover, and told him plainly he would willingly marry her himself. Salonius therewith was abashed, because he thought Cato was too old to marry then, and himself was no fit man to match in any honourable house, specially with a Consul and one that had triumphed : howbeit in the end, when he saw Cato meant good earnest, he was very glad of the match, and so with this talk they went on together to the market-place, and agreed then upon the marriage. Now

**Cato  
talketh  
with his  
clerk  
about his  
daughter**

Cato's  
answer  
of his  
second  
marriage

while they went about this matter, Cato the son taking some of his kin and friends with him, went unto his father, to ask him if he had offended him in anything, that for spite he should bring him a stepmother into his house. Then his father cried out, and said: O my son, I pray thee say not so, I like well all thou doest, and I find no cause to complain of thee: but I do it, because I desire to have many children, and to leave many such like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some say that Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens, made such a like answer unto the children of his first wife, which were men grown, when he married his second wife Timonassa, of the town of Argos, of whom he had (as it is reported) Iophon, and Thessalus. But to return again to Cato, he had a son by his second wife, whom he named after her name, Cato Salonian: and his eldest son died in his office being prætor, of whom he often speaketh in divers of his books, commending him for a very honest man. And they say, he took the death of him very patiently, and like a grave wise man, not leaving therefor to do any service or business for the state, otherwise than he did before. And therein he did not as Lucius Lucullus, and Metellus surnamed Pius, did afterwards: who gave up meddling any more with matters of government and state, after they were waxen old. For he thought it a charge and duty, whereunto every honest man whilst he lived was bound in all piety. Nor as Scipio African had done before him, who perceiving that the glory and fame of his doings did purchase him the ill will of the citizens, he changed the rest of his life into quietness, and

forsook the city and all dealings in common wealth, and went and dwelt in the country. But as there was one that told Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, as it is written, that he could not die more honourably, than to be buried in the tyranny: even so did Cato think, that he could not wax more honestly old, than in serving of the common wealth unto his dying day. So at vacant times, when Cato was desirous a little to recreate and refresh himself, he passed his time away in making of books, and looking upon his husbandry in the country. This is the cause why he wrote so many kinds of books and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the country, he did tend and follow in his youth, for his profit. For he said he had but two sorts of revenue, tillage, and sparing: but in age, whatsoever he did in the country, it was all for pleasure, and to learn something ever of nature. For he hath written a book of the country life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth how to make tarts and cakes, and how to keep fruits: he would needs show such singularity and skill in all things. When he was in his house in the country, he fared a little better than he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and such as had land lying about him, to come and sup with him, and he would be merry with them: so that his company was not only pleasant and liking to old folks as himself, but also to the younger sort. For he had seen much, and had experience in many things, and used much pleasant talk profitable for the hearers. He thought the board one of the chiefest means to breed love amongst men, and at his own table would always

Cato's  
writings  
and  
monu-  
ments

**Cato**  
author of  
the last  
wars

praise good men and vertuous citizens, but would suffer no talk of evil men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable act and service he did in the common wealth, was the overthrow of Carthage: for indeed he that wan it and razed it utterly, was Scipio the second, but it was chiefly through Cato's counsel and advice, that the last war was taken in hand against the Carthaginians, and chanced upon this occasion. Cato was sent into Africk to understand the cause and controversy that was between the Carthaginians and Massinissa, king of Numidia, which were at great wars together. And he was sent thither because King Massinissa had ever been a friend unto the Romans, and for that the Carthaginians were become their confederates since the last wars, in the which they were overthrown by Scipio the first, who took for a fine of them, a great part of their Empire, and imposed upon them besides, a great yearly tribute. Now when he was come into that country, he found not the city of Carthage in misery, beggary, and out of heart, as the Romans supposed: but full of lusty youths very rich and wealthy, and great store of armour and munition in it for the wars, so that by reason of the wealth thereof, Carthage carried a high sail, and stooped not for a little. Wherefore he thought that it was more than time for the Romans to leave to understand the controversies betwixt the Carthaginians and Massinissa, and rather to provide betimes to destroy Carthage, that had been ever an ancient enemy to the Romans, and ever sought to be revenged of that they had suffered at their hands before, and that they were now grown to that

greatness and courage in so short time, as in manner it was incredible: so as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the Romans, as they ever did before. Therefore so soon as he returned to Rome, he plainly told the Senate, that the losses and harms the Carthaginians had received by the last wars they had with them, had not so much diminished their power and strength, as the same had shewn their own folly and lack of wisdom: for it was to be feared much, lest their late troubles had made them more skilful, than weakened them for the wars. And that they made wars now with the Numidians, to exercise them only, meaning afterwards to war with themselves: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission and stay of wars, only expecting time and opportunity to break with them again. They say moreover, that besides the persuasions he used, he brought with him of purpose, Africk figs in his long sleeves, which he shook out amongst them in the Senate. And when the senators marvelled to see so goodly fair green figs, he said: The country that beareth them, is not above three days' sailing from Rome. But yet this is more strange which they report of him besides: that he never declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was ever the one end of his tale: Me thinketh still Carthage would be utterly destroyed. Publius Scipio Nasica, used ever in like manner the contrary speech: that he thought it meet Carthage should stand. This Publius Scipio saw, in my opinion, that the Romans through their pride and insolency were full of absurdities, and carried themselves very high, by reason of their happy success

against  
the Car-  
thagini-  
ans

**Cato's death** and victories, and were so lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reason of their great authority, they imagined they might bring their city to what height they would. Therefore he spake it that the fear of Carthage might always continue as a bridle, to rein in the insolency of the people of Rome, who knew well enough, that the Carthaginians were of no sufficient power to make wars with the Romans, nor yet to overcome them: and even so were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be feared at all. Cato still replied to the contrary, that therein consisted the greatest danger of all: that a city which was ever of great force and power, and had been punished by former wars and misery, would always have an eye of revenge to their enemies, and be much like a horse that had broken his halter, that being unbridled, would run upon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor sound advice, so to suffer the Carthaginians to recover their strength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward danger, and the fear they stood in to lose their conquest: and specially, when they left means within the city self to fall still again to their former rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose Cato was the occasion of the third and last war the Romans had against the Carthaginians. But now when the war was begun, Cato died, and before his death he prophesied, as a man would say, who it should be that should end those wars. And it was Scipio the second, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a colonel over a thousand footmen: but in all battels, and wheresoever there was wars, he shewed himself ever valiant and wise.

Insonmuch as news being brought thereof continually unto Rome, and Cato hearing them, spoke as they say, these two verses of Homer : **Cato's  
posterity**

This only man right wise reputed is to be,  
All other seem but shadows, set by such wise men  
as he.

Which prophecy Scipio soon after confirmed true by his doings. Moreover, the issue Cato left behind him, was a son he had by his second wife: who was called (as we said before) Cato Salonian, by reason of his mother, and a little boy of his eldest son that died before him. This Cato Salonian died being prætor, but he left a son behind him that came to be Consul, and was grandfather unto Cato the philosopher, one of the most vertuous men of his time.

## THE COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES WITH MARCUS CATO

Aristides and Cato's Now that we have set down in writing, these notable and worthy things of memory : if we will confer the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhaps the difference between the one and the other will not easily be discerned, seeing there be so many similitudes and resemblances one of another. But if we come to compare them in every particularity, as we would do poets' works, or pictures drawn in tables : first, in this we shall find them much alike, that having had nothing else to prefer and commend them, but their only vertue and wisdom, they have been both governors in their common wealth, and have thereby achieved to great honour and estimation. But methinks when Aristides came to deal in matters of state, the common wealth and seigniory of Athens being then of no great power, it was easy for him to advance himself, because the other governors and captains of his time, and that were competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authority. For the tax of the richest persons then at Athens in revenue, was but at five hundred bushels of corn and upwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosimedimni. The second tax was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called Knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushels, and they called them

Zeugitæ. Where Marcus Cato coming out of a little village from a rude country life, went at the first dash (as it were) to plunge himself into a bottomless sea of government in the common wealth of Rome : which was not ruled then by such governors and captains, as Curius, Fabricius, and Hostilius were in old time. For the people of Rome did no more bestow their offices upon such mean labouring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattock : but they would look now upon the nobility of their houses, and upon their riches that gave them most money, or sued earnestly to them for the offices. And by reason of their great power and authority, they would be waited upon and sued unto, by those that sought to bear the honourable offices of the state and common wealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to have Themistocles an adversary and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goods his father left him, were not worth above four or five hundred talents, when he began to deal in state) in respect as to contend for the chiefest place of honour and authority against Scipio African, Servilius Galba, or Quintius Flaminius, having no other maintenance, nor help to trust unto, but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all uprightness. Moreover, Aristides at the battels of Marathon, and of Platæa, was but one of the ten captains of the Athenians : where Cato was chosen one of the two Consuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Censors, before seven other that made suit for it, which were all men of great reputation in the city, and yet was Cato preferred before them all. Furthermore,

access  
to the  
common  
wealth

Cato in  
martial  
affairs  
excelled  
Aristides

Aristides was never the chiefest in any victory. For at the battell of Marathon, Miltiades was the general: and at the battell of Salamis, Themistocles: and at the journey of Plataea, King Pausanias, as Herodotus saith, who writeth that he had a marvellous victory there. And there were that strived with Aristides for the second place, as Sophanes, Amynias, Callimachus, and Cynegirus, every one of the which did notable valiant service at those battels. Now Cato was general himself, and chief of all his army in worthiness and counsel, during the war he made in Spain while he was Consul. Afterwards also in the journey where King Antiochus was overthrown in the country of Thermopylæ, Cato being but a colonel of a thousand footmen, and serving under another that was Consul, won the honour of the victory, when he did suddenly set upon Antiochus behind, whereas he looked only to defend himself before. And that victory without all doubt was one of the chiefest acts that ever Cato did, who drove Asia out of Greece, and opened the way unto Lucius Scipio to pass afterwards into Asia. So then for the wars, neither the one nor the other of them was ever overcome in battell: but in peace and civil government, Aristides was supplanted by Themistocles, who by practice got him to be banished Athens for a time. Whereas Cato had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of Rome that were in his time sworn enemies unto him, and having always contended with them even to his last hour, he ever kept himself on sound ground, like a stout champion, and never took fall nor foil. For he having accused many before the people, and many also accusing

him : himself was never once condemned, but always his tongue was the buckler and defence of his life and innocency. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could help himself so in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cause why he never received dishonour, nor was unjustly condemned : rather than for anything else he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truly, eloquence is a singular gift, as Antipater witnesseth, in that he wrote of Aristotle the philosopher after his death : saying, that amongst many other singular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could persuade what he listed. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attain any greater vertue or knowledge, than to know how to govern a multitude of men, or a city : a part whereof is *œconomia*, commonly called house-rule, considering that a city is no other, than an assembly of many households and houses together, and then is the city commonly strong and of power, when as the townsmen and citizens are wise and wealthy. Therefore Lycurgus that banished gold and silver from Lacedæmon, and coined them money of iron, that would be marred with fire and vinegar when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands : but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that ever went before him, he did not only cut off all superfluous expenses that commonly wait upon riches, but did also provide that his people should lack nothing necessary to live withal, fearing more to see a beggar and needy person dwelling in his city, and enjoy the privileges of the same, than a proud man by reason of his riches.

The  
power of  
innocency  
and  
eloquence

**No man wise that is not wise to himself** So me thinks, Cato was as good a father to his household, as he was a good governor to the common wealth : for he did honestly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by saving and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof in his book he wrote sundry good rules and precepts. Aristides contrariwise, made justice odious and slanderous by his poverty, and as a thing that made men poor, and was more profitable to other, than to a man's self that used justice. And yet Hesiod the poet, that commendeth justice so much, doth wish us withal to be good husbands, reproving sloth and idleness, as the root and original of all injustice. And therefore methinks Homer spake wisely when he said :

In times past, neither did I labour, caik, nor care  
 For business, for family, for food, nor yet for fare :  
 But rather did delight with ships the seas to sail,  
 To draw a bow, to fling a dart in wars, and to prevail.

As giving us to understand that justice and husbandry are two relatives, and necessarily linked one to the other : and that a man who hath no care of his own things, nor house, doth live unjustly, and taketh from other men. For justice is not like oil, which physicians say is very wholesome for man's body, if it be applied outwardly, and in contrary manner very ill, if a man drink it : neither ought a just man to profit strangers, and in the end not to care for himself nor his. Therefore, me thinks this governing vertue of Aristides had a fault in this respect, if it be true that most authors write of him : that he had no care nor forecast with him to leave so much, as to marry his daughters withal,

nor therewith to bury himself. Where those of the house of Cato, continued prætors and consuls of Rome, even unto the fourth descent. For his sons' sons, and yet lower, his sons' sons' sons came to the greatest offices of dignity in Rome. And Aristides, who was in his time the chiefest man of Greece, left his posterity in so great poverty, that some were compelled to become soothsayers (that interpret dreams, and tell men's fortune) to get their living, and other to ask alms: and left no means to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might be said, poverty of itself is neither ill nor dishonest: but where it groweth by idleness, careless life, vanity, and folly, it is to be reprov'd. For when it lighteth upon any man that is honest, and liveth well, that taketh pains, is very diligent, just, valiant, wise, and governeth a common wealth well: then it is a great sign of a noble mind. For it is impossible that man should do any great things, that had such a base mind as to think always upon trifles: and that he should relieve the poor greatly, that lacketh himself relief in many things. And sure, riches is not so necessary for an honest man that will deal truly in the common wealth, and government, as is sufficiency: which being a contentation in itself, and desirous of no superfluous thing, it never withdraweth a man from following his business in the common wealth, that enjoyeth the same. For God is He alone, who simply and absolutely hath no need of anything at all: wherefore the chiefest vertue that can be in man, and that cometh nearest unto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to have need of least

Whether  
poverty  
be an evil  
thing

Whether  
Aristides'  
facts or  
Cato's

things. For like as a lusty body, and well complexioned, hath no need of superfluous fare and curious apparel: even so a clean life, and sound house, is kept with a little charge, and so should the goods also be proportioned, according to use and necessity. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth little, hath never enough. But admit he hath no desire to spend much, then he is a fool to travail to get more than he needeth: and if he do desire it, and dare not for niggardliness spend part of that he laboureth for, then is he miserable. Now would I ask Cato with a good will, if riches be made but to use them, why do you boast then you have gotten much together, when a little doth suffice you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you find, to drink of the same tap workmen and labourers do, not to care for purple dyed gowns, nor for houses with plastered walls: it followeth then that neither Aristides, nor Epaminondas, nor Manius Curius, nor Caius Fabricius, have forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not use nor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man that esteemed roots and parsnips to be one of the best dishes in the world, and that did seethe them himself in his chimney, whilst his wife did bake his bread, to talk so much of an as, and to take pains to write by what art and industry a man might quickly enrich himself. For it is true, that sufficiency and to be contented with a little, is a good and commendable thing: but it is because it taketh from us all desire of unnecessary things, and maketh us not to pass for them. And therefore we find that

Aristides said, when rich Callias' case was pleaded, that such as were poor against their wills, might well be ashamed of their poverty: but such as were willingly poor, had good cause and might justly rejoice at it. For it were a mad part to think that Aristides' poverty proceeded of a base mind and slothfulness, since he might quickly have made himself rich without any dishonesty at all, by taking only the spoil of some one of the barbarous people whom he had overcome, or any one of their tents. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victory and battels Cato had won, they did in manner little help to increase the Empire of Rome: for it was already so great, as it could almost be no greater. But Aristides' victories are the greatest conquests and noblest acts that the Grecians ever did in any wars: as the journey of Marathon, the battell of Salamis, and the battell of Platæa. And yet there is no reason to compare King Antiochus with King Xerxes, nor the walls of the city of Spain which Cato overthrew and razed, unto so many thousands of barbarous people, which were then overthrown and put to the sword by the Grecians, as well by land as by sea. In all which services, Aristides was the chiefest before all other, as touching his valiantness in fighting: notwithstanding, he gave other the glory of it, that desired it more than himself, as he did easily also leave the gold and silver unto those, that had more need of it than himself. Wherein he shewed himself of a nobler mind, than all they did. Furthermore, for my part, I will not reprove Cato's manner, to commend and extol himself so highly above all other, since he himself saith in an oration he made,

did most  
benefit  
their  
country

Cato  
reproved

that to praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himself: but this I think, his vertue is more perfect, that desireth other should not praise him, than he that commonly doth use to praise himself. For, not to be ambitious, is a great shew of humanity, and necessary for him that will live amongst men of government: and even so, ambition is hateful, and procureth great envy unto him, that is infected withal. Of the which Aristides was clear, and Cato far gone in it. For Aristides did help Themistocles his chiefest enemy, in all his noblest acts, and did serve him (as a man would say) like a private soldier that guarded his person, when Themistocles was general, being the only instrument and mean of his glory: which was indeed the only cause that the city of Athens was saved, and restored again to her former good state. Cato contrariwise, crossing Scipio in all his enterprises, thought to hinder his voyage and journey unto Carthage, in the which he overcame Hannibal, who until that time was ever invincible: and so in the end, continuing him still in jealousy with the state, and ever accusing of him, he never left him till he had driven him out of the city, and caused his brother Lucius Scipio to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behaviour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperance and modesty, which Cato did ever commend so highly: Aristides truly kept them most sincerely. But Cato's second wife, who married a maid (that was neither fit for his dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he cannot be excused with honesty, that being a man past marriage, brought

his son that was married, and his fair daughter-in-law, a stepmother into his house, and but a clerk's daughter, whose father did write for money, for any man that would hire him. Take it Cato married her to satisfy his lust, or else for spite to be revenged of his son, because his son could not abide his young filth he had before: either of these turneth still to his shame, as well the effect, as also the cause. Again, the excuse he made to his son why he married, was also a lie. For if he had grounded his desire indeed, to have gotten either children, as he said, that might be as honest men as his eldest son: then surely he had done well after the death of his first wife, if he had sought him another wife soon after, that had been of an honest house, and not to

for his  
second  
wife

have lien with a young harlotry filth, till his son had spied him, and then when he saw it was known, to go and marry her, and to make alliance with him, not because it was honourable for him to do it, but was easiest to be obtained.

THE END OF MARCUS CATO'S LIFE THE CENSOR

## THE LIFE OF PHILOPÆMEN

Cassander  
Philopœmen's  
school-  
master

IN the city of Mantinea, there was a citizen in old time called Cassander, one that was as nobly born and of as great authority in government there, as any man of his time whatsoever. Notwithstanding, fortune frowned on him in the end, insomuch as he was driven out of this country, and went to lie in the city of Megalopolis, only for the love he bare unto Crausis, Philopœmen's father, a rare man, and nobly given in all things, and one that loved him also very well. Now so long as Crausis lived, Cassander was so well used at his hands, that he could lack nothing: and when he was departed this world, Cassander, to requite the love Crausis bare him in his lifetime, took his son into his charge, being an orphan, and taught him, as Homer said Achilles was brought up by the old Phœnix. So this child Philopœmen grew to have noble conditions, and increased always from good to better. Afterwards, when he came to grow to man's state, Ecdemus and Demophanes, both Megalopolitans, took him into their government. They were two philosophers that had been hearers of Arcesilaus, in the school of Academia, and afterwards employed all the philosophy they had learned, upon their governing of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of state, as much or more, than any other

men of their time. For they delivered their city from the tyranny of Aristodemus, who kept it in subjection, by corrupting those that killed him. And they did help Aratus also to drive the tyrant Nicocles, out of Sicyon. At the request of the Cyrenians, that were troubled with civil dissension and factions among them, they went unto Cyrené, where they did reform the state of the common wealth, and stablished good laws for them. But for themselves, they reckoned the education and bringing up of Philopœmen, the chiefest act that ever they did: judging that they had procured an universal good unto all Greece, to bring up a man of so noble a nature, in the rules and precepts of philosophy. And to say truly, Greece did love him passingly well, as the last valiant man she brought forth in her age, after so many great and famous ancient captains: and did always increase his power and authority, as his glory did also rise. Whereupon there was a Roman, who to praise him the more, called him the last of the Grecians: meaning, that after him, Greece never brought forth any worthy person, deserving the name of a Grecian. And now concerning his person, he had no ill face, as many suppose he had: for his whole image is yet to be seen in the city of Delphes, excellently well done, as if he were alive. And for that they report of his hostess in the city of Megara, who took him for a serving man: that was by reason of his courtesy, not standing upon his reputation, and because he went plainly besides. For she understanding that the general of the Achaians came to inn there all night, she bestirred her, and was very busy preparing for his supper, her husband

**Philo-  
pœmen  
the last  
famous  
man of  
Greece**

**Philopœmen** paraventure being from home at the time: and in the mean season came Philopœmen into the inn, with a poor cloke on his back. The simple woman seeing him no better apparelled, took him for one of his men that came before to provide his lodging, and so prayed him to lend her his hand in the kitchen. He straight cast off his cloke, and began to fall to hew wood. So, as Philopœmen was busy about it, in cometh her husband, and finding him riving of wood: Ha ha ha, said he, my Lord Philopœmen, why what meaneth this? Truly nothing else, said he in his Dorican tongue, but that I am punished, because I am neither fair boy, nor goodly man. It is true that Titus Quintius Flaminius said one day unto him, seeming to mock him for his personage: O Philopœmen, thou hast fair hands, and good legs, but thou hast no belly, for he was fine in the waist, and small bodied. Notwithstanding, I take it this jesting tended rather to the proportion of his army, than of his body: because he had both good horsemen, and footmen, but he was often without money to pay them. These jests, scholars have taken up in schools, of Philopœmen. But now to descend to his nature and conditions: it seemeth that the ambition and desire he had to win honour in his doings, was not without some heat and wilfulness. For, because he would altogether follow Epaminondas' steps, he shewed his hardiness to enterprise anything, his wisdom to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt him: but in civil matters and controversies, he could hardly other whiles keep himself within the bounds of modesty, patience, and curtesy, but would often

burst out into choler, and wilfulness. Wherefore it seemeth, that he was a better captain for wars, then a wise governor for peace. And indeed, even from his youth he ever loved soldiers, and arms, and delighted marvellously in all martial exercises: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of horses gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And because he seemed to have a natural gift in wrestling, certain of his friends, and such as were careful of him, did wish him to give himself most unto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made such profession, would be no hinderance to their martial exercises. Answer was made him again, that the disposition of the person, and manner of life that wrestlers used, and such as followed like exercises, was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a soldier, and specially touching life and limb. For wrestlers studied altogether to keep themselves in good plight, by much sleeping, eating, and drinking, by labouring, and taking their ease at certain hours, by not missing a jot of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to lose the force and strength of their body, if they did surfeit never so little, or passed their ordinary course and rule of diet. Where soldiers contrariwise are used to all change, and diversity of life, and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardness, and scarcity, and to watch in the night without sleep. Philopæmen hearing this, did not only forsake those exercises, and scorned them, but afterwards being general of an army, he sought by all infamous means he could to put down all wrestling, and such kind of exercise, which made men's bodies unmeet to take pains, and to

He delighted in war and martial exercises

Philo-  
pœmen's  
gains  
how they  
were em-  
ployed

become soldiers for to fight in defence of their country, that otherwise would have been very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his book and schoolmaisters, and began to wear armour in invasions the Mantineans used to make upon the Lacedæmonians, to get some spoil on a sodain, or to destroy a part of their country: Philopœmen then would ever be the foremost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leisure, he used much hunting in time of peace, all to acquaint his body with toil and travail, or else he would be digging of his grounds. For he had a fair manor, not passing twenty furlongs out of the city, whither he would walk commonly after dinner or supper: and then when night came that it was bedtime, he would lie upon some ill-favoured mattress, as the meanest labourer he had, and in the morning by break of the day, he went out either with his vinemen to labour in his vineyard, or else with his ploughmen to follow the plough, and sometimes returned again to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his friends and other officers of the same. Whatsoever he could spare and get in the wars, he spent it in buying of goodly horses, in making of fair armours, or paying his poor countrymen's ransom, that were taken prisoners in the wars: but for his goods and revenue, he sought only to increase them, by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed the justest and best way of getting of goods. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and study upon it, as one that thought it fit for every nobleman and gentleman so to travail, govern, and increase his own, that he should have no

occasion to covet or usurp another man's. He took no pleasure to hear all kind of matters, nor to read all sorts of books of philosophy: but those only that would teach him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to read Homer's works, saving those places only that stirred up mens' hearts most unto valiantness. But of all other stories, he specially delighted to read Evangelus' books, which treated of the discipline of wars, how to set battels, and declared the acts and gests of Alexander the Great, saying: that men should ever bring words unto deeds, unless they would take them for vain stories, and things spoken, but not to profit by. For in his books of the feats of war, and how battels should be ordered, he was not only contented to see them drawn and set out, in charts and maps: but would also put them in execution, in the places themselves as they were set out. And therefore, when the army marched in order of battell in the field, he would consider and study with himself, the sodain events and approaches of the enemies, that might light upon them, when they coming down to the valley, or going out of a plain, were to pass a river or a ditch, or through some strait: also when he should spread out his army, or else gather it narrow: and this he did not only forecast by himself, but would also argue the same with the captains that were about him. For Philopœmen doubtless was one of the odd men of the world, that most esteemed the discipline of war, (and sometime peradventure more then he needed) as the most large field and most fruitful ground that valiantness could be exercised in: so that he despised and contemned all that were no soldiers,

His care  
for the  
discipline  
of wars

**How he saved the Megalopolitans** as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty years of age, Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon, came one night upon the sodain, and gave an assault to the city of Megalopolis, so lustily, that he drove back the watch and got into the market-place, and wan it. Philopœmen hearing of it, ran immediately to the rescue. Nevertheless, though he fought very valiantly, and did like a noble soldier, yet he could not repulse the enemies, nor drive them out of the city. But by this means he got his citizens leisure, and some time to get them out of the town to save themselves, staying those that followed them: and made Cleomenes still wait upon him, so that in the end he had much ado to save himself being the last man, and very sore hurt, and his horse also slain under him. Shortly after, Cleomenes being advertised that the Megalopolitans were gotten into the city of Messené, sent unto them to let them understand, that he was ready to deliver them their city, lands, and goods again. But Philopœmen seeing his countrymen very glad of these news, and that every man prepared to return again in haste: he stayed them with these persuasions, shewing them that Cleomenes device was not to re-deliver them their city, but rather to take them together with their city: foreseeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keep naked walls and empty houses, and that himself in the end should be compelled to go his way. This persuasion stayed the Megalopolitans, but withal it gave Cleomenes occasion to burn and pluck down a great part of the city, and to carry away a great sum of money and a great spoil. Afterwards, when King Antigonus was come to

aid the Achaians against Cleomenes, and that Cleomenes kept on the top of the mountains of Sellasia, and kept all the passages, and ways unto them out of all those quarters: King Antigonus set his army in battell hard by him, determining to set upon him, and to drive him thence if he could possibly. Philopœmen was at that time amongst the horsemen with his citizens, who had the Illyrians on the side of them, being a great number of footmen and excellent good soldiers, which did shut in the tail of all the army. So they were commanded to stand still, and to keep their place, until such time as they did shew them a red coat of arms on the top of a pike, from the other wing of the battell, where the king himself stood in person. Notwithstanding this straight commandment, the captains of the Illyrians would abide no longer, but went to see if they could force the Lacedæmonians that kept on the top of the mountains. The Achaians contrariwise, kept their place and order, as they were commanded. Euclidas, Cleomenes' brother, perceiving thus their enemies' footmen were severed from their horsemen, sodainly sent the lightest armed soldiers and lustiest fellows he had in his bands, to give a charge upon the Illyrians behind, to prove if they could make them turn their faces on them, because they had no horsemen for their guard. This was done, and these light-armed men did marvellously trouble and disorder the Illyrians. Philopœmen perceiving, that, and considering how these light-armed men would be easily broken and driven back, since occasion self enforced them to it: he went to tell the king's captains of it, that led his men of arms.

His noble  
part in  
the battell  
against  
Cleomenes

Philopœmen  
hurt in  
fight

But when he saw he could not make them understand it, and that they made no reckoning of his reasons, but took him of no skill, because he had not yet attained any credit or estimation to be judged a man, that could invent or execute any stratagem of war: he went thither himself, and took his citizens with him. And at his first coming, he so troubled these light-armed men, that he made them fly, and slew a number of them. Moreover, to encourage the better King Antigonus' men, and to make them give a lusty charge upon the enemies, whilst they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horse, and marched afoot up hill and down hill, in rough and stony ways, full of springs and quawmires, being heavily armed at all pieces as a man-at-arms, and fighting in this sort very painfully and uneasily, he had both his thighs passed through with a dart, having a leather thong on the midst of it. And though the blow did not take much hold of the flesh, yet was it a strong blow, for it pierced both thighs through and through, that the iron was seen on the other side. Then was he so cumbered with this blow, as if he had been shackled with irons on his feet, and knew not what to do: for the leather fastened in the midst of the dart, did grieve him marvellously, when they thought to have pulled the dart out of the place where it entered in, so as never a man about him durst set his hands to it. Philopœmen on the other side, seeing the fight terrible on either side, and would soon be ended: it spited him to the guts, he would so fain have been among them. So at the length he made such struggling, putting back one thigh, and setting forward another, that

he knapped the staff of the dart asunder, and made them pull out the two truncheons, the one on this side, and the other on the other side. Then when he saw he was at liberty again, he took his sword in his hand, and ran through the midst of them that fought, unto the foremost ranks, to meet with the enemy: so that he gave his men a new courage, and did set them on fire with envy, to follow his valiantness. After the battell was won, Antigonus asked the Macedonian captains, to prove them: who moved the horsemen to divide themselves, and give the charge, before the sign that was commanded. They answered him, that they were forced to do it against their wills, because a young Megalopolitan gentleman gave a charge with his company, before the sign was given. Then Antigonus laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the part of a wise and valiant captain. This exploit, together with Antigonus' testimony, gave great reputation unto Philopœmen, as we may easily imagine. So King Antigonus marvellously entreated him he would serve with him, and offered him a band of men-at-arms, and great entertainment, if he would go with him. But Philopœmen refused his offer, and chiefly, because he knew his own nature, that he could hardly abide to be commanded by any. Notwithstanding, because he could not be idle, he took sea, and went into Creta, where he knew there were wars, only to continue himself in exercise thereof. So when he had served a long time with the Cretans, which were valiant soldiers, and very expert in all policies and feats of war, and moreover were men of a moderate and spare diet: he returned home again

**Antigonus' saying of his skill of a soldier**

**Chosen  
general  
of the  
horsemen**

to Achaia, with so great credit and reputation of every one, that he was presently chosen general of all the horsemen. So when he entered into his charge, he found many horsemen very ill horsed, upon little jades, such as might be gotten cheapest, and how they used not to go themselves in person to the wars, but did send other in their stead: and to be short, how they neither had hearts, nor experience of the wars, and all because the generals and captains of the people of the Achaians that served before him, did take no heed to those matters, as fearing to offend any, because they had the greatest authority in their hands, to punish or reward whom they thought good. Philopœmen fearing none of these things, would leave no part of his charge and duty undone, but went himself in person to all the cities, to persuade and encourage the young gentlemen, to be well horsed, and well armed, that they might win honour in the field, be able to defend themselves, and overthrow their enemies. And where persuasion could do no good, there he would set fines upon their heads that so refused, and did use to muster them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turneying, and barriers, and one to fight with another, and at such times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to give them the looking on: that in short space he made them very forward, proper, and ready horsemen, whose chiefest property is, to keep their order and ranks in the battell. So as when necessity served for the whole company of horsemen to turn together, half turn, or whole turn, or else every man by himself: they were so thoroughly trained in it, that all the whole troop set

in battell ray, did seem as it were to be but one body, they removed so together, and withal so easily, and at all times, and so oft as they should turn on the one side, or on the other. Now in a great battell the Achaians had with the Ætolians and the Eleans, by the river of Larissus: Demophantus general of the horsemen of the Ætolians, came from his company to fight with Philopœmen, who also made towards him, and gave him first such a blow with his spear, that he strake him stark dead. When Demophantus fell to the ground, his soldiers fled by and by upon it. This wan Philopœmen great honour, who gave no place to the youngest men in fighting most valiantly with his own hands: nor to the oldest men in wisdom, for the wise leading of his army. Indeed the first man that made the people of Achaia grow in power and greatness, was Aratus: for before his time Achaia was of small reckoning, because the cities of the same stood divided between themselves, and Aratus was the first man that made them join together, and stablished among them an honest civil government. Whereby it happened, that as we see in brooks and rivers where any little thing stoppeth and falleth to the bottom, which the course of the water bringeth down the stream, there the rest that followeth doth use to stay, and go no farther: even so in the cities of Greece that were in hard state, and sore weakened, by faction one against another, the Achaians were the first that stayed themselves, and grew in amity one with the other, and afterwards drew on the rest of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederates. Some by helping and delivering them from the oppression of tyrants, and

Aratus  
raised  
Achaia to  
greatness

**Philopœ-  
men and  
Aratus  
compared**

winning other also by their peaceable government and good concord: they had a meaning in this wise, to bring all the country of Peloponnesus into one body and league. Nevertheless, while Aratus lived, they depended most upon the strength and power of the Macedonians: first with sticking unto King Ptolemy, and then unto Antigonus, and last to Philip, who ruled in manner all the state of Greece. But when Philopœmen came to govern, and to be the chiefest man, the Achaians being strong enough to resist the strongest, would march them no more under any other body's ensign, nor would suffer any more strange governors or captains over them. For Aratus (as it seemed) was somewhat too soft and cold for the wars, and therefore the most things he did, were by gentle entreaties, by intelligences, and by the king's friendships with whom he was great, as we have at large declared in his life. But Philopœmen being a man of execution, hardy and valiant of person, and of very good fortune, in the first battell that he ever made, did marvellously increase the courage and hearts of the Achaians: because under his charge they ever foiled their enemies, and always had the upper hand over them. The first thing Philopœmen began withal at his coming, he changed the manner of setting of their tables, and their fashion of arming themselves. For before they carried little light targets, which because they were thin and narrow, did not cover half their bodies, and used spears far shorter than pikes, by reason whereof they were very light, and good to skirmish and fight afar off: but when they came to join battell, their enemies then had great vantage of them. As for the order of their battells,

they knew not what it meant, nor to cast themselves into a snail or ring, but only used the square battell, nor yet gave it any such front where the pikes of many ranks might push together, and where the soldiers might stand so close, that their targets should touch one another, as they do in the squadron of the battell of the Macedonians: by reason whereof, they were soon broken, and overthrown. Philopæmen reformed all this, persuading them to use the pike and shield, instead of their little target, spear, or boar-staff, and to put good morions or burganets on their heads, corslets on their bodies, and good tasses and greaves to cover their thighs and legs, that they might fight it out manfully, not giving a foot of ground, as light-armed men that run to and fro in a skirmish. And thus having persuaded and taught the young men to arm themselves throughly, first he made them the bolder and more courageous to fight, as if they had been men that could not have been overcome: then he turned all their vain superfluous charge, into necessary and honest expenses. But he could not possibly bring them altogether from their vain and rich apparel, they had of long time taken up, the one to exceed another: nor from their sumptuous furniture of houses, as in beds, hangings, curious service at the table, and delicate kind of dishes. But to begin to withdraw this desire in them which they had, to be fine and delicate, in all superfluous and unnecessary things, and to like of things necessary, and profitable: he wished them to look more nearly to their ordinary charge about themselves, taking order as well for their apparel, as also for their diet, and to spare in them, to come honourably

He  
changeth  
the order  
and disci-  
pline of  
wars

Philopœmen  
turned all  
curiosities and  
dainty  
fare

armed to the field, for defence of their country. Thereupon, if you had looked into the goldsmiths' shops, you should have seen nothing else in their hands, but breaking and battering of pots of gold and silver, to be cast and molten down again, and then gilding of armours and targets, and silvering of bits. In the shew places for the running of horses, there was managing and breaking of young horses, and young men exercising arms. Women's hands also were full of morions and headpieces, whereto they tied goodly brave plumes of feathers of sundry colours, and were also full of imbrodered arming coats and cassocks, with curious and very rich works. The sight of which bravery did heave up their hearts, and made them gallant and lively: so as envy bred straight in them who should do best service, and no way spare for the wars. Indeed, sumptuousness and bravery in other sights, doth secretly carry men's minds away, and allure them to seek after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womanish persons: because this sweet tickling, and enticing of the outward sense that is delighted therewith, doth straight melt and soften the strength and courage of the mind. But again, the sumptuous cost bestowed upon warlike furniture, doth encourage and make great a noble heart. Even as Homer saith it did Achilles, when his mother brought him new armour and weapons, she had caused Vulcan to make for him, and laid them at his feet: who seeing them, could not tarry, but was straight set on fire with desire to occupy them. So when Philopœmen had brought the youth of Achaia to this good pass, to come thus bravely armed and furnished into the field, he began

then to exercise them continually in arms: wherein they did not only shew themselves obedient to him, but did moreover strive one to excel another, and to do better than their fellows. For they liked marvellous well the ordering of the battell he had taught them, because that standing so close together as they did, they thought surely they could hardly be overthrown. Thus by continuance of time, being much used to wear their armour, they found them a great deal easier and lighter than before, besides the pleasure they took to see their armour so brave, and so rich: in so much as they longed for some occasion to try them straight upon their enemies. Now the Achaians at that time were at war with Machanidas, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who sought by all device he could with a great army, to become chief lord of all the Peloponnesians. When news was brought that Machanidas was come into the country of the Mantineans, Philopæmen straight marched towards him with his army: so they met both not far from the city of Mantinea, where by-and-by they put themselves in order of battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of strangers to serve them, besides the whole force of their country: and when they came to join battell, Machanidas with his strangers gave such a lusty charge upon certain slingers and archers, being the forlorn hope whom Philopæmen had cast off before the battell of the Achaians to begin the skirmish, that he overthrew them, and made them fly withal. But where he should have gone on directly against the Achaians that were ranged in battell ray, to have proved if he could have broken them: he was very

into brave  
and rich  
armours

**Battell  
fought  
between  
Philo-  
pœmen**

busy, and earnest still, to follow the chase of them that first fled, and so came hard by the Achaïans that stood still in their battell, and kept their ranks. This great overthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the Achaïans were but cast away. But Philopœmen made as though it had been nothing, and that he set light by it, and spying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorn hope on the spur, whom they had overthrown, and straying so far from the battell of their footmen, whom they had left naked, and the field open upon them: he did not make towards them to stay them, nor did strive to stop them that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered them to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their footmen, he made his men march upon the Lacedæmonians, whose sides were naked, having no horsemen to guard them: and so did set upon them on the one side, and ran so hastily on them to win one of their flanks, that he made them fly, and slew withal a great number of them. For it is said, there were four thousand Lacedæmonians slain in the field, because they had no man to lead them. And moreover, they say they did not look to fight, but supposed rather they had won the field, when they saw Machanidas chasing still those upon the spur, whom he had overthrown. After this Philopœmen retired to meet Machanidas, who came back from the chase with his strangers. But by chance there was a great broad ditch between them, so as both of them rode upon the bank sides of the same, a great while together, one against another of them: the one side seeking some convenient place to get

over and fly, and the other side seeking means to keep them from starting away. So, to see the one before the other in this sort, it appeared as they had been wild beasts brought to an extremity, to defend themselves by force, from so fierce a hunter as Philopœmen was. But whilst they were striving thus, the tyrant's horse that was lusty and courageous, and felt the force of his maister's spurs pricking in his sides, that the blood followed after, did venter to leap the ditch, coming to the bank side, stood upon his hindmost legs, and advanced forward with his foremost feet, to reach to the other side. Then Simias and Polyænus, who were about Philopœmen when he fought, ran thither straight to keep him in with their boar-staves that he should not leap the ditch. But Philopœmen who was there before them, perceiving that the tyrant's horse by lifting up his head so high, did cover all his master's body: forsook by-and-by his horse, and took his spear in both his hands, and thrust at the tyrant with so good a will, that he slew him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the Achaians that did highly esteem this valiant act of his, and his wisdom also in leading of the battell: did set up his image in brass, in the temple of Apollo in Delphes, in the form he slew the tyrant. They say, that at the assembly of the common games called Nemea, (which they solemnise in honour of Hercules, not far from the city of Argos) and not long after he had won this battell of Mantinea, being made general the second time of the tribe of the Achaians, and being at good leisure also by reason of the feast: he first showed all the Grecians that were come thither to

and Ma-  
chanidas,  
tyrant  
of the  
Lacedæ-  
monians

**Philopœmen's triumph**

see the games and pastimes, his army ranging in order of battell, and made them see how easily they removed their places every way, as necessity and occasion of fight required, without troubling or confounding their ranks, and that with a marvellous force and readiness. When he had done this, he went into the theatre to hear the musicians play, and sing to their instruments, who should win the best game, being accompanied with lusty young gentlemen apparelled in purple cloaks, and in scarlet coats and cassocks they wore upon their armour, being all in the flower of their youth, and well given and disposed: who did greatly honour and reverence their captain, and besides that, shewed themselves inwardly of noble hearts, being encouraged by many notable battels they had fought, in which they had ever attained the victory, and gotten the upper hand of their enemies. And by chance, as they were entered into the theatre, Pylades the musician, singing certain poems of Timotheus, called the Persians, fell into these verses.

O Greeks, it is even he, which your prosperity  
Hath given to you: and therewithal a noble liberty.

When he had sweetly sung out aloud these noble verses, passingly well made: the whole assembly of the Grecians in the theatre, that were gathered thither to see the games, cast all their eyes straight upon Philopœmen, and clapped their hands one to another for joy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should soon recover their ancient reputation, and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy minds of their ancestors. And as young horse that do always

look to be ridden by their ordinary riders, if any stranger get upon their backs, do straight wax strange to be handled, and make great ado: even so, when the Achaians came to any dangerous battell, their hearts were even done, if they had any other general or leader than Philopœmen, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they saw him ever, the whole army rejoiced, and desired straight to be at it, they had such confidence in his valiantness and good fortune: and truly not without cause. For of all men, their enemies did fear him most, and durst not stand before him: because they were afraid to hear his name only, as it seemed by their doings. For Philip King of Macedon, imagining that if he could find means to despatch Philopœmen out of the way, howsoever it were, the Achaians would straight take part again with him: sent men secretly into the city of Argos, to kill him by treason. Howbeit the practice was discovered, and the king ever after was mortally hated of all the Grecians generally, and taken for a cowardly and wicked prince. It fortun'd one day when the Bœotians laid siege to the city of Megara, and thought certainly to have won it at the first assault: there rose a rumour suddenly amongst them, that Philopœmen came to aid the city, and was not far from it with his army. But it was a false report. Notwithstanding, the Bœotians were so feared, that for fear they left their scaling ladders behind them, which they had set against the walls to have scaled the town, and fled straight to save themselves. Another time, when Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon, that succeeded Machanidas, had taken the city of Messenê

His only  
name  
made  
the bar-  
barians  
fly for  
fear

**Philopœmen delivered the city of Messené**

upon a sudden : Philopœmen being then a private man, and having no charge of soldiers, went unto Lysippus, general of the Achaians that year, to persuade him that he would send present aid unto them of Messené. Lysippus told him, it was too late now to go thither, and that it was but a lost town, not to be holpen : considering the enemies were in it already. Philopœmen perceiving he could not procure him to go, went thither himself with the force of Messené only, not staying for the assembly of the Megalopolitans, that were in council about it, to give him commission by voices of the people to take them with him : but they all willingly followed him, as if he had been their continual general, and the man that by nature was worthiest of all other to command them. Now when he came near unto Messené, Nabis hearing of his coming, durst not tary him, though he had his army within the city, but stole out at another gate, and marched away in all the haste he could, thinking himself a happy man and he could so escape his hands, and retire with safety, as indeed he did. And thus was Messené, by his means, delivered from captivity. All that we have written hitherto concerning Philopœmen, falleth out doubtless to his great honour and glory : but afterwards he was greatly dispraised for a journey he made into Creta, at the request of the Gortynians, who sent to pray him to be their captain, being sore troubled with wars at that time. Because Philopœmen went then to serve the Gortynians, when the tyrant Nabis had greatest wars with the Megalopolitans, in their own country : they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to fly the wars, or else

that he sought honour out of season with foreign nations, when his poor citizens the Megalopolitans were in such distress, that their country being lost and destroyed, they were driven to keep them within their city, and to sow all their void grounds and streets in the same with corn, to sustain them withal, when their enemies were encamped almost hard at their town gates. And the rather, because himself making wars with the Cretans, and serving strangers beyond the sea in the meantime, gave his enemies occasion to slander him that he fled, that he would not tarry to fight for defence of his country. Again, there were that said, because the Achaians did choose other for their general, that he being a private man and without charge, was the rather contented to be general of the Gortynians, who had marvellously intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that could not abide to live idly, and that desired specially above all things to serve continually in the wars, and to put in practice his skill and discipline in the leading of an army. The words he spake one day of King Ptolemy do witness as much. For when there were some that praised King Ptolemy highly, saying that he trained his army well, and that he still continued his person in exercise of arms: It is not commendable for a king (said he) of his years, to delight in training his men to exercise arms, but to do some act himself in person. Well, in the end, the Megalopolitans took his absence in such evil part, that they thought it a piece of treason, and would needs have banished him, and put him from the freedom of the city: had not the Achaians sent their General Aristænetus unto them,

**His  
second  
journey  
into Creta  
discom-  
mended**

**Philopœmen made divers cities to rebel** who would not suffer the sentence of banishment to pass against him, although otherwise there was ever contention between them about matters of the common wealth. Afterwards, Philopœmon perceiving his countrymen made no more account of him, to spite them withal, he made divers small villages and cities rebel against them, and taught them to say, and to give it out, that they were not their subjects, neither paid them tribute from the beginning: and he made them stand to it openly, and maintain their sedition against the city of Megalopolis, before the council of the Achaians. These things happened shortly after. But whilst he made wars in Creta for the Gortynians, he shewed not himself a Peloponnesian, nor like a man born in Arcadia, to make plain and open wars: but he had learned the manner of the Cretans, to use their own policies, fine devices, and ambushes against themselves. And made them know also, that all their crafts, were but childish sports as it were: in respect of those that were devised, and put in execution, by a wise experienced captain, and skilful to fight a battell. So Philopœmen, having won great fame by his acts done in Creta, returned again to Peloponnesus, where he found, that Philip King of Macedon had been overcome in battell, by T. Q. Flaminius: and that the Achaians joining with the Romans, did make war against the tyrant Nabis, against whom he was made general immediately upon his return, and gave him battell by sea. In the which it seemed he fell into like misfortune, as Epaminondas did: the event of this battell falling out much worse with him, than was looked for, in respect of his

former courage and valiantness. But as for Epaminondas, some say he returned willingly out of Asia, and the Isles, without any exploit done, because he would not have his countrymen fleshed with spoil by sea, as fearing least of valiant soldiers by land, they would by little and little (as Plato said) become dissolute mariners by sea. But Philopœmen contrariwise, presuming on the skill he had to set the battel in good order by land, would needs take upon him to do the same by sea. But he was taught to his cost to know what exercise and experience meant, and how strong it maketh them that are practised in things. For he lost not only the battell by sea, being unskilful of that service: but he committed besides a fouler error. For he caused an old ship to be rigged, which had been very good of service before, but not occupied in forty years together, and embarked his countrymen into the same, which were all likely to perish, because the ship had divers leaks, by fault of good calking. This overthrow made his enemies despise him utterly, persuading themselves he was fled for altogether, and had given them sea room: whereupon they laid siege to the city of Gythium. Philopœmen being advertised thereof, embarked his men suddenly, and set upon his enemies ere they wist it, or had any thought of his coming: and found them straggling up and down, without watch or guard, by reason of the victory they had lately won. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set fire upon his enemies' camp, and burnt it every whit: and in this fear and hurly burly, slew a great number of them. Shortly after this stealing upon them, the tyrant Nabis also stole

Philo-  
pœmen  
overcome  
by sea

Philo-  
pœmen  
overcame  
Nabis in  
battell

upon him again unwares, as he was to go through a marvellous ill and dangerous way. Which made the Achaians amazed at the first, thinking it impossible for them that they could ever escape that danger, considering their enemies kept all the ways thereabouts. But Philopœmen bethinking himself, and considering the nature and situation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainly then, that the chiefest point of a good soldier, and man of war, was to know how to put an army in battell, according to the time and situation of the place. For he did but alter the form of his battell a little, and sorted it according to the situation of the place, wherein he was compassed: and by doing this without trouble or business, he took away all fear of danger, and gave a charge upon his enemies in such fierce wise, that in a short time he put them all to flight. And when he perceived that they did not fly all in troops together towards the city, but scattering wise, abroad in the fields in every place: he caused the trumpet to sound the retreat. Then he commanded the chase to be followed no farther, for that all the country thereabout was full of thick woods and groves, very ill for horsemen: and also because there were many brooks, valleys, and quawmires, which they should pass over, he encamped himself presently, being yet broad day. And so, fearing lest his enemies would in the night time draw unto the city, one after another, and by couples: he sent a great number of Achaians, and laid them in ambush amongst the brooks and hills near about it, which made great slaughter of Nabis' soldiers, because they came not altogether in troops, but scatteringly

one after another as they fled, one here, another there, and so fell into their enemies' hands, as birds into the fowler's net. These acts made Philopœmen singularly beloved of the Grecians, and they did him great honour in all their theatres and common assemblies. Whereat Titus Quintius Flaminius, of nature very ambitious, and covetous of honour: did much repine, and was envious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of Rome should have place and honour amongst the Achaïans, before a mean gentleman of Arcadia. And he imagined he had deserved better of all Greece, than Philopœmen had: considering, how by the only proclamation of an herald, he had restored Greece again to her ancient liberty, which before his coming was subject unto King Philip, and unto the Macedonians. Afterwards, Titus Quintius made peace with the tyrant Nabis. Nabis was shortly after very traitorously slain by the Ætoliens. Whereupon the city of Sparta grew to a tumult, and Philopœmen straight taking the occasion, went thither with his army, and handled the matter so wisely: that partly for love, and partly by force, he wan the city, and joined it unto the tribe of the Achaïans. So was he marvellously commended and esteemed of the Achaïans for this notable victory, to have won their tribe and communalty so famous a city, and of so great estimation. For the city of Sparta was no small increase of their power, being joined as a member of Achaïa. Moreover he wan by this means, the love and good will of all the honest men of Lacedæmon, for the hope they had to find him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyrant Nabis' house and goods were sold,

**He wan  
Sparta to  
the tribe  
of Achaïa**

**Philopœmen**  
**free from**  
**covetous-**  
**ness**

as forfeited to the state: they resolved in their council to make him a present of the money thereof, which amounted to the sum of six score talents, and sent ambassadors purposely unto him, to offer it him. Then Philopœmen shewed himself plainly to be no counterfeit honest man, but a good man indeed. For first of all, there was not one of all the Lacedæmonians that durst presume to offer him this money, but every man was afraid to tell him of it: and every body that was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for themselves. Notwithstanding, in the end they made one Timolaus to take the matter upon him, who was his familiar friend, and also his host. And yet the same Timolaus when he came unto Megalopolis, and was lodged and entertained in Philopœmen's house, did so much reverence him for his wise talk and conversation, for his moderate diet, and just dealing with all men: that he saw there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speak to him of the present he had brought him, but found some other occasion to excuse the cause of his coming unto him. And being sent unto him again the second time, he did even as much as at the first time. And making a third proof, he ventured at the last to open the matter unto him, and told him the good will the city of Sparta did bear him. Philopœmen became a glad man to hear it: and when he had heard all he had to say to him, he went himself unto the city of Sparta. There he declared unto the council, that it was not honest men, and their good friends, they should seek to win and corrupt with money, considering they might com-

mand their vertue upon any occasion, without cost unto them: but that they should seek to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by seditious orations in council did mutiny, and put a whole city in uproar: to the end that having their mouths stopped with gifts, they should trouble them the less in the common wealth. For, said he, it is more necessary to stop your enemies' mouths, and to sew up their lips from liberty of speaking: than it is to keep your friends from it. So noble a man was Philopœmen against all covetousness of money. Shortly after, the Lacedæmonians beginning to stir again, Diophanes (who was then general of the Achaians) being advertised of it, began to prepare to punish them. The Lacedæmonians on the other side preparing for the wars, did set all the country of Peloponnesus in arms. Hereupon Philopœmen sought to pacify Diophanes' anger, declaring unto him, that King Antiochus, and the Romans, being at wars together at that present time, and they both having puissant armies one against another in the midst of Greece: it was meet for a good general and wise governor, to have an eye to their doings, to be careful of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter anything within his country at that instant, but then rather to dissemble it, and not to seem to hear any fault whatsoever they did. Diophanes would not be persuaded, but entered the territories of Lacedæmon with a great army, and Titus Quintius Flaminius with him: and they together marched directly towards the city of Sparta. Philopœmen was so mad with their doings, that he took upon him an enterprise not very lawful, nor altogether just: nevertheless, his attempt

Philo-  
pœmen's  
noble act

Philopœmen's  
cruelty  
to the  
Spartans

proceeded of a noble mind, and great courage. For he got into the city of Sparta, and being but a private person, kept out the general of the Achaians, and the Consul of the Romans for entering the city: and when he had pacified all troubles and seditions in the same, he delivered it up again as it was before, into the hands of the communalty of the Achaians. Nevertheless, himself being afterwards general of the Achaians, did compel the Lacedæmonians to receive those home again whom they had banished for certain faults, and did put fourscore natural born citizens of Sparta unto death, as Polybius writeth; or three hundred and fifty, as Aristocrates another historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled down the walls of the city, and razed them to the ground, and took away the most part of their territories, and gave them to the Megalopolitans. All those whom the tyrants had made free citizens of Sparta, he compelled them to depart the country of Lacedæmon, and forced them to dwell in Achaia, three thousand only excepted, who would not obey his commandment: all those he sold for slaves, and with the money he made of them (to spite them the more) he built a goodly fair walk within the city of Megalopolis. Yet futhermore, to do the Lacedæmonians all the mischief he could, and as it were, to tread them under the feet in their most grievous misery: he did a most cruel and unjust act toward them. For he compelled them to leave the discipline and manner of education of their children, which Lycurgus had of old time instituted: and made them to follow the manner the Achaians used, in lieu of their old grounded coun-

try custom, because he saw they would never be humble minded, so long as they kept Lycurgus' order and institution. Thus were they driven to put their heads in the collar, by the miserable mishap that befel them: and in all despite, to suffer Philopœmen in this manner to cut asunder (as it were) the sinews of their common wealth. But afterwards they made suit to the Romans, that they might be suffered to enjoy their ancient discipline again, which being granted them, they straight left the manner of the Achaians, and did set up again as much as was possible (after so great misery and corruption of their manners) their old ancient customs and orders of their country. Now about the time the wars began in Greece, between the Romans and King Antiochus, Philopœmen was then a private man, and without any authority. He seeing that King Antiochus lay still in the city of Chalcis, and did nothing but feast and love, and had married a young maid far unmeet for his years: and perceiving that his Syrian soldiers wandred up and down the towns in great disorder, playing many lewd parts without guide of captains, he was very sorry he was not at that time general of the Achaians, and told the Romans, that he envied their victory, having wars with enemies that were so easily to be overcome. For (said he) if fortune favoured me that I were general of the Achaians at this present, I would have killed them every man in the cellars and tippling houses. Now when the Romans had overcome Antiochus, they began to have surer footing in Greece: and to compass in the Achaians on all sides, and specially, by reason the heads and governors of the cities about them

He made  
them  
forsake  
Lycur-  
gus' law

**Philo-  
pœmen's  
counsel  
against  
the  
Romans**

did yield to the Romans, to win their favour. And now their greatness grew in haste, by the favour of the gods, so as they were become the monarch of the whole world, who brought them now to the end that fortune had determined. Philopœmen in the meantime did like a good pilot, resisting against the billows and roughness of their waves: and though for the time he was forced to give place, and to let things pass, yet for all that he was against the Romans, and did withstand them in the most part of their proceedings, by seeking ever to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquence and well-doing carried great authority among the Achaians. And when Aristænetus Megalopolitan, (a man of great authority among the Achaians, and one that ever bore great devotion to the Romans) said in open Senate among the Achaians, that they should deny the Romans nothing, nor shew themselves unthankful to them: Philopœmen hearing what he said, held his peace awhile, and suffered him to speak (though it boiled in his heart, he was so angry with him) and in the end, breaking all patience, and as one overcome with choler, he said: O Aristænetus, why have you such haste to see the unfortunate end of Greece? Another time, when Manius Consul of Rome (after he had conquered King Antiochus) did make request to the council of the Achaians, that such as were banished from Lacedæmon, might return home into their country again, and that Titus Quintius Flaminius also did earnestly entreat them: Philopœmen was against it, not for any hatred he bore unto the banished men, but because he would have done it by his own mean,

and the only grace of the Achaians, to the end they should not be beholding for so good a turn, neither unto Titus, nor yet to the Romans. Afterwards he himself, being general of the Achaians, did restore them wholly to their own again. Thus was Philopœmen sometime a little too bold and quarrellous, by reason of his great stomack: and specially when any man sought for to have things by authority. Lastly, being threescore and ten years of age, he was the eight time chosen general of the Achaians, and hoped well, not only to pass the year of his charge in peace and quietness, but also all the rest of his life without any stir of new wars, he saw the affairs of Greece take so good success. For like as the force and strength of sickness declineth, as the natural strength of the sickly body impaireth: so through all the cities and people of Greece envy and quarrel of wars surceased, as their power diminished. Nevertheless, in the end of his year's government, the gods divine (who justly punish all insolent words and deeds) threw him to the ground, as they suffer a rider unfortunately to take a fall off his horse, being come almost to the end of his career. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongst good company, where one was marvellously praised for a good captain, said unto them: Why, maisters, can ye commend him that was contented to be taken prisoner alive of his enemies? Shortly after came news that Dinocrates Messenian (a private enemy of Philopœmen's for certain controversies passed between them, and a man generally hated besides of all honourable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawn the city of Messené from the devo-

Chosen  
general  
the eight  
time

Philopœmen's  
journey  
against  
Dino-  
crates

tion of the Achaians: and moreover, that he came with an army to take a town called Colonis. Philopœmen was at that time in the city of Argos, sick of an ague, and yet hearing these news, took his journey towards Megalopolis, making all the haste he could possible, for that he came above four hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence toward Messené, and tarried not, but took with him a company of men-at-arms of the lustiest and wealthiest Megalopolitans: who were all young noblemen of the city, and willingly offered themselves to go with him for the good will they bore him, and for the desire they had to follow his valiantness. Thus went they on their way towards the city of Messené, and marched so long, that they came near to the hill of Evander, where they met with Dinocrates and his company, and gave so fierce an onset on them, that they made them all turn tail: howbeit in the meanwhile, there came a relief of 500 men to Dinocrates, which he had left to keep the country of Messené. The flying men that were scattered here and there, seeing this supply, gathered themselves again together, and shewed upon the hills. Philopœmen fearing to be environed, and being desirous to bring his men safe home again, who most of love had followed him: began to march away through narrow bushy places, himself being in the rearward, and turned oftentimes upon his enemies, and skirmished with them, only to drive them away from following of the rest of his company, and not a man that durst once set upon him: for they did but cry out aloof, and wheel as it were about him. Howbeit Philopœmen sundry times venturing far from his

company, to give these young noblemen leisure to save themselves one after another: took no heed to himself that he was alone, environed on every side with a great number of enemies. Notwithstanding, of all his enemies there was not a man that durst come to hand strokes with him, but still flinging and shooting at him afar off, they drave him in the end amongst stony places between hewn rocks, where he had much ado to guide his horse, although he had spurred him that he was all of a gore blood. And as for his age, that did not let him but he might have saved himself, for he was strong and lusty by the continual exercise he took: but by cursed hap his body being weak with sickness, and weary with the long journey he had made that day, he found himself very heavy and ill disposed, that his horse stumbling with him, threw him to the ground. His fall was very great, and bruised all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and never stirred nor spoke: so that his enemies thinking he had been dead, came to turn his body to strip him. But when they saw him lift up his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once upon him, and took him, and bound both his hands behind him, and did all the villainy and mischief they could unto him, and such, as one would little have thought Dinocrates would have used in that sort, or that he could have had such an ill thought towards him. So, they that tarried behind in the city of Messené, were marvellous glad when they heard these news, and ran all to the gates of the city to see him brought in. When they saw him thus shamefully bound, and pinioned, against the dignity of so many

Philo-  
pœmen  
taken

**The company miss him** honours as he had received, and of so many triumphs and victories as he had passed: the most part of them wept for pity, to consider the mishap and ill fortune of man's nature, where there is so little certainty, as in manner it is nothing. Then began there some courteous speech to run in the mouths of the people by little and little, that they should remember the great good he had done unto them in times past, and the liberty he had restored them unto, when he expelled the tyrant Nabis out of Messen<sup>e</sup>. But there were other again (howbeit very few) that to please Dinocrates, said they should hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a dangerous enemy, and that would never forgive man that had once offended him: and the rather, because he would be more terrible to Dinocrates, than ever he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiving such open shame by him. Nevertheless, in the end they carried him into a certain dungeon under the ground, called the treasury, (which had neither light nor air at all into it, nor door, nor half door, but a great stone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and so they did let him down the same, and stopped the hole again with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keep him. Now when these young noble Achaian horsemen had fled upon the spur a great way from the enemy, they remembered themselves, and looked round about for Philopœmen: and finding him not in sight, they supposed straight he had been slain. Thereupon they stayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiving he answered not, they began to say among themselves, they were beasts and cowards to fly in that sort: and how they

were dishonoured for ever so to have forsaken their captain, to save themselves, who had not spared his own life, to deliver them from danger. Hereupon riding on their way, and inquiring still for him: they were in the end advertised how he was taken. And then they went and carried those news through all the towns and cities of Achaia, which were very sorry for him, and took it as a sign of great ill fortune toward them. Whereupon they agreed to send ambassadors forthwith to the Messenians, to demand him: and in the meantime every man should prepare to arm themselves to go thither, and get him either by force or love. When the Achaians had thus sent, Dinocrates feared nothing so much, as that delay of time might save Philopœmen's life: wherefore to prevent it, as soon as night came, and that the people were at rest, he straight caused the stone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let down to Philopœmen with a cup of poison to offer him, who was commanded also not to go from him, until he had drunk it. When the hangman was come down, he found Philopœmen laid on the ground upon a little cloke, having no list to sleep, he was so grievously troubled in his mind. Who when he saw light, and the man standing by him, holding a cup in his hand with this poison, he sat upright upon his couch, howbeit with great pain he was so weak: and taking the cup in his hand, asked the hangman if he heard any news of the horsemen that came with him, and specially of Lycortas. The hangman made him answer, that the most of them were saved. Then he cast his hands a little over his head, and looking merrily on him he said: It is

**Philo-  
pœmen  
poisoned  
by Dino-  
crates**

Philopœmen's funeral

well, seeing we are not all unfortunate. Therewith speaking no mo words, nor making other ado, he drunk up all the poison, and laid him down as before. So nature strove not much withal, his body being brought so low, and thereupon the poison wrought his effect, and rid him straight out of his pain. The news of his death ran presently through all Achaia, which generally from high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the Achaian youth and counsellors of their cities and towns, assembled themselves in the city of Megalopolis, where they all agreed without delay to revenge his death. They made Lycortas their general, under whose conduct they invaded the Messenians, with force and violence, putting all to the fire and sword: so as the Messenians were so feared with this merciless fury, that they yielded themselves, and wholly consented to receive the Achaians into their city. But Dinocrates would not give them leisure to execute him by justice, for he killed himself: and so did all the rest make themselves away, who gave advice that Philopœmen should be put to death. But those that would have had Philopœmen hanged on a gibbet, Lycortas caused them to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kind of torments. That done, they burnt Philopœmen's body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from Messené, not in disorder, one upon another's neck as every man listed: but in such an order and ray, that in the midst of the funerals they did make a triumph of victory. For the soldiers were all crowned with garlands of laurel in token of victory, notwithstanding, the tears ran down

their cheeks in token of sorrow, and they led their enemies prisoners, shackled and chained. The funeral pot in the which were Philopœmen's ashes, was so covered with garlands of flowers, nosegays, and laces, that it could scant be seen or discerned, and was carried by one Polybius a young man, the son of Lycortas, that was general at that time to the Achaians: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefest of the Achaians, and after them also followed all the soldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not so sorrowful in their countenance, as they are commonly which have great cause of sorrow: nor yet so joyful, as those that came conquerors from so great a victory. Those of the cities, towns, and villages in their way as they passed, came and presented themselves unto them, to touch the funeral pot of his ashes, even as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much of him when he was returned from the wars: and did accompany his convoy unto the city of Megalopolis. At the gates whereof, were old men, women, and children, which thrusting themselves amongst the soldiers, did renew the tears, sorrows, and lamentations of all the miserable and unfortunate city: who took it that they had lost with their citizen, the first and chiefest place of honour among the Achaians. So he was buried very honourably as appertained unto him: and the other prisoners of Messené, were all stoned to death, about his sepulchre. All the other cities of Achaia, besides many other honours they did unto him, did set up statues, and as like to him, as could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the unfortunate time of

**The fate  
of his  
enemies**

**Note the  
humanity  
of the  
Romans**

Greece, when the city of Corinth was burnt and destroyed by the Romans, there was a malicious Roman that did what he could to have the same pulled down again, by burdening and accusing Philopœmen (as if he had been alive) that he was always enemy to the Romans, and envied much their prosperity and victories. But after Polybius had answered him: neither the Consul Mummius, nor his counsellors, nor lieutenants, would suffer them to deface and take away the honours done in memory of so famous and worthy a man, although he had many ways done much hurt unto T. Quintius Flamininus, and unto Manius. So, these good men then made a difference between duty and profit: and did think honesty and profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason and justice. Moreover they were persuaded, that like as men receive courtesy and goodness of any, so are they bound to requite them again, with kindness and duty. And as men use to acknowledge the same: even so ought men to honour and reverence vertue.

And thus much  
for the life of  
Philopœmen.

THE END OF PHILOPÆMEN'S LIFE.

## THE LIFE OF TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMININUS

IT is easy to see Titus Quintius Flamininus' form, and stature, by Philopœmen's statue of brass, to whom we compare him: the which is now set up at Rome, near to great Apollo that was brought from Carthage, and is placed right against the coming into the shew place, under which there is an inscription in Greek letters. But for his nature and conditions, they say of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men again. For, if he did punish any man that had angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good also to many, and ever loved them whom he had once pleased, as if they had done him some pleasure: and was ready to do for them still whom he found thankful, because he would ever make them beholding to him, and thought that as honourable a thing, as he could purchase to himself. Because he greatly sought honour above all things, when any notable service was to be done, he would do it himself, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would ever be rather with them that needed his help, than with those that could help him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a mean to exercise his vertue with: the other, he took them as his fellows and followers of honour

**His  
stature,  
nature,  
and con-  
ditions**

**Degrees of offices before one came to be Consul** with him. He came to man's state, when the city of Rome had greatest wars and trouble. At that time all the youth of Rome, which were of age to carry weapon, were sent to the war to learn to trail the pike, and how to become good captains. Thus was he entered into martial affairs, and the first charge he took, was in the war against Hannibal of Carthage, where he was made colonel of a thousand footmen, under Marcellus the Consul: who being slain by an ambush Hannibal had laid for him between the cities of Bantia and Venusia, then they did choose Titus Quintius Flamininus governor of the province and city of Tarentum, which was now taken again the second time. In this government of his, he won the reputation as much of a good and just man, as he did of an expert and skilful captain. By reason whereof, when the Romans were requested to send men to inhabit the cities of Narnia and Cossa, he was appointed the chief leader of them, which chiefly gave him heart and courage to aspire at the first to the Consulship, passing over all other mean offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other young men were wont to attain the Consulship. Therefore when the time came that the Consuls should be elected, he did present himself among other, accompanied with a great number of those he had brought with him, to inhabit the two new towns, who did make earnest suit for him. But the two Tribunes Fulvius, and Manlius, spoke against him, and said: it was out of all reason, that so young a man should in such manner press to have the office of the highest dignity, against the use and custom of Rome, before he had passed through the

inferior offices of the common wealth. Nevertheless, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voices of the people: who presently pronounced him Consul openly, with Sextius Ælius, although he was not yet thirty years old. Afterwards, Ælius and he dividing the offices of the state by lot: it fell upon T. Quintius to make war with Philip king of Macedon. In the which methinks fortune greatly favoured the Romans' affairs, that made such a man general of these wars: for, to have pointed a general that by force and violence would have sought all things at the Macedonians' hands, that were a people to be won rather by gentleness and persuasions, than by force and compulsion: it was all against themselves. Philip, to maintain the brunt of a battle against the Romans, had power enough of his own in his realm of Macedon: but to make war any long time, to furnish himself with money and victuals, to have a place and cities to retire unto, and lastly, to have all other necessaries for his men and army: it stood him upon to get the force of Greece. And had not the force of Greece been politickly cut from him, the wars against him had not been ended with one battle. Moreover, Greece (which never before bare the Romans any great good will) would not have dealt then so inwardly in friendship with them, had not their general been (as he was) a gentle person, lowly, and tractable, that won them more by his wisdom, than by his force, and could both eloquently utter his mind to them, and courteously also hear them speak that had to do with him, and chiefly ministred justice and equity to every man alike. For it is not to be thought that Greece would otherwise so soon have

His  
courtesy  
wan the  
Grecians  
more  
than his  
force

**Flami-  
ninus  
landed in  
Epirus**

withdrawn themselves from the rule of those, with whom they were acquainted, and governed: and have put themselves under the rule of strangers, but that they saw great justice and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appear by declaring of his acts. Titus was informed, that the generals before him sent to the war in Macedon (as Sulpicius, and Publius Julius) used to come thither about the latter end of the year, and made but cold wars, and certain light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in another against Philip, and all to take some strait, or to cut off victuals: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarrying at home, consumed the most of their Consulship at Rome, in matters of government, and so enjoyed the honour of their office. Afterwards in the end of their year, they would set out to the wars, of intent to get another year over their heads in their office, that spending one year in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the wars abroad. But Titus not minding to trifle out the half of his Consulship at Rome, and the other abroad in the wars: did willingly leave all his honours and dignities he might have enjoyed by his office at Rome, and besought the Senate that they would appoint his brother Lucius Quintius lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he took with himself about three thousand old soldiers of those that had first overthrown Hasdrubal in Spain, and Hannibal afterwards in Africk, under the conduct of Scipio, which yet were able to serve, and were very willing to go with him in his journey, to be the strength of his army. With this company he passed the seas

without danger, and landed in Epirus, where he found Publius Julius encamped with his army before King Philip, who of long time had lien in camp about the mouth of the river of Apsus, to keep the strait and passage which is the entry into Epirus. So that Publius Julius had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the natural force and hardness of the place. Then Titus took the army of him, and sent him to Rome. Afterwards, himself went in person to view and consider the nature of the country, which was in this sort. It is a long valley walled on either side with great high mountains, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe in Thessaly. Howbeit it had no such goodly woods, nor green forests, nor fair meadows, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had: but it was a great deep marsh or quawmire, through the middest whereof the river called Apsus did run, being in greatness and swiftness of stream, very like to the river of Peneus. The river did occupy all the ground at the feet of the mountains, saving a little way that was cut out of the main rock by man's hand, and a narrow strait path by the water's side, very unhandsome for an army to pass that way, though they found not a man to keep the passage. There were some in the army that counselled Titus to fetch a great compass about by the country of Dassaretis, and by the city of Lycus, where the country is very plain, and the way marvellous easy. Howbeit he stood in great fear he should lack victuals, if he stayed far from the sea, and happily if he fell into any barren or lean country (Philip refusing the battel, and purposing to fly) he should be constrained in the end

The description  
of the  
country  
of Epirus

**A** to return again towards the sea, without doing any  
**compass** thing, as his predecessor had done before. Where-  
**fetches** fore he determined to cross the mountains to set  
upon his enemy, and to prove if he could win the  
passage by force. Now Philip kept the top of the  
mountains with his army, and when the Romans  
forced to get up the hills, they were received with  
darts, slings, and shot, that lighted amongst them  
here and there: insomuch as the skirmish was very  
hot for the time it lasted, and many were slain and  
hurt on either side. But this was not the end of  
the war. For in the meantime there came certain  
neatherds of the country unto Titus (who did use  
to keep beasts on these mountains) and told him  
they could bring him a way which they knew the  
enemies kept not. by the which they promised to  
guide his army so, that in three days at the furthest,  
they would bring them on the top of the mountain.  
And because they might be assured that their words  
were true, they said they were sent to him by  
Charops, the son of Machatas. This Charops  
was the chiefest man of the Epirots, who loved the  
Romans very well, yet he favoured them but under-  
hand, for fear of Philip. Titus gave credit unto  
them, and so sent one of his captains with them,  
with four thousand footmen, and three hundred  
horsemen. The herd men that were their guides,  
went before still, fast bound: and the Romans fol-  
lowed after. All the daytime the army rested in  
thick woods, and marched all night by moonlight,  
which was then by good hap at the full. Titus  
having sent these men away, rested all the rest of  
his camp: saving that some days he entertained  
them with some light skirmishes to occupy the

enemy withal. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compass about, should come unto the top of the mountain above the camp of his enemies, be brought all his army out of the camp by break of day, and divided them into three troops, with the one of them he himself went on that side of the river where the way is straitest, making his bands to march directly against the side of the hill. The Macedonians again, they shot lustily at them from the height of the hill, and in certain places amongst the rocks they came to the sword. At the self same time, the two other troops on either hand of him did their endeavour likewise to get up the hill, and as it were envying one another, they climbed up with great courage against the sharp and steep hanging of the mountain. When the sun was up, they might see afar off as it were, a certain smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mists we see commonly rise from the tops of the mountains. The enemies could see nothing, because it was behind them, and that the top of the mountain was possessed with the same. The Romans, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the midst of the fight, that it was their fellows they looked for. But when they saw it increased still more and more, and in such sort, that it darkened all the air : then they did assure themselves it was certainly the token their men did give them that they were come. Then they began to cry out, climbing up the hills with such a lusty courage, that they drove their enemies up the hill still, even unto the very rough and hardest places of the mountain. Their fellows also that were behind the enemies,

**Flami-  
ninus  
possessed  
the  
straits  
of the  
moun-  
tains**

The  
Mace-  
donians  
fly

did answer them with like loud cries from the top of the mountain: wherewith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled presently upon it. Notwithstanding, there was not slain above two thousand of them, because the hardness and straitness of the place did so guard them, that they could not be chased. But the Romans spoiled their camp, took all that they found in their tents, took also their slaves, and wan the passage into the mountains, by the which they entered the country of Epirus: and did pass through it so quietly, and with so great abstinence, that though they were far from their ships and the sea, and lacked their ordinary portion of corn which they were wont to have monthly, and that victuals were very scant with them at that time, yet they never took anything of the country, though they found great store and plenty of all riches in it. For Titus was advertised, that Philip passing by Thessaly, and flying for fear, had caused the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the mountains, and then to set fire on their houses, and to leave those goods they could not carry away, by reason of the weight and unhandsome carriage thereof, to the spoil of his soldiers: and so (as it seemed) he left the whole country to the conquest of the Romans. Whereupon Titus looking considerably to his doings, gave his men great charge to pass through the country without doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their enemies had now left to them as their own. So they tarried not long to enjoy the benefit of their orderly and wise forbearing of the country. For, so soon as they were entered Thessaly, the cities willingly yielded themselves unto them: and the Grecians

inhabiting beyond the country of Thermopylæ, did marvellously desire to see Titus, asking no other thing, but to put themselves into his hands. The Achaïans also on the other side, did renounce the league and alliance they had made with Philip: and furthermore did determine in their council, to make war with him on the Romans' side. And although the Ætolians were at that time friends and confederates with the Romans, and that they did shew themselves very loving to take their part in these wars: nevertheless when they desired the Opuntians that they would put their city into their hands, and were offered that it should be kept and defended from Philip: they would not hearken thereto, but sent for Titus, and put themselves and their goods wholly into his protection. They say, that when King Pyrrhus first saw the Romans' army range in order of battell from the top of a hill, he said: This order of the barbarous people, setting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous manner. And those also that never had seen Titus before, and came for to speak with him: were compelled in a manner to say as much. For where they had heard the Macedonians say, that there came a captain of the barbarous people that destroyed all before him by force of arms, and subdued whole countries by violence: they said to the contrary, that they found him a man indeed young of years, howbeit gentle, and courteous to look on, and that spoke the Greek tongue excellently well, and was a lover only of true glory. By reason whereof they returned home marvellous glad, and filled all the cities and towns of Greece with goodwill towards him, and said: they had

**Titus' modesty for-bearing spoils wan him many friends**

**Thebes entered** seen Titus the captain, that would restore them to their ancient liberty again. Then it much more appeared, when Philip shewed himself willing to have peace, and that Titus also did offer it him, and the friendship of the people of Rome, with these conditions : that he would leave the Grecians their whole liberties, and remove his garrisons out of their cities and strongholds : which Philip refused to do. And thereupon all Greece, and even those which favoured Philip, said with one voice : that the Romans were not come to make wars with them, but rather with the Macedonians in favour of the Grecians. Whereupon all Greece came in, and offered themselves unto Titus without compulsion. And as he passed through the country of Bœotia, without any shew at all of wars, the chieftest men of the city of Thebes went to meet him : who though they took part with the king of Macedon, because of a private man called Brachylles, yet they would honour Titus, as those which were contented to keep league and friendship with either side. Titus embraced them, and spoke very courteously unto them, going on his way still fair and softly, entertaining them sometime with one matter, and sometime with another, and kept them talk of purpose, to the end his soldiers being wearied with journeying, might in the meantime take good breath : and so marching on by little and little, he entered into the city with them. Wherewith the lords of Thebes were not greatly pleased, but yet they durst not refuse him, though he had not at that time any number of soldiers about him. When he was within Thebes, he prayed audience, and began to persuade the

people (as carefully as if he had not had the city already) that they would rather take part with the Romans, than with the king of Macedon. And to further Titus' purpose, King Attalus being by chance at that time in the assembly, did help to exhort the Thebans very earnestly, that they would do as Titus persuaded them. But Attalus was more earnest than became a man of his years, for the desire he had (as was imagined) to shew Titus his eloquence: who did so strain and move himself withal, that he sounded sodainly in the midst of his oration, whereby the rheum fell down so fast upon him, that it took away his senses, so as he fell in a trance before them all, and few days after was conveyed again by sea into Asia, where he lived not long after. In the meantime, the Bœotians came into the Romans, and took their part. And Philip having sent ambassadors to Rome, Titus also sent thither of his men to solicit for him, in two respects. The one, if the wars continued against Philip, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did grant him peace: that they would do him the honour, as to make and conclude it with Philip. For Titus of his own nature being very ambitious, did fear lest they would send a successor to continue those wars who should take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his friends made such earnest suit for him, that neither King Philip attained that he prayed: neither was there sent any other general in Titus' place, but he still continued his charge in these wars. Wherefore, so soon as he received his commission and authority from the Senate, he went straight towards Thessaly, with

The  
Bœotians  
yield  
unto the  
Romans

King  
Philip  
and  
Flami-  
ninus

great hope to overcome Philip. For he had in his army about six and twenty thousand fighting men, whereof the *Ætoli*ans made six thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen. King Philip's army on the other side was no less in number, and they began to march one towards the other, until at the length they both drew near the city of *Scotussa*, where they determined to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were afraid to see themselves one so near another: but rather to the contrary, the Romans on the one side took greater heart and courage unto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with themselves what great honour they should win to overcome the *Macedonians*, who were so highly esteemed for their valiantness, by reason of the famous acts that *Alexander the Great* did by them. And the *Macedonians* on the other side also, taking the Romans for other manner of soldiers than the *Persians*, began to have good hope if they might win the field, to make King Philip more famous in the world, than ever was *Alexander* his father. Titus then calling his men together, spake and exhorted them to stand to it like men, and to shew themselves valiant soldiers in this battell, as those which were to shew the proof of their valiantness in the heart of *Greece*, the goodliest theatre of the world, and against their enemies of most noble fame. Philip then by chance, or forced to it by the speed he made, because they were both ready to join: did get up unwares upon a charnel-house, (where they had buried many bodies, being a little hill raised up above the rest, and near the trenches of his camp) and there began to encourage his soldiers, as all

generals do before they give battell. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they took it for an ill sign that he was gotten up on the top of a grave to speak unto them: he of a conceit at the matter, did of himself defer to give battell that day. The next morning, because the night was very wet by reason the south winds had blown, the clouds were turned to a mist, and filled all the valley with a dark gross thick air coming from the mountains thereabouts, which covered the field between both camps with a mist all the morning: by reason whereof the scouts on both sides that were sent to discover what the enemies did, in very short time, met together, and one gave charge upon another in a place they call the Dogs' Heads, which are points of rocks placed upon little hills one before another, and very near one unto another, which have been called so, because they have had some likeness of it. In this skirmish there were many changes, as commonly falleth out when they fight in such ill-favoured stony places. For sometimes the Romans fled, and the Macedonians chased them: another time the Macedonians that followed the chase, were glad to fly themselves, and the Romans who fled before, now had them in chase. This change and alteration came by sending new supplies still from both camps, to relieve them that were distressed and driven to fly. Now began the mist to break up, and the air to clear, so that both generals might see about them what was done in either camp: by reason whereof both of them drew on their army to the field and battell. So Philip had the vantage on the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, from

meet  
with  
their  
armies  
near  
Scotussa

**Battell** which they came so amain to set upon the  
**between** Romans, and with such a fury, that the strongest  
**Flami-** and valiantest that could be, had never been able to  
**ninus** and abide the front of their battell, so closely were they  
**and** joined together, and their wall of pikes was so  
**Philip** strong. But on his left wing it was not so,  
 because the ranks of his battell could not join so  
 near nor close target to target, the place being  
 betwixt the hills and the rocks where the battell  
 was coming, so as they were compelled by reason  
 of the straitness and unevenness of the ground, to  
 leave it open, and unfurnished in many places.  
 Titus finding that disadvantage, went from the left  
 wing of his battell which he saw overlaid by the  
 right wing of his enemies, and going sodainly  
 toward the left wing of King Philip's battell, he  
 set upon the Macedonians on that side, where he  
 saw they could not close their ranks in the front,  
 nor join them together in the middest of the battell  
 (which is the whole strength and order of the  
 Macedonian fight) because the field was up hill and  
 down hill: and to fight hand to hand they were so  
 pestered behind, that one thronged and overlaid  
 another. For the battell of the Macedonians hath  
 this property, that so long as the order is kept close  
 and joined together, it seemeth as it were but the  
 body of a beast of a force invincible. But also  
 after that it is once open, and that they are  
 sundered and not joined together, it doth not only  
 lose the force and power of the whole body, but  
 also of every private soldier that fighteth: partly  
 by reason of the diversity of the weapons where-  
 with they fight, and partly for that their whole  
 strength consisteth most, in the disposing and join-

ing together of their ranks and orders which doth stay up one another, more than doth every private soldier's strength. So when this left wing of the Macedonians was broken, and that they ran their way : one part of the Romans followed the chase, and the other ran to give a charge upon the flanks of the right wing which fought yet, and they made great slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, began to stagger and break, and in the end ran away as fast as the other did, throwing down their weapons : inso-much as there were slain of them eight thousand in the field, and five thousand taken prisoners in the chase. And had not the fault been in the Ætoli-ans, Philip had not saved himself by flying as he did. For whilst the Romans had their enemies in chase, the Ætoli-ans tarried, and rifled all King Philip's camp, so as they had left the Romans nothing to spoil at their return. Whereupon there grew great quarrel and hot words between them, and one with another. But afterwards they angered Titus worse, challenging the honour of this victory to themselves, because they gave it out through Greece, that they alone had overthrown King Philip in the battell. So that in the songs and ballads the poets made in praise of this victory, which every country and townsman had in his mouth : they always put the Ætoli-ans before the Romans, as in this that fol- loweth, which was currently sung in every place :

**Mutiny  
betwixt  
the  
Ætoli-ans  
and the  
Romans**

Oh friend, which passest by : here lie we, wretched  
feres,  
Withouten honour of the grave, without lamenting  
tears.

Privy  
grudges  
between  
Flami-  
ninus

We thirty thousand were, which ended have our days  
In cruel coasts of Thessaly, which caused our decays.  
We have been overthrown by th' Ætolians' men of  
war:

And by the Latin crews likewise, whom Titus led  
from far.

Even out of Italy, to Macedony land,  
Us to destroy, he (captain like) did come with mighty  
band.

And Philip stout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce  
face,

Is fled more swift than harts do run which are pur-  
sued in chase.

The poet was Alcæus that made these verses for  
to sing, who did them in disgrace of King Philip,  
falsely increasing the number of his men which died  
in the battell, only to shame and spite him the  
more: howbeit he spited Titus thereby, more than  
Philip, because it was sung in every place. For  
Philip laughed at it, and to encounter him again  
with the like mock, he made a song to counterfeit  
his, as followeth.

This gibbet on this hill, which passers by may mark,  
Was set to hang Alcæus up, withouten leaves or bark.

But Titus took it grievously, who chiefly desired  
to be honoured amongst the Grecians, by reason  
whereof from that time forwards he dealt in the  
rest of his matters alone, without making account  
of the Ætolians: wherewith they were marvellous  
angry, and specially when he received an ambassador  
from Philip, and gave ear unto a treaty of peace  
which he offered. For then they were so nettled  
against him, that they gave it out through all Greece,  
that Titus had sold peace unto Philip, when he

might altogether have ended the war, and utterly have destroyed Philip's whole power and empire, who had first brought Greece into bondage. These slanderous reports and false tales which the Ætolians spread thus abroad, did much trouble the Romans' friends and confederates: but Philip self pulled this suspicion out of their heads, when he came in person to require peace, and did submit himself wholly to the discretion of Titus and the Romans. Titus then granted him peace, and delivered to him his realm of Macedon, and commanded him he should give over all that he held in Greece, and besides, that he should pay one thousand talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by sea, saving only ten ships: and for assurance of this peace, he took one of his sons for hostage, whom he sent to Rome. Wherein Titus certainly did very well, and wisely did foresee the time to come. For then Hannibal of Carthage (the great enemy of the Romans) was banished out of his country, and came to King Antiochus, whom he put in the head, and earnestly moved, to follow his good fortune, and the increase of his empire. Whom Hannibal so followed with these persuasions, that King Antiochus at length was come to it. And trusting to his former good success, and notable acts, whereby in the wars before he had attained the surname of Great: he began now to aspire to the monarchy of the whole world, and sought how to find occasion to make wars with the Romans. So that if Titus (foreseeing that afar off) had not wisely inclined to peace, but that the wars of Antiochus had fallen out together with the wars of King Philip, and that these two the mightiest princes of the world had

and the  
Ætolians

Flami-  
 ninus  
 granted  
 Philip  
 peace

joined together against the city of Rome: then it had been in as great trouble and danger, as ever it was before, in the time of their wars against Hannibal. Howbeit Titus having happily thrust in this peace between both wars, he cut off the war that was present, before the other that was coming: by which means he took from one of the kings his last, and from the other his first hope. In the meantime the ten commissioners that were sent by the Senate from Rome to Titus, to aid and assist him in the order of the affairs of Greece: did counsel him to set all the rest of Greece at liberty, and only to keep in their hands with good garrison, the cities of Chalcis, of Corinth, and of Demetrias, to make sure that by practice they should not enter into league and alliance with Antiochus. Then the Ætolians (that were the common slanderers of Titus' proceedings) began openly to make these cities to rebel, and did summon Titus to loose the chains of Greece: for so did King Philip call these three cities. Then they asked the Grecians in mockery, whether they were willing now to have heavier fetters on their legs than before, being somewhat brighter and fairer than those they had been shackled with: and also whether they were not greatly beholding to Titus for taking off the fetters from the Grecians' legs, and tying them about their necks. Titus being marvellously troubled and vexed with this, moved the ten counsellors so earnestly, that he made them grant his request in the end, that those three cities also should be delivered from garrison: because the Grecians thenceforth might no more complain, that his grace and liberality was not throughly performed, and

accomplished in every respect on them all. Wherefore, when the feast called Isthmia was come, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to see the sport of the games played there: for Greece having been long time troubled with wars, they seeing themselves now in sure peace, and in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, but delighted only to see games, and to make merry. Proclamation was then made by sound of trumpet in the assembly, that every man should keep silence. That done, the herald went forward, and thrust into the midst of the multitude, and proclaimed out aloud: that the Senate of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius, Consul of the people of Rome (now that they had overthrown King Philip and the Macedonians in battell) did thenceforth discharge from all garrisons, and set at liberty from all taxes, subsidies, and impositions for ever, to live after their old ancient laws, and in full liberty: the Corinthians, the Locrians, those of Phocis, those of the Isle of Eubœa, the Achaians, the Phthiotes, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhœbeians. At the first time of the proclamation, all the people could not hear the voice of the herald, and the most part of those that heard him, could not tell directly what he said: for there ran up and down the shew place where the games were played, a confused bruit and tumult of the people that wondered, and asked what the matter meant, so as the herald was driven again to make the proclamation. Whereupon after silence made, the herald putting out his voice far louder than before, did proclaim it in such audible wise, that the whole assembly heard him:

Freedom  
of Greece  
pro-  
claimed

**Crows flying fell down by the sound of men's voices** and then rose there such a loud shout and cry of joy through the whole people, that the sound of it was heard to the sea. Then all the people that had taken their places, and were set to see the sword-players play, rose up all on their feet, letting the games alone, and went together with great joy to salute, to embrace, and to thank Titus the recoverer, protector, and patron of all their liberties of Greece. Then was seen (which is much spoken of) the power of men's voices : for crows fell down at that present time among the people, which by chance flew over the shew place at that time that they made the same out-shout. This came to pass, by reason the air was broken and cut asunder with the vehemence and strength of the voices, so as it had not his natural power in it, to keep up the flying of the birds : which were driven of necessity to fall to the ground, as flying through a void place where they lacked air. Unless we will rather say, that it was the violence of the cry, which strook the birds passing through the air, as they had been hit with arrows, and so made them fall down dead to the earth. It may be also, that there was some hurling wind in the air, as we do see sometime in the sea, when it riseth high, and many times turneth about the waves, by violence of the storm. So it is, that if Titus had not prevented the whole multitude of people which came to see him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended : he had hardly scaped from being stifled amongst them, the people came so thick about him from every place. But after that they were weary of crying and singing about his pavilion until night, in the end they went their way : and as they went, if

they met any of their kin, friends or citizens, they did kiss and embrace one another for joy, and so supped and made merry together. In their more rejoicing yet, as we may think full well, they had no other talk at the table, but of the wars of Greece, discoursing amongst them what sundry great wars they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recover their liberty. And yet for all that, they could never so joyfully nor more assuredly obtain it, than they did even at that present, receiving the honourablest reward, and that which deserved greatest fame through the world: that by the valiantness of strangers who fought for the same (without any spilt blood of their own in comparison, or that they lost the life of any man, whose death they had cause to lament) they were so restored to their ancient freedom and liberty. It is a very rare thing amongst men, to find a man very valiant, and wise withal: but yet of all sorts of valiant men, it is harder to find a just man. For Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, Alcibiades, and all other the famous captains of former times, had very good skill to lead an army, and so win the battell, as well by sea as by land: but to turn their victories to any honourable benefit, or true honour among men, they could never skill of it. And if you do except the battell against the barbarous people, in the plain of Marathou, the battell of Salamis, the journey of Platæa, the battell of Thermopylæ, the battell Cimon fought about Cyprus and upon the river of Eurymedon: all the other wars and battells of Greece that were made, fell out against themselves, and did ever bring them into bondage: and all the tokens of triumph which ever were set up

**His** for the same, was to their shame and loss. So that  
**care to** in the end Greece was utterly destroyed and over-  
**stablish** thrown, and that chiefly through the wickedness  
and self-will of her governors and captains of the  
cities, one envying another's doing. Where a  
strange nation, the which (as it should seem) had  
very small occasion to move them to do it (for that  
they have had no great familiarity with ancient  
Greece, and through the counsel and good wisdom  
of the which, it should seem very strange that  
Greece could receive any benefit) have notwith-  
standing with dangerous battels and infinite troubles,  
delivered it from oppression and servitude of violent  
lords and tyrants. This and such like talk, did at  
that time occupy the Grecians' heads: and more-  
over, the deeds following did answer and perform  
the words of the proclamation. For at one self  
time, Titus sent Lentulus into Asia, to set the  
Bargylians at liberty, and Titillius into Thracia, to  
remove the garrisons out of the isles and cities  
which Philip had kept there: and Publius Julius  
was sent also into Asia, unto King Antiochus, to  
speak unto him to set the Grecians at liberty which  
he kept in subjection. And as for Titus, he went  
himself unto the city of Chalcis, where he took sea,  
and went into the province of Magnesia, out of the  
which he took all the garrisons of the cities, and  
redelivered the government of the common wealth  
unto the citizens of the same. Afterwards when  
time came that the feast of Nemea was celebrated  
in the city of Argos in the honour of Hercules,  
Titus was chosen judge and rector of the games  
that were played there: where, after he had set all  
things in very good order, pertaining unto the

solemnity of the feast, he caused again solemn proclamation to be made openly, for the general liberty of all Greece. Furthermore visiting the cities, he did establish very good laws, reformed justice, and did set the inhabitants and citizens of every one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with another: and did call home also all those that were outlaws and banished men, and pacified all old quarrels and dissensions among them. The which did no less please and content him, that by persuasions he could bring the Grecians to be reconciled one with the other: than if he had by force of arms overcome the Macedonians. Inso-much, as the recovery of the liberty which Titus had restored unto the Grecians, seemed unto them the least part of the goodness they had received at his hands. They say, that Lycurgus the orator seeing the collectors of taxes, carry Xenocrates the philosopher one day to prison, for lack of payment of a certain imposition, which the strangers inhabiting within the city of Athens were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreover prosecuted law so hard against them, that he made them pay a fine for the injury they had done unto so worthy a person. And they tell, how the same philosopher afterwards meeting Lycurgus' children in the city, said unto them. I do well requite your father's good turn he did me: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of every man, for the kindness he shewed on my behalf. So the good deeds of the Romans, and of Titus Quintius Flaminius unto the Grecians, did not only reap this benefit unto them, in recompense that they were praised and honoured of all the world: but they

the liberty  
of the  
Grecians

**Votive verses** were cause also of increasing their dominions and empire over all nations, and that the world afterwards had great affiance and trust in them, and that most justly. So that the people and cities did not only receive the captains and governors the Romans sent them: but they also went to Rome unto them, and procured them to come, and did put themselves into their hands. And not only the cities and communalities, but kings and princes also (which were oppressed by other more mighty than themselves) had no other refuge, but to put themselves under their protection: by reason whereof in a very short time (with the favour and help of the gods as I am persuaded) all the world came to submit themselves to their obedience, and under the protection of their empire. Titus also did glory more, that he had restored Greece again unto liberty, than in any other service or exploit he had ever done. For when he offered up unto the temple of Apollo in the city of Delphes, the targets of silver with his own shield, he made these verses to be graven upon them, in effect as followeth:

O noble twins Tyndarides, Dan Jove his children dear:  
Throw out loud shouts of joy and mirth, rejoyce and  
make good cheer.

O noble kings of Spartan soil, which take delight to ride  
Your trampling steeds, with foamy bit, and trappings  
by their side:

Rejoyce you now, for Titus, he, the valiant Roman  
knight,

These gifts so great to you hath got, even by his  
force and might.

That having taken clean away from off the Greekish  
necks

The heavy yoke of servitude, which held them thrall  
to checks,

Unto their former liberty he hath restored them free,  
Which altogether perisht was, as men might plainly  
see.

**Nero  
did set  
Greece at  
liberty**

He gave a crown of massy gold unto Apollo,  
upon the which he made this inscription to be  
written.

A valiant Roman knight, even Titus by his name,  
A captain worthy by desert, of high renown and fame :  
To thee (Apollo god) this crown of pure fine gold  
Hath given thy godhead to adorn, with jewels mani-  
fold.

Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace)  
With favour to requite this love to him and to his  
race :

That his renownèd fame and vertue may be spread,  
And blazed through the world so wide, to shew what  
life he led.

So hath the city of Corinth enjoyed this good  
hap, that the Grecians have been twice proclaimed  
to be set at liberty : the first time by Titus Quintus  
Flaminius, and the second time, by Nero in our  
time, and at the self same instant when they  
solemnly kept the feast called Isthmia. Howbeit  
the first proclamation of their liberty (as we have  
told you before) was done by the voice of an  
herald : and the second time it was done by Nero  
himself, who proclaimed it in an oration he made  
unto the people in open assembly, in the market  
place of the city of Corinth. But it was a long  
time after. Furthermore, Titus began then a goodly  
and just war against Nabis the cursed and wicked  
tyrant of Lacedæmon. Howbeit in the end he  
deceived the expectation of Greece. For when  
he might have taken him, he would not do it, but

Why he  
made  
peace  
with  
Nabis

made peace with him, forsaking poor Sparta unworthily oppressed under the yoke of bondage: either because he was afraid that if the war held on, there should come a successor unto him from Rome, that should carry the glory away to end the same, or else he stood jealous and envious of the honour they did unto Philopœmen. Who having shewed himself in every place as excellent a captain as ever came in Greece, and having done notable acts and famous service, both of great wisdom, and also of valiantness, and specially in the Achaians' war: he was as much honoured and revered of the Achaians in the theatres and common assemblies, even as Titus was. Whereat Titus was marvellously offended, for he thought it unreasonable, that an Arcadian who had never been general of an army, but in small little wars against his neighbours, should be as much esteemed and honoured, as a Consul of Rome, that was come to make wars for the recovery of the liberty of Greece. But Titus alleged reasonable excuse for his doings, saying that he saw very well he could not destroy this tyrant Nabis, without the great loss and misery of the other Spartans. Furthermore, of all the honours the Achaians ever did him (which were very great) methinks there was none that came near any recompense of his honourable and well deserving, but one only present they offered him, and which he above all the rest most esteemed: and this it was. During the second wars of Africk, which the Romans had against Hannibal, many Romans were taken prisoners in the sundry battels they lost, and being sold here and there, remained slaves in many countries: and amongst other, there were dispersed

in Greece to the number of twelve hundred, which from time to time did move men with pity and compassion towards them, that saw them in so miserable change and state of fortune. But then much more was their misery to be pitied, when these captives found in the Romans' army, some of them their sons, other their brethren, and the rest their fellows and friends, free and conquerors, and themselves slaves and bondmen. It grieved Titus much to see these poor men in such miserable captivity, notwithstanding he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the Achaians redeemed and bought them for five hundred pence a man, and having gathered them together into a troop, they presented all the Roman captives unto Titus, even as he was ready to take ship to return into Italy: which present made him return home with greater joy and contentation, having received for his noble deeds so honourable a recompense, and worthy of himself that was so loving a man to his citizens and country. And surely, that only was the ornament (in my opinion) that did most beautify his triumph. For these poor redeemed captives did that, which the slaves are wont to do on that day when they be set at liberty: to wit, they shave their heads, and do wear little hats upon them. The Romans that were thus redeemed, did in like manner: and so followed Titus' chariot, on the day of his triumph and entry made into Rome in the triumphing manner. It was a goodly sight also, to see the spoils of the enemies, which were carried in the shew of this triumph: as, store of helmets after the Grecians' fashion, heaps of targets, shields, and

The Achaians redeemed the Romans that were sold for slaves

T. Quin-  
tius'  
triumph

pikes after the Macedonian manner, with a wonderful sum of gold and silver. For Itanus the historiographer writeth, that there was brought a marvellous great mass of treasure in niggots of gold, of three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pound weight, and of silver, of forty-three thousand, two hundred, three score and ten pound weight, and of gold ready coined in pieces called Philips fourteen thousand, five hundred, and fourteen, besides the thousand talents King Philip should pay for a ransom. The which sum, the Romans afterwards forgave him, chiefly at Titus' suit and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a friend and confederate of the people of Rome, and his son Demetrius to be sent unto him again, who remained before as an hostage at Rome. Shortly after, King Antiochus went out of Asia into Greece with a great fleet of ships, and a very puissant army, to stir up the cities to forsake their league and alliance with the Romans, and make a dissension amongst them. To further this his desire and enterprise, the Ætolians did aid and back him, which of long time had borne great and secret malice against the Romans, and desired much to have had wars with them. So they taught King Antiochus to say, that the war which he took in hand, was to set the Grecians at liberty, whereof they had no need, because they did already enjoy their liberty: but for that they had no just cause to make war, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he could. Wherefore the Romans fearing greatly the rising of the people, and the rumour of the power of this great king, they sent thither Manius Acilius their general, and Titus,

one of his lieutenants for the Grecians' sakes. Which arrival did more assure them that already bare good will to the Romans, after they had once seen Manius and Titus: and the rest that began to fly out, and to shrink from them, those Titus kept in obedience from starting, remembering them of the friendship and good will they had borne him, even like a good skilful physician that could give his patient physic to preserve him from a contagious disease. Indeed there were some (but few of them) that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the Ætoliens: and though he had just cause of offence towards them, yet he saved them after the battell. For King Antiochus being overcome in the country of Thermopylæ, fled his way, and in great haste took the sea to return into Asia. And the Consul Manius following his victory, entered into the country of the Ætoliens, where he took certain towns by force, and left the other for a prey unto King Philip. So Philip King of Macedon on the one side, spoiled and sacked the Dolopians, the Magnesians, the Athamanians, and the Aperantines: and the Consul Manius on the other side, destroyed the city of Heraclea, and laid siege to the city of Naupactus, which the Ætoliens kept. But Titus taking compassion of them, to see the poor people of Greece thus spoiled and turned out of all: went out of Peloponnesus (where he was then) unto Manius Acilius' camp, and there reprov'd him for suffering King Philip to usurp the benefit and reward of his honourable victory, still conquering many people, kings, and countries, whilst he continued siege before a city, and only to wreak his anger upon

Antiochus overthrown in Thermopylæ

Flamini-  
nus en-  
treateth  
for the  
Ætolians

them. Afterwards, when they that were besieged saw Titus from their walls, they called him by his name, and held up their hands unto him, praying him he would take pity upon them: but he gave them never a word at that time, and turning his back unto them, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with Manius, and appeasing his anger, got him to grant the Ætolians truce for certain days, in which time they might send ambassadors to Rome, to see if they could obtain grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to entreat for the Chalcidians, with whom the Consul Manius was more grievously offended, than with all the rest: because that King Antiochus after the wars was begun, had married his wife in their city, when he was past years of marriage, and out of all due time. For he was now very old, and being in his extreme age, and in the midst of his wars, he fell in dotage with a young gentlewoman, the daughter of Cleoptolemus, the fairest woman that was at that time in all Greece. Therefore the Chalcidians were much affected unto King Antiochus, and did put their city into his hands, to serve him in this war, for a strong and safe retiring place. Whereupon, when Antiochus had lost the battell, he came thither with all possible speed, and taking from thence with him his passing fair young queen which he had married, and his gold, his silver and friends, he took the seas incontinently, and returned into Asia. For this cause the Consul Manius having won the battell, did march straight with his army towards the city of Chalcis in a great rage and fury. But Titus that followed him, did always lie

upon him to pacify his anger, and did so much entreat him, together with the other Romans of state and authority in council: that in the end, he got him to pardon them of Chalcis also. Who, because they were preserved from peril by his means, they, to recompense this fact of his, did consecrate unto him, all their most stately and sumptuous buildings and common works in their city, as appeareth yet by the superscriptions remaining to be seen at this day. As in the shew place of exercises: the people of Chalcis did dedicate this shew place of exercises, unto Titus and Hercules. And in the temple called Delphinium: the people of Chalcis did consecrate this temple, unto Titus, and unto Apollo. And furthermore, unto this present time, there is a priest chosen by the voice of the people, purposely to do sacrifice unto Titus: in which sacrifice, after that the thing sacrificed is offered up, and wine poured upon it, the people standing by, do sing a song of triumph made in praise of him. But because it were too long to write it all out, we have only drawn in brief the latter end of the same: and this it is.

**Honours  
done unto  
him**

The clear unspotted faith of Romans we adore,  
And vow to be their faithful friends, both now and  
evermore.

Sing out, you Muses nine, to Jove's eternal fame,  
Sing out the honour due to Rome, and Titus' worthy  
name.

Sing out (I say) the praise of Titus and his faith:  
By whom you have preservèd been from ruin, dole,  
and death.

Now the Chalcidians did not alone only honour  
and reverence Titus, but he was generally honoured

**Pleasant** also by the Grecians as he deserved, and was marvellously beloved for his courtesy and good nature :  
**wise** which argueth plainly that they did not feignedly  
**mirth** honour him, or through compulsion, but even from the heart. For though there was some jar betwixt him and Philopœmen at the first about service, for emulation of honour, and after betwixt him and Diophanes also, both generals of the Achaïans : yet he never bore them any malice in his heart, neither did his anger move him at any time to hurt them any way, but he ever ended the heat of his words, in council and assemblies, where he uttered his mind frankly to them both. Therefore none thought him ever a cruel man, or eager of revenge : but many have thought him rash, and hasty of nature. Otherwise, he was as good a companion in company as possibly could be, and would use as pleasant wise mirth as any man. As when he said to the Achaïans, on a time, who would needs unjustly usurp the isle of the Zacynthians, to dissuade them from it : My lords of Achaïa, if ye once go out of Peloponnesus, you put yourselves in danger, as the tortoises do, when they thrust their heads out of their shell. And the first time he parleyed with Philip to treat of peace : when Philip said unto him, you have brought many more with you, and I am come alone. Indeed it is true you are alone, said he, because you made all your friends and kin to be slain. Another time, Dinocrates Messenian being in Rome, after he had taken in his cups in a feast where he was, he disguised himself in woman's apparel, and danced in that manner : and the next day following he went unto Titus, to pray him to help him through with his

suit, which was, to make the city of Messené to rebel, and leave the tribe of the Achaians. Titus made him answer, that he would think upon it: but I can but wonder at you (said he) how you can dance in woman's apparel, and sing at a feast, having such matters of weight in your head. In the council of the Achaians, King Antiochus' ambassadors being come thither, to move them to break their league with the Romans, and make alliance with the king their maister, they made a marvellous large discourse of the great multitude of soldiers that were in their maister's army, and did number them by many diverse names. Whereunto Titus answered, and told how a friend of his having bidden him one night to supper, and having served so many dishes of meat to his board, as he was angry with him for bestowing so great cost upon him, as wondering how he could so sodainly, get so much store of meat, and so of diverse kinds. My friend said to me again, that all was but pork dressed so many ways, and with so sundry sauces. And even so (quoth Titus) my lords of Achaia, esteem not King Antiochus' army the more, to hear of so many men of arms, numbered with their lances, and of such a number of footmen with their pikes: for they are all but Syrians, diversely armed, only with ill-favoured little weapons. Furthermore, after Titus had done these things, and that the war with Antiochus was ended, he was chosen Censor at Rome, with the son of that same Marcellus, who had been five times Consul. This office is of great dignity, and as a man may say, the crown of all the honours that a citizen of Rome can have in their common wealth. They put off the Senate, four men only,

of Flamininus

**A cruel deed of Lucius Quintius** but they were not famous. They did receive all into the number of citizens of Rome, that would present themselves to be enrolled in their common register: with a proviso, that they were born free by father and mother. They were compelled to do it, by Terentius Culeo, Tribune of the people, who to despite the nobility, persuaded the people of Rome to command it so. Now at that time, two of the noblest and most famous men of Rome were great enemies one against another: Publius Scipio African, and Marcus Porcius Cato. Of these two, Titus named Publius Scipio African, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefest and worthiest person in the city: and got the displeasure of the other, which was Cato, by this mishap. Titus had a brother called Lucius Quintius Flaminius, nothing like unto him in condition at all: for he was so dissolutely and licentiously given over to his pleasure, that he forgot all comeliness and honesty. This Lucius loved well a young boy, and carried him always with him when he went to the wars, or to the charge and government of any province. This boy flattering him, one day said unto Lucius Quintius, that he loved him so well, that he did leave the sight of the sword-players at the sharp, which were making ready to the fight, although he had never seen man killed before: to wait upon him. Lucius being very glad of the boy's words, answered him straight, Thou shalt lose nothing for that my boy, for I will by and by please thee as well. So he commanded a condemned man to be fetched out of prison, and withal called for the hangman, whom he willed to strike off his head in the midst of his supper, that the boy might see

him killed. Valerius Antias the historiographer writeth, that it was not for the love of the boy, but of a woman which he loved. But Titus Livius declareth, that in an oration which Cato himself made, it was written, that it was one of the Gauls: who being a traitor to his countrymen, was come to Flaminius' gate with his wife and children, and that Flaminius making him come into his hall, killed him with his own hands, to please a boy he loved, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howbeit it is very likely that Cato wrote in this sort, to aggravate the offence, and to make it more cruel. For, many have written it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offender condemned to die: and among other, Cicero the orator doth recite it in a book he made of age, where he made it to be told unto Cato's own person. Howsoever it was, Marcus Cato being chosen Censor, and cleansing the Senate of all unworthy persons, he put off the same Lucius Quintius Flaminius, although he had been Consul: which disgrace did seem to redound to his brother Titus Quintius Flaminius also. Whereupon both the brethren came weeping with all humility before the people, and made a petition that seemed very reasonable and civil: which was that they would command Cato to come before them, to declare the cause openly why he had with such open shame defaced so noble a house as theirs was. Cato then without delay, or shrinking back, came with his companion into the market-place, where he asked Titus aloud, if he knew nothing of the supper where such a fact was committed. Titus answered, he knew not of it. Then Cato opened the whole matter

**Cato  
being  
Censor  
did put  
Lucius  
off the  
Senate**

**Titus Quintius' unworthy acts against Cato** as it was, and in the end of his tale, he bade Lucius Quintius swear openly, if he would deny that he had said was true. Lucius answered not a word. Whereupon the people judged the shame was justly laid upon him: and so to honour Cato, they did accompany him from the pulpit for orations, home unto his own house. But Titus being much offended at the disgrace of his brother, became enemy to Cato, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by practice he procured of the Senate, that all bargains of leases, and all deeds of sales made by Cato during his office, were called in, and made void: and caused many suits also to be commenced against him. Wherein, I cannot say he did wisely or civilly, to become mortal enemy to an honest man, a good citizen, and dutiful in his office for his year, but unworthy kinsman, who had justly deserved the shame laid upon him. Notwithstanding, shortly after when the people were assembled in the theatre to see games played, and the senators were set according to their custom, in the most honourable places: Lucius Flamininus came in also, who in lowly and humble manner went to sit down in the furthest seats of the theatre, without regard of his former honour: which when the people saw, they took pity of him, and could not abide to see him thus dishonoured. So they cried out to have him come and sit among the other senators the Consuls, who made him place, and received him accordingly. But to return again to Titus. The natural ambition and covetous greedy mind he had of honour, was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise

it in the wars, which we have spoken of before. For, after he had been Consul, of his own seeking he became a colonel of a thousand footmen, not being called to it by any man. So when he began to stoop for age, and that he had given over as a man at the last cast, to bear office any longer in the state: they saw plainly he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himself in old age to be overcome with such youthful violence, being far unmeet for any of his years. For me thinks his ambition was the only cause that moved him to procure Hannibal's death, which bred him much disliking and ill-opinion with many. For, after Hannibal had fled out of his own country, he went first unto King Antiochus: who, after he lost the battell in Phrygia, was glad the Romans granted him peace with such conditions as themselves would. Wherefore Hannibal fled again from him, and after he had long wandered up and down, at the length he came to the realm of Bithynia, and remained there about King Prusias, the Romans knowing it well enough: and because Hannibal was then an old broken man, of no force nor power, and one whom fortune had spurned at her feet, they made no more reckoning of him. But Titus being sent ambassador by the Senate, unto Prusias king of Bithynia, and finding Hannibal there, it grieved him to see him alive. So that notwithstanding Prusias marvellously entreated him, to take pity upon Hannibal a poor old man, and his friend who came to him for succour: yet he could not persuade Titus to be content he should live. Hannibal long before had received answer of his death from an oracle, to this effect:

**T. Quintus the cause of Hannibal's death**

**Hannibal  
kept at  
Libyssa  
in Bi-  
thynia**

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

So Hannibal understood that of Libya, as if he should have died in Africa, and been buried in Carthage. There is a certain sandy country in Bithynia near to the seaside, where there is a little village called Libyssa, and where Hannibal remained continually. He mistrusting King Prusias' faint heart, and fearing the Romans' malice also, had made seven privy caves and vaults under ground long before, that he might secretly go out at either of them which way he would, and every one of them came to the main vault where himself did lie, and could not be discerned outwardly. When it was told him that Titus had willed Prusias to deliver him into his hands, he sought then to save himself by those means: but he found that all the vents out, had watch and ward upon them by the king's commandment. So then he determined to kill himself. Now some say, that he wound a linen towel hard about his neck, and commanded one of his men he should set his knee upon his buttock, and weighing hard upon him, holding the towel fast, he should pull his neck backward with all the power and strength he could, and never lin pressing on him, till he had strangled him. Others say that he drank bull's blood, as Midas and Themistocles had done before him. But Titus Livius writeth, that he had poison which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered it in a cup he held in his hands, and before he drank, he spake these words: Come on, let us deliver the Romans of this great care, since my life is so

grievous to them, that they think it too long to tarry the natural death of a poor old man, whom they hate so much: and yet Titus by this shall win no honourable victory, nor worthy the memory of the ancient Romans, who advertised King Pyrrhus their enemy, even when he made wars with them, and had won battels of them, that he should beware of poisoning which was intended towards him. And this was Hannibal's end, as we find it written. The news whereof being come to Rome unto the Senate, many of them thought Titus too violent and cruel, to have made Hannibal kill himself in that sort, when extremity of age had overcome him already, and was as a bird left naked, her feathers falling from her for age: and so much the more, because there was no instant occasion offered him to urge him to do it, but a covetous mind of honour, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause and author of Hannibal's death. And then in contrariwise they did much honour and commend the clemency and noble mind of Scipio African. Who having overcome Hannibal in battell, in Africk self, being then indeed to be feared, and had been never overcome before: yet he did not cause him to be driven out of his country, neither did ask him of the Carthaginians, but both then, and before the battell, when he parleyed with him of peace, he took Hannibal courteously by the hand, and after the battell, in the conditions of peace he gave them, he never spoke word of hurt to Hannibal's person, neither did he show any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how afterwards they met again together in the city of Ephesus, and as they were walking, that Hannibal took the

Hannibal's last words

**Hanni-  
bal's  
judge-  
ment of  
captains**

upper hand of Scipio: and that Scipio bore it patiently, and left not off walking for that, neither shewed any countenance of misliking. And in entring into discourse of many matters, they descended in the end to talk of ancient captains: and Hannibal gave judgement, that Alexander the Great was the famousest captain, Pyrrhus the second. and himself the third. Then Scipio smiling, gently asked him: What wouldst thou say then, if I had not overcome thee? Truly, quoth Hannibal, I would not then put myself the third man, but the first, and above all the captains that ever were. So divers greatly commending the goodly sayings and deeds of Scipio, did marvellously dislike Titus, for that he had (as a man may say) laid his hands upon the death of another man. Other to the contrary again said, it was well done of him, saying, that Hannibal so long as he lived, was a fire to the empire of the Romans, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lusty age, it was not his hand nor body that troubled the Romans, so much, but his great wisdom and skill he had in the wars, and the mortal hate he bore in his heart towards the Romans, which neither years, neither age would diminish or take away. For men's natural conditions do remain still, but fortune doth not always keep in a state, but changeth still, and then quickeneth up our desires to set willingly upon those that war against us, because they hate us in their hearts. The things which fell out afterwards, did greatly prove the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of Titus. For one Aristonicus, son of a daughter of a player upon the cithern, under the

fame and glory of Eumenes, whose bastard he was, filled all Asia with war and rebellion, by reason the people rose in his favour. Again Mithridates, after so many losses he had received against Sulla and Fimbria, and after so many armies overthrown by battell and wars, and after so many famous captains lost and killed: did yet recover again, and came to be of power both by sea and land against Lucullus. Truly Hannibal was no lower brought than Caius Marius had been. For he had a king to his friend, that gave him entertainment for him and his family, and made him admiral of his ships, and general of his horsemen and footmen in the field. Marius also went up and down Africk a-begging for his living, insomuch as his enemies at Rome mocked him to scorn: and soon after notwithstanding they fell down at his feet before him, when they saw they were whipped, murdered, and slain within Rome by his commandment. Thus we see no man can say certainly he is mean or great, by reason of the uncertainty of things to come: considering there is but one death, and change of better life. Some say also, that Titus did not this act alone, and of his own authority: but that he was sent ambassador with Lucius Scipio to no other end, but to put Hannibal to death, by what means soever they could. Furthermore after this am-

bassade, we do not find any notable thing written of Titus worthy of memory, neither in peace, nor in wars.

For he died quietly of a natural death at home in his country.

To be mean or great in this life is nothing

THE COMPARISON OF  
TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMININUS  
WITH  
PHILOPÆMEN

T. Quintus' benefits unto Greece

IT is time now we come to compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefits that came to the Grecians, neither Philopœmen, nor all the other former captains are to be compared with Titus. For all the ancient captains almost being Grecians, made wars with other Grecians: but Titus being a Roman, and no Grecian, made wars for the liberty of Greece. When Philopœmen was not able to help his poor citizens distressed sore, and vexed with wars, he sailed away into Creta. Titus having overcome Philip king of Macedon in battell, did restore again to liberty all the people and cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any will narrowly examine the battells of either party: they shall find, that Philopœmen being general of the Achaians, made more Grecians to be slain, than Titus did of the Macedonians, fighting with them for the liberty of the Grecians. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quick and sodainly angered, the other was very hard to be pacified. Titus left King Philip his realm and crown after he had overcome him, and used great clemency towards the Ætolians: where Philopœmen for spite, and malice,

took towns and villages from his own native country, and city, wherein he was born, that had always paid them tribute. Furthermore Titus continued a sound friend to them, to whom he had once professed friendship, and done pleasure unto: and Philopœmen, in a gear and anger, was ready to take away that he had given, and to overthrow the pleasure and good turn he had shewed. For Philopœmen when he had done the Lacedæmonians great pleasure, did afterwards raze the walls of their city, and spoiled and destroyed all their country: and lastly, overthrew their whole government. It seemeth also by reason of his immoderate choler, he was himself cause of his own death, for that he made more haste than good speed, to go out of time to set upon those of Messené: and not as Titus, who did all his affairs with wisdom, and ever considered what was best to be done. But if we look into the number of battels, and victories: the war which Titus made against Philip was ended with two battels. Whereas Philopœmen in infinite battels in which he had the better, never left it doubtful, but that his skill did ever help him the more to victory, than the good fortune he had. Moreover, Titus wan honour by means of the power of Rome, when it flourished most, and was in best prosperity: Philopœmen made himself famous by his deeds, when Greece began to stoop and fall all together. So that the deeds of the one, were common to all the Romans: and the deeds of the other, were private to himself alone. For Titus was general over good and valiant soldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and Philopœmen being chosen general, did train his

T. Quintus wiser than Philopœmen

Titus  
com-  
manded  
good  
soldiers,  
Philopœ-  
men made  
them

men himself, and made them afterwards very expert and valiant, that were but mean and green soldiers before. And whereas Philopœmen had continual wars with the Grecians, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it made a certain proof of his valiantness. For where all other things are answerable to his, there we must judge that such as overcome, have the most courage. Now Philopœmen making wars with the most warlike nations of all Greece, (as the Cretans, and the Lacedæmonians) did overcome the subtlest of them, by fineness and policy: and the most valiant by prowess and hardiness. But Titus overcame, by putting that only in practice, which was already found and stablished: as the discipline of the wars, and order of battell, in the which his soldiers had long before been trained. Whereas Philopœmen brought into his country, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accustomed unto. So that the chiefest point how to win a battell, was found out anew, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was never before: and only employed by the other, which could very good skill to use it, and had found it out already before. Again, touching the valiant acts done in the person of themselves, many notable acts may be told of Philopœmen, but none of Titus: but rather to the contrary. For there was one Archedamus an Ætolian, who flouting Titus one day, said in his reproach: that at a day of battell, when Philopœmen ran with his sword in his hand, to that side where he saw the Macedonians fighting, and making head against the enemy, Titus held up his hands

unto heaven, and was busy at his prayers to the gods, not stirring one foot, when it was more time to handle the sword, and to fight of all hands. All the goodly deeds Titus ever did, were done always as a Consul, or lieutenant, or a magistrate: whereas Philopæmen shewed himself unto the Achaïans, a man no less valiant, and of execution, being out of office, than when he was a general. For when he was a general, he did drive Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians out of Messina, and delivered the Messenians out of bondage: and being a private man, he shut the gates of the city of Sparta, in the face of Diophanes (general of the Achaïans) and of Titus Quintius Flaminius, and kept them both from coming in, and thereby saved the city from sacking. Thus being born to command, he knew not only how to command according to the law, but could command the law itself upon necessity, and when the common wealth required it. For at such a time he would not tarry, while the magistrates which should govern him, did give him authority to command, but he took it of himself, and used them when the time served: esteeming him indeed their general, that knew better than they what was to be done, than him whom they chose of themselves. And therefore they do well, that do commend Titus' acts, for his clemency, and courtesy, used to the Grecians: but much more the noble and valiant acts of Philopæmen unto the Romans. For it is much easier to pleasure and gratify the weak, than it is to hurt and resist the strong. Therefore, sithence we have throughly examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very

**A general must not be at his prayers when he should occupy his sword**

**The** hard to judge altogether the difference that is between  
**upshot** them. Peradventure therefore the judgement would  
not seem very ill, if we do give the Grecian,  
for discipline of war, the pre-eminence  
and praise of a good captain : and  
to the Roman, for justice and  
clemency, the name and  
dignity of a most just  
and courteous  
gentleman.

THE END OF TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMININUS' LIFE.

## THE LIFE OF PYRRHUS

It is written, that since Noah's flood, the first king of the Thesprotians, and of the Molossians, was Phaethon, one of those who came with Pelasgus, into the realm of Epirus. But some say otherwise, that Deucalion, and his wife Pyrrha remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodona, in the country of the Molossians. But howsoever it was, a great while after that, Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the country, and after him left a succession of kings, which were called after his name, the Pyrrhidæ: because that from his infancy he was surnamed Pyrrhus, as much to say, as Red: and one of his legitimate sons whom he had by Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodæus, the son of Hillus, was also named by him Pyrrhus. And this is the cause why Achilles is honoured as a god in Epirus, being called in their language, Aspetos, that is to say, mighty, or very great. But from the first kings of that race until the time of Tharrytas, there is no memory nor mention made of them, nor of their power that reigned in the meantime, because they all became very barbarous, and utterly void of civility. Tharrytas was indeed the first that beautified the cities of his country with the Grecian tongue, brought in civil laws and cus-

Pyrrhus'  
kindred

How Pyrrhus being an infant was saved

toms, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This Tharrytas left a son called Alcetas, of Alcetas came Arymbas, of Arymbas and Troias his wife, came Æacides, who married Phthia, the daughter of Menon Thessalian: a famous man in the time of the wars surnamed Lamiacus, and one that had far greater authority than any other of the confederates, after Leosthenes. This Æacides had two daughters by his wife Phthia, to say, Deidamia and Troias, and one son called Pyrrhus. In his time the Molossians rebelled, drave him out of his kingdom, and put the crown into the hands of the sons of Neoptolemus. Whereupon all the friends of Æacides that could be taken, were generally murdered, and slain outright. Androclides and Angelus in the meantime stole away Pyrrhus, being yet but a suckling babe (whom his enemies nevertheless eagerly sought for to have destroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few servants, his nurses and necessary women only to look to the child, and give it suck: by reason whereof their flight was much hindered, so as they could go no great journeys, but that they might easily be overtaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the child into the hands of Androcleion, Hippias, and Neander, three lusty young men, whom they trusted with him, and commanded them to run for life to a certain city of Macedon, called Megara: and they themselves in the meantime, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, made stay of those that followed them till night. So as with much ado having driven them back, they ran after them that carried the child

Pyrrhus, whom they overtook at sunset. And now, weening they had been safe, and out of all danger : they found it clean contrary. For when they came to the river under the town walls of Megara, they saw it so rough and swift, that it made them afraid to behold it : and when they gauged the ford, they found it impossible to wade through, it was so sore risen and troubled with the fall of the rain, besides that the darkness of the night made everything seem fearful unto them. So as they now that carried the child, thought it not good to venter the passage over of themselves alone, with the women that tended the child : but hearing certain countrymen on the other side, they prayed and besought them in the name of the gods, that they would help them to pass over the child, shewing Pyrrhus unto them afar off. But the countrymen by reason of the roaring of the river understood them not. Thus they continued a long space, the one crying, the other listening, yet could they not understand one another, till at the last one of the company bethought himself to peel off a piece of the bark of an oak, and upon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the child. Which he tied to a stone to give it weight, and so threw it over to the other side of the river : other say that he did prick the bark through with the point of a dart which he cast over. The countrymen on the other side of the river, having read what was written, and understanding thereby the present danger the child was in : felled down trees in all the haste they could possibly, bound them together, and so passed over the river. And it fortun'd that the first man of

How they  
passed  
over the  
river

**Glaucius  
King of  
Illyria** them that passed over, and took the child, was called Achilles: the residue of the countrymen passed over also, and took the other that came with the child, and conveyed them over as they came first to hand. And thus having escaped their hands, by easy journeys they came at the length unto Glaucias king of Illyria, whom they found in his house sitting by his wife: and laid down the child in the midst of the floor before him. The king hereupon stayed a long time without uttering any one word, weighing with himself what was best to be done: because of the fear he had of Cassander, a mortal enemy of Æacides. In the meantime, the child Pyrrhus creeping of all four, took hold of the king's gown, and scrawled up by that, and so got up on his feet against the king's knees. At the first, the king laughed to see the child: but after it pitied him again, because the child seemed like an humble suitor that came to seek sanctuary in his arms. Other say that Pyrrhus came not to Glaucias, but unto the altar of the familiar gods, amongst the which he got up on his feet, and embraced it with both his hands. Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods' providence, presently delivered the child to his wife, gave her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought up with his own. Shortly after, his enemies sent to demand the child of him: and moreover, Cassander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliver the child Pyrrhus into his hands. Howbeit Glaucias would never grant thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrhus was come to twelve years old, brought him into his country of Epirus with an army, and stablished him king of the realm again. Pyrrhus had

a great majesty in his countenance, but yet indeed more fearful than friendly. He had also no teeth in his upper jaw that stood distinctly one from another, but one whole bone throughout his gum, marked a little at the top only, with certain rifts in the place where the teeth should be divided. Men held opinion also, that he did heal them that were sick of the spleen, by sacrificing a white cock, and touching the place of the spleen on the left side of them that were sick, mostly with his right foot, they lying on their backs: and there was not so poor nor simple a man that craved this remedy of him, but he gave it him, and took the cock he sacrificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also that the great toe of his right foot had some secret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had burnt all parts of his body, and consumed it to ashes: his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all. But of that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was seventeen years of age, thinking himself sure enough of his kingdom, it chanced him to make a journey into Illyrium, where he married one of Glaucias' daughters, with whom he had been brought up. But his back was no sooner turned, but the Molossians rebelled again against him, and drove out his friends and servants, and destroyed all his goods, and yielded themselves unto his adversary Neoptolemus. King Pyrrhus having thus lost his kingdom, and seeing himself forsaken on all sides, went to Demetrius (Antigonus' son) that had married his sister Deidamia, who in her young age was assured to Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, and of Roxana, and was called his wife.

**Pyrrhus'**  
**counte-**  
**nance and**  
**teeth**

**Pyrrhus'**  
**valiant-**  
**ness**

But when all that race was brought to wicked end, Demetrius then married her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was stricken near to the city of Ipsus, where all the kings fought together, Pyrrhus being then but a young man, and with Demetrius, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valiantest prince amongst them all. Furthermore, when Demetrius was overcome, and had lost the battell: Pyrrhus never forsook him, but faithfully did keep for him the cities of Greece, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt Demetrius and Ptolemy, Pyrrhus was sent an hostage for Demetrius into the realm of Egypt: where he made Ptolemy know (both in hunting and in other exercises of his person) that he was very strong, hard, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiving that Berenicé amongst all King Ptolemy's wives, was best beloved and esteemed of her husband, both for her vertue and wisdom: he began to entertain and honour her above all the rest. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himself towards the great (by whom he might win benefit) and knew also how to creep into their credit: and in like manner was he a great scorner and despiser of such as were his inferiors. Moreover, for that he was found marvellous honourable and of fair condition, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the husband of Antigóné, the daughter of Queen Berenicé, whom she had by Philip, before she was married unto Ptolemy. From thenceforth growing through the alliance of that marriage, more and more into estimation and favour by means of

his wife Antigóné, who shewed herself very virtuous and loving towards him: he found means in the end, to get both men and money to return again into the realm of Epirus, and to conquer it: so was he then very well received of the people, and the better, for the malice they bear to Neoptolemus, because he dealt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstanding, Pyrrhus fearing lest Neoptolemus would repair unto some of the other kings, to seek aid against him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed between them, that they should both together be kings of Epirus. But in process of time, some of their men secretly made strife again between them, and set them at defiance one with another: and the chiefest cause as it is said, that angered Pyrrhus most, grew upon this. The kings of Epirus had an ancient custom of great antiquity, after they had made solemn sacrifice unto Jupiter Martial, in a certain place in the province of Molossis, called Passaron) to take their oath, and to be sworn to the Epirotes, that they would reign well and justly, according to the laws and ordinances of the country: and to receive the subjects' oaths interchangeably also, that they would defend and maintain them in their kingdom, according to the laws in like manner. This ceremony was done in the presence of both the kings, and they with their friends did both give and receive presents each of other. At this meeting and solemnity, among other, one Gelon a most faithful servant and assured friend unto Neoptolemus, who besides great shews of friendship and honour he did unto Pyrrhus, gave him two pair of draught oxen, which

Pyrrhus  
restored  
to his  
kingdom  
again

**A foul plot** one Myrtilus a cupbearer of Pyrrhus being present, and seeing, did crave of his maister. But Pyrrhus denied to give them unto him, whereat Myrtilus was very angry. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus was angry, prayed him to sup with him that night. Now some say, he sought to abuse Myrtilus, because he was fair and young: and began to persuade him after supper to take part with Neoptolemus, and to poison Pyrrhus. Myrtilus made as though he was willing to give ear to this persuasion, and to be well pleased withal. But in the meantime, he went and told his maister of it, by whose commandment he made Alexicrates, Pyrrhus' chief cupbearer, to talk with Gelon about this practice, as though he had also given his consent to it, and was willing to be partaker of the enterprize. This did Pyrrhus to have two witnesses, to prove the pretended poisoning of him. Thus Gelon being finely deceived, and Neoptolemus also with him, both imagining they had cunningly spun the thread of their treason: Neoptolemus was so glad of it, that he could not keep it to himself, but told it to certain of his friends. And on a time going to be merry with his sister, he could not keep it in, but must be prattling of it to her, supposing nobody had heard him but herself, because there was no living creature near them, saving Phænareté Samon's wife, the king's chief herdman of all his beasts, and yet she was laid upon a little bed by, and turned towards the wall: so that she seemed as though she had slept. But having heard all their talk, and nobody mistrusting her: the next morning she went to Antigone King Pyrrhus' wife, and told her every word what she had heard Neoptolemus say to his

sister. Pyrrhus hearing this, made no countenance of anything at that time. But having made sacrifice unto the gods, he bade Neoptolemus to supper to his house, where he slew him, being well informed before of the goodwill the chiefest men of the realm did bear him, who wished him to despatch Neoptolemus, and not to content himself with a piece of Epirus only, but to follow his natural inclination, being born to great things: and for this cause therefore, this suspicion falling out in the meanwhile, he prevented Neoptolemus, and slew him first. And furthermore, remembering the pleasures he had received of Ptolemy and Berenicé, he named his first son by his wife Antigóné, Ptolemy, and having built a city in the Prescque, an isle of Epirus, did name it Berenicis. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined with himself how to win that which lay nearest unto him: and so took occasion by this means, first to set foot into the empire of Macedon. The eldest son of Cassander, called Antipater, put his own mother Thessalonica to death, and drove his brother Alexander out of his own country, who sent to Demetrius for help, and called in Pyrrhus also to his aid. Demetrius being troubled with other matters, could not so quickly go thither. And Pyrrhus being arrived there, demanded for his charge sustained, the city of Nymphæa, with all the sea coasts of Macedon: and besides all that, certain lands also that were not belonging to the ancient crown and revenues of the kings of Macedon, but were added unto it by force of arms, as Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. All

**Pyrrhus  
slew  
Neopto-  
lemus**

Lysimachus' craft to deceive Pyrrhus

these, the young king Alexander leaving unto him, he took possession thereof, and put good garrisons into the same in his own name: and conquering the rest of Macedon in the name of Alexander, put his brother Antipater to great distress. In the meantime King Lysimachus lacked no good will to help Antipater with his force, but being busied in other matters, had not the mean to do it. Howbeit knowing very well that Pyrrhus in acknowledging the great pleasures he had received of Ptolemy, would deny him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit letters to him in Ptolemy's name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leave off the wars begun against Antipater, and to take of him towards the defraying of his charges, the sum of three hundred talents. Pyrrhus opening the letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch and device of Lysimachus. For King Ptolemy's common manner of greeting of him, which he used at the beginning of his letters, was not in them observed: To my son Pyrrhus, health. But in those counterfeit was, King Ptolemy, unto King Pyrrhus, health. Whereupon he presently pronounced Lysimachus for a naughty man: nevertheless, afterwards he made peace with Antipater, and they met together at a day appointed, to be sworn upon the sacrifices unto the articles of peace. There were three beasts brought to be sacrificed, a goat, a bull, and a ram: of the which, the ram fell down dead of himself before he was touched, whereat all the standers-by fell a-laughing. But there was a soothsayer, one Theodotus, that persuaded Pyrrhus not to swear: saying, that this sign and token of the gods did threaten one of the

three kings with sudden death. For which cause Pyrrhus concluded no peace. Now Alexander's wars being ended, Demetrius notwithstanding came to him, knowing well enough at his coming that Alexander had no more need of his aid, and that he did it only but to fear him. They had not been many days together, but the one began to mistrust the other, and to spy all the ways they could to entrap each other: but Demetrius embracing the first occasion offered, prevented Alexander, and slew him, being a young man, and proclaimed himself king of Macedon in his room. Now Demetrius had certain quarrels before against Pyrrhus, because he had overrun the country of Thessaly: and furthermore, greedy covetousness to have the more (which is a common vice with princes and noblemen) made, that being so near neighbours, the one stood in fear and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the death of Deïdamia. But now that they both occupied all Macedon between them, and were to make division of one self kingdom: now I say began the matter and occasion of quarrel, to grow the greater between them. Whereupon Demetrius went with his army to set upon the Ætolians, and having conquered the country, left Pantauchus his lieutenant there with a great army: and himself in person in the meantime, marched against Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus on the other side against him. They both missed of meeting, and Demetrius going on farther on the one side, entered into the realm of Epirus, and brought a great spoil away with him: Pyrrhus on the other side marched on, till he came to the place where Pantauchus was. To whom he gave battell,

**Pyrrhus'**  
**quarrel**  
**and war**  
**with**  
**Deme-**  
**trius**

Pyrrhus' fight with Pantauchus and it was valiantly fought out between the soldiers of either party, but specially between the two generals. For doubtless, Pantauchus was the valiantest captain, the stoutest man, and of the greatest experience in arms, of all the captains and soldiers Demetrius had. Whereupon, Pantauchus trusting in his strength and courage, advanced himself forwards, and lustily challenged the combat of Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus on the other side being inferior to no king in valiantness, nor in desire to win honour, as he that would ascribe unto himself the glory of Achilles, more for the imitation of his valiancy, than for that he was descended of his blood: passed through the middest of the battell unto the first rank, to buckle with Pantauchus. Thus they began to charge one another, first with their darts, and then coming nearer, fought with their swords, not only artificially, but also with great force and fury: until such time as Pyrrhus was hurt in one place, and he hurt Pantauchus in two. The one near unto his throat and the other in his leg: so as in the end Pyrrhus made him turn his back, and threw him to the ground, but nevertheless killed him not. For, so soon as he was down, his men took him, and carried him away. But the Epirotes encouraged by the victory of their king, and the admiration of his valiantness, stuck to it so lustily, that in the end they broke the battell of the Macedonian footmen: and having put them to flight, followed them so lively, that they slew a great number of them, and took five thousand prisoners. This overthrow did not so much fill the hearts of the Macedonians with anger, for the loss they had received, nor with the hate conceived against Pyrrhus: as it wan

Pyrrhus great fame and honour, making his courage and valiantness to be wondred at of all such as were present at the battell that saw him fight, and how he laid about him. For they thought that they saw in his face the very life and agility of Alexander the Great, and the right shadow as it were, shewing the force and fury of Alexander himself in that fight. And where other kings did but only counterfeit Alexander the Great in his purple garments, and in numbers of soldiers and guards about their persons, and in a certain fashion and bowing of their necks a little, and in uttering his speech with an high voice: Pyrrhus only was like unto him, and followed him in his martial deeds and valiant acts. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlike discipline, the books he wrote himself thereof, do amply prove and make manifest. Furthermore, they report, that King Antigonus being asked, whom he thought to be the greatest captain: made answer, Pyrrhus, so far forth as he might live to be old, speaking only of the captains of his time. But Hannibal generally said, Pyrrhus was the greatest captain of experience and skill in wars of all other, Scipio the second, and himself the third: as we have written in the life of Scipio. So it seemeth that Pyrrhus gave his whole life and study to the discipline of wars, as that which indeed was princely and meet for a king, making no reckoning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they report that he being at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the best player of the flute, Python or Caphesias: whereunto he answered, that Polysperchon in his opinion was the

Pyrrhus  
likened  
to Alex-  
ander the  
Great

Certain  
witty say-  
ings of  
Pyrrhus

best captain, as if he would have said, that was the only thing a prince should seek for, and which he ought chiefly to learn and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his friends, easy to forgive when any had offended him, and marvellous desirous to requite and acknowledge any courtesy or pleasure by him received. And that was the cause why he did very impatiently take the death of Aëropus, not so much for his death (which he knew was a common thing to every living creature) as for that he was angry with himself he had deferred the time so long, that time itself had cut him off from all occasion and means to requite the curtesies he had received of him. True it is that money lent, may be repaid again unto the heirs of the lender: but yet it grieveth an honest nature, when he can not recompence the goodwill of the lender, of whom he hath received the good turn. Another time Pyrrhus being in the city of Ambracia, there were certain of his friends that gave him counsel to put a naughty man out of the city that did nothing but speak ill of him. But he answered, it is better (quoth he) to keep him here still, speaking ill of us but to a few: than driving him away, to make him speak ill of us everywhere. Certain youths were brought before him on a time, who making merry together, drinking freely, were bold with the king to speak their pleasure of him in very undutiful sort. So, Pyrrhus asking them whether it was true they said so or no: It is true, and it please your grace, said one of them, we said it indeed, and had not our wine failed us, we had spoken a great deal more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of Antigoné, he married many wives to

increase his power withal, and to get mo friends. **Pyrrhus' wives and children**  
 For he married the daughter of Autoleon king of Pæonia, and Bircenna the daughter of Bardyllis, king of Illyria, and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, that brought him for her dower the isle of Corfu, which her father had taken. By Antigone his first wife, he had a son called Ptolemy: by Lanassa, another called Alexander: and by Bircenna, another (the youngest of all) called Helenus: all which though they were martial men by race and natural inclination, yet were they brought up by him in wars, and therein trained as it were even from their cradle. They write, that one of his sons being but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leave his kingdom: Pyrrhus answered the boy, to him that hath the sharpest sword. That was much like the tragical curse wherewith Œdipus cursed his children:

Let them (for me) divide both goods, yea rents and land,  
 With trenchant sword, and bloody blows, by force of mighty hand.

So cruel, hateful, and beastly is the nature of ambition and desire of rule. But after this battell, Pyrrhus returned home again to his country, full of honour and glory, his heart highly exalted, and his mind throughly contented. And as at his return the Epirotes his subjects called him an eagle, he answered them: If I be an eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons are the wings that have raised me up. Shortly after, being advertised that Demetrius was fallen sick, and in great danger of death, he suddenly went into Macedon, only to

**Deme-  
trius'**  
**army**  
**both by**  
**land and**  
**sea**

invade it, and to make prey thereof: howbeit he had indeed almost taken the whole realm, and made himself lord of all without stroke stricken. For he came as far as the city of Edessa, and found no resistance: but rather to the contrary, many of the country willingly came to his camp, and submitted themselves. The danger Demetrius was in to lose his realm, did move him more, than the disease and sickness of his body. And on the other side, his friends, servants, and captains, having gathered a great number of men of war together in a marvellous short time, marched with great speed towards Pyrrhus, being earnestly bent to do some exploit against him: who being come into Macedon but to make a road only upon them, would not tarry them, but fled, and flying, lost part of his men, because the Macedonians followed him hard, and set upon him by the way. But now, though they had driven Pyrrhus thus easily out of Macedon, Demetrius for all that did not make light account of him: but pretending greater things, (as to recover the lands and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of five hundred sail which he put to the sea) would not stand to make wars against Pyrrhus, neither yet leave the Macedonians (whilst he was absent) so dangerous a neighbour, and so ill to deal withal. But lacking leisure to make wars with Pyrrhus, concluded a peace with him, to the end he might with the more liberty set upon the other kings. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt Demetrius and Pyrrhus, the other kings and princes began to find out Demetrius' intent, and why he had made so great preparation: and being afraid thereof, wrote unto Pyrrhus

by their ambassadors, that they wondered how he could let go such opportunity and occasion, and to tarry till Demetrius might with better leisure make wars upon him. And why he chose rather to tarry and fight with him for the altars, temples, and sepulchres of the Molossians, when he should be of greater power, and have no wars elsewhere to trouble him: than now that he might easily drive him out of Macedon, having so many things in hand, and being troubled as he was in other places. And considering also that very lately he had taken one of his wives from him, with the city of Corfu. For Lanassa, misliking, that Pyrrhus loved his other wives better than her, (they being of a barbarous nation) got her unto Corfu, and desiring to marry some other king, sent for Demetrius, knowing that he of all other kings would soonest be won thereunto. Whereupon Demetrius went thither, and married her, and left a garrison in his city of Corfu. Now these other kings that did advertise Pyrrhus in this sort, themselves did trouble Demetrius in the meanwhile: who tracted time, and yet went on with his preparation notwithstanding. For on the one side Ptolemy entered Greece with a great army by sea, where he caused the cities to revolt against him. And Lysimachus on the other side also, entering into high Macedon by the country of Thracia, burnt and spoiled all as he went. Pyrrhus also arming himself with them, went unto the city of Berhœa, imagining (as afterwards it fell out) that Demetrius going against Lysimachus, would leave all the low country of Macedon naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfsame night that Pyrrhus departed, he imagined that King Alex-

**Demetrius**  
**married**  
**Lanassa,**  
**Pyrrhus'**  
**wife**

**Pyrrhus'**  
**second**  
**journey**  
**into**  
**Macedon**

ander the Great did call him, and also that he went unto him, and found him sick in his bed, of whom he had very good words and entertainment: insomuch as he promised to help him throughly. And Pyrrhus imagined also that he was so bold to demand of him again: How (my lord) can you help me, that lie sick in your bed? and that Alexander made answer: With my name only. And that moreover he suddenly therewithal got up on his horse Nesæa, and rode before Pyrrhus to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dream, which made him bold, and furthermore encouraged him to go on with his enterprise. By which occasion, marching forward with all speed, in few days he ended his intended journey to the city of Berhœa, which suddenly he took at his first coming to it: the most part of his army he laid in garrison there, the residue he sent away under the conduct of his captains, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. Demetrius having intelligence hereof, and hearing also an ill rumour that ran in his camp amongst the Macedonians, durst not lead them any farther, for fear lest (when he should come near to Lysimachus being a Macedonian king by nation, and a prince esteemed for a famous captain) they would shrink from him, and take Lysimachus' part: for this cause therefore he turned again upon the sudden against Pyrrhus, as against a strange prince, and ill beloved of the Macedonians. But when he came to encamp near him, many coming from Berhœa into his camp, blew abroad the praises of Pyrrhus, saying, that he was a noble prince, invincible in wars, and one that courteously entreated all those he took to his party: and amongst those,

there were other that were no natural Macedonians born, but set on by Pyrrhus, and feigned themselves to be Macedonians, who gave out, that now occasion was offered to set them at liberty, from Demetrius' proud and stately rule, and to take King Pyrrhus' part, that was a courteous prince, and one that loved soldiers and men of war. These words made the most part of Demetrius' army very doubtful, insomuch as the Macedonians looked about, to see if they could find out Pyrrhus to yield themselves unto him. He had at that present left off his headpiece: by mean whereof, perceiving he was not known, he put it on again, and then they knew him afar off, by the sight of his goodly fair plume, and the goat's horns which he carried on the top of his crest. Whereupon there came a great number of Macedonians to his part, as unto their sovereign lord and king, and required the watchword of him. Other put garlands of oaken boughs about their heads, because they saw his men crowned after that sort. And some were so bold also, as to go to Demetrius himself, and tell him, that in their opinions he should do very well and wisely to give place to fortune, and refer all unto Pyrrhus. Demetrius hereupon, seeing his camp in such uproar, was so amazed, that he knew not what way to take, but stole away secretly, disguised in a threadbare cloke, and a hood on his head to keep him from knowledge. Pyrrhus forthwith seized upon his camp, took all that he found, and was presently proclaimed in the field, king of Macedon. Lysimachus on the other side, came straight thither after him, and said that he had holpen to chase Demetrius out of his realm, and therefore claimed

**Pyrrhus  
pro-  
claimed  
King of  
Macedon**

**Macedon** half the kingdom with him. Wherefore, Pyrrhus  
**divided** not trusting the Macedonians too far as yet, but  
**between** rather standing in doubt of their faith: granted  
**Pyrrhus** Lysimachus his desire, and thereupon divided all  
**and** the cities and provinces of the realm of Macedon  
**Lysi-** between them. This partition was profitable for  
**machus** them both at that present, and stood them to good  
purpose to pacify the war, that otherwise might  
suddenly have risen between them. But shortly  
after, they found that this partition was no end of  
their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrel and  
dissension between them. For they whose avarice  
and insatiable greedy appetite, neither the sea, the  
mountains, nor the uninhabitable deserts could con-  
tain, nor yet the confines that separate Asia from  
Europe determine: how should they be content  
with their own, without usurping others', when their  
fronters join so near together, that nothing divides  
them? Sure it is not possible. For to say truly,  
they are willingly together by the ears, having these  
two cursed things rooted in them: that they con-  
tinually seek occasion how to surprise each other,  
and either of them envies his neighbour's well  
doing. Howbeit in appearance they use these two  
terms of peace and wars, as they do money: using  
it as they think good, not according to right and  
justice, but for their private profit. And truly they  
are men of far greater honesty, that make open war,  
and avow it: than those that disguise and colour  
the delay of their wicked purpose, by the holy  
name of justice or friendship. Which Pyrrhus  
did truly then verify. For desiring to keep Deme-  
trius down from rising another time, and that he  
should not revive again, as escaped from a long

dangerous disease: he went to aid the Grecians against him, and was at Athens, where they suffered him to come into the castle, and do sacrifice there unto the goddess Minerva. But coming out of the castle again the same day, he told the Athenians he was greatly beholding unto them for their courtesy, and the great trust they had reposed in him: wherefore to requite them again, he gave them counsel, never to suffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if they were wise, nor once open their gates unto them. So, after that he had made peace with Demetrius, who within short time being gone to make wars in Asia, Pyrrhus yet once again (persuaded thereunto by Lysimachus) caused all Thessaly to rise against him, and went himself to set upon those garrisons which Demetrius had left in the cities of Greece, liking better to continue the Macedonians in war, than to leave them in peace: besides that himself also was of such a nature, as could not long continue in peace. Demetrius thus in the end being utterly overthrown in Syria, Lysimachus seeing himself free from fear on that side, and being at good leisure, as having nothing to trouble him otherwise: went straight to make war upon Pyrrhus, who then remained near unto the city of Edessa, and meeting by the way with the convoy of victuals coming towards him, set upon the conductors, and rifled them wholly. By this means, first he distressed Pyrrhus for want of victuals: then he corrupted the princes of Macedonia with letters and messengers, declaring unto them, what shame they sustained to have made a stranger their king (whose ancestors had ever bin their vassals and subjects) and to have turned all

**Lysimachus  
maketh  
war with  
Pyrrhus**

The  
Taren-  
tines hav-  
ing war  
with the  
Romans

those out of Macedon, that had been familiar friends of King Alexander the Great. Many of the Macedonians were won by these persuasions, which fact so feared Pyrrhus, that he departed out of Macedon with his men of war, the Epirotes, and other his confederates : and so lost Macedon by the self-same means he wan it. Kings and princes therefore must not blame private men, though they change and alter sometime for their profit : for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teach them all disloyalty, treason, and infidelity, judging him most worthy of gain, that least observeth justice and equity. So Pyrrhus being come home again to his kingdom of Epirus, forsaking Macedon altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and indeed he had good means to live peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could have contented himself only with the sovereignty over his own natural subjects. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to spend his time, and by peace he should pine away for sorrow, as Homer said of Achilles :

He languishèd and pined by taking ease and rest :  
And in the wars where travail was, he likèd ever best.

And thus seeking matter of new trouble, fortune presented him this occasion. About this time, the Romans by chance made war with the Tarentines, who could neither bear their force, nor yet devise how to pacify the same, by reason of the rashness, folly, and wickedness of their governors, who persuaded them to make Pyrrhus their general, and to send for him for to conduct these wars : because he was less troubled at that time, than any of the other

kings about them, and was esteemed of every man also to be a noble soldier, and famous captain. The elders and wise men of the city, utterly disliked that counsel: but some of them were put to silence, through the noise and fury of the people, who cried for wars. Some other seeing them checked, and taken up by the multitude in this manner, would no more repair to their common assemblies. Among the rest, there was one Meton, an honest worshipful citizen, who when the day was come that the people should conclude in counsel, the decree for the calling in of Pyrrhus: all the people of Tarentum being assembled, and set in the theatre, this Meton put an old withered garland of flowers upon his head, and carrying a torch in his hand as though he had been drunk, and having a woman minstrel before him playing on a pipe, went dancing in this goodly array through the midst of the whole assembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in every hurly-burly of people that will be maisters themselves, and where no good order is kept) some of them clapped their hands, other burst out in a laughter, and every man suffered him to do what he lust: but they all cried out to the woman minstrel, to play on and spare not, and to Meton himself, that he should sing, and come forward. So Meton made shew as though he prepared himself unto it: and when they had given silence to hear him sing, he spoke unto them with a loud voice in this manner. My lords of Tarentum, ye do well sure, not to forbid them to play and to be merry that are so disposed, whilst they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wise, every of you also (as many as you be) will take

determine  
to make  
King  
Pyrrhus  
their  
general

**The  
Taren-  
tines send  
ambassa-  
dors to  
Pyrrhus**

your liberty whilest you may enjoy it. For when King Pyrrhus shall be in this city, you shall live I warrant you after another sort, and not as ye now do. These words of Meton moved many of the Tarentines, and suddenly there ran a rumour through all the assembly, that he had said truly. But they that had offended the Romans, fearing if peace were made, that they should be delivered into their hands, they checked the people, asking them if they were such fools, as would abide to be mocked and played withal to their teeth: and with those words all ran upon Meton, and drove him out of the theatre. The decree thus confirmed by voices of the people, they sent ambassadors into Epirus, to carry presents unto King Pyrrhus, not only from the Tarentines, but from other Grecians also that dwelt in Italy, saying that they stood in need of a wise and skilful captain, that was reputed famous in martial discipline. And as to the rest, for numbers of good soldiers, they had men enough in Italy, and were able to bring an army into the field, of the Lucanians, the Messapians, the Samnites, and Tarentines, of twenty thousand horse, and three hundred thousand footmen being all assembled together. These words of the ambassadors did not only lift up Pyrrhus' heart, but made the Epirotes also marvellous desirous to go this journey. There was in King Pyrrhus' court one Cineas Thessalian, a man of great understanding, and that had been Demosthenes the orator's scholar, who seemed to be the only man of all other in his time in common reputation, to be most eloquent, following the lively image and shadow of Demosthenes' passing eloquence. This Cineas,

Pyrrhus ever entertained about him, and sent him **Cineas'**  
 ambassador to the people and cities thereabouts: **grave**  
 where he verified Euripides' words: **talk with**  
**Pyrrhus**

As much as trenchant blades in mighty hands may do,  
 So much can skill of eloquence atchieve and conquer too.

And therefore Pyrrhus would often say, that Cineas had won him more towns with his eloquence, than he himself had done by the sword: for which he did greatly honour and employ him in all his chief affairs. Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was marvellously bent to these wars of Italy, finding him one day at leisure, discoursed with him in this sort. It is reported, and it please your majesty, that the Romans are very good men of war, and that they command many valiant and warlike nations: if it please the gods we do overcome them, what benefit shall we have of that victory? Pyrrhus answered him again, thou dost ask me a question that is manifest of itself. For when we have once overcome the Romans, there can neither Grecian nor barbarous city in all the country withstand us, but we shall straight conquer all the rest of Italy with ease: whose greatness, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better than thyself. Cineas pausing a while, replied: and when we have taken Italy, what shall we do then? Pyrrhus not finding his meaning yet, said unto him: Sicilia as thou knowest is hard adjoining to it, and doth as it were offer itself unto us, and is a marvellous populous and rich land, and easy to be taken: for all the cities within the island are one against another, having no head that governs them, since Agathocles died, more than orators only that are their coun-

A dangerous thing to withstand the prince's mind

sellers, who will soon be won. Indeed it is likely which your grace speaketh, quoth Cineas : but when we have won Sicily, shall then our wars take end? If the gods were pleased, said Pyrrhus, that victory were atchieved: the way were then broad open for us to attain great conquests. For who would not afterwards go into Africk, and so to Carthage, which also will be an easy conquest, since Agathocles secretly flying from Syracuse, and having passed the seas with a few ships, had almost taken it? And that once conquered, it is most certain there durst not one of all our enemies that now do daily vex and trouble us, lift up their heads or hands against us. No surely, said Cineas : for it is a clear case, that with so great a power we may easily recover the realm of Macedon again, and command all Greece besides, without let of any. But when we have all in our hands: what shall we do in the end? Then Pyrrhus laughing, told him again: We will then (good Cineas) be quiet, and take our ease, and make feasts every day, and be as merry one with another as we can possible. Cineas having brought him to that point, said again to him: My lord, what letteth us now to be quiet, and merry together, sith we enjoy that presently without farther travel and trouble, which we will now go seek for abroad, with such shedding of blood, and so manifest danger: and yet we know not whether ever we shall attain unto it, after we have both suffered, and caused other to suffer infinite sorrows and troubles. These last words of Cineas, did rather offend Pyrrhus, than make him to alter his mind: for he was not ignorant of the happy state he should thereby forgo, yet could he not

leave off the hope of that he did so much desire. So he sent Cineas before unto the Tarentines, with three thousand footmen : and afterwards the Tarentines having sent him great store of flatbottoms, galleys, and of all sorts of passengers, he shipped into them twenty elephants, three thousand horsemen, and two and twenty thousand footmen, with five hundred bowmen and slings. All things thus ready, he weighed ankers, and hoised sails, and was no sooner in the main sea, but the north wind blew very roughly, out of season, and drave him to leeward. Notwithstanding, the ship which he was in himself, by great toil of the pilots and mariners turning to windward, and with much ado, and marvellous danger recovered the coast of Italy. Howbeit the rest of his fleet were violently dispersed here and there, whereof some of them sailing their course into Italy, were cast into the seas of Libya, and Sicilia. The other not able to recover the point of Apulia, were benighted, and the sea being high wrought, by violence cast them upon the shore, and against the rocks, and made shipwracks of them, the admiral only reserved, which through her strength, and the greatness of her burden, resisted the force of the sea that most violently beat against her. But afterwards, the wind turning and coming from the land, the sea cruelly raking over the height of her forecastle : in fine brought her in manifest peril of opening, and splitting, and in danger to be driven from the coast, putting her out again to the mercy of the winds, which changed every hour. Wherefore Pyrrhus casting the peril every way, thought best to leap into the sea. After him forthwith leapt his guard, his servants, and other his

**Pyrrhus' danger by tempest on the sea**

**Pyrrhus** familiar friends, venturing their lives to save him. **being** But the darkness of the night, and rage of the **received** waves (which the shore breaking, forced so to **of the** rebound back upon them) with the great noise **Taren-** also, did so hinder their swimming: that it was **tines** even day before they could recover any land, and yet was it by means that the wind fell. As for Pyrrhus, he was so sea beaten, and wearied with the waves, that he was able to do no more: though of himself he had so great a heart, and stout a courage, as was able to overcome any peril. Moreover, the Messapians (upon whose coast the storm had cast him) ran out to help him, and diligently laboured in all they could possible to save him, and received also certain of his ships that had escaped, in which were a few horsemen, about two thousand footmen, and two elephants. With this small force, Pyrrhus marched on his journey to go by land unto Tarentum: and Cineas being advertised of his coming, went with his men to meet him. Now when he was come to Tarentum, at the first he would do nothing by force, nor against the goodwill of the inhabitants: until such time as his ships that had escaped the dangers of the sea, were all arrived, and the greatest part of his army come together again. But when he had all his army he looked for, seeing that the people of Tarentum could neither save themselves, nor be saved by any other, without strait order and compulsion, because they made their reckoning that Pyrrhus should fight for them, and in the meantime they would not stir out of their houses from bathing themselves, from banqueting, and making good cheer: first of all he caused all the parks and places of shew to be shut

up, where they were wont to walk and disport themselves, in any kind of exercise, and as they walked to talk of wars as it were in pastime, and to fight with words, but not to come to the blows. And further he forbade all feastings, mummeries, and such other like pleasures, as at that time were out of season. He trained them out also to exercise their weapons, and shewed himself very severe in musters, not pardoning any whose names were billed to serve in the wars: insomuch as there were many (which unacquainted with such rough handling and government) forsook the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to have liberty to live at their pleasure. Furthermore, Pyrrhus having intelligence that Lævinus the Roman Consul came against him with a great puissant army, and that he was already entered into the land of Lucania, where he destroyed and spoiled all the country before him: albeit the Tarentines' aid of their confederates, was not as yet come, he thought it a great shame to suffer his enemies approach so near him, and therefore taking that small number he had, brought them into the field against Lævinus. Howbeit he sent a herald before to the Romans, to understand of them, if (before they entered into this war) they could be content the controversies they had with all the Grecians dwelling in Italy, might be decided by justice, and therein to refer themselves to his arbitrement, who of himself would undertake the pacification of them. Whereunto the Consul Lævinus made answer, that the Romans would never allow him for a judge, neither did they fear him for an enemy. Wherefore Pyrrhus going on still, came to lodge in the plain which is between

reformed  
their vain  
volup-  
tuous life

**Pyrrhus camped in the plain** the cities of Pandosia, and of Heraclea: and having news brought him that the Romans were encamped very near unto him on the other side of the river of Siris, he took his horse, and rode to the river's side to view their camp. So having thoroughly considered the form, the situation, and the order of the same, the manner of charging their watch, and all their fashions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And speaking to Megacles, one of his familiars about him, he said: This order Megacles (quoth he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarously done, but we shall shortly prove their force. After he had thus taken his view, he began to be more careful than he was before, and purposed to tarry till the whole aid of their confederates were come together, leaving men at the river's side of Siris, to keep the passage, if the enemies ventured to pass over as they did indeed. For they made haste to prevent the aid that Pyrrhus looked for, and passed their footmen over upon a bridge, and their horsemen at divers fords of the river: insomuch as the Grecians fearing lest they should be compassed in behind, drew back. Pyrrhus advertised thereof, and being a little troubled therewithal, commanded the captains of his footmen presently to put their bands in battell ray, and not to stir till they knew his pleasure: and he himself in the meantime marched on with three thousand horse, in hope to find the Romans by the river side, as yet out of order, and utterly unprovided. But when he saw afar off a greater number of footmen with their targets ranged in battell, on this side the river, and their horsemen marching towards him in very good order: he caused his men to join close

together, and himself first began the charge, being easy to be known from other, if it had been no more but his passing rich glistering armour and furniture, and withal, for that his valiant deeds gave manifest proof of his well-deserved fame and renown. For, though he valiantly bestirred his hands and body both, repulsing them he encountered withal in fight, yet he forgot not himself, nor neglected the judgement and foresight, which should never be wanting in a general of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and discreetly gave order for everything, riding to and fro, to defend and encourage his men in those places, where he saw them in most distress. But even in the hottest of the battell, Leonnatus Macedonian spied an Italian, a man of arms, that followed Pyrrhus up and down where he went, and ever kept in manner of even hand with him, to set upon him. Wherefore he said to Pyrrhus: My lord, do you not see that barbarous man there upon a bay horse with white feet? Sure he looketh as though he meant to do some notable feat and mischief with his own hands: for his eye is never off you, but waiteth only upon you, being sharp set to deal with yourself and none other, and therefore take heed of him. Pyrrhus answered him, It is impossible Leonnatus, for a man to avoid his destiny: but neither he, nor any other Italian whatsoever, shall have any joy to deal with me. And as they were talking thus of the matter, the Italian taking his spear in the midst, and setting spurs to his horse, charged upon Pyrrhus, and ran his horse through and through with the same. Leonnatus at the self same instant served the Italian's horse in the like manner, so as both their horses fell

**Pyrrhus'  
first con-  
flict with  
the  
Romans**

**Mega-  
cles slain  
taken for  
Pyrrhus**

dead to the ground. Howbeit Pyrrhus' men that were about him, saved him presently, and slew the Italian in the field, although he fought it out right valiantly. The Italian's name was Oplacus, born in the city of Ferentum, and was captain of a band of men of arms. This mischance made King Pyrrhus look the better to himself afterwards, and seeing his horsemen give back, sent presently to hasten his footmen forward, whom he straight set in order of battell: and delivering his armour and cloke to one of his familiars called Megacles, and being hidden as it were in Megacles' armour, returned again to the battell against the Romans, who valiantly resisted him, so that the victory depended long in doubt. For it is said, that both the one side and the other did chase, and was chased, above seven times in that conflict. The changing of the king's armour served very well for the safety of his own person, howbeit it was like to have marred all, and to have made him lose the field. For many of his enemies set upon Megacles that wore the king's armour: and the party that slew him dead, and threw him stark to the ground, was one Dexias by name, who quickly snatched off his headpiece, took away his cloke, and ran to Lævinus the Consul, crying out aloud, that he had slain Pyrrhus, and withal shewed forth the spoils he supposed to have taken from him. Which being carried about through all the bands, and openly shewed from hand to hand, made the Romans marvellous joyful, and the Grecians to the contrary, both afeard and right sorrowful: until such time as Pyrrhus hearing of it, went and passed alongst all his bands bare headed, and bare faced, holding up his hand to his soldiers,

and giving them to understand with his own voice, that it was himself. The elephants in the end were they indeed that wan the battell, and did most distress the Romans: for, their horses seeing them afar off, were sore afraid, and durst not abide them, but carried their maisters back in despite of them. Pyrrhus at the sight thereof, made his Thessalian horsemen to give a charge upon them whilst they were in this disorder, and that so lustily, as they made the Romans fly, and sustain great slaughter. For Dionysius writeth, that there died few less, than fifteen thousand Romans at that battell. But Hieronymus speaketh only of seven thousand. And of Pyrrhus' side, Dionysius writeth, there were slain thirteen thousand. But Hieronymus saith less than four thousand: howbeit they were all of the best men of his army, and those whom most he trusted. King Pyrrhus presently hereupon also took the Romans' camp, which they forsook, and wan many of their cities from their alliance, spoiled, and overcame much of their country. In so much as he came within six and thirty miles of Rome, whither came to his aid, as confederates of the Tarentines, the Lucanians, and the Samnites, whom he rebuked because they came too late to the battell. Howbeit a man might easily see in his face, that he was not a little glad and proud to have overthrown so great an army of the Romans with his own men, and the aid of the Tarentines only. On the other side, the Romans' hearts were so great, that they would not depose Lævinus from his Consulship, notwithstanding the loss he had received: and Caius Fabricius said openly, that they were not the Epirotes that had overcome the Romans, but

Pyrrhus'  
victory of  
Lævinus  
the  
Consul

The noble  
mind of  
the  
Romans

Pyrrhus had overcome Lævinus: meaning thereby, that this overthrow chanced unto them, more through the subtlety and wise conduction of the general, than through the valiant feats and worthiness of his army. And hereupon they speedily supplied their legions again that were diminished, with other new soldiers in the dead men's place, and levied a fresh force besides, speaking bravely and fiercely of this war, like men whose hearts were nothing appalled. Whereat Pyrrhus marvelling much, thought good first to send to the Romans, to prove if they would give any ear to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the city of Rome was no easy matter to compass, or attain, with that strength he presently had: and also that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valiant victory. And hereupon he sent Cineas to Rome, who spoke with the chiefest of the city, and offered presents to them and their wives, in the behalf of the king his maister. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receive any at his hands, but answered all with one voice: that if the peace might be general to all, they all privately would be at the king's commandment, and would be glad of his friendship. Moreover, when Cineas had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had delivered them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor shewed any affection to give ear unto them, although he offered to deliver them their prisoners home again without ransom, that had been taken at the battell, and promised also to aid them in the conquest of Italy, requiring no other recompense at their hands, saving their

goodwills only to his maister, and assurance for the Tarentines, that they should not be annoyed for anything past, without demand of other matter. Nevertheless in the end, when they had heard these offers, many of the senators yielded, and were willing to make peace: alleging that they had already lost a great battell, and how they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of Italy should join together with King Pyrrhus' power. But Appius Claudius, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor dealt in matters of state at all by reason of his age, and partly because he was blind: when he understood of King Pyrrhus' offers, and of the common bruit that ran through the city, how the Senate were in mind to agree to the capitulations of peace propounded by Cineas, he could not abide, but caused his servants to carry him in his chair upon their arms unto the Senate door, his sons, and sons-in-law taking him in their arms, carried him so into the Senate house. The Senate made silence to honour the coming in of so notable and worthy a personage; and he so soon as they had set him in his seat, began to speak in this sort. "Hitherunto with great impatience (my lords of Rome) have I borne the loss of my sight, but now, I would I were also as deaf as I am blind, that I might not (as I do) hear the report of your dishonourable consultations determined upon in Senate, which tend to subvert the glorious fame and reputation of Rome. What is now become of all your great and mighty brags you blazed abroad through the whole world? That if Alexander the Great himself had come into Italy, in the time that our fathers had been in the flower of their age, and

Appius  
Claudius'  
oration to  
the  
Senate

Appius  
Claudius'  
oration to  
the  
Senate

we in the prime of our youth, they would not have said everywhere that he was altogether invincible, as now at this present they do : but either he should have left his body slain here in battell, or at the leastwise have been driven to fly, and by his death or flying should greatly have enlarged the renown and glory of Rome. You plainly shew it now, that all these words spoken then, were but vain and arrogant vaunts of foolish pride. Considering that you tremble for fear of the Molossians and Chao-nians, who were ever a prey to the Macedonians : and that ye are afraid of Pyrrhus also, who all his lifetime served and followed one of the guard unto Alexander the Great, and now is come to make wars in these parts, not to aid the Grecians inhabiting in Italy, but to fly from his enemies there about his own country, offering you to conquer all the rest of Italy with an army, wherewith he was nothing able to keep a small part of Macedon only for himself. And therefore you must not persuade yourselves, that in making peace with him, you shall thereby be rid of him : but rather shall you draw others to come and set upon you besides. For they will utterly despise you, when they shall hear ye are so easily overcome, and that you have suffered Pyrrhus to escape your hands, before you made him feel the just reward of his bold presumptuous attempt upon you : carrying with him for a further hire, this advantage over you, that he hath given a great occasion both to the Samnites, and Tarentines, hereafter to mock and deride you." After that Appius had told this tale unto the Senate, every one through the whole assembly, desired rather war than peace. They despatched Cineas away thereupon with this answer, that

if Pyrrhus sought the Romans' friendship, he must first depart out of Italy, and then send unto them to treat of peace: but so long as he remained there with his army, the Romans would make wars upon him, with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had overthrown and slain ten thousand such captains as Lævinus was. They say that Cineas, during the time of his abode at Rome, entreating for this peace, did curiously labour to consider and understand the manners, order, and life of the Romans, and their common weal, discoursing thereof with the chiefest men of the city: and how afterwards he made ample report of the same unto Pyrrhus, and told him amongst other things, that the Senate appeared to him, a council-house of many kings. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they should fight against such a serpent, as that which was in old time in the marishes of Lerna, of which, when they had cut off one head seven other came up in the place: because the Consul Lævinus had now levied another army, twice as great as the first was, and had left at Rome also, many times as many good able men to carry armour. After this, there were sent ambassadors from Rome unto Pyrrhus, and amongst other, Caius Fabricius touching the state of the prisoners. Cineas told the king his master, that this Fabricius was one of the greatest men of account in all Rome, a right honest man, a good captain, and a very valiant man of his hands, yet poor indeed he was notwithstanding. Pyrrhus taking him secretly aside, made very much of him, and amongst other things, offered him both gold and silver, praying him to take it, not for any dishonest respect he meant

The  
majesty  
of the  
Senate of  
Rome

**Fabricius  
neither to  
be bribed  
nor feared**

towards him, but only for a pledge of the goodwill and friendship that should be between them. Fabricius would none of his gift: so Pyrrhus left him for that time. Notwithstanding the next morning thinking to fear him, because he had never seen elephant before, Pyrrhus commanded his men, that when they saw Fabricius and him talking together, they should bring one of his greatest elephants, and set him hard by them, behind a hanging: which being done at a certain sign by Pyrrhus given, suddenly the hanging was pulled back, and the elephant with his trunk was over Fabricius' head, and gave a terrible and fearful cry. Fabricius softly giving back, nothing afraid, laughed and said to Pyrrhus smiling: Neither did your gold (oh king) yesterday move me, nor your elephant to-day fear me. Furthermore, whilst they were at supper, falling in talk of divers matters, specially touching the state of Greece, and the philosophers there: Cineas by chance spoke of Epicurus, and rehearsed the opinions of the Epicureans touching the gods and government of the common wealth, how they placed man's chief felicity in pleasure, how they fled from all office and public charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: how they maintained that the gods were immortal, neither moved with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of all pleasures and delights, without taking any regard of men's doings. But as he still continued this discourse, Fabricius cried out aloud, and said: The gods grant that Pyrrhus and the Samnites were of such opinions, as long as they had wars against us. Pyrrhus marvelling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more desirous a great deal to have peace with the

Romans, than before. And privately prayed Fabricius very earnestly, that he would treat for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remain with him, saying: that he would give him the chief place of honour about him, amongst all his friends. Whereunto Fabricius answered him softly: That were not good (oh king) for yourself, quoth he: for your men that presently do honour and esteem you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather choose me for their king, than yourself. Such was Fabricius' talk, whose words Pyrrhus took not in ill part, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyrant would have been: but did himself report to his friends and familiars the noble mind he found in him, and delivered him upon his faith only, all the Roman prisoners: to the end that if the Senate would not agree unto peace, they might yet see their friends, and keep the feast of Saturn with them, and then to send them back again unto him. Which the Senate established by decree, upon pain of death to all such as should not perform the same accordingly. Afterwards Fabricius was chosen Consul, and as he was in his camp, there came a man to him that brought a letter from King Pyrrhus' physician, written with his own hands: in which the physician offered to poison his master, so he would promise him a good reward, for ending the wars without further danger. Fabricius detesting the wickedness of the physician, and having made Q. Æmilius his colleague and fellow Consul also, to abhor the same: wrote a letter unto Pyrrhus, and bade him take heed, for there were that meant to poison him. The contents of his letter were these: Caius Fabricius, and Quintus Æmilius Con-

Chivalry  
on both  
sides

**Pyrrhus sendeth the Romans their prisoners without ransom** suls of Rome, unto King Pyrrhus greeting. You have (oh king) made unfortunate choice, both of your friends and of your enemies, as shall appear unto you by reading of this letter which one of yours hath written unto us: for you make wars with just and honest men, and do yourself trust altogether the wicked and unfaithful. Hereot therefore we have thought good to advertise you, not in respect to pleasure you, but for fear lest the misfortune of your death might make us unjustly to be accused: imagining that by treachery of treason, we have sought to end this war, as though by valiantness we could not otherwise achieve it. Pyrrhus having read this letter, and proved the contents thereof true, executed the physician as he had deserved: and to requite the advertisement of the Consuls, he sent Fabricius and the Romans their prisoners, without paying of ransom, and sent Cineas again unto them, to prove if he could obtain peace. Howbeit, the Romans, because they would neither receive pleasure of their enemies, and least of all reward, for that they consented not unto so wicked a deed: did not only refuse to take their prisoners of free gift, but they sent him again so many Samnites and Tarentines. And furthermore, for peace and his friendship, they would give no ear to it, before the wars were ended, and that he had sent away his army again by sea, into his kingdom of Epirus. Wherefore Pyrrhus seeing no remedy, but that he must needs fight another battell, after he had somewhat refreshed his army, drew towards the city of Asculum, where he fought the second time with the Romans: and was brought into a marvellous ill ground for horsemen, by a very swift running river,

from whence came many brooks and deep marishes, insomuch as his elephants could have no space nor ground to join with the battell of the footmen, by reason whereof there was a great number of men hurt and slain on both sides. And in the end, the battell being fought out all day long, the dark night did sever them: but the next morning, Pyrrhus to win the advantage to fight in the plain field, where he might prevail with the force of his elephants, sent first certain of his bands to seize upon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy having brought the Romans into the plain field, he thrust in amongst his elephants, store of shot, and slingmen, and then made his army march (being very well set in order) with great fury against his enemies. They missing the other day's turnings and places of retire, were now compelled to fight all on a front in the plain field: and striving to break into the battell of Pyrrhus' footmen before the elephants came, they desperately pressed in upon their enemies' pikes with their swords, not caring for their own persons what became of them, but only looked to kill and destroy their enemies. In the end notwithstanding, after the battell had holden out very long, the Romans lost it, and they first began to break and fly on that side where Pyrrhus was, by reason of the great force and fury of his charge, and much more through the violence of the elephants: against which, the Romans' valiantness nor courage could ought prevail, but that they were driven to give them place (much like the rage of surging waves, or terrible trembling of the earth) rather than tarry to be trodden under feet, and overthrown by them, whom

**Pyrrhus'  
second  
battle  
with the  
Romans**

**Pyrrhus' victory of the Romans**

they were not able to hurt again, but be by them most grievously martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothing eased. The chase was not long, because they fled but into their camp: and Hieronymus the historiographer writeth, that there died six thousand men of the Romans, and of Pyrrhus' part about three thousand five hundred and five, as the king's own chronicles do witness. Nevertheless, Dionysius makes no mention of two battels given near unto the city of Asculum, nor that the Romans were certainly overthrown: howbeit he affirmeth that there was one battell only that continued until sun set, and that they scarcely severed also when night was come on, Pyrrhus being hurt on the arm with a spear, and his carriage robbed and spoiled by the Samnites besides. And further, that there died in this battell, above fifteen thousand men, as well of Pyrrhus' side, as of the Romans' part: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retire. And some say, that it was at that time Pyrrhus answered one, who rejoiced with him for the victory they had won: If we win another of the price, quoth he, we are utterly undone. For indeed then had he lost the most part of his army he brought with him out of his realm, and all his friends and captains in manner every one, or at the least there lacked little of it: and besides that, he had no means to supply them with other from thence, and perceived also that the confederates he had in Italy, began to wax cold. Where the Romans to the contrary, did easily renew their army with fresh soldiers, which they caused to come from Rome as need required (much like unto a lively spring, the head whereof they

had at home in their country) and they fainted not at all for any losses they received, but rather were they so much the more hotly bent, stoutly determining to abide out the wars, whatever betide. And thus whilst Pyrrhus was troubled in this sort, new hopes and new enterprises were offered unto him, that made him doubtful what to do. For even at a clap came ambassadors to him out of Sicily, offering to put into his hands, the cities of Syracusa, of Agrigentum, and of the Leontines, and beseeching him to aid them to drive the Carthaginians out of the isle, thereby to deliver them from all the tyrants. And on the other side also, news was brought him from Greece, how Ptolemy surnamed the Lightning, was slain, and all his army overthrown in battell against the Gauls, and that now he should come in good hour for the Macedonians, who lacked but a king. Then he cursed his hard fortune that presented him all at once, such sundry occasions to do great things: and as if both enterprises had been already in his hand, he made his account that of necessity he must lose one of them. So, long debating the matter with himself, which of the two ways he should conclude upon: in the end he resolved, that by the wars of Sicily, there was good mean to attain to the greater matters, considering that Africa was not far from them. Wherefore, disposing himself that way, he sent Cineas thither immediately to make his way, and to speak to the towns and cities of the country as he was wont to do: and in the meantime left a strong garrison in the city of Tarentum, to keep it at his devotion, wherewith the Tarentines were very angry. For they made request unto him, either to remain in their country to maintain wars with them

**Ambas-  
sadors  
out of  
Sicily  
to pray  
aid of  
Pyrrhus**

**Pyrrhus'** against the Romans, (which was their meaning why  
**journey** they sent for him) or else if he would needs go, at  
**into** the leastwise to leave their city in as good state as  
**Sicily** he found it. But he answered them again very  
roughly, that they should speak no more to him in  
it, and that they should not choose but tarry his  
occasion. And with this answer took ship, and  
sailed towards Sicilia: where so soon as he was  
arrived, he found all that he hoped for, for the  
cities did willingly put themselves into his hands.  
And where necessity of battell was offered him to  
employ his army, nothing at the beginning could  
stand before him. For, with thirty thousand foot-  
men, two thousand five hundred horsemen, and two  
hundred sail which he brought with him, he drave  
the Carthaginians before him, and conquered all the  
country under their obedience. Now at that time,  
the city of Eryx was the strongest place they had: and  
there were a great number of good soldiers within to  
defend it. Pyrrhus determined to prove the assault  
of it, and when his army was ready to give the  
charge, he armed himself at all pieces from top to  
toe, and approaching the walls, vowed unto Hercules  
to give him a solemn sacrifice, with a feast of com-  
mon plays, so that he would grant him grace to shew  
himself unto the Grecians inhabiting in Sicily,  
worthy of the noble ancestors from whence he  
came, and of the great good fortune he had in his  
hands. This vow ended, he straight made the  
trumpets sound to the assault, and caused the bar-  
barous people that were on the walls, to retire with  
force of his shot. Then when the scaling ladders  
were set up, himself was the first that mounted on  
the wall, where he found divers of the barbarous

people that resisted him. But some he threw over the walls on either side of him, and with his sword slew many dead about him, himself not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the heart to look him in the face, his countenance was so terrible. And this doth prove that Homer spoke wisely, and like a man of experience, when he said: that valiantness only amongst all other moral vertues is that, which hath sometimes certain furious motions and divine provocations, which makes a man besides himself. So the city being taken, he honourably performed his vowed sacrifice to Hercules, and kept a feast of all kinds and sorts of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that time about Messina, called the Mamertines, who did much hurt to the Grecians thereabouts, making many of them pay tax and tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of war and good soldiers, and had their name also of Mars, because they were martial men, and given to arms. Pyrrhus led his army against them, and overthrew them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did levy and exact the tax, and razed many of their fortresses. And when the Carthaginians required peace and his friendship, offering him ships and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a short answer, that there was but one way to make peace and love between them, to forsake Sicilia altogether, and to be contented to make Mare Libycum the border betwixt Greece and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his hands, did set him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into Sicily, aspiring first of all unto the conquest of

The Ma-  
mertines,  
why so  
called

Pyrrhus'  
cruelty in  
Sicilia

Libya. Now, to pass him over thither he had ships enough, but he lacked owers and mariners : wherefore when he would press them, then he began to deal roughly with the cities of Sicily, and in anger compelled, and severely punished them, that would not obey his commandment. This he did not at his first coming, but contrarily had won all their goodwills, speaking more curteously to them than any other did, and shewing that he trusted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But sodainly being altered from a popular prince, unto a violent tyrant, he was not only thought cruel and rigorous, but that worst of all is, unfaithful and ungrateful : nevertheless, though they received great hurt by him, yet they suffered it, and granted him any needful thing he did demand. But when they saw he began to mistrust Thœnon and Sostratus, the two chief captains of Syracuse, and they who first caused him to come into Sicily, who also at his first arrival delivered the city of Syracuse into his hands, and had been his chief aiders in helping him to compass that he had done in Sicily : when I say they saw he would no more carry them with him, nor leave them behind him for the mistrust he had of them, and that Sostratus fled from him, and absented himself, fearing lest Pyrrhus would do him some mischief : and that Pyrrhus moreover, had put Thœnon to death, mistrusting that he would also have done him some harm : then all things fell out against Pyrrhus, not one after another, nor by little and little, but all together at one instant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death and did again some of them confederate with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, to set upon

him. But when all Sicilia was thus bent against him, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, by which they advertised him, how they had much ado to defend themselves within their cities and strongholds, and that they were wholly driven out of the field: wherefore they earnestly besought him speedily to come to their aid. This news came happily to him, to cloke his flying, that he might say it was not for despair of good success in Sicilia that he went his way: but true it was indeed, that when he saw he could no longer keep it, than a ship could stand still among the waves, he sought some honest shadow to colour his departing. And that surely was the cause why he returned again in Italy. Nevertheless, at his departure out of Sicily, they say that looking back upon the isle, he said to those that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my friends, do we leave to the Romans and Carthaginians, to fight the one with the other! And verily so it fell out shortly after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous people conspiring together against Pyrrhus, the Carthaginians on the one side watching his passage, gave him battell on the sea, in the very strait itself of Messina, where he lost many of his ships, and fled with the rest, and took the coast of Italy. And there the Mamertines on the other side, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteen thousand fighting men: durst not present him battell in open field, but tarried for him in certain straits of the mountains, and in very hard places, and so set upon his rearward, and disordered all his army. They slew two of his elephants, and cut off a great number of his rearward, so he was compelled him-

Pyrrhus'  
return  
into  
Italy

**Pyrrhus** self in person to come from his vantguard, to help  
**clove his** them against the barbarous people, which were lusty  
**enemy's** valiant men, and old trained soldiers. And there  
**head** Pyrrhus caught a blow on his head with a sword,  
**in the** and was in great danger: insomuch as he was  
**middest** forced to retire out of the prease and fight, which  
did so much the more encourage his enemies.  
Amongst which there was one more adventurous than  
the rest, a goodly man of personage, fair armed in  
white armour, who advancing himself far before his  
company, cried out to the king with a bold and  
fierce voice, and challenged him to fight with him if  
he were alive. Pyrrhus being mad as it were with  
this bravery, turned again with his guard, in spite  
of his men, hurt as he was. And besides that, he  
was all on a fire with choler, and his face all bloody  
and terrible to behold, he went through his men,  
and came at the length to this barbarous villain that  
had challenged him: and gave him such a blow on  
his head with all his force and power, that what by  
the strength of his arm, and through the goodness  
of the temper and mettal of the sword, the blow  
clove his head right in the middest, down to the  
shoulders: so that his head being thus divided, the  
one part fell on the one shoulder, and the other  
part on the other. This matter suddenly stayed  
the barbarous people, and kept them from going  
any further, they were so afraid and amazed both  
to see so great a blow with one's hand, and it made  
them think indeed that Pyrrhus was more than a  
man. After that, they let him go, and troubled  
him no more. Pyrrhus holding on his journey,  
arrived at the length in the city of Tarentum, with  
twenty thousand footmen, and three thousand horse.

And with these (joining thereto the choicest picked men of the Tarentines) he went incontinently into the field to seek out the Romans, who had their camp within the territories of the Samnites, which were then in very hard state. For their hearts were killed, because that in many battels and encounters with the Romans, they were ever overthrown. They were very angry besides with Pyrrhus, for that he had forsaken them, to go his voyage unto Sicilia, by reason whereof there came no great number of soldiers into his camp. But notwithstanding, he divided all his strength into two parts, whereof he sent the one part into Lucania, to occupy one of the Roman Consuls that was there, to the end he should not come to aid his companion: and with the other part he went himself against Manius Curius, who lay in a very strange place of advantage near to the city of Beneventum, attending the aid that should come to him out of Lucania, besides also that the soothsayers (by the signs and tokens of the birds and sacrifices) did counsel him not to stir from thence. Pyrrhus to the contrary, desiring to fight with Manius before his aid came unto him, which he looked for out of Lucania, took with him the best soldiers he had in all his army, and the warlikest elephants, and marched away in the night, supposing to steal upon Manius on the sudden, and give an assault unto his camp. Now Pyrrhus having a long way to go, and through a woody country, his lights and torches failed him, by reason whereof many of his soldiers lost their way, and they lost a great deal of time also, before they could again be gathered together: so as in this space the night was spent, and the day once broken,

**Pyrrhus'  
third  
battell  
with the  
Romans**

**Pyrrhus** the enemies perceived plainly how he came down  
**over-** the hills. This at the first sight made them muse  
**thrown by** awhile, and put them in a little fear: nevertheless  
**Manius** Manius having had the signs of the sacrifices favour-  
**Curius** able, and seeing that occasion did press him to it,  
 went out into the field, and set upon the vaward of  
 his enemies, and made them turn their backs. The  
 which feared all the rest in such wise, that there  
 were slain a great number of them in the field, and  
 certain elephants also taken. This victory made  
 Manius Curius leave his strength, and come into  
 the plain field, where he set his men in battel ray,  
 and overthrew his enemies by plain force on the  
 one side: but on the other he was repulsed by  
 violence of the elephants, and compelled to draw  
 back into his own camp, wherein he had left a  
 great number of men to guard it. So when he  
 saw them upon the rampers of his camp all armed,  
 ready to fight, he called them out, and they coming  
 fresh out of places of advantage, to charge upon the  
 elephants, compelled them in a very short time to  
 turn their backs, and fly through their own men,  
 whom they put to great trouble and disorder: so  
 as in the end, the whole victory fell upon the  
 Romans' side, and consequently by means of that  
 victory, followed the greatness and power of their  
 Empire. For the Romans being grown more  
 courageous by this battel and having increased their  
 force, and won the reputation of men unconquer-  
 able: immediately after conquered all Italy besides,  
 and soon after that, all Sicilia. To this end as  
 you see, came King Pyrrhus' vain hope he had to  
 conquer Italy and Sicilia, after he had spent six  
 years continually in wars, during which time his

good fortune decayed, and his army consumed. Notwithstanding, his noble courage remained always invincible, what losses soever he had sustained: and moreover whilst he lived, he was ever esteemed the chiefest of all the kings and princes in his time, as well for his experience and sufficiency in wars, as also for the valiantness and hardiness of his person. But what he wan by famous deeds, he lost by vain hopes: desiring so earnestly that which he had not, as he forgot to keep that which he had. Wherefore Antigonus compared him unto a dice player that casteth well but cannot use his luck. Now having brought back again with him into Epirus, eight thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen, and being without money to pay them, he devised with himself to seek out some new war to entertain those soldiers, and keep them together. Wherefore upon a new aid of certain Gauls being come unto him, he entered into the realm of Macedon (which Antigonus, Demetrius' son held at that time) with intent only to make a foray, and to get some spoil in the country. But when he saw that he had taken divers holds, and moreover, that two thousand men of war of the country came and yielded themselves unto him: he began to hope of better success, than at the first he looked for. For upon that hope he marched against King Antigonus self, whom he met in a very strait valley, and at his first coming, gave such a lusty charge upon his rereward, that he put all Antigonus' army in great disorder. For Antigonus had placed the Gauls in the rereward of his army to close it in, which were a convenient number, and did valiantly defend the first charge: and the skirmish

**Pyrrhus'**  
**victory of**  
**Antigo-**  
**nus, king**  
**of Mace-**  
**don**

**Piety of Pyrrhus** was so hot, that the most of them were slain. After them, the leaders of the elephants perceiving they were environed on every side, yielded themselves and their beasts. Pyrrhus seeing his power to be now increased, with such a supply, trusting more to his good fortune, than any good reason might move him: thrust further into the battell of the Macedonians, who were all afraid, and troubled for the overthrow of their reward, so as they would not once base their pikes, nor fight against him. He for his part holding up his hand, and calling the captains of the bands by their names, straightways made all the footmen of Antigonus turn wholly to his side: who flying saved himself with a few horsemen, and kept certain of the cities in his realm upon the sea coast. But Pyrrhus in all his prosperity judging nothing more to redound to his honour and glory, than the overthrow of the Gauls, laid aside their goodliest and richest spoils, and offered up the same in the temple of Minerva Itonis, with this inscription.

When Pyrrhus had subdued the puissant Gauls in fields,  
He caused of their spoils to make these targets, arms,  
and shields:

The which he hangèd up in temple all on high,  
Before Minerva (goddess here) in sign of victory.  
When he had overcome the whole and hugie host,  
The which Antigonus did bring into his country's  
coast.

No marvel should it seem, though victory be won,  
since valiantness brings victory, and evermore hath  
done.

And valiantness always hath constantly kept place,  
From age to age, and time to time, in Æacus his race.

Immediately after this battell, all the cities of

the realm of Macedon yielded unto him : but when he had the city of Ægæ in his power, he used the inhabitants thereof very hardly, and specially because he left a great garrison of the Gauls there which he had in pay. This nation is extreme covetous, as then they shewed themselves : for they spared not to break up the tombs wherein the kings of Macedon lay buried there, took away all the gold and silver they could find, and afterwards with great insolency cast out their bones into the open wind. Pyrrhus was told it, but he lightly passed it over, and made no reckoning of it : either because he deferred it till another time, by reason of the wars he had then in hand : or else for that he durst not meddle with punishing of these barbarous people at that time. But whatsoever the matter was, the Macedonians were very angry with Pyrrhus, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, having not yet made all things sure in Macedon, not being fully possessed of the same : new toys and hope came into his head, and mocking Antigonus said, he was a mad man to go appavelled in purple like a king, when a poor cloke might become him like a private man. Now, Cleonymus king of Sparta being come to procure him to bring his army into the country of Lacedæmon, Pyrrhus was very willing to it. This Cleonymus was of the blood royal of Sparta, but because he was a cruel man and would do all things by authority, they loved him not at Sparta, nor trusted him at all : and therefore did they put him out, and made Areus king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrel Cleonymus had against the commonwealth of Sparta : but besides that, he had

**The  
covetous-  
ness of  
the Gauls**

The  
cause of  
Pyrrhus'  
invading  
Pelopon-  
nesus

another private quarrel, which grew upon this cause. In his old years, Cleonymus had married a fair young lady called Chelidonis, which was also of the blood royal, and the daughter of Leotyichides. This lady being fallen extremely in love with Acrotatus, King Areus' son, a goodly young gentleman, and in his lusty youth, she greatly vexed and dishonoured her husband Cleonymus, who was over head and ears in love and jealousy with her: for there was not one in all Sparta, but plainly knew that his wife made none account of him. And thus his home sorrows, being joined with his outward common griefs, even for spite, desiring a revenge, in choler he went to procure Pyrrhus to come unto Sparta, to restore him again to his kingdom. Hereupon he brought him into Lacedæmonia forthwith, with five and twenty thousand footmen, two thousand horse, and four and twenty elephants: by which preparation, though by nothing else, the world might plainly see, that Pyrrhus came with a mind not to restore Cleonymus again unto Sparta, but of intent to conquer for himself (if he could) all the country of Peloponnesus. For in words he denied it to the Lacedæmonians themselves, who sent ambassadors unto him, when he was in the city of Megalopolis, where he told them that he was come into Peloponnesus, to set the towns and cities at liberty which Antigonus kept in bondage: and that his true intent and meaning was to send his young sons into Sparta (so they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the Laconian manner, and from their youth have this advantage above all other kings, to have been well brought up. But feigning these

things, and abusing those that came to meet him on his way, they took no heed of him, till he came within the coast of Laconia, into the which he was no sooner entered, but he began to spoil and waste the whole country. And when the ambassadors of Sparta reprov'd and found fault with him, for that he made wars upon them in such sort, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them answer: No more have you yourselves used to proclaim that, which you purpos'd to do to others. Then one of the ambassadors call'd Mandricidas: replied again unto him in the Laconian tongue: If thou be a god, thou wilt do us no hurt, because we have not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou shalt meet with another that shall be better than thyself. Then he march'd directly to Sparta, where Cleonymus gave him counsel even at the first, to assault it. But he would not so do fearing (as they said) that if he did it by night, his soldiers would sack the city: and said it should be time enough to assault it the next day at broad day light, because there were but few men within the town, and beside they were very ill provided. And furthermore, King Arcus himself was not there, but gone into Creta to aid the Gortynians, who had wars in his own country. And doubtless, that only was the saving of Sparta from taking, that they made no reckoning to assault it hotly: because they thought it was not able to make resistance. For Pyrrhus camp'd before the town, throughly persuaded with himself, that he should find none to fight with him: and Cleonymus' friends and servants also did prepare his lodging there, as if Pyrrhus should have come to supper

**Pyrrhus  
besiegeth  
Lacedæ-  
mon**

The  
courage  
of the  
women of  
Sparta

to him, and lodged with him. When night was come the Lacedæmonians counselled together, and secretly determined to send away their wives, and little children into Creta. But the women themselves were against it, and there was one among them called Archidamia, who went into the Senate house with a sword in her hand, to speak unto them in the name of all the rest, and said: that they did their wives great wrong, if they thought them so faint-hearted, as to live after Sparta were destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in council, that they should cast a trench before the enemies' camp, and that at both the ends of the same they should bury carts in the ground unto the middest of the wheels, to the end that being fast set in the ground they should stay the elephants, and keep them from passing further. And when they began to go in hand withal, there came wives and maids unto them, some of them their clothes girt up round about them, and others all in their smocks, to work at this trench with the old men, advising the young men that should fight the next morning, to rest themselves in the meanwhile. So the women took the third part of the trench to task, which was six cubits broad, four cubits deep, and eight hundred feet long as Philarchus saith, or little less as Hieronymus writeth. Then when the break of day appeared, and the enemies removed to come to the assault: the women themselves fetched the weapons which they put into the young men's hands, and delivered them the task of the trench ready made, which they before had undertaken, praying them valiantly to keep and defend it, telling them withal, how great a pleasure it is to overcome the enemies,

fighting in view and sight of their native country, and what great felicity and honour it is to die in the arms of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valiantly like an honest man, and worthy of the magnanimity of Sparta. But Chelidonis being gone aside, had tied a halter with a riding knot about her neck, ready to strangle and hang herself, rather than to fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if by chance the city should come to be taken. Now Pyrrhus marched in person with his battell of footmen, against the front of the Spartans, who being a great number also, did tarry his coming on the other side of the trench: the which, besides that it was very ill to pass over, did let the soldiers also to fight steadily in order of battell, because the earth being newly cast up, did yield under their feet. Wherefore Ptolemy King Pyrrhus' son, passing all along the trench side with two thousand Gauls, and all the choice men of the Chaonians, assayed if he could get over to the other side at one of the ends of the trench where the carts were: which being set very deep into the ground, and one joined unto another, they did not only hinder the assailants, but the defendants also. Howbeit in the end, the Gauls began to pluck off the wheels of these carts, and to draw them into the river. But Acrotatus, King Areus' son, a young man, seeing the danger, ran through the city with a troop of three hundred lusty youths besides, and went to enclose Ptolemy behind, before he espied him, for that he passed a secret hollow way till he came even to give the charge upon them: whereby they were enforced to turn their faces towards him, one running in another's neck, and so in great disorder were thrust

**Acro-  
tatus'**  
**valiant-  
ness**

**Pyrrhus'** into the trenches, and under the carts : insomuch  
**dream** as at the last, with much ado, and great bloodshed, Acrotatus and his company drave them back, and repulsed them. Now the women and old men, that were on the other side of the trench, saw plainly before their face, how valiantly Acrotatus had repulsed the Gauls. Wherefore after Acrotatus had done this exploit, he returned again through the city unto the place from whence he came, all on a gore-blood : courageous and lively, for the victory he came newly from. The women of Sparta thought Acrotatus far more noble and fairer to behold, than ever he was : so that they all thought Chelidonis happy to have such a friend and lover. And there were certain old men, that followed him crying after him, Go thy way Acrotatus, and enjoy thy love Chelidonis : beget noble children of her unto Sparta. The fight was cruel on that side where Pyrrhus was, and many of the Spartans fought very valiantly. Howbeit, amongst other, there was one named Phyllius, who after he had fought long, and slain many of his enemies with his own hands, that forced to pass over the trench : perceiving that his heart fainted for the great number of wounds he had upon him, called one of them that were in the rank next behind him, and giving him his place, fell down dead in the arms of his friends, because his enemies should not have his body. In the end, the battell having continued all the day long, the night did separate them : and Pyrrhus, being laid in his bed, had this vision in his sleep. He thought he struck the city of Lacedæmon with lightning, that he utterly consumed it : whereat he was so passing glad, that even with the very joy he awaked.

And thereupon forthwith commanded his captains to make their men ready to the assault: and told his dream unto his familiars, supposing that out of doubt it did betoken he should in that approach take the city. All that heard it, believed it was so, saving one Lysimachus: who to the contrary said, that this vision liked him not, because the places smitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawful to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also afraid, that the gods did signify unto him, that he should not enter into the city of Sparta. Pyrrhus answered him: That said he, is a matter disputable to and fro in an open assembly of people, for there is no manner of certainty in it. But furthermore, every man must take his weapon in his hand, and set this sentence before his eyes,

The  
assault

A right good thing it is, that he would hazard life  
In just defence of master's cause, with spear and bloody  
knife.

Alluding unto Homer's verses, which he wrote for the defence of his country. And saying thus, he rose, and at the break of day led his army unto the assault. On the other side also, the Lacedæmonians with a marvellous courage and magnanimity, far greater than their force, bestirred themselves wonderfully to make resistance, having their wives by them that gave them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to give meat and drink to them that needed, and did also withdraw those that were hurt to cure them. The Macedonians likewise for their part, endeavoured themselves with all their might to fill up the trench with wood and other things, which they cast upon

**Pyrrhus  
in danger  
of his life**

the dead bodies and armours lying in the bottom of the ditch : and the Lacedæmonians again, laboured all that they could possible to let them. But in this great broil, one perceived Pyrrhus on horseback to have leapt the trench, past over the strength of the carts, and make force to enter into the city. Wherefore those that were appointed to defend that part of the trench, cried out straight : and the women fell a-shrieking, and running as if all had been lost. And as Pyrrhus passed further, striking down with his own hands all that stood before him, a Cretan shot at him, and struck his horse through both sides : who leaping out of the prease for pain of his wound, dying, carried Pyrrhus away, and threw him upon the hanging of a steep hill, where he was in great danger to fall from the top. This put all his servants and friends about him in a marvellous fear, and therewithal the Lacedæmonians seeing them in this fear and trouble ran immediately unto that place, and with force of shot drove them all out of the trench. After this retire, Pyrrhus caused all assault to cease, hoping the Lacedæmonians in the end would yield, considering there were many of them slain in the two days past, and all the rest in a manner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the city (whether it were to prove the valiantness of the inhabitants themselves, or at the least to shew what power they were of even in their greatest need and distress, when the Lacedæmonians had small hope left) brought one Aminias Phocian from Corinth, one of King Antigonus' captains with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aid them : and straight after him, as soon as he was entred, King Areus arrived also on the other side from Creta, and

two thousand soldiers with him. So the women went home to their houses, making their reckoning that they should not need any more to trouble themselves with wars. They gave the old men liberty also to go and rest themselves, who being past all age to fight, for necessity's sake yet were driven to arm themselves, and take weapon in hand: and in order of battell placed the new-come soldiers in their rooms. Pyrrhus understanding that new supplies were come, grew to greater stomach than before, and enforced all that he could to win the town by assault. But in the end, when to his cost he found that he wan nothing but blows, he gave over the siege, and went to spoil all the country about, determining to lie there in garrison all the winter. He could not for all this avoid his destiny. For there rose a sedition in the city of Argos between two of the chiefest citizens, Aristetas and Aristippus: and because Aristetas thought that King Antigonus did favour his enemy Aristippus, he made haste to send first unto Pyrrhus, whose nature and disposition was such, that he did continually heap hope upon hope, ever taking the present prosperity, for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loser, then he sought to recover himself, and to restore his loss by some other new attempts. So that neither for being conqueror, nor overcome, he would ever be quiet, but always troubled some, and himself also: by reason whereof, he suddenly departed towards Argos. But King Areus having laid ambushes for him in divers places, and occupied also the straitest and hardest passages, by the which he was to pass: gave a charge upon the Gauls and Molossians,

King  
Areus  
arrived in  
Sparta  
with new  
aid

**Ptolemy,**  
**King**  
**Pyrrhus'**  
**son, slain**

which were in the tail of his army. Now, the self-same day Pyrrhus was warned by a soothsayer, who sacrificing had found the liver of the sacrificed beast infected: that it betokened the loss of some most near unto him. But when he heard the noise of the charge given, he thought not on the warning of the soothsayer, but commanded his son to take his household servants with him, and go thither: as he himself in the meantime with as great haste as he could, made the rest of his army march, to get them quickly out of this dangerous way. The fray was very hot about Ptolemy, Pyrrhus' son, for they were all the chief men of the Lacedæmonians with whom he had to do, led by a valiant captain, called Eualcus. But as he fought valiantly against those that stood before him, there was a soldier of Creta called Oryssus, born in the city of Aptaera, a man very ready of his hand, and light of foot, who running alongst by him, stroke him such a blow on his side, that he fell down dead in the place. This prince Ptolemy being slain, his company began straight to fly: and the Lacedæmonians followed the chase so hotly, that they took no heed of themselves, until they saw they were in the plain field far from their footmen. Wherefore, Pyrrhus unto whom the death of his son was newly reported, being on fire with sorrow and passion, turned suddenly upon them with the men of arms of the Molossians, and being the first that came unto them, made a marvellous slaughter among them. For, notwithstanding that everywhere before that time he was terrible and invincible, having his sword in his hand: yet then he did shew more proof of his valiantness, strength, and courage, than he had

ever done before. And when he had set spurs to his horse against Eualcus to close with him : Eualcus turned on the one side, and gave Pyrrhus such a blow with his sword, that he missed little the cutting off his bridle hand : for he cut indeed all the reins of the bridle asunder. But Pyrrhus straight ran him through the body with his spear, and lighting off from his horse, he put all the troupe of the Lacedæmonians to the sword that were about the body of Eualcus, being all chosen men. Thus the ambition of the captains was cause of that loss unto their country for nothing, considering that the wars against them were ended. But Pyrrhus having now as it were made sacrifice of these poor bodies of the Lacedæmonians, for the soul of his dead son, and fought thus wonderfully also, to honour his funerals, converting a great part of his sorrow for his death, into anger and wrath against the enemies : he afterwards held on his way directly towards Argos. And understanding that King Antigonus had already seized the hills that were over the valley, he lodged near unto the city of Nauplia : and the next morning following sent an herald unto Antigonus, and gave him defiance, calling him wicked man, and challenged him to come down into the valley to fight with him, to try which of them two should be king. Antigonus made him answer, that he made wars as much with time as with weapon : and furthermore, that if Pyrrhus were weary of his life, he had ways open enough to put himself to death. The citizens of Argos also sent ambassadors unto them both, to pray them to depart, sith they knew that there was nothing for them to see in the city of Argos, and that they

**Anti-  
gonus'  
answer  
to King  
Pyrrhus'  
challenge**

**Pyrrhus' fight** would let it be a neuter, and friend unto them both. King Antigonus agreed unto it, and gave them his son for hostage. Pyrrhus also made them fair promise so to do too, but because he gave no caution nor sufficient pledge to perform it, they mistrusted him the more. Then there fell out many great and wonderful tokens, as well unto Pyrrhus, as unto the Argives. For Pyrrhus having sacrificed oxen, their heads being stricken off from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and licked up their own blood. And within the city of Argos, a sister of the temple of Apollo Lycæus, called Apollonis, ran through the streets, crying out that she saw the city full of murther, and blood running all about, and an eagle that came unto the fray, howbeit she vanished away suddenly and nobody knew what became of her. Pyrrhus then coming hard to the walls of Argos in the night and finding one of the gates called Diamperes, opened by Aristetas, he put in his Gauls: who possessed the market-place, before the citizens knew anything of it. But because the gate was too low to pass the elephants through with their towers upon their backs, they were driven to take them off, and afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the dark, and in tumult: by reason whereof they lost much time, so that the citizens in the end perceived it, and ran incontinently unto the castle of Aspis, and into other strong places of the city. And therewithal, they sent with present speed unto Antigonus, to pray him to come and help them, and so he did: and after he was come hard to the walls, he remained without with the scouts, and in the meantime sent his son with his chiefest captains into the

town, who brought a great number of good soldiers, and men of war with them. At the same time also arrived Areus king of Sparta, with a thousand of the Cretans, and most lusty Spartans; all which joining together, came to give a charge upon the Gauls that were in the market-place, who put them in a marvellous fear and hazard. Pyrrhus entring on that side also of the city called Cylarabis, with terrible noise and cries: when he understood that the Gauls answered him not lustily and courageously, he doubted straight that it was the voice of men distressed, and that had their hands full. Wherefore, he came on with speed to relieve them, thrusting the horsemen forwards that marched before him, with great danger and pain, by reason of holes, and sinks, and water conduits, whereof the city was full. By this mean there was a wonderful confusion amongst them, as may be thought fighting by night, where no man saw what he had to do, nor could hear what was commanded, by reason of the great noise they made, straying here and there up and down the streets, the one scattered from the other: neither could the captains set their men in order, as well for the darkness of the night, as also for the confused tumult that was all the city over, and for that the streets also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both sides without doing anything, looking for daylight: at the dawning whereof, Pyrrhus perceived the castle of Aspis, full of his armed enemies. And furthermore, suddenly as he was come into the market-place, amongst many other goodly common works set out to beautify the same, he spied the images of a bull and a wolf

in the city  
of Argos

A bull  
and a  
wolf in  
copper,  
fighting  
together

in copper, the which fought one with another. This fight made him afraid, because at that present he remembered a prophecy that had been told him, that his end and death should be when he saw a wolf and a bull fight together. The Argives' report, that these images were set up in the market-place, for the remembrance of a certain chance that had happened in their country. For when Danaus came thither first, by the way called Pyramia (as one would say, land sown with corn) in the country of Thyreatide, he saw as he went, a wolf fight with a bull: whereupon he stayed to see what the end of their fight would come to, supposing the case in himself, that the wolf was of his side, because that being a stranger as he was, he came to set upon the natural inhabitants of the country. The wolf in the end obtained the victory: wherefore Danaus making his prayer unto Apollo Lycæus, followed on his enterprise, and had so good success, that he drave Gelanor out of Argos, who at that time was king of the Argives. And thus you hear the cause why they say these images of the wolf and bull were set up in the market-place of Argos. Pyrrhus being half discouraged with the sight of them, and also because nothing fell out well according to his expectation, thought best to retire: but fearing the straitness of the gates of the city, he sent unto his son Helenus, whom he had left without the city with the greatest part of his force and army, commanding him to overthrow a piece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receive them, if their enemies by chance did hinder their coming out. But the messenger whom he sent, was so hasty and fearful,

with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well understand what Pyrrhus said unto him, but reported his message quite contrary. Whereupon the young prince Helenus taking the best soldiers he had with him, and the rest of his elephants, entered into the city to help his father, who was now giving back: and so long as he had room to fight at ease, retiring still, he valiantly repulsed those that set upon him, turning his face oft unto them. But when he was driven unto the street that went from the market-place to the gate of the city, he was kept in with his own men that entred at the same gate to help him. But they could not hear when Pyrrhus cried out, and bade them go back, the noise was so great: and though the first had heard him, and would have gone back, yet they that were behind, and did still thrust forward into the prease, did not permit them. Besides this moreover, the biggest of all the elephants by misfortune fell down overthwart the gate, where he grinding his teeth did hinder those also, that would have come out and given back. Furthermore, another of the elephants that were entered before into the city, called Nikon (as much to say, as conquering) seeking his governor that was stricken down to the ground from his back with terrible blows: ran upon them that came back upon him, overthrowing friends and foes one in another's neck, till at the length having found the body of his master slain, he lift him up from the ground with his trunk, and carrying him upon his two tusks, returned back with great fury, treading all under feet he found in his way. Thus every man being thronged and crowded up together in this

The  
strange  
love of  
an ele-  
phant to  
his keeper

**Pyrrhus  
slain with  
a tile  
thrown by  
a woman**

sort, there was not one that could help himself: for it seemed to be a mass and heap of a multitude, and one whole body shut together, which sometime thrust forward, and sometime gave back, as the sway went. They fought not so much against their enemies, who set upon them behind: but they did themselves more hurt than their enemies did. For if any drew out his sword, or based his pike, he could neither scabbard the one again, nor lift up the other, but thrust it full upon his own fellows that came in to help them, and so killed themselves one thrusting upon another. Wherefore Pyrrhus seeing his people thus troubled and hurried to and fro, took his crown from his head which he wore upon his helmet, that made him known of his men afar off, and gave it unto one of his familiars that was next unto him: and trusting then to the goodness of his horse, flew upon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pike, but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherefore Pyrrhus set upon him that had hurt him, who was an Argian born, a man of mean condition, and a poor old woman's son, whose mother at that present time was gotten up to the top of the tiles of a house, as all other women of the city were, to see the fight. And she perceiving that it was her son whom Pyrrhus came upon, was so affrighted to see him in that danger, that she took a tile, and with both her hands cast it upon Pyrrhus. The tile falling off from his head by reason of his headpiece, lighted full in the nap of his neck, and brake his neck bone asunder: where-with he was suddenly so benumbed, that he lost his sight with the blow, the reins of his bridle fell

out of his hand, and himself fell from his horse to the ground, by Licymnius' tomb, before any man knew what he was, at the least the common people. Until at the last there came one Zopyrus that was in pay with Antigonus, and two or three other soldiers also that ran straight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, even as he was coming again to himself out of this trance. This Zopyrus drew out a Slavon sword he wore by his side, to strike off his head. But Pyrrhus cast such a grim countenance on him between his eyes that made him so afraid, and his hand so to shake therewith: that being thus amazed, he did not strike him right in the place where he should have cut off his head, but killed him under his mouth about his chin, so that he was a great while ere he could strike off his head. The matter was straight blown abroad amongst divers: whereupon Alcyoneus running thither, asked for the head that he might know it again. But when he had it, he ran presently unto his father withal, and found him talking with his familiar friends, and cast Pyrrhus' head before him. Antigonus looking upon it, when he knew it, laid upon his son with his staff, and called him cruel murderer, and unnatural barbarous beast: and so hiding his eyes with his cloke, wept for pity (remembering the fortune of his grandfather Antigonus, and of his father Demetrius) and then caused Pyrrhus' head and body to be honourably burnt and buried. Afterwards Alcyoneus meeting Helenus (King Pyrrhus' son) in very poor state, muffled up with a poor short cloke: used him very courteously with gentle words, and brought him to his father. Antigonus

Anti-  
gonus'  
curtesy  
towards  
Pyrrhus'  
body

**Anti-  
gonus'  
curtesy  
towards  
Pyrrhus'  
friends**

seeing his son bringing of him, said unto him :  
 this part now (my son) is better than the first,  
 and pleaseth me a great deal more. But yet  
 thou hast not done all thou shouldest : for thou  
 shouldest have taken from him his beggarly cloke  
 he weareth, which doth more shame us that are the  
 gainers, than him that is the loser. After he had  
 spoken these words, Antigonus embraced Helenus,  
 and having apparelled him in good sort,  
 sent him home with honourable convoy  
 into his realm of Epirus. Further-  
 more, seizing all Pyrrhus'  
 camp and army, he cour-  
 teously received all  
 his friends and  
 servants.

THE END OF PYRRHUS' LIFE.

## THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARIUS

IT is not known what was the third name of Caius Marius, no more than of Quintius Sertorius, who had all Spain in his hands at one time: nor of Lucius Mummius, he that destroyed the city of Corinth. For this name of Achaicus that was given unto Mummius, of Africanus unto Scipio: and of Numidicus unto Metellus: were all surnames given them, by reason of the conquests they wan. By this reason Posidonius thinketh to overcome them that say, that the third name the Romans have, is their proper name: as Camillus, Marcellus, Cato. For if it fell out so, said he, then it must needs follow that they which have two names, should have no proper name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women have no names: for there is not a woman in Rome that is called by her first name, which Posidonius judgeth to be the proper name of the Romans. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the Pompeians, of the Manlians, and of the Cornelians, like as the Heraclids and the Pelopids are amongst the Grecians: and the other is a surname taken of the deeds, or of the nature, form, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these surnames, Macrinus, Torquatus, and Sulla. Even

The  
names  
of the  
Romans

**Marius' favour** as amongst the Grecians likewise, Mnemon, which signifieth having good memory : Grypos, having a crooked nose : Callinicos, conquering. But as for that, the diversity of custom would deliver objection sufficient to the contrary, to him that listed. And furthermore, as touching the favour of Marius' face, we have seen an image of his in marble at Ravenna, a city of the Gauls, which doth lively represent that rough severity of nature and manner which they say was in him. For being born a rough man by nature and given to the wars, and having followed the same altogether from his youth, more than the civil life : when he came to authority, he could not bridle his anger and choleric nature. And they say futhermore, that he never learned the Greek tongue, nor used it in any matters of weight : as though it had been a mockery to study to learn the tongue, the masters whereof lived in bondage under others. After his second triumph, in the dedication of a certain temple, he made Greek plays to shew the Romans pastime : and came into the theatre, howbeit he did but sit down only, and went his way straight. Wherefore me thinks, that as Plato was wont to say oft unto Xenocrates the philosopher, who was of a currish nature, had his head ever occupied, and too severe : Xenocrates, my friend, I pray thee do sacrifice to the Graces. So if any man could have persuaded Marius to have sacrificed to the Muses, and to the Grecian Graces : (that is to say, that he had known the Greek tongue) to so many famous and glorious deeds as he did, both in peace and wars, he had not joined so unfortunate and miserable an end as he made, through his choler and extreme ambition, at such years, and through

an insatiable covetousness, which like boisterous winds made him to make shipwreck of all, in a most cruel, bloody, and unnatural age. The which is easily known in reading the discourse of his doings. First of all he was of a mean house, born of poor parents by father and mother, that got their livings by sweat of their brows. His father as himself, was called Caius: Fulcinia was his mother. And this was the cause why he began so late to haunt the city, and to learn the civility and manners of Rome, having been brought up always before in a little poor village called Cirrhæaton, within the territory of the city of Arpinum: where he led a hard country life, in respect of those that lived pleasantly and finely in the cities, but otherwise well reformed, and nearest unto the manners of the ancient Romans. The first journey he made unto the wars, was against the Celtiberians in Spain, under Scipio African, when he went to besiege the city of Numantia: where his captains in short time found that he was a better soldier than any other of his companions. For he did marvellous easily receive the reformation of manners, and the discipline of wars, which Scipio advanced amongst his soldiers that were ill trained before, and given over to all pleasure. And they say, that in the sight of his general he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and slew him: upon which occasion, Scipio to make him love him, did offer him many courtesies and pleasures. But specially one day above the rest, having made him sup with him at his table, some one after supper falling in talk of captains that were in Rome at that time: one that stood by Scipio, asked him (either because in-

**Marius' parents, manners, and country**

Scipio  
African's  
judge-  
ment of  
Marius

deed he stood in doubt, or else for that he would curry favour with Scipio) what other captain the Romans should have after his death, like unto him. Scipio having Marius by him, gently clapped him upon his shoulder, and said: Peradventure this shall be he. Thus happily were they both born, the one to shew from his youth that one day he should come to be a great man, and the other also for wisely conjecturing the end, by seeing of the beginning. Well, it fortun'd so, that these words of Scipio (by report) above all things else put Marius in a good hope, as if they had been spoken by the oracle of some god, and made him bold to deal in matters of state and common wealth: where by means of the favour and countenance Cæcilius Metellus gave him (whose house his father and he had always followed and honoured) he obtained the office of Tribuneship. In this office he preferred a law touching the manner how to give the voices in election of the magistrates, which did seem to take from the nobility the authority they had in judgement. And therefore the Consul Cotta stepped up against it, and persuaded the Senate to resist that law, and not suffer it to be authorised, and therewithal presently to call Marius before them to yield a reason of his doing. So was it agreed upon in the Senate. Now Marius coming into the Senate, was not abashed at anything, as some other young man would have been, that had but newly begun to enter into the world as he did, and having no other notable calling or quality in him, saving his vertue only to commend him: but taking boldness of himself (as the noble acts he afterwards did, gave shew of his valour) he openly threatned the Consul Cotta

to send him to prison, if he did not presently withdraw the conclusion he had caused to be resolved upon. The Consul then turning himself unto Cæcilius Metellus, asked him how he liked it? Metellus standing up, spake in the behalf of the Consul: and then Marius calling a sergeant out, commanded him to take Metellus self, and to carry him to prison. Metellus appealed to the other Tribunes, but never a one would take his matter in hand: so that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call back the conclusion that before was taken. Then Marius returning with great honour into the market-place among the assembly of the people, caused this law to pass and be authorised: and every man held opinion of him that he would prove a stout man, and such a one, as would not stoop for any fear, nor shrink for bashfulness, but would beard the Senate in favour of the people. Notwithstanding, he shortly after changed opinion, and altered the first, by another act he made. For when another went about to have a law made, to distribute corn unto every citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently against it, and overthrew it: so that thereby he came to be alike honoured and esteemed of either party, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the prejudice of the common wealth. After he had been Tribune, he sued for the chiefest office of *Ædilis*. Of the *Ædiles* there are two sorts: the first is called *Ædilitas Curulis*, so named because of certain chairs that have crooked feet, upon which they sit when they give audience. The other is of less dignity, and that is called *Ædilitas popularis*. and when they had chosen the first and greater

**Marius**  
tribune of  
the people

**Marius  
chosen  
prætor**

Ædilis at Rome, they presently proceed the same day also in the market-place unto election of the lesser. Marius seeing plainly that he was put by the chiefest of the Ædiles, turned again straight yet to demand the second: but this was misliked in him, and they took him for too bold, too shameless, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one self day he had two denials and repulses, which never man but himself before had. And nevertheless, all this could not cut his comb, but shortly after he sued also for the Prætorship, and he lacked but little of the denial of that: yet in the end, being last of all chosen, he was accused to have bribed the people, and bought their voices for money. And surely amongst many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of Cassius Sabacon within the bars where the election is made, running to and fro among them that gave their voices, because this Sabacon was Marius' very great friend. The matter came before the judges, and Sabacon was examined upon it. Whereunto he answered, that for the great extreme heat he felt, he was very dry, and asked for cold water to drink, and that this man had brought him some in a pot where he was, howbeit that he went his way as soon as ever he had drunk. This Sabacon was afterwards put out of the Senate by the next Censors, and many judge that he was worthy of this infamy, for that he was perjured in judgement, or because he was so subject and given to his pleasure. Caius Herennius was also called for a witness against Marius: but he did allege for his excuse, that the law and custom did dispense with the patron, to be a witness against his follower and client, and he was

quit by the judges. For the Romans always call those patrons, who take the protection of meaner than themselves into their hands: saying, that Marius' predecessors, and Marius himself, had ever been followers of the house of the Herennians. The judges received his answer, and allowed thereof. But Marius spoke against it, alleging, that since he had received this honour to bear office in the common wealth, he was now grown from this base condition, to be any more a follower of any man: the which was not true in all. For every office of a magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his posterity to be under the patronage of another, nor doth discharge him from the duty of honouring them: but of necessity he must be a magistrate, which the law doth permit to sit in the crooked chair called *Curulis*, that is to say, carried upon a charret through the city. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this cause, Marius had but ill success, and that the judges were against him all they could: yet in the end for all that, at the last hearing of his matter, Marius, contrary to all men's opinions, was discharged, because the judges' opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He used himself very orderly in his office of Prætorship, and after his year was out, when it came to divide the provinces by lot, Spain fell unto him, which is beyond the river of Bætis: where it is reported that he scoured all the country thereabouts of thieves and robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very cruel and savage, for the rude, barbarous, and uncivil manner and fashion of life of the inhabitants there. For the Spaniards were of opinion even at

**Marius'**  
**acts in**  
**Spain**

**Marius'**  
**temper-**  
**ance and**  
**patience**

that time, that it was a goodly thing to live upon theft and robbery. At his return to Rome out of Spain, desiring to deal in matters of the common wealth, he saw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two means, by the which those that were at that time in credit and authority, did carry the people even as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great account of his constancy and noble mind they found in him, of his great pains and travail he took continually, and of the simplicity of his life: which were causes to bring him to honour and preferment, insomuch as he married very highly. For he married Julia, that was of the noble house of the Cæsars, and aunt unto Julius Cæsar: who afterwards came to be the chiefest man of all the Romans, and who by reason of that alliance between them, seemed in some things to follow Marius, as we have written in his life. Marius was a man of great temperance and patience, as may be judged by an act he did, putting himself into the hands of surgeons. For his shanks and legs were full of great swollen veins: and being angry because it was no pleasant thing to behold, he determined to put himself into the hands of surgeons to be cured. And first, laying out one of his legs to the surgeon to work upon, he would not be bound as others are in the like case: but patiently abode all the extreme pains a man must of necessity feel being cut, without stirring, groaning or sighing, still keeping his countenance, and said never a word. But when the surgeon had done with his first leg, and would have gone to the other, he would not give it him: Nay said he, I see the cure is not worth the pain I must abide. After-

wards, Cæcilius Metellus the Consul, being appointed to go into Africa to make war with King Jugurth, took Marius with him for one of his lieutenants. Marius being there, seeing notable good service to be done, and good occasion to shew his manhood, was not of mind in this voyage to increase Metellus' honour and reputation, as other lieutenants did: and thought that it was not Metellus that called him forth for his lieutenant, but fortune herself that presented him a fit occasion to raise him to greatness, and, (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proof of that he could do. And for this cause therefore, he endeavoured himself to shew all the possible proofs of valiantness and honour he could. For, the wars being great continually there, he never for fear refused any attempt or service, how dangerous or painful soever it were, neither disdained to take any service in hand, were it never so little: but exceeding all other his fellows and companions in wisdom and foresight, in that which was to be done, and striving with the meanest soldiers in living hardly and painfully, wan the goodwill and favour of every man. For to say truly, it is a great comfort and refreshing to soldiers that labour, to have companions that labour willingly with them. For they think, that their company labouring with them, doth in manner take away the compulsion and necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the Roman soldier marvellously to see the general eat openly of the same bread he eateth, or that he lieth on a hard bed as he doth, or that himself is the first man to set his hand to any work when a trench is to be cast, or their camp to be fortified. For they do

**Marius  
lieutenant  
in the war  
against  
Jugurth**

**Metellus**  
**the author**  
**of Turpi-**  
**lius' false**  
**accusa-**  
**tion**

not so much esteem the captains, that honour and reward them: as they do those that in dangerous attempts labour, and venture their lives with them. And further, they do far better love them that take pains with them, than those that suffer them to live idly by them. Marius performing all this, and winning thereby the love and goodwills of his soldiers: he straight filled all Libya and the city of Rome with his glory, so that he was in every man's mouth. For they that were in the camp in Africk, wrote unto them that were at Rome, that they should never see the end of these wars against this barbarous king, if they gave not the charge unto Marius, and chose him Consul. These things misliked Metellus very much, but specially the misfortune that came upon Turpilius did marvellously trouble him: which fell out in this sort. Turpilius was Metellus' friend, yea he and all his parents had followed Metellus in this war, being master of the works in his camp. Metellus made him governor over the city of Vacca, a goodly great city: and he using the inhabitants of the same very gently and courteously, mistrusting nothing till he was fallen into the hands of his enemies through their treason. For they had brought King Jugurth into their city unknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but only begged him of the king, and let him go his way safe. And this was the cause why they accused Turpilius of treason. Marius being one of his judges in the council, was not contented to be bitter to him himself, but moved many of the council besides to be against him. So that Metellus by the voices of the people, was driven against his will to condemn him to suffer as a traitor: and

shortly after, it was found and proved, that Turpilius was wrongfully condemned and put to death. To say truly, there was not one of the council but were very sorry with Metellus, who marvellous impatiently took the death of the poor innocent. But Marius contrarily rejoiced, and took it upon him that he pursued his death, and was not ashamed to make open vaunts, that he had hanged a fury about Metellus' neck, to revenge his friend's blood, whom he guiltless had caused to be put to death. After that time they became mortal enemies. And they say, that one day Metellus to mock him withal, said unto him: O good man, thou wilt leave us then, and return to Rome to sue for the Consulship, and canst thou not be contented to tarry to be Consul with my son? Now his son at that time was but a boy. But howsoever the matter went, Marius left him not so, but laboured for leave all he could possible. And Metellus after he had used many delays and excuses, at the length gave him leave, twelve days only before the day of election of the Consuls. Wherefore Marius made haste, and in two days and a night came from the camp to Utica upon the seaside, which is a marvellous way from it: and there before he took ship, did sacrifices unto the gods, and the soothsayer told him, that the gods by the signs of his sacrifices, did promise him incredible prosperity, and so great, as he himself durst not hope after. These words made Marius' heart greater. Whereupon he hoised sail, and having a passing good gale of wind in the poop of the ship, passed the seas in four days, and being landed, rode post to Rome. When he was arrived, he went to shew himself unto the people: who were

Dis-  
pleasure  
betwixt  
Metellus  
and  
Marius

**Marius'**  
**first time**  
**of being**  
**consul**

marvellous desirous to see him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people unto the pulpit for orations, after many accusations which he objected against Metellus, in the end he besought the people to choose him Consul, promising that within few days he would either kill, or take King Jugurth prisoner. Whereupon he was chosen Consul without any contradiction. And so soon as he was proclaimed, he began immediately to levy men of war, causing many poor men that had nothing, and many slaves also, to be enrolled against the order of ancient custom: where other captains before him did receive no such manner of men, and did no more suffer unworthy men to be soldiers, than they did allow of unworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which every one of them that were enrolled, left their goods behind them, as a pledge of their good service abroad in the wars. Yet this was not the matter that made Marius to be most hated, but they were his stout proud words, full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offend the noblemen in the city. For he proclaimed it everywhere abroad as it were, that his Consulship was a spoil he had gotten of the effeminate rich noblemen through his valiantness, and that the wounds which he had upon his body for the service of the common wealth, were those that recommended him to the people, and were his strength, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images and statues of others. And oft times naming Albinus, and otherwhile Bestia, both noblemen, and of great houses, who having been generals of the Roman army, had very ill fortune in the country of Libya: he called them cowards, and simple soldiers, asking

them that were about him, if they did not think that their ancestors would rather have wished to have left their children that came of them like unto himself, than such as they had been: considering that they themselves had won honour and glory, not for that they were descended of noble blood, but through their deserved vertue and valiant deeds. Now Marius spake not these words in a foolish bravery, and for vain glory only, to purchase the ill-will of the nobility for nothing: but the common people being very glad to see him shame and despite the Senate, and measuring always the greatness of his courage with his haughty fierce words, they egged him forward still not to spare the nobility, and to reprove the great men, so that he ever held with the commualty. And furthermore, when he was passed over again into Africk, it spited Metellus to the heart, because that he having ended all the war, that there remained almost no more to take or win, Marius should come in that sort to take away the glory and triumph out of his hands, having sought to rise and increase by unthankfulness towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went another way, and left the army with Rutilus one of his lieutenants, to deliver the same unto him. Howbeit the revenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the end upon Marius' own neck. For Sulla took out of Marius' hands, the honour of ending this war: even as Marius had taken it from Metellus. But how, and after what sort, I will repeat it in few words, because we have written the particularities more at large in the life of Sulla. Bocchus, king of High Numidia, was father-in-law unto King Jugurth, unto whom he gave great aid, whilst he

**Marius  
offended  
the  
nobility**

**Lucius Sulla**  
**quæstor**  
**under**  
**Marius** made wars with the Romans, because he hated his unfaithfulness, and feared lest he would make himself greater than he was: but in the end, after Jugurth had fled, and wandered up and down in every place, he was constrained of very necessity to cast his last hope and anker upon him, as his final refuge, and so repair unto him. King Bocchus received him rather for shame, because he durst not punish him, than for any love or goodwill he bare him: and having him in his hands, seemed openly to entreat Marius for him, and secretly to write the contrary unto him. But in the mean time, he practised treason underhand, and sent privily for Lucius Sulla, who then was quæstor (to say, high treasurer) under Marius, and of whom he had received certain pleasures in those wars. Sulla trusting to this barbarous king, went at his sending-for to him. But when he was come, King Bocchus repented him of his promise, and altered his mind, standing many days in doubt with himself how to resolve, whether he should deliver King Jugurth, or keep Sulla himself: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended treason, and delivered King Jugurth alive into Sulla's hands. And this was the first original cause of the pestilent and mortal enmity that grew afterwards betwixt Marius and Sulla, and was like to have utterly overthrown the city of Rome, and to have razed the foundation of the empire unto the ground. For many envying the glory of Marius, gave it out everywhere, that this act of the taking of King Jugurth, appertained only unto Sulla: and Sulla himself caused a ring to be made, which he wore commonly, and had graven upon the stone of the same, how Bocchus delivered

Jugurth into his hands. And afterwards he made it always his zeal to despise Marius withal, who was an ambitious and proud man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glory of his doings: and Sulla did it especially at the procurement of enemies and ill-willers, who gave the glory of the beginning and chief exploits of this war, unto Metellus, and the last and final conclusion unto Sulla, to the end that the people should not have Marius in so great estimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this envy, detraction, and hatred against Marius, was soon after extinguished and trodden under foot, by reason of the great danger that fell upon all Italy out of the west: and they never spake of it afterwards, knowing that the common wealth stood in need of a good captain, and that they began to look about, and consider who should be that great wise pilot, that might save and preserve it, from so great and dangerous a storm of war. For there was not a nobleman of all the ancient houses of Rome, that durst undertake to offer himself to demand the consulship: but Marius being absent, was chosen Consul the second time. For Jugurth was no sooner taken, but news came to Rome of the coming down of the Teutons, and of the Cimbrians, the which would not be believed at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was said to be in their company, and for the incredible force and power of the armies which was justified to come: but afterwards they knew plainly, that the rumour that ran abroad was less, than the truth fell out indeed. For they were three hundred thousand fighting men all armed, who brought with them also another multitude as great (or more) of

The coming into Italy of the Teutons and Cimbrians

**The** women and children : which wandered up and down  
**Cimbri** seeking countries and towns to dwell and live in, as they heard say the Gauls had done in old time, who leaving their own country, came, and had possessed the best part of Italy, which they had taken away from the Tuscans. Now to say truly, no man knew of what nation they were, nor from whence they came : as well for that they had no friendship with any other people, as also because they came out of a far country, as a cloud of people that was spread all over Gaul and Italy. It was doubted much they were a people of Germany, dwelling about the North Sea : and this they conjectured by view of the greatness of their bodies, and also for that they had dark blue eyes and red, besides that the Germans in their tongues do call thieves and robbers, Cimbri. Other say that Celtica, for the great length and largeness of the country, stretching itself from the coast of the great ocean sea and from the north parts, drawing towards the marishes Mœotides, and the east, runneth into Scythia, or Tartaria Pontica : and that for neighbourhood these two nations joined together, and went out of their country, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many sundry times, marching yearly in the spring further and further into the country. And thus by continuance of time, they passed by force of arms through all the firm land of Europe : and that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the diversity of their nations, yet all this mass and multitude of people gathered together, were called notwithstanding, the army of the Celtoscythians, as who would say, the Celtotartars. Other hold

opinion that the nation of the Cimmerians, who were known in old time for ancient Grecians, the one part of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driven out of their country for some civil dissension) were compelled by the Tartars to pass beyond the marishes Mœotides, into the countries of Asia, under the conduction of a captain called Lygdamis. But the residue of them which were a far greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the farthest parts of the earth, adjoining unto the great ocean sea, in a dark shadowed country, covered with wonderful forests, of such length, and so great and thick, and the trees so high, that the sun can have no power upon the ground, and they join hard upon the great forest of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are under such a climate, where the pole is of such a height by the inclination of the circles equidistant, which they call parallels, that it is not far from the point that answereth directly to the plummet upon the head of the inhabitants: and where the days are equinoctial. They do divide all their time in two parts, the which giveth Homer occasion to feign, that when Ulysses would call upon the dead, he went into the country of the Cimmerians, as into the country of hell. And this is the cause why they say these barbarous people left their own countries to come into Italy, which from the beginning were called Cimmerians, and afterwards they say (and not without great likelihood) that they were surnamed Cimbrians: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely conjecture, than by any assured troth of history. And as for the multitude of men, the most part of his-

The Cimmerians

**Marius**  
**chosen**  
**consul the**  
**second**  
**time**

toriographers do write, that they were rather more, than less than we have spoken of: and that they were so hardy and valiant, that nothing could stand before them, they did so great things by the strength of their hands where they fought with any, so violently, and so sodainly, that they seemed to be like a lightning fire all about where they came. By means whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but scraped together and carried away, all that they found, hand over head: and there were many Roman captains appointed governors to keep that which the Romans held in Gaul beyond the mountains, who with great armies were shamefully overthrown by them. The cowardliness of those, whom they had overcome, was the chiefest cause that moved them to direct their journey to Rome. For when they had vanquished the first they fought withal, and gotten great riches also: they were so fleshed by this, that they determined to stay nowhere before they had destroyed Rome, and sacked all Italy. The Romans hearing of this out of all parts, sent for Marius to give him the conduction and leading of these wars, and chose him Consul the second time: notwithstanding that it was greatly against the law, that did expressly forbid any man to be chosen being absent, and until also a certain time appointed had passed between the vacation and election, before they could choose him officer twice in one office. Some alleged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulsed them, objecting to the contrary: that this was not the first time the law had given place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that the occasion offered to abrogate

the law at that present was no less, than former occasions by the which they chose Scipio Consul, against the course and time appointed by the law, not for any fear they stood in to lose their own country, but for the desire they had to destroy the country of the Carthaginians, by reason whereof the people proceeded to election. And Marius bringing home his army again out of Libya into Italy, took possession of his consulship the first day of January (on which day the Romans begin their year) and therewithal made his triumph into the city of Rome, shewing that to the Romans, which they thought never to have seen: and that was, King Jugurth prisoner, who was so subtile a man, and could so well frame himself unto his fortune, and with his craft and subtlety was of so great courage besides, that none of his enemies ever hoped to have had him alive. But it is said, that after he was led in this triumph, he fell mad straight upon it. And the pomp of triumph being ended, he was carried into prison, where the sergeants for haste to have the spoil of him, tore his apparel by force from off his back: and because they would take away his rich gold earrings that hung at his ears, they pulled away with them the tip of his ear, and then cast him naked to the bottom of a deep dungeon, his wits being altogether troubled. Yet when they did throw him down, laughing he said: O Hercules, how cold are your stoves! He lived there yet six days, fighting with hunger, and desiring always to prolong his miserable life unto the last hour: the which was a just deserved punishment for his wicked life. In this triumph were carried (as they say) three thousand and seven

**Marius'**  
**triumph**  
**into**  
**Rome for**  
**King**  
**Jugurth**

**How** hundred pound weight in gold, and of silver niggots,  
**Marius** five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pound  
**trained** weight: and more in gold and ready coin, eight  
**his** and twenty thousand and seven hundred crowns.  
**soldiers**

After this triumph Marius caused the Senate to assemble within the capitol, where he entered into the company with his triumphing robe, either because he forgot it, or else of too gross and uncivil arrogancy: but perceiving that all the assembly misliked of it, he rose suddenly, and took his long Consul's gown, and then returned quickly again into his place. Furthermore Marius departing to go to the wars, thought to train his army by the way, and to harden his soldiers unto labour, causing them to run every way, making great long journeys, compelling each soldier to carry his own furniture, and to prepare him necessary victuals to find himself withal: so that ever after they made a proverb of it, and called such as were painful and willing to do that which they were commanded without grudging, Marius' moyles. Other notwithstanding, do shew another cause and beginning of this proverb. For they say, that Scipio lying at the siege of the city of Numantia, would not only take view of the armour and horses of service that were in his army, but also of the moyles and other beasts of burden, because he would see how they were kept and furnished. So Marius brought his horse and moyle to the muster which he kept himself, fat, fair, and very well dressed, and his moyles' hair so slick and smooth, and therewithal so lusty and trim, as none of the rest were like unto them. Scipio took great pleasure to see these beasts so well kept, and in so good plight: insomuch as he

spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And upon his words, this manner of talk was taken up ever after, and became a common proverb: when they mean to mock any man that is painful, and given to sore labour, making as though they would praise him, they call him Marius' moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turn for Marius (in mine opinion) that these barbarous people (like in force to the beating back of the raging seas) turned their first fury towards Spain: and that he in the mean space had time and leisure to train and exercise his soldiers, to make them bold, and withal, himself to be throughly known amongst them. For when by little and little they had learned not to offend nor disobey: then they found his rough commanding, and sharp severity in punishing such as slack their duty, both profitable and very necessary, besides that it was also just and reasonable. Again, his great fury, his sharp words, and his fierce looks, after they had awhile been used to them, by little and little they seemed nothing so fearful to them, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleased the soldiers more than all the rest, was his justice and upright dealing: whereof they report such an example: Marius had a nephew of his in his camp called Caius Lucius, who had charge of men in the army. This Lucius was taken for a marvellous honest man, saving that he had this foul vice in him, that he would be suddenly in love with fair young boys: and as at that time he fell in love with a trim young stripling, called Trebonius, that served under him, and having many times lewdly enticed him, and never could obtain his purpose, at the last sent for him one night by his servant. The young

**Marius  
com-  
mended  
for his  
justice**

**Marius'**  
**third con-**  
**sulship**

man might not disobey his captain being sent for, but presently went unto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his captain did strive with all his force to do him villainy: he drew out his sword, and killed him in the place. And this was done when Marius was out of his camp: who so soon as he returned, caused the marshal to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himself, and to name many witnesses, who had both seen and known how his dead captain had oftentimes offered him dishonour, and how that he had continually resisted his abominable motion, and would never yield himself unto him, for any gift or present he could offer him. Wherefore Marius commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those crowns to be brought unto him, which are used to be given to them that in a day of battell have done some valiant deed, and he himself did crown Trebonius withal, as one that had done a noble act, and at such a time, as good and honest examples were requisite. This judgement of Marius being carried to Rome, stood him to great good purpose towards the obtaining of his third consulship: besides also that they looked for the coming back of these barbarous people about the spring, with whom the Roman soldiers would not fight under any other captain, than Marius. Howbeit they came not so soon again as they looked for them, but Marius passed over also the year of his third consulship. So time coming about again for the election of new consuls, and his companion also being dead: he was driven to go himself unto

Rome, leaving the charge of his camp in his absence, unto Manius Acilius. At that time there were many noblemen that sued for the consulship: but Lucius Saturninus one of the Tribunes, who had the communalty under his girdle as he would himself, more than any of the other Tribunes, and being won underhand by Marius, made many orations, in the which he persuaded the people to choose Marius Consul the fourth time. Marius to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying that he would none of it, though the people chose him. Whereupon Saturninus called him traitor, crying out, that his refusal in such a danger and time of necessity, was an apparent part to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a gross pack betwixt Saturninus and Marius, by such as could see day at a little hole. Nevertheless, the people considering that their present troubles required Marius' skill and good fortune in the wars, they made him Consul the fourth time, and joined Catulus Lutatius Consul with him, a man that was greatly honoured of the nobility, and not misliked also of the common people. Marius having news of the approaching of the barbarous people, passed over the Alps with great speed, and fortifying his camp by the river of Rhone, he brought great provision of all kinds of victuals thither with him, lest being straitened by lack thereof, he should be forced to come to battell at any other time, but even as he would himself, and as it should seem good unto him. And where before that time the transporting of victuals unto his camp by sea was very long, and dangerous, and a marvellous great charge besides: he made it very short and easy by this means. The mouth of the

**Marius'**  
**fourth**  
**consul-**  
**ship**

The Teu-  
tons and  
Cimbri-  
ans fall  
upon  
Marius

river of Rhone had gathered together so much mud, and such store of sand, which the waves of the sea had cast on heaps together, that the same was become very high and deep: so as the banks made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and dangerous for great ships of burden that came from the sea. Marius considering this matter, set his men a work while they had nothing to do, and made them dig a large trench and deep channel, into the which he turned a great part of the river, and carried it to a convenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulf, whereby he made it able to carry the greatest ships that were: and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with winds nor waves. The channel carrieth yet his name, and is called Marius' channel or trench. These barbarous people divided themselves into two armies to pass into Italy, so that it fell out to the one part which were the Cimbrians, to go through High Germany, and to force that passage which Catulus kept: and unto the other part, which were the Teutons and Ambrons, to pass through the country of the Genovesians by the sea side against Marius. Now the Cimbrians having the greater compass to fetch about, stayed longer, and remained behind: but the Teutons and the Ambrons going their way first, had in few days despatched their journey they had to go, to bring them to the camp where the Romans lay, unto whom they presented themselves by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to behold, and their cries and voices far contrary unto other men's. They took in a marvellous deal of ground in length to camp upon, and so came forth to defy Marius, and provoke him to battell in

open field. Marius made no reckoning of all their bragging defiances, but kept his men together within his camp, taking on terribly with them that would rashly take upon them to move aught to the contrary, and which through impatience of choler would needs go forth to fight, calling them traitors to their country. For said he, we are not come to fight for our private glory, neither to win triumphs nor victories for ourselves: but we must seek by all means to divert and put by this great shower of wars from us, and this lightning and tempest, that it overcome not all Italy. These words he spoke unto the private captains which were under him, as unto men of haviour and quality. But as for the common soldiers, he made them stand upon the trenches of his camp, one after another to behold the enemies, and to acquaint themselves with sight of their faces, their countenance, and marching, and not to be afraid of their voices and the manner of their speech, which was wonderful strange and beastly: and also that they might know the fashion of their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order and ordinary viewing of them, in time he made the things that seemed fearful unto his men at the first sight, to be afterwards very familiar: so that they made no more wondring at them. For he judged, the thing which indeed is true, that a rare and new matter never seen before, for lack of judgement and understanding, maketh things unknown to us, more horrible and fearful than they are: and to the contrary, that custom taketh away a great deal of fear, and terror of those things, which by nature are indeed fearful. The which was seen then by ex-

to pass  
into Italy

The  
soldiers  
com-  
plained  
against  
Marius

perience. For they being daily acquainted to look upon these barbarous people, it did not only diminish some part of the former fear of the Roman soldiers: but furthermore they whetting their choler with the fierce intolerable threats and brags of these barbarous brutish people, did set their hearts a-fire to fight with them, because they did not only waste and destroy all the country about them, but besides that, came to give assault even unto their camp, with such a boldness, that the Roman soldiers could no longer suffer them, and they letted not to speak words that came to Marius' ears himself: What cowardliness hath Marius ever known in us, that he keeps us thus from fighting, and under lock and key as it were, in the guard of porters, as if we were women? Let us therefore shew ourselves like men, and go ask him if he look for any other soldiers besides ourselves to defend Italy: and if he have determined to employ us as pioneers only, when he would cast a trench to rid away the mud, or to turn a river contrary. For therein hath he only hitherto employed us in great labour, and they are the notable works he hath done in his two consulships, whereof he maketh his boast unto them at Rome. Is he afraid they should take him, as they did Carbo and Cæpio, whom the enemies have overthrown? He must not be afraid of that: for he is a captain of another manner of valour and reputation than they were, and his army much better than theirs was. But howsoever it be, yet were it much better in proving to lose something, than to be idle, and to suffer our friends and confederates to be destroyed and sacked before our eyes. Marius was marvellous glad to hear his men complain thus,

and did comfort them, and told them that he did nothing mistrust their courage and valiantness : howbeit, that through the counsel of certain prophecies and oracles of the gods, he did expect time and place fit for victory. For he ever carried a Syrian woman in a litter about with him called Martha, with great reverence, whom they said had the spirit of prophecy in her : and that he did ever sacrifice unto the gods by her order, and at such time as she willed him to do it. This Syrian woman went first to speak with the Senate about these matters, and did foretell and prognosticate what should follow. But the Senate would not hear her, and made her to be driven away. Whereupon she went unto the women, and made them see proof of some things she vaunted of, and specially Marius' wife, at whose feet she was set one day in assembly of the common plays, to see the sword-players fight for life and death : for she told her certainly which of them should overcome. Whereupon this lady sent her unto her husband Marius, who made great reckoning of her, and carried her even in a litter with him wheresoever he went. She was always at Marius' sacrifices, apparelled in a gown of purple in grain, clasped to her with clasps, and held a spear in her hand wound all about with nosegays, and garlands of flowers tied on with laces. This manner of gest made many doubt whether Marius shewed this woman openly, believing indeed that she had the gift of prophecy : or else that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did believe it, to help her feigning. But that which Alexander the Myndian wrote touching vultures, is a thing greatly to be wondred at. For he said there were two of them followed Marius in his wars, and that

**Martha,**  
a wise  
woman  
or pro-  
phetess

**Wonders** they ever shewed themselves and missed not, when  
**seen** he should win any great battell, and that they did know them by latten collars they ware about their necks, which the soldiers had tied about them, and afterwards let them go where they would : by reason whereof, they did know the soldiers again, and it seemed also that they saluted them, and were very glad when they saw them, and persuaded themselves, that it was a sign and token of good luck to follow. Many signs and tokens were seen before the battell : howbeit all the rest were ordinary sights, saving that which was reported to be seen at Tudertum, and Ameria, two cities of Italy. For they say there were seen spears and targets in the night, burning like fire in the element, which first were carried up and down here and there, and then met together even as men move and stir that fight one with another : until at the length, the one giving back, and the other following after, they all vanished away, and consumed towards the west. About the selfsame time also, there came from the city of Pessinus, Batabaces, the chief priest of the great mother of the gods, who brought news, that the goddess had spoken to him within her sanctuary, and told him that the victory of this war should fall out on the Romans' side. The Senate believed it, and ordained that they should build a temple unto that goddess, to give her thanks for the victory which she did promise them. Batabaces also would have presented himself unto the people in open assembly, to tell them as much. But there was one Aulus Pompeius a Tribune that would not suffer him to do it, calling him tumbler, or juggler, and violently thrust him behind the pulpit for

orations: but the mischance that fell upon Pompeius afterwards, made them the more to believe Batabaces' words. For Pompeius the Tribune no sooner came home unto his house, but a great vehement ague took him, whereof he died the seventh day after, as all the world could witness. Now the Teutons perceiving that Marius stirred not at all out of his camp, they proved to assault him: howbeit they were so well received with shot and slings, that after they had lost certain of their men, they gave it over, and determined to go further, persuading themselves that they might easily pass the Alps without danger. Wherefore trussing up all their baggage, they passed by Marius' camp: at which time it appeared more certainly than before, that they were a marvellous great multitude of people, by the length of time which they took to pass their way. For it is said they were passing by his camp, six days continually together. And as they came raking by the Romans' camp, they asked them in mockery, if they would write or send home anything to their wives, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and gone, and that they continued on their journey still, Marius also raised his camp, and went and followed them fair and softly foot by foot, and ever kept hard at their tail as near as he could, always fortifying his camp very well, and ever choosing strong places of situation and advantage to lodge in, that they might be safe in the night time. Thus they marched on in this sort, until they came unto the city of Aix, from whence they had not far to go, but they entred straight into the mountains of the Alps. Wherefore Marius prepared now to fight

**Marius followed the barbarous people**

**Marius'** with them: and chose out a place that was very  
**bold** strong of situation to lodge his camp in, howbeit  
**words** there lacked water. And they say he did it of  
**to his** purpose, to the end to quicken his men's courage  
**soldiers,** the more thereby. Many repined at it, and told  
**and their** him that they should stand in great danger to abide  
**answer** marvellous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto  
he made answer: shewing them the river that ran  
hard by the enemies' camp, saying withal, that they  
must go thither and buy drink with their blood.  
The soldiers replied again: And why then do ye  
not lead us thither, whilst our blood is yet moist?  
He gently answered them again: Because the first  
thing we do, we must fortify our camp. The  
soldiers, though they were angry with him, yet  
they obeyed him: but the slaves having neither  
drink for themselves, nor for their cattle, gathered  
together a great troop of them, and went towards  
the river: some of them carrying axes, other  
hatchets, other swords and spears, with their pots  
to carry water, determining to fight with the bar-  
barous people, if otherwise they could not come by  
it. A few of the barbarous people at the first  
fought with them, because the most part of their  
company were at dinner, after they had bathed,  
and others were still in the bath washing them-  
selves, finding in that place many springs of hot  
natural baths. Thus the Romans found many of  
the barbarous people making merry, and taking their  
pleasure about these baths, for the great delight  
they took to consider the pleasantness of the place:  
but when they heard the noise of them that fought,  
they began to run one after another unto the place  
from whence the noise came. Wherefore it was

a hard thing for Marius any longer to keep the Roman soldiers in from going to their help, for that they feared their slaves should have been slain of the barbarous people: and moreover, because the valiantest soldiers of their enemies called the Ambrons (who before had overcome Manlius and Cæpio, two Roman captains with their armies, and that made of themselves thirty thousand fighting men) ran to arms, being very heavy of their bodies, as having filled their bellies well, but otherwise valiant and courageous fellows, and more lively than they were wont to be, by reason of the wine they had drunk. They ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither did they cry out confusedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noise with their harness all after one sort, they oft rehearsed their own name, Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons: which was, either to call one another of them, or else to fear the Romans with their name only. The Italians also on the other side, being the first that came down to fight with them, were the Ligurians, dwelling upon the coast of Genoa, who hearing this noise and cry of theirs, plainly understanding them: answered them again with the like noise and cry, Ligurians, Ligurians, Ligurians, saying that it was the true surname of all their nation. And so before they joined together, this cry was redoubled many a time on either side: and the captains of both parts made their soldiers cry out all together, contending for envy one against another, who should cry it out loudest. This contention of crying, inflamed the soldiers' courages the more. Now the Ambrons having the river to pass, were by this means put

**Battel  
betwixt  
the Am-  
brons and  
Marius**

The man-  
ishness  
of the  
women

out of order, and before they could put themselves in battell ray again, after they had passed the river, the Ligurians ran with great fury to set upon the foremost: and after them, (to aid the Ligurians that had begun the charge) the Romans themselves fell also upon the Ambrons, coming down from the places of advantage upon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this means to turn their backs, and fly. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortun'd upon the bank of the river, where-into they thrust one another in such sort, that all the river ran blood, being filled with dead bodies. And they that could get over the river again, and were on the other side, durst not gather together any more to stand to defence: so as the Romans slew them, and drove them into their camp, even unto their carriage. Then their women came out against them with swords and axes in their hands, grinding their teeth: and crying out for sorrow and anger, they charged as well upon their own people that fled, as upon them that chased them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies. Furthermore, they thrust themselves amongst them that fought, and strove by force to pluck the Romans' targets out of their hands, and took hold of their naked swords barehanded, abiding with an invincible courage to be hacked and mangled with their swords. And thus was the first battell given (as they say) by the rivers' side, rather by chance unlooked for, than by any set purpose, or through the general's counsel. Now the Romans, after they had overcome the most part of the Ambrons, retiring back by reason the night had overtaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had given such an

overthrow) sing songs of victory and triumph, nor make good cheer in their tents one with another, and least of all sleep (which is the best and sweetest refreshing for men that have fought happily): but contrarily, they watched all that night with great fear and trouble, because their camp was not trenched and fortified, and because they knew also that there remained almost innumerable thousands of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: besides also, that the Ambrons that had fled and scaped from the overthrow, did howl out all night with loud cries, which were nothing like men's lamentations and sighs, but rather like wild beasts bellowing and roaring. So that the bellowing of such a great multitude of beastly people, mingled together with threats and wailings, made the mountains thereabouts and the running river to redound again of the sound and echo of their cries marvellously: by reason whereof, all the valley that lay between both, thundered to hear the horrible and fearful trembling. This made the Roman soldiers afeard, and Marius himself in some doubt: because they looked to have been fought withal the same night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not assault them that night, nor the next day following, but only prepared themselves unto battell. And in the meantime Marius knowing that there was above the place where they were camped, certain caves and little valleys covered with wood: he secretly sent Claudius Marcellus thither with three thousand footmen well armed, and commanded him to keep close in ambush, until he saw that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set upon their rearward.

An  
ambush

**Marius' second battel with the Teutons**

The residue of his army, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed themselves. The next morning at the break of day, Marius brought his men into the field out of his fort: where he put them in order of battell, sending his horsemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmish. The Teutons seeing them come, had not the patience to tarry till the Romans were come down into the plain field to fight without advantage, but arming themselves in haste, and in a rage, ran up the hill to the Romans, where they stood in battell ray. Marius taking good regard to that they did, sent here and there unto the private captains, charging them they should not stir, and only to temporise and forbear, until the enemies came within a stone's cast of them: and that they should then throw their darts at them, and afterwards draw their swords, and repulse the barbarous people with their shields. For he did foresee before, that when they should climb up against the hill (upon the hanging whereof the Romans had set their battell) that their blows would not be of great force, nor their order and ranks could stand close together to any effect or purpose: because they could not have sure footing, nor march assuredly, but would easily be thrown backward if they were never so little repulsed, by reason of the hanging of the hill. Marius gave this order unto his folk, and therewithal was himself the first man that put it in execution: for he was as trim a warrior, and as valiant a soldier, as any man in all his army: besides, not one amongst them all would venture further, and be more bold than himself. So when the Romans had resisted them, and stayed them sodainly, going with fury to have won the hill, per-

ceiving themselves to be repulsed, they gave back by little and little, until they came into the field : and then began the foremost of them to gather together, and to put themselves in battell ray upon the plain, when sodainly they heard the noise and charging of them that were in the tail of their army. For Claudius Marcellus failed not to take the occasion when it was offered him, because that the noise of the first charge coming up against the hills thereabouts, under the which he lay in ambush, gave him advertisement thereof : whereupon he caused his men presently to shew, and running with great cries, came to give a charge upon those which were in the tail of the barbarous people, putting the hindmost to the sword. They made their fellows whose backs were next unto them, to turn their faces, and so from man to man, till at the length in short time all their battell began to waver in disorder : and they made no great resistance, when they saw they were so charged before and behind, but began straight to fly for life. The Romans following them hard at the heels, killed and took prisoners above a hundred thousand of them, and took moreover their carts, their tents and all their carriage. Which the whole army by consent agreed to present unto Marius, excepting nothing, saving that which was embezzled and conveyed away underhand. Now, though this was a marvellous honourable and right noble present, yet they thought it not a recompense sufficient for that he had deserved, for the valour he had shewed of a famous captain in leading of his army, and for the good order he kept in this war : so happy thought they themselves to have escaped so great a danger. Notwithstanding, some writers do not

**Marius' victory of the Teutons and Ambrons**

**Much  
rain fol-  
loweth  
after  
great  
battels**

agree, that the spoil of the barbarous people was given unto Marius: nor that there were also so great a number of men slain as we have spoken of. But they say, that after this battell, the Marsilians did enclose their vines, with hedges made of dead men's bones: and that the bodies being rotten and consumed upon the fields through the great rain that fell upon them the winter following, the ground waxed so fat, and did soak the grease so deep in the same, that the sommer following they did bear an incredible quantity of all sorts of fruits. And by this means were Archilochus' words proved true, that the arable land doth wax fat with such rottenness or putrification. And it is said also, that of ordinary after great battels, there falleth great store of rain. Either it is by means of some god, that pouring down pure rain water doth purify, wash, and cleanse the ground, defiled and polluted with man's blood: or else it happeneth by natural cause: for that the overthrow of so many dead bodies, and of the blood spilt, engendereth a moist, gross, and heavy vapour, which doth thicken the air (that by nature is changeable, and easy to alter) from a very small or little beginning, unto an exceeding great change. After this battell, Marius caused the harness and spoils of the barbarous people to be laid aside, that were left whole and fair to sight, to beautify and enrich the pomp of his triumph. Then he caused the rest to be gathered together on a great heap, and laid upon a stack of wood, to make a noble sacrifice unto the gods, all his army being armed about him, crowned with garlands of triumph, and himself apparelled in a long gown of purple, according to the custom of the Romans in such a case, and holding a torch

burning in both his hands, which he first lifted up unto heaven. And as he was turning down the torch to put fire to the stack of wood, they saw some of his friends a good way off on horseback, coming post unto him: then sodainly there was a great silence made of all the assembly, every man desirous to hear what good news they had brought. When they were come and lighted off their horses, they ran straight to embrace Marius, and brought him news that he was chosen Consul the fift time: and presented him the letters sent him from Rome confirming the same. And thus, this new joy falling out besides the victory, the private soldiers did shew the great joy and pleasure they took in both, with great shouts and beating upon their harness: and the captains also, they crowned Marius again with new garlands of laurel which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire under the stack of wood, and ended his sacrifice. But that which never suffereth men quietly to enjoy the good hap of any victory clearly, but in this mortal life doth ever mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortune or spite of fatal destiny, or else the necessity of the natural causes of earthly things: did shortly after this great joy bring news unto Marius, of his companion Catulus Lutatius the other Consul, who was like a cloud in a bright fair day, and brought the city of Rome again into a new fear and trouble. For Catulus that went against the Cimbrians, thought it was not for him to keep the straits of the mountains, in hope to let the barbarous people for passing: because that in so doing, he had been compelled to divide his army into many parts, and had weakened himself very much if he had taken that course.

**Marius**  
**the fift**  
**time**  
**Consul**

**Catulus  
Lutatius  
flieth from  
the Cim-  
brians**

Wherefore coming a little on this side the Alps towards Italy, he planted himself upon the river of Athesis, and built a bridge upon it, to pass and repass over his men when he would, and set up at either end of the bridge two strong forts well fortified, that he might more commodiously help the places on the other side of the river, if the barbarous people by chance would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the straits of the mountains. Now, these barbarous people had such a glory in themselves, and disdained their enemies so much, that more to shew their force and boldness, than of any necessity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they suffered it to snow upon them being stark naked, and did climb up to the top of the mountains, through great heaps of ice and snow. And when they were at the very top of all, they laid their long broad targets under their bodies, and lay all along upon them, sliding down the steep high rocks, that had certain hangings over of an infinite height. In the end, they came to camp near unto the Romans by the river side, and considered how they might pass it over: and began to fill it up, tearing down (like giants) great hills of earth which they found thereabouts, brought thither great trees which they pulled up whole by the roots, threw in great pieces of rocks which they broke, and whole towers of earth after them, to stop and break the course of the river. But besides all this, they threw great timber into the river, which being carried down the stream, came with such a force, and hit against the poles of the bridge so violently, that they shook the Romans' bridge marvellously. Whereupon many of the soldiers of the great camp

were afraid, and forsaking it, began to retire. But then did Catulus, like a perfect good captain shew, that he made less account of his own private honour and estimation, than he did of the general honour of all his soldiers. For, seeing that he could not persuade his men by any reason to tarry, and that in this fear they dislodged in disorder against his will: he himself commanded the standard bearer of the eagle to march on, and ran to the foremost that went their way, and marched himself before them all, to the intent that the shame of this retire should altogether light upon him, and not upon his country, and that it might appear the Romans did follow their captain, and not fly away. The barbarous people therefore assaulting the fort at the end of the bridge of the river of Athesis, took it, and all the men that were in it. And because the Romans defended it like valiant men, and had lustily ventured their lives to the death for defence of their country: the barbarous people let them go upon composition, which they swore to keep faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull afterwards was taken when they lost the battell, and carried (as they say) into Catulus Lutatius' house, as the chiefest thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the country open without any defence, scattered here and there, and destroyed all where they came. Whereupon the Romans sent for Marius to Rome to go against them: and after he was arrived, every man thought he should have entred in triumph, because also the Senate did grant it him very willingly. But he would not do it, either because he would not deprive his soldiers and the captains that had fought under him, of any

**Marius refused to enter in triumph**

**Marius  
goeth  
towards  
Catulus  
to help**

part of the honour that was due unto them, they being absent : or because that he would warrant the people from the present danger they were in, by laying aside the glory of his former victories, into the hands of the good fortune of Rome, in certain hope to take it again afterwards, by a more honourable and perfect confirmation of the second. Wherefore, after he had made an oration to the people, and Senate according to the time, he went his way immediately towards Catulus Lutatius, whose coming did comfort him much : and sent also for his army that was yet in Gaul beyond the mountains. And after his army was come, he passed the river of Po, to keep the barbarous people from hurting Italy on this side the Po. Now, the Cimbrians still deferred to give battell because they looked for the Teutons, and said, that they marvelled much what they meant to tarry so long : either because they knew not indeed of their overthrow, or else for that they would not seem to know it, because they handled them cruelly that brought the news of their deaths. At the length, they sent unto Marius to ask him lands and towns sufficient to keep them and their brethren. Marius asked their ambassadors what brethren they meant. They answered, that they were the Teutons. Whereat the standers by began to laugh : and Marius finely mocked them, saying, Care not for those brethren said he, for we have given them ground enough, which they will keep for ever. These ambassadors found his mock straight, and began to revile and threaten him, that the Cimbrians should presently make him repent it, and the Teutons so soon as they arrived. Why, said Marius unto them again, they are come already : and there

were no honesty in you, if you could go your way and not salute them, since they are your brethren. And as he spoke these words, he commanded his men to bring him the kings of the Teutons bound and chained, that had been taken within the mountains of the Alps by the Sequani. The Cimbrians understanding this by report of their ambassadors, presently marched towards Marius, who stirred not at all, but only fortified and kept his camp. They say that it was for this battell that Marius first invented the new device he brought in for the dart which the Romans were wont always to throw against the enemies at the first charge. For before, the staff of the dart was fastened unto the iron, and the iron unto the staff, with two little iron pins that passed through the wood: and then Marius left one of the iron pins as it was before, and taking away the other, put a little thin pin of wood, easy to be broken, in place of the same, making it craftily, to the end that when the dart was thrown, and stuck in the enemies' target, it should not stand right forward, but bow downwards towards the iron, that the wooden pin being broken, the staff of the dart should hang downwards, holding yet by the iron pin running quite through at the point. So Bœorix, King of the Cimbrians, coming near to Marius' camp with a small number of horsemen, sent him defiance, and willed him to appoint a day and place for battell, that they might try it out, who should be owners of the country. Whereunto Marius made answer, that it was not the manner of the Romans to counsel with their enemies, of the time and place when they should give battell: but nevertheless, he would not stick to pleasure the

**Marius' device for altering the dart in fight**

**The  
Romans'  
battell**

Cimbrians so much. And thus they agreed between them, that it should be the third day following, in the plain of Verceilles, which was very commodious for the horsemen of the Romans: and also for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meet according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. Catulus Lutatius the other Consul, had in his camp twenty thousand and three hundred soldiers: and Marius had in his camp two and thirty thousand fighting men, which he placed in the two wings of the battell, shutting in Catulus with his men in the midst. As Sulla writeth it, who was present at the same: saying, that Marius did it of malice, for the hope he had to overthrow his enemies with the two wings of the battell, to the end that the whole victory should light upon his two wings, and that Catulus and his men in the midst should have no part thereof. For he could not so much as front the enemy, because that commonly when the front of a battell is of such a breadth, the two wings that ever stretched out before, and is made like the crescent of a moon, where the midst is thickest and farthest in. And it is written also in other stories, that Catulus himself accusing the malice of Marius, because he did so: spoke it to excuse his own dishonour. As for the Cimbrians, the troupes of their footmen coming out of their forts leisurely, did put themselves into a squadron, as broad as long, for in every side they occupied almost thirty furlong: but their horsemen which were fifteen thousand, marched before in sumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heads fashioned like wild

beasts' necks, and strange beavers or buffs to the same, and wore on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, as they had been wings: which to sight made them appear taller and bigger men than they were. Furthermore, they had good curaces on their backs, and carried great white targets before them: and for weapons offensive, every man had two darts in his hand to bestow afar off, and when they came to hand strokes, they had great heavy swords, which they fought withal near hand. But at that time they did not march directly in rank against the army of the Romans, but turned a little on the right hand, meaning to enclose the Romans between them and their footmen that were on the left hand. The Roman captains found their policy straight, but they could not keep their soldiers back: for there was one that cried, The enemies fled, and immediately all the rest began to run after. In the meantime, the footmen of the barbarous people that were like to a sea before them, came forwards still: and then Marius having washed his hands, and lifting them up to heaven, promised, and vowed a solemn sacrifice unto the gods of an hundred oxen. Catulus also made a vow, lifting up his hands to heaven in like manner, that he would build a temple unto fortune for that day: and it is reported, that Marius having sacrificed, when they shewed him the entrails of the beasts sacrificed: he cried out aloud, The victory is mine. But when they came to give the charge, Marius had a great misfortune happened him, poured upon him by gods' justice, who turned his craft against himself, as Sulla writeth: for there rose very credibly so great a dust, that both armies lost the sight one of another. And hereupon

The  
battell of  
the Cim-  
brians

The sun  
full in  
the Cim-  
brians'  
faces

Marius being the first that ran to begin the charge, and having placed his men about him, missed to meet with his enemies: and being passed beyond their battell, wandered a great while up and down the field, whilst the barbarous people fought against Catulus. So that the greatest fury of the battell was against Catulus and his army: in the which, Sulla writeth he was himself, and sayeth, that the heat and the sun which was full in the Cimbrians' faces, did the Romans marvellous pleasure at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard, brought up to away with cold (because they were born and bred in a cold country, shadowed altogether with woods and trees as we have said) were to the contrary very tender against the heat, and did melt with sweating against the sun, and gaped straight for breath, putting their targets before their faces; for it was also in the heart of sommer, about the seven and twentieth day of the moneth of July, that this battell was given, and this dust also made the Romans the bolder, and kept them that they could not see the innumerable multitude of their enemies far from them. And every man running to set upon them that came against him, they were joined together in fight, before that the sight of their enemies could make them afraid. And furthermore, they were so good soldiers, and so able to take pains, that how extreme soever the heat was, no man was seen sweat nor blow, though they ran at the first to set upon them: and this hath Catulus Lutatius himself left in writing unto the praise of his soldiers. So were the most part of the barbarous people, and specially of the best soldiers, slain in the field. And because they should not open nor break

their ranks, the foremost ranks were all tied and bound together with girdles, leather thongs, and long chains of iron: and they that fled, were chased and followed into their camp by the Romans, where they met with horrible and fearful things to behold. For, their wives being upon the top of their carts, appalled all in black, slew all those that fled, without regard of persons: some their fathers, other their husbands or their brethren, and strangling the little young babes with their own hands, they cast them under the cart wheels, and between the horses' legs, and afterwards slew themselves. And they say, that there was a woman hanged at the end of a cart ladder, having hanged up two of her children by the necks at her heels. And that the men also, for lack of a tree to hang themselves on, tied slipping halters about their necks, unto the horns and feet of the oxen, and that they did prick them afterwards with goads to make them fling and leap so long, that dragging them all about, and treading them under feet, at the length they killed them. Now, though numbers were slain by this means, yet were there three score thousand of them taken prisoners, and the number of them that were slain, came to twice as many more. In this manner Marius' soldiers spoiled the camp of the Cimbrians: but the spoils of dead men that were slain in the field, with their ensigns and trumpets, were all brought (as it is said) unto Catulus' camp, which was a plain testimony to shew that Catulus and his soldiers had won the field. Strife rising thus between the soldiers of both camps about it, that the matter might be tried friendly between them: they made the ambassadors of Parma their arbitrators, who

Horrible  
cruelty of  
women

**Might** were by chance at that time in the army. **overcom-** Catulus  
**eth right** Lutatius' soldiers led the ambassadors to the place where the overthrow was given, showing them the enemies' bodies pierced through with their pikes, which were easy to be known, because Catulus had made them grave his name upon their pikes. For all this, Marius went away with the honour of this great victory, as well for the first battell he wan alone, when he overthrew the Teutons and the Ambrons: as for his great calling, having been Consul five times. And furthermore, the common people at Rome, called him the third founder of the city of Rome, thinking themselves now delivered from as great a danger, as before time they had been in from the ancient Gauls. And every man feasting at home with his wife and children, offered the best dishes of meat they had to supper, unto the gods, and unto Marius: and would needs have him alone to triumph for both victories. But he would not in any case, but triumphed into the city with Catulus Lutatius, meaning to shew himself curteous and moderate in so great prosperity: and peradventure also fearing Catulus' soldiers, who were in readiness and prepared (if Marius would have deprived their captain of that honour) to let him also of his triumph. And thus you see how he passed his fifth consulship. After that, he made more earnest suit for the sixth consulship, than ever any other did for his first: seeking the peoples' goodwills by all the fair means he could to please them, humbling himself unto them, not only more than became his estate and calling, but directly also against his own nature, counterfeiting a curteous popular manner, being clean contrary to

his disposition. His ambition made him timorous to deal in matters of the state concerning the city. For that courage and boldness which he had in battell against the enemy, he lost it quite when he was in an assembly of people in the city: and was easily put out of his bias, with the first blame or praise he heard given him. And though they report, that on a time when he made a thousand Camerines free of the city of Rome, because they had done valiant service in the wars, that there were some that did accuse him, saying, that it was a thing done against all law: he answered them, that for the noise of the armour, he could not hear the law. Notwithstanding, it seemeth that indeed he was greatly afraid of the fury of the people in an assembly of the city. For in time of wars, he ever stood upon his reputation and authority, knowing that they had need of him: but in peace and civil government, because he would rather be the chiefest man than the honestest man, he would creep into the people's bosoms to get their favour and goodwill. And thus through his evil behaviour, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. But he feared nor mistrusted none so much, as he did Metellus, for the great unthankful part he remembered he had played him: and the rather also, because he knew him to be a just and true dealing man, and one that was ever against these people-pleasers and flatterers. Marius therefore practised all the ways he could, to get Metellus to be banished Rome. Wherefore, to compass his intent, he fell in friendship with Glaucia and one Saturninus, two of the most boldest, most desperate, and most hare-brained young men that were in all

**Metellus  
against  
people-  
pleasers**

**Marius**  
**Consul**  
**the sixth**  
**time**

Rome : who had all the rabblement of rogues and beggars, and such tumultuous people at their commandment, by whose means he made new popular laws, and caused the soldiers to be called home out of the wars, and mingled them with the people of the city in common assemblies, to trouble and vex Metellus. Moreover Rutilius, an honest and true writer, (howbeit an enemy unto Marius) writeth, that he obtained his sixth consulship by corruption of money, which he caused to be distributed amongst the tribes of the people : and that he bought it for ready money to put by Metellus, and to have Valerius Flaccus not for his fellow and companion in the consulship, but rather for a minister of his will. There was never Roman to whom the people granted the consulship six times, except it were unto Valerius Corvinus only. But for him, they say that there was five-and-forty years between his first consulship and the last. Where Marius since the first year of his consulship, continued five years together by good fortune one after another. But in his last consulship, he wan himself great hate and malice, because he did many foul faults to please Saturninus withal : as amongst others, when he bare with Saturninus, who murdered Nonius his competitor in the tribuneship. Afterwards when Saturninus was chosen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for distribution of the lands among the common people, and unto that law he had specially added one article : that all the Lords of the Senate should come openly to swear, that they should keep and observe from point to point that which the people by their voices should decree, and should not deny it in any iote. But Marius in open Senate, made as

though he would withstand this article, saying, that neither he nor any other wise man of judgement would take this oath: for said he, if the law be evil, then they should do the Senate open wrong to compel them by force to grant it, and not of their own good wills. But he spake not that, meaning to do as he said: for it was but a bait he had laid for Metellus only, which he could hardly escape. For, imagining that to tell a fine lie, was a piece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly resolved with himself, not to pass for anything he had spoken in the Senate. And to the contrary also, knowing well enough that Metellus was a grave wise man, who esteemed that to be just and true (as Pindarus said) is the beginning and foundation of great vertue: he thought he would outreach him, making him affirm before the Senate that he would not swear, knowing also that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwards to swear. And so indeed it happened. For Metellus having assured them then that he would not swear, the Senate broke up upon it. And shortly after, Saturninus the Tribune calling the Senators unto the pulpit for orations, to compel them to swear before the people: Marius went thither to offer himself to swear. Whereupon the people making silence, listened attentively to hear what he would say. But Marius not regarding his large promise and brags made before the Senate, said then, his neck was not so long that he would prejudice the common wealth in a matter of so great importance: but that he would swear, and obey the law, if it were a law. This shifting subtlety he added to it, to cloak and cover his shame: and when he had said so, he took his

To lie  
cun-  
ningly,  
Marius  
taketh  
for a  
vertue

**Metellus'** oath. The people seeing him swear, were marvelous glad, and praised him with clapping of their hands: but the nobility hanging down their heads were ashamed of him, and were marvellous angry in their hearts with him, that he had so cowardly and shamefully gone from his word. Thereupon all the Senate took their oaths, one after another against their wills, because they were afraid of the people. Saving Metellus, whom, neither parents' nor friends' persuasion and entreaty could once move to swear, for any punishment that Saturninus had imposed upon them, which refused to take the oath, but continued one man still according to his nature, and would never yield unto it, offering to abide any pain, rather than to be brought to consent to a dishonest matter unbeseeming his estate. And thereupon went out of the assembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to do evil it was too easy a thing: and to do good without danger, it was also a common matter: but to do well with danger, that was the part of an honest and vertuous man. Saturninus then commanded the Consuls by edict of the people, that they should banish Metellus by sound of trumpet, with special commandment, that no man should let him have fire nor water, nor lodge him privately nor openly. The common people, they were ready to have fallen upon him, and to have killed him: but the noblemen being offended for the injury they had offered him, gathered together about him to save him, if any would offer him violence. Metellus himself was so good a man, that he would not any civil dissension should rise for his sake: and therefore he absented himself from Rome, wherein he did like a

**wise  
saying  
touching  
well  
doing**

wise man. For said he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting themselves of the wrong they have done me, will call me home again: or else things standing as they do now, it shall be best for me to be furthest off. But for his travel in his exile, how much he was beloved and honoured, and how sweetly he passed his time studying philosophy in the city of Rhodes, shall be declared more at large in his life. Now on the other side, Marius to recompense the pleasure Saturninus had done him, being driven to let him have his will in all things: did not foresee what an intolerable plague he brought unto the common wealth, giving the bridle to a desperate man, who every way, by force, by sword and murder, plainly sought to usurp tyrannical power, with the utter destruction and subversion of the whole common wealth. And so bearing reverence on the one side unto the nobility, and desiring on the other side to gratify the common people: he played a shameful part, and shewed himself a double-dealing man. For one night the nobility and chiefest citizens coming to his house, to persuade him to bridle Saturninus' insolency and boldness: at the self same time also Saturninus going thither to speak with him, he caused him to be let in at a back door, the noblemen not being privy to his coming. And so Marius telling the nobility, and then Saturninus, that he was troubled with a looseness of his body, under this pretence whipped up and down, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing else but set them further out one against another, than they were before. Nevertheless, the Senate being marvellous angry with his naughty double-dealing,

**Marius'  
double  
dealing**

No trust  
to the  
faith  
of the  
common  
people

and the order of knights taking part with the Senate, Marius in the end was compelled to arm the people in the market-place, to suppress them that were up, and drave them into the Capitol: where for lack of water, they were compelled to yield themselves at the length, because he had cut off the pipes and conduits by the which the water ran unto the Capitol. By reason whereof, they being unable to continue any longer, called Marius unto them, and yielded themselves to him, under the assurance of the faith of the common people. But although Marius did what he could possible to his uttermost power to save them, he could not prevail, nor do them pleasure: for they were no sooner come down into the market-place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he having now purchased himself the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Censors should be chosen, every man looked that he would have been one of the suitors: howbeit he sued not for it, for fear of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of far less dignity and calling than himself. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, saying that he would not sue to be Censor, because he would not have the ill will of many, for examining too straitly their lives and manners. Again, a decree being preferred to repeal Metellus' banishment, Marius did what he could possible by word and deed to hinder it: howbeit, seeing in the end he could not have his will, he let it alone. The people having thus willingly revoked Metellus' banishment, Marius' heart would not serve him to see Metellus return again, for the malice he bare him: wherefore he took the seas to go into Cap-

padocia and Galatia, under colour to pay certain sacrifices to the mother of the gods, which he had vowed unto her. But this was not the very cause that made him to undertake this journey, for he had another secret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to live in peace, and to govern civil matters, and having attained to his greatness by arms, and supposing that his glory and authority consumed and decreased altogether living idly in peace: he sought to devise new occasion of wars, hoping if he could stir up the kings of Asia, and specially Mithridates (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make wars against the Romans) that he should then undoubtedly without let of any man be chosen General to make wars with him, and withal also, that by that means he should have occasion to fill the city of Rome with new triumphs, and his house with the spoils of the great kingdom of Pont, and with the riches of the king. Now Mithridates disposing himself to entertain Marius, with all the honour and courtesies he could possibly shew him: Marius in the end notwithstanding would not once give him a good look, nor a courteous word again, but churlishly said unto Mithridates at his departure from him, Thou must determine one of these two, King Mithridates: either to make thyself stronger than the Romans, or else to look to do what they command thee, without resistance. These words amazed Mithridates, who had heard say before that the Romans would speak their minds freely: howbeit he never saw nor proved it before, until that time. After Marius was returned unto Rome, he built a house near unto the market-place, because he

**Marius'**  
**proud**  
**words to**  
**Mithri-**  
**dates**

The  
cause of  
the dis-  
sension

would not (as he said himself) that such as came unto him should trouble themselves in going far to bring him home to his house: or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that divers would come to salute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit that was not the cause indeed, but the only cause was, for that he had no natural grace nor civility to entertain men courteously that came unto him, and that he lacked behaviour besides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, than they did of an old rusty harness or implement that was good for nothing, but for the wars only. And for all other that professed arms as himself did, no man grieved him so much to be called forward to office and state before himself, as Sulla did. For he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the noblemen did all what they could to prefer Sulla, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that Sulla's first rising and preferment grew, by the quarrels and contentions he had with him. And specially when Bocchus King of Numidia was proclaimed by the Senate, a friend and confederate of the Roman people: he offered up statues of victories, carrying tokens of triumph, into the temple of the Capitol: and placed near unto them also, an image of gold of King Jugurth, which he delivered by his own hands unto Sulla. And this made Marius stark mad for spite and jealousy, and could not abide that another should take upon him the glory of his doings: insomuch as he determined to pluck those images down, and to carry them away by force. Sulla on the other side stomached Marius, and would not suffer him to take them out of the

place where they were: so that this civil sedition had taken present effect, had not the wars of their confederates fallen out between, and restrained them for a time. For the best soldiers and most warlike people of all Italy, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the Romans, and had well near overthrown their whole Empire. For they were not only of great force, and power, and well armed: but their captains also, for valiantness and skill, did in manner equal the worthiness of the Romans. For this war fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calamity and misfortune that happened in it: but it wan Sylla as much fame and reputation, as it did Marius shame and dishonour. For he shewed himself very cold and slow in all his enterprises, still delaying time, either because age had mortified his active heat, and killed that quick ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then above threescore and five year old: or else as he said himself, because he was waxen gouty, and had ache in his veins and sinews, that he could not well stir his body, and that for shame, because he would not tarry behind in this war, he did more than his years could away withal. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wan a great battell, wherein were slain six thousand of their enemies: and so long as the wars endured, he never gave them advantage of him, but patiently suffered them sometime to entrench him, and to mock him, and give him vile words, challenging him out to fight, and yet all this would not provoke him. It is said also, that Pompædus Silo, who was the chiefest captain of reputation and authority the enemies had, said unto Marius on a time: If thou be Marius, so great a captain as

betwixt  
Marius  
and Sulla

**Silo's stout challenge and Marius' answer** they say thou art, leave thy camp, and come out to battell. Nay, said Marius to him again: if thou be a great captain, pluck me out by the ears, and compel me to come to battell. Another time when the enemies gave them occasion to give a great charge upon them with advantage: the Romans were faint-hearted and durst not set upon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retired, Marius caused his men to assemble, and spake unto them in this sort. I cannot tell which of the two I should reckon most cowards: you your selves, or your enemies: for they durst not once see your backs, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to resign his charge, being able to serve no longer for the weakness and debility of his body. Now, all the rebels of Italy being put down, many at Rome (by the orators' means) did sue to have the charge of the wars against Mithridates: and among them, a Tribune of the people called Sulpicius, (a very bold and rash man) beyond all men's hope and opinion preferred Marius, and persuaded them to give him the charge of these wars, with title and authority of Vice-Consul. The people thereupon were divided in two parts: for the one side stood for Marius, and the other would have Sulla take the charge, saying, that Marius was to think now upon the hot baths at Bayes, to look to cure his old body, brought low with rheum and age, as himself said. For Marius had a goodly stately house in those parts near unto the Mount of Misenum, which was far more fine and curiously furnished, than became a captain that had been in so many foughten battels and dangers. They say that Cornelia afterwards bought that fine

house for the sum of seven thousand five hundred crowns, and shortly after also, Lucullus bought it again for two hundred and fifty thousand crowns: to so great excess was vanity and curiosity grown in very short time at Rome. Notwithstanding all this, Marius too ambitiously striving like a passionate young man against the weakness and debility of his age, never missed day but he would be in the field of Mars to exercise himself among the young men, shewing his body disposed and ready to handle all kind of weapons, and to ride horses: albeit that in his later time, he had no great health of body, because he was very heavy and sad. There were that liked that passing well in him, and went of purpose into the field to see what pains he took, striving to excel the rest. Howbeit those of the better sort were very sorry to see his avarice and ambition, considering specially, that being of a poor man become very rich, and of a right mean person a great estate, that he could not now contain his prosperity within reasonable bounds, nor content himself to be esteemed and honoured, quietly enjoying all he had won, and which at that present he did possess: but as if he had been very poor and needy, after he had received such great honour and triumphs, would yet carry out his age so stoutly, even into Cappadocia, and unto the realm of Pont, to go fight there against Archelaus, and Neoptolemus, lieutenants of King Mithridates. Indeed he alleged some reasons to excuse himself, but they were altogether vain: for he said that he desired in person to bring up his son in exercise of arms, and to teach him the discipline of wars. That discovered the secret hidden plague, which of long

**Marius'**  
**ambition**

**Sulpicius' boldness** time had lurked in Rome, Marius specially having now met with a fit instrument, and minister to destroy the common wealth, which was, the insolent and rash Sulpicius: who altogether followed Saturninus' doings, saving that he was found too cowardly and faint-hearted in all his enterprises, and for that did Marius justly reprove him. But Sulpicius, because he would not dally nor delay time, had ever six hundred young gentlemen of the order of knights, whom he used as his guard about him, and called them the guard against the Senate. And one day as the Consuls kept their common assembly in the market-place, Sulpicius coming in armed upon them, made them both take their heels, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Consuls' sons being taken tardy, was slain. Sulla being the other Consul, and perceiving that he was followed hard at hand unto Marius' house, ran into the same against the opinion of all the world: whereof they that ran after him not being aware, passed by the house. And it is reported that Marius himself conveyed Sulla safely out at a back door, and that he being escaped thus, went unto his camp. Notwithstanding, Sulla himself in his commentaries doth not say, that he was saved in Marius' house when he fled: but that he was brought thither to give his consent unto a matter which Sulpicius would have forced him unto against his will, presenting him naked swords on every side. And he writeth also, that being thus forcibly brought unto Marius' house, he was kept there in this fear, until such time as returning into the market-place, he was compelled to revoke again the adjournment of justice, which he and his companion

by edict had commanded. This done, Sulpicius then being the stronger, caused the commission and charge of this war against Mithridates to be assigned unto Marius by the voice of the people. Therefore Marius giving order for his departure, sent two of his colonels before to take the army of Sulla: who having won his soldiers' hearts before, and stirred them up against Marius, brought them on with him directly towards Rome, being no less than five-and-thirty thousand fighting men: who setting upon the captains Marius had sent unto them, slew them in the field. In revenge whereof, Marius again in Rome put many of Sulla's friends and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by sound of trumpet, to all slaves and bondmen that would take arms for him: but there were never but three only that offered themselves. Whereupon, having made a little resistance unto Sulla when he came into Rome, he was soon after compelled to run his way. Marius was no sooner out of the city, but they that were in his company forsaking him, dispersed themselves here and there being dark night: and Marius himself got to a house of his in the country, called Solonium, and sent his son to one of his father-in-law Mucius' farms not far from thence, to make some provision for victuals. But Marius in the meantime, went before to Ostia, where one of his friends Numerius had prepared him a ship, in the which he embarked immediately, not tarrying for his son, and hoised sail, having only Granius his wife's son with him. In the meantime the younger Marius being at his father-in-law Mucius' farm, stayed so long in getting of provision, in trussing of it up, and carrying it away,

**Marius'  
sedition**

**Marius** that broad daylight had like to have discovered him: for the enemies had advertisement whither he was gone, whereupon certain horsemen were sent thither supposing to have found him. But the keeper of the house having an inkling of their coming, and preventing them also before they came, sodainly yoked his oxen to the cart which he loaded with beans, and hid this younger Marius under the same. And pricking the oxen forward with his goad, set out, and met them as he went towards the city, and delivered Marius in this sort into his wive's house: and there taking such things as he needed, when the night following came, went towards the sea, and took ship, finding one cross-sailed, bound towards Africk. Marius the father sailing on still, had a very good wind to point alongst the coast of Italy: notwithstanding, being afraid of one Geminius, a chief man of Terracina, who hated him to the death, he gave the mariners warning thereof betimes, and willed them to take heed of landing at Terracina. The mariners were very willing to obey him, but the wind stood full against them coming from the main, which raised a great storm, and they feared much that their vessel which was but a boat, would not brook the seas, besides that he himself was very sick in his stomach, and sore sea beaten: notwithstanding, at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recovered the coast over against the city of Circeii. In the meantime, the storm increased still, and their victuals failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandering up and down not knowing what to do, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in such like cases of

extremity, they thought it always the best safety for them, to fly from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they saw not: for if the sea were their enemy, the land was so likewise. To meet with men, they were afraid: and not to meet with them on the other side lacking victuals, was indeed the greater danger. Nevertheless, in the end they met with herdmen that could give them nothing to eat, but knowing Marius, warned him to get him out of the way as soon as he could possible, because it was not long since that there passed by a great troop of horsemen that sought him all about. And thus being brought unto such perplexity, that he knew not where to bestow himself, and specially for that the poor men he had in his company were almost starved for hunger: he got out of the highway notwithstanding, and sought out a very thick wood where he passed all that night in great sorrow, and the next morning being compelled by necessity, determined yet to employ his body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandered on alongst the sea-coast, still comforting them that followed him the best he could, and praying them not to despair, but to refer themselves to him, even until the last hope, trusting in certain prophecies which the soothsayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in the country, he gathered up in the lap of his gown, the ayrie of an eagle, in the which were seven young eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the soothsayers what that meant. They answered, that their son one day should be one of the greatest men in the world, and that out of doubt he should obtain seven

**Marius found an ayrie of eagles**

**How many eggs the eagle layith** times in his life the chiefest office of dignity in his country. And for that matter, it is said that so indeed it came to pass. Other hold opinion, that such as were about Marius at that time, in that present place, and elsewhere, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, believed it, and afterwards put it down in writing, as a true thing, although of troth it is both false and feigned. For, they say, that the eagle never getteth but two young ones: by reason whereof it is maintained also, that the poet Musæus hath lied, in that which he hath written in these verses :

The eagle lays three eggs, and two she hatcheth forth:  
But yet she bringeth up but one, that anything is worth.

Howsoever it was, it is certain that Marius many times during the time of his flying said, that he was assured he should come unto the seventh consulship. When they were come near now to the city of Minturnæ, about a two mile and a half from it, they might perceive a troop of horsemen coming by the seaside, and two ships on the sea that fell upon the coast by good hap. Wherefore they all began to run (so long as they had breath and strength) towards the sea, into the which they threw themselves, and got by swimming unto one of the ships where Granius was: and they crossed over unto the isle that is right against it called Ænaria. Now for Marius, who was heavy and sick of body, two of his servants holpe to hold him up always above water, with the greatest pain and difficulty in the world: and at the last they laboured so throughly, that they put him into the other ship at the self same present,

when the horsemen came unto the seaside, who cried out aloud to the mariners to land again, or else throw Marius overboard, and then to go where they would. Marius on the other side humbly besought them with tears, not so to do: whereby the maisters of the ship in a short space were in many minds whether to do it, or not to do it. In the end notwithstanding, they answered the horsemen they would not throw him overboard: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soon as they were gone, the maisters of the ship changing mind, drew towards land, and cast anchor about the mouth of the river of Liris, where it leaveth her banks, and maketh great marishes: and there they told Marius he should do well to go aland to eat somewhat, and refresh his sea-sick body, till the wind served them to make sail, which doubtless said they, will be at a certain hour when the sea wind falls and becomes calm, and that there riseth a little wind from the land, engendered by the vapours of the marishes, which will serve the turn very well to take seas again. Marius following their counsel, and thinking they had meant good faith, was set aland upon the river's bank: and there laid him down upon the grass, nothing suspecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners presently taking their ship again, and hoising up their anchors sailed straight away, and fled: judging it no honesty for them to have delivered Marius into the hands of his enemies, nor safety for themselves to have saved him. Marius finding himself all alone, and forsaken of every man, lay on the ground a great while, and said never a word: yet at the length taking heart a little to him, got up once again on his feet, and

**Marius  
set a-land  
and for-  
saken**

**Marius  
hidden  
in the  
marishes**

painfully wanded up and down, where was neither way nor path at all, overthwart deep marishes and great ditches full of water and mud, till he came at the length to a poor old man's cottage, dwelling there in these marishes, and falling at his feet, besought him to help to save and succour a poor afflicted man, with promise that one day he would give him a better recompense than he looked for, if he might escape this present danger wherein he was. The old man whether for that he had known Marius aforetime, or that seeing him (by conjecture only) judged him to be some great personage, told him that if he meant but to lie down and rest himself a little, his poor cabin would serve that turn reasonably well : but if he meant to wander thus, to fly his enemies that followed him, he would then bring him into a more secret place, and farther off from noise. Marius prayed him that he would do so much for him : and the good man brought him into the marish, unto a low place by the river's side, where he made him lie down, and then covered him with a great deal of reed and bent, and other such light things as could not hurt him. He had not long been there, but he heard a great noise coming towards the cabin of the poor old man : for Geminius of Terracina had sent men all about to seek for him, whereof some by chance came that way, and put the poor man in a fear, and threatened him that he had received and hidden an enemy of the Romans. Marius hearing that, rose out of the place where the old man had laid him, and stripping himself stark naked, went into a part of the marish where the water was full of mire and mud, and there was found of those that searched for him :

who taking him out of the slime all naked as he was, carried him into the city of Minturnæ, and delivered him there into the governors' hands. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all Italy, that they should apprehend Marius, and kill him wheresoever they found him. Notwithstanding, the governors and magistrates of Minturnæ thought good first to consult thereupon amongst themselves, and in the meantime they delivered him into the safe custody of a woman called Fannia, whom they thought to have been a bitter enemy of his, for an old grudge she had to him, which was this. Fannia sometime had a husband called Titinius, whom she was willing to leave for that they could not agree, and required her dower of him again, which was very great. Her husband again said, she had played the whore. The matter was brought before Marius in his sixth consulship, who had given judgement upon it. Both parties being heard, and the law prosecuted on either side, it was found that this Fannia was a naughty woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it well enough before he married her, yet took her with her faults, and long time lived with her. Wherefor Marius being angry with them both, gave sentence that the husband should repay back her dower, and that for her naughty life, she should pay four farthings. This notwithstanding, when Fannia saw Marius, she grudged him not for that, and least of all had any revenging mind in her towards him, but contrarily did comfort and help him what she could with that she had. Marius thanked her marvellously for it, and bade her hope well: because he met with good luck as he was coming to

**Fannia's  
courtesy  
to Marius**

One hired  
to kill  
Marius

her house, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came near to Fannia's house, her door being open, there came an ass running out to go drink at a conduit not far from thence: and meeting Marius by the way, looked upon him with a lively joyful countenance, first of all stopping sodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out aloud, and to leap and skip by him. Whereupon Marius straight conjecturing with himself, said, that the gods did signify unto him, that he should save himself sooner by water than by land: because that the ass leaving him, ran to drink and cared not to eat. So when he had told Fannia this tale, he desired to rest, and prayed them to let him alone, and to shut the chamber door to him. But the magistrates of the city having consulted together about him, in the end resolved they must defer no longer time, but despatch him out of the way presently. Now when they were agreed upon it, they could not find a man in the city that durst take upon him to kill him: but a man of arms of the Gauls, or one of the Cimbrians (for we find both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his sword drawn in his hand. Now, that place of the chamber wherein Marius lay was very dark, and as it is reported, the man of arms thought he saw two burning flames come out of Marius' eyes, and heard a voice out of that dark corner, saying unto him: O fellow, thou, darest thou come to kill Caius Marius? The barbarous Gaul hearing these words, ran out of the chamber presently, casting his sword in the midst of the floor, and crying out these words only: I cannot kill Caius Marius. This made the Minturnians afraid in the city at the

first, but afterwards it moved them to compassion. So they were angry with themselves, and did repent them that they converted their council to so cruel and unkind a deed, against one that had preserved all Italy : and to deny him aid in so extreme necessity, it was too great a sin. Therefore let us let him go, said they to themselves, where he will, and suffer him take his fortune appointed him elsewhere : and let us pray to the gods to pardon this offence of ours, to have thrust Marius naked and beggarly out of our city. For these considerations, the Minturnians went all together to Marius where he was, and stood about him, determining to see him safely conducted unto the seaside. Now though every man was ready and willing to pleasure him, some with one thing, some with another, and that they did hasten him all they could possible, yet they were a good while agoing thither : because there was a wood called Marica, that lay right in their way between their city and the sea coast which they greatly reverence, and think it a sacrilege to carry anything out of that wood, that was once brought into it. On the other side, to leave to go through this wood, and to compass it round about, it would ask a marvellous long time. So they standing all in doubt what they should do, one of the ancientest men of the city spake aloud unto them, and said : that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to save Marius' life. Then Marius himself being the foremost man, taking up some of the fardels which they carried with him, to pleasure him in the ship, went through the wood. All other things necessary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwill, and specially the ship which one Bellæus had or-

**The Minturnians suffered Marius to go his way**

**Marius** dained for him: he caused all this story to be  
**flieth into** painted in a table at large, which he gave unto the  
**Africk** temple, out of the which he departed when he took  
ship. After he was departed thence, the wind by  
good fortune carried him into the Isle of Ænaria,  
where he found Granius and some other of his  
friends, with whom he took sea again, and pointed  
towards Africk. But lacking water, they were  
compelled to land in Sicily, in the territory of the  
city of Eryx: where by chance there lay a Roman  
Quæstor, who kept that coast. Marius being landed  
there, escaped very narrowly that he was not taken  
of him: for he slew sixteen of his men that came  
out with him to take water. So Marius getting  
him thence with all speed, crossed the seas, until  
he arrived in the Isle of Meninx, where he first  
understood that his son was saved with Cethegus,  
and that they were both together gone to Hiempsal  
king of the Numidians to beseech him of aid. This  
gave him a little courage, and made him bold to  
pass out of that isle, into the coast of Carthage.  
Now at that time, Sextilius a Roman Prætor was  
governor of Africa, unto whom Marius had never  
done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that  
for pity only he might perhaps have help at his  
hand. Howbeit he was no sooner landed with a  
few of his men, but a sergeant came straight and  
said unto him: Sextilius, Prætor and governor of  
Libya, doth forbid thee to land in all this pro-  
vince: otherwise he telleth thee, that he will obey  
the Senate's commandment, and pursue thee as an  
enemy of the Romans. Marius hearing this com-  
mandment, was so angry and sorry both, that he  
could not readily tell what answer to make him,

and paused a good while, and said never a word, still eyeing the sergeant with a grim look : until he asked him what answer he would make to the Prætor's commandment. Marius then fetching a deep sigh from his heart, gave him this answer. Thou shalt tell Sextilius, that thou hast seen Caius Marius banished out of his country, sitting amongst the ruins of the city of Carthage. By this answer, he wisely laid the example of the ruin and destruction of that great city of Carthage, before Sextilius' eyes, and the change of his fortune : to warn Sextilius that the like might fall upon him. In the meantime, Hiempsal king of the Numidians, not knowing how to resolve, did honourably entreat young Marius and his company. But when they were willing to go their way, he always found new occasion to stay them, and was very glad to see that he started not for any opportunity or good occasion that was offered : notwithstanding, there fortun'd a happy mean unto them, whereby they saved themselves. And this it was. This Marius the younger being a fair complexioned young man, it pitied one of the king's concubines to see him so hardly dealt withal. This pity of hers was a shadow to cloke the love she bare him : but Marius would not hearken at the first to her enticements, and refused her. Yet in the end, perceiving that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and considering that she did all things for their avail, more diligently and lovingly than she would have done, if she had not meant further matter unto him, than only to enjoy the pleasure of him : he then accepted her love and kindness, so as at the length she taught him a way how to fly, and save

**Marius' wise answer of fortune's inconstancy**

**Cinna  
driven out  
of Rome**

himself and his friends. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had embraced and saluted each other, going alongst the seaside, they found two scorpions fighting together. Marius took this for an ill sign: whereupon they quickly took a fisher boat, and went into the Isle of Cercina, which is no great distance off from firm land. They had no sooner hoised up anker, but they saw the horsemen which King Hiempsal had sent unto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greatest dangers that Marius ever escaped. In the meantime there was news at Rome, that Sulla made war against King Mithridates' lieutenants: and furthermore, that the Consuls being up in arms the one against the other, Octavius wan the battell, and being the stronger, had driven out Cinna who sought to have usurped tyrannical power, and had made Cornelius Merula Consul in his place: and that Cinna on the other side levied men out of other parts of Italy, and made wars upon them that were in Rome. Marius hearing of this dissension, thought good to return as soon as he could possible into Italy. And assembling certain horsemen of the nation of the Maurusians in Africk, and certain Italians that had saved themselves there, unto the number of a thousand men in all: he took sea, and landed in a haven of Tuscany called Telamon, and being landed, proclaimed by sound of trumpet, liberty to all slaves and bondmen that would come to him. So the labourers, herdmen and neat-herds of all that march, for the only name and reputation of Marius, ran to the seaside from all parts: of the which he having chosen out the stoutest and lustiest of them, wan them so by fair words, that having gathered a great

company together in few days, he made forty sail of them. Furthermore, knowing that Octavius was a marvellous honest man, that would have no authority otherwise than law and reason would: and that Cinna to the contrary was suspected of Sulla, and that he sought to bring in change and innovation to the common wealth, he determined to join his force with Cinna. So Marius sent first unto Cinna, to let him understand that he would obey him as Consul, and be ready to do all that he should command him. Cinna received him, and gave him the title and authority of Vice-consul, and sent him sergeants to carry axes and rods before him, with all other signs of public authority. But Marius refused them, and said, that pomp became not his miserable fortune: for he ever went in a poor threadbare gown, and had let his hair grow still after he was banished, being above threescore and ten years old, and had a sober gait with him, to make men pity him the more that saw him. But under all this counterfait pity of his, he never changed his natural look, which was ever more fearful and terrible than otherwise. And where he spake but little, and went very demurely and soberly, that shewed rather a cankered courage within him, than a mind humbled by his banishment. Thus when he had saluted Cinna, and spoken to the soldiers: he then began to set things abroach, and made a wonderful change in few days. For first of all, with his ships he cut off all the victuals by sea, and robbed the merchants that carried corn and other victuals to Rome: so that in a short space he was master purveyor for all necessary provision and victuals. After this he went

**Marius  
joineth  
his force  
with  
Cinna**

Octavius'  
negli-  
gence in  
defence of  
the city

alongst the coast, and took all the cities upon the seaside, and at the length wan Ostia also by treason, put the most part of them in the town to the sword, and spoiled all their goods: and afterwards making a bridge upon the river of Tiber, took from his enemies all hope to have any manner of provision by sea. That done, he went directly towards Rome with his army, where first he wan the hill called Janiculum through Octavius' fault: who overthrew himself in his doings, not so much for lack of reasonable skill of wars, as through his unprofitable curiosity and strictness in observing the law. For when divers did persuade him to set the bondmen at liberty to take arms for defence of the common wealth: he answered, that he would never give bondmen the law and privilege of a Roman citizen, having driven Caius Marius out of Rome, to maintain the authority of the law. But when Cæcilius Metellus was come to Rome, the son of that Metellus Numidicus, not having begun the wars in Libya against King Jugurth, was put out by Marius: the soldiers forsook Octavius immediately, and came unto him, because they took him to be a better captain, and desired also to have a leader that could tell how to command them to save the city, and the common wealth. For they promised to fight valiantly, and persuaded themselves that they should overcome their enemies, so that they had a skilful and valiant captain that could order them. Metellus misliking their offer, commanded them in anger to return again unto the Consul: but they for spite went unto their enemies. Metellus on the other side, seeing no good order taken in the city to resist the enemies, got him out of Rome. But

Octavius being persuaded by certain soothsayers and Chaldean sacrificers, who promised him all should go well with him, tarried still in Rome. For that man being otherwise, as wise as any Roman of his time, and one that dealt as uprightly in his consulship, not carried away with flattering tales, and one also that followed the ancient orders and customs as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any part thereof: methinks yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the soothsayers, wise men, and astronomers, more than men skilful in arms and government. Wherefore, before that Marius himself came into the city, Octavius was by force plucked out of the pulpit for orations, and slain presently by Marius' soldiers, whom he had sent before into the city. And it is said also, that when he was slain, they found a figure of a Chaldean prophecy in his bosom: and here is to be noted a great contrarity in these two notable men, Octavius and Marius. The first lost his life by trusting to soothsaying, and the second prospered, and rose again, because he did not despise the art of divination. The state of Rome standing then in this manner, the Senate consulting together, sent ambassadors unto Cinna and Marius, to pray them to come peaceably into Rome, and not to imbrue their hands with the blood of their citizens. Cinna sitting in his chair as Consul, gave them audience, and made them a very reasonable and curteous answer. Marius standing by him spoke never a word: but shewed by his sour look that he would straight fill Rome with murder and blood. So when the ambassadors were gone, Cinna came into Rome environed with a great number of

**Cinna and  
Marius'  
entry into  
Rome**

**Marius  
caused  
great  
murder  
in Rome**

soldiers : but Marius stayed sodainly at the gate, speaking partly in anger, and partly in mockery, that he was a banished man, and driven out of his country by law. And therefore if they would have him come into Rome again, they should first by a contrary decree abolish and revoke that of his banishment, as if he had been a religious observer of the laws, and as though Rome had at that present enjoyed their freedom and liberty. Thus he made the people assemble in the market-place to proceed to the confirmation of his calling home again. But before three or four tribes had time to give their voices, disguising the matter no longer, and shewing plainly that he meant not to be lawfully called home again from exile : he came into Rome with a guard about him, of the veriest rascals, and most shameless slaves, called the Bardicæians, who came to him from all parts : and they for the least word he spoke, or at the twinkling of his eye, or at a nod of his head made to them, slew many men through his commandment, and at the length slew Ancharius a senator (that had been Prætor) at Marius' feet with their swords, because only that Marius did not salute him when he came one day to speak with him. After this murder, they continued killing all them that Marius did not salute, and speak unto : for that was the very sign he had given them, to kill them openly in the streets before every man, so that his very friends were afeard of being murdered, when they came to salute him. Thus being a great number of men slain, Cinna in the end began to be satisfied, and to appease his anger. But Marius' anger and unsatiabie desire for revenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one

if he suspected him never so little : and there was neither town nor highway, that was not full of scouts and spies to hunt them out that hid themselves and fled. Then experience taught them, that no friend is faithful, and to be trusted, if fortune especially frown never so little : for there were very few that did not betray their friends that fled to them for succour. And therefore do Cornutus' servants so much the more deserve praise, who having secretly hidden their maister in his house, did hang the dead body of some common person by the neck, and having put a gold ring on his finger, they shewed him to the Bardicæians, Marius' guard, and buried him instead of their own maister, without suspicion of any man that it was a feigned thing : and so Cornutus being hidden by his servants, was safely conveyed into the country of Gaul. Mark Antony the orator had also found out a faithful friend, yet was he unfortunate. This faithful friend of his, was a poor simple man, who having received one of the chiefest men of Rome into his house to keep him close there : he being desirous to make him the best cheer he could with that little he had, sent one of his men to the next tavern to fetch wine, and tasting the wine more curiously than he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer asked him why the new ordinary wine would not serve him, but he must needs have of the best and dearest : the foolish fellow simply answered him (telling him as his familiar friend) that his maister did feast Mark Antony, who was hidden very secretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his wine, and his back turned, but the vile traitorous drawer ran unto Marius, who was set at supper when he came. The

**Small  
trust of  
friends in  
adversity**

The force  
of elo-  
quence

drawer being brought unto him, promised him to deliver Mark Antony into his hands. Marius hearing that, was so jocond, that he cried out and clapped his hands together for joy : and would have risen from the board, and gone thither himself in person, had not his friends kept him back. But he sent Annius one of his captains thither with a certain number of soldiers, and commanded them to bring him his head quickly. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had brought them to, Annius tarried beneath at the door, and the soldiers went up the stairs into the chamber, and finding Antony there, they began to encourage one another to kill him, not one of them having the heart to lay hands upon him. For Antony's tongue was as sweet as a Siren, and had such an excellent grace in speaking, that when he began to speak unto the soldiers, and to pray them to save his life : there was not one of them so hard-hearted, as once to touch him, no not only to look him in the face, but looking downwards, fell a-weeping. Annius perceiving they tarried long, and came not down, went himself up into the chamber, and found Antony talking to his soldiers, and them weeping, his sweet eloquent tongue had so melted their hearts : but rating them, ran furiously upon him, and struck off his head with his own hands. And Catulus Lutatius also, that had been Consul with Marius, and had triumphed over the Cimbrians with him, seeing himself in this peril, set men to entreat Marius for him : but his answer was ever, he must needs die. So Catulus locked himself into a little chamber, and made a great fire of charcoal to be kindled, and with the smoke thereof

choked himself. Now after their heads were cut off, they threw out the naked bodies into the streets, and trod them under their feet: the which was not only a pitiful, but a fearful sight to all that saw them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieved the people so much, as the horrible lechery and abominable cruelty of this guard of the Bardiceians, who coming into men's houses by force, after they had slain the masters, defiled their young children, and ravished their wives and maids, and no man would once reprove their cruelty, lechery, and insatiable avarice: until Cinna and Sertorius in the end set upon them as they slept in their camp, and slew them every one. But in this extremity, as if all things had been restored unto their first estate, news came again from all parts to Rome, that Sulla having ended his war against King Mithridates, and recovered the provinces which he had usurped: returned into Italy with a great power. This caused these evils and unspeakable miseries to cease a little, because the wicked doers of the same, looked they should have wars on their backs ere it were long. Whereupon Marius was chosen Consul the seventh time. He going out of his house openly the first day of January, being the beginning of the year, to take possession of his consulship: caused one Sextus Lucinus to be thrown down headlong from the rock Tarpeian, which seemed to be a great sign and certain token of the evils and miseries, that fell out afterwards the self same year upon them of their faction, and unto all the city beside. But Marius being sore broken with his former troubles, and his mind oppressed with extreme sorrow and grief, could not now at this last time of need pluck up his

**Marius' seventh consulship**

**Marius' thoughts and fears** heart to him again, when he came to think of this new toward war that threatened him, and of the dangers, griefs, and troubles he should enter into, more great and perilous than any he had passed before. For through the great experience he had in wars, he trembled for fear when he began to think of it, considering that he had to fight, not with Octavius, nor with Merula, captains of a company of rebels gathered together: but with a noble Sulla, that had driven him out of Rome before, and that came now from driving the puissant King Mithridates, unto the furthest part of the realm of Pont, and of the sea Euxinus. Thus, deeply weighing and considering the same, and specially when he looked back upon his long time of banishment, how vagabondlike he wandered up and down in other countries, and remembered the great misfortunes he had passed, and the sundry dangers he fell so often into, being pursued still by sea and by land: it grieved him to the heart, and made him so unquiet, that he could not sleep in the night, or if he slept, had fearful dreams that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voice buzzing in his ears:

A lion's very den is dreadful to behold,

Though he himself be gone abroad, and be not there  
in hold.

But fearing most of all that he should no more sleep and take his rest, he gave himself to make unreasonable banquets, and to drink more than his years could bear, seeking to win sleep by this means, to avoid care the better. But at the length there came one from the sea, that gave him certain intelligence of all: and that was an increase of a

new fear unto him. And thus he being now extremely troubled, partly for fear of the thing to come, and partly also for the over heavy burden of his present ill, there needed but little more aggravation, to fall into the disease whereof he died, which was a pleurisy: as Posidonius the philosopher writeth, who saith plainly that he went into his chamber when he was sick, and spake unto him about matters of his ambassade, for the which he came to Rome. Yet another historiographer Caius Piso writeth, that Marius walking one day after supper with his friends, fell in talk of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him: concluding, that it is no wise man's part to trust her any more. So when he had done, he took his leave of them, and laid him down upon his bed, where he lay sick seven days together, and on the seventh day died. Some write that his ambition appeared plainly, by a strange raving that took him in his head during his sickness. For he thought that he made wars with Mithridates, and shewed in his bed all his gestures and movings of his body, as if he had been in a battell, crying the self same cries out aloud, which he was wont to cry when he was in the extremest fight. The desire he had to have taken this charge in hand against Mithridates, was so deeply settled in his mind through extreme ambition and jealousy that possessed him: that being then threescore and ten year old, after he had been the first man that ever was chosen seven times Consul in Rome, and also after that he had gotten a world of goods and riches together that might have sufficed many kings: yet

**Marius'**  
**mad**  
**ambition**

**Plato's  
words at  
his death**

for all this he died for sorrow, lamenting his hard fortune, as if he had died before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had desired. But this was clean contrary unto that the wise Plato did, when he drew near to his death. For he gave God thanks for his fatal end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reasonable man, and no brute beast: secondly, a Greek and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was born in Socrates' time. It is reported also, that one Antipater of Tarsus, calling to mind a little before his death the good fortune he had in his lifetime, did not forget among other things, to tell of the happy navigation he made, coming from his country unto Athens: which did witness that he put upon the file of his good accounts for a singular great grace, all favour fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetual memory, being the only and most assured treasure a man can have, to keep those gifts that nature or fortune do bestow upon him. But contrariwise unthankful fools unto God and nature both, do forget with time the memory of their former benefits, and laying up nothing, nor keeping it in perpetual memory, are always void of goods and full of hope, gaping still for things to come and leaving in the meantime the things present, though reason persuades them the contrary. For fortune may easily let them of the thing to come, but she can not take that from them which is already past: and yet they utterly forget the certain benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging unto them, and dream always of that which is uncertain. And sure it chanceth to them by great reason. For, having gathered outward goods to-

gether, and locking them up before they have built and laid a sure grounded foundation of reason through good learning: they cannot afterwards fill nor quench their unsatiabie greedy covetous mind. Thus ended Marius his life, the seventeenth day of his seventh consulship, whereof all the city of Rome was not a little glad, and took heart again unto them, supposing they had then been delivered from a bloody cruel tyranny. But within few days after they knew it to their cost, that they had changed an old maister taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: such extreme unnatural cruelties, and murders did Marius the younger commit, after the death of his father Marius, murdering in manner all the chiefest noble men of Rome. At the first, they took him for a valiant and hardy young man, whereupon they named him the son of Mars: but shortly after his deeds did shew the contrary, and then they called him the son of Venus. In the end he was shut in, and besieged by Sulla in the city of Perusia, where he did what he could possible to save his life, but all was in vain: and lastly, seeing no way to escape, the city being taken, he slew himself with his own hands.

His death  
welcome  
to all

THE END OF CAIUS MARIUS' LIFE.

## EPILOGUE

GREATER is he that ruleth his spirit, says the wise man, than he that taketh a city; and judged by this standard, the palm for greatness must be given to Aristides above the others who appear in this volume. The good man must not fall below the standard of his age, but the great man must rise above it; so in an age when truth and honesty were not felt to be necessary virtues, among a people noted for being somewhat emotional and fickle, Aristides continued to be always very quiet, temperate, constant, and marvellous well stayed, and would for no respect be drawn away from equity and justice. Whether it be in foregoing his rights for the good of the state; or in his rivalries (for in view of his whole life it is impossible to believe that he ever thwarted a good law to thwart Themistocles); or in his behaviour when banished: Aristides never fails to show true greatness of mind and heart. Alcibiades in adversity sought to make his countrymen feel that he could sting; Aristides prayed that the Athenians might never have such troubles in hand, as they should be compelled to call for him. His words of the whole duty of a citizen deserve to be had in remembrance: To be ever ready to offer his body and life to do his country service, without respect and hope of reward of money, or for honour and glory. As a man often shews most clearly his true character in little things,

when he is off his guard, so the true Aristides is seen in that story of a plain man that came to him with his shell, and begged him to write down the name of Aristides for banishment. "Why," said the other, "what harm has Aristides done to you?" "None," said the countryman, "but it grieves me to hear every man call him just." Aristides answered not a word, but wrote his own name upon the shell, and delivered it again unto the countryman. An eloquent silence, surely not without humour.

At the opposite pole in most respects is Pyrrhus the hotspur, impulsive and chivalrous, a born soldier of fortune, caring little for the cause and much for the fight. What tale can be more romantic than his escape when a boy from those who went about to kill him, or the ups and downs of his after life? What more unscrupulous than his talk with Cineas before invading Italy? What more chivalrous than the interchange between him and Fabricius, when a plot was made to poison the Grecian king? But with all his genius and generosity, in spite of all brilliant successes, the life of Pyrrhus was empty and without satisfaction. His one aim was to carve out a great name for himself; and he died ignominiously in a street fight. Aristides thought of honour first, of his country second, of renown not at all; and his name has come down to posterity the greater of the two.

The other Greek of our group, Philopœmen, last of the old Grecian stock, is interesting not only for his personal qualities, but as a real military genius; one who could make good soldiers as well as command them, the inventor of new tactics and the perfecter of a new discipline. Little the ordinary Greek knew of discipline, even were he a professional

soldier, as a glance at the history of the Ten Thousand is enough to show. But Philopœmen astonished all beholders when a whole troop, set in battle array, seemed as it were to be but one body, they removed so together, wheeling this way and that easily and with a marvellous force and readiness. More than this, he studied his tactics in charts and maps, and on the field, considering how to meet all manner of attacks of his enemies; and like Nelson, he would discuss all these things with his captains.

The flower of Roman manhood appears before us in the person of Flamininus, who has the pre-eminence for justice and clemency, and the name and dignity of a most just and courteous gentleman. The average Roman, however, was probably more like Cato or Marius. All the strength of the breed, as well as its coarseness, comes out in these two. They have many unlovely qualities; crabbed they are and obstinate, rough and unscrupulous, when provoked they can be most cruel; but much can be forgiven to men who are strong, fearless, indomitable. Like all great men, these had the knack of saying notable things under stress of feeling. Never is Cato remembered but we think straight of those words that sealed the doom of Carthage; or Marius, but we see him a banished man, sitting amid the ruins of Carthage, a monument of the changes and chances of this mortal life.

The narrative parts of this volume are vigorous and living as ever. We have the account of one battle of first-rate importance, told with much detail, and a remarkable description of the Cimbrians and Teutons in the Alps. What fierce vitality there was in these wild men, that climbed up to the top of the mountains, through great heaps of ice and snow, and then

laid their long broad targets under their bodies, and lay all along upon them, sliding down the steep high rocks, that had certain hangings over of an infinite height. And how they crossed over the river on a mole which they made, tearing up trees by the roots and overturning great hills of earth, like the giants come to earth again. And the battle: those horrible women waiting for them if they should retreat, with swords and axes in their hands, grinding their teeth; or when the day was utterly lost, appalled all in black, slaying all those that fled, without regard of persons, and strangling the little young babes with their own hands, and finally slaying themselves. Well for Rome that this wild flood was met by a man of unyielding temper; otherwise the history of six hundred years later might have been anticipated, and the world would have had no Roman literature, and no Cæsar.

## 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 shoulder-notes have been taken as far as possible from North's marginalia.

## NOTES

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6. 'Barathrum': Gr. *βάραθρον*, 'pit,' in which were cast criminals condemned to death. It was no prison, and N. has mistranslated A.: *qui estoit un abysme. où on precipitoit les mal-fauteurs condamnez à la mort.*
12. 'Laccoplutes': three syllables, the ending of *Λακκόπλουτοι* englished. So 'Poliorcetes,' four syllables.
15. 'Ostracismos': it is not clear whether 6000 votes had to be cast altogether, or against one man. Plutarch gives three different versions of the story of Hyperbolus: (1) this; (2) that the coalition was between Alcibiades and Phæax (*Nicias*, chap. xi.); (3) in *Alcibiades*, chap. xiii., he mixes up both.
- Several of the potsherds used in ostracism have been found.
19. 'bring all Asia into Europe': A. *prendre toute l'Asie entierement au dedans de l'Europe.* Gr. 'catch all Asia while yet it is in Europe.' N. has made nonsense of the passage.
25. 'Nysia': A. *Nysie*, but the Greek has *Ἕρσιων*, 'Hysiaë.'
27. 'but rather respected': the translation is confusing. The meaning should be: 'if the examination aimed at what was just, rather than . . .' 'Egesias': so both translators. The Greek has *Agesia*.
29. 'put in jeopardy': A. *faire un preudice de l'issue de toute la bataille, i.e. to begin well by getting the upper hand, and so foreshadow success.*
32. 'descended of them' should be 'akin to them': A. *de mesme sang et de mesme origine.*
45. 'gods of the ground': in the Greek only *Hermes* is called *Chthonius*; but N. follows A.
50. 'unto a third part' should be 'by a third part' super-added.

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65. 'bare-naked': so I have printed, following a later edition. The first reads 'bare-necked,' which I take to be another spelling of 'bare-naked'; but perhaps 'necked' may be right, if 'neck' be loosely applied to breast and shoulders.
66. 'sundry country fashions,' *i.e.* fashions of sundry countries.
68. 'Dog's Pit' should be 'Dog's Barrow.' *κυνὸς σῆμα*. A. has simply *le Chef de la sepulture du chien*.
70. 'water their plants,' *i.e.* weep freely; so simply both A. and the Greek, for this racy idiom is North's. (The edition of 1595 makes a great mess of this page with alterations.)
71. 'Themistocles' pleasant sayings': See Life of Themistocles, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29.
73. 'nor heart': N. adds a note, translated from A.: 'That is to say, understanding: for they judged that the seat of reason was placed in the heart, following Aristotle's opinion.'
81. 'in much danger': altered afterwards to 'in as much danger,' which more closely translates A. *non moindre danger de la vie*.
107. 'Carthage would be,' etc.: rather 'should.' *delenda est Carthago*.
119. 'with him, not because' should be: 'with one whose alliance was easy, not one whose alliance was honourable.'
120. 'Crausis': emended in Sintenis to Craugis.
132. 'setting of their tables' should be 'battles,' he reorganised their tactics: A. has *batailles*, Gr. *τάξεις*.
133. 'snail': '*faire la limaçon*, to wind, twirle, or twine round about; souldiers to close the ring, or to cast themselves into a ring' (Cotgrave). 'Snail creep' is the name of an old English spiral dance.
160. 'between — Venu-ia': not in the Greek, nor in A.
161. 'politickly cut from him': A. *si elles n'eussent esté sagement departies et disjointes d'avec luy*. But the Greek has no word for *sagement*: *ὦν μὴ διαλυθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου*.
180. 'Titillius': emended to Stertinius in Sintenis.

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186. 'Itanus': The Greek text has *Τουδιτανόν*, which perhaps A. misread for *τὸν Ἰτανόν*.
192. 'at the sharp,' *i.e.* with sharp weapons.
197. 'poisoning.' See Life of Pyrrhus.
205. 'Tharrytas': the Greek text has Tharrypas; and later, Arybas. 'Lamiacus': the title of the war, not of the man; the war of Lamia, carried on by the confederate Greeks against Antipater, 323 B.C.
212. 'sister': Cadmeia is named in the Greek text.
213. 'Prescque': a grotesque blunder for *la Presque-isle de l'Épire*, 'the peninsula of Epirus,' Gr. *χερρονήσω*. 'Nymphæa': Sintenis reads Stymphæa by a conjecture.
229. 'than thyself': the first edition reads 'myself,' but clearly by inadvertence. (A. has *toy-mesme*).
250. 'that most of all is,' *i.e.* 'that which.'
259. 'Mandricidas': so both translators. The Greek text has Mandrocleidas.
259. 'was in his own country' should be 'their': so A. and the Greek.
268. 'Apollonis': emended in Sintenis to *Ἀπόλλωνος*. 'Sister' translates *προφήτις* 'prophetess.'
293. 'your stoves' should be 'your bath,' in allusion to the vaulted chambers in a Roman bath. A. has *estuues*.
302. 'Batabaces'; the Greek has 'Bataces.' North's first edition misreads it 'Barabaces.'
355. 'Perusia' should be 'Præneste,' as correctly given in the Life of Sulla. The mistake is Amyot's, not in the Greek.

## VOCABULARY

- ACADEMICS**, a school of philosophy founded by Plato, who taught in a place called the Academy. The school received changes after his death. *See* CARNEADES.
- ACHAIA**, a district N of the Peloponnese: also the title given to the Roman province of Greece.
- ACHILLES**, the Greek hero of the Trojan war, son of Peleus and Thetis
- ADMIRAL**, flagship, 231.
- ADVERTISEMENT**, news, 309
- ÆACUS**, legendary ancestor of Pyrrhus.
- ÆGÆ**, a city in Macedon.
- ÆGINA**, an island in the Saronic Gulf, not far from Athens.
- ÆSCHYLUS**, first of the great Athenian tragic poets. 525-456 B.C.
- ÆTOLIANS**, a wild tribe of North Greece.
- AFFECTION**, inclination, 239.
- AFFIANCE**, confidence, 182.
- AGESILAUS**, King of Sparta 398-360 B.C., fought against the Persians, and won the battle of Coronea 394, against a league of Greeks.
- ALCÆUS OF MESSENE**, a Greek poet, flourished about 200 B.C. not to be confounded with him of Lesbos.
- ALCIBIADES**, an Athenian general and statesman of the fifth century B.C.
- AMBASSADE**, embassy, 73.
- AMERIA**, a town in Umbria.
- AMPHIARAUS**, a seer of Argos.
- AMPHICTYONS**, certain Greek tribes were so called that lived around or near Delphi; they sent delegates to a very venerable council called after them Amphictyonic.
- AND**, used where we use "if," 49.
- ANTIGONUS**, called DODON, King of Macedon, defeated Cleomenes for the Achæan league 221 B.C., and took Sparta; died 220.
- ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT**, reigned over Syria 223-187 B.C. Entered Thracian Chersonese 196; defeated at Thermopylæ 191; at Mt. Sipylus in Asia Minor 190.
- APOLLO**, son of Zeus and Latona, born in Delos with his sister Artemis, had a sanctuary and oracle also at Delphi (*q.v.*); god of prophecy and wisdom, later of the sun.
- APPARENT**, clear, 65.
- APPEACHER**, impeacher, 55
- APSUS**, a river in Illyria, flowing into the Ionian Sea.
- ARATUS OF SICYON**, drove out the tyrant Nicocles, and joined Sicyon to the Achæan league 251 B.C. He was poisoned in 213.
- AREUS**, King of Sparta 309-265 B.C.
- ARGOS**, a town in the NE. of the Peloponnese.
- ARISTOGEITON**, with his brother Harmodius, attempted to free Athens from the sons of Pisistratus the Tyrant. They were regarded as the liberators of Greece.
- ARISTOTLE OF STAGIRA**. 384-322 B.C., the great philosopher.
- ARPINUM**, a town of Latium, birth-place of Marius and Cicero.
- ARTIFICIALLY**, skilfully, 216.
- AS**, a Roman copper coin, originally one pound of copper by weight, but frequently reduced.
- ASCULUM**, a town in Apulia, where Pyrrhus defeated the Romans 279 B.C.
- ASSURED**, betrothed, 209.
- AT SQUARE**, in contention, 14.
- ATHESIS**, a river rising in the Rhætian Alps and flowing past Verona into the Adriatic.
- AWAY WITH**, to endure, 318.
- AVRIE. EVRIE**, nest, 335.

- BACCHUS, DIONYSUS, god of wine. In his honour lyric, tragic, and comic competitions were held at Athens.
- BANTIA, in Apulia, S Italy.
- BASE, put (a pike) down to the charge, abase, 256.
- BAYES, BAIÆ, a health resort on the west of Campania.
- BEAVER, face-piece of helmet, 29.
- BECAUSE, in order that, 11.
- BEHOLDING, BEHOLDEN, indebted, 113.
- BENVENTUM, a city in Samnium where Pyrrhus was defeated by the Romans 275 B.C.
- BENT, coarse grass, 338.
- BESTRAUGHT, distracted, 24.
- BITHYNIA, a district of Asia Minor.
- BOUND, beholding, owing, 84.
- BRAVERY, finery, 91.
- BRINDES, BRINDISI, the port of Italy nearest Greece, in the SE.
- BURDEN, accuse, 55.
- BURGANET, head-piece.
- BYZANTIUM, Greek city on the site of Constantinople
- CAPITOL, one of the hills of Rome overlooking the forum: here were the citadel and the temple of Jupiter.
- CARCANET, necklet, bracelet, 32.
- CARNEADES, of Cyrene, about 213-129 B.C., founder of the New Academy. He came to Rome 155 B.C., as related on page 99.
- CARRIAGE, baggage, 23.
- CASSANDER, son of Antipater, fought against Antigonos, took the title of King of Macedonia and Greece, died 297 B.C.
- CAST, cast off, used up, 67.
- CATER, caterer, 66.
- CARTHAGE, a Phœnician colony in N. Africa.
- CATO the philosopher, called of Utica, from the place of his death. He was a Stoic, and being a follower of Pompey, on the final defeat of Pompey's party at Thapsus 46 B.C., committed suicide.
- CATULUS, Q. Lutatius, Consul, 102 B.C.
- CEOS an island in the Ægean Sea
- CERES, Gr. *Demeter*, goddess of the earth, its corn and agriculture. In her honour and that of her daughter Kore, "the Maid," were celebrated the famous Mysteries at Eleusis.
- CESS, SESS, ASSESS, rate, 87.
- CIMON, son of Miltiades, an Athenian renowned for his lavish generosity. defeated the Persians 469 B.C., at the Eurymedon.
- CINNA, L. Cornelius, a revolutionary, friend of Marius, who joined him in the proscriptions of 87 B.C.
- CIRCEII, a town in Latium.
- CIRRHÆATON, CERÆTÆ, a village near Arpinum.
- CITHÆRON, a mountain range between Bœotia and Attica.
- CHALCIS, a city of Eubœa.
- CHIOS, an island off the Bay of Smyrna.
- CHOLER, anger, 123.
- CLISTHENES, an Athenian political reformer, 510 B.C.
- COAST, border, 256.
- COD-PIECE, the part of the breeches in the fork, 74.
- COLOUR, excuse, 100.
- CONCEIT, idea, scruple, 171.
- CONFEDER, confederate, 48.
- COSSA or COSA, an Etruscan town colonised by Rome 273 and 197 B.C.
- COULD, knew, 202.
- CURIOSITY, punctiliou-ness, 346.
- CYRENE, a Greek colony in N. Africa.
- DAINTY, fresh, a novelty, 75.
- DAN, Lord (*dominus*), 182.
- DANAUS, son of Belus, and brother of Ægyptus, fled with his fifty daughters to Argos.
- DELOS, central island of the Cyclades, seat of a famous temple of Apollo, and treasury of the Confederation of Delos.
- DELPHES, DELPHI, on Mount Parnassus, seat of the ancient oracle of Apollo Pythian.
- DEMETRIUS, born at Phalerus about 345 B.C., orator, statesman, philosopher, poet. He governed Athens as regent of Cassander.
- DEMETRIUS, called POLIORCETES,

- "Sacker of Cities," King of Macedonia, son of Antigonus.
- DEMOSTHENES, the greatest orator of Athens, about 385-322 B.C.
- DEPEND, hang, 236.
- DEUCALION and his wife PYRRHA were saved for their piety when Zeus brought a flood upon the world to destroy it. They built a ship, which floated upon the waters, and when the waters subsided, it rested on a mountain. They were then directed to throw the bones of their mother behind them. This they judged to mean the stones of the earth. They did as they were told, and those which the man threw became men, and Pyrrha's became women.
- DIODEGENES, a Stoic philosopher. See CARNEADES. Not to be confounded with the Cynic of the fourth century B.C.
- DION, despot of Syracuse.
- DIONYSIUS, (1) despot of Syracuse 405-367 B.C.; (2) his son, despot 367-356, when he was turned out.
- DISGRADE, degrade, 87.
- DISPEND, expend, 2.
- DOLE, grief, 189.
- DRACHMA, a silver coin about the size of a franc.
- EIGHT, eighth, 151
- EITHER, other, 119
- ELEANS, they of Elis, in S. Greece.
- ELEMENT, upper air, 302.
- ELIS, a district (not a city) NW. of the Peloponnese.
- EMBEZZLE, take in an underhand manner, 309.
- ENVY, rivalry, 28
- ENVY, vie, 10.
- EPAMINONDAS, statesman and general of Thebes, defeated the Spartans at Leuctra 371 B.C.
- EPHESUS, an Ionian city on the coast of Asia Minor, near the mouth of the Cayster.
- EPICURUS OF SAMOS, 342-270 B.C., a philosopher, founder of a school which professed to live "according to nature." He was an estimable man, but his sect degraded into sensualists.
- EPONYMUS, used of those after whom others are named.
- EUCLIDES, an archon who reformed the Athenian alphabet 403 B.C.
- EURIPIDES, last of the three great Attic tragedians, 480-406 B.C.
- EURYMEDON, a river in Pamphylia, where Cimon defeated the Persians 469 B.C.
- EXPECT, await, 301.
- FABIUS MAXIMUS, called Cunctator, the Tarrier, general of the Romans in the war against Hannibal. He took Tarentum in 209 B.C., when Consul for the fifth time.
- FALT, default, lack, 143
- FARDEL, bundle, burden, 341.
- FARM, tax, 92
- FEARFUL, afraid, 270.
- FERE, comrade, 173.
- FERENTUM or FORENTUM, a town of Apulia
- FETCH, trick, 214
- FILE, defile, 65
- FIND, support, day for food, 57.
- FINESS, finesse, 202.
- FLAMMINIUS, T. QUINTIUS, Consul 198 B.C., conducted the war against Philip, whom he defeated at Cynoscephalæ, 197.
- FLEER, gibe, 51.
- FLESHED, excited as a ravening beast by the taste of flesh, 292.
- FOIST, light barge or pinnace, 18.
- FOND, foolish, 5
- FURNITURE, equipment, 316.
- GARBOIL, confusion, 26
- GEAR, passion, confusion, 201.
- GEST, deed, 125.
- GLAUCIA, C. SERVILIUS, a conspirator, slain by the mob 100 B.C.
- GO PLAINLY, to be plainly dressed, 121.
- GORTYS, a city of Crete.
- GREAT, to be great with, *i.e.* to have influence with, 132.
- GRIFF, graft, 63.
- GYTHIUM, the port of Sparta.
- HAMILCAR BARCA, a Carthaginian warrior and statesman, father of Hannibal

- HANNIBAL**, son of Hamilcar Barca, a Carthaginian; crossed the Alps 218 B.C., defeated the Romans at the Metaurus, 218, Lake Trasimenus, 217, Cannæ, 216; returned to Africa 203; defeated at Zama 202.
- HAPPILY**, haply, by chance, 163
- HARNESS**, armour.
- HASDRUBAL**, brother of Hannibal.
- HAVIOUR**, behaviour, 299
- HERACLEA**, a Greek city in Lucania, S. Italy.
- HECATAMPEDOS**, the Hundred-foot, a name for part of the Parthenon temple on the Acropolis.
- HERCVNIA**, the Black Forest.
- HESIOD**, an early didactic poet of Greece, about 800 B.C., who wrote of agriculture, mythology, and superstitions.
- HIPPOCRATES OF COS**, the greatest physician of ancient Greece, about 460-357 B.C.
- HORTYARD**, enclosed garden, 67
- HOT-HOUSE**, hot bath, 95.
- HUGIE**, hüge, 256.
- HUSBANDS**, thrifty persons, 113
- HYDRA**, a marsh monster with nine heads, one being immortal. Hercules fought with it, but when he cut off one head, two sprouted forth in its place. He burnt off the mortal heads, and buried the immortal, and so slew the Hydra.
- ILLYRIA**, the land along the E. coast of the Adriatic
- IMBRODER**, embroider, 134.
- INCIDENTENTLY**, immediately, 37.
- INDIFFERENTLY**, impartial, 5.
- INDIFFERENTLY**, impartially, 50.
- IPSUS**, in Phrygia, scene of the decisive battle between the generals of Alexander, where Antigonus was defeated, 301 B.C.
- IOTE**, jot, iota, 322.
- ISTHMIA**, a feast with athletic games, held every two years, on the Isthmus of Corinth, in honour of Poseidon (Neptune).
- ITANUS**, p. 186, should be Tuditanus.
- JANICULUM**, a hill on the Tiber bank opposite Rome.
- JEOPARDY**, hazard, 29 (see note).
- JOURNEY**, day (often used of battles), 4
- JUGERA**, acres (Latin). The Greek word is *πλέθρα*, squares with a side of 100 feet.
- JUGURTHA**, King of Numidia, long successfully defied Rome, but was defeated by Marius 106 B.C., and starved to death in the prison called Tullianum, 104.
- JUNO**, Latin name for the queen of the gods, Gr. *Hera*.
- JUPITER**, Latin name for the king of the gods, Gr. *Zeus*. Sötér, "saviour," was a title of Zeus.
- KEEP**, live, 56
- KNAP**, snap, 129.
- LARISSUS**, a river separating Achaia from Elis.
- LATTEN**, metal, a kind of brass, 302.
- LEAST**, lent, 19.
- LEMNOS**, an island in the N. of the Ægean Sea.
- LERNA**, a marsh near Argos, haunt of a hydra killed by Hercules.
- LESBOS**, a large island off the Troad.
- LET**, hinder, 25
- LEWD**, common, 55.
- LIST**, desire, 155.
- LIN**, cease, 29.
- LIVIVS**, the Roman historian.
- LUST**, wished, 227.
- LYCURGUS**, legendary author of the Spartan constitution, ninth century B.C.
- LYSANDER**, a Spartan general, who finally defeated the Athenians in 405 B.C.
- LYSIAS**, an Athenian orator, 458-378 B.C., famous for grace and elegance.
- MÆOTIS**, Lake, the Sea of Azov.
- MALLARD**, wild drake, 102
- MANIVS CURIUS**, surnamed Dentatus, thrice Consul, defeated at Beneventum, 275 B.C.
- MANTINEA**, a city in the Peloponnese.
- MANUMISS**, set free (Lat. *manumitto*), 98.
- MARATHON**, a village on a plain

- twenty miles from Athens. Here the Persians were defeated 490 B.C.
- MARE LIBYICUM, the African Sea.
- MARS, god of war. Old Latin *Mamers*, hence the name Mamertines.
- MEGARA, a city between Athens and Corinth.
- MENJNA, an island off the N. coast of Africa.
- MESSINA, a city in Sicily on the strait betwixt that and Italy.
- MESSENE, capital of Messenia, situate upon Mount Ithome.
- MILTIADES, the victor of Marathon
- MINA, a sum of money equal to 100 drachmæ, or about £4 in silver bullion.
- MINERVA, Greek *Athena*, goddess of wisdom and handicrafts.
- MINOS, a king of Crete, for his justice appointed after death to be a judge of the dead
- MISENUM, a promontory in Campania.
- MISERABLE, miserly, 53.
- MISERY, miserliness, 67.
- MO, more (in number), 156
- MOLOSSIANS, a tribe of Epirus.
- MORION, head-piece, 133.
- MOYLE, mule, 29.
- MULET, small mule, 67.
- MUSEUS, a Greek legendary poet and oracle writer.
- MUTINE, mutiny, 26.
- MYSTERY, mastery, trade or trade-guild. hence any performance, 45.
- NARNIA, in Umbria, colonised first by Rome 299 B.C.
- NATURAL, true-born (*i.e.* by blood, not by adoption), 86.
- NAUGHTY, good for naught, 147.
- NAUFACTUS, a port on the N. of the Gulf of Corinth.
- NAUPLIA, a port in the plain of Argos.
- NEMEA, a plain near Argos and Corinth, where bi-yearly games were celebrated in honour of Zeus.
- NETTLED, spurred on, excited, 20.
- NEUTER, neutral, 268.
- NICENESS, fastidiousness, daintiness, 83.
- NICIAS, an Athenian general during the Peloponnesian War.
- NIGGOT, ingot, 186.
- NUMANTIA, a city in Spain, taken by Scipio.
- NYMPHOLEPTY, *νυμφόληπτοι*, "nymph-struck."
- OCCUPY, use, 134.
- OLYMPICAL GAMES, the chief games of the Greeks, held every four years at Olympia in Elis.
- ORIGINAL, origin, 113.
- OROPUS, a city in Bœotia.
- OSTIA, the port of Rome.
- OWER, oar, 20.
- PACHES, took Mytilene 427 B.C. Being accused on some charge, said to be one of murder and violence, and perceiving his condemnation to be certain, he killed himself in court
- PACK, bargain, underhand scheme, 207.
- PAN, god of the wild woods, patron of shepherds; represented with goat's feet, and attended by half-human satyrs.
- PANDOSIA, a Greek city in Bruthium, S Italy.
- PANS, care, 34.
- PASSINGLY, surpassingly, 121.
- PATRAS, ΠΑΤΡÆ, a port of Greece, in the NW. of the Peloponnese.
- PATROCLUS, friend of Achilles, fought for the Greeks before Troy.
- PELOPIDAS, a Theban, friend of Epaminondas.
- PENEUS, a river in Thessaly, flowing through Tempe
- PERADVENTURE, by chance, 122.
- PERSEUS, last King of Macedon, defeated by L. Æmilius Paullus at Pydna 168 B.C.
- PESINUS, a city of Galatia, in Asia Minor.
- PINDARUS, a Greek lyric poet, flourished about 500 B.C.
- PISISTRATUS, despot of Athens 560-527 B.C. (with intervals).
- PLATÆA, a city in Bœotia, scene of a victory over the Persians 479 B.C.
- PLATO, a great Athenian philosopher, disciple of Socrates, 429-347 B.C.
- POINT, appoint, 161.
- POLITICKLY, cleverly, 161.

- POLICY**, craft, 142.
- POLYBIUS**, 204-122 B.C., a Greek of Arcadia. On the conquest of Macedonia in 168, a thousand Achæans (and he among them) were sent to Rome, to answer a charge of not having sided with Rome against Perseus. They were not tried, however, but kept in Italy till 151. Polybius became a friend of Scipio. He wrote a Roman history. He used his influence to alleviate the troubles of his country.
- POMP**, procession, 45.
- PONT**, **PONTUS**, a district to the S. of the Black Sea.
- POST**, quickly, 311.
- POWL**, **POLL**, crop the hair short, 29.
- PRACTISE**, intrigue, 112.
- PRASE**, appraise, value. 60
- PREASE**, press, 252.
- PREVENT**, forestall, 213.
- PROSERPINA**, **PERSEPHONE**, or **KORÉ**, "the Maid," daughter of Ceres (*q.v.*).
- PROVE**, try, 28.
- PTOLEMY CERAUNUS**, the Thunderbolt, King of Macedonia, defeated by the Gauls and slain 280 B.C.
- PTOLEMY SOTER**, a general of Alexander, obtained the government of Egypt, where he reigned 323-285 B.C.
- PUISSANT**, powerful, 147.
- PULERS**, whiners, weaklings, 66.
- PYRRHUS**, King of Epirus, invaded Italy 280 B.C., and was finally defeated in 275 near Beneventum.
- PYRRIES**, squalls, storms, 11.
- PYTHAGOREANS**, a sect founded by Pythagoras of Samos in the sixth century B.C. They were said to be vegetarians, and they believed in the transmigration of souls.
- QUAWMIRE**, quagmire, 128.
- QUILL**, tube, tap, 92.
- RAMPER**, rampart, 254
- RECOVER**, gain, arrive at, 231
- REDOUND**, to be full, 307.
- RIDING-KNOT**, running knot, 261
- RIVE**, split, 122.
- ROAD**, raid, inroad, foray, 220
- ROUGH-CAST**, smeared with a composition of sand, grit, and mortar. 66.
- SALAMIS**, an island just off the harbour of Athens. The battle took place 480 B.C.
- SAMOS**, an island off Cape Mycale, Asia Minor.
- SARDIS**, capital of Lydia, burnt by the Greeks in the Ionic revolt.
- SATURN**, used as equivalent to Greek *Cronos*, chief of the dynasty that preceded Zeus; his time was thought to be the Golden Age
- SATURNINUS**, **L. APPULEIUS**, tribune 102 B.C., a demagogue and conspirator, slain by the mob 100 B.C.
- SCIPIO**: **P. CORN. SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS AFRICANUS MINOR**, adopted by the great Scipio, and the conqueror of Carthage, 146 B.C.
- SCIPIO THE GREAT**, **P. CORN. SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAJOR**, born 234 B.C., conqueror of Spain, and of Hannibal at Zama, 202 B.C.
- SCOTUSA**, in Thessaly, near Cynocéphalæ, the Dog's Heads, where Flaminius conquered Philip, 197 B.C.
- SCYTHIA**, part of Central Europe (Poland, Russia, the borders of the Black Sea).
- SELEUCUS Nicator**, founder of the Syrian monarchy, reigned 312-280 B.C.
- SELLASIA**, a city near Sparta
- SESS**, assess, 50.
- SHADOW**, pretext, 251.
- SICYON**, a city near Corinth
- SILÓ**, **Q. POMPÆDIUS**, leader of the Marsi in the Social War, slain 88 B.C.
- SITHENCE**, since, 56.
- SLAVON**, p. 273, translates "Illyrian"
- SLICK**, sleek, 294.
- SNAIL**, spiral, 135
- SOCRATES**, the Athenian philosopher, friend and teacher of Plato, and inventor of the dialectic method
- SORRY**, grieved, 285
- SOUND**, swoon, 169.
- SPARING**, economy, 105
- SPHRAGITIDES**, title of a class of pro

- phetic nymphs, supposed to inhabit a grotto on Mount Cithæron
- STICK, hesitate, 315.
- STOICS, a school of philosophy founded by Zeno. Their ideal was endurance of pleasure and pain without change of feeling.
- STOMACH, STOMACK, wrath, passion, 151.
- STRAIT, pass, defile, 32
- SUE, apply, become candidate, 80
- SYRACUSE, chief city of Sicily
- TABLE, board, canvas, &c., 110
- TARENTUM, a port and bay in S. Italy.
- TARRACINA, or ANXUR, in Latium
- TASSES, thigh-armour, 133
- TEMPER, mix, 106.
- THANKFUL, gratuitous (A. *gratuite*) 71.
- THEMISTOCLES, an Athenian statesman and soldier, to whom is due the credit of the victory of Salamis, 480 B.C.
- THERMOPYLÆ, a pass by the sea-coast between Thessaly and Locris, where Leonidas and his band of Spartans opposed the advance of Xerxes 80 B.C., and died obedient to their country's laws.
- THESPROTIANS, a tribe of Epirus.
- THUCYDIDES, son of Olorus, born 471 B.C., the historian of the Peloponnesian War.
- TO-TATTERED, tattered to shreds (to intensive prefix, 5)
- TOWARDLY, promising, 61
- TOY, trifle, 92.
- TRACT, protract, 221.
- TRAVEL, travail, work, 16
- TRIOBOLUM, three-obol piece half a drachma.
- TROPHONIUS, a semi-divine being whose oracle was at Lebadea in Bœotia.
- TRUNCHEON, stick, stump, 129.
- TUDERTUM, properly TUDER, a town in Umbria.
- TUSCULUM, a city of Latium, ten miles from Rome.
- TYNDARIDES, Castor and Pollux.
- UNHANDSOME, awkward, 166.
- UNREBATED, unblunted, sharp, 85
- USURP, occupy, take, use, 100.
- VAULT, vault, 123.
- VENUSIA, in Apulia, S. Italy.
- VERCELLÆ, in Gallia Cisalpina
- VESTALS, a sisterhood of six priestesses of Vesta at Rome, vowed to virginity for thirty years.
- VOUCH, verify, produce as authority 55.
- VULCAN, Greel. *Hephestus*, god of smithcraft.
- WEEN, think, 207
- WHERE, whereas, 111.
- WIS1, knew, 143
- ZACYNTHUS, one of the Ionian Islands. W of Greece.