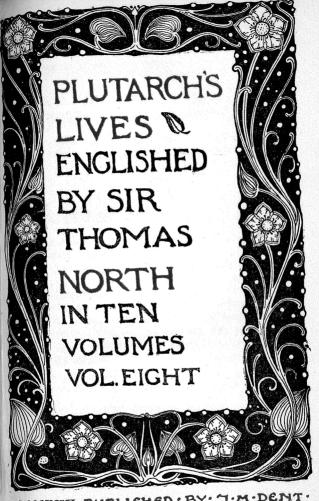
# THE TEMPLE PLUTARCH



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Demosthenes from a bust in the Louvre.



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## THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

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

#### THE LIVES OF

### AGIS AND CLEOMENES

TRULY the fable of Ixion was not ill-devised The against ambitious persons: who embracing a cloud fable of Ixion for the goddess Juno, begot (as it is said) the Centaurs. For even so ambitious men, embracing glory for the true image of vertue, do never any act that is good nor perfect: but being carried away with divers fancies, and following others' humours with desire to please the people, they may as the herdmen in the tragedy of Sophocles (speaking of their cattle) say :

We wait upon their beasts, though we their masters be. And wheresoever they become, there also follow we.

Such indeed are they compared to, that govern common weals, after people's lust and fancy: who doubtless are as their servants obedient at call. because they only may enjoy the glorious title and name of an officer. For like as in a ship the mariners that stand in the prow, do better see

VIII

Immode- before them, than the pilots that steer the helm in rate the poop, and yet look always back unto them to praise see what they command: even so, they that govern danger- in the commonwealth for honour's sake, are no ous better than honourable slaves of the people, having no more but the bare name of a governor. But indeed, the perfect good and honest man should never covet outward glory, but as a mean to bring him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a young man that coveteth honour by vertue, give him leave a little to glory in his well-doing: for as Theophrastus sayeth, Vertue buddeth and flourisheth in youth, and taketh fast root by praises given, as wit and courage groweth in them. But overmuch praise is dangerous in every person, but chiefly in ambitious governors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many desperate parts: for they will not allow that honour proceeds of vertue, but that honour is vertue it self. But indeed they should say as Phocion did unto Antipater, that requested an unlawful matter of him: Thou canst not, said he, have Phocion a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be said unto the people: You cannot both have one, a maister and a servant, that can command and obey together. Or else the mischief spoken of in the tale of the dragon must needs happen, which was: the tail on a time fel out with the head, and complained, saying, It would another while go before, and would not always come behind. The head granted the tail, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing how to guide the head, and besides that the head thereby was tormented every way, being compelled against nature to follow

that part and member, which could neither hear, Plutarch nor see how to guide it. The like matter have we excuseth seen happen unto many, which in the administate tration of the commonwealth, did seek to please the humours of the multitude. For when they have once put their heads under their girdles to please the common people, which without cause and reason do soon rebel: they can by no possible means afterwards bridle their fury and insolency. Now the reason that made us to enter into discourse against the ambition and vainglory amongst the people: was the consideration I had of their great power, remembering the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi: both of the which coming of a noble house, and having been marvellous well brought up, and managing also the affairs of the commonwealth with a good desire, were notwithstanding in the end cast away: not so much through covetousness of glory, as for fear of dishonour, which came also of no base mind. For they having received great pleasures and friendships of the people, were ashamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earnestly sought to exceed the people in good-will, by new decrees and devices, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their parts contended to honour them the more, by how much they strived to shew themselves thankful. So with like strife on either side, they to gratify the common people, and the people also to honour them, were so unwares entangled with publick causes, that they could no more follow the common proverb, which sayeth a

> Although our deeds dissent from equity Yet can we not desist with honesty.

The This thou shalt easily find by the declaration of linage the history. With these we do compare two other fagis popular men, both kings of Lacedæmon, Agis and Cleomenes. For they as the Gracchi, seeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the just and honest government again of the commonwealth of Lacedæmon, which of long time had been out of use: did in like manner purchase the hate of the nobility, which were loath to loose any part of their wonted covetousness. Indeed these two Laconians were no brethren born, but yet did both follow one self course and form of government, which had beginning in this sort. After that covetousness of gold and silver crept again into the city of Sparta, and with riches, covetousness also and misery, and by use, voluptu-ousness and licentious life: Sparta then was void of all honour and goodness, and was long time drowned in shame and dishonour, until King Agis and Leonidas came to reign there. Agis was of the house of the Eurytiontides, the son of Eudamidas, the sixth of lineal descent after Agesilaus, who had been the greatest prince of all Greece in his time. This Agesilaus had a son slain in Italy by the Messapians, called Archidamus, before the city of Mandonium. Archidamus had issue two sons, Agis and Eudamidas that was king, who succeeded his brother Agis, whom Antipater slew before the city of Megalopolis, and left no children behind him. Eudamidas begat Archidamus, which Archidamus begat another Eudamidas: which Eudamidas also begat Agis, whose life we now write of. Leonidas also, the son of Cleonymus, was of the other family of the Agiads, the eighth

of succession after Pausanias, who slew Mardonius, The the king's lieutenant-general of Persia, in a battell linage of fought before the city of Platza. This Pausanias Leonidas had a son called Plistonax, and Plistonax also another, called Pausanias: who flying from Sparta unto the city of Tegea, his eldest son Agesipolis was made king in his father's room, who dying without issue, his younger brother Cleombrotus succeeded him in the kingdom. Cleombrotus had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes: of the which, Agesipolis reigned not long king, and died without issue. Then Cleomenes his brother, who was king after him, had two sons, Acrotatus the elder, that died in his father's lifetime: and Cleonymus the younger which survived him, and was not king, but one Areus his nephew, the son of Acrotatus. This Areus died before the city of Corinth: who having another Acrotatus to his son, he succeeded him in the kingdom. He also died at a battell before the city of Megalopolis, and was slain there by the tyrant Aristodemus, leaving his wife great with child. She being brought to bed after his death of a son, whom Leonidas the son of Cleonymus taught and brought up: the child dying very young, the crown by his death was cast upon Leonidas himself. Howbeit his manners and conditions never liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the commonwealth, and clean out of order: yet Leonidas of all other exceeded, deforming most the ancient Laconian life: because he had been long time brought up in princes' houses, and followed also Seleucus' court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pomp of those courts into Greece,

The be- where law and reason ruleth. Agis on the conginning trary part did not only far excel Leonidas, in honour of the and magnanimity of mind: but all other almost also monians' which had reigned in Spartz from the time of fall Agesilaus the Great. So that when Agis was not yet twenty years old, and being daintily brought up with the fineness of two women, his mother Agistrata, and Archidamia his grandmother, which had more gold and silver, than all the Lacedæmonians else, he began to spurn against these womanish delights and pleasures, in making himself fair to be the better beliked, and to be fine and trim in his apparel, and to cast upon him a plain Spanish cape, taking pleasure in the diet, baths, and manner of the ancient Laconian life: and openly boasted besides, that he would not desire to be king, but only for the hope he had to restore the ancient Laconian life by his authority. Then began the state of Lacedemon first to be corrupted, and to leave her ancient discipline, when the Lacedæmonians having subdued the empire of the Athenians, stored themselves and country both, with plenty of gold and silver. But yet reserving still the lands left unto them by succession from their fathers, according unto Lycurgus' first ordinance and institution, for division of lands amongst them: which ordinance, and equality being inviolably kept amongst them, did yet preserve the commonwealth from defamation of divers other notorious crimes: until the time of the authority of Epitadeus, one of the Ephors, a seditious man, and of proud conditions: who bitterly falling out with his own son, preferred a law, that every man might lawfully give his lands and goods whilst he lived, or after his death by testament, unto any man whom he liked or thought from well of. Thus this man made this law to satisfy their well of. Thus this man made this law to eather ancient his anger, and others also did confirm it for covet-discipline ourness sake, and so overthrew a noble ordinance. For the rich men then began to buy lands of numbers, and so transferred it from the right and lawful heirs: whereby a few men in short time being made very rich, immediately after there fell out great poverty in the city of Sparta, which made all honest sciences to cease, and brought in thereupon unlawful occupations, who envied them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not above seven hundred natural citizens of Sparta in all, and of them, not above a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the rest were poor people in the city, and were of no countenance nor calling, and besides that, went unwillingly to the wars against their enemies, looking every day for stir and change in the city. Agis therefore thinking it a notable good act (as indeed it was) to replenish the city of Sparta again, and to bring in the old equality, he moved the matter unto the citizens. He found the youth (against all hope) to give good ear unto him, and very well given unto vertue, easily changing their garments and life, to recover their liberty again. But the oldest men, which were now even rotten with covetousness and corruption, they were afraid to return again to the straight ordinances of Lycurgus, as a slave and runagate from his master, that trembleth when he is brought back again unto him. Therefore they reproved Agis, when he did lament before them their present miserable state, and wish also for the former ancient honour and true dignity of Sparta.

about to reduce

Agis Howbeit Lysander the son of Libys, and Mandrogoeth clidas the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus also, greatly commended his noble desire, and persuaded him to go forward withal. This Lysander was of great authority and estimation amongst them in the city, Mandroclidas was also very wise, and careful about any matter of counsel, and with his wisdom and policy, very valiant: Agesilaus in like manner, the king's uncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and covetous, and yet prickt forward to give his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his son Hippomedon, who was a noble good soldier, and could do very much, by means of the love and good-will the young men did bear him. But indeed, the secret cause that brought Agesilaus to consent unto this practice, was the greatness of his debt which he owed, of the which he hoped to be discharged by changing of the state and commonwealth. Now when Agis had won him, he sought by his means to draw his mother also unto the matter, which was Agesilaus' sister. She could do very much by the number of her friends, followers, and debtors in the city, by whose means she ruled the most part of the affairs of the city after her own pleasure. But the young man Hippomedon making her privy unto it, at the first she was amazed withal, and bade him hold his peace if he were wise, and not meddle in matters unpossible and unprofitable. But when Agesilaus had told her what a notable act it would be, and how easily it might be brought to pass, with marvellous great profit: and that King Agis began also to strain her with great entreaty, that she should willingly depart with her goods to win her son honour and glory:

who though he could not in money and riches the. come to be like unto other kings (because the common slaves and factors only of the Kings Seleucus and Ptolemy, had more money than all the kings of ancient Sparta had together that ever reigned) yet if in estate temperance, thriftiness, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to restore the Lacedæmonians again unto equality: that then indeed he should be counted a noble king. These women being stirred up with ambition by these persuasions of the young man, seeing him so nobly bent, as if by the gods, their minds had secretly been inflamed with the love of vertue: did presently alter their minds in such sort, that they themselves did prick forward Agis, and sent for their friends to pray and entreat them to favour his enterprise: and furthermore they brought on other women also, knowing that the Lacedæmonians did ever hear and believe their wives, suffering them to understand more of the affairs of the state, than they themselves did of their private estate at home. Herein is to be considered, that the most part of the riches of Lacedæmon was in the hands of the women, and therefore they were against it, not only because thereby they were cut off from their fineness and excess, in the which being ignorant of the true good indeed, they put all their felicity: but also because they saw their honour and authority which they had by their riches, clean trodden underfoot. Therefore they coming to Leonidas, they did perseade him to reprove Agis, because he was elder man than he, and to let that this enterprise went not forward. Leonidas did what he could in favour of the rich, but fearing the common people,

Agis' who desired nothing but alteration, he durst not how openly speak against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder Agis' practice, talking with the magistrates of the city, and accusing Agis unto them, he told them how he did offer the rich men's goods unto the poor, the division of their lands, and the abolishing of all debts, for reward to put the tyranny into his hands, and that thereby he got him a strong guard unto himself, but not many citizens unto Sparta. This notwithstanding, King Agis having procured Lysander to be chosen one of the Ephors, he presently preferred his law unto the council. The articles whereof were these: That such as were in debt, should be cleared of all their debts, and that the lands also should be divided into equal parts: so that from the valley of Pallené unto Mount Taygetus, and unto the cities of Malea and Sellasia, there should be four thousand five hundred parts, and without those bounds, there should be in all the rest, fifteen thousand parts, the which should be distributed unto their neighbours meet to carry weapon: and the rest unto the natural The number of them should be replenished with their neighbours and strangers in like manner, which should be very well brought up, and be able men besides to serve the commonwealth: all the which afterwards should be divided into fifteen companies, of the which, some should receive two hundred, and others four hundred men, and should live according to the old ancient institution observed by their ancestors. This law being preferred unto the Senate, the Senators grew to divers opinions upon it. Whereupon Lysander himself assembled the great council of all the people.

and there spake unto them himself, and Mandro- Agis clidas, and Agesilaus also, praying them not to maketh suffer the honour of Sparta to be trodden under-his goods common foot, for the vanity of a few: but that they would remember the ancient oracles of the gods, warning them to beware of avarice, as of the plague and destruction of the commonwealth; and of the late oracle also brought unto them, from the temple of Pasiphaé. The temple and oracle of Pasiphaé, was famous at the city of Thalamæ: and some say, that Pasiphaé was one of the daughters of Atlas, which was gotten with child by Jupiter, and was delivered of a son called Ammon. Other think that it was Cassandra, one of King Priamus' daughters that died there, which was surnamed Pasiphaé, because she gave all the answers and oracles of things to come. But Phylarchus writeth, that Daphné, the daughter of Amyclas, flying from Apollo that would have ravished her, was turned into a laurel tree. and honoured by Apollo with the gift of prophecy. So, they said that this oracle of the god commanded them, that the Spartans should again return unto their former ancient equality, stablished first by Lycurgus' law. When every man else had spoken, King Agis rising up, briefly speaking unto the people, said: That he would bestow great contributions for the reformation of this commonwealth, which he was desirous to restore again. For first of all, he would make common all his arable and pasture he had, and besides that, he would add too six hundred talents in ready money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinsmen and friends, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in Sparta. When the people heard

resisteth King

Leonidas what he said, they marvelled much at the noble mind of this young king, and were very glad of it, saying: That for three hundreth years' space together, the city of Sparta had not so worthy a king as he. But Leonidas contrarily assayed with all his power he could to resist him, thinking with himself, that if King Agis' purpose took place, he should also be compelled to do as he did, and yet he should have no thanks, but King Agis: because that all the Spartans indifferently should be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honour should be his only that first began it. So he asked Agis, whether he thought Lycurgus had been a good and just man or not. Agis answered, that he had been. Then replied Leonidas, Did you ever see that he had taken away and abolished any debts, or had received strangers into the number of the citizens of Sparta? Who contrarily thought his commonwealth imperfect, if all strangers were not banished the city. Agis again answered him: That he marvelled not that Leonidas being brought up in a strange country, and also married there in a nobleman's house, he should be ignorant of Lycurgus' laws, who banishing gold and silver out of his city, did therewithal exile debt and lending. And for strangers he hated them that would not conform themselves unto the manners and fashions of life which he instituted, and those they were which he banished: not for any ill-will he bare unto their persons, but because he feared their manners of life, lest that mingling them with the citizens, they should make them run after vanity and covetousness to be rich. For otherwise, Terpander. Thales, and Pherecydes, which were all

strangers, were marvellously reverenced and honoured The in Sparta in old time, because they did sing in their speech writings, the self same things which Lycurgus had of King established in his laws. And thou thy self also dost commend Ecprepes, being one of the Ephors, because he did cut with a hatchet the two strings which Phrynis the Musician had added unto the cithern, more than the seven common strings, and those also which did the like unto Timotheus; and yet thou reprovest me, because I go about to root out all excess and pride out of Sparta, as though those men did not far off prevent that these superfluous strings of the musick, delighting the citizens' minds too much with their songs, should not cause them fall unto such trade and manner of life, as should make the city at discord with it self. After this contention, the common people did stick unto King Agis, and the rich men followed Leonidas, praying and persuading him not to forsake them: and further, they did so entreat the Senators, in whom consisteth the chief authority, to determine and digest all matters before they be propounded unto the people, that they overthrew the law, by the only voice of one man more. Wherefore Lysander who was yet in office, attempted to accuse Leonidas by an ancient law, forbidding that none of the race of Hercules should marry with any strange woman, nor beget children of her: and said further, That no man upon pain of death should dwell anywhere, but in Sparta. When he had instructed others to object these things against Leonidas, he with other of his colleagues observed a sign in the element, the ceremony whereof was in this sort: Every ninth year, the

kingdom

Leonidas Ephor choosing a bright night without moonlight, deprived did sit down in some open place, and beheld the of his stars in the element, to see if they saw any star shoot from one place to another: if they did, then they accused their kings that they had offended the gods, and did deprive them of their kingdom, until some oracle came from Delphes or Olympus, or restore them again. Lysander then declaring that he had seen a star fly in the element, did therefore accuse King Leonidas, and brought forth witnesses against him: how he had married a woman of Asia, the which one of King Seleucus' lieutenants had given him in marriage, and that he had two children by her: and afterwards being forsaken of his wife that refused him, he returned again into his country against his will: and so had possessed the kingdom for lack of a lawful heir. So following his accusation in this manner against him, he allured Cleombrotus his son-in-law, being also of the king's blood, to make title to the crown. Leonidas being afraid of the success hereof, took sanctuary in the temple of Juno, surnamed Chalciecos, and his daughter with him, who forsook her husband Cleombrotus. das then being cited to appear in person, and making default, they deposed him, and made Cleombrotus king. In the meantime Lysander's office expired, and the new Ephor which succeeded him did deliver Leonidas again, and accused Lysander and Mandroclidas, because against the law, they had abolished all debts, and had again made new division of lands. When they saw they were openly accused, they incensed both the kings, that joining together, they should make the Ephors'

ordinances of no effect : declaring that their authority King was only erected for the discord of the two kings, Agis because they should give their voices unto that king that had the best judgement and reason, when the other would wilfully withstand both right and reason: and therefore, they two agreeing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controlment of any person: and that to resist the kings, was a breaking of the law, sith that by right the Ephors had no other privilege and authority, but to be judges and arbitrators between them, when there was any cause of jar or controversy. Both the kings being carried away by this persuasion, went into the market-place accompanied with their friends, placked the Ephors from their seats, and put others in their rooms, of the which Agesilaus was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of young men, and opening the prisons, did set the prisoners at liberty: the which made their adversaries afraid of them doubting some great murther would have followed upon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For Agesilaus being bent to kill Leonidas, who fled to the city of Tegea, and having also laid men in wait for him by the way: King Agis hearing of it, sent thither other friends of his in whom he put great confidence and they did accompany Leonidas, and brought him safely unto the city of Tegea. Thus their purpose taking effect, and no man contrarying them: one man only Agesilaus overthrew all, and dashed a noble Laconian law by a shameful vice, which was covetousness. For he being a great landed man, and having the best lands of any man in the country, and owing a great sum of money besides: would neither pay his debts nor let go his

New land. Wherefore he persuaded King Agis, that if laws he went about to stablish both together, he should stabby the did first win them that were landed men, preferring Lacedæ- at the beginning the cutting off of debts only, then monians that they would easily and willingly also accept the law of partition of lands: Lysander was also of this opinion: whereby King Agis and he both were deceived by Agesilaus' subtilty. So they commanded all the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bills of debt (which the Lacedæmonians do call claria) into the market-place, and there laying them on a heap together, they did set fire on them. When the usurers and creditors saw their writings obligatory on a fire, they departed thence with heavy hearts: but Agesilaus mocking them said he never saw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands also should be presently divided, and the kings likewise commanding it: Agesilaus still interposing some cause of let, delayed time, until opportunity served, that King Agis should go to the wars, for that the Achaians their confederates had prayed aid of Lacedæmon, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed between them, because they looked daily that the Ætolians coming through the country of Megara, would invade Peloponnesus. Aratus general of the Achaians had levied a great army to withstand their invasion, and had also written unto the Ephors, that they should send them aid. Whereupon they presently sent King Agis, perceiving also the readiness and good-will of the soldiers which were appointed to go with him: for the most of them were young men and needy, who seeing themselves

discharged of the fear of their debts, and hoping King also at their return, that the lands likewise should Agis be divided among them: they went with glad into hearts, and were obedient to King Agis. So that Achaia the cities where through they passed, wondered how they came through Peloponnesus, from the one side to the other, very quietly, without noise or offence to any man. Likewise many Grecians calling to mind the ancient times, told one another, that it was a noble sight then to see the army of Lacedæmon, when they were led by Agesilaus, Lysander, and Leonidas, famous captains: sith now they saw so great obedience unto Agis by his soldiers, who was in manner the youngest man of all his camp: who also glorying to be content with little, to away with pains, and not to be more costly apparelled, and armed than any private soldier he had: he wan himself thereby a marvellous love of the people. Howbeit the rich men liked not this change, and were afraid lest Agis should give other people example to rise also, and to do the like with theirs, as he had done. Agis meeting with Aratus by the city of Corinth, even as he was consulting whether he should fight with his enemy or not: shewed himself in his counsel, then no rash, but a resolute and valiant man. For he told him, That for his opinion he thought it better to fight, and not to suffer the war to come any farther, leaving the entry into Peloponnesus free to their enemy: nevertheless, that he would do what Aratus thought good, because he was the elder, and general also of the Achaians, whom he came not to command, but to aid them. But Baton Sinopian writeth that King Agis would not fight, though Aratus was willing:

# returneth

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King howbeit he had not read that which Aratus had Leonidas written for his excuse and justification, alleging there that the farmers and husbandmen having brought all the corn into their barns, he thought it better to suffer the enemies to come farther into their country, rather than to hazard battell, to the loss of the whole country of Peloponnesus, and that therefore he licensed all the confederates to depart and brake up his army. So King Agis returned home again, greatly honoured of them that served with him in his journey, finding the city of Sparta then in great broil and trouble. For Agesilaus at that time being one of the Ephors, finding himself rid of the fear which before kept him under: cared not what injury or mischief he did unto any citizen, so he might get money. For amongst other things, that very year he made them pay beyond all reason the tillages and taxes due unto the commonwealth for thirteen moneths, adding too the thirteenth moneth above the ordinary time of the year. Wherefore perceiving every man hated him, and being afraid of them he had offended: he kept soldiers about him, armed with their swords, and so came down into the market-place among them. And for the two kings, he made no account of the one: but of the other that was Agis, he seemed outwardly to make good account, rather for kindred's sake, than for his dignity of a king, and furthermore gave it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephors the next year following. Whereupon, his enemies speedily to prevent the danger gathered force together, and openly brought King Leonidas from Tegea, to restore him again to his kingdom. people were glad to see that, because they were

angry they had bin mocked in that sort, for that from the lands were not divided according unto promise. exile into Furthermore, Hippomedon was so well beloved for Sparta his valiantness of every man, that entreating the people for his father Agesilaus, he saved his life, and got him out of the city. But for the two kings, Agis took sanctuary in the temple of Juno Chalciecos. And Cleombrotus the other king fled into the temple of Neptune: for it seemed that Leonidas being much more offended with him, did let King Agis alone, and went against him with certain soldiers armed. Then he sharply taunted him, that being his son-in-law, he had conspired against him to deprive him of his kingdom, and had driven him out of his country. But then Cleombrotus not having a word to say, sat still, and made him no answer. Whereupon, his wite Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, who before was offended for the injury they did her father, and had left her husband Cleombrotus, that had usurped the kingdom from him, to serve her father in his adversity, and while he was in sanctuary took part with him also of his misery, and afterwards when he went unto the city of Tegea, wore blacks for sorrow, being offended with her husband: she contrarily then changing her anger with her husband's fortune and misery, became also an humble suitor with him, sitting down by him, and embracing him, having her two little sons on either side of them. All men wondering, and weeping for pity to see the goodness and natural love of this lady, who shewing her mourning apparel, and hair of her head flaring about her eyes, bareheaded: she spake in this manner unto her father. "O father mine, this

of Che-

The sorrowful garment and countenance is not for pity oration of Cleombrotus, but hath long remained with me, lamenting sore your former misery and exile: but now, which of the two should I rather choose, either to continue a mourner in this pitiful state, seeing you again restored to your kingdom, having overcome your enemies: or else putting on my princely apparel, to see my husband slain, unto whom you married me a maid? who if he cannot move you to take compassion on him, and to obtain mercy, by the tears of his wife and children: he shall then abide more bitter pain of his evil counsel, than that which you intend to make him suffer. For he shall see his wife die before him, whom he loveth more dearly than anything in the world. Also, with what face can I look upon other ladies, when I could never bring my father to pity by any intercession I could make for my husband. neither my husband, entreat him for my father: and that my hap is to be borne, a daughter and wife always most unfortunate, and despised of mine own? And for my husband, if he had any reason to do that he did, I then took it from him. by taking your part, and protesting against him: and contrarily, your self doth give him honest colour to excuse his fault, when he seeth in you the desire of the kingdom so great, that for the love thereof, you think it lawful to kill your sons-in-law, and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her sake." Chelonis pitifully complaining in this sort, putting her face upon Cleombrotus' head, cast her swollen and blubbering eyes upon the standers-by. Wherefore Leonidas after he had talked a little with his friends, he commanded Cleombrotus

to get him thence and to leave the city as an exile: The banand prayed his daughter for his sake to remain with ishment him, and not to forsake her father, that did so of King dearly love her, as for her sake he had saved her husband's life. This notwithstanding, she would not yield to his request, but rising up with her husband, gave him one of his sons and her self took the other in her arms: and then making her prayer before the altar of the goddess, she went as a banished woman away with her husband. And truly the example of her vertue was so famous, that if Cleombrotus' mind had not been too much blinded with vainglory, he had cause to think his exile far more happy, to enjoy the love of so noble a wife as he had, than for the kingdom which he possessed without her. Then Leonidas having banished King Cleombrotus out of the city, and removing the first Ephors, had substituted other in their place: he presently bethought him how he might craftily come by King Agis. First, he persuaded him to come out of the sanctuary, and to govern the kingdom safely with him, declaring unto him that his citizens had forgiven him all that was past, because they knew he was deceived, and subtly circumvented by Agesilaus' craft being a young man, ambitious of honour. Agis would not leave the sanctuary for Leonidas' cunning persuasion, but mistrusted all that he said unto him. Wherefore Leonidas would no more beguile him with fair words. But Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, did oftentimes go to visit King Agis, and otherwhile also they got him out of the sanctuary with them unto the bath, and brought him back again into the temple, when he had bathed. But

Am- Amphares having borrowed not long before, certain phares rich apparel and plate of Agesistrata, because he betrayeth would not redeliver them again, he determined to Agis betray King Agis, his mother and grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did serve Leonidas' turn, and provoked the Ephors (of which number he was one) against Agis. Now therefore, Agis keeping all the rest of his time within the temple, saving when he went upon occasion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way, and to take him when he was out of the sanctuary. So they watched him one day when he came and bathed and came and saluted him as their manner was, and seemed to accompany him, sporting, and being merry with him, as with a young man their familiar. But when they came to the turning of a street that went towards the prison, Amphares laying hold on him, being one of the Ephors, said unto him: I arrest thee Agis, and will bring thee before the Ephors, to give account of thy doings in the commonwealth. Then Demochares, which was a great mighty man cast his gown over his ears, and pulled him forward: others also thrusted him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being near them to help Agis, they got him into prison. Then came Leonidas incontinently with a great number of soldiers that were strangers, and beset the prison round about. The Ephors went into the prison, and sent unto some of the Senate to come unto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they commanded Agis, as if it had been judicially, to give account of the alteration he had made in the commonwealth. The young man laughed at their hypocrisy. But Amphares told him that it was no laughing sport, and King that he should pay for his folly. Then another of Agis cartle Ephors seeming to deal more favourably with him, and to shew him a way, how he might escape the condemnation for his fault: asked him if he had not been enticed unto it by Agesilaus and Lysander. Agis answered, That no man compelled him, but that he only did it to follow the steps of the ancient Lycurgus, to bring the commonwealth unto the former state of his grave ordinance and institution. Then the same Senator asked him again, If he did not repent him of that he had done. The young man boldly answered him, That he would never repent him of so wise and vertuous an enterprise, though he ventured his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commanded the sergeants to carry him into the Dechad, which was a place in the prison where they were strangled, that were condemned to die. Demochares perceiving the sergeants durst not lay hold of him, and likewise that the soldiers which were strangers, did abhor to commit such a fact contrary to the law of god and man, to lay violent hands upon the person of a king: he threatened and reviled them, and dragged Agis perforce into that place called the Dechad. Now the rumour ran straight through the city, that King Agis was taken, and a multitude of people were at the prison doors with lights and torches. Thither came also King Agis, mother and grandmother shrieking out and praying that the king of Sparta might yet be heard and judged by the people. For this cause they hastened his death the sooner, and were afraid besides, lest the people in the night would take him

King out of their hands by force, if there came any more Agis, his people thither. Thus King Agis being led to his mother, death, spied a sergeant lamenting and weeping for grandmother, unto whom he said: Good fellow I pray thee weep not for me, for I am honester man than they that so shamefully put me to death, and with those words he willingly put his head into the halter. Amphares then going out of the prison into the street, found Agesistrata there King Agis' mother, who straight fell down at his feet: but he taking her up again, in old familiar manner, as being her very friend, told her that they should do King Agis no hurt, and that she might if she would, go and see him. Then she prayed, that they would also let her mother in with her. Amphares said, With a good-will: and so put them both into the prison-house, and made the doors be shut after them. But when they were within, he first gave Archidamia unto the sergeants to be put to death, who was a marvellous old woman, and had lived more honourably unto that age, than any lady or matron beside her in the city. She being executed, he commanded Agesistrata also to come in. Who when she saw the body of her dead son laid on the ground, and her mother also hanging on the gallows: she did her self help the hangman to pluck her down, and laid her body by her son's. Then having covered her in decent manner, she laid her down on the ground by the corpse of her son Agis, and kissing his cheek said: Out alas my son, thy great modesty, goodness, and clemency, brought thee and us unto this death. Then Amphares peeping in at the door to see what was done, hearing what she said, came in withal in a great rage, and said: I perceive that thou hast also been all three of council with thy son, and sithence it is so, thou strangled shalt also follow him. Then she rising also to be strangled, said: The gods grant yet that this may profit Sparta. This horrible murther being blown abroad in the city, and the three dead bodies also brought out of prison: the fear though it were great amongst the people, could not keep them back from apparent shew of grief, and manifest hate against Leonidas and Amphares, thinking that there was never a more wicked and crueller fact committed in Sparta, since the Dorians came to dwell in Peloponnesus. For the very enemies themselves in battell, would not willingly lay hands upon the kings of Lacedæmon, but did forbear as much as they could possible, both for fear and reverence they bare unto their majesty. For in many great battels and conflicts which Lacedæmonians had against the Grecians, there was never any king of Lacedæmon slain, before Philip's time, but Cleombrotus only, who was slain with a dart at the battell of Leuctra. Some write also that the Messenians hold opinion. that their Aristomenes slew Theopompus: howbeit the Lacedæmonians said, that he was but hurt not slain. But hereof there are divers opinions: but it is certain that Agis was the first king whom the Ephors ever put to death: for that he had laid a plot of a noble device, and worthy of Sparta, being of that age when men do easily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accused of his friends and enemies, because he had saved Leonidas' life, and had trusted other men, as the best-natured young man that could be.

Here be-

Now Agis having suffered in this sort, Leonidas ginneth was not quick enough to take Archidamus his Cleomenes, life Agis' wife out of her house by force, with a little boy she had by him, and married her unto his son Cleomenes, who was yet under age to marry: fear-ing lest this young lady should be bestowed else-where, being indeed a great heir, and of a rich house, and the daughter of Gylippus, called by her name Agiatis, besides that she was the fairest woman at that time in all Greece, and the vertuousest, and best conditioned. Wherefore for divers respects she prayed she might not be forced to it. But now being at length married with Cleomenes, she ever hated Leonidas to the death, and yet was a good and loving wife unto her young husband: who immediately after he was married unto her, fell greatly in fancy with her, and for compassion's sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the love she bare unto her first husband, and for the loving remembrance she had of him: insomuch as he himself many times would fall in talk of it, and would be inquisitive how things had passed, taking great pleasure to hear of Agis' wise counsel and For Cleomenes was as desirous of honour, and had as noble a mind as Agis, and was born also to temperance, and moderation of life, as Agis in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modesty and lenity, which the other had, but was somewhat more stirring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it great honesty, to bring the citizens if that he could, to be contented to live after an honest sort: but contrarily, he thought it no dishonesty to bring them unto good life, by compulsion Cleoalso. Furthermore the manners of the citizens of menes Sparta, giving themselves over to idleness and taught by pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did suffer the commonwealth to be ruled as they listed, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: insomuch, no man regarding the profit of the commonwealth, every man was for himself, and his family. contrarily it was not lawful for any man to speak for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperance, and for the restoring again of equality of life, the preferment whereof was, the only cause of the late death of Agis. They say also, that Cleomenes being a young stripling, had heard some disputation of philosophy, when the philosopher Sphærus, of the country of Borysthenes came to Lacedæmon, and lovingly stayed there to teach young men and children. He was one of the chiefest scholars of Zeno Citian, and delighted (as it seemed) in Cleomenes' noble mind, and had a great desire to prick him forward unto honour. For as it is reported, that the ancient Leonidas being demanded what poet he thought Tyrtæus to be, answered He was good to flatter young men's minds: for he set their hearts on fire by his verses, when they began to fight any battell, fearing no danger, they were so encouraged by them. So the Stoic discipline is somewhat dangerous, for the stout and valiant minds, which otherwise doth make them desperate: so when they are joined unto a grave and gentle nature, first it lifteth up his heart, and then maketh him taste the profit thereof. Now Leonidas (the father of Cleomenes)

Cleo- being deceased, and he himself also come unto the Cleobeing deceased, and he himself also come unto the menes did crown, finding that the citizens of Sparta at that set the Lacedamentary their pleasure and profit, taking no care for the and commonwealth, that the poor men also for very Achaians want and need, went with no good life and courage to the wars, neither cared for the bringing up of their children, and that he himself had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the absolute authorize to do what they listed, at his first coming to rity to do what they listed: at his first coming to his kingdom, he determined to alter the whole state and government of the commonwealth. Who having a friend called Xenares, that had been his lover in his youth (which the Lacedæmonians called Empnistæ, as much as inspired) he began to sound his opinion, asking what manner of man King Agis had been, and by what reason, and whose advice he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the commonwealth. Xenares at the first did not willingly rehearse these things unto him, declaring everything what had passed. But when he found that Cleomenes was affected unto King Agis' intent, and still desired to hear of it: then Xenares sharply and angrily reproved him, and told him he was not wise, nor well advised, and at length would no more come and talk with him as he was wont, yet making no man privy why he abstained from coming to him but told them that asked him, He knew a cause well enough why. Xenares now having thus refused him, and thinking all the rest would do the like: to bring this matter to pass, he took this resolution with himself. Because he thought he might the rather do it in war, than in peace, he set the city

of Sparta and the Achaians at variance together: together who did themselves give the first occasion to be by the complained upon. For Aratus being the Presi- ears dent and chief of all the Achaians, had practised a long time to bring all Peloponnesus into one body: and had therefore only sustained great troubles in wars, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other way to deliver them from foreign wars. Now when he had won all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the Eleans, the Lacedæmonians, and a few of the Arcadians, which were subject to the Lacedæmonians. When King Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to invade the Arcadians, those specially that bordered upon the Argives: to prove how the Lacedæmonians would take it, making no account of Cleomenes, being but a young king, and had no experience of wars. Thereupon the Ephor sent Cleomenes unto Athenium (a temple of Minerva hard by the city of Belbis) with an army to take it: because it was a passage and entry into the country of Laconia, howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the Megalopolitans and the Lacedæmonians: Cleomenes got it, and fortified it. Aratus making no complaint otherwise of the matter, stole out one night with his army to set upon the Tegeans, and Orchomenians, hoping to have taken those cities by treason. But the traitors that were of his confederacy, their hearts failed them when they should have gone about it: so that Aratus returned, having lost his journey, thinking that this secret attempt of his was not discovered. But Cleomenes finely wrote unto him as his friend, and asked him, Whither he had led

Cleomenes'
That understanding Cleomenes meant to fortify journey into the Belbis, he went forth with his army, thinking to have let him. Cleomenes wrote again unto him and said He did believe that which he spake was true: howbeit he earnestly requested him, (if it were no trouble to him) to advertise him why he brought scaling-ladders and lights after him. Aratus smiling at this mock, asked what this young man was. Democritus Lacedæmonian being a banished man out of his country answered: If thou man was. Democritus Lacedæmonian being a banished man out of his country answered: If thou hast anything to do against the Lacedæmonians, thou hadst need make haste, before this young cockrel have on his spurs. Then Cleomenes being in the field in the country of Arcadia, with a few horsemen and three hundred footmen only: the Ephor being afraid of wars, sent for him to return again. His back was no sooner turned, obeying their commandment: but Aratus suddenly took the city of Caphyre. Thereuvon the Ephor took the city of Caphyæ. Thereupon, the Ephor incontinently sent Cleomenes back again with his army: who took the fort of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the Argives. The Achaians came against him with an army of twenty thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen led by Aristomachus: Cleomenes met with them by the city of Pallantium, and offered battell. But Aratus quaking at the hardiness of this young man, would not suffer Aristomachus to hazard battell, but went his way derided by the Achaians, and despised by the Lacedæmonians: who in all were not above five thousand fighting men. Cleomenes' courage being now lift up, and bravely speaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a saying of one of their

ancient kings, that the Lacedæmonians never His inquired what number their enemies were, but victory where they were. Shortly after, the Achaians Aratus making war with the Eleans, Cleomenes was sent to aid them and met with the army of the Achaians by the mountain Lyceum, as they were in their return: he setting upon them, gave them the overthrow, slew a great number of them, and took many also prisoners, that the rumour ran through Greece, how Aratus self was slain. Cleomenes wisely taking the occasion which this victory gave him: he went straight to the city of Mantinea, and taking it upon a sudden, when no man knew of his coming, he put a strong garrison into it. Now the Lacedæmonians' hearts failing them, and resisting Cleomenes' enterprises, over-wearying them with wars: he went about to send Archidamus, King Agis' brother, being then at Messené, unto whom the kingdom of right belonged by the other house, supposing that he should easily weaken the power of the Ephors, by the authority of the two kings, if both of them joined together. Which when the murtherers of King Agis understood, being afraid that Archidamus returning from exile, he would be revenged of them, they secretly received him into the city, and found the means to bring him into Sparta. But when they had him, they put him straight to death, whether it was unwitting to Cleomenes (as Phylarchus plainly testifieth) or else with his privity, suffering them to make him away, by persuasion of his friends. But it is a clear case, the city was burdened withal, because probable matter fell out that they had compelled Cleomenes to do it. Nevertheless,

Clee- he holding still his first determination, to alter the menes' state of the commonwealth of Sparta, as soon as victory he could possible: he so fed the Ephors with money, that he brought them to be contented he should make war. He had also won many other citizens by the means of his mother Cratesiclea, who furnished him with money, that he lacked not to honour him withal: and further, married as it is reported, (being otherwise not meant to marry) for her sons sake, unto one of the wealthiest men of all the city. So Cleomenes leading his army into the field, wan a place within the territory of Megalopolis, called Leuctra. The Achaians also being quickly come to their aid, led by Aratus: they straight fought a battell by the city self, where Cleomenes had the worst on the one side of his army. Howbeit Aratus would not suffer the Achaians to follow them, because of bogs and quawmires, but sounded the retreat. But Lysiadas a Megalopolitan being angry withal caused the horsemen he had about him to follow the chase, who pursued so fiercely, that they came amongst vines, walls, and ditches, where he was driven to disperse his men, and yet could not get out. Cleomenes perceiving it, sent the light horsemen of the Tarentines and Cretans against him: of whom Lysiadas valiantly fighting was slain. Then the Lacedæmonians being courageous for this victory, came with great cries, and giving a fierce charge upon the Achaians, overthrew their whole army, and slew a marvellous number of them: but yet Cleomenes at their request suffered them to take up the dead bodies of their men to bury them. For Lysiadas' corpse, he caused it to be brought

unto him, and putting a purple robe upon it, and The a crown on his head, sent it in this array unto the dream very gates of the city of Megalopolis. It was that of one of the self Lysiadas, who giving over the tyranny and gov- Ephors ernment of Megalopolis, made it a popular state, and free city, and joined it to the Achaians. After this victory, Cleomenes that determined greater matters and attempts, persuaded himself that if he might once come to establish the affairs of the commonwealth at Sparta to his mind, he might then easily overcome the Achaians: brake with his father-in-law Megistonus, and told him that it was necessary to take away the authority of the Ephors, and to make division of the lands among the Spartans, and then being brought to equality, to encourage them to recover the empire of Greece again unto the Lacedæmonians, which their predecessors before them, held and enjoyed. Megistonus granting his good-will and furtherance, joined two or three of his friends more unto him. It chanced at that time that one of the Ephors lying in the temple of Pasiphaé, had a marvellous dream in the night. For he thought he saw but one chair standing where the Ephor did use to sit to give audience, and that the other four which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that marvelling at it, he heard a voice out of the temple that said, That was the best for Sparta. He declaring this dream the next morning unto Cleomenes, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feel him, for that he had heard some inkling of his intent. But when he persuaded himself that the other meant good faith, and lied not unto him, being bolder than before,

slew the

Cleo- he went forward with his purpose, and taking with menes him unto the camp all those Spartans which he suspected to be against his enterprise, he went and took the cities of Heræa and Alsæa, confederates of the Achaians, and victualled Orchomenus, and went and camped before the city of Mantinea. In fine, he so wearied and overharried the Lacedæmonians by long journeys, that at length they besought him he would let them remain in Arcadia, to repose themselves there. In the meantime, Cleomenes with his strangers which he had hired, returned again unto Sparta, and imparted his intent by the way unto them he trusted best, and marched at his own ease, that he might take the Ephors at supper. he came near unto the city, he sent Euryclidas before, into the hall of the Ephors, as though he brought them news out of the camp from him. After him, he sent also Therycion and Phœbis, and two other that had been brought up with him, whom the Lacedæmonians called the Samothracians, taking with them a few soldiers. whilst Euryclidas was talking with the Ephors, they also came in upon them with their swords drawn, and did set upon the Ephors. Agesilaus was hurt first of all, and falling down, made as though he had been slain, but by little and little he crept out of the hall, and got secretly unto a chapel consecrated unto Fear, the which was wont ever to be kept shut, but then by chance was left open: when he was come in, he shut the door fast to him. The other four of the Ephors were slain presently, and above ten more besides, which came to defend them. Furthermore, for them that sat still and stirred not, they killed not a man of them, neither

did keep any man that was desirous to go out of Temples the city: but moreover, they pardoned Agesilaus, of fear, who came the next morning out of the chapel of death, and such Fear. Amongst the Lacedæmonians in the city other of Sparta, there are not only temples of fear and fancies death, but also of laughter, and of many other such passions of the mind. They do worship Fear, not as other spirits and divels that are hurtful: but because they are persuaded that nothing preserveth a commonwealth better than fear. Wherefore the Ephors (as Aristotle witnesseth) when they are created, do by publick proclamation command all the Spartans to shave their chins, and to obey the law, lest they should make them feel the rigour of the law. They brought in the shaving of their chins, in my opinion, to inure young men to obey the magistrates even in trifles. Moreover it seems that men in old time did esteem fortitude to be no taking away of fear, but rather a fear and loathness to incur shame. For commonly those that are most afraid to offend the law, are in the field most valiant against their enemy: and shun no peril to win fame and honest reputation. And therefore it was wisely said of one,

That fear cannot be without shamefastness:

And so Homer in a certain place made Helen say unto King Priamus:

Of truth I do confess dear father-in-law. You are the man of whom I stand in awe. And reverence most of all that ever I saw.

And in another place, speaking of the Grecian soldiers, he saith thus :

For fear of their captains they spake not a word.

. The For men do use to reverence them whom they oration fear. And this was the cause why the chapel of King of Fear was by the hall of the Ephors, having menes in manner a princely and absolute authority. The next morning Cleomenes banished by trumpet, fourscore citizens of Sparta, and overthrew all the chairs of the Ephors but one only, the which he reserved for himself to sit in to give audience. Then calling the people to counsel, he gave them an account of his doings, and told them that Lycurgus had joined the Senators with the kings, and how the city had been governed a long time by them, without help of any other officers. Notwithstanding, afterwards the city having great wars with the Messenians, the kings being always employed in that war, whereby they could not attend the affairs of the commonwealth at home, did choose certain of their friends to sit in judgement in their steads, to determine controversies of law: which were called Ephors, and did govern long time as the king's ministers, howbeit that afterwards, by little and little, they took upon them absolute government by themselves. And for manifest proof hereof, you see that at this present time when the Ephori do send for the king, the first and second time, they refuse to come, but the third time he riseth and goeth unto them. The first man that gave the Ephors this authority, was Asteropus, one of the Ephors many years after the first institution of the kings: and yet if they had governed discreetly, peradventure they might have continued longer. But they licentiously abusing their authority, by suppressing the lawful gover-nors instituted of old time, taking upon them to

banish some of their kings, and putting other of touching them also to death, without law and justice, and the first threatening others that desire to restore that noble original and former blessed government unto Sparta again: Ephors all these things I say, are in nowise to be suffered any longer. And therefore, if it had been possible to have banished all these plagues of the commonwealth out of Sparta, brought from foreign nations: (I mean, pleasures, pastimes, money, debts, and usuries, and others yet more ancient, poverty and riches) he might then have esteemed himself the happiest king that ever was, if like a good physician he had cured his country in that infection, without grief or sorrow. But in that he was constrained to begin with blood, he followed Lycurgus' example: who being neither king nor other magistrate, but a private citizen only, taking upon him the authority of the king, boldly came into the marketplace with force and armed men, and made King Charilaus that then reigned, so affraid, that he was driven to take sanctuary in one of the temples. But the king being a prince of a noble nature, and loving the honour of his country: took part with Lycurgus, adding to his advice and counsel, for the alteration of the state of the government of the commonwealth, which he did confirm. then it appeareth, that Lycurgus saw it was a hard thing to alter the commonwealth without force and fear: the which he notwithstanding had used with as great modesty and discretion as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profit and wealth of Lacedæmon, giving all the lands of the country also to be equally divided amongst them, and setting all men clear that were

Cleo- in debt. And furthermore, that he would make a

menes choice and proof of the strangers, to make them reformeth free citizens of Sparta, whom he knew to be honest men, thereby to defend their city the better by force wealth of arms: to the end that from henceforth we may no more see our country of Laconia spoiled by the Ætolians and Illyrians, for lack of men to defend themselves against them. Then he began first himself to make all his goods common, and after him Megistonus his father-in-law, and consequently all his other friends. Then he caused the lands also to be divided, and ordained every banished man a part, whom he himself had exiled, promising that he would receive them again into the city, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the citizens of Sparta, with the choicest honest men their neighbours: he made four thousand footmen well armed, and taught them to use their pikes with both hands, instead of their darts with one hand, and to carry their targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwards he took order for the education of children, and to restore the ancient Laconian discipline again: and did all these things in manner by the help of Sphærus the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickly set up again schoolhouses for children, and also brought them to the old order of diet: and all, but a very few, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institution of life. Then because the name of one king should not offend any man, he made his brother Euclidas king with him. But this was the first time that ever the two kings were of one house but then. Furthermore, understanding that the Achaians and

Aratus were of opinion, that he durst not come out He inof Lacedæmon, for fear to leave it in peril of revolt- vadeth ing, because of the late change and alteration in the the commonwealth: he thought it an honourable attempt of the of him, to make his enemies see the readiness and Megalogood-will of his army. Thereupon he invaded the politans territories of the Megalopolitans, and brought away a great prey and booty, after he had done great hurt unto his enemies. Then having taken certain players and minstrels that came from Messené, he set up a stage within the enemies' country, made a game of forty minas for the victor, and sat a whole day to look upon them, for no pleasure he took in the sight of it, but more to despite the enemies withal, in making them see how much he was stronger than they, to make such a May-game in their own country, in despite of them. For of all the armies otherwise of the Grecians, or kings in all Greece, there was no army only but his, that was without players, minstrels, fools and jugglers: for his camp only was clean of such rabble and foolery, and all the young men fell to some exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teach them. And if they chanced to have any vacant time, then they would pleasantly be one merry with another, in giving some pretty fine mock after the Laconian manner. And what profit they got by that kind of exercise, we have written it at large in Lycurgus' life. But of all these things, the king himself was their schoolmaister and example, shewing himself very temperate of life, and plain without curiosity, no more than any private soldier of all his camp: the which were great helps unto him in his enterprises he made in Greece. For the Grecians hav-

Cleo- ing cause of suit and negotiation with other kings menes' and princes, did not wonder so much at their pomp moderate and riches, as they did abhor and detest their pride and insolency: so disdainfully they would answer them that had to do with them. But contrarily when they went unto Cleomenes, who was a king in name and deed as they were, finding no purple robes nor stately mantles, nor rich-embroidered beds, nor a prince to be spoken to but by messengers, gentlemen ushers, and supplications, and yet with great ado: and seeing him also come plainly apparelled unto them, with a good countenance, and courteously answering the matters they came for: he thereby did marvellously win their hearts and good-wills, that when they returned home, they said he only was the worthy king, that came of the race of Hercules. Now for his diet at his board, that was very straight and Laconian-like, keeping only three boards: and if he chanced to feast any ambassadors or other his friends that came to see him, he then added too, two other boards, and besides, made his men to see that his fare should be amended, not with pastry and conserves, but with more store of meat, and some better wine than ordinary. For he one day reproved one of his friends, that bidding strangers to supper, he gave them nothing but black broth, and brown bread only, according to the Laconian manner. Nay, said he, we may not use strangers so hardly after our manner. The board being taken up, another little table was brought with three feet, whereupon they set a bowl of copper full of wine, and two silver cups of a pottle apiece, and certain other few silver pots besides: so every man drank what they listed, and no man was forced to drink

more than he would. Furthermore, there was no He sport, nor any pleasant song sung to make the com-pany merry, for it needed not. For Cleomenes self would entertain them with some pretty questions

Aratus or pleasant tale: whereby, as his talk was not severe and without pleasure, so was it also pleasant without insolency. For he was of opinion, that to win men by gifts or money, as other kings and princes did, was but base and cloynlike: but to seek their good-wills by curteous means and pleasantness, and therewith to mean good faith, that he thought most fit and honourable for a prince. For this was his mind, that there was no other difference betwixt a friend and hireling: but that the one is won with money, and the other with civility and good entertainment. The first therefore that received King Cleomenes into their city, were the Mantineans, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to drive out the garrison of the Achaians, they vielded themselves unto him. But he referring them to the use and government of their own laws and liberty, departed from thence the same day, and went unto the city of Tegea. Shortly after, he compassed about Arcadia, and came unto Pheræ in Arcadia determining one of the two, either to give the Achaians battell, or to bring Aratus out of favour with the people, for that he had suffered him to spoil and destroy their country. Hyperbatas was at that time general of the Achaians, but Aratus did bear all the sway and authority. Then the Achaians coming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the city of Dymz, near unto the temple of Hecatombzum: Cleomenes going thither, lay betwixt the city of Dymæ that

The was against him, and the camp of his enemies, victory of which men thought a very unwise part of him.

CleoHowbeit valiantly provoking the Achaians, he prometes against them to the battell, overthrew them, made the them fly, and slew a great number in the field, and Achaians took many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set upon the city of Langon, and drave the garrison of the Achaians out of it, and restored the city again unto the Elians. The Achaians being then in very hard state, Aratus that of custom was wont to be their general (or at the least once in two years) refused now to take the the least once in two years) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the Achaians did specially pray and entreat him: the which was an ill act of him, to let another steer the rudder, in so dangerous a storm and tempest. Therefore the Achaians sent ambassadors unto Cleomenes to treat peace, unto whom it seemed he gave a very sharp answer. After that, he sent unto them, and willed them only to resign the signiory of Greece unto him: and that for all other matters he would deal reasonably with them, and presently deliver them up their towns and prisoners again, which he had taken of theirs. The Achaians being glad of peace with these conditions, wrote unto Cleomenes that he should come unto the city of Lerna, where the diet and general assembly should be kept to consult thereupon. It chanced then that Cleomenes marching thither, being very hot, drank cold water, and fell on such a bleeding withal that his voice was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the Achaians their chiefest prisoners home again, proroguing the parliament till another time, and returned back to Lacedæmon. It is supposed

certainly, that this let of his coming to the diet, Aratus' was the only cause of the utter destruction of Greece: treason the which otherwise was in good way to have risen to his again, and to have been delivered from the present miseries, and extreme pride and covetousness of the Macedonians. For Aratus, either for that he trusted not Cleomenes, or for that he was affraid of his power, or that he otherwise envied his honour and prosperity, to see him risen to such incredible greatness in so short a time, and thinking it also too great shame and dishonour to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to deprive him of his great honour and power which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirty years together, ruling all Greece: first, he sought by force to terrify the Achaians, and to make them break off from this peace. in fine, finding that they little regarded his threats. and that he could not prevail with them, for that they were affraid of Cleomenes' valiantness and courage, whose request they thought reasonable, for that he sought but to restore Peloponnesus into her former ancient state again: he fell then into a practice far unhonest for a Grecian, very infamous for himself, but most dishonourable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought Antigonus into Greece, and in his age filled the country of Peloponnesus with Macedonians, whom he himself in his youth had driven thence, had taken from them the castle of Corinth, and had always been an enemy of the king's (but specially of Antigonus, of whom before he had spoken all the ill he could, as appeareth in his writings, saying That he took marvellous pains, and did put himself into many dangers, to deliver the city of Athens from the

Aratus

The garrison of the Macedonians) and yet notwith-folly of standing he brought them armed with his own hands, not into his country only, but into his own house, yea even into the ladies' chambers and closets: disdaining that the king of Lacedæmon, descending of the blood-royal of Hercules (who setting up again the ancient manner of life of his country, did temper it as an instrument of musick out of tune, and brought it to the good, ancient and sober discipline and Dorican life instituted by Lycurgus) should be called and written king of the Sicyonians, and of the Triccæans. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with brown bread, and with the plain coarse capes of the Lacedæmonians, and that went about to take away riches (which was the chiefest matter they did accuse Cleomenes for) and to provide for the poor: he went and put himself and all Achaia unto the crown and diadem, the purple robe, and proud imperious commandments of the Macedonians, fearing lest men should think that Cleomenes could command him. more his folly was such, that having garlands of flowers on his head, he did sacrifice unto Antigonus, and sing songs in praise of his honour, as if he had been a god, where he was but a rotten man consumed away. This that we have written of Aratus (who was endued with many noble vertues, and a worthy Grecian) is not so much to accuse him, as to make us see the frailty and weakness of man's nature: the which, though it have never so excellent vertues, cannot yet bring forth such perfect fruit, but that it hath ever some maim and blemish. Now when the Achaians were met again in the city of Argos, to hold the session of their

parliament before prorogued, and Cleomenes also Cleo-being come from Tegea, to be at that parliament: menes every man was in hope of good peace. But Aratus comthen, who was agreed before of the chiefest articles against of the capitulations with Antigonus, fearing that Aratus Cleomenes by fair words or force would bring the people to grant that he desired: sent to let him understand, that he should but come himself alone into the city, and for safety of his person, they would give him three hundred hostages: or otherwise, if he would not leave his army, that then they would give him audience without the city, in the place of exercises, called Cyllarabium. When Cleomenes had heard their answer, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they should have advertised him of it before he had taken his journey, and not now when he was almost hard at their gates, to send him back again, with a flea in his ear. Thereupon he wrote a letter unto the council of the Achaians, altogether full of complaints against Aratus. On the other side also, Aratus in his oration to the council, inveighed with bitter words against Cleomenes. Thereupon Cleomenes departing with speed, sent a herald to proclaim wars against the Achaians, not in the city of Argos, but in the city of Ægion, as Aratus writeth, meaning to set upon them being unprovided. Hereupon all Achaia was in an uproar: for divers cities did presently revolt against the Achaians, because the common people hoped after the division of lands, and discharging of their debts. The noblemen also in many places were offended with Aratus, because he practised to bring the Macedonians into the country of Peloponnesus. Cleomenes therefore

the city

hoping well for all these respects, brought his army into Achaia, and at his first coming took the city of Pellené, and drave out the garrison of the Achaians: of Argos and after that, wan also the cities of Pheneum, and Pentelium. Now the Achaians fearing some treason in Corinth and Sicyon, sent certain horsemen out of the city of Argos, to keep those cities. The Argives in the meantime, attending the celebration of the feast at the games Nemea, Cleomenes thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to Argos, he should find the city full of people that were come to see the feasts and games, and that assailing them upon the sudden, he should put them in a marvellous fear: brought his army in the night hard to the walls of the city of Argos, and at his first coming wan a place they call Aspis, a very strong place above the theatre, and ill to come unto. The Argives were so amazed at it, that no man would take upon him to defend the city, but received Cleomenes' garrison, and gave him twenty hostages, promising thenceforth to be true confederates unto the Lacedæmonians. under his charge and conduct. The which doubtless wan him great fame, and increased his power: for that the ancient kings of Lacedæmon, could never before with any policy or device, win the city of Argos. For King Pyrrhus one of the most valiantest and warlikest princes that ever was, entering the city of Argos by force, could not keep it, but was slain there, and the most part of his army: whereby every man wondered greatly at the diligence and counsel of Cleomenes. And where every man did mock him before, when Cleomenes said that he would follow Solon and Lycurgus, in making the

citizens' goods common, and discharging all debts: The they were then clearly persuaded that he only was force of Lycur-the cause and mean of that great change, which gus laws they saw in the courage of the Spartans: who were before so weak and out of heart, that they having no courage to defend themselves, the Ætolians entering Laconia with an army, took away at one time, fifty thousand slaves. Whereupon an old man of Sparta pleasantly said at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleasure, to rid their country of Laconia of such a rabble of rascals. Shortly after, they being entred again into the former ancient discipline of Lycurgus, as if Lycurgus self had been alive to have trained them unto it: they showed themselves very valiant, and obedient also unto their magistrates, whereby they recovered again the commandment of all Greece, and the country also of Peloponnesus. Cleomenes had taken the city of Argos, the cities also of Cleonæ, and Phlius, did yield themselves unto him. Aratus in the mean time remained at Corinth, and there did busily accuse them which were suspected to favour the Lacedæmonians. But when news was brought him that Argos was taken, and that he perceived also the city of Corinth did lean unto Cleomenes' part, and drave away the Achaians: he then calling the people to counsel in Corinth, secretly stale to one of the gates of the city, and causing his horse to be brought unto him, took his back, and gallopped for life unto the city of Sicyon. When the Corinthians heard of it, they took their horsebacks also striving who should be there soonest, and posted in such haste unto Cleomenes at the city of Argos, that many of

Cleo- them (as Aratus writeth) killed their horses by the menes way: howbeit Cleomenes was very much offended with them, for that they had let him scape their hands. But Aratus saith further, That Megistonus came unto him from Cleomenes, and offered him a great sum of money to deliver him the castle of Corinth, wherein there was a great garrison of the Achaians. But he answered again, That things were not in his power, but rather that he was subject to their power. Now Cleomenes departing from the city of Argos, overcame the Troezenians, the Epidaurians, and the Hermionians. After that, he came unto Corinth, and presently entrenched the castle there round about, and sending for Aratus' friends and factors, commanded them to keep his house and goods carefully for him, and sent Tritymallus Messenian again unto him, to pray him to be contented that the castle might be kept indifferently betwixt the Achaians and Lacedæmonians, promising him privately to double the pension that King Ptolemy gave him. But Aratus refusing it, sent his son unto Antigonus with other hostages, and persuaded the Achaians to deliver up the castle of Corinth, unto Antigonus' hands. Cleomenes understanding it, entered with his army into the country of the Sicyonians, and destroyed it as he went, and took Aratus' goods and money of the gift of the Corinthians by decree. Now Antigonus in the mean time, being passed the mountain of Geranea with a great power: Cleomenes determined not to fortify the isthmus or strait of Peloponnesus, but the ways of the mountains Oniens, determining to keep every one of them against the Macedonians, with intent to consume

them rather by time, than to fight a battell with The an army, so good soldiers and well trained as they Argives were. Cleomenes following this determination, did against put Antigonus to great trouble, because he had not Cleo-in time provided for corn: and could not win the menes passage also by force, for that Cleomenes kept it with such guard and soldiers. Then Antigonus stealing secretly into the haven of Lechæum, he was stoutly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereupon Cleomenes and his men being courageous for this victory, went quietly to supper. Antigonus on the other side fell into despair, to see himself brought by necessity into such hard terms. Wherefore he determined to go to the temple of Juno, and from thence to pass his army by sea into the city of Sicyon, the which required a long time, and great preparation. But the same night there came some of Aratus' friends of the Argives, who coming from Argos by sea, brought news that the Argives were rebelled against Cleomenes. The practiser of this rebellion, was one Aristoteles, who easily brought the people unto it, that were already offended with Cleomenes, that had promised to pass a law for the clearing of debts, but performed it not according to their expectation. Wherefore, Aratus with a thousand five hundred men which Antigonus gave him, went by sea unto Epidaurus. Howbeit Aristoteles tarried not his coming, but taking them of the city with him, went and besieged the garrison of the Lacedæmonians within the castle, being aided by Timoxenus, with the Achaians that came from Sicyon. Cleomenes receiving advertisement hereof, about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonus in haste,

Cleo- and commanded him in anger speedily to go and menes aid their men that were in the city of Argos. For it was Megistonus himself that promised Cleomenes
city of
Corinth

the fidelity of the Argives, and that kept him from
driving them out of the city, which he suspected.
So sending him away forthwith with two thousand men, he attended Antigonus, and comforted the Corinthians the best he could: advertising them that it was but a little mutiny of a few, that chanced in the city of Argos. Megistonus being come to Argos, and slain in battell, fighting for the Lacedæmonians in garrison there who (being in great distress, scant able to keep the castell against the enemies) sent sundry messengers unto Cleo-menes, to pray him to send them immediate aid. Cleomenes then being affraid that the enemies having taken Argos, would stop his way to return back into his country, who having opportunity safely to spoil Laconia, and also to besiege the city self of Sparta, that had but a few men to defend it, he departed with his army from Corinth. Immediately after came Antigonus, and took it from him, and put a strong garrison into it. When Cleomenes came before the city of Argos, he scaled the walls, and breaking the vaults and arches of the place called Aspis, entered into the city, and joined with his garrison there, which yet resisted the Achaians: and taking other parts of the same also, assaulted the walls, and cleared the streets in such sort, that not an enemy durst be seen, for fear of the archers of the Cretans. In the meantime, when he saw Antigonus afar off, coming down the hills into the valley with his footmen, and that his horsemen also came upon the spur into the city:

despairing then that he could any longer keep it, and the he gathered all his men together, and safely going city of down by the walls retired without loss of any man. Argos So, when in short time he had conquered much, and had almost won all within Peloponnesus: in shorter space also, he lost all again. For, of the confederates that were in his camp, some did presently forsake him: others also immediately after surrendered up the towns unto Antigonus. Cleomenes being thus oppressed with the fortune of war, when he came back to Tegea with the rest of his army, news came to him in the night from Lacedæmon, which grieved him as much as the loss of all his conquests: for he was advertised of the death of his wife Agiatis, whom he loved so dearly, that in the midst of his chiefest prosperity and victories, he made often journeys to Sparta to see her. It could not but be a marvellous grief unto Cleomenes, who being a young man, had lost so vertuous and fair a young lady, so dearly beloved of him: and yet he gave not place unto his sorrow, neither did grief overcome his noble courage, but he used the self same voice, apparel, and countenance, that he did before. Then taking order with his private captains, about his affairs, and having provided also for the safety of the Tegeans: he went the next morning by break of day unto Sparta. After he had privately lamented the sorrow of his wife's death, with his mother and children: he presently bent his mind again to publick causes. Now Cleomenes had sent unto Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had promised him aid, but upon demand, to have his mother and children in pledge. So he was a long time before he would for shame make his

The mother privy unto it, and went oftentimes of purnoble pose to let her understand it: but when he came he had not the heart to break it to her. She first suspecting a thing, asked Cleomenes' friends, if her son had not somewhat to say unto her, that he durst not utter. Whereupon, in fine he gave the venture, and brake the matter to her. When she heard it, she fell a-laughing, and told him: Why, how cometh it to pass, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldest not tell me? Come, come, said she, put me straight into a ship, and send me whither put me straight into a snip, and send me whither thou wilt, that this body of mine may do some good unto my country, before crooked age consume my life without profit. Then all things being prepared for their journey, they went by land, accompanied with the army, unto the head of Tænarus. Where Cratesiclea being ready to embark, she took Cleomenes aside into the temple of Neptune, and embracing and kissing him, perceiving that his heart yearned for sorrow of her departure, she said unto him: O King of Lacedæmon, let no man see for shame when we come out of the temple, that we have wept and dishonoured Sparta. For that only is in our power, as for the rest, as it pleaseth the gods, so let it be. When she had spoken these words, and fashioned her countenance again, she went then to take her ship with a little son of Cleomenes, and commanded the maister of the ship to hoise sail. Now when she was arrived in Egypt, and understood that King Ptolemy received ambassadors from Antigonus, and were in talk to make peace with him: and hearing also that Cleomenes being requested by the Achaians to make peace with them, durst not hearken to it, and

end that war, without King Ptolemy's consent, and Cleobecause of his mother: she wrote unto him, that menes he should not spare to do anything that should be sendeth expedient for the honour of Sparta, without fear of mother displeasing Ptolemy, or for regard of an old woman, and chiland a young boy. Such was the noble mind of dren this worthy lady in her son Cleomenes' adversity. hostages Furthermore, Antigonus having taken the city of Tegea, and sacked the other cities of Orchomenus, and Mantinea: Cleomenes seeing himself brought to defend the borders only of Laconia, he did manumit all the Helots, (which were the slaves of Lacedæmon) paying five Attica minas a man. With that money he made the sum of five hundred talents, and armed two thousand of these freed slaves after the Macedonian fashion to fight against the Leucaspides: (to wit, the white shields of Antigonus) and then there fell into his mind a marvellous great enterprise, unlooked for of every man. The city of Megalopolis at that time being as great as Sparta, and having the aid of the Achaians, and Antigonus at hand, (whom the Achaians as it seemed had brought in, chiefly at the request of the Megalopolitans) Cleomenes determining to sack this city: and knowing that to bring it to pass, nothing was more requisite than celerity, he commanded his soldiers to victual themselves for five days, and marching with the choice of all his army towards Selasia, as though he had meant to have spoiled the Argives, suddenly turning from thence, he invaded the country of the Megalopolitans, and supping by Rhoetium, went straight by Helicus unto the city. When he was come near unto it, he sent Panteas before

Cleo- with speed, with two bands of the Lacedæmonians, menes and commanded him to take a certain piece of the wan wall between two towers, which he knew was not kept nor guarded, and he followed him also with the rest of his army coming on fair and softly. When Panteas came thither, finding not only that place of the wall without guard or watch which Cleomenes had told him of, but also the most part of that side without defence: he took some part of the wall at his first coming, and manned it, and overthrew another piece of it also, putting them all to the sword that did defend it, and then came Cleomenes, and was within the city with his army, before the Megalopolitans knew of his coming. At length, the citizens understanding that the city was taken, some fled in haste, conveying such light things as came to hand, in so great a fear: and the others also arming themselves, ran together to resist the enemies. But though they valiantly fought to repulse them out of the city, and yet prevailed not: they gave the rest leisure thereby to fly and save themselves, so that there remained not behind, above a thousand men. For all the rest were fled with their wives and children, into the city of Messené. The most part of them also that fought with the enemies, saved themselves, and very few were taken, the chiefest whereof, were Lysandridas, and Thearidas, the noblest persons that were amongst the Megalopolitans: wherefore when the soldiers had taken them, they brought them unto Cleomenes. Lysandridas, when he saw Cleomenes a good way off, cried out aloud unto him: O King of Lacedæmon, this day thou hast an occasion offered thee to do a more famous princely act, than that which

thou hast already done, and that will make thy the city name also more glorious. Cleomenes musing what of Mehe would request: Well (quoth he) what is that galopolis thou requirest? One thing I will tell thee beforehand, thou shalt not make me restore your city to you again. Yet, quoth Lysandridas, let me request thus much then, that ye do not destroy it, but rather replenish it with friends and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithful to you: and that shall you do, giving the Megalopolitans their city again, and preserving such a number of people as have forsaken it. Cleomenes pausing a while, answered, It was a hard thing to believe that: but yet quoth he, let honour take place with us, before profit. After that he sent a herald straight unto Messené unto them that were fled thither, and told them that he was contented to offer them their city again, so that they would become good friends and confederates of the Lacedæmonians, forsaking the alliance of the Achaians. Philopæmen would by no means suffer the Megalopolitans to accept this gracious offer of Cleomenes, nor also to leave their alliance with the Achaians: telling them, that he meant not to give them their city again, but to take them also with their city: and therefore drave Thearidas and Lysandridas out of Messené, that moved this practice. It was that Philopæmen that afterwards was the chiefest man of the Achaians, and that wan such fame and honour among the Grecians, as we have particularly declared in his life. This word being brought to Cleomenes, who had kept the city from spoiling until that time: he was then so throughly offended, that he gave the goods in prey to the soldiers, sent away their goodly

Cleotables, images, and pictures unto Sparta, and demenes' faced the chiefest parts of the city, and then returned home again, being afraid of Antigonus, and the Achaians. Howbeit they stirred not, because of the parliament that was kept at that time in the city of Ægium, where Aratus being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gown a long time before his face, the people marvelling at it, willed him to tell what he ailed: he answered her Cleaners. before his face, the people marvelling at it, willed him to tell what he ailed: he answered them, Megalopolis is taken, and razed by Cleomenes. The Achaians being amazed at the sodainness of this great loss, straight brake off their parliament and assembly. But Antigonus thinking to aid them, sent presently for all his garrisons, who being long a-coming, he willed them to stay where they were, and he himself taking a few soldiers with him, went unto the city of Argos. Therefore the second enterprise of Cleomenes seemeth at the first sight a very rash and desperate attempt: howbeit Polybius writeth, that it was an attempt of great wisdom and policy. For Cleomenes understanding that the Macedonians were dispersed in garrisons in divers places, and that Antigonus lay all the winter in the city of Argos, with a certain number of footmen that were strangers: he invaded the country of the Argives with his army, persuading himself, that either Antigonus would for shame come and fight with him, or if he did not, that then he should put him in disgrace with the Argives: which indeed came so to pass. The Argives: which indeed came so to pass. The Argives seeing their country spoiled by Cleomenes, were in a marvellous rage, and gathering together at Antigonus' lodging, they cried out unto him, either to go into the field and fight with the enemy:

or else if he were affraid, to resign his office of His General of Greece, unto others that were valianter moderathan himself. But Antigonus like a wise and excellent captain, thinking it a dishonour to him rashly to put himself in danger, and his friends also, though he were provoked with many injuries and opprobrious words: would not go into the field, but stood constant in his first determination. Then Cleomenes having brought his army hard to the walls of the city of Argos, and spoiled and destroyed the country round about: without let or danger he safely returned home again. Within a while after, Cleomenes being advertised that Antigonus was come unto Tegea, with intent to invade the country of Laconia: he going another way with his army (unwitting to his enemies) they wondred when they saw him in the morning by the city of Argos, spoiling their country, and cutting down their corn, not with sickles and knives as other do use, but with long poles in form of scythes, that the soldiers as they went sporting-wise, did overthrow and spoil it. But when they came to the place of exercises in the suburbs, called Cyllarabis, certain of the soldiers going about to have set it afire, Cleomenes would not suffer them, and told them, that what he had done at Megalopolis, it was rather angrily than honestly done. Now Antigonus, presently returning back again, being minded first to have gone directly to the city of Argos, but suddenly altering his mind, did camp upon the top of hills and mountains. Cleomenes seeming not to be afraid of him, sent heralds to him to desire the keys of the temple of Juno, and then after he had done sacri-

of wars

Money fice, he would depart his way. Thus mocking the sinew Antigonus, after he had sacrificed unto the goddess, Antigonus, after he had sacrinced unto the goddess, under the temple that was shut up, he sent his army unto Phlius, and having driven away the garrison out of Ologunt, he came unto the city of Orchomenus, having not only encouraged his citizens, but gotten even amongst the enemies themselves, a fame also to be a noble captain, and worthy to manage great affairs. For every man judged him to be a great affairs. For every man judged him to be a skilful soldier, and a valiant captain, that with the power of one only city, did maintain war against the kingdom of Macedon, against all the people of Peloponnesus, and against the treasure of so great a king: and withal, not only to keep his own country of Laconia unspoiled, but far otherwise to hurt his enemies countries, and to take so many great cities of theirs. But he that said first, that money was the sinew of all things, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the wars. Demades the Orator said on a time, when the Athenians commanded certain galleys should be put out of the arsenal into the sea. galleys should be put out of the arsenal into the sea, galleys should be put out of the arsenal into the sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked money: he that rules the prow, must first see before him. Meaning, munition and victuals must be provided, before the ships be set out. And it is reported also, that the ancient Archidamus, when the confederates of the Lacedæmonians at the beginning of the war at Peloponnesus required, that they might be sessed at a certain rate, answered: The charges of war have no certain stint. For like as wrestlers that exercise their bodies continually in games, are better able to wrestle, and overthrow them with time, that have no strength, but only art and sleight: even so

King Antigonus, who by the greatness of his king- Battell dom did defray the charge of this war, did weary betwixt and overcome Cleomenes at the length, because he lacked money both to pay the strangers that served and Anti-him, and also to maintain his own citizens. For gonus otherwise doubtless the time served his turn well. because the troubles that fell upon Antigonus in his realm, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his absence did spoil and destroy the realm of Macedon, and specially the Illyrians of the high country that came down then with a great army: whereupon the Macedonians being spoiled and harried on all sides by them, they sent post unto Antigonus, to pray him to come home. If these letters had been brought him but a little before the battell, as they came afterwards: Antigonus had gone his way, and left the Achaians. But fortune, that always striketh the stroke in all weightiest causes, gave such speed and favour unto him: that immediately after the battell was fought at Selasia, (where Cleomenes lost his army and city) the very messengers arrived that came for Antigonus to come home, the which made the overthrow of King Cleomenes so much more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two days longer, when the Macedonians had been gone, he might have made what peace he would with the Achaians: but for lack of money, he was driven (as Polybius writeth) to give battell, with twenty thousand men, against thirty thousand: where he shewed himself an excellent and skilful captain, and where his citizens also fought like valiant men, and the strangers in like case did shew themselves good soldiers. But

The treason of
Demoteles
this only overthrow was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footmen. But Phylarchus writeth, that treason was
the cause of his overthrow. For Antigonus had appointed the Acarnanians, and the Illyrians which he had in his army, to steal upon the wing of his enemies army, where Euclidas, King Cleomenes' brother was, to compass him in behind, whilst he did set the rest of his men in battell. When Cleomenes was got up upon some hill to look about him, to see the countenance of the enemy, and seeing none of the Acarnanians, nor of the Illyrians: he was then affrayed of Antigonus, that he went about some stratagem of war. Wherefore he called for Demoteles, whose charge was to take heed of stratagems and secret ambushes, and commanded him to look to the rearward of his army, and to be very circumspect all about. Demoteles, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, told him that all was clear in the rearward, and bade him look to overthrow his enemies before him. Cleomenes trusting this report, set forward against Antigonus, and in the end, his citizens of Sparta which he had about him, gave such a fierce charge upon the squadron of the Macedonian footmen, that they drove them back five furlongs off. But in the meantime, Euclidas his brother, in the other wing of his army, being compassed in behind, Cleomenes turning him back, and seeing the overthrow, cried out aloud: Alas, good brother, thou art but slain, yet thou diest valiantly, and honestly, and thy death shall be a worthy example unto all posterity, and shall be sung by the praises of the women of Sparta. So Euclidas and his men being slain, the

enemies came straight to set upon Cleomenes' wing. Cleo-Cleomenes then seeing his men discouraged, and menes that they durst no longer resist the enemy, fled, and saved himself. Many of the strangers also by Anti-that served him, were slain at this battell: and gonus of six thousand Spartans, there were left alive but only two hundred. Now Cleomenes being returned unto Sparta, the citizens coming to see him, he gave them counsell to yield themselves unto Antigonus the conqueror: and for himself, if either alive or dead he could do anything for the honour and benefit of Sparta, that he would willingly do it. The women of the city also, coming unto them that flying had escaped with him, when he saw them unarm the men, and bring them drink to refresh them with: he also went home to his own house. Then a maid of the house, which he had taken in the city of Megalopolis (and whom he had entertained ever since the death of his wife) came unto him as her manner was, to refresh him coming hot from the battell: howbeit he would not drink though he was extreme dry, nor sit being very weary, but armed as he was, laid his arm across upon a pillar, and leaning his head upon it, reposed himself a little, and casting in his mind all the ways that were to be thought of, he took his friends with him, and went to the haven of Gythium, and there having his ships which he had appointed for the purpose, he hoised sail, and departed his way. Immediately after his departure, came Antigonus into the city of Sparta, and courteously entreated the citizens and inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly despise the ancient honour and dignity of

Cleo- Sparta: but referring them to their own laws and menes government, when he had sacrificed to the gods for his victory, he departed from thence the third day, news being brought him that the war was very great in Macedon, and that the barbarous people did spoil his country. Now a disease took him, whereof he died afterwards, which appeared a tisick, mixed with a sore catarrh: but yet he yielded not to his disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his country, and obtaining a famous victory, with great slaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet die honourably, as indeed he did, by Phylarchus' testimony, who saith, That with the force of his voice, fiercely crying out in the midst of his fight, he tare his lungs and lights, worse than they were before. Yet in the schools it is said, that after he had won the battell, he was so joyful of it, that crying out, O blessed day: he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great fever took him withal, that he died of it. Thus much touching Antigonus. Cleomenes departing out of the Isle of Cythera, went and cast anker in another island, called Ægialia. Then determining to sail over to the city of Cyrené, Therycion, one of Cleomenes friends (a man that in wars shewed himself very valiant, but a boaster besides of his own doings) took Cleomenes aside, and said thus unto him: "Truly O king, we have lost an honourable occasion to die in battell, though every man hath heard us vaunt and say, that Antigonus should never overcome the King of Sparta alive, but dead. A second occasion yet is offered us to die, with much less honour and fame notwithstanding, than the

first. Whither do we sail to no purpose? Why The orado we fly the death at hand, and seek it so far off? tion of If it be no shame nor dishonour for the posterity Theryand race of Hercules to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander: let us save then our labour. and long dangerous sailing, and go yield ourselves unto Antigonus, who in likelihood will better use us than Ptolemy, because the Macedonians are far more noble persons than the Egyptians. And if we disdain to be commanded by them which have overcome us in battell, why then will we make him lord of us, that hath not overcome us: instead of one, to make us inferior unto both. flying Antigonus, and serving King Ptolemy? Can we say that we go into Egypt, in respect to see your mother there? A joyful sight no doubt, when she shall shew King Ptolemy's wives her son, that before was a king, a prisoner, and fugitive now. Were it not better for us, that having yet Laconia our country in sight, and our swords besides in our own hands, to deliver us from this great misery, and so doing to excuse our selves unto them that are slain at Selasia, for defence of Sparta: than cowardly losing our time in Egypt, to inquire whom Antigonus left his lieutenant and governor in Lacedæmon:" Therycion ending his oration, Cleomenes answered him thus: "Doest thou think it a glory for thee to seek death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest unto any man, that can be: and yet, wretch that thou art, thou fliest now more cowardly and shamefully, than from the battell? For divers valiant men, and far better than ourselves, have often yielded unto their enemies, either by some misfortune, or

Cleo- compelled by greater number and multitude of menes men: but he say I, that submitteth himself unto flieth into
Egypt

pain and misery, reproach and praise of men, he cannot but confess that he is overcome by his own unhappiness. For when a man will willingly kill himself, he must not do it to be rid of pains and labour, but it must have an honourable respect and action. For, to live or die for his own respect, that cannot but be dishonourable: the which now thou persuadest me unto, to make me fly this present misery we are in, without any honour or profit in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we should not yet cast off the hope, we have to serve our country in time to come: but when all hope faileth us, then we may easily make our selves away when we list." Thereunto Therycion gave no answer, but as soon as he found opportunity to slip from Cleomenes, he went to the seaside, and slew himself. Cleomenes hoising sail from the Isle of Ægialia, went into Africk, and was brought by the king's servants unto the city of Alexandria. King Ptolemy at his first coming, gave Cleomenes no special good, but indifferent entertainment: but after that he had shewed himself to be of great wisdom and judgement, and that Ptolemy saw in the simplicity of his Laconian life he had also a noble disposition and courage, nothing degenerating from the princely race and blood of Hercules, and that he yielded not to his adversity: he took more delight in his company, than in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be overthrown by

Antigonus, who through the victory of him, had unto King marvellously enlarged his honour and power. Ptolemy Then he began to comfort Cleomenes, and doing him as great honour as could be, promised that he would send him with ships and money into Greece, and put him again into his kingdom: and further, gave him an annual pension in the meantime, of four-and-twenty talents, with the which he simply and soberly entertained himself and his men about him: and bestowed all the rest upon his countrymen that came out of Greece into Egypt. now, old King Ptolemy deceasing before he could perform the promise he made unto Cleomenes, to send him into Greece: the realm falling then into great lasciviousness, drunkenness, and into the government of women, his case and misery was clean forgotten. For the young king his son was so given over to women and wine, that when he was most sober, and in his best wits, he most disposed himself to make feasts and sacrifices, and to have the tabor playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a stage-player or juggler, whilst one Agathoclea his lemman, and her mother, and Oenanthes a bawd, did rule all the affairs of the state. But when he came to be king, it appeared he had need of Cleomenes: because he was afraid of his brother Magas, who by his mother's means, was very well esteemed of among soldiers. Wherefore he called Cleomenes to him, and made him of his privy-council, where he devised by practise, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counsel with him. did counsel him to do it: but Cleomenes only vehemently dissuaded him from it, and told him,

vertue

Cleo- that if it were possible, rather more brethren should menes' be begotten unto the king for the safety of his person, and for dividing of the affairs of the kingdom between them. Amongst the king's familiars that was chiefest about him, there was one Sosibius that said unto Cleomenes: So long as his brother Magas lived, the soldiers that be strangers, whom the king entertained, would never be true to him. Cleomenes answered him, For that matter there was no danger: for saith he, of those hired strangers, there are three thousand Peloponnesians, which he knew at the twinkling of an eye, would be at his commandment, to come with their armour and weapon where he would appoint them. words of Cleomenes at that time shewed his faith and good-will he bare unto the king, and the force he was of besides. But afterwards, Ptolemy's fearfulness increasing his mistrust: (as it commonly happeneth, that they that lack wit, think it the best safety to be fearful of every wagging of a straw, and to mistrust every man) the remembrance of Cleo-menes' words made him much suspected of the courtiers, understanding that he could do so much with the soldiers that were strangers: insomuch as some of them said, See (meaning Cleomenes) there is a lion amongst sheep. Indeed, considering his fashions and behaviour, they might well say so of him: for he would look through his fingers as though he saw nothing, and yet saw all what they did. In fine, he required an army and ships of the king: and understanding also that Antigonus was dead, and that the Achaians and Ætolians were at great wars together, and that the affairs of his country did call him home, all Peloponnesus being

in arms and uproar, he prayed that they would Nicalicense him to depart with his friends. But never goras an a man would give ear unto him, and the king also to Cleoheard nothing of it, because he was continually menes entertained among ladies, with banquets, dancing, and masks. But Sosibius that ruled all the realm. thought that to keep Cleomenes against his will, were a hard thing, and also dangerous: and to let him go also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a stirring mind, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their government: he thought that also no safe way, sith no gifts nor presents that could be offered him, could soften him. For as the holy bull (which they call in Egypt Apis) that is full fed in goodly pasture, doth yet desire to follow his natural course and liberty, to run and leap at his pleasure, and plainly sheweth that it is a grief to him to be kept still by the priest: even so the courtly pleasures did nothing delight Cleomenes, but as Homer writeth of Achilles:

It irked his noble heart to sit at home in slothful rest, When martial matters were in hand, the which he liked best.

Now Cleomenes standing in these terms, there arrived in Alexandria one Nicagoras Messenian, who maliced Cleomenes in his heart, but yet shewed as though he loved him. This Nicagoras on a time had sold Cleomenes certain land, but was not paid for it, either because he had no present money, or else by occasion of the wars which gave him no leisure to make payment. Cleomenes one day by chance walking upon the sands, he saw Nicagoras landing out of his ship, being newly arrived, and ted to

Cleo- knowing him, he courteously welcomed him, and menes asked what wind had brought him into Egypt. commit- Nicagoras gently saluting him again, told him that prison he had brought the king excellent horse of service. Cleomenes smiling, told him, Thou hadst been better have brought him some courtesans and dancers, for they would have pleased the king better. Nicagoras faintly laughed at his answer, but within few days after he did put him in remembrance of the land he sold him, and prayed him then that he would help him to money, telling him that he would not have pressed him for it, but that he had sustained loss by merchandise. Cleomenes answered him, That all his pension was spent he had of the king. Nicagoras being offended with this answer, he went and told Sosibius of the mock Cleomenes gave the king. Sosibius was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make the king offended with Cleomenes, he persuaded Nicagoras to write a letter to the king against Cleomenes, as though he had conspired to take the city of Cyrené, if the king had given him ships, money, and men of war. When Nicagoras had written this letter, he took ship, and hoised sail. Four days after his departure, Sosibius brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly received it. The king upon sight of it was so offended with Cleomenes, that he gave present order he should be shut up in a great house, where he should have his ordinary diet allowed him, howbeit that he should keep his house. This grieved Cleomenes much, but yet he was worse afraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, one of the king's familiars, who had oftentimes before been

very conversant and familiar with Cleomenes, and He pracdid frankly talk together in all matters: Cleomenes tiseth to one day sent for him, to pray him to come unto him. Ptolemy came at his request, and familiarly discoursing together, went about to dissuade him from all the suspicions he had, and excused the king also for that he had done unto him: so taking his leave he left him, not thinking that Cleomenes followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he sharply took up the soldiers, saying, That they were very negligent and careless in looking to such a fearful beast as he was, and so ill to be taken, if he once escaped their hands. Cleomenes heard what he said, and went into his lodging again, Ptolemy knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very words again unto his friends. Then all the Spartans converting their good hope into anger, determined to be revenged of the injury Ptolemy had done them, and to die like noble Spartans not tarrying till they should be brought to the shambles like fat wethers, to be sold and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonour unto Cleomenes, having refused to make peace with Antigonus, a noble prince and warrior: to tarry the king's pleasure till he had left his drunkenness and dancing, and then to come and put him to death. They being fully resolved hereof, as you have heard: King Ptolemy by chance went unto the city of Canobus, and first they gave out in Alexandria, that the king minded to set Cleomenes at liberty. Then Cleomenes' friends observing the custom of the kings of Egypt, when they meant to set a prisoner at liberty (which was, to send the prisoners' meat, and presents before

kill King

The end to their supper) did send unto him such manner of and death presents, and so deceived the soldiers that had the keeping of him, saying, That they brought those presents from the king. For Cleomenes himself did sacrifice unto the gods, and sent unto the soldiers that kept him, part of those presents that were sent unto him, and supping with his friends that night, made merry with them, every man being crowned with garlands. Some say, that he made the more haste to execute his enterprise, sooner than he would have done, by means of one of his men that was privy unto his conspiracy: who went every night to lie with a woman he kept, and therefore was afraid lest he would bewray them. Cleomenes about noon, perceiving the soldiers had taken in their cups, and that they were asleep: he put on his coat, and unripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his sword drawn in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that sort, which were thirty in all. Amongst them there was one called Hippotas, who being lame, went very lively out with them at the first: but when he saw they went fair and softly because of him, he prayed them to kill him, because they should not hinder their enterprise for a lame man, that could do them no service. Notwithstanding, by chance they met with a townsman a-horseback, that came hard by their door, whom they pluckt from his horse, and cast Hippotas upon him: and then ran through the city, and cried to the people, Liberty, liberty. Now the people had no other courage in them, but only commended Cleomenes, and wondered at his valiantness: but otherwise to follow him, or to further his enterprise, not a man

of them had any heart in them. Thus running up of Cleoand down the town, they met with Ptolemy (the menes same whom we said before was the son of Chry-friends sermus) as he came out of the court: whereupon three of them setting on him, slew him presently. There was also another Ptolemy that was governor and lieutenant of the city of Alexandria: who hearing a rumour of this stir, came unto them in his coach. They went and met him, and first having driven away his guard and soldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coach, and slew him also. After that they went towards the castle, with intent to set all the prisoners there at liberty to take their part. Howbeit the jailers that kept them had so strongly locked up the prison doors, that Cleomenes was repulsed, and put by his purpose. Thus wandering up and down the city, no man neither came to join with him, nor to resist him, for every man fled for fear of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going up and down, he turned him to his friends, and said unto them: It is no marvel though women command such a cowardly people, that fly in this sort from their liberty. Thereupon he prayed them all to die like men, and like those that were brought up with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his so noble deeds. Then the first man that made himself be slain, was Hippotas, who died of a wound one of the young men of his company gave him with a sword at his request. After him every man slew themselves, one after another, without any fear at all, saving Panteas, who was the first man that entered the city of Megalopolis. He was a fair young man, and had been very well brought up in the

The cour- Laconian discipline, and better than any man of age of his years. Cleomenes did love him dearly, and Panteas commanded him that when he should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill himself last of all. Now they all being laid on the ground, he searched them one after another with the point of his sword, to see if there were any of them yet left alive: and when he had pricked Cleomenes on the heel amongst others, and saw that he did yet knit his brows, he kissed him. and sat down by him. Then perceiving that he had yielded up the ghost, embracing him when he was dead, he also slew himself, and fell upon him. Thus Cleomenes having reigned king of Sparta sixteen years, being the same manner of man we have described him to be: he ended his days in this sort as ye hear. Now, his death being presently bruited through the city, Cratesiclea his mother, though otherwise she had a noble mind, did notwithstanding a little forget her greatness, through the extreme sorrow she felt for the death of her son: and so embracing Cleomenes' sons, she fell to bitter lamentation. But the eldest of his sons, (no man mistrusting any such matter) found means to get out of her hands, and running up to the top of the house, cast himself headlong down to the ground, that his head was all broken and splitted, yet died not, but was taken up crying, and angry with them, that they would not suffer him to die. This news being brought to King Ptolemy, he commanded they should first flay Cleomenes, and then hang up his body, and also, that they should put his children, his mother, and

all her women waiting on her to death: among Panteas the which was Panteas' wife, one of the fairest and wife curteousest women in her time. They had not been long married before, when these mischiefs lighted upon them, at what time their love was then in greatest force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and embark with her husband. but had locked her up, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit shortly after she found the means to get her a horse, and some money, and stole away in the night, and galloped towards the haven of Tænarus, where finding a ship ready bound for Egypt, she embarked, and went to seek her husband, with whom she gladly and lovingly led her life, forsaking her own country, to live in a strange realm. Now when the sergeants came to take Cratesiclea to put her to death, Panteas' wife led her by the arm, carrying up her train, and did comfort her, although Cratesiclea otherwise was not afraid to die, but only asked this favour, That she might die before her little children. This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman first slew her children before her eyes, and then herself afterwards, who in such great grief and sorrow, said no more but thus: Alas, my poor children, what is become of you? And Panteas' wife also, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, took up the slain bodies one after another, and wrapped them up in such things as she could get, speaking never a word, nor shewing any sign or token of grief. And in fine, having prepared her self to die, and

plucked off her attire her self, without suffering any

Cleo- other to come near her, or to see her, but the menes hangman that was appointed to strike off her head: hanging in this sort she died as constantly, as the stoutest upon a man living could have done, and had so covered her body, that no man needed after her death to touch her: so careful was she to her end, to keep her honesty, which she had always kept in her life, and in her death was mindful of her honour. wherewith she decked her body in her lifetime. Thus these Lacedæmonian ladies playing their parts in this pitiful tragedy, contending at the time of death, even with the courage of the slain Spartans their countrymen, which of them should die most constantly: left a manifest proof and testimony, that fortune hath no power over fortitude and courage. Shortly after, those that were appointed to keep the body of King Cleomenes that hung upon the cross, they spied a great serpent wreathed about his head, that covered all his face, insomuch as no ravening fowl durst come near him to eat of it: whereupon the king fell into a superstitious fear, being afraid that he had offended the gods. Hereupon, the ladies in his court began to make many sacrifices of purification, for the clearing of this sin: persuading themselves, that they had put a man to death, beloved of the gods, and that he had something more in him than a man. The Alexandrians thereupon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers unto Cleomenes, as unto a demigod, calling him the son of the gods. Until that the learned men brought them from that error, declaring unto them, That like as of oxen being dead and rotten, there breed bees, and of horse also come wasps,

and of asses likewise beetles: even so men's bodies, had a when the marrow melteth and gathereth together, do bring forth serpents. The which coming to the knowledge of the ancients in old time, of all other beasts they did consecrate the dragon to kings and princes, as proper unto man.

serpent wreathed about his head

THE END OF THE LIFE OF AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

## THE LIVES OF

## TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHI

The Now that we have declared unto you the history worthi- of the lives of these two Grecians, Agis, and ness of Cleomenes aforesaid: we must also write the his-Gracchus tory of two Romans, the which is no less lamentthe father able for the troubles and calamities that chanced unto Tiberius and Caius, both of them the sons of Tiberius Gracchus. He having been twice Consul, and once Censor, and having had the honour of two triumphs: had notwithstanding more honour and fame only for his valiantness, for the which he was thought worthy to marry with Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio, who overcame Hannibal after the death of his father: though while he lived he was never his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that Tiberius on a time found two snakes in his bed, and that the soothsayers and wizards having considered the signification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and also to let them both escape, but one only: assuring him that if he killed the male, he should not live long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife Cornelia should die. Tiberius then loving his wife dearly, thinking it meeter for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a young woman, should die before her: he slew the male, and let the female

escape, howbeit he died soon after, leaving twelve The children alive, all of them begotten of Cornelia. praise of Cornelia after the death of her husband, taking Cornelia upon her the rule of her house and children, led such a chaste life, was so good to her children, and of so noble a mind: that every man thought Tiberius a wise man for that he died, and left her behind him. She remaining widow, King Ptolemy made suit unto her, and would have made her his wife and queen. But she refused, and in her widowhood lost all her children, but one daughter, (whom she bestowed upon the younger Scipio African) and Tiberius, and Caius, whose lives we presently write. Those she so carefully brought up, that they being become more civil, and better conditioned, than any other Romans in their time: every man judged, that education prevailed more in them, than nature. For, as in the favours and pictures of Castor and Pollux, there is a certain difference discerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wrestling, and the other for running: even so between these two young brethren, amongst other the great likeness between them, being both happily born to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberal, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithstanding great difference in their actions and doings in the commonwealth: the which I think convenient to declare, before I proceed any farther. First of all, for the favour of the face, the look and moving of the body, Tiberius was much more mild and tractable, and Caius more hot and earnest. For the first in his orations was very modest, and kept his place: and the other of all the Romans was

A true the first, that in his oration jetted up and down descripthe pulpit, and that plucked his gown over his shoulders: as they write of Cleon Athenian, that he was the first of all orators that opened his gown, and clapped his hand on his thigh in his oration. Futhermore, Caius' words, and the vehemence of his persuasion, were terrible and full of passion, but Tiberius' words in contrary manner, were mild, moved men more to compassion, being very proper, and excellently applied, where Caius' words were full of fineness and curiosity. The like difference also was between them in their fare and diet. For Tiberius always kept a convenient ordinary: and Caius also in respect of other Romans, lived very temperately, but in respect of his brother's fare, curiously and superfluously. Insomuch as Drusus on a time reproved him, because he had bought certain dolphins of silver, to the value of a thousand two hundred and fifty drachmas for every pound weight. And now, as touching the manners and natural disposition of them both agreeing with the diversity of their tongues, the one being mild and plausible, and the other hot and choleric: insomuch that otherwhile forgetting himself in his oration, against his will he would be very earnest, and strain his voice beyond his compass, and so with great uncomeliness confound his words. Yet finding his own fault, he devised this remedy. He had a servant called Licinius, a good wise man, who with an instrument of musick he had, by the which they teach men to rise and fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he ever stood behind him: and when he perceived that his maister's voice was a little too loud, and

that through choler he exceeded his ordinary speech: of Tibehe played a soft stop behind him, at the sound rius and whereof Caius immediately fell from his extremity, Caius Gracchi and easily came to himself again. And here was the diversity between them. Otherwise, for their hardiness against their enemies, the justice unto their tenants, the care and pains in their offices of charge, and also their continency against voluptuousness: in all these they were both alike. For age, Tiberius was elder by nine years, by reason whereof their several authority and doings in the commonwealth fell out at sundry times. And this was one of the chiefest causes why their doings prospered not, because they had not both authority in one self time, neither could they join their power together: the which if it had met at one self time, had been of great force, and peradventure invincible. Wherefore we must write particularly of them both, but first of all we must begin with the elder. He, when he came to man's estate, had such a name and estimation, that immediately they made him fellow, in the college of the priests, which at Rome are called Augurs: (being those that have the charge to consider of signs and predictions of things to come) more for his valiantness, than for nobility. The same doth Appius Claudius witness unto us, one that hath been both Consul and Censor, and also President of the Senate, and of greater authority than any man in his time. This Appius at a supper when all the Augurs were together, after he had saluted Tiberius, and made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius was very glad of the offer, and therewithal the marriage was presently concluded between them.

daughter

Tiberius Thereupon Appius coming home to his house, at married the threshold of his door he called aloud for his Appius, wife, and told her: Antistia, I have bestowed our daughter Clodia. She wondring at it, O gods said she, and what needed all this haste? what couldst thou have done more, if thou hadst gotten her Tiberius Gracchus for her husband? I know that some refer this history unto Tiberius, father of these two men we write of, and unto Scipio the African: but the most part of writers agree with that we write at this present. And Polybius himself also writeth, that after the death of Scipio African, his friends being met together, they chose Tiberius before all the other young men of the city, to marry him unto Cornelia, being free, and unpromised, or bestowed upon any man by her father. Now Tiberius the younger being in the wars in Africk under Scipio the Second, who had married his sister: lying in his tent with him, he found his captain endued with many noble gifts of nature, to allure men's hearts to desire to follow his valiantness. So in a short time he did excel all the young men of his time, as well in obedience, as in the valiant-ness of his person: insomuch that he was the first man that scaled the walls of the enemies, as Fannius reporteth, who saith that he scaled the walls with him, and did help him in that valiant enterprise. So that being present, all the camp were in love with him: and when he was absent, every man wished for him again. After this war was ended, he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his chance to go against the Numantines, with Caius Mancinus one of the Consuls, who was an honest man, but yet had the worst luck of any captain the Romans

had. Notwithstanding, Tiberius' wisdom and val- Tiberius iantness, in this extreme ill-luck of his captain, Gracchus' did not only appear with great glory to him, but soldieralso most wonderful, the great obedience and reverence he bare unto his captain: though his misfortunes did so trouble and grieve him, that he could not tell himself, whether he was captain or not. For when he was overthrown in great foughten fields, he departed in the night, and left his camp. The Numantines hearing of it, first took his camp, and then ran after them that fled, and setting upon the rearward, slew them, and environed all his army. So that they were driven into straight and narrow places, where out they could by no means escape. Thereupon Mancinus despairing that he could get out by force, he sent a herald to the enemies to treat of peace. The Numantines made answer, that they would trust no man but Tiberius only, and therefore they willed he should be sent unto them. They desired that, partly for the love they bare unto the vertues of the young man, because there was no talk of any other in all this war but of him: and partly also, as remembering his father Tiberius, who making wars in Spain, and having there subdued many nations, he granted the Numantines peace, the which he caused the Romans afterwards to confirm and ratify. Hereupon Tiberius was sent to speak with them, and partly obtaining that he desired, and partly also granting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby assuredly he saved the lives of twenty thousand Roman Citizens, besides slaves and other stragglers that willingly followed the camp. This notwithstanding, the

Tiberius Numantines took the spoil of all the goods they conclud- found in the Romans' camp, among the which they eth peace found Tiberius' book of account touching the money with the disbursed of the treasure in his charge. Tiberius being marvellous desirous to have his book again, returned back to Numantia with two or three of his friends only, though the army of the Romans were gone far on their way. So coming to the town, he spake unto the governors of the city, and prayed them to redeliver him his books of account, because his malicious enemies should not accuse him, calling him to account for his doings. The Numantines were very glad of this good hap, and prayed them to come into the town. He standing still in doubt with himself what to do, whether he should go into the town or not: the governors of the city came to him, and taking him by the hand, prayed he would think they were not his enemies, but good friends, and that he would trust them. Whereupon Tiberius thought best to yield to their persuasion, being desirous also to have his books again, and the rather, for fear of offending the Numantines, if he should have denied and mis-When he was brought into the trusted them. city, they provided his dinner, and were very earnest with him, entreating him to dine with them. Then they gave him his books again, and offered him moreover to take what he would of all the spoils they had gotten in the camp of the Romans. Howbeit of all that, he would take nothing but frankincense, which he used, when he did any sacrifice for his country: and then taking his leave of them, with thanks he returned. When he was returned to Rome, all this peace concluded was utterly misliked.

as dishonourable to the majesty of the empire The of Rome. Yet the parents and friends of them peace that had served in this war, making the greatest broken part of the people: they gathered about Tiberius, saying that what faults were committed in this service, they were to impute it unto the Consul Mancinus, and not unto Tiberius, who had saved such a number of Romans' lives. withstanding, they that were offended with this dishonourable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their forefathers in the like For they sent back their captains naked unto their enemies, because they were contented the Samnites should spoil them of that they had, to escape with life. Moreover, they did not only send them the captains and Consuls, but all those also that bare any office in the field, and had consented unto that condition: to the end they might lay all the perjury and breach of peace upon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appear, the love and goodwill the people did bear unto Tiberius. For they gave order, that the Consul Mancinus should be sent naked, and bound unto the Numantines, and for Tiberius' sake, they pardoned all the rest. I think Scipio, who bare great sway at that time in Rome, and was a man of greatest account, did help him at that pinch: who notwithstanding was ill thought of, because he did not also save the Consul Mancinus, and confirm the peace concluded with the Numantines, considering it was made by Tiberius his friend and kinsman. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius' friends, and certain learned men, which stirred him up against Scipio. But yet it

Why Tiberius preferred the law agraria preserved the law agraria those troubles he did afterwards, if Scipio African had been present, when he passed those things he preferred. But Scipio was then in wars at the siege of Numantia, when Tiberius upon this occasion passed these laws. When the Romans in old time had overcome any of their neighbours, for ransom they took oftentimes a great deal of their land from them, part whereof they sold by the crier, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and part also they reserved to their state as demean, which afterwards was let out to farm for a small rent yearly, to the poor citizens that had no lands. rent yearly, to the poor citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the rich men enhanced the rents, and so began to thrust out the poor men. Thereupon was an ordinance made, that no citizen of Rome should have above five hundred acres of land. This law for a time did bridle the covetousness of the rich men, and did ease the poor also that dwelt in the country, upon the farms they had taken up of the commonwealth, and so lived with their own, or with that their ancestors had from the beginning. But by process of time, their rich neighbours, by names of other men, got their farms over their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly seen in it in their own names. Whereupon, the poor people being thus turned out of all, went but with faint courage afterwards to the war, nor cared any more for bringing up of children: so that in short time, the freemen left Italy, and slaves and barbarous people did replenish it, whom the rich men made to plough those lands, which they had

taken from the Romans. Caius Lælius, one of Tiberius Scipio's friends, gave an attempt to reform this chosen Scipio's triends, gave an attempt to reform time Tribune abuse: but because the chiefest of the city were of the against him, fearing it would break out to some people uproar, he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called Lælius the Wise. But Tiberius being chosen Tribune, he did forthwith prefer the reformation aforesaid, being allured unto it (as divers writers report) by Diophanes the Orator, and Blosius the Philosopher: of the which, Diophanes was banished from the city of Mytilene, and Blosius the Italian from the city of Cumz, who was scholar and familiar unto Antipater of Tarsus at Rome, by whom he was honoured by certain works of philosophy he dedicated unto him. And some also do accuse their mother Cornelia, who did twit her sons in the teeth, that the Romans did yet call her Scipio's mother-in-law, and not the mother of the Gracchi. Other say it was Spurius Postumius, a companion of Tiberius, and one that contended with him in eloquence. For Tiberius returning from the wars, and finding him far beyond him in fame and reputation, and well beloved of every one: he sought to excel him by attempting this noble enterprise, and of so great expectation. His own brother Caius in a certain book, wrote, that as he went to the wars of Numantia, passing through Tuscany, he found the country in manner unhabited: and they that did follow the plough, or keep beasts, were the most of them slaves, and barbarous people, come out of a strange country. Whereupon ever after it ran in his mind to bring this enterprise to pass, which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine, it was the people only

Coun- that most set his heart on fire to covet honour, and sellors to that hastened his determination: first bringing him Tiberius to it by bills set up on every wall, in every porch, for preferring and upon the tombs, praying him by them to cause the law the poor citizens of Rome to have their lands restored, which were belonging to the common wealth. This notwithstanding he himself made not the law alone of his own head, but did it by the counsel and advice of the chiefest men of Rome, for vertue and estimation: Among the which, Crassus the High-bishop was one, and Mucius Scævola the Lawyer, that then was Consul, and Appius Claudius his father-in-law. And truly it seemeth, that never law was made with greater favour, than that which he preferred against so great injustice, and avarice. For those that should have been punished for transgressing the law, and should have had the lands taken from them by force, which they unjustly kept against the law of Rome, and that should also have been amerced for it: he ordained that they should be paid by the commonwealth to the value of the lands, which they held unjustly, and so should leave them to the poor citizens again that had no land, and lacked help and relief. Now, though the reformation established by this law, was done with such great favour: the people notwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was past, so that they might have no more wrong offered them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great possessions, hated the law for their avarice, and for spite and self-will (which would not let them yield) they were at deadly feud with the lawyer that had preferred the law, and sought by all device they

could to dissuade the people from it: telling them Tiberius' that Tiberius brought in this law agraria again, to orations disturb the commonwealth, and to make some alteration in the state. But they prevailed not. For Tiberius defending the matter, which of it self was good and just, with such eloquence as might have justified an evil cause, was invincible: and no man was able to argue against him to confute him, when speaking in the behalf of the poor citizens of Rome, (the people being gathered round about the pulpit for orations) he told them, That the wild beasts through Italy had their dens and caves of abode, and that the men that fought, and were slain for their country, had nothing else but air and light, and so were compelled to wander up and down with their wives and children, having no restingplace nor house to put their heads in: and that the captains do but mock their soldiers, when they encourage them in battell to fight valiantly for the graves, the temples, their own houses, and their predecessors. For, said he, of such a number of poor citizens as there be, there cannot a man of them shew any ancient house or tomb of their ancestors: because the poor men do go to the wars, and be slain for the rich men's pleasures and wealth: besides, they falsely call them lords of the earth, where they have not a handful of ground, that is theirs. These and such other like words being uttered before all the people with such vehemency and troth, did so move the common people withal, and put them in such a rage, that there was no adversary of his able to withstand him. Therefore, leaving to contrary and deny the law by argument, the rich men did put all their

conten-

The trust in Marcus Octavius, colleague and fellow modest Tribune with Tiberius in office, who was a grave and wise young man, and Tiberius' very familiar friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the confirmation of this law: he prayed them to hold him excused, because Tiberius was his very friend. But in the end, being compelled unto it through the great number of the rich men that were importunate with him: he did withstand Tiberius' law, the which was enough to overthrow it. For if any one of the Tribunes speak against it, though all the other pass with it, he overthroweth it: because they all can do nothing, if one of them be against it. Tiberius being very much offended with it, pro-ceeded no further in this first favourable law, and in a rage preferred another more grateful to the common people, as also more extreme against the rich. In that law he ordained, that whosoever had any lands contrary to the ancient laws of Rome, that he should presently depart from them. But thereupon there fell out continual brawls in the pulpit for orations, against Octavius: in the which, though they were very earnest and vehement one against another, yet there passed no foul words from them, (how hot soever they were one with another) that should shame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought up, breedeth such a stay and knowledge in a man, not only in things of pleasure to make him regard his credit, both in word and deed: but in passion and anger also, and in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereupon Tiberius finding that this law among others touched Octavius, because he enjoyed a great deal of land that was the commonwealth's: he prayed betwixt him secretly to contend no more against him, pro- Tiberius mising him to give him of his own, the value of and those lands which he should be driven to forsake. although he was not very able to perform it. But when he saw Octavius would not be persuaded, he then preferred a law, that all magistrates and officers should cease their authority, till the law were either passed, or rejected, by voices of the people: and thereupon he set his own seal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, where the coffers of the treasure lay, because the Treasurers themselves during that time, should neither take out nor put in anything, upon great penalties to be forfeited by the Prætors or any other magistrate of authority, that should break this order. Hereupon, all the magistrates fearing this penalty, did leave to exercise their office for the time. But then the rich men that were of great livings, changed their apparel, and walked very sadly up and down the market-place, and laid secret wait to take Tiberius, having hired men to kill him: which caused Tiberius himself, openly before them all, to wear a short dagger under his long gown, properly called in Latin, dolon. When the day came that this law should be established, Tiberius called the people to give their voices: and the rich men on the other side, they took away the pots by force, wherein the papers of men's voices were thrown, so that there was like to fall out great stir upon it. For the faction of Tiberius was the stronger side, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not been for Manlius and Fulvius, both the which had been Consuls, who went unto him, and besought him

Tiberius with the tears in their eyes, and holding up their deposeth hands, that he would let the law alone. Tiberius thereupon, foreseeing the instant danger of some great mischief, as also for the reverence he bare unto two such noble persons, he stayed a little, and asked them what they would have him to do. They made answer, That they were not able to counsel him in a matter of so great weight, but they prayed him notwithstanding, he would be contented to refer it to the judgement of the Senate. There-upon he granted them presently. But afterwards perceiving that the Senate sat upon it, and had determined nothing, because the rich men were of too great authority; he entered into another device that was neither honest nor meet, which was, to deprive Octavius of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to pass the law. But before he took that course, he openly entreated him in the face of the people with courteous words, and took him by the hand, and prayed him to stand no more against him, and to do the people this pleasure, which required a matter just and reasonable, and only requested this small recompense for the great pains they took in service abroad for their country. Octavius denied him plainly. Then said Tiberius openly, That both of them being brethren in one self place and authority, and contrary one to another in a matter of so great weight, this contention could not be possibly ended, without civil war: and that he could see no way to remedy it, unless one of them two were deposed from their office. Thereupon he bade Octavius begin first with him, and he would rise from the bench with a good-will, and become a private man, if the

people were so contented. Octavius would do of his nothing in it. Tiberius then replied, That he would tribunebe doing with him, if he altered not his mind, upon a better breath and consideration: and so dismissed the assembly for that day. The next morning the people being again assembled, Tiberius going up to his seat, attempted again to persuade Octavius to leave off. In fine, finding him still a man unremovable, he referred the matter to the voice of the people, whether they were contented Octavius should be deposed from his office. Now there were five-and-thirty tribes of the people, of the which seventeen of them had already passed their voices against Octavius, so that there remained but one tribe more to put him out of his office. Then Tiberius made them stay for proceeding any further, and prayed Octavius again, embracing him before all the people, with all the entreaty possible: that for self-will sake he would not suffer such an open shame to be done unto him, as to be put out of his office: neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so pitiful a deed. They say that Octavius at this last entreaty was somewhat moved and won by his persuasions, and that weeping, he stayed a long time, and made no answer. But when he looked upon the rich men that stood in a great company together, he was ashamed (I think) to have their ill-wills, and rather betook himself to the loss of his office, and so bade Tiberius do what he would. Thereupon he being deprived by voices of the people, Tiberius commanded one of his enfranchised bondmen to pull him out of the pulpit for orations: for he used his enfranchised bondmen instead of sergeants. This made the sight so much

Tiberius more lamentable, to see Octavius thus shamefully preferreth pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the the law common people would have run upon him, but the agraria rich men came to rescue him, and would not suffer him to do him further hurt. So Octavius saved himself running away alone, after he had been rescued thus from the fury of the people. Moreover, there was a faithful servant of Octavius, who stepping before his master to save him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out, against Tiberius' mind, who ran to the rescue with all speed when he heard the noise. After that, the law agraria passed for division of lands, and three commissioners were appointed to make inquiry and distribution thereof. The commissioners appointed were these: Tiberius himself, Appius Claudius his father-in-law, and Caius Gracchus his brother: who was not at that time in Rome, but in the camp with Scipio African, at the siege of the city of Numantia. Thus Tiberius very quietly passed over these matters, and no man durst withstand him: and furthermore, he substituted in Octavius' place no man of quality, but only one of his followers, called Mucius. Wherewith the noblemen were so sore offended with him, that fearing the increase of his greatness, they being in the Senate-house did what they could possible to do him despite and shame. For when Tiberius demanded a tent at the charge of the commonwealth, when he should go abroad to make division of these lands, as they usually granted unto others, that many times went in far meaner commissions: they flatly denied him, and through the procurement of P. Nasica (who being a great landed man in his country, shewed himself in this action his mortal enemy, taking it grievously to be King compelled to depart from his land) only granted Attalus made the him nine of their oboli a day, for his ordinary made the Roman allowance. But the people on the other side were people his all in an uproar against the rich. Insomuch as one heir of Tiberius' friends being dead upon the sudden, upon whose body being dead there appeared very ill signs: the common people ran suddenly to his burial, and cried out that he was poisoned. And so taking up the bier whereon his body lay upon their shoulders, they were present at the fire of his funerals, where immediately appeared certain signs to make them suspect, that indeed there was vehement cause of presumption he was poisoned. For his belly burst, whereout there issued such abundance of corrupt humours, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetch another, the which also they could not make to burn, until that they were compelled to carry the body into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much ado to make it burn. Tiberius seeing that, to make the common people mutiny the more, he put on mourning apparel, and brought his sons before them, and besought the people to be good unto them and their mother, as one that despaired of his health and safety. About that time died Attalus, surnamed Philopater, and Eudemus Pergamenian brought his will to Rome, in the which he made the people of Rome his heirs. Wherefore Tiberius, still to increase the good-will of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediately, that the ready-money that came by the inheritance of this king should be distributed among the poor citizens, on whose lot it should fall to have any part of the division of the

Tiberius' lands of the commonwealth, to furnish them towards law house, and to set up their tillage. Furthermore, he said, That concerning the towns and cities of the kingdom of Attalus, the Senate had nothing to do to take any order with them, but that the people were to dispose of them, and that he himself would put it out. That made him again more hated of the Senate than before, insomuch as there was one Pompey a Senator, that standing up, said: That he was next neighbour unto Tiberius, and that by reason of his neighbourhood he knew that Eudemus Pergamenian had given him one of King Attalus' royal bands, with a purple gown besides, for a token that he should one day be king of Rome. And Quintus Metellus also reproved him, for that his father being Censor, the Romans having supped in the town, and repairing every man home to his house, they did put out their torches and lights, because men seeing them return, they should not think they tarried too long in company banqueting: and that in contrary manner, the seditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his son home, and accompany him all night long up and down At that time there was one Titus the town. Annius, a man that had no goodness nor honesty in him, howbeit taken for a great reasoner, and for a subtle questioner and answerer. provoked Tiberius to answer him, whether he had not committed a shameful fact to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the laws of Rome should have been holy, and untouched. The people took this provocation very angrily, and Tiberius also coming out, and having assembled the people, commanded them to bring this Annius

before him, that he might be indited in the market- for dividplace. But he finding himself far inferior unto ing of Tiberius, both in dignity and eloquence, ran to his Attalus' fine subtile questions, to take a man at his word: and prayed Tiberius before he did proceed to his accusation, that he would first answer him to a question he would ask him. Tiberius bade him say what he would. So silence being made, Annius asked him: If thou wouldst defame me, and offer me injury, and that I called one of thy companions to help me, and he should rise to take my part, and anger thee: wouldst thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that Tiberius was so gravelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his orations of any man: yet at that time he held his peace, and had no power to speak, and therefore he presently dismissed the assembly. Afterwards, understanding that of all the things he did, the deposing of Octavius from his office was thought (not only of the nobility, but of the common people also) as foul and wilful a part as ever he played, for that thereby he had embased, and utterly overthrown the dignity of the Tribunes, the which was always had in great veneration until that present time: to excuse himself therefore, he made an excellent oration to the people, whereby shall appear unto you, some special points thereof, to discern the better the force and effect of his eloquence. "The Tribuneship" said he, "indeed was a holy and sacred thing, as particularly consecrated to the people, and established for their benefit and safety: where contrariwise, if the Tribune do offer the people any wrong, he thereby minisheth their power, and

Gracchus

The one- taketh away the means from them to declare their tion of wills by voices, besides that he doth also embase his own authority, leaving to do the thing for the which his authority first was given him. Or otherwise we could not choose but suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him, to overthrow the capitol, or to set fire on the arsenal: and yet notwithstanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the people still, though a lewd Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authority and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, think you, that a Tribune when he list, may take a Consul, and commit him to prison: and that the people should not withstand the authority of the Tribune, who gave him the same, when he would use his authority to the prejudice of the people? for the people are they that do choose, both Consul and Furthermore, the kingly dignity (because in the same is contained the absolute authority and power of all other kinds of magistrates and offices together) is consecrated with very great and holy ceremonies, drawing very near unto the godhead: and yet the people expulsed King Tarquin, because he used his authority with cruelty, and for the injury he offered one man only, the most ancient rule and government, (by the which the foundation of Rome was first laid) was utterly abolished. And who is there in all the city of Rome to be reckoned so holy as the vestal nuns, which have the custody and keeping of the everlasting fire? and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, she is buried alive for her offence: for when they are not holy to the gods, they lose the liberty they have, in respect of

serving the gods. Even so also it is unmeet, that Other the Tribune if he offend the people, should for the people's sake be reverenced any more: seeing that through his own folly he hath deprived himself of that authority they gave him. And if it be so that he was chosen Tribune by the most part of the tribes of the people: then by greater reason is he justly deprived, that by all the whole tribes together is forsaken and deposed. There is nothing more holy nor inviolate, than things offered up unto the gods: and yet it was never seen that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remove and transport them from place to place, as they thought good. Even so, they may as lawfully transfer the office of the Tribune unto any other, as any other offering consecrated to the gods. Furthermore, it is manifest that any officer or magistrate may lawfully depose himself: for, it hath been often seen, that men in office have deprived themselves, or otherwise have sued to be discharged." This was the effect of Tiberius' purgation. Now his friends perceiving the threats the rich and noble men gave out against him, they wished him for the safety of his person, to make suit to be Tribune again the Whereupon he began to flatter the next year. common people again afresh, by new laws which he preferred: by the which he took away the time and number of years prescribed, when every citizen of Rome was bound to go to the wars being called, and his name billed. He made it lawful also for men to appeal from sentence of the judges unto the people, and thrust in also amongst the Senators (which then had absolute authority to judge among themselves) a like number of the Roman knights,

Unlucky and by this means sought to weaken and embase the signs authority of the Senate, increasing also the power of the people, more of malice than any reason, or for any justice or benefit to the commonwealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voices of the people for the confirmation of his new laws, finding that his enemies were the stronger in the assembly, because all the people were not yet come together: he fell a-quarrelling with his brethren the Tribunes, always to win time, and yet in the end brake up the assembly, commanding them to return the next morning. There he would be the first man in the market-place apparelled all in black, his face beblubbered with tears, and looking heavily upon the matter, praying the people assembled to have compassion upon him, saying, That he was afraid lest his enemies would come in the night, and overthrow his house to kill him. the people were so moved withal, that many of them came and brought their tents, and lay about his house to watch it. At the break of the day, the keeper of the chickens, by signs of the which they do divine of things to come, brought them unto him, and cast them down meat before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one only, and yet with much ado, shaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eat no meat, but only lift up her left wing, and put forth her leg, and so ran into the cage again. This sign made Tiberius remember another he had had before. He had a marvellous fair helmet and very rich, which he wore in the wars: under it were crept two snakes unwares to any, and laid eggs, and hatched them. This made Tiberius wonder the

more, because of the ill signs of the chickens: unto notwithstanding, he went out of his house, when Tiberius he heard that the people were assembled in the Capitol, but as he went out, he hit his foot such a blow against a stone at the threshold of the door. that he brake the nail of his great toe, which fell in such a bleeding, that it bled through his shoe. Again, he had not gone far, but he saw upon the top of a house on his left hand, a couple of ravens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there passed a great number of people by, yet a stone which one of these ravens cast from them, came and fell hard at Tiberius' foot. The fall thereof stayed the stoutest man he had about him. Blosius the Philosopher of Cumæ that did accompany him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the hearts of all his followers: that Tiberius being the son of Gracchus, and nephew of Scipio the African, and the chief man besides of all the people's side, for fear of a raven, should not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill-willers would not make a laughing sport of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a trick of a tyrant that reigned indeed, and that for pride and disdain did abuse the people's good-wills. Furthermore, divers messengers came unto him, and said that his friends that were in the Capitol, sent to pray him to make haste, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honourably received: for the people seeing him coming, cried out for joy to welcome him, and when he was gotten up to his seat, they shewed themselves both careful and loving towards him, looking warily that none came near him, but

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Nasica such as they knew well. While Mucius began doth set again to call the tribes of the people to give their upon voices, he could not proceed according to the fracchus accustomed order in the like case, for the great noise the hindmost people made, thrusting forward, and being driven back, and one mingling with another. In the meantime Flavius Flaccus, one of the Senators, got up into a place where all the people might see him, and when he saw that his voice could not be heard of Tiberius, he made a sign with his hand that he had some matter of great importance to tell him. Tiberius straight bade them make a lane through the press. So, with much ado, Flavius came at length unto him, and told him, that the rich men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Consul to their wills, determined themselves to come and kill him, having a great number of their friends, and bondmen armed for the purpose. Tiberius immediately declared this conspiracy unto his friends and followers: who straight girt their long gowns unto them, and brake the sergeants' javelins which they carried in their hands to make room among the people, and took the truncheons of the same to resist those that would set upon them. The people also that stood furthest off, marvelled at it, and asked what the matter was. Tiberius by a sign to tell them the danger he was in, laid both his hands on his head, because they could not hear his voice for the great noise they made. His enemies seeing the sign he gave, ran presently to the Senate, crying out, That Tiberius required a royal band or diadem of the people, and that it was an evident sign, because they saw him clap his hands upon his head. This tale troubled

all the company. Whereupon Nasica besought the and he is Consul, chief of the Senate, to help the common-slain wealth, and to take away this tyrant. The Consul gently answered again. That he would use no force. neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully con-demned: as also he would not receive Tiberius, nor protect him, if the people by his persuasion or commandment, should commit any act contrary to the law. Nasica then rising in anger, Sith the matter is so, said he, that the Consul regardeth not the commonwealth: all you then, that will defend the authority of the law, follow me. Thereupon he cast the skirt of his gown over his head, and went straight to the Capitol. They that followed him also took their gowns, and wrapped them about their arms, and laid at as many as they might, to make them give way: and yet very few of the people durst meet with such states as they were to stay them, because they were the chiefest men of the city, but every man flying from them, they fell one on another's neck for haste. They that followed them, had brought from home great levers and clubs, and as they went, they took up feet of trestles and chairs which the people had overthrown and broken, running away, and hied them apace to meet with Tiberius, striking at them that stood in their way: so that in short space they had dispersed all the common people, and many were slain flying. Tiberius seeing that, betook him to his legs to save himself, but as he was flying, one took him by the gown and stayed him: but he leaving his gown behind him, ran in his coat, and running fell upon them that were down before. So, as he was rising up again, the first man that strake him, and that

Tiberius' was plainly seen strike him, was one of the Trifriends bunes his brethren, called Publius Satureius: who
gave him a great rap on the head with the foot of
a chair, and the second blow he had, was given
him by Lucius Rufus that boasted of it, as if he
had done a notable act. In this tumult, there were slain above three hundred men, and were all killed with staves and stones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the first sedition among the citizens of Rome, that fell out with murder and bloodshed, since the expulsion of the kings. But for all other former dissensions (which were no trifles) they were easily pacified, either party giving place to other: the Senate for fear of the commoners, and the people for reverence they bare to the Senate. And it seemeth, that Tiberius himself would easily have yielded also, if they had pro-ceeded by fair means and persuasion, so they had meant good faith, and would have killed no man: for at that time he had not in all, above three thousand men of the people about him. But surely it seems this conspiracy was executed against him, more for very spite and malice the rich men did bear him, than for any other apparent cause they presupposed against him. For proof hereof may be alleged, the barbarous cruelty they used to his body being dead. For they would not suffer his own brother to have his body to bury it by night, who made earnest suit unto them for it: but they threw him amongst the other bodies into the river, and yet this was not the worst. For, some of his friends they banished without form of law, and others they put to death, which they could meet withal. Among the which they slew Diophanes the Orator, and one Caius

Villius, whom they enclosed in a pipe among snakes Examiand serpents, and put him to death in this sort. nation of Blosius also the philosopher of Cumæ, was brought Blosius before the Consuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confessed unto them, that he did as much as Tiberius commanded him. When Nasica did ask him, And what if he had commanded thee to set fire on the capitol? He made him answer, That Tiberius would never have given him any such commandment. And when divers others also were still in hand with him about that question: But if he had commanded thee? I would sure have done it, said he: for he would never have commanded me to have done it, if it had not been for the commodity of the people. Thus he escaped at that time, and afterwards fled into Asia unto Aristonicus, whom misfortune having overthrown, he slew himself. Now, the Senate to pacify the people at that present time, did no more withstand the law Agraria, for division of the lands of the commonwealth, but suffered the people to appoint another commissioner for that purpose, in Tiberius' place. Thereupon Publius Crassus was chosen, being allied unto Tiberius, for Caius Gracchus (Tiberius' brother) had married his daughter Licinia. Yet Cornelius Nepos saith, That it was not Crassus' daughter Caius married, but the daughter of Brutus, that triumphed for the Lusitanians. Howbeit the best writers and authority, agree with that we write. But whatsoever was done, the people were marvellously offended with his death, and men might easily perceive, that they looked but for time and opportunity to be revenged, and did presently threaten Nasica to accuse him. Whereupon the

Scipie's Senate fearing some trouble towards him, devised sentence a way upon no occasion, to send him into Asia.

of the

for the common people did not dissemble the Tiberius malice they bare him when they met him, but were very round with him, and called him tyrant, and murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the blood of the holy Tribune, and within the most sacred temple of all the city. So in the end he was enforced to forsake Rome, though by his office he was bound to solemnise all the greatest sacrifices, because he was then chief Bishop of Rome. Thus, travelling out of his country like a mean man, and troubled in his mind: he died shortly after, not far from the city of Pergamum. Truly it is not greatly to be wondered at, though the people so much hated Nasica, considering that Scipio the African himself (whom the people of Rome for juster causes had loved better than any man else whatsoever) was like to have lost all the people's good-wills they bare him, because that being at the siege of Numantia, when news was brought him of Tiberius' death, he rang out this verse of Homer:

> Such end upon him ever light, Which in such doings doth delight.

Furthermore, being asked in the assembly of the people, by Caius and Fulvius, what he thought of Tiberius' death: he answered them, That he did not like his doings. After that the people handled him very churlishly, and did ever break off his oration, which they never did before: and he himself also would revile the people even in the assembly. Now Caius Gracchus at the first because

he feared the enemies of his dead brother, or other- Cains wise for that he sought means to make them more Gracehus' hated of the people: he absented himself for a time out of the common assembly, and kept at home and meddled not, as a man contented to live meanly, without busying himself in the commonwealth: insomuch as he made men think and report both, that he did utterly mislike those matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine years younger than his brother Tiberius, who was not thirty year old when he was slain. But in process of time, he made his manners and conditions (by little and little) appear, who hated sloth and curiosity, and was least of all given unto any covetous mind of getting: for he gave himself to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwards to practise in the commonwealth. So that it appeared plainly, that when time came, he would not stand still, and look on. When one Vettius a friend of his was sued, he took upon him to defend his cause in court. The people that were present, and heard him speak, they leaped for joy to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the orators besides were but children to him. Hereupon the rich men began to be afraid again, and whispered among themselves, that it behoved them to beware he came not to be Tribune. chanced so that he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his fortune to go into the Isle of Sardinia, with the Consul Orestes. His enemies were glad of that, and he himself was not sorry for it. For he was a martial man, and as skilful in arms as he was else an excellent orator: but yet he was affraid to come into the pulpit for orations, and

Cains misliked to deal in matters of state, albeit he could rescaled to dear in matters of state, albeit he could wission prayed his furtherance. For this cause therefore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might absent himself for a time out of Rome: though divers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and desirous of the common people's good-will and favour, than his brother had been before him. But indeed he was clean contrary: for it appeared that at the first he was drawn rather against his will, than of any special desire he had to deal in the commonwealth. Cicero the Orator also saith, That Caius was bent altogether to fly from office in the commonwealth, and to live quietly as a private man. But Tiberius (Caius' brother) appeared to him in his sleep, and calling him by his name, said unto him: Brother, why dost thou prolong time, for thou canst not possibly escape? For we were both predestined to one manner of life and death, for procuring the benefit of the people. Now when Caius arrived in Sardinia, he shewed all the proofs that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the young men of his age, in hardiness against his enemies, in justice to his in-feriors, and in love and obedience towards the Consul his captain: but in temperance, sobriety, and in painfulness, he excelled all them that were older than he. The winter by chance fell out very sharp, and full of sickness in Sardinia: whereupon the Consul sent unto the cities to help his soldiers with some clothes: but the towns sent in post to Rome, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegation reasonable, whereupon they wrote to the Consul to

find some other means to clothe his people. The He re-Consul could make no other shift for them, and so turneth the poor soldiers in the meantime smarted for it. Sardinia But Caius Gracchus went himself unto the cities and so persuaded them, that they of themselves sent to the Romans' camp such things as they lacked. This being carried to Rome, it was thought straight it was a pretty beginning to creep into the people's favour, and indeed it made the Senate also afraid. In the neck of that, there arrived ambassadors of Africk at Rome, sent from King Micipsa, who told the Senate that the king their master, for Caius Gracchus sake, had sent their army corn into Sardinia. The Senators were so offended withal, that they thrust the ambassadors out of the Senate, and so gave order that other soldiers should be sent in their places that were in Sardinia: and that Orestes should still remain Consul there, meaning also to continue Caius their Treasurer. But when he heard of it, he straight took sea, and returned to Rome in choler. When men saw Caius returned to Rome unlooked for, he was reproved for it not only by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his return very strange before his captain, under whom he was Treasurer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, answering his accusation, he so turned the people's minds that heard him, that they all said he had open wrong. For he told them, That he had served twelve years in the wars, where others were enforced to remain but ten years: and that he had continued Treasurer under his captain, the space of three years, where the law gave him liberty to

Caius return at the end of the year. And that he alone Gracehus of all men else that had been in the wars, had tribune carried his purse full, and brought it home empty: of the people where others having drunk the wine which they carried thither in vessels, had afterwards brought them home full of gold and silver. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessary to a conspiracy, that was revealed in the city of Fregellæ. But having cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made suit to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of quality his sworn enemies. On the other side also he had so great favour of the common people, that there came men out of all parts of Italy to be at his election, and that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of Mars not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gave their voices upon the top of houses. Now the noblemen could no otherwise let the people of their will, nor prevent Caius of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was only pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possessed officer, he became immediately the chief man, because he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamity offered him: which made him bold to speak, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matter soever he spake of, he always fell in talk of that, remembering them what matters had passed: and laying before them the examples of their ancestors: who in old time had made war with the Faliscans, by the means of one Genucius Tribune of the people, unto whom they had offered

injury: who also did condemn Caius Veturius to His laws death, because that he only would not give a Tribune place, coming through the market-place. Where these said he, that standing before you in sight, have slain my brother Tiberius with staves, and have dragged his body from the mount of the Capitol, all the city over, to throw it into the river: and with him also have most cruelly slain all his friends they could come by, without any law or justice at all. And yet by an ancient custom of long time observed in this city of Rome, when any man is accused of treason, and that of duty he must appear at the time appointed him: they do not withstanding in the morning send a trumpet to his house, to summon him to appear: and moreover the judges were not wont to condemn him, before this ceremony was performed: so careful and respective were our predecessors, where it touched the life of any Roman. Now Caius having first stirred up the people with these persuasions (for he had a marvellous loud voice) he preferred two laws.

The first, that he that had once been put out of office by the people, should never after be capable of

any other office.

The second, that if any Consul had banished any citizen without lawful accusation, the sentence and hearing of the matter should pertain to the

people.

The first of these two laws did plainly defame Octavius, whom Tiberius his brother had by the people deposed from the Tribuneship. The second also touched Popillius, who being Prætor, had banished his brother Tiberius' friends: whereupon he stayed not the trial, but willingly exiled himself out

Other of Italy. And touching the first law, Caius himself laws did afterwards revoke it, declaring unto the people, that he had saved Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were very glad of it, and confirmed it, honouring her no less for respect of her sons', than also for Scipio sake her father. For afterwards they cast her image in brass, and set it up with this inscription: Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi. Many common matters are found written touching Cornelia his mother, and eloquently pleaded in her behalf, by Caius against her adversaries. As when he said unto one of them: How darest thou presume to speak evil of Cornelia, that had Tiberius to her son? And the other party also that slandered her, being sorely suspected for a Sodomite: And art thou so impudent, said he, to shew thy face before Cornelia? Hast thou brought forth children as she hath done? And yet it is well known to all men in Rome, that she being but a woman, hath lived longer without a man, than thou that art a man. Thus were Caius' words sharp and stinging, and many suchlike are to be gathered out of his writings. Furthermore he made many other laws afterwards to increase the people's authority, and to embase the Senate's greatness.

The first was, for the restoring of the colonies to Rome, in dividing the lands of the commonwealth unto the poor citizens that should inhabit there.

The other, that they should apparel the soldiers at the charge of the commonwealth, and that it should not be deducted out of their pay: and also that no citizen should be billed to serve in the wars, under seventeen years of age at the least. Another law was, for their confederates of Italy: preferred that through all Italy they should have as free voices by Cains in the election of any magistrate, as the natural Gracchus citizens of Rome it self.

Another setting a reasonable price of the corn that should be distributed unto the poor people.

Another touching judgement, whereby he did greatly minish the authority of the Senate. For before, the Senators were only judges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honoured and feared of the people, and the Roman knights: and now he joined three hundred Roman knights unto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it so to pass, that all matters judicial should be equally judged, among those six hundred men. After he had passed this law, it is reported he was very curious in observing all other things, but this one thing specially: that where all other orators speaking to the people turned them towards the palace where the Senators sat, and to that side of the market-place which is called Comitium: he in contrary manner when he made his oration, turned him outwards towards the other side of the marketplace, and after that kept it constantly, and never failed. Thus, by a little turning and altering of his look only, he removed a great matter. For he so transferred all the government of the commonwealth from the Senate, unto the judgement of the people: to teach the orators by his example, that in their orations they should behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people having not only confirmed the law he made touching the judges, but given him also full power and authority to choose among the Roman knights such judges as

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Other he liked of: he found thereby he had absolute laws of power in his own hands, insomuch as the Senators
Caius themselves did ask counsel of him. So did he ever give good counsel, and did prefer matters meet for their honour. As amongst others, the law he made touching certain wheat that Fabius Viceprætor had sent out of Spain: which was a good and honourable act. He persuaded the Senate that the corn might be sold, and so to send back again the money thereof unto the towns and cities from whence the corn came: and therewithal to punish Fabius for that he made the empire of Rome hateful and intolerable unto the provinces and subjects of the same. This matter wan him great love and commendation of all the provinces subject to Rome. Furthermore, he made laws for the restoring of the decayed towns, for mending of highways, for building of garners for provision of corn. And to bring all these things to pass, he himself took upon him the only care and enterprise, being never wearied with any pains taken in ordering of so great affairs. For, he followed all those things so earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: insomuch that they who most hated and feared him, wondred most to see his diligence and quick despatch in matters. The people also wondred much to be-hold him only, seeing always such a number of labourers, artificers, ambassadors, officers, soldiers, and learned men, whom he easily satisfied and despatched, keeping still his state, and yet using great courtesy and civility, entertaining every one of them privately: so that he made his accusers to be found liars, that said he was a stately man,

and very cruel. Thus he wan the good-will of The the common people, being more popular and familiar Roman in his conversation and deeds, than he was otherwise in his orations. But the greatest pains and care he took upon him was, in seeing the highways mended, the which he would have as well done, as profitably done. For he would cast the causeways by the line in the softest ground in the fields, and then would pave them with hard stone, and cast a great deal of gravel upon it, which he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or watery places which the rivers had eaten into, he raised them up, or else made bridges over them, with an even height equal to either side of the causeway: so that all his work carried a goodly level withal even by the line or plummet, which was a pleasure to behold it. Furthermore, he divided these highways by miles, every mile containing eight furlongs, and at every mile's end he set up a stone for a mark. At either end also of these highways thus paved, he set certain stones of convenient height, a pretty way asunder, to help the travellers by to take their horsebacks again without any help. The people for these things highly praising and extolling him, and being ready to make shew of their love and good-will to him any manner of way: he told them openly one day in his oration, that he had a request to make unto them, the which if it would please them to grant him, he would think they did him a marvellous pleasure: and if they denied him also, he cared not much. Then every man thought it was the Consulship he meant to ask, and that he would sue to be Tribune and Consul together. But when the

Tribune day came to choose the Consuls, every man looking the attentively what he would do: they marvelled when second they saw him come down the field of Mars, and brought Caius Fannius with his friends, to further his suit for the Consulship. Therein he served Fannius' turn, for he was presently chosen Consul: and Caius Gracchus was the second time chosen Tribune again, not of his own suit, but by the good-will of the people. Caius perceiving that the Senators were his open enemies, and that Fannius the Consul was but a slack friend unto him, he began again to curry favour with the common people, and to prefer new laws, setting forth the law of the colonies, that they should send of the poor citizens to replenish the cities of Tarentum and Capua, and that they should grant all the Latins the freedom of Rome. The Senate perceiving his power grew great, and that in the end he would be so strong that they could not withstand him: they devised a new and strange way to pluck the people's good-will from him, in granting them things not altogether very honest. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with Caius called Livius Drusus, a man nobly born, and as well brought up as any other Roman: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greatest men of estimation in Rome. The chiefest Senators went unto him, and persuaded him to take part with them against Caius, not to use any force or violence against the people to withstand them in anything, but contrarily to grant them those things which were more honesty for them to deny them with their illwill. Livius offering to pleasure the Senate with his authority, preferred laws neither honourable nor profitable to the commonwealth and were to no Livins other end, but contending with Caius, who should Drusus most flatter the people of them two, as players do in their common plays, to shew the people pastime. Whereby the Senate shewed that they did not so much mislike Caius' doings, as for the desire they had to overthrow him and his great credit with the people. For where Caius preferred but the replenishing of the two cities, and desired to send the honestest citizens thither: they objected against him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other side also they favoured Drusus, who preferred a law that they should replenish twelve colonies, and should send to every one of them three thousand of the poorest citizens. And where they hated Caius for that he had charged the poor citizens with an annual rent for the lands that were divided unto them: Livius in contrary manner did please them by disburdening them of that rent and payment, letting them have the lands scot-free. Furthermore also, where Caius did anger the people, because he gave all the Latins the freedom of Rome to give their voices in choosing of magistrates as freely as the natural Romans: when Drusus on the other side had preferred a law that thenceforth no Roman should whip any soldier of the Latins with rods to the wars, they liked the law, and passed it. Livius also in every law he put forth, said in all his orations, that he did it by the counsel of the Senate, who were very careful for the profit of the people; and this was all the good he did in his office unto the commonwealth. For by his means the people were better pleased with the Senate, and where they did before hate all the noblemen of the Senate,

people

Livius Livius took away that malice, when the people saw Drusus that all that he propounded, was for the preferment pacifieth and benefit of the commonwealth, with the consent and furtherance of the Senate. The only thing also that persuaded the people to think that Drusus meant uprightly, and that he only respected the profit of the common people was: that he never preferred any law for himself, or for his own benefit. For in the restoring of these colonies which he preferred, he always sent other commissioners, and gave them the charge of it, and would never finger any money himself: where Caius took upon him the charge and care of all things himself, and specially of the greatest matters. Rubrius also another Tribune, having preferred a law for the re-edifying and replenishing of Carthage again with people, the which Scipio had razed and destroyed: it was Caius' hap to be appointed one of the com-missioners for it. Whereupon he took ship and sailed into Africk. Drusus in the meantime taking occasion of his absence, did as much as might be to seek the favour of the common people, and specially by accusing Fulvius, who was one of the best friends Caius had, and whom they had also chosen commissioner with him for the division of these lands among the citizens, whom they sent to replenish these colonies. This Fulvius was a seditious man, and therefore marvellously hated of the Senate, and withal suspected also of them that took part with the people, that he secretly practised to make their confederates of Italy to rebel. But yet they had no evident proof of it to justify it against him, more than that which he himself did verify, because he seemed to be offended with the

peace and quietness they enjoyed. And this was The one of the chiefest causes of Caius' overthrow, death of one of the chiefest causes or cause overtimow, Scipio because that Fulvius was partly hated for his sake. Scipio African For when Scipio African was found dead one the Less morning in his house, without any manifest cause how he should come to his death so suddenly: (saving that there appeared certain blind marks of stripes on his body that had been given him: as we have declared at large in his life) the most part of the suspicion of his death was laid to Fulvius, being his mortal enemy, and because the same day they had been at great words together in the pulpit for orations. So was Caius Gracchus also partly suspected for it. Howsoever it was, such a horrible murther as this, of so famous and worthy a man as any was in Rome, was yet notwithstanding never revenged, neither any inquiry made of it: because the common people would not suffer the accusation to go forward, fearing lest Caius would be found in fault, if the matter should go forward. But this was a great while before. Now Caius at that time being in Africk about the re-edifying and replenishing of the city of Carthage again, the which he named Junonia: the voice goeth that he had many ill signs and tokens appeared unto him. For the staff of his ensign was broken with a vehement blast of wind, and with the force of the ensign-bearer that held it fast on the other side. There came a flaw of wind also that carried away the sacrifices upon the altars and blew them quite out of the circuit which was marked out for the compass of the city. Furthermore, the wolves came and took away the marks which they had set down to limit the bounds of their circuit, and

Rome

Caius re- carried them quite away. This notwithstanding, turns to Caius having despatched all things in the space of three-score and ten days, he returned incontinently to Rome, understanding that Fulvius was oppressed by Drusus, and that those matters required his presence. For Lucius Hostilius that was all in all for the nobility, and a man of great credit with the Senate, being the year before put by the Consulship, by Caius' practice, who caused Fannius to be chosen: he had good hope this year to speed, for the great number of friends that furthered his suit. So that if he could obtain it, he was fully bent to set Caius beside the saddle, and the rather, because his estimation and countenance he was wont to have among the people, began now to decay, for that they were full of such devices as his were: because there were divers others that preferred the like to please the people withal, and yet with the Senate's great good-will and favour. So Caius being returned to Rome, he removed from his house, and where before he dwelt in Mount Palatine. he came now to take a house under the marketplace, to shew himself thereby the lowlier and more popular, because many of the meaner sort of people dwelt thereabouts. Then he purposed to go forward with the rest of his laws, and to make the people to establish them, a great number of people repairing to Rome out of all parts, for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counselled the Consul Fannius to make proclamation, that all those which were no natural Romans, resident and abiding within the city self of Rome: that they should depart out of Rome. Besides all this, there was a strange proclamation made, and never seen

before: that none of all the friends and confede- He fell rates of the Romans, for certain days should come out with rates of the Komans, for certain days should come the into Rome. But Caius on the other side set up Tribunes! bills on every post accusing the Consul for making so wicked a proclamation: and further, promised the confederates of Rome to aid them, if they would remain there against the Consul's proclamation. yet he performed it not. For when he saw one of Fannius' sergeants carry a friend of his to prison, he held on his way, and would see nothing, neither did he help him: either of likelihood because he feared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or else because he was loth (as he said) to pick any quarrel with his enemies, which sought it of him. Furthermore, he chanced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occasion. The people were to see the pastime of the sword-players or fencers at the sharp, within the very market-place, and there were divers of the officers that to see the sport, did set up scaffolds round about, to take money for the standing. Caius commanded them to take them down again, because the poor men might see the sport without any cost. But not a man of them would yield to it. Wherefore he stayed till the night before the pastime should be, and then he took all his labourers he had under him, and went and overthrew the scaffolds every one of them: so that the next morning all the market-place was clear for the common people, to see the pastime at their pleasure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him marvellously, and took him for a worthy man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, and took him for a bold presumptuous man. This

Sedition seemeth to be the chief cause why he was put betwixt from his third Tribuneship, where he had the most Cains voices of his side: because his colleagues, to be revenged of the part he had played them, of malice and spite, made false report of the voices. Howbeit there is no great truth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulse, and it is reported he spake somewhat too proudly to his enemies, that were merry with the matter, and laughed him to scorn: that they laughed a Sardonian's laugh, not knowing how darkly his deeds had wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies having chosen Opimius Consul, they began immediately to revoke divers of Caius' laws: as among the rest, his doings at Carthage for the re-edifying of that city, procuring thus all the ways they could to anger him, because they might have just occasion of anger to kill him. Caius notwithstanding did patiently bear it at the first: but afterwards his patiently bear it at the first: but afterwards his friends, and specially Fulvius, did encourage him so, that he began again to gather men to resist the Consul. And it is reported also, that Cornelia his mother did help him in it, secretly hiring a great number of strangers which she sent unto Rome, as if they had been reapers, or harvest men. And this is that she wrote secretly in her letter unto her son in ciphers. And yet other write to the contrary, that she was very angry he did attempt those things. When the day came that they should proceed to the revocation of his laws, both parties met by break of day at the Capitol. There when the Consul Opimius had done sacrifice, one of Caius' sergeants called Quintus Antyllius, carrying the entrails of the beast, sacrificed, said unto Fulvius.

and others of his tribe that were about him: Give and the place to honest men, vile citizens that ye be. Some Senate say also, that besides these injurious words, in scorn and contempt he held out his naked arm to make them ashamed. Whereupon they slew him presently in the field with great bookins to write with, which they had purposely made for that intent. So the common people were marvellously offended for this murther, and the chief men of both sides also were diversely affected. For Caius was very sorry for it, and bitterly reproved them that were about him, saying, That they had given their enemies the occasion they looked for, to set upon them. Opimius the Consul in contrary manner, taking this occasion, rose upon it, and did stir up the people to be revenged. But there fell a shower of rain at that time that parted them. The next morning the Consul having assembled the Senate by break of day, as he was despatching causes within, some had taken the body of Antyllius and laid it naked upon the bier, and so carried it through the market-place (as it was agreed upon before amongst them) and brought it to the Senate door: where they began to make great moan and lamentation, Opimius knowing the meaning of it, but yet he dissembled it, and seemed to wonder at it. Whereupon the Senators went out to see what it was, and finding this bier in the market-place, some fell a-weeping for him that was dead, others cried out that it was a shameful act, and in no wise to be suffered. But on the other side, this did revive the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickedness of the ambitious noblemen: who having themselves before slain Tiberius

An ordi- Gracchus that was Tribune and within the Capitol sance itself, and had also cast his body into the river, made did now make an honourable shew openly in the against
Caius
Gracchus
(who though he were wrongfully slain, yet had himself given them the cause that slew him, to do that they did) and all the whole Senate were about the bier to bewail his death, and to honour the funerals of a hireling, to make the people also kill him, that was only left the protector and defender of the was only left the protector and defender of the people. After this, they went again unto the Capitol, and there made a decree, whereby they gave the Consul Opimius extraordinary power and authority, by absolute power to provide for the safety of the commonwealth, to preserve the city, and to suppress the tyrants. This decree being established, the Consul presently commanded the Senators that were present there, to go arm themselves: and appointed the Roman knights, that the next morning betimes every man should bring two of their men armed with them. Fulvius on the other side, he prepared his force against them, and assembled the common people together. Caius also returning from the market-place, stayed before the image of his father, and looked earnestly upon it without ever a word speaking, only he burst out a-weeping, and fetching a great sigh, went his way. This made the people to pity him that saw him: so that they talked among themselves, that they were but beasts and cowards at such a straight to forsake so worthy a man. Thereupon they went to his house, stayed there all night and watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with Ful-vius, that passed away the night in guzzling and

drinking drunk, crying out, and making noise, The Fulvius himself being drunk first of all, who both people spake and did many things far unmeet for his calling. For they that watched Caius on the other side, were very sorrowful, and made no noise, even as in a common calamity of their country, devising with themselves what would fall out upon it, waking, and sleeping one after another by turns. When the day brake, they with Fulvius did awake him, who slept yet soundly for the wine he drank over night, and they armed themselves with the spoils of the Gauls that hung round about his house, whom he had overcome in battell the same year he was Consul: and with great cries, and thundering threats, they went to take the Mount Aventine. But Caius would not arm himself, but went out of his house in a long gown, as if he would have gone simply into the market-place according to his wonted manner, saving that he carried a short dagger at his girdle under his gown. So as he was going out of his house, his wife stayed him at the door, and holding him by the one hand, and a little child of his in her other hand, she said thus unto him: "Alas Caius, thou dost not now go as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market-place to speak to the people, neither to prefer any new laws: neither dost thou go unto an honest war, that if unfortunately that should happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the least mourn for thy death with honour. But thou goest to put thy self into bloody butchers' hands, who most cruelly have slain thy brother Tiberius: and yet thou goest, a naked man unarmed, intending rather to suffer, than to do hurt. Besides, thy

Fulvius death can bring no benefit to the commonwealth. sent his For the worser part hath now the upper hand, con-son to the sidering that sentence passeth by force of sword.

Had thy brother been slain by his enemies, before the city of Numantia: yet had they given us his body to have buried him. But such may be my misfortune, that I may presently go to pray the river or sea to give me thy body, which as thy brother's they have likewise thrown into the same. Alas, what hope or trust is left us now, in laws or gods, sithence they have slain Tiberius?" As Licinia was making this pitiful moan unto him, Caius fair and softly pulled his hand from her, and left her, giving her never a word, but went on with his friends. But she reaching after him to take him by the gown, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there a great while, speaking never a word: until at length her servants took her up in a swoon, and carried her so unto her brother Crassus. Now Fulvius, by the persuasion of Caius, when all their faction were met: sent his younger son (which was a pretty fair boy) with a herald's rod in his hand for his safety. This boy humbly presenting his duty, with the tears in his eyes, before the Consul and Senate, offered them peace. The most of them that were present thought very well of it. But Opimius made answer saying, That it became them not to send messengers, thinking with fair words to win the Senate: but it was their duty to come themselves in persons, like subjects and offenders to make their trial, and so to crave pardon, and to seek to pacify the wrath of the Senate. Then he commanded the boy he should not return again to them, but with this condition he had prescribed.

Caius (as it is reported) was ready to go and clear The flight himself unto the Senate: but the residue would not of Caius suffer him to go. Whereupon Fulvius sent his son back again unto them, to speak for them as he had done before. But Opimius that was desirous to fight, caused the boy to be taken, and committed him in safe custody, and then went presently against Fulvius with a great number of footmen well armed. and of Cretan archers besides: who with their arrows did more trouble and hurt their enemies than with anything else, that within a while they all began to fly. Fulvius on the other side fled into an old hothouse that nobody made reckoning of, and there being found shortly after, they slew him, and his eldest son. Now for Caius, he fought not at all, but being mad with himself, and grieved to see such bloodshed: he got him into the temple of Diana, where he would have killed himself, had not his very good friends Pomponius and Licinius saved him. For both they being with him at that time, took his sword from him, and counselled him to fly. It is reported that then he fell down on his knees, and holding up both his hands unto the goddess, he besought her that the people might never come out of bondage, to be revenged of this their ingratitude and treason. For the common people (or the most part of them) plainly turned their coats, when they heard proclamation made, that all men had pardon granted them, that would return. So Caius fled upon it, and his enemies followed him so near, that they overtook him upon the wooden bridge, where two of his friends that were with him stayed, to defend him against his followers, and bade him in the meantime make shift

The for himself, whilst they fought with them upon the faithful bridge: and so they did, and kept them that not a servant man got the bridge of them, until they were both slain. Now there was none that fled with Caius, but one of his men called Philocrates: notwithstanding, every man did still encourage and counsel him, as they do men to win a game, but no man would help him, nor offer him any horse, though he often required it, because he saw his enemies so near unto him. This notwithstanding, by their defence that were slain upon the bridge, he got ground on them so, that he had leisure to creep into a little grove of wood, which was consecrated to the Furies. There his servant Philocrates slew him, and then slew himself also, and fell dead upon him. Other write notwithstanding, that both the master and servant were overtaken, and taken alive: and that his servant did so straight embrace his master that none of the enemies could strike him for all the blows they gave, before he was slain himself. So one of the murtherers strake off Gaius Gracchus' head to carry to the Consul. Howbeit one of Opimius' friends called Septimuleius, took the head from the other by the way, because proclamation was made before they fought by trumpet, that whosoever brought the heads of Fulvius and Caius, they should be paid the weight of them in gold. Wherefore this Septimuleius carried Gaius' head upon the top of his spear unto Opimius: whereupon the scales being brought to weigh it, it was found that it weighed seventeen pound weight and two-third parts of a pound, because Septimuleius besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villainy, that he had taken out his brain, and in lieu

thereof had filled his skull with lead. Now the The other also that brought Fulvius' head, because they temple of were poor men, they had nothing. The bodies of Concord these two men, Gaius Gracchus and Fulvius, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thousand that were slain) were all thrown into the river, their goods confiscate, and their widows forbidden to mourn for their death. thermore, they took from Licinia Caius' wife, her jointure: but yet they dealt more cruelly and beastly with the young boy, Fulvius' son: who had neither lift up his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to them to make peace before they fought, whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which most of all other grieved the people, was the temple of Concord, the which Opinius caused to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in manner triumphed, that he had slain so many citizens of Rome. And therefore there were that in the night wrote under the inscription of the temple these verses:

A furious fact and full of beastly shame, This temple built, that beareth Concord's name.

This Opimius was the first man at Rome, that being Consul, usurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or justice condemned three thousand citizens of Rome, besides Fulvius Flacchus, (who had also been Consul, and had received the honour of triumph) and Caius Gracchus a young man in like case, who in vertue and reputation excelled all the men of his years. This notwithstanding, could not keep Opimius from thievery and

The extortion. For when he was sent ambassador unto magnani- Jugurth king of Numidia, he was bribed with mity of money: and thereupon being accused, he was most shamefully convicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his days with this reproach and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: because at the time of the overthrow he dealt beastly with them that fought for his quarrel. But shortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the loss of the two brethren of the Gracchi. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set up in an open and honourable place, consecrating the places where they had been slain: and many of them also came and offered to them. of their first fruits and flowers, according to the time of the year, and went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as unto the temple of the gods. Their mother Cornelia, as writers report, did bear this calamity with a noble heart: and as for the chapels which they built and consecrated unto them in the place where they were slain, she said no more, but that they had such graves, as they had deserved. Afterwards she dwelt continually by the Mount of Misene, and never changed her manner of life. She had many friends, and because she was a noble lady, and loved ever to welcome strangers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had always great repair unto her, of Grecians and learned men: besides, there was no king nor prince, but both received gifts from her, and sent her again. They that frequented her company, delighted marvellously to hear her report the deeds and manner of her father's life, Scipio African: but yet they wondered more, to hear her tell the acts and death of

her two sons, Tiberius and Caius Gracchi, without The shedding tear, or making any shew of lamentation power of or grief, no more than if she had told an history to overunto them that had requested her. Insomuch some come writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had sorrow overcome and taken her reason and sense from her, to feel any sorrow. But indeed they were senseless to say so, not understanding, how that to be nobly born, and vertuously brought up, doth make men temperately to digest sorrow, and that fortune oftentimes overcomes vertue, which regardeth honesty in all respects, but yet with any adversity she cannot take away the temperance from them, whereby they patiently bear it.

#### THE COMPARISON OF

# TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHI

WITH

### AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Gracchi

The Now that we be come to the end of this history, wisdom we are to compare the lives of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two Gracchi: their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best given to vertue, and as well taught and brought up, as any Romans that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the upper hand of them, in Agis and Cleomenes. For they having been very ill brought up, both for learning and good manners, for lack whereof the oldest men were almost spoiled: yet did they notwithstanding make themselves the first masters and example of sobriety, temperance, and simplicity of life. Furthermore, the two first having lived in that time, when Rome flourished most in honour and vertuous desires: they were more than ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their ancestors. These two last also being born of fathers that had a clean contrary disposition, and finding their country altogether without any order, and infected with dissolute life: were not therefore any whit the more slack in their desire to do well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gave unto the two Gracchi, was, their abstinence and in-

tegrity from taking of money all the time they Agis and were in office, and dealt in matters of state, ever Cleokeeping their hands clean, and took not a penny wrongfully from any man. Where Agis on the other side was offended if any man praised him: for that he took nothing from another man: seeing that he dispossessed himself of his own goods, and gave it to his citizens, which amounted in ready coin to the value of six hundred talents. Whereby men may easily judge, how grievous a sin he thought it to take anything wrongfully from any man: seeing that he thought it a kind of avarice, lawfully to be richer than others. Furthermore, there was marvellous great difference in their alterations, and renewing of the state, which they did both prefer. For the acts of the two Romans were to mend highways and to re-edify and replenish decayed towns: and the worthiest act Tiberius did, was the law Agraria, which he brought in for dividing of the lands of the commonwealth amongst the poor citizens. And the best act his brother Caius also did, was the mingling of the judges: adding to the three hundred Senators, three hundred Roman knights to be indifferent judges with them. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes in contrary manner were of opinion, that to reform small faults, and to redress them by little and little, was (as Plato said) to cut off one of the hydra's heads, of the which came afterwards seven in the place: and therefore they took upon them a change and innovation, even at once to root out all the mischiefs of their country, (or to speak more truly, to take away the disorder which brought in all vice and mischief to the

The acts of the Sparta again to her former ancient honourable Gracchi estate. Now this may be said again, for the government of the Gracchi: that the chiefest men of Rome ever were against their purposes. Where, in that that Agis attempted, and Cleomenes ended, they had the noblest ground that could be, and that was the ancient laws and ordinances of Sparta, touching temperance and equality: the first, instituted in old time by Lycurgus, the other confirmed by Apollo. Furthermore, by the alterations of the first, Rome became no greater than it was before. Where, by that which Cleomenes did, all Greece in short time saw that Sparta commanded all the rest of Peloponnesus, and fought manded all the rest of Peloponnesus, and fought at that time against those that were of greatest power in all Greece, for the seigniory thereof. Whereby their only mark and purpose was, to rid all Greece from the wars of the Gauls and Illyrians, and to restore it again to the honest govern-ment of the race and line of Hercules. Their deaths, me thinks, do shew great difference of their courages. For the Gracchi fighting with their courages. For the Gracchi ngnting with their own citizens, were slain flying. Of these two also, Agis, because he would put never a citizen to death, was slain in manner voluntarily: and Cleomenes receiving injury stood to his defence, and when he had no opportunity to do it, he stoutly killed himself. And so may it be said on the other side, that Agis did never any noble act of a captain or soldier, because he was slain before he could come to it. And for the victories of Cleomenes on the other side, may be opposed

the scaling of the walls of Carthage, where Tiberius Their was the first man that at the assault got up upon acts comthe wall, which was no small exploit: and the pared peace which he made also at the siege of Numantia, whereby he saved twenty thousand fighting men of the Romans, the which had no means otherwise to save their lives. And Caius also in the self same war, at the siege of Numantia, and afterwards in Sardinia, did many noble feats of war: so that there is no doubt, but if they had not been slain so soon as they were, they might have been compared with the excellentest captains that ever were in Rome. Again, touching their doings in civil policy, it appeareth that Agis dealt more slackly, being abused by Agesilaus: who likewise deceived the poor citizens of the division of the lands which he had promised them. In fine, for lack of courage, because he was very young, he left the things undone which he had purposed to have performed. On the other side, Cleomenes went too roundly to work to renew the ancient government of the commonwealth again, by killing the Ephors with too much cruelty, whom he might easily have won, or otherwise by force have gotten the upper hand. For it is not the part of a wise physician, nor of a good governor of a commonwealth to use the sword, but in great extremity, where there is no other help nor remedy: and there lacked judgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for injury is ever joined with cruelty. The Gracchi on the other side, neither the one nor the other, began to imbrue their hands in the blood of their citizens. For it is reported,

The that though they did hurt Caius, yet he would faults of never defend himself: and where it was known the that he was very valiant in battell with his sword in his hand against the enemy, he shewed himself as cold again in the uproar against his citizens. For he went out of his house unarmed, and fled when he saw them fight: being more circumspect not to do hurt, than not to suffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearful to offend any man. For they were driven, either to yield to them that followed them, or else if they stayed, to stand to their defence, because they might keep themselves from hurt. And where they accuse Tiberius for the faults he committed, the greatest that ever he did, was when he deposed Octavius his colleague from the Tribuneship, and that he himself made suit for the second. And as for Caius. they falsely accused him for the death of Antyllius the Sergeant, who indeed was slain unknown to him, and to his great grief. Where Cleomenes on the other side, although we should forget the murder he committed upon the Ephors, yet he set slaves at liberty, and ruled the kingdom in manner himself alone: but yet for manners sake only he joined his own brother with him, which was of the self same house. And when he had persuaded Archidamus, (who was next heir to the kingdom of the other royal house) to be bold to return home from Messené unto Sparta: he suffered him to be slain, and because he did not revenge his death, he did confirm their opinion that thought he was consenting to his death.

Lycurgus on the other side, whose example he The amdid counterfeit to follow, because he did willingly bition of the two pairs and being afraid also, that if the young child should pairs chance to miscarry, they would suspect him for his death: he exiled himself out of his own country a long time travelling up and down, and returned not to Sparta again, before Charilaus had gotten a son to succeed him in his kingdom. But we cannot set another Grecian by Lycurgus comparable unto him. We have declared also that amongst Cleomenes' deeds, there were many other greater alterations than these, and also many other breaches of the law. So they that do condemn the manners of the one and the other, say, that the two Grecians from the beginning had an aspiring mind to be tyrants, still practising wars. Whereas the two Romans only, even by their most mortal enemies, could be blamed for nothing else, but for an extreme ambition, and did confess that they were too earnest and vehement above their nature, in any strife or contention they had with their adversaries, and that they yielded unto that choler and passion, as unto ill winds, which brought them to do those things they did in the end. For what more just or honest intent could they have had, than the first was: had not the rich men (even through stoutness and authority to overthrow the laws) brought them against their wills into quarrel: the one to save his life, the other to revenge his brother's death, who was slain without order, justice, or the authority of any officer? Thus thou mayest thy self see the difference that was

Cleomenes.

The betwixt the Grecians and the Romans: and now upshot to tell you plainly my opinion of both,

I think that Tiberius was the stoutest of the four, that the young king

Agis offended least, and that for boldness and courage, Caius came nothing near unto

#### THE LIFE OF

## DEMOSTHENES

HE that made the little book of the praise of True Alcibiades, touching the victory he wan at the happiness horse-race of the Olympian Games, (were it the in the Poet Euripides as some think, or any other) my mind and friend Sossius: said, That to make a man happy, manners he must of necessity be born in some famous city. of man But to tell you what I think hereof, doubtless, true happiness chiefly consisteth in the vertue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be born in a pelting village, or in a famous city: no more than it is for one to be born of a fair or foul mother. For it were a madness to think that the little village of Iulid, being the least part of the Isle of Ceos (the whole island of it self being but a small thing) and that the Isle of Ægina (which is of so small a length, that a certain Athenian on a time made a motion it might be taken away, because it was but as a straw in the sight of the haven of Piræus) could bring forth famous poets, and excellent comedians: and not breed an honest, just, and wise man, and of noble courage. For, as we have reason to think that arts and sciences which were first devised and invented to make some things necessary for men's use, or otherwise to win fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in little poor villages:

Pin- So are we to judge also, that vertue, like a strong tarch's and fruitful plant, can take root, and bring forth words of in every place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with pains. And therefore if we chance to offend, and live not as we should: we cannot accuse the meanness of our country where we were born, but we must justly accuse ourselves. Surely he that hath taken upon him to put forth any work, or to write any history, into the which he is to thrust many strange things unknown to his country, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, and dispersed abroad in divers places, and are to be gathered out of divers books and authorities: first of all, he must needs remain in some great and famous city throughly inhabited, where men do delight in good and vertuous things, because there are commonly plenty of all sorts of books: and that perusing them, and hearing talk also of many things besides, which other historiographers peradventure have not written of, and which will carry so much more credit, because men that are alive may presently speak of them as of their own knowledge, whereby he may make his work perfect in every point, having many and divers necessary things contained in it. But I myself that dwell in a poor little town, and yet do remain there willingly lest it should become less: whilst I was in Italy, and at Rome, I had no leisure to study and exercise the Latin tongue, as well for the great business I had then to do, as also to satisfy them that came to learn philosophy of me: so that even somewhat too late and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latin books in my hand. And thereby a

strange thing to tell you, but yet true: I learned The not nor understood matters so much by the words, Latin as I came to understand the words, by common tongu experience and knowledge I had in things. furthermore, to know how to pronounce the Latin tongue well, or to speak it readily, or to under-stand the signification, translations, and fine joining of the simple words one with another, which do beautify and set forth the tongue: surely I judge it to be a marvellous pleasant and sweet thing, but withal, it requireth a long and laboursome study, meet for those that have better leisure than I have. and that have young years on their backs to follow such pleasure. Therefore, in this present book, which is the fifth of this work, where I have taken upon me to compare the lives of noble men one with another: undertaking to write the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, we will consider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deeds in the government of the commonwealth, not meaning otherwise to confer their works and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were sharper or sweeter in his oration. For as the poet Ion sayeth,

In this behalf a man may rightly say, The dolphins in their proper soil do play.

The which Cæcilius little understanding, being a man very rash in all his doings, hath unadvisedly written and set forth in print, a comparison of Demosthenes' eloquence with Cicero's. But if it were an easy matter for every man to know himself, then the gods needed have given us no commandment, neither could men have said that it

Demos- came from Heaven. But for my opinion, me thinks thenes fortune even from the beginning hath framed in compared manner one self mould of Demosthenes and Cicero, and hath in their natures fashioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to love the liberty of their country, and both of them very fearful in any danger of wars. And likewise their fortunes seem to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to find two orators again, that being so meanly born as they, have come to be of so great power and authority as they two, nor that have deserved the ill-will of kings and noblemen so much as they have done, nor that have lost their daughters, nor that have been banished their countries, and that have been restored again with honour, and that again have fled, and have been taken again, nor that have ended their lives with the liberty of their country. So that it is hard to be judged, whether nature have made them liker in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning work-maisters strived one with the other, to whom they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

Demosthenes the father of this Orator Demosthenes, was as Theopompus writeth, one of the chief men of the city, and they called him Machæropæus, to wit, a maker of sword-blades. because he had a great shop where he kept a number of slaves to forge them. But touching Æschines, the orators report of his mother, who said that she was the daughter of one Gelon (that fled from Athens being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: The I am not able to say whether it be true, or devised parentof malice to do him despite. Howsoever it was, age and patrit is true that his father died, leaving him but seven mony of years old, and left him reasonable well: for his Demosgoods came to little less than the value of fifteen thenes talents. Howbeit his guardians did him great wrong: for they stale a great part of his goods themselves, and did let the rest run to naught, as having little care of it, for they would not pay his schoolmaisters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learn the liberal sciences which are usually taught unto honest men's sons: and to further that want also, he was but a weakling, and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him go to school, neither his maisters also durst keep him too hard to it, because he was but a sickly child at the first, and very weak. And it is reported also, that the surname of Battalus was given him in mockery by other schoolbovs his companions, because of his weakness of body. This Battalus (as divers men do report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whom the poet Antiphanes to mock him, devised a little play. Others also do write of one Battalus, a dissolute orator, and that wrote lascivious verses: and it seemeth that the Athenians at that time did call a certain part of man's body uncomely to be named, Battalus. Now for Argas (which surname men say was also given him) he was so called, either for his rude and beastly manners (because some poets do call a snake Argas) or else for his manner of speech: which was very unpleasant to the ear, for Argas is the name of a

The poet that made always bawdy and ill-favoured earnest songs. But hereof enough, as Plato said. Furtherdesire of Demosthenes him to give himself to eloquence, was this. Callistratus the Orator was to defend the cause of one Oropus before the judges, and every man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellency of the orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly known to all. Demosthenes hearing his schoolmaisters agree together to go to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolmaster to be so good, as to let him go with him. His maister granted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hall door where this matter was to be pleaded, he so intreated them, that they placed their scholar in a very good place, where being set at his ease, he might both hear and see all that was done, and no man could see him. Thereupon when Demosthenes had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in love with the honour which the orator had gotten, when he saw how he was waited upon home with such a train of people after him: but yet he wondered more at the force of his great eloquence, that could so turn and convey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon he left the study of all other sciences, and all other exercises of wit and body, which other children are brought up in: and began to labour continually, and to frame himself to make orations, with intent one day to be an orator among the rest. His master that taught him rhetorick was Isæus, notwithstanding that Isocrates also kept a school of rhetorick at that time: either because that being an

orphan he was not able to pay the wages that to learn Isocrates demanded of his scholars, which was ten eloquence minas: or rather for that he found Isæus' manner of speech more proper for the use of the eloquence he desired, because it was more fine and subtil. Yet Hermippus writeth notwithstanding, that he had read certain books, having no name of any author, which declared that Demosthenes had been Plato's scholar, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one Ctesibius, who reporteth that Demosthenes had secretly read Isocrates' works of rhetorick, and also Alcidamus' books, by means of one Callias Syracusan, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardship, he began to put his guardians in suit, and to write orations and pleas against them: who in contrary manner did ever use delays and excuses, to save themselves from giving up any account unto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exercise (as Thucydides writeth) it prospered so well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great pains and danger: and yet with all that he could do, he could not recover all that his father left him, by a good deal. So having now gotten some boldness, and being used also to speak in open presence, and withal, having a feeling and delight of the estimation that is won by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward himself, and to practise in matters of state. For, as there goeth a tale of one Laomedon an Orchomenian, who having a grievous pain in the spleen, by advice of the physicians was willed to run long courses to help him: and that

Demos- following their order, he became in the end so thenes' lusty and nimble of body, that afterwards he would impedineeds make one to run for games, and indeed grew mature to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Even so the like chanced unto Demosthenes. For at the first, beginning to practise oratory for recovery of his goods, and thereby having gotten good skill and knowledge how to plead: he afterwards took upon him to speak to the people in assemblies, touching the government of the commonwealth, even as if he should have contended for some game of prize, and at length did excel all the orators at that time that got up into the pulpit for orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventured to speak openly, the people made such a noise, that he could scant be heard, and besides they mocked him for his manner of speech that was so strange, because he used so many long confused periods, and his matter he spake of was so intricate with arguments one upon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to hear him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he meant, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the end of his sentence. So that at length, perceiving he was thus rejected, he gave over to speak any more before the people, and half in despair withdrew himself into the haven of Piræus. There Eunomus the Thessalian being a very old man, found him, and sharply reproved him, and told him, that he did himself great wrong, considering, that having a manner of speech much

like unto Pericles, he drowned himself by his faint Demosheart, because he did not seek the way to be bold thenes' impediagainst the noise of the common people, and to arm his body to away with the pains and burden of publick orations, but suffering it to grow feebler, for lack of use and practice. Furthermore, being once again repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home, hanging down his head for shame, and utterly discouraged: Satyrus an excellent player of comedies being his familiar friend, followed him, and went and spake with him. Demosthenes made his complaint unto him, that where he had taken more pains than all the orators besides, and had almost even worn himself to the bones with study, yet he could by no means devise to please the people: whereas other orators that did nothing but bib all day long, and mariners that understood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on the other side that they made no account of him. Satyrus then answered him, Thou sayest true Demosthenes, but care not for this, I will help it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without book certain verses of Euripides, or of Sophocles. Thereupon Demosthenes presently rehearsed some unto him, that came into his mind. Satyrus repeating them after him, gave them quite another grace, with such a pronunciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becoming the verses, that Demosthenes thought them clean changed. Whereby perceiving how much the action (to wit, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth give grace and comeliness in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost

Demosnothing to speak of, to exercise to plead well, unless
thenes' therewithal he do also study to have a good pronunciation and gesture. Thereupon he built him a
cellar under the ground, the which was whole even
in my time, and he would daily go down into it, to
fashion his gesture and pronunciation, and also to
exercise his voice, and that with such affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three moneths one after another, and did shave his head of purpose, because he durst not go abroad in that sort, although his will was good. And yet he took his theme and matter to declaim upon, and to practise to plead of the matters he had had in hand before, or else upon occasion of such talk as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went down into his cellar, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed between him and his friends in talk together, and alleged also both his own and their answers. And if peradventure he had been at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeat it by himself: and would finely couch and convey it into proper sentences, and thus change and alter every way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quick capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not natural, but artificially gotten with extreme labour. And for proof hereof, they make this probable reason. That they never saw Demosthenes make any oration on the sudden, and that oftentimes when he was set in the assembly, the people would call him by his name, to say his opinion touching the matter of counsel then in

hand: howbeit that he never rose upon their call, He unless he had first studied the matter well he would speak of. So that all the other orators would on the speak of. So that all the other orators would on the many times give him a taunt for it: as Pytheas sudden among other, that taunting him on a time, told him, his reasons smelled of the lamp. Yea, replied Demosthenes sharply again: so is there great difference, Pytheas, betwixt thy labour and mine by lamplight. And himself also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not always write at length all that he would speak, neither did he also offer to speak, before he had made briefs of that he would speak. He said furthermore, that it was a token the man loved the people well, that he would be careful before what he would say to them. For this preparative (quoth he) doth shew that he doth honour and reverence them. In contrary manner also, he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plain token that he despiseth their authority, and that he lacketh no good-will (if he could) to use force against them, rather than reason and persuasion. But yet further to enlarge the proofs, that Demosthenes had no heart to make any oration on the sudden, they do allege this reason: that Demades many times rose upon the sudden to maintain Demosthenes' reasons, when the people other while did reject him: and that Demosthenes on the other side, did never rise to make Demades' words good, which he had spoken in his behalf. But now might a man ask again: If Demosthenes was so timorous to speak before the people upon the sudden: what meant Æschines then to say, that he was marvellous bold in his words: and how

Demos- chanceth it, that he rising upon the sudden, did thenes presently answer the orator Python Byzantine in the terrified field, that was very lusty in speech, (and rough like Lamachus a vehement running stream) against the Athenians: in his and how chanced it that Lamachus Myrrhenian, oration having made an oration in the praise of Philip and Alexander, kings of Macedon, in the which he spake all the ill he could of the Thebans, and of the Olynthians, and when he had read and pronounced it in the open assembly of the Olympian Games: Demosthenes upon the instant rising upon his feet, declared, as if he had read some history, and pointed as it were with his finger unto all the whole assembly, the notable great service and worthy deeds the which the Chalcidians had done in former times, for the benefit and honour of Greece! And in contrary manner also, what mischief and inconvenience came by means of the flatterers that altogether gave themselves to curry favour with the Macedonians! With these and such-like persuasions, Demosthenes made such stir amongst the people, that the orator Lamachus being afraid of people, that the orator Lamachus being alraid of the sudden uproar, did secretly convey himself out of the assembly. But yet to tell you what I think, Demosthenes in my opinion fashioning himself even from the beginning, to follow Pericles' steps and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not so requisite for him, and that he would counterfeit his gravity and sober countenance, and to be wise, not to speak over lightly to every matter at all adventures: judging, that by that manner of wisdom he came to be great. And like as he would not let slip any good occasion to speak, where it might be for his credit: so would he not

likewise over-rashly hazard his credit and reputation Theoto the mercy of fortune. And to prove this true, phrastus' independent out premeditation before, do shew more boldness and courage, than those which he had written, and studied long before: if we may believe the reports of Eratosthenes, Demetrius Phalerian, and of the other comical poets. For Eratosthenes said. That he would be often carried away with choler and fury. Demetrius also saith, That speaking one day to the people, he sware a great oath in rhyme, as if he had been possessed with some divine spirit, and said,

By sea and land, by rivers, springs, and ponds.

There are also certain comical poets that do call him Ropoperperethra, as who would say, a great babbler that speaketh all things, that cometh to his tongue's end. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of rhetorick, called antitheton: which is, opposition, with saying, sic recepit sicut cepit, (which signifieth, he took it as he found it). In the use of this figure Demosthenes much pleased himself, unless the poet Antiphanes speaketh it of pleasure, deriding the counsel he gave the people, not to take the Isle of Halonnesus of King Philip, as of gift: but to receive it as their own restored. And yet everybody did grant, that Demades of his own natural wit, without art, was invincible: and that many times speaking upon the sudden, he did utterly overthrow Demosthenes' long-studied reasons. And Aristo, of the Isle of Chios, hath written Theophrastus' judgement of the orators at that time. Who being asked what manner of orator he thought Demosthenes: he answered, Worthy of this city.

Demos- Then again, how he thought of Demades: Above thenes by this city, said he. The same philosopher writeth industry also, that Polyeuctus Sphettian, (one of those that practised at that time in the commonwealth) gave this sentence: That Demosthenes indeed was a great orator, but Phocion's tongue had a sharper understanding, because in few words, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that Demosthenes himself said also, that as oft as he saw Phocion get up into the pulpit for orations to speak against him, he was wont to say to his friends: See, the axe of my words riseth. And yet it is hard to judge, whether he spake that in respect of his tongue, or rather for the estimation he had gotten, because of his great wisdom: thinking (as indeed it is true) that one word only, the twinkling of an eye, or a nod of his head of such a man (that through his worthiness is attained to that credit) hath more force to persuade, than all the fine reasons and devices of rhetorick. But now for his bodily defects of nature, Demetrius Phalerian writeth, that he heard Demosthenes himself say, being very old, that he did help them by these means. First touching the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all syllables distinctly: he did help it by putting of little pebble stones into his mouth, which he found upon the sands by the river's side, and so pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without book. And for his small and soft voice, he made that louder by running up steep and high hills, uttering even with full breath some orations or verses that he had without book. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great

looking-glass in his house, and ever standing on his reformeth feet before it, he would learn and exercise himself the deto pronounce his orations. For proof hereof it is fects of nature reported, that there came a man unto him on a time, and prayed his help to defend his cause, and told him that one had beaten him : and that Demosthenes said again unto him, I do not believe this is true thou tellest me, for surely the other did never beat thee. The plaintiff then thrusting out his voice aloud, said, What, hath he not beaten me? Yes indeed anoth Demosthenes then: I believe it now, for I hear the voice of a man that was beaten indeed. Thus he thought that the sound of the voice, the pronunciation or gesture in one sort or other, were things of force to believe or discredit that a man saith. His countenance when he pleaded before the people, did marvellously please the common sort: but the noblemen, and men of understanding, found it too base and mean, as Demetrius Phalerius said, amongst others. And Hermippus writeth that one called Æsion, being asked of the ancient orators, and of those of his time, answered: That every man that had seen them, would have wondered with what honour, reverence and modesty, they spake unto the people: howbeit that Demosthenes orations (whoever read them) were too artificial and vehement. And therefore we may easily judge, that the orations Demosthenes wrote are very severe and sharp. This notwithstanding, otherwhiles he would give many pleasant and witty answers upon the sudden. As when Demades one day said unto him, Demosthenes will teach me: after the common proverb, the sow will teach Minerva. He answered straight again, This Minerva

thenes'

Demos- not long since was in Collytus Street, taken in adultery. A certain thief also called Chalcus (as much to say, as of copper) stepping forth to say somewhat of Demosthenes' late sitting up a-nights, and that he wrote and studied the most part of the night by lamplight. Indeed, quoth Demosthenes, I know it grieves thee to see my lamp burn all night. And therefore you my Lords of Athens, me thinks you should not wonder to see such robberies in your city, considering we have thieves of copper, and the walls of our houses be but of clay. tell you of divers others of his like pleasant and witty answers, but these may suffice for this present: and therefore we will proceed to consider further of his nature and conditions, by his acts and deeds in the affairs of the commonwealth. Now Demosthenes first beginning when he came to deal in the affairs of the state, was in the time of the war made with the Phocians, as himself reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made against Philip: of the which, the last were made after the war was ended, and the first do touch also some particular doings of the same. He made the oration against Midias, when he was but thirty-two year old, and was of small countenance and reputation in the commonwealth: the want whereof was the chiefest cause (as I think) that induced him to take money for the injury he had done him, and to let his action fall against him.

> He was not of a mild and gentle mind, But fierce and hasty to revenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small power

and authority as himself, to overthrow a man so Demoswealthy, so befriended, and so eloquent as Midias: thenes! he therefore yielded himself unto those that did an enemy speak and entreat for him. Neither do I think that Macethe three thousand drachmas which he received, donians could have bridled the bitterness of his nature, if otherwise he had seen any hope or likelihood that he could have prevailed against him. Now at his first coming unto the commonwealth, taking a noble matter in hand to speak against Philip, for the defence and maintenance of the laws and liberties of the Grecians, wherein he handled himself so worthily: that in short space he wan him marvellous fame for his great eloquence and plain manner of speech. Thereby he was marvellously honoured also through all Greece, and greatly esteemed with the King of Persia: and Philip himself made more account of him, than of all the orators in Athens, and his greatest foes which were most against him, were driven to confess that they had to do with a famous man. For, in the orations which Æschines and Hyperides made to accuse him, they write thus of him: And therefore I marvel what Theopompus meant, when he wrote that Demosthenes had a subtle inconstant mind, and could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters of state. For in contrary manner, in my judgement he continued constant still to the end, in one self manner and order, unto the which he had betaken himself at the beginning: and that not only he never changed all his lifetime, but to the contrary he lost his life, because he would be no changeling. he did not like Demades, who to excuse himself for that he had oft turned coat in matters of govern-

Demos- ment, said that he went oftentimes against his own thenes sayings, as matters fell out: but never against the preferreth honesty also, who was ever against Callistratus, having his mouth many times stopped with money, he would up to the pulpit for orations, and tell the people, that indeed Callistratus, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is my enemy, and yet I yield unto him for this time: for, the benefit of the commonwealth must carry it. And another also, Nicodemus Messenian, who being first of Cassander's side, took part afterward with Demetrius, and then said, That he did not speak against himself, but that it was meet he should obey his superiors. They cannot detect Demosthenes with the like, that he did ever halt or yield, either in word or deed. For he ever continued firm and constant in one mind in his orations. Insomuch that Panætius the Philosopher saith, That the most part of all his orations are grounded upon this maxim and principle: that for it self, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the oration of the crown, the which he made against Aristocrates: that also which he made for the franchise and freedom: and in fine, all his orations against Philip of Macedon. And in all those he doth not persuade his countrymen to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proveth that oftentimes honesty is to be preferred above safety or health. So that, had he in all his orations and doings, joined to his honesty, courtesy, and frank speech, valiantness in wars, and clean hands from bribery: he might deservedly have been compared, not with Myrocles, Polyeuctus, Hyperides and such other orators: but even with the highest, with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles. His frank For Phocion, who took the worst way in govern-speech ment of the commonwealth, because he was suspected that he took part with the Macedonians: yet for valiantness, wisdom and justice, he was ever thought as honest a man, as Ephialtes, and Aristides. But Demosthenes on the other side (as Demetrius saith) was no man to trust to for wars, neither had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For though he would never be corrupted with Philip king of Macedon, yet he was bribed with gold and silver that was brought from the cities of Susa and Ecbatana, and was very ready to praise and commend the deeds of their ancestors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honestest man of all other orators in his time, excepting Phocion. And besides he did ever speak more boldly and plainly unto the people than any man else, and would openly contrary their minds, and sharply reprove the Athenians for their faults, as appeareth by his orations. Theopompus also writeth, that the people on a time would have had him to accuse a man, whom they would needs have condemned. But he refusing to do it, the people were offended, and did mutiny against him. Thereupon he rising up said openly unto them: My Lords Athenians, I will always counsel you to that which I think best for the benefit of the commonwealth, although it be against your minds: but falsely to accuse one to satisfy your minds, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against Antiphon, sheweth plainly, that he was no people-pleaser, and that he did leave more unto the authority of the Senate. For when Anti-

His phon was quit by the people in an assembly of the orations, city: Demosthenes notwithstanding took him and which called him again into the court of the Areopawere true and gites, and did not pass unto the people's ill-will,
which but there convinced him for promising Philip of
false Macedon to burn the arsenal of Athens: so by sentence of that court he was condemned, and suffered for it. He did also accuse the nun Theoris for many lewd parts committed, and amongst others, for that she taught slaves to deceive their masters: and so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and executed. It is thought also, that he made the oration Apollodorus spake against the Prætor Timotheus, and proved thereby that he was a debtor to the commonwealth, and so naughty a man: and that he wrote those orations also entitled to Phormio and Stephanus, for the which he was justly reproved. For Phormio pleaded against Apollodorus with the oration which Demosthenes self had made for him: which was even alike, as if out of one self cutler's shop he had sold his enemies swords one to kill another: and for his known orations, those which he made against Androtion, Timocrates and Aristocrates: he caused them to give them unto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of state. For indeed when he did put them forth, he was not passing seven or eight and twenty year old. The oration which he made against Aristogiton, and the other also of liberty, against Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, he spake them, as he saith himself, (or as others write) openly unto the people, because he intended to marry Chabrias' mother. Howbeit he did not, but married a Samian woman, as Demetrius

Magnesius writeth in his book he made, entitled His Synonyma, and in that he wrote against Æschines: doings where he accuseth him that he dealt falsely when he was ambassador. It is not known whether it was recited or not, although Idomeneus writeth. that there lacked but thirty voices only to have quit Æschines. But in this me thinks he spake not truly, and doth but conjecture it, by that the one and the other have said in their orations against the crown, in the which, neither the one nor the other do say precisely, that this accusation proceeded to judgement. But let other that list decide this doubt. Now before the war began, it was evident enough, to which part Demosthenes would incline in the commonwealth. For, he would never leave to reprove and withstand Philip's doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in Philip's Court, than any man else, he was sent unto him the tenth person with nine others in ambassade. Philip gave them all audience one after another: howbeit he was more careful and circumspect to answer Demosthenes oration, than all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not Demosthenes so much honour, nor gave him so good entertainment, as to his other companions. For Philip shewed more kindness, and gave better countenance unto Æschines, and Philocrates, than unto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise Philip, and said that he was a well spoken prince, a fair man, and would drink freely, and be pleasant in company: Demosthenes smiled at it, and turned all things to the worst, saying, That those qualities were nothing commendable nor meet for a king. For the first was a quality meet for a pleader, the

up Greece

Demos- second for a woman, and the third for a sponge.
thenes In fine, wars falling out between them, because
stirreth
Philip of the one side could not live in peace, and the Athenians on the other side were still incensed and stirred up by Demosthenes' daily orations. Whereupon the Athenians first sent into the Isle of Eubæa, (the which by means of certain private tyrants that had taken the towns, became subject again unto Philip) following a decree Demosthenes had preferred, and so went to expulse the Macedonians again. After that also he caused them to send aid unto the Byzantines, and to the Perinthians, with whom Philip made war. For he so persuaded the Athenians, that he made them forget the malice they did bear unto those two nations, and the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the wars, touching the rebellion of their confederates: and he caused them to send them aid, which kept them from Philip's force and power. Furthermore, going afterwards unto all the great cities of Greece as ambassador, he did so solicit and persuade them, that he brought them all in manner to be against Philip. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fifteen thousand footmen, all strangers, and two thousand horsemen, besides the citizens of and two thousand horsemen, besides the citizens of every city which should also serve in the wars at their charge, and the money also levied for the maintenance of this war, was very willingly disbursed. Theophrastus writeth, that it was at that time their confederates did pray that they would set down a certain sum of money, what every city should pay: and that Crobylus an orator should make answer, that the war had no certain main-

tenance: inferring that the charges of war was against infinite. Now all Greece being in arms, attending the Macewhat should happen, and all these people and cities donians being united in one league together: as the Eubœans, the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Megarians, the Leucadians, and the Corcyræans: the greatest matter Demosthenes had to do, was to persuade the Thebans also to enter into this league, because their country confined and bordered with Attica, besides their force and power was of great impor-tance, for that they carried the fame of all Greece at that time, for the valiantest soldiers. But it was no trifling matter to win the Thebans, and to make them break with Philip, who but lately before had bound them unto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them, in the war of the Phocians: besides also that betwixt Athens and Thebes, by reason of vicinity, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with every little thing were soon renewed. This notwithstanding Philip being proud of the victory he had won by the city of Amphissa, when he came and invaded the country of Elatea, and was entered into Phocis: the Athenians were then so amazed with it, that no man durst occupy the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assembly standing in a doubt with great silence, Demosthenes only stept up, and did again give them counsel to seek to make league and alliance with the Thebans: and so did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was always wont to do. Then with others he was sent ambassador into Thebes: and Philip also for his part, sent ambassadors unto the Thebans, Amyntas

His force and Clearchus, two gentlemen Macedonians, and of elo- with them, Daochus, Thessalus and Thrasydæus, quence to answer and withstand the persuasions of the Athenian ambassadors. Thereupon the Thebans began to advise themselves for the best, and laid before their eyes the miserable fruits and calamities of war, their wounds being yet green and uncured, which they got by the wars of Phocis. Not-withstanding, the great force of Demosthenes' eloquence (as Theopompus writeth) did so inflame the Thebans' courage with desire of honour, that it trod under their feet all manner of considerations, and did so ravish them with the love and desire of honesty: that they cast at their heels, all fear of danger, all remembrance of pleasures received, and all reason persuading the contrary. This act of an orator was of so great force, that Philip forthwith sent ambassadors unto the Grecians, to entreat for peace, and all Greece was up to see what would become of this stir. Thus, not only the captains of Athens obeyed Demosthenes, doing all that he commanded them: but the governors also of Thebes, and of all the country of Bœotia besides. And the assemblies also of the council of Thebes were as well governed by him, as the assemblies of Athens, being alike beloved both of the one and the other, and having a like authority to command both, and not undeservedly, as Theopompus saith, but by just desert. But some fatal destiny, and the revolution of times had determined the final end of the liberty of Greece at that time, clean contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestial signs that did foreshew and prognosticate what end should ensue thereof. And amongst

others, Apollo's nun gave these dreadful oracles: The overand this old prophecy of the Sibyls was commonly throw sung in everybody's mouth:

of the Greciana

What time the bloody battell shall be fought at shewed Thermodon,

God grant I may be far away, or else (to look thereon) Have eagle's wings to soar above, among the clouds on high,

For there the vanquisht side shall weep, and conqueror shall die.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a little river of our country of Chæronea, which falleth into the river of Cephisus: howbeit at this present time there is never a river nor brook in all our country, that I know called Thermodon. And I think, that that river which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of Hercules, where the Grecians lay in camp. And it may be, that because it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ran blood at the day of the battell, it changed her name and was surnamed Hæmon, because bæma in the Greek tongue. signifieth blood. Yet Duris writeth notwithstanding, that this Thermodon was no river, but that certain men setting up their tent, and trenching it about, found a little image of stone, whereupon were engraven these letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called Thermodon, who carried an Amazon hurt in his arms, and that for this image of Thermodon, they do sing such another old oracle as this:

Ye erns and ravens tarry till the field of Thermodon: There will be store of carcasses, of men to feed upon.

thenes
flieth
from the
battell

number of valiant and resolute men, so willing to fight with the enemy: he bade them be of good courage, and not to buzz about such oracles, and to give ear to such prophecies. And furthermore he told them plainly, that he did mistrust the nun Pythia did lean unto Philip, as favouring him, and did put the Thebans in mind of their captain Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, and persuaded them, that those two famous men were always of opinion, that such prophecies were no other, but a fine cloak for cowards, and that taking no heed to them, they did despatch their matters according to their own discretion. Until this present time, Demosthenes shewed himself always an honest man. But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant act anything answerable to the orations whereby he had persuaded the people. For he left his rank, and cowardly cast away his weapons to run the lighter, and was not ashamed at all, as Pytheas said, of the words written upon his shield in golden letters, which were, Good fortune. Now Philip having won the battell, he was at that present so joyful, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had drunk well with his friends, he went into the place where the overthrow was given, and there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had preferred, (by the which the Athenians accord-ingly proclaimed wars against him) rising and falling with his voice, and dancing it in measure with The his foot:

The money of the King of

Demosthenes the son of Demosthenes Pzanian did put King of forth this.

But afterwards beginning to wax sober, and leaving his drunkenness, and that he had remembered himself what danger he had been in: then his hair stood bolt upright upon his head, considering the force and power of such an orator, that in a piece of a day had enforced him to hazard his realm and life at a battell. Now Demosthenes fame was so great, that it was carried even to the great King of Persia's court, who wrote unto his lieutenants and governors, that they should feed Demosthenes with money, and should procure to entertain him above all the men in Greece, as he that could best withdraw Philip and trouble him with the wars and tumults of Greece. And this was afterwards proved by letters found of Demosthenes himself, the which came to King Alexander's hands in the city of Sardis, and by other writings also of the governors and lieutenants of the King of Persia: in the which were named directly the express sums of money which had been sent and given unto him. Now the Grecians being thus overthrown by battell, the other orators, adversaries unto Demosthenes in the commonwealth, began to set upon him, and to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not only clear him of all the accusations objected against him, but did continue to honour him more than before, and to call him to assemblies, as one that loved the honour and benefit of his country. So that when the bones of their country-

verses:

The men which were slain at the battell of Chæronea, death of were brought to be openly buried according to the Philip custom: the people gave him the honour to make the funeral oration in praise of the dead, and made no shew of sorrow or grief for the loss they had received: (as Theopompus witnesseth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner shewed that they did not repent them in following of his counsel, but did honour him that gave it. Demosthenes then did make the funeral oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would never subscribe any, to prevent the sinister luck and misfortune of his name, but did pass it under his friends names one after another, until he grew courageous again, shortly after that he understood of the death of Philip,

The vanquished bewails his luckless lot, And he that wins, with life escapeth not.

who was slain immediately after the victory he wan at Chæronea. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the prophecy or oracle in the two last

Now Demosthenes hearing of Philip's death, before the news were openly known, to prevent them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better luck to come. Thereupon he went with a cheerful countenance into the assembly of the council, and told them there, that he had a certain dream that promised great good hap, and that out of hand unto the Athenians: and immediately after, the messengers arrived that brought certain news of King Philip's death. Thereupon the Athenians made sacrifices of joy to the gods

for this happy news, and appointed a crown unto Demos-Pausanias that had slain him. Demosthenes also thenes' came abroad in his best gown, and crowned with constancy flowers, seven days after the death of his daughter. as Æschines reporteth: who reproveth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having little love or charity unto his own children. But indeed Æschines self deserveth more blame, to have such a tender womanish heart, as to believe, that weeping and lamenting, are signs of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and constancy do pass away such misfortunes. But now to the Athenians again. I can neither think nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signs of joy as to wear crowns and garlands upon their heads, nor also to sacrifice unto the gods for the death of a prince, that behaved himself so princely and curteously unto them in the victories he had won of them. For though indeed all cruelty be subject to the revenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base mind, to honour a man, and while he lived to make him free of their city, and now that another hath slain him, they to be in such an exceeding jollity withal, and to exceed the bounds of modesty so far, as to ramp in manner with both their feet upon the dead, and to sing songs of victory, as if they themselves had been the men that had valiantly slain him. In contrary manner also, I praise and commend the constancy and courage of Demosthenes, that he leaving the tears and lamentation of his home-trouble unto women, did himself in the meantime that he thought was for the benefit of the commonwealth: and in my opinion, I think he did therein like

Demos- a man of courage, and worthy to be a governor thenes of a commonwealth, never to stoop nor yield, but raiseth up the Greeks to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the commonwealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the service of his country, and to keep his honour much more carefully, than common players use to do, when they play the parts of kings and princes, whom we see neither weep nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to give them just occasion. But omitting those reasons, if there be no reason (as indeed there is not) to leave and forsake a man in his sorrow and trouble, without giving him some words of comfort, and rather to devise some matter to assuage his sorrow, and to withdraw his mind from that, to think upon some pleasanter things: even as they should keep sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them green and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefs at home, when the commonwealth doth well: than to join their private griefs with common joys, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worse? But thus far I digressed from my history, enlarging this matter, because Æschines in his oration touching this matter, did move the people's hearts too much unto womanish sorrow. But now to the rest. The cities of Greece being again stirred up by Demosthenes, made a new league again together: and the Thebans also having armed themselves by his practice, did one day set upon the garrison of the Macedonians within their city, and slew many

of them. The Athenians prepared also to maintain against war on the Thebans behalf, and Demosthenes was Alexdaily at all the assemblies of council, in the pulpit, ander persuading the people with his orations: and he wrote also into Asia unto the King of Persia's lieutenants and captains, to make war with Alexander on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as much to say, as fool. But after that Alexander having set all his things at stay within his realm, came himself in person with his army, and invaded the country of Bœotia; then fell the pride of the Athenians greatly, and Demosthenes also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poor Thebans being left unto themselves forsaken of every man; they were compelled themselves alone to bear the brunt of this war, and so came their city to utter ruin and destruction. Thereby the Athenians being in a marvellous fear and perplexity, did suddenly choose ambassadors to send unto this young king, and Demosthenes chiefly among others: who being afraid of Alexander's fury and wrath, durst not go to him, but returned from Mount Cithæron, and gave up the ambassade. But Alexander sent to summon the Athenians. to send unto him ten of their orators, as Idomeneus and Duris both do write: or eight as the most writers and best historiographers do report, which were these: Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callisthenes and Charidemus. At which time, they write that Demosthenes told the people of Athens, the fable of the sheep and wolves, how that the wolves came on a time, and willed the sheep, if they would have peace with them, to deliver them their mastives

The that kept them. And so he compared himself, judge- and his companions that travailed for the benefit ment of of the country, unto the dogs that keep the flocks of sheep, and calling Alexander the wolf. And so forth, said he, like as you see these corn maisters bringing a sample of their corn in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that little do sell all that they have: so I think you will all wonder, that delivering of us, you will also deliver your selves into the hands of your enemies. Aristobulus of Cassandrea reporteth this matter thus. Now the Athenians being in consultation, not knowing how to resolve: Demades having taken five talents of them whom Alexander demanded, did offer himself, and promised to go in this ambassage unto Alexander, and to entreat for them, either because he trusted in the love the king did bear him, or else for that he thought he hoped he should find him pacified, as a lion glutted with the blood of beasts which he had slain. Howsoever it happened, he persuaded the people to send him unto him, and so handled Alexander, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the city of Athens. Thereupon Alexander being retired, Demades and his fellows bare all the sway and authority, and Demosthenes was under foot. Indeed when Agis king of Lacedæmon, came with his army into the field, he began a little to rouse himself, and to lift up his head: but he shrunk collar again soon after, because the Athenians would not rise with the Lacedæmonians, who were overthrown, and Agis slain in battell. At that time was the cause of the crown pleaded against Ctesiphon, and the plea was written a little before the battle of Chæronea, in

the year when Charondas was Provost of Athens: Harpalus howbeit no sentence was given but ten years after a great that Aristophon was Provost. This was such an man open judgement, and so famous, as never was any, as well for the great fame of the orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthiness of the judges that gave sentence thereof: who did not leave Demosthenes to his enemies, although indeed they were of greater power than he, and were also supported with the favour and good-will of the Macedonians: but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that Æschines had not so much as the fifth part of men's voices and opinions in his behalf. Wherefor immediately after sentence given, he went out of Athens for shame, and travelled into the country of Ionia, and unto the Rhodes, where he did teach rhetorick. Shortly after, Harpalus flying out of Alexander's service, came unto Athens, being to be charged with many foul matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigality: and also because he feared Alexander's fury, who was grown severe and cruel unto his chiefest servants. He coming now amongst the Athenians with store of gold and silver, the orators being greedy and desirous of the gold and silver he had brought: began straight to speak for him, and did counsel the people to receive and protect a poor suitor that came to them for succour. But Demosthenes gave counsel to the contrary, and bade them rather drive him out of the city, and take heed they brought not wars upon their backs, for a matter that not only was not necessary, but furthermore merely unjust. But within few days after, inventory being taken of all Harpalus' goods, he

Demosperation perceiving that Demosthenes took great pleasure thenes to see a cup of the king's, and considered very curiously the fashion and workmanship upon it: he gave it him in his hand, to judge what it weighed. Demosthenes poising it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heavy; so he asked how many pound weight it weighed. Harpalus smiling, answered him: It will weigh thee twenty talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cup, with the twenty talents. This Harpalus was a very wise man, and found straight by Demosthenes' countenance that he loved money, and could presently indue his nature by seeing his Demosthenes' countenance that he loved money, and could presently judge his nature by seeing his pleasant countenance, and his eyes still upon the cup. So Demosthenes refused not his gift, and being overcome withal, as if he had received a garrison into his house, he took Harpalus' part. The next morning, he went into the assembly of the people, having his neck bound up with wool and rolls. So when they called him by his name to step up into the pulpit, to speak to the people as he had done before: he made a sign with his head that he had an impediment in his voice and as he had done before: he made a sign with his head, that he had an impediment in his voice, and that he could not speak. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, told him it was no squinance that had stopped his wesil that night, as he would make them believe: but it was Harpalus' money which he had received, that made him in that which he had received, that made him in that case. Afterwards when the people understood that he was corrupted, Demosthenes going about to excuse himself, they would not abide to hear him: but made a noise and exclamation against him. Thereupon there rose up a pleasant conceited man, that said: Why my maisters, do ye refuse to hear a man that hath such a golden tongue? The with people thereupon did immediately banish Harpalus: twenty and fearing lest King Alexander would require an account of the gold and silver which the orators had robbed and pilfered away among them, they made very diligent search and inquiry in every man's house, excepting Callicles' house, the son of Arrhenidas, whose house they would have searched by no means, because he was but newly married, and had his new spouse in his house, as Theopompus writeth. Now Demosthenes desiring to shew that he was in no fault, preferred a decree that the court of the Areopagites should hear the matter, and punish them that were found faulty, and therewithal straight offered himself to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the sum of fifty talents, and for lack of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long. both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickly body. So he brake prison, partly without the privity of his keepers, and partly also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some do report that he fled not far from the city: where it was told him that certain of his enemies followed him, whereupon he would have hidden himself from them. But they themselves first called him by his name, and coming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to help him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, and persuaded him to be of good cheer, and not to despair for the misfortune that was come unto him. This

Demos- did pierce his heart the more for sorrow, that he thenes answered them: Why, would you not have me be took his banishment forsake the city where indeed I have so courteous grier- enemies, that it is hard for me to find anywhere ously so good friends? So he took his banishment unmanly, and remained the most part of his banishment in the city of Ægina, or at the city of Troezen, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the country of Attica, and ween hitterly. towards the country of Attica, and weep bitterly.
And some have written certain words he spake, which shewed no mind of a man of courage, nor were answerable to the noble things he was wont to persuade in his orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of Athens, he looked back again, and holding up his hands to the castle, said in this sort: O Lady Minerva, lady patroness of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischievous beasts: the owl, the dragon, and the people? Besides, he persuaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, never to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offered him two ways at the first, the one to go into the assembly of the people, to make orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had known as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that meddleth with the affairs of the state, the fear, the envy, the accusations, and troubles in the same: he would rather have chosen the way to have suffered death. So, Demosthenes continuing in his exile, King Alexander died, and all Greece was up again: insomuch as Leosthenes being a man of great valour, had shut up Antipater in the

city of Lamia, and there kept him straightly be- Demossieged. Then Pytheas and Callimedon, surnamed thenes Carabos, two orators, and both of them banished called home from Athens, they took part with Antipater, and from went from town to town with his ambassadors and exile friends, persuading the Grecians not to stir, neither to take part with the Athenians. But Demosthenes in contrary manner, joining with the ambassadors sent from Athens into every quarter, to solicit the cities of Greece, to seek to recover their liberty: he did aid them the best he could, to solicit the Grecians, to take arms with the Athenians, to drive the Macedonians out of Greece. And Phylarchus writeth, that Demosthenes encountered with Pytheas' words in an open assembly of the people in a certain town of Arcadia. Pytheas having spoken before him, had said: Like as we presume always that there is some sickness in the house whither we do see asses' milk brought: so must that town of necessity be sick, wherein the ambassadors of Athens do enter. Demosthenes answered him again, turning his comparison against him: That indeed they brought asses' milk, where there was need to recover health: and even so, the ambassadors of Athens were sent, to heal and cure them that were sick. The people at Athens understanding what Demosthenes had done, they so rejoiced at it, that presently they gave order in the field, that his banishment should be revoked. He that persuaded the decree of his revocation, was called Dæmon Pæanian, that was his nephew: and thereupon the Athenians sent him a galley to bring him to Athens, from the city of Ægina. So Demosthenes being arrived at the haven of

The fine Piræus, there was neither governor, priest, nor almost remitted

of fifty any townsman left in the city, but went out to the talents haven to welcome him home. So that Demetrius Magnesian writeth, that Demosthenes then lifting up his hands unto heaven said, That he thought himself happy for the honour of that journey, that the return from his banishment was far more honourable, than Alcibiades' return in the like case had been. For Alcibiades was called home by force: and he was sent for with the good-will of the citizens. This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not dispense withal, nor remit it. Howbeit they devised a way to deceive the law: for they had a manner to give certain money unto them that did prepare and set out the altar of Jupiter Saviour, for the day of the solemnity of the sacrifice, the which they did yearly celebrate unto him: so they gave him the charge to make this preparation for the sum of fifty talents being the sum of the fine aforesaid wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the good hap of his restitu-tion to his country and goods. For the affairs of the Grecians were immediately after brought to utter ruin. For the battell of Cranon which they lost, was in the moneth Munychion (to wit, July) and in the moneth Boedromion next ensuing, (to wit, August) the garrison of the Macedonians entered into the fort of Munychia. And in the moneth Pyanepsion (to wit, the October following) Demosthenes died in this manner. When news came to Athens, that Antipater and Craterus were coming thither with a great army, Demosthenes and his friends got out of the town a little before they

entered, the people by Demades' persuasion, having Demoscondemned them to die. So, every man making thenes' shift for himself, Antipater sent soldiers after them to take them: and of them Archias was captain, surnamed Phygadotheras, as much to say, as a hunter of the banished men. It is reported that this Archias was born in the city of Thurii, and that he had been sometimes a common player of tragedies: and that Polus also who was born in the city of Ægina, (the excellentest craftsmaister in that faculty of all men) was his scholar. Hermippus doth recite him amongst the number of the scholars of Lacritus the Orator. And Demetrius also writeth, that he had been at Anaximenes' school. Now this Archias having found the orator Hyperides in the city of Ægina, Aristonicus Marathonian, and Himeræus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerian, which had taken sanctuary in the temple of Aiax: he took them out of the temple by force, and sent them unto Antipater, who was at that time in the city of Cleonæ, where he did put them all to death: and some say, that he did cut off Hyperides' tongue. Furthermore, hearing that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the Isle of Calauria, he took little pinnaces, and a certain number of Thracian soldiers, and being come thither, he sought to persuade Demosthenes to be contented to go with him unto Antipater, promising him that he should have no hurt. Demosthenes had a strange dream the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedy contending with Archias, and that he handled himself so well, that all the lookers on at the theatre did commend him, and gave him the honour to be the best player: howbeit that other-

Demos- wise, he was not so well furnished as Archias and thenes his players, and that in all manner of furniture he taketh did far exceed him. The next morning when poison Archias came to speak with him, who using gentle himself words unto him, thinking thereby to win him by fair means to leave the sanctuary: Demosthenes looking him full in the face, sitting still where he was, without removing, said unto him: O Archias. thou diddest never persuade me when thou playedst a play, neither shalt thou now persuade me, though thou promise me. Then Archias began to be angry with him, and to threaten him. O said Demosthenes, now thou speakest in good earnest, without dissimulation, as the oracle of Macedon hath commanded thee; for before, thou spakest in the clouds, and far from thy thought. But I pray thee stay a while, till I have written somewhat to my friends. After he had said so, he went into the temple as though he would have despatched some letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withal, and bit it as his manner was when he did use to write anything, and held the end of the quill in his mouth a pretty while together: then he cast his gown over his head, and laid him down.
Archias' soldiers seeing that, being at the door of the temple, laughing him to scorn (thinking he had done so for that he was afraid to die) called him coward, and beast. Archias also coming to him, prayed him to risc, and began to use the former persuasions to him, promising him that he would make Antipater his friend. Then Demosthenes feeling the poison work, cast open his gown, and boldly looking Archias in the face, said unto him: Now when thou wilt, play Creon's part, and throw

my body to the dogs, without further grave or burial. The For my part, O god Neptune, I do go out of thy death of temple being yet alive, because I will not profane it thenes with my death: but Antipater, and the Macedonians, have not spared to defile thy sanctuary with blood, and cruel murder. Having spoken these words, he prayed them to stay him up by his arm-holes, for his feet began already to fail him, and thinking to go forward, as he passed by the altar of Neptune, he fell down, and giving one gasp, gave up the ghost. Now touching the poison, Aristo reporteth, that he sucked and drew it up into his mouth out of his quill, as we have said before. But one Pappus (from whom Hermippus hath taken his history) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the altar, they found the beginning of a letter which said: Demosthenes unto Antipater, but no more. Now his death being thus sudden, the Thracian soldiers that were at the temple door, reported that they saw him pluck the poison which he put into his mouth, out of a little cloth he had, thinking to them that it had been a piece of gold he had swal-Howbeit a maid of the house that lowed down. served him, being examined by Archias about it: told him that he had carried it about him a long time, for a preservative for him. Eratostheaes writeth, that he kept this poison in a little box of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arm. There are many writers also that do report his death diversely, but to recite them all it were in vain: saving that there was one called Demochares (who was Demosthenes' very friend) said, that he died not so suddenly by poison, but that it was the special favour of the gods (to

The preserve him from the cruelty of the Macedonians) Athenians that so suddenly took him out of his life, and made honoured Demosthenes thenes sixteenth day of the moneth Pynepsion (to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at Athens the feast of Ceres, called Thesmophoria, which is the dolefulest feast of all the year: on the which day also, the women remain all day long in the temple of the goddess, without meat or drink. Shortly after, the Athenians to honour him according to his deserts, did cast his image in brass, and made a law besides, that the oldest man of his house should for ever be kept within the palace, at the charge of the commonwealth: and engraved these verses also upon the base of his image:

> Hadst thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy heart,

> The Macedons should not have wrought the Greeks such woe and smart.

For they that think that it was Demosthenes himself that made the verses in the Isle of Calauria. before he took his poison: they are greatly decieved. But yet a little before my first coming to Athens, there went a report that such a thing happened. A certain soldier being sent for to come unto his captain, did put such pieces of gold as he had into the hands of Demosthenes' statue, which had both his hands joined together: and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, divers leaves whereof either blown off by wind by chance, or else put there of purpose by the soldier, covered so this gold, that it was there a long time, and no man found it : until such time as the soldier came again, and found it as he left it. Hereupon this matter running abroad

in every man's mouth, there were divers wise men after his that took occasion of this subject, to make epi- death grams in the praise of Demosthenes, as one who in his life was never corrupted. Furthermore, Demades did not long enjoy the honour he thought he had newly gotten. For the justice of the gods, revenger of the death of Demosthenes, brought him into Macedon, to receive just punishment by death of those whom he dishonestly flattered: being before grown hateful to them, and afterwards committed a fault whereby he could not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did persuade, and pray Perdiccas, to make himself king of Macedon, and to deliver Greece from bondage, saying that it hung by a thread, and yet it was half rotten, meaning thereby, Antipater. Dinarchus Corinthian accused him, that he wrote these letters: the which so grievously offended Cassander, that first he slew his own son in his arms, and then commanded they should afterwards kill Demades, making him feel then by those miseries (which are the cruellest that can happen unto man) that traitors betraying their own country do first of all betray themselves.

Demosthenes had often forewarned him of his end, but he would never believe him. Thus, my friend Sossius, you have what we can deliver you, by reading, or report, touching Demosthenes' life and doings.

THE END OF DEMOSTHENES' LIFE.

## THE LIFE OF

## MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

Cicero's As touching Cicero's mother, whose name was parentage Helvia, it is reported she was a gentlewoman born, and lived always very honestly: but for his father, the reports of him are divers and infinite. For some say that he was born and brought up in a fuller's shop: others report that he came of Tullius Attius, who while he lived was honoured among the Volscians as king, and made very sharp and cruel wars with the Romans. But surely it seems to me, that the first of that name called Cicero, was some famous man, and that for his sake his offspring continued still that surname, and were glad to keep it, though many men scorned it, because Cicer in English signifieth a cich-pease. That Cicero had a thing upon the tip of his nose, as it had been a little wart, much like to a cichpease, whereupon they surnamed him Cicero. But this Cicero, whose life we write of now, nobly answered certain of his friends on a time giving him counsel to change his name, when he first made suit for office, and began to practise in matters of state: That he would endeavour himself to make the name of Ciceros more noble and famous, than the Scauri, or Catuli. After that, Cicero being made treasurer in Sicily, he gave an offering of certain silver plate unto the gods, and at large

engraved on it his two first names, Marcus Tul- His lius: and in place of his third name, he pleasantly towardcommanded the workman to cut out the form and ness fashion of a cich-pease. Thus much they write of his name. Now for his birth, it was said that his mother was brought a-bed of him without any pain, the third day of January: on which day the magistrates and governors of Rome do use at this present, yearly to make solemn prayers and sacrifices unto the gods, for the health and prosperity of the emperor. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurse, that did prognosticate unto her, she gave a child suck, which in time to come should do great good unto all the Romans. Now though such things may seem but dreams and fables unto many, yet Cicero himself shortly after proved this prophecy true: because that when he came of age to learn, he grew so toward, and wan such fame among the boys, for his excellent wit and quick capacity. For thereupon came the other boys' fathers themselves to the school to see his face, and to be eye-witnesses of the report that went of him, of his sharp and quick wit to learn. But others of the rude and baser sort of men were offended with their sons, because to honour Cicero, they did always put him in the middest between them, as they went in the streets. Cicero indeed had such a natural wit and understanding, as Plato thought meet for learning, and apt for the study of philosophy. For he gave himself to all kind of knowledge, and there was no art nor any of the liberal sciences, that he disdained: notwithstanding in his first young years he was apter, and better disposed to the study of poetry than any other.

Cicero's There is a pretty poem of his in verses of eight teachers staves, called Pontius Glaucus, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being given more earnestly unto this study, he was not only thought the best orator, but the best poet also of all the Romans in his time: and yet doth the excellency of his eloquence, and commendation of his tongue continue even to this day, notwithstanding the great alteration and change of the Latin tongue. But his poetry hath lost the name and estimation of it, because there were many after him that became far more excellent therein than he. After he had left his childish studies, he became then Philo's scholar, the academic philosopher, the only scholar of all Clitomachus' scholars, whom the Romans esteemed so much for his eloquence, and loved more for his gentle behaviour and conversation. He gave himself also to be a fol-lower of Mucius Scævola, who at that time was a great man in Rome, and prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct Cicero in the laws of Rome. He did also follow Sulla for a time, in the wars of the Marsians. But when he saw that the commonwealth of Rome fell to civil wars, and from civil wars to a monarchy: then he returned again to his book and contemplative life, and fre-quented the learned men of Greece, and always studied with them, until Sulla had gotten the upper hand, and that he saw all the commonwealth again at some stay. About that time, Sulla causing the goods of one that was said to be slain, to be sold by the crier: (being one of the outlaws and proscripts, to wit, banished by bills set up on posts) Chry-sogonus, one of Sulla's freed bondmen, and in great favour with his master, bought them for the sum of Roscius two thousand drachmas. Therewithal the son and put in heir of the dead person called Roscius, being marvellously offended, he shewed that it was too shameful an abuse: for his father's goods amounted to the sum of two hundred and fifty talents. Sulla finding himself thus openly touched with public fraud and deceit, for the only gratifying of his man: he procured Chrysogonus to accuse him, that he had killed his own father. Never an orator durst speak in Roscius' behalf to defend his cause, but shrunk back, fearing Sulla's cruelty and severity. Wherefore poor Roscius the young man, seeing every man forsake him, had no other refuge but to go to Cicero, whom his friends did counsel and persuade boldly to take upon him the defence of Roscius' cause: for he should never have a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring himself into estimation, as this. Thereupon Cicero determined to take his cause in hand, and did handle it so well, that he obtained the thing he sued for: whereby he wan him great fame and credit. But yet being afraid of Sulla's displeasure, he absented himself from Rome, and went into Greece, giving it out that his travel was for a disease he had upon him. Indeed Cicero was dog-lean, a little eater, and would also eat late, because of the great weakness of his stomach: but yet he had a good loud voice, though it was somewhat harsh, and lacked grace and comeliness. Furthermore, he was so earnest and vehement in his oration that he mounted still with his voice into the highest tunes: insomuch that men were afraid it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When

'Cicero he came to Athens, he went to hear Antiochus of Antio- the city of Ascalon, and fell in great liking with his sweet tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he misliked his new opinions in philosophy.

For Antiochus had then forsaken the opinions of the new Academic philosophers, and the sect of the Carneades: being moved thereunto, either through the manifest proof of things, or by his certain judgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or dissension against the scholars and followers of Clitomachus and Philo, he had reproved the resolutions of the Academics, which he had of long time defended, only to lean for the most part to the Stoics' opinions. Howbeit Cicero had most affection unto the Academics, and did study that sect more than all the rest, of purpose, that if he saw he were forbidden to practise in the commonwealth at Rome, he would then go to Athens (leaving all pleas and orators in the commonwealth) to bestow the rest of his time quietly in the study of philosophy. At length, when he heard news of Sulla's death, and saw that his body was grown to good state and health by exercise, and that his voice became daily more and more to fill men's ears with a sweet and pleasant sound, and yet was loud enough for the constitution of his body: receiving letters daily from his friends at Rome, that prayed him to return home, and moreover, Antiochus self also earnestly persuading him to practise in the commonwealth: he began again to fall to the study of rhetoric, and to frame himself to be eloquent, being a necessary thing for an orator, and did continually exercise himself in making orations upon any speech or proposition, and so fre-

quented the chief orators and masters of eloquence Apollo-that were at that time. To this end therefore he mins' teswent into Asia unto Rhodes, and amongst the timony of orators of Asia, he frequented Xenocles Adramettine, and Dionysius Magnesian, and studied also with Menippus Carian: at Rhodes he heard Apollonius Molon, and the philosopher Posidonius. And it is reported also, that Apollonius wanting the Latin tongue, he did pray Cicero for exercise sake, to de-claim in Greek. Cicero was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faults should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those that were present were amazed to hear him, and every man praised him one after another. Howbeit Apollonius all the while Cicero spake, did never shew any glad countenance: and when he had ended, he stayed a great while and said never a word. Cicero mis-liking withal, Apollonius at length said unto him: As for me Cicero, I do not only praise thee, but more than that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorry for poor Greece, to see that learning and elo-quence (which were the two only gifts and honour left us) are by thee obtained with us, and carried unto the Romans. Now Cicero being very well disposed, to go with good hope to practise at Rome, he was a little discouraged by an oracle that was told him. For, inquiring of the god Apollo Delphian, how he might do to win fame and estimation: the nun Pythia answered him he should obtain it, so that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his own nature, than the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to Rome, at the first he proceeded

Cierro's very warily, and discreetly, and did unwillingly first pracseek for any office, and when he did, he was not tising greatly esteemed: for they commonly called him the Grecian, and scholar, which are two words, the which the artificers, (and such base mechanical people at Rome,) have ever ready at their tongue's end. Now he being by nature ambitious of honour, and prickt forward also by the persuasion of his father and friends: in the end he began to plead, and there obtained not the chiefest place by little and little, but so soon as he fell to practise, he was immediately esteemed above all the other orators and pleaders in his time, and did excel them tors and pleaders in his time, and did excel them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciation, having the self same his gesture and pronunciation, having the self same defects of nature at the beginning, which Demosthenes had: to reform them, he carefully studied to counterfeit Roscius, an excellent comedian, and Æsop also a player of tragedies. Of this Æsop men write, that he playing one day Atreus' part upon a stage (who determined with himself how he might be revenged of his brother Thyestes) a he might be revenged of his brother Thyestes) a servant by chance having occasion to run suddenly by him, he forgetting himself, striving to shew the vehement passion and fury of this king, gave him such a blow on his head with the sceptre in his hand, that he slew him dead in the place. Even so Cicero's words were of so great force to persuade, by means of his grace and pronunciation. For he mocking the orators that thrust out their brods and gried in their orations. heads, and cried in their orations, was wont to say that they were like to lame men, who were driven to ride, because they could not go afoot: even so (said he) they cry out, because they cannot speak.

Truly pleasant taunts do grace an orator, and His dili-sheweth a fine wit: but yet Cicero used them so gence, commonly, that they were offensive unto many, justice, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spiteful man. He was chosen treasurer in the time of dearth, where there was great scarcity of corn at Rome: and the province of Sicily fell to his lot. At his first coming thither, the Sicilians misliked him very much, because he compelled them to send corn unto Rome: but after they had found his diligence, justice, and lenity, they honoured him above any governor that ever was sent from Rome. Now there were divers young gentlemen of Rome of noble houses, who being accused for sundry faults committed in wars against their honour, and martial discipline, had been sent back again unto the Prætor of Sicily: for whom Cicero pleaded, and did so excellently defend their cause, that they were pardoned every man. Thereupon, thinking well of himself, when his time was expired, he went to Rome, and by the way there happened a pretty jest unto him. As he passed through the country of Campania (otherwise called the land of labour) he met by chance with one of the chiefest Romans of all his friends. So falling in talk with him, he asked him what they said of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all Rome had been full of the glory of his name and deeds. His friend asked him again: And where hast thou been Cicero all this while, that we have not seen thee at Rome? This killed his heart straight, when he saw that the report of his name and doings, entering into the city of Rome as into an infinite sea, was so suddenly vanquished away again, without

Cicero any other fame or speech. But after that, when he ambitions looked into himself, and saw that in reason he took an infinite labour in hand to attain to glory, wherein he saw no certain end whereby to attain unto it: it cut off a great part of the ambition he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure he took to hear his own praise, and to be overmuch given to desire of honour and estimation: those two things continued with him even to his dying day, and did eftsoons make him swerve from justice. Furthermore, when he began throughly to practice in the affairs of the state, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftsmen should have many sorts of instruments and tools without life, to know the names of every one of them, the places where they should take them, and the use whereto they should employ them: and that a man of knowledge and quality (who doth all things with the help and service of men) should be slothful, and careless, to learn to know the names of his citizens. Therefore he gave himself to know, not only men's names of quality, but the streets also they dwelt in, what part of the city soever it was: their goodly houses in the country, the friends they made of, and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when he went abroad into Italy, wheresoever he became, Cicero could shew and name his friends' houses. He was not very rich, and yet he had enough to serve his turn: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loved him the better, because he took no fee nor gift for his pleading, what cause soever he took in hand, but then specially, when he defended a matter against Verres. This Verres had been Prætor of Sicily, and had

committed many lewd parts there, for the which His the Sicilians did accuse him. Cicero taking upon doings him to defend their cause, made Verres to be condemned, not by pleading, but in manner without pleading, and in this sort. The Prætors being his judges, and favouring Verres, had made so many rejournments and delays, that they had driven it off to the last day of hearing. Cicero perceiving then he should not have any light to speak all that he had to say against him, and that thereby nothing should be done and judged: he rose up, and said, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but only brought forth the witnesses before the judges, and having caused their depositions to be taken, he prayed they would proceed to sentence, according to their evidence given on that behalf. Yet some do report, that Cicero gave many pleasant taunts and girds, in pleading the accusation of the Sicilians against Verres. The Romans do call a boar, Verres. There was one Cæcilius, the son of a freed bondman, who was suspected to hold with the superstition of the Jews. This Cæcilius would have put by the Sicilians from following the accusation of Verres, and would have had the matter of his accusation only referred to him, for the prosecuting of it against him. Cicero scorning his suit, said unto him: What hath a Jew to do with a swine? This Verres had a son somewhat above twenty years of age, who (as the report went) had a very ill name for his beauty. And therefore when Verres one day thought to mock Cicero, saying that he was too effeminate: Thy children (said he) are to be reproved of that secretly at home. In this accusation, Hortensius the

Cicero's Orator durst not directly defend Verres: but riches touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to answer for him, for he had a sphinx of ivory given him by Verres for his reward. Thereupon Cicero gave him a pretty nip by the way: but Hortensius not understanding him: said he could no skill of dark speeches. Well, said Cicero, yet hast thou a sphinx in thy house. In the end Verres being condemned, and a fine set on his head to the value of threescore and fifteen myriads, Cicero notwithstanding was suspected to be bribed with money for agreeing to cast him in so small a sum. But yet when he came to be Ædilis, the Sicilians to shew themselves thankful to him, both brought and sent him many presents out of Sicily. Of all that he took nothing to his own use, but only bestowed their liberality in bringing down the prices of victuals at Rome. He had a goodly house within the confines of the city of Arpos, a farm also by Naples, and another about the city of Pompeii: but all these were no great things. Afterwards also he had the jointer of his wife Terentia, which amounted to the sum of twelve myriads, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritance, eleven myriads of their denarii. Thereupon he lived very honestly and soberly, without excess, with his familiar friends that loved him, both Grecians and Romans, and would never go to supper till after sunset, not so much for any great business he had, as for the weakness of his stomach. But otherwise he was very curious, and careful of his person, and would

be rubbed and nointed, and he would use also to walk a certain number of turns by proportion: and

so exercising his body in that sort, he was never Cicero sick, and besides was also very strong and lusty of chosen body, able to abide great pains and sorrows which Prætor he fell into afterwards. He gave his father's chief mansion-house to his brother, and went to dwell himself in the Mount Palatine: because such as came to wait upon him to do him honour, should not take the pains to go so far to see him. For, he had as many men daily at his gate every morning, as either Crassus had for his wealth, or Pompey for his estimation among the soldiers both of them being at that time the chiefest men of Rome. Yea furthermore, Pompey's self came unto Cicero, because his orations stood him to great purpose, for the increase of his honour and authority. Now when Cicero came to make suit to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinary judge) though he had many competitors, and fellow-suitors with him, yet was he first chosen afore them all: and he did so honestly behave himself in that office, that they did not so much as once suspect him of bribery or extortion. And for proof hereof, it is reported, that Licinius Macer (a man that of himself was of great power, and yet favoured and supported besides by Crassus) was accused before Cicero of theft and extortion in his office: but he trusting much to his supposed credit, and to the great suit and labour his friends made for him, went home to his house before sentence proceeded against him (the judges being yet to give their opinions) and there speedily trimmed his beard, and put a new gown upon his back, as though he had been sure to have been quit of his accusation, and then returned again into the market-place. But Crassus went to meet him. and

Cirero told him all the judges had condemned him. Liciwith one nius Macer took such a grief and conceit upon it, word that he went home to his house again, laid him the Tri- down on his bed, and never rose after. This bunes judgement wan Cicero great fame, for they praised him exceedingly for the great pains he took, to see justice duly executed. Another called also Vatinius, (a bedlem fellow, and one that behaved himself very unreverently to the magistrates in his pleading, and besides had a swollen neck) came very arrogantly one day unto Cicero being in his Prætorial seat, and asked him a thing which Cicero would not grant him there, but would think of it at better leisure. Thereupon Vatinius told him, that he would not be scrupulous to grant that, if he were Prætor. Cicero turning to him, answered him again: No more have I (said he) such a swollen neck as thou hast. Towards the end of his office, two or three days before his time expired, there was one accused Mamilius before him, that he also had robbed the commonwealth. This Manilius was very well beloved of the common people, who were persuaded that he was put in suit, not for any fault he had committed, but only to despite Pompey with, whose familiar friend he So he required certain days to answer the matter he was accused of: but Cicero would give him no further respite, but to answer it the next The people therewith were marvellously offended, because the other Prætors in such like cases, were wont to give ten days' respite unto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the judges, and also accused him unto them: he besought Cicero to

hear him patiently. Cicero made him answer, Cicero that having always used as much favour and made courtesy as he possibly might by law, unto those Consul that were accused, he thought he should offer Manilius too great wrong, if he should not do the like to him: wherefore, because he had but one day more to continue Prætor in office, he had purposely given him that day to make his answer before him. For he thought that to leave his accusation to the hearing of another Prætor, he could not have been thought a man that had borne him good-will, and meant to pleasure him. These words did marvellously change the people's opinion and affection towards him, and every man speaking well of him, they prayed him to defend Manilius' cause. He willingly granted them: and coming from the bench, standing at the bar like an orator to plead for him, he made a notable oration, and spake both boldly and sharply against the chief men of the city, and those specially that did envy Pompey. This notwithstanding, when he came to sue to be Consul, he found as great favour amongst the nobility, as he did with the communalty. For they did further his suit, for the commonwealth's sake, upon this occasion. The change and altera-tion of government the which Sulla brought in, was thought strange at the first among the people: but now men by process of time being used to it, it was throughly established, and no man misliked it. At that time many men practised to subvert the government, not for the benefit of the commonwealth, but to serve their own covetous minds. For Pompey being then in the east parts, made wars with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and

The con- had not left sufficient force at Rome to oppress spiracy of these seditious persons, that sought nothing but Catiline rebellion. These men had made Lucius Catilina their captain: a desperate man to attempt any great enterprise, subtle, and malicious of nature. He was accused before (besides many other vile faults) for deflowering of his own daughter, and killing his brother: and being afraid to be put in suit for it, he prayed Sulla to put his brother amongst the number of the outlaws (or proscripts) as if he had been then alive. These wicked rebels having chosen them such a captain, were sworn and bound one to another in this manner. They killed a man, and did eat of his flesh together, and had besides corrupted the most part of all the youth. For Catiline their captain suffered every man to take his pleasure, as his youth was inclined unto: as to banquet, to follow harlots, and gave them money largely to bestow in these vain expenses. Furthermore all Tuscany began to rise, and the most part of Gaul also, lying between the Alps and Italy. The city of Rome itself was also in great danger of rising, for the inequality of the goods of the inhabitants. For the noblemen, and of greatest courage, had spent all their lands in plays and feasts, or in buildings and common works, which they built at their own charge, to curry favour with the common people, that they might obtain the chief offices: so that thereby they became very poor, and their goods were in the hands of the mean men and wretches. Thus the state of Rome stood in great hazard of uproar, the which any man might easily have procured, that durst have taken upon him any

change or alteration of government, there was then Great such division among them in the state. Cati- troubles line notwithstanding, to provide him of a strong at Rome bulwark to prosecute his intent, came to sue to be Consul, hoping that he should be chosen with Caius Antonius, a man that of himself was apt neither to do any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great strength and aid unto him that would attempt anything. Divers noble and wise men foreseeing that, did procure Cicero to sue for the Consulship. The people accepted him, and rejected Catiline. Antonius and Cicero thereupon were created Consuls, although that Cicero of all the suitors for the Consulship was but only a knight's son, and not the son of a Senator of Rome. Now, though the common people understood not the secret practice and meaning of Catiline: yet at the beginning of Cicero's Consulship, there fell out great trouble and contention in the commonwealth. For they of the one side, whom Sulla had by his ordinances deposed from their dignities and offices in Rome (who were no small men, neither few in number) began to creep into the people's good-will, alleging many true and just reasons against the tyrannical power of Sulla: howbeit spoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any change or alteration in the commonwealth. The Tribunes on the other side preferred laws and ordinances to further this device. They preferred the law to choose the Decemviri, with sovereign power and authority through all Italy and Syria, and also through all the countries and provinces which Pompey had newly conquered to the Empire of Rome: to sell, and release all the lands belonging to the state of

Cicero Rome, to accuse any man whom they thought good, Cicero Kome, to accuse any man whom they thought good, by his to banish any man, to restore the colonies with quence people, to take what money they would out of the treasury, to levy men of war, and to keep them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemviri, there were many men of great accompt that favoured this law, but Antonius chiefly, being colleague and fellow Consul with Cicero, for he had good hope to be above one of these ten Commissioners, and forther. chosen one of these ten Commissioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was privy unto Catiline's conspiracy, and that he misliked it not, because he was so much in debt. And this was it that the noblemen most feared of all other things. Thereupon Cicero, to provide first to prevent this danger, granted him the province of the realm of Macedon: and the province of Gaul being offered unto himself, he refused it. By this good turn, he wan Antonius like a hired player, making him to promise him that he would assist and aid him for the benefit of the commonwealth, and that he would say no more, than he should will him. When he had brought him to this, and had won him to his mind: he then began to be the bolder, and more stoutly to resist them that were authors of this innovation and new laws. Cicero therefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reprove, and inveigh against this law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes would have established. But thereby he did so terrify the authors thereof, that there was not one man durst speak against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted once again to have it to pass, and appointed the Consuls to appear before the people. Howbeit Cicero being

nothing abashed at it, he commanded the Senate to overfollow him. So he did not only overthrow this threw law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes did the law prefer: but furthermore they were utterly dis-couraged and out of hope to bring any of their viri matters to pass they intended, he struck them so dead with his eloquence. For Cicero only of all men in Rome made the Romans know, how much eloquence doth grace and beautify that which is honest, and how invincible right and justice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wise governor of a common weal, should always in his doings rather prefer profit, than to seek to curry favour with the common people: yet so to use his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also unpleasant. And to prove his sweet and pleasant tongue, may be alleged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the theatre to see the pastimes. For before, the knights of Rome did sit mingled one with another amongst the common people, and took their place as they came. The first that made the difference between them, was Marcus Otho, at that time Przetor: who made a law, by the which he appointed several seats for the knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The people took this grievously, as a thing done to discountenance them: insomuch that Otho coming afterwards into the theatre, all the common people fell a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also in contrariwise made him room amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honour. Therewith the people fell a whistling louder than before, and the knights

conspired

Snila's in like manner to clapping of their hands, and so soldiers grew to words one with another: that all the theatre was straight in uproar with it. Cicero understanding it, went thither himself, and calling the people to the temple of the goddess Bellona, he there so sharply reproved them, and therewith so persuaded them, that returning presently to the theatre, they did then welcome and receive Otho with clapping of their hands, and contended with the knights which of them should do him greatest honour. But now again, the rebels of Catiline's conspiracy (who were prettily cooled at the first for the fear they stood in) began to be lusty again, and to gather together, boldly encouraging one another to broach their practice, before Pompey returned, who was said to be on the way towards Rome with his army. But besides them, those soldiers that had served before in the wars under Sulla, being dispersed up and down Italy, (but specially the best soldiers among them dwelling in the good towns of Tuscany) did stir up Catiline to hasten the enterprise, persuading themselves that they should once again have goods enough at home, to spoil and ransack at their pleasure. These soldiers having one Manlius to their captain, that had borne office in the field under Sulla, conspired with Catiline, and came to Rome to assist him in his suit: who purposed once again to demand the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill Cicero, in the tumult and hurly-burly. The gods also did plainly shew by earthquakes, lightning and thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appear, the secret practice and conspiracy: besides also, there fell out manifest conjectures and proofs by men that came to reveal them, howbeit they had no

power sufficient to encounter so noble a man, and Cicero of so great power as Catiline was. Cicero therefore examined deferring the day of election, called Catiline into in the the Senate, and there did examine him of that which Senate was reported of him. Catiline supposing there were many in the Senate that had good-wills to rebel, and also because he would shew himself ready unto them that were of his conspiracy: he gave Cicero a gentle answer, and said thus: What do I offend. said he, if that being two bodies in this town, the one lean and weak, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, strong, and of power, having no head, I do give it one? meaning under this dark answer, to signify the people and Senate. This answer being made, Cicero was more afraid than before, insomuch that he put on a brigantine for the safety of his body, and was accompanied with the chiefest men of Rome, and a great number of young men besides, going with him from his house unto the field of Mars, where the elections were made: and had of purpose left open his jacket loose at the collar, that his brigantine he had on might be seen, thereby to let every man that saw him. know the danger he was in. Every man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assail him. But it so came to pass, that by voices of the people, Catiline was again rejected from the Consulship, and Silanus and Murena chosen Consuls. Shortly after this election, the soldiers of Tuscany being joined, which should have come to Catiline, and the day appointed being at hand to broach their enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefest men of Rome to Cicero's house (Marcus Crassus, Marcus Mar-

Letters cellus, and Scipio Metellus) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bade him wake his conspinater presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speak with him, about a matter of importance. At night after supper, Crassus' porter brought his master a packet of letters, delivered him by a stranger unknown, which were directed unto divers persons, among the which one of them had no name subscribed, but was only directed unto Crassus himself. The effect of the letter was, that there should be a great slaughter in Rome made by Catiline, and therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to save himself. Crassus having read his own letter, would self. Crassus having read his own letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith unto Cicero, partly for fear of the danger, and partly also to clear himself of the suspicion they had of him for the friendship that was betwixt him and Catiline. Cicero counselling with them what was to be done, the next morning assembled the Senate very early, and carrying the letters with him, he did deliver them according to their direction, and commanded they should read them out aloud.
All these letters, and every one of them particularly, did bewray the conspiracy. Furthermore, Quintus Arrius, a man of authority, and that had been Prætor, told openly the soldiers and men of war that were levied in Tuscany. And it is reported also, that Manlius was in the field with a great number of soldiers about the cities of Tuscany, gaping daily to hear news of some change at Rome. All these things being throughly considered, a decree passed by the Senate, that they should refer the care of the commonwealth unto the Consuls, to the end that with absolute authority they might Fulvia be(as well as they could) provide for the safety and wrayeth preservation thereof. Such manner of decree and authority, was not often seen concluded of in the to kill Senate, but in time of present fear and danger. Cicero Now Cicero having this absolute power, he referred all foreign matters to Quintus Metellus' charge, and did himself take upon him the care and government of all civil affairs within Rome. On the day time when he went up and down the town, he had such a troop of men after him, that when he came through the great market-place, he almost filled it with his train that followed him. Thereupon Catiline would no longer delay time, but resolved to go himself unto Manlius where their army lay. But before he departed, he had drawn into his confederacy one Martius, and another called Cethegus, whom he commanded betimes in the morning to go to Cicero's house with short daggers to kill him, pretending to come to salute him, and to give him a good morrow. But there was a noble woman of Rome, called Fulvia, who went overnight unto Cicero, and bade him beware of that Cethegus, who indeed came the next morning betimes unto him: and being denied to be let in, he began to chaff and rail before the gate. This made him the more to be suspected. In the end Cicero coming out of his house, called the Senate to the temple of Jupiter Stator, (as much to say, as Stayer) which standeth at the upper end of the holy street as they go to the Mount Palatine. There was Catiline with others, as though he meant to clear himself of the suspicion that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would sit down by him, but they

Catiline did all rise from the bench where Catiline had departed taken his place. And further, when he began to speak, he could have no audience for the great noise they made against him. So at length Cicero rose, and commanded him to avoid out of Rome: saving, that there must needs be a separation of walls between them two, considering that the one used but words, and the other force of arms. Catiline thereupon immediately departing the city with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the precinct of the walls, but he made his sergeants carry axes and bundles of rods before him, as if he had been a Consul lawfully created, and did display his ensigns of war, and so went in this order to seek Manlius. When they were joined, he had not much less then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the towns to rebel. Now open war being thus proclaimed, Antonius, Cicero's colleague and fellow Consul, was sent against him to fight with him. In the mean space, Cornelins Lentulus surnamed Sura (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put off the Senate) assembled all the rest which were of Catiline's conspiracy, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bade them be afraid of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to recover again the dignity of a Senator which he had lost. It is reported that this surname of Sura was given him upon this occasion. He being treasurer in Sulla's dictatorship, did fondly waste and consume a marvellous sum of money of the common treasure. being offended with him for it, and demanding an

account of him before the Senate: he carelessly Great and contemptuously stepped forth, saying he could make him no other account, but shewed him the calf of his leg, as children do, when they make a fault at tennis. And thereof it came that ever after that they called him Sura, because Sura in Latin signifieth, the calf of the leg. Another time also being accused for a lewd part he had committed, he bribed some of the judges with money, and being only quit by two voices more which he had in his favour, he said he had lost his money he had given to one of those two judges, because it was enough for him to be cleared by one voice more. This man being of this disposition, was first of all incensed by Catiline, and lastly marred by certain wizards and false prognosticators that had mocked him with a vain hope, singing verses unto him which they had feigned and devised, and false prophecies also, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of Sibyl's books of prophecy, which said: that there should reign three Cornelii at Rome, of the which, two had already fulfilled the prophecy, Cinna and Sulla, and for the third, fortune laid it upon him, and therefore bade him go through withal, and not to dream it out losing opportunity as Catiline had done. Now this Lentulus undertook no small enterprise, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Senate, and as many other citizens as they could murder, and to set fire of Rome, sparing none but Pompey's sons, whom they would reserve for pledges, to make their peace afterwards with Pompey. For the rumour was very great and certain also, that he returned from very great wars and

The con- conquests which he had made in the east countries. spirators So they laid a plot to put their treason in execution, in one of the nights of Saturn's feasts. Further, they had brought flax and brimstone, and a great number of armours and weapons into Cethegus' house. Besides all this provision, they had appointed an hundred men in an hundred parts of the city: to the end that fire being raised in many places at one time, it should the sooner run through the whole city. Other men also were appointed to stop the pipes and water conduits which brought water to Rome, and to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this stir, by chance there were two ambassadors of the Allobroges, whose country at that time did much mislike of the Romans, and were unwilling to be subject unto them. Lentulus thought these men very fit instruments to cause all Gaul to rebel. Thereupon practising with them, he wan them to be of their conspiracy, and gave them letters directed to the council of their country, and in them did promise them freedom. He sent other letters also unto Catiline, and persuaded him to proclaim liberty to all bondmen, and to come with all the speed he could to Rome: and sent with them one Titus of the city of Croton, to carry these letters. But all their counsels and purposes (like fools that never met together but at feasts, drinking drunk with light women) were easily found out by Cicero: who had a careful eye upon them, and very wisely and discreetly saw through them. For he had appointed men out of the city to spy their doings, which followed them to see what they intended. Furthermore he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also took to be of the conspiracy) appreand knew by them that Lentulus and Cethegus had hended practised with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and drawn them into their conspiracy. At length he watched them one night so narrowly, that he took the ambassadors, and Titus Crotonian with the letters he carried, by help of the ambassadors of the Allobroges, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by break of day, Cicero assembled the Senate in the temple of Concord, and there openly read the letters, and heard the evidence of the witnesses. Further, there was one Junius Silanus a Senator that gave in evidence, that some heard Cethegus say they should kill three Consuls, and four Prætors. Piso a Senator also, and that had been Consul, told in manner the self same tale. And Caius Sulpicius a Prætor, that was sent into Cethegus' house, reported that he had found great store of darts, armour, daggers and swords new made. Lastly, the Senate having promised Titus Crotonian he should have no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this conspiracy: Lentulus thereby was convinced, and driven to give up his office of Prætor before the Senate, and changing his purple gown, to take another meet for his miserable state. This being done, Lentulus and his consorts were committed to ward, to the Prætor's houses. Now growing towards evening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was assembled, Cicero at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereupon he was conveyed by all the people unto a friend's house of his hard by: for that his own house was occupied by the ladies of

A sign the city, who were busy solemnly celebrating a secret sacrifice in the honour of the goddess, called of the Romans the Good Goddess, and of the Grecians Gynæcia, to wit feminine: unto her this yearly sacrifice is done at the Consul's house, by the wife or mother of the Consul then being, the Vestal Nuns being present at it. Now Cicero being come into his neighbour's house, began to bethink him what course he were best to take in this matter. For, to punish the offenders with severity, according to their deserts, he was afraid to do it: both because he was of a courteous nature, as also for that he would not seem to be glad to have occasion to shew his absolute power and authority, to punish (as he might) with rigour, citizens that were of the noblest houses of the city, and that had besides many friends. And contrariwise also, being remiss in so weighty a matter as this, he was afraid of the danger that might ensue of their rashness, mistrusting that if he should punish them with less than death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate than ever they were: adding moreover the sting and spite of a new malice unto their accustomed wickedness, besides that he himself should be thought a coward and timorous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. Cicero being perplexed thus with these doubts, there appeared a miracle to the ladies, doing sacrifice at home in his house. For the fire that was thought to be clean out upon the altar where they had sacrificed, there suddenly rose out of the imbers of the rinds or barks which

they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amazed Silanus' all the other ladies. Howbeit the Vestal Nuns sentence willed Terentia (Cicero's wife) to go straight unto her husband, and to bid him not to be afraid to tors execute that boldly which he had considered of, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and that the goddess had raised this great flame, to shew him that he should have great honour by doing of it. Terentia, that was no timorous nor fainthearted woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affairs of the state, than otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewifery in the house, as Cicero himself reporteth: she went to make report thereof unto him, and prayed him to do execution of those men. The like did Quintus Cicero his brother, and also Publius Nigidius, his friend and fellow-student with him in philosophy, and whose counsel also Cicero followed much in the government of the commonwealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbiterment of the Senate, how these malefactors should be punished: Silanus being asked his opinion first, said that they should be put in prison, and from thence to suffer execution. Others likewise that followed him, were all of that mind, but Caius Cæsar, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and begun to come forward, but yet such an one, as by his behaviour and the hope he had, took such a course, that afterwards he brought the commonwealth of Rome into an absolute monarchy. For at that time, Cicero had vehement suspicions of Cæsar, but no apparent proof to con-

Cresar's vince him. And some say, that it was brought opinion so near, as he was almost convicted, but yet saved himself. Other write to the contrary, that Cicero wittingly dissembled, that he either heard or knew any signs which were told him against Cæsar, being afraid indeed of his friends and estimation. For it was a clear case, that if they had accused Cæsar with the rest, he undoubtedly had sooner saved all their lives, than he should have lost his own. Now when Cæsar came to deliver his opinion touching the punishment of these prisoners: he stood up and said: That he did not think it good to put them to death, but to confiscate their goods: and as for their persons, that they should bestow them in prison, some in one place, some in another, in such cities of Italy, as pleased Cicero best, until the war of Catiline were ended. This sentence being very mild, and the author thereof marvellous eloquent to make it good: Cicero himself added thereunto a counterpoise, inclining unto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of Cæsar. His friends thinking that Cæsar's opinion was the safest for Cicero, because thereby he should deserve less blame for that he had not put the prisoners to death: they followed rather the second. Whereupon Silanus also recanted that he had spoken. and expounded his opinion: saying, That when he spake they should be put to death, he meant nothing so, but thought the last punishment a Senator of Rome could have, was the prison. But the first that contraried this opinion, was Catulus Lutatius, and after him Cato, who with vehement words enforced Cæsar's suspicion, and furthermore filled

all the Senate with wrath and courage: so that The exe-even upon the instant it was decreed by most cution of voices, that they should suffer death. But Casar the constept up again, and spake against the confiscation spirators of their goods, misliking that they should reject the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should stick unto the severest only: howbeit because the greatest number prevailed against him, he called the Tribunes to aid him, to the end they should withstand it: but they would give no ear unto him. Cicero thereupon yielding of himself, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetch the prisoners: who were not all in one house, but every Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take C. Lentulus. who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy street and the market-place, accompanied with the chiefest men of the city, who compassed him round about, and guarded his The people seeing that, quaked and trembled for fear, passed by, and said never a word: and specially the young men, who thought it had been some solemn mystery for the health of their country, that was so accompanied with the chief magistrate, and the noblemen of the city, with terror and fear. So when he had passed through the market-place, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus into the hands of the hangman, and commanded him to do execution. Afterwards also Cethegus, and then all the rest one after another, whom he brought to the prison himself, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing divers of their accomplices in a troup together in the market-place, who knew

Cicero's nothing what he had done, and watched only till praise night were come, supposing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet alive: he turned unto them, and spake aloud, They lived. This is a phrase of speech which the Romans use sometime, when they will finely convey the hardness of the speech, to say he is dead. When night was come, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the market-place, the people did wait upon him no more with silence as before, but with great cries of his praise, and clapping of hands in every place he went, and called him Saviour, and second founder of Rome. Besides all this, at every man's door there were links and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streets, as at noon days. The very women also did put lights out of the tops of their houses to do him honour, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long train of the chiefest men of the city, (of the which many of them had ended great wars for the which they had triumphed, and had obtained many famous conquests to the empire of Rome, both by sea and land) confessing between themselves one to another, that the Romans were greatly bound to many captains and generals of armies in their time, for the wonderful riches, spoils, and increase of their power which they had won: howbeit that they were to thank Cicero only, for their health and preservation, having saved them from so great and extreme a danger. Not for that they thought it so wonderful an act to have stricken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to have punished the offenders by death; but

because the conspiracy of Catiline being so great He and dangerous an insurrection as ever was any, he resigneth had quenched it, and pluckt it up by the roots, with so small hurt, and without uproar, trouble, or actual sedition. For, the most part of them that were gathered together about Catiline, when they heard that Lentulus and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsook him: and Catiline himself also fighting a battell with them he had about him, against Antonius the other Consul with Cicero, he was slain in the field, and all his army defeated. This notwithstanding, there were many that spake ill of Cicero for this fact, and meant to make him repent it, having for their heads Cæsar, (who was already chosen Prætor for the year to come) Metellus and Bestia, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They, so soon as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once suffer Cicero to speak to the people, notwithstanding that he was yet in his office of Consul for certain days. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speak unto the people, they did set their benches upon the pulpit for orations, which they call at Rome, Rostra: and would never suffer him to set foot in it, but only to resign his office, and that done, to come down again immediately. He granted thereunto, and went up to the pulpit upon that condition. So silence being made him, he made an oath, not like unto other Consuls' oaths when they resign their office in like manner, but strange, and never heard of before: swearing, that he had saved the city of Rome, and preserved all his country and the empire of Rome from utter ruin and destruction. All the people that were present, confirmed it, and

Cicero's sware the like oath. Wherewithal Cæsar and the consul- other Tribunes his enemies were so offended with him, that they devised to breed him some new stir by Cato and trouble: and amongst others, they made a decree, that Pompey should be sent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of Cicero. Cato, (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the commonwealth, opposing himself against all their practices, with the like authority and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation than they. So that he did not only easily break all their devices, but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled Cicero's Consulship unto them, and the things he did in his office: that they gave him the greatest honours that ever were decreed or granted unto any man living. For by decree of the people he was called Father of the country, as Cato himself had called him in his oration: the which name was never given to any man, but only unto him, and also he bare greater sway in Rome at that time, than any man beside him, This notwithstanding, he made himself envied and misliked of many men, not for any ill act he did, or meant to do: but only because he did too much boast of himself. For he never was in any assembly of people, Senate, or judgement, but every man's head was full still to hear the sound of Catulus and Lentulus brought in for sport, and filling the books and works he compiled besides full of his own praises; the which made his sweet and pleasant style, tedious, and troublesome to those that heard them, as though this misfortune ever followed him

to take away his excellent grace. But now, though Cicero he had this worm of ambition, and extreme cover- friendly ous desire of honour in his head, yet did he not to praise malice or envy any other's glory, but would very frankly praise excellent men, as well those that had been before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They have written also certain notable words he spake of some ancient men in old time, as of Aristotle: That he was like a golden flowing river: and of Plato, That if Jupiter himself would speak, he would speak like him: and of Theophrastus, He was wont to call him his delight: and of Demosthenes' orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: The longest said he. There be divers writers also, who to shew that they were great followers of Demos-thenes, do follow Cicero's saying in a certain epistle he wrote unto one of his friends, wherein he said that Demosthenes slept in some of his orations: but yet they forget to tell how highly he praised him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote against Antonius (in the which he took great pains, and studied more than all the rest) Philippians: to follow those which Demosthenes wrote against Philip king of Macedon. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honourable speech of him. For he obtained of Cæsar, when he had the empire of Rome in his hands, that Cratippus the Peripatetick philosopher was made citizen of Rome. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areo-

Cicero pagites, he was entreated to remain at Athens, to too much teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was given to a great honour and ornament unto their city. There praise a great nonour and ornament unto their city. There himself are extant also of Cicero's epistles unto Herodes, and others unto his son, willing him to follow Cratippus in his study and knowledge. He wrote another letter also unto Gorgias the rhetorician, and forbade him his son's company: because he understood he enticed him to drunkenness, and to other great dishonesty. Of all his epistles he wrote in Greek, there is but that only written in choler, and another which he wrote unto Pelops Byzantine. And for that he wrote to Gorgias, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to taunt him in his letter: because (as it seemed) he was a man of very lewd life and conversation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to Pelops, finding himself grieved with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the Byzantines to ordain some public honours in his behalf: that methinks proceeded of overmuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and only because he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded Munatius' cause before the judges, who shortly after accused Sabinus a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him: What Munatius, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a mist I cast before the judges' eyes, that made them they could not discern the fault? Another time also, having openly praised Marcus Crassus in the pulpit, with good audience of the people: shortly after he spake to

the contrary, all the evil he could of him, in the His subsame place. Why, how now, said Crassus: didst tile and thou not thyself highly praise me in this place, the pleasant last day? I can not deny it, said Cicero: but indeed I took an ill matter in hand to shew mine eloquence. Another time Crassus chanced to say in an open assembly, That none of all the Crassi of his house had ever lived above threescore years: and afterwards again repenting himself, he called it in again, and said, Sure I knew not what I did, when I said so. Cicero answered him again: Thou knewest well enough the people were glad to hear it, and therefore spakest it to please them. Another time Crassus liking the opinion of the Stoic philosophers, that said the wise man was ever rich: Cicero answered him, and bade him consider whether they meant not thereby, that the wise man had all things. Crassus' covetousness was defamed of every man. Of Crassus' sons, one of them did much resemble Attius, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one day this son of Crassus made an oration before the Senate, which divers of them commended very much. So, Cicero being asked how he liked it: Methinks, said he, it is Attius of Crassus. About this time, Crassus being ready to take his journey into Syria, he desired to have Cicero his friend, rather than his enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he told Cicero that he would come and sup with him. Cicero said he should be welcome. Shortly after some of his friends told him of Vatinius, how he was desirous to be made friends with him, for he was his enemy. What, quoth Cicero, and will he come to supper too? Thus he used Crassus. Now this Vatinius

Cicero's having a swollen neck, one day pleading before subtile Cicero: he called him the swollen orator. Another time when he heard say that he was dead, and then that he was alive again: A vengeance on him, said he, that hath lied so shamefully. Another time when Cæsar had made a law for the dividing of the lands of Campania unto the soldiers: divers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, Lucius Gellius (a very old man) said, He would never grant it while he lived. Cicero pleasantly answered again, Alas, tarry a little, the good old man will not trouble you long. Another time there was one Octavius, supposed to be an African born. He when Cicero on a time pleaded a matter, said that he heard him not: Cicero presently answered him again, And yet hast thou a hole bored through thine ear. Another time Metellus Nepos told him, That he had overthrown more men by his witness, than he had saved by his eloquence. I grant said Cicero, for indeed I have more faith, than eloquence in me. So was there also a young man that was suspected to have poisoned his father with a tart, that boasted he would revile Cicero: I had rather have that of thee, quoth Cicero, than thy tart. Publius Sextius also having a matter before the judges, entertained Cicero, with other of his counsellors: but yet he would speak all himself, and give none of the orators leave to say anything. In the end, when they saw plainly that the judges would discharge him, being ready to give sentence: Cicero said unto him, Bestir thee hardily to-day, for to-morrow Sextius thou shalt be a private man. Another, one Publius Cotta, who would fain have been thought

a wise lawyer, and yet had little wit and under- and standing: Cicero appealed to him as a witness in a pleasant matter, and being examined, he answered he knew nothing of it. Cicero replied to him again: Thou thinkest peradventure they ask thee touching the law. Again, Metellus Nepos, in a certain disputa-tion he had with Cicero, did many times repeat, Who is thy father? Cicero answered him again: Thy mother hath made this question harder for thee to answer. This Nepos' mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as subtile witted and unconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a gear the exercise of his office, and went into Syria to Pompey, upon no occasion: and as fondly again he returned thence, upon a sudden. His schoolmaister Philager also being dead, he buried him very honestly, and set a crow of stone upon the top of his tomb. Cicero finding it, told him Thou has done very wisely: for thy master hath taught thee rather to fly, than to speak. Another time Appius Clodius pleading a matter, said in his preamble that his friend had earnestly requested him to employ all his knowledge, diligence, and faith upon this matter.
O gods, said Cicero, and hast thou shewed thyself so hard-hearted to thy friend, that thou hast performed none of all these he requested thee? Now to use these fine taunts and girds to his enemies, it was a part of a good orator; but so commonly to gird every man to make the people laugh, that was him great ill-will of many, as shall appear by some examples I will tell you. Marcus Aquinius had two sons-in-law, who were both banished: Cicero therefore called him Adrastus. Lucius Cotta by chance also was Censor at that time, when Cicero

The sued to be Consul: and being there at the day of malice the election, he was athirst, and was driven to betwixt drink. But while he drank, all his friends stood about him, and after he had drunk, he said unto them: It is well done of ye, said he, to be affraid lest the Censor should be angry with me,

affraid lest the Censor should be angry with me, because I drink water: for it was reported the Censor loved wine well. Another time Cicero meeting one Voconius, with three foul daughters of his with him, he cried out aloud:

This man hath gotten children in despite of Phœbus,

It was thought in Rome that Marcus Gellius was not born of free parents by father and mother, who reading certain letters one day in the Senate very loud: Cicero said unto them that were about him, Wonder not at it, quoth he, for this man hath been a crier in his days. Faustus, the son of Sulla Dictator at Rome, which set up bills outlawing divers Romans: making it lawful for any man to kill them without danger where they found them: this man after he had spent the most part of his father's goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driven to sell his household stuff, by bills set up on every post. Cicero when he saw them, Yea marry said he, these bills please me better, than those which his father set up. These taunts and common quips without purpose, made divers men to malice him. The great ill-will that Clodius bare him, began upon this occasion. Clodius was of a noble house, a young man, and very wild and insolent. He being in love with Pompeia Cæsar's wife, found the means secretly to get into Cæsar's house, apparelled like a young singing wench, because on that day the

ladies of Rome did solemnly celebrate a secret and sacrifice in Cæsar's house, which is not lawful for Clodius men to be present at. So there was no man there but Clodius, who thought he should not have been known, because he was but a young man without any hair on his face, and that by this means he might come to Pompeia amongst the other women. He being gotten into this great house by night, not knowing the rooms and chambers in it: there was one of Cæsar's mother's maids of her chamber called Aurelia, who seeing him wandering up and down the house in this sort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to answer, he said he sought for Aura, one of Pompeia's maids. The maid perceived straight it was no woman's voice, and therewithal gave a great shrich, and called the other women: the which did see the gates fast shut, and then sought every corner up and down, so that at length they found him in the maid's chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blown abroad in the city, whereupon Cæsar put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused Clodius, and burdened him that he had profaned the holy ceremonies of the sacrifices. Cicero at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had ever accompanied him to guard him, if any man would have offered him injury in the busy time of the conspiracy of Catiline. Clodius stoutly denied the matter he was burdened with, and said that he was not in Rome at that time. but far from thence. Howbeit Cicero gave evidence against him, and deposed, that the self same day he came home to his house unto him, to speak with

The him about certain matters. This indeed was true, wicked though it seemeth Cicero gave not this evidence parts of so much for the truth's sake, as to please his wife Clodius Terentia: for she hated Clodius to the death, because of his sister Clodia that would have married cause of his sister Clodia that would have married Cicero, and did secretly practice the marriage by one Tullius, who was Cicero's very friend, and because he repaired very often to this Clodia that dwelt hard by Cicero, Terentia began to suspect him. Terentia being a cruel woman, and wearing her husband's breeches: allured Cicero to set upon Clodius in his adversity, and to withest against him, as many other honest men of the city also did: some that he was perjured, others that he committed a thousand lewd parts, that he bribed the people with money, that he had enticed and de-flowered many women. Lucullus also brought forth certain maidens which deposed that Clodius had deflowered the youngest of his own sisters, she being in house with him, and married. And there went a great rumour also that he knew his two other sisters, of the which the one was called Terentia, and married unto King Martius: and the other Clodia, whom Metulius Celer had married, ether Clodia, whom Metulius Celer had married, and whom they commonly called Quadrantaria: because one of her paramours sent her a purse full of quadrynes (which are little pieces of copper money) instead of silver. Clodius was slandered more by her, than with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the people were very much offended with them, that gave evidence against him, and accused him. The judges being affirst of the contract number of the people where the state of the contract number of the co of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his judgement, for the safety of their

persons: and in the tables where they wrote their Clodius sentences, their letters for the most part were con-fusedly set down. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number: and it was reported also that some of them were close fisted. Catulus therefore meeting with some of them going home, after they had given their sentence, told them: Surely ye had good reason to be well guarded for your safety, for you were afraid your money should have been taken from you, which you took for bribes. And Cicero said unto Clodius, who reproved him that his witness was not true he gave against him: Clean contrary, quoth Cicero, for five and twenty of the judges have believed me, being so many that have condemned thee, and the thirty would not believe thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithstanding, in this judgement Casar never gave evidence against Clodius: and said moreover, that he did not think his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, because he would that Cæsar's wife should not only be clean from any dishonesty, but also void of all suspicion. Clodius being quit of this accusation and trouble, and having also found means to be chosen Tribune: he began straight to persecute Cicero, changing all things, and stirring up all manner of people against him. First he wan the good-will of the common people by devising of new laws which he preferred, for their benefit and commodity: to both the Consuls he granted great and large provinces: unto Piso, Macedon, and to Gabinius, Syria. He made also many poor men free citizens, and had always about him a great number of slaves armed. At that

guilty

Cicero present time there were three notable men in Rome, accused which carried all the sway: Crassus, that shewed himself an open enemy unto Cicero: Pompey the other, made much both of the one and the other: the third was Cæsar, who was prepared for his journey into Gaul with an army. Cicero did lean unto him, (though he knew him no fast friend of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in Catiline's conspiracy) and prayed him that he might go to the wars with him, as one of his lieutenants. Casar granted him. Thereupon Clodius perceiving that by this means he got him out of the danger of his office of Tribuneship for that year, he made fair weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himself unto him) and told him that he had cause rather to think ill of Terentia, for that he had done against him, than of himself, and always spake very courteously of him as occasion fell out, and said he did think nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a little grieve him, that being a friend, he was offered unkindness by his friend. These sweet words made Cicero no more afraid. so that he gave up his lieutenantcy unto Cæsar, and began again to plead as he did before. Cæsar took this in such disdain, that he hardened Clodius the more against him, and besides, made Pompey his enemy. And Cæsar himself also said before all the people, that he thought Cicero had put Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, unjustly to death, and contrary to law, without lawful trial and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which Cicero was openly accused. Thereupon Cicero seeing himself accused for this fact, he changed his usual gown he wore, and put on a mourning gown; and so suffer-

ing his beard and hair of his head to grow without Pompey any combing, he went in this humble manner, and and sued to the people. But Clodius was ever about Cicero him in every place and street he went, having a sight of rascals and knaves with him that shamefully mocked him for that he had changed his gown and countenance in that sort, and oftentimes they cast dirt and stones at him, breaking his talk and requests he made unto the people. This notwith-standing, all the knights of Rome did in manner change their gowns with him for company, and of them there were commonly twenty thousand young gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their hair about their ears, and were suitors to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate assembled to decree that the people should mourn in blacks, as in a common calamity: but the Consuls were against it. And Clodius on the other side was with a band of armed men about the Senate. so that many of the Senators ran out of the Senate, crying, and tearing their clothes for sorrow. Howbeit these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moved with pity and shame: but either Cicero must needs absent himself, or else determine to fight with Clodius. Then went Cicero to entreat Pompey to aid him: but he absented himself of purpose out of the city, because he would not be entreated, and lay at one of his houses in the country, near unto the city of Alba. So he first of all sent Piso his son-in-law unto him to entreat him, and afterwards went himself in person to him. But Pompey being told that he was come, had not the heart to suffer him to come to him, to look him in the face: for he had been past all shame to have refused the request

Cicero's of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him exile such pleasure, and also done and said so many things in his favour. Howbeit Pompey being the son-in-law of Cæsar, did unfortunately (at his request) forsake him at his need, unto whom he was bound for so many infinite pleasures, as he had received of him afore; and therefore when he heard say he came to him, he went out at his back gate and would not speak with him. So Cicero seeing himself betrayed of him, and now having no other refuge to whom he might repair unto: he put himself into the hands of the two Consuls. Of them two. Gabinius was ever cruel, and churlish unto him. But Piso on the other side spake always very courteously unto him, and prayed him to absent himself for a time, and to give place a little to Clodius' fury, and patiently to bear the change of the time: for in so doing, he might come again another time to be the preserver of his country, which was now for his sake in tumult and sedition. Cicero upon this answer of the Consul, consulted with his friends: among the which Lucullus gave him advice to tarry, and said that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrary opinion, and would have him to get him away with speed: for the people would shortly wish for him again, when they had once been beaten with Clodius' fury and folly. Cicero liked best to follow this counsel. Whereupon having had a statue of Minerva a long time in his house, the which he greatly reverenced: he carried her himself, and gave her to the Capitol with this inscription: Unto Minerva, Protector of Rome. So. his friends having given him safe conduct, he went

out of Rome about midnight, and took his way Ciesm's through the country of Luke by land, meaning to axile go into Sicily. When it was known in Rome that he was fled, Clodius did presently banish him by decree of the people, and caused bills of inhibition to be set up, that no man should secretly receive him within five hundred miles compass of Italy. Howbeit divers men reverencing Cicero. made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had used him with all manner of courtesy possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, saving one city only in Luke, called at that time Hipponium, and now Vibon: where a Sicilian called Vibius, (unto whom Cicero before had done many pleasures, and specially among others, had made him master of the works in the year that he was Consul) would not once receive him into his house, but promised him he would appoint him a place in the country that he might go unto. And Caius Virgilius also, at that time Prætor and governor of Sicily, who before had shewed himself his very great friend: wrote then unto him, that he should not come near unto

Sicily. This grieved him to the heart. Thereupon he went directly unto the city of Brundusium, and there embarked to pass over the sea unto Dyrrachium, and at the first had wind at will: but when he was in the main sea, the wind turned, and brought him back again to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoised sail again, and the report went, that at his arrival at Dyrrachium when he took land, the earth shook under him, and the sea gave back together: whereby the soothsayers interpreted, that his

VIII

Cicero's exile should not be long, because both the one faint and the other was a token of change. Yet Cicero, heart in his exile notwithstanding that many men came to see him for the good-will they bare him, and that the cities of Greece contended who should most honour him, he was always sad, and could not be merry, but cast his eyes still towards Italy, as passioned lovers do towards the women they love: shewing himself faint-hearted, and took this adversity more basely, than was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him orator, but rather philosopher: saying, That philosophy was his chiefest profession, and that for his eloquence he did not use it, but as a necessary instrument to one that pleadeth in the commonwealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take man's reason from him, even like a colour, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of state, and to make them feel the self same passions that common people do, by daily frequenting their company: unless they take great heed of them, and that they come to practise in the commonwealth with this resolute mind, to have to do with the like matters that the common people have, but not to entangle themselves with the like passions and moods, by the which their matters do rise. Now Clodius was not contented that he had banished Cicero out of Italy, but further he burnt all his houses in the country, and his house also in Rome standing in the market-place, of the which he built a temple of liberty, and caused his goods to be sold by the crier: so that the crier was occupied all day long crying the goods to be sold,

and no man offered to buy any of them. The Cicero chiefest men of the city beginning to be affrayed of called these violent parts, and having the common people from at his commandment, whom he had made very banish-bold and insolent: he began to inveigh against ment Pompey, and spake ill of his doings in the time of his wars, the which every man else but himself did commend. Pompey then was very angry with himself that he had so forsaken Cicero, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the means he could to call him home again from his banishment. Clodius was against it all he could. The Senate notwithstanding with one full consent ordained, that nothing should be established for the commonwealth, before Cicero's banishment were first repealed. Lentulus was at that time Consul, and there grew such an uproar and stir upon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the market-place, and Quintus Cicero (the brother of Cicero) was slain and hidden under the dead bodies. Then the people began to change their minds. And Annius Milo, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venture upon Clodius. and bring him by force to be tried before the judges. Pompey himself also having gotten a great number of men about him, as well of the city of Rome as of other towns adjoining to it, being strongly guarded with them: he came out of his house, and compelled Clodius to get him out of the market-place, and then called the people to give their voices, for the calling home again of It is reported that the people never passed thing with so great good-will, nor so wholly together, as the return of Cicero. And the Senate

Cicero for their parts also, in the behalf of Cicero, ortaketh dained that the cities which had honoured and away the received Cicero in his exile, should be greatly tables of commended; and that his houses which Clodius acts had overthrown and razed, should be re-edified at the charge of the commonwealth. So Cicero returned the sixteenth moneth after his banishment. and the towns and cities he came by, shewed themselves so joyful of his return, that all manner of men went to meet and honour him, with so great love and affection, that Cicero's report thereof afterwards came indeed short of the very truth as it was. For he said, that Italy brought him into Rome upon their shoulders. Insomuch as Crassus himself, who before his banishment was his enemy, went then with very good-will unto him, and became his friend, saying: That he did it for the love of his son, who loved Cicero with all his heart. Now Cicero being returned, he found a time when Clodius was out of the city, and went with a good company of his friends unto the Capitol, and there took away the tables, and brake them, in the which Clodius had written all his acts that he had passed and done in the time of his Tribuneship. Clodius would afterwards have accused Cicero for it: but Cicero answered him, That he was not lawfully created Tribune, because he was of the Patricians, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneship was void, and of none effect. Therewith Cato was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked of Clodius' doings: (but to the contrary, utterly misliked all that he did) but because he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate should cancel all those

things which he had done and passed in his Clodius Tribuneship, and specially, because amongst the stain by rest that was there which he himself had done in the Isle of Cyprus, and in the city of Byzantium. Hereupon there grew some strangeness betwixt Cicero and Cato, the which notwithstanding brake not out to open enmity: but only to an abstinence of their wonted familiarity, and access one to another. Shortly after, Milo slew Clodius. Milo being accused of murther, prayed Cicero to plead his cause. The Senate fearing that this accusation of Milo, (who was a hardy man, and of quality besides) would move some sedition and uproar in the city: they gave commission to Pompey to see justice executed as well in this cause, as in other offences, that the city might be quiet, and judgement also executed with safety. Thereupon Pompey the night before took the highest places of the market-place, by his soldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. Milo fearing that Cicero would be affrayed to see such a number of harnest men about him, being no usual matter, and that it might peradventure hinder him to plead his cause well: he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his litter into the market-place, and there to stay the coming of the judges, till the place were full. For Cicero was not only fearful in wars, but timorous also in pleading. For indeed he never began to speak, but it was in fear: and when his eloquence was come to the best proof and perfec-tion, he never left his trembling and timorousness. Insomuch that pleading a case for Mucius Murena (accused by Cato,) striving to excel Hortensius, whose pleading was very well thought of: he took

Cicero no rest all night, and what through watching, and

timorous
in pleading
the trouble of his mind he was not very well, so that
in pleading
tensius. So, going to defend Milo's cause, when
he came out of his litter, and saw Pompey set aloft as if he had been in a camp, and the market-place compassed about with armed men, glistering in every corner: it so amated him, that he could scant fashion himself to speak, all the parts of him did so quake and tremble, and his voice could not come to him. But Milo on the other side stood boldly by him himself, without any fear at all of the judgement of his cause, neither did he let his hair grow, as other men accused did: neither did he wear any mourning gown, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. many held opinion that this timorousness of Cicero came rather of the good-will he bare unto his friends, than of any cowardly mind of himself. He was also chosen one of the priests of the soothsayers, which they call augurs, in the room of P. Crassus the younger, who was slain in the realm of Parthia. Afterwards the province of Cilicia being appointed to him, with an army of twelve thousand footmen, and two thousand and five hundred horsemen, he took the sea to go thither. So when he was arrived there, he brought Cappadocia again into the sub-jection and obedience of King Ariobarzanes according to his commission and commandment given by the Senate: moreover, both there and elsewhere he took as excellent good order as could be devised, in reducing of things to quietness without wars. Furthermore, finding that the Cilicians were grown somewhat stout and unruly, by the overthrow the

Romans had of the Parthians, and by reason of the Cicero's rising and rebellion in Syria: he brought them unto integrity reason by gentle persuasions, and never received ingoverngifts that were sent him, no not from kings and princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the provinces of the feasts and banquets they were wont to make other governors before him. On the other side also, he would ever have the company of good and learned men at his table, and would use them well, without curiosity and excess. He had never porter to his gate, nor was seen by any man in his bed: for he would always rise at the break of day, and would walk or stand before his door. He would courteously receive all them that came to salute and visit him. Further they report of him, that he never caused man to be beaten with rods, nor to tear his own garments. In his anger he never reviled any man, neither did despitefully set fine upon any man's head. Finding many things also belonging to the commonwealth, which private men had stolen and embezzled to their own use: he restored again unto the cities, whereby they grew very rich and wealthy: and yet did save their honour and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurt, but only constrained them to restore that which was the commonwealth's. He made a little war also, and drave away the thieves that kept about the mountain Amanus, for the which exploit his soldiers called him Imperator, to say, chief captain. About that time there was an orator called Cæcilius, who wrote unto him from Rome, to pray him to send him some leopards, or panthers out of Cilicia, because he would shew the people some pastime with them. Cicero boasting of his doings, wrote to him again,

Cioero's that there were no more leopards in Cilicia, but words of that they were all fled into Caria for anger, that Pompey seeing all things quiet in Cilicia, they had leisure Cassar now to hunt them. So when he returned towards Rome, from the charge of his government, he came by Rhodes: and stayed a few days at Athens, with great delight, to remember how pleasantly he lived there before, at what time he studied there. Thither came to him the chiefest learned men of the city, and his friends also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, having received all the honourable entertainment in Greece that could be: he returned unto Rome, where at his arrival he found great factions kindled, the which men saw plainly would grow in the end to civil war. Thereupon the Senate having decreed that he should enter in triumph into the city: he answered, That he would rather (all parties agreed) follow Cæsar's coach in triumph. So he travelled very earnestly between Pompey and Cæsar, eftsoons writing unto Cæsar, and also speaking unto Pompey that was present, seeking all the means he could, to take up the quarrel and misliking betwixt them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speech of agreement would take place. So Pompey hearing that Cæsar was not far from Rome, he durst no longer abide in Rome, but fled with divers of the greatest men in Rome. Cicero would not follow him when he fled, and therefore men thought he would take part with Cæsar: but this is certain, that he was in a marvellous perplexity, and could not easily determine what way to take. Whereupon he wrote in his epistles: What way should I take? Pompey hath the juster and honester cause of war,

but Cæsar can better execute, and provide for him-He goeth self and his friends with better safety: so that I unto have means enough to fly, but none to whom I Pompey might repair. In all this stir, there was one of Cæsar's friends called Trebatius, which wrote a letter unto Cicero, and told him that Cæsar wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope and fortune he undertook: but if he excused himself by his age, that then he should get him into Greece, and there to be quiet from them both. Cicero marvelling that Cæsar wrote not to him himself, answered in anger, That he would do nothing unworthy of his acts all the days of his life thitherto: and to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now Cæsar being gone into Spain, Cicero embarked immediately to go to Pompey. So when he came unto him, every man was very glad of his coming, but Cato. Howbeit Cato secretly reproved him for coming unto Pompey, saying: That for himself he had been without all honesty at that time to have forsaken that part, the which he had always taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the commonwealth: but for him on the other side, that it had been better for the safety of his country, and chiefly for all his friends, that he had been a neuter to both, and so to have taken things as they had fallen out: and that he had no manner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become Cæsar's enemy, and by coming thither to put him-self into so great peril. These persuasions of Cato overthrew all Cicero's purpose and determination, besides that Pompey himself did not employ him in any matter of service or importance. But hereof himself was more in fault than Pompey, because he

Cicero's confessed openly that he did repent him he was come merry thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained sayings all Pompey's preparations and counsels, the which indeed made him to be had in jealousy and suspicion. Also he would ever be fleering and gibing at those that took Pompey's part, though he had no list himself to be merry. He would also go up and down the camp very sad and heavy, but yet he would ever have one jest or other to make men laugh, although they had as little lust to be merry as he: and surely, it shall do no hurt to call some of them to mind in this place. Domitius being very desirous to prefer a gentleman to have charge of men, to recommend him, he said he was an honest, wise, and sober man. Whereto Cicero presently answered: Why dost thou not keep him then to bring up thy children? Another time when they commended Theophanes Lesbian (that was maister of all the artificers of the camp) because he had notably comforted the Rhodians when they had received a great loss of their navy : See, said Cicero. what a goodly thing it is to have a Grecian, maister of artificers in the camp! When both battels came to join together, and that Cæsar had in manner all the advantage, and kept them as good as besieged: Lentulus told him on a time, that he heard say all Cæsar's friends were mad, and melancholy men. Why, quoth Cicero to him again: dost thou say that they do envy Cæsar? Another called Marcius, coming lately out of Italy, said, That there ran a rumour in Rome, that Pompey was besieged. What, quoth Cicero to him again: and didst thou take ship to come and see him thy self, because thou mightest believe it, when thou

hadst seen it? Pompey being overthrown, one Cato and Nonnius said there was yet good hope left, because Cicero they had taken seven eagles within Pompey's camp. Thy persuasion were not ill, quoth Cicero, so we were to fight but with pyes or daws. Labienus re-posed all his trust in certain oracles, that Pompey of necessity must have the upper hand. Yea said Cicero, but for all this goodly stratagem of war, we have not long since lost our whole camp. After the battell of Pharsalia, where Cicero was not by reason of his sickness: Pompey being fled, and Cato at that time at Dyrrachium, where he had gathered a great number of men of war, and had also prepared a great navy: he prayed Cicero to take charge of all this army, as it pertained unto him, having been Consul. Cicero did not only refuse it, but also told them he would meddle no more with this war. But this was enough to have made him been slain: for the younger Pompey and his friends called him traitor, and drew their swords upon him to kill him, which they had done, had not Cato stepped between them and him, and yet had he much ado to save him, and to convey him safely out of the camp. When Cicero came to Brundusium, he stayed there a certain time for Cæsar's coming, who came but slowly, by reason of his troubles he had in Asia, as also in Egypt. Howbeit news being brought at length that Cæsar was arrived at Tarentum, and that he came by land unto Brundusium: Cicero departed thence to go meet him, not mistrusting that Cæsar would not pardon him, but rather being ashamed to come to his enemy being a conqueror, before such a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to do or speak anything unseemly to his

eloquence

The calling. For Casar seeing him coming towards force of him far before the rest that came with him: he Cicero's lighted from his horse and embraced him, and walked a great way afoot with him, still talking with him only, and ever after he did him great honour and made much of him. Insomuch as Cicero having written a book in praise of Cato: Cæsar on the other side wrote another, and praised the eloquence and life of Cicero, matching it with the life of Pericles, and Theramenes. Cicero's book was entitled Cato, and Cæsar's book called Anticato, as much to say as against Cato. They say further, that Quintus Ligarius being accused to have been in the field against Cæsar, Cicero took upon him to defend his cause: and that Cæsar said unto his friends about him. What hurt is it for us to hear Cicero speak, whom we have not heard of long time? For otherwise Ligarius (in my opinion) standeth already a condemned man, for I know him to be a vile man, and mine enemy. But when Cicero had begun his oration, he moved Cæsar marvellously, he had so sweet a grace, and such force in his words: that it is reported Cæsar changed divers colours, and shewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a marvellous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in the end when the orator came to touch the battell of Pharsalia, then was Cæsar so troubled, that his body shook withal, and besides, certain books he had, fell out of his hands, and he was driven against his will to set Ligarius at liberty. Afterwards, when the commonwealth of Rome came to be a kingdom, Cicero leaving to practise any more in the state, he gave himself to read philosophy to the young men that

came to hear him: by whose access unto him Cicero's (because they were the chiefest of the nobility in life under Rome) he came again to bear as great sway and authority in Rome, as ever he had done before. His study and endeavour was, to write matters of philosophy dialogue-wise, and to translate out of Greek into Latin, taking pains to bring all the Greek words, which are proper unto logic and natural causes, unto Latin. For he was the first man by report that gave Latin names unto these Greek words, which are proper unto philosophers, as, φαντασία, he termed, visio, κατάθεσις assensus, έποχη, assensus cobibitio, κατάληψις, comprehensio, τὸ ἄτομον corpus individuum, τὸ ἄμερες corpus simplex, τὸ κενόν ναсииm, and many other suchlike words. But though he were not the first, yet was it he that most did devise and use them, and turned some of them by translation, others into proper terms: so that at length they came to be well taken, known, and understood of every man. And for his readiness in writing of verses, he would use them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whensoever he took in hand to make any, he would despatch five hundred of them in a night. Now, all that time of his recreation and pleasure, he would commonly be at some of his houses in the country, which he had near unto Tusculum, from whence he would write unto his friends, that he led Laertes' life: either spoken merrily as his manner was, or else pricked forward with ambition, desiring to return again to be a practiser in the common-wealth, being weary with the present time and state thereof. Howsoever it was, he came oftentimes to Rome, only to see Casar to keep him his friend,

away his

Cicero and would ever be the first man to confirm any did put honours decreed unto him, and was always studious way his to utter some new matter to praise him and his doings. As that was he said touching the statues of Pompey, the which being overthrown, Casar commanded them to be set up again, and so they were. For Cicero said, That by that courtesy in setting up of Pompey's statues again, he did estab-lish his own. So Cicero being determined to write all the Roman history, and to mingle with them many of the Grecians' doings, adding thereunto all the fables and devices which they do write and report: he was hindered of his purpose against his will, by many open and private troubles that came upon him at once: whereof notwithstanding he himself was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his wife Terentia, because she had made but small account of him in all the wars: so that he departed from Rome having no necessary thing with him to entertain him out of his country, and yet when he came back again into Italy, she never shewed any spark of love or good-will towards him. For she never came to Brundusium to him, where he remained a long time: and worse than that, his daughter having the heart to take so long a journey in hand to go to him, she neither gave her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture convenient for her, but so handled the matter, that Cicero at his return to Rome found bare walls in his house and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in debt besides. And these were the honestest causes alleged for their divorce. But besides that Terentia denied all these, Cicero himself gave her a good occasion to clear her self,

because he shortly after married a young maiden, and mar-being fallen in fancy with her (as Terentia said) for ried a her beauty: or, as Tyro his servant wrote, for her riches, to the end that with her goods he might pay his debts. For she was very rich, and Cicero also was appointed her guardian, she being left sole heir. Now, because he owed a marvellous sum of money, his parents and friends did counsel him to marry this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too old for her, because that with her goods he might satisfy his creditors. But Antonius speaking of this marriage of Cicero, in his answers and orations he made against the Philippians: he doth reprove him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was grown old, being merry with him by the way for that he had been an idle man, and never went from the smoke of his chimney, nor had been abroad in the wars in any service of his country or commonwealth. Shortly after that he had married his second wife, his daughter died in labour of child, in Lentulus' house, whose second wife she was, being before married unto Piso, who was her first husband. So the philosophers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he took her death so sorrowfully, that he put away his second wife, because he thought she did rejoice at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the state and troubles of his house. Now touching the conspiracy against Cæsar, he was not made privy to it, although he was one of Brutus' greatest friends, and that it grieved him to see things in that state they were brought unto, and albeit also he wished for the time past, as much as any other man did. But indeed the conspirators were afraid of his nature, that lacked

The con- hardiness: and of his age, the which oftentimes spiracy maketh the stoutest and most hardiest natures fainthearted and cowardly. Notwithstanding the conspiracy being executed by Brutus and Cassius, Cæsar's friends being gathered together, every man was afraid that the city would again fall into civil And Antonius also, who was Consul at that time, did assemble the Senate, and made some speech and motion then to draw things again unto quietness. But Cicero having used divers persussions fit for the time, in the end he moved the Senate to decree (following the example of the Athenians) a general oblivion of things done against Cæsar, and to assign unto Brutus and Cassius some governments of provinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded: for the people of themselves were sorry, when they saw Cæsar's body brought through the market-place. And when Antonius also did shew them his gown all bebloodied, cut and thrust through with swords: then they were like madmen for anger, and sought up and down the market-place if they could meet with any of them that had slain him: and taking firebrands in their hands, they ran to their houses to set them afire. But the conspirators having prevented this danger, saved themselves: and fearing that if they tarried at Rome, they should have many such alarms, they forsook the city. Then Antonius began to look aloft, and became fearful to all men, as though he meant to make himself king: but yet most of all unto Cicero, above all others. For Antonius perceiving that Cicero began again to increase in eredit and authority, and knowing that he was Brutus' very friend: he did mislike to see him

come near him, and besides, there was at that time Cicero some jealousy betwixt them, for the diversity and saileth difference of their manners and dispositions. Cicero Greece being afraid of this, was first of all in mind to go with Dolabella to his province of Syria, as one of his lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Consuls the next year following after Antonius. two noble citizens, and Cicero's great friends, Hirtius and Pansa: they entreated him not to forsake them, undertaking that they would pluck down this overgreat power of Antonius, so he would remain with them. But Cicero, neither believing nor altogether mistrusting them, forsook Dolabella, and promised Hirtius and Pansa, that he would spend the sommer at Athens, and that he would return again to Rome so soon as they were entered into their Consulship. With this determination Cicero took sea alone, to go into Greece. But as it chanceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not sail, and news came to him daily from Rome, as the manner is, that Antonius was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authority and consent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing but his person, to make all things well. Then Cicero condemning his dastardly fear, returned forthwith to Rome, not being deceived in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meet him, that he could do nothing all day long, but take them by the hands, and embrace them: who to honour him, came to meet him at the gate of the city, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning Antonius assembled the Senate, and called for Cicero by name. Cicero refused to

Ill will go, and kept his bed, feigning that he was weary betwixt with his journey and pains he had taken the day Caesar before: but indeed, the cause why he went not, and An-tonius was, for fear and suspicion of an ambush that was laid for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. Antonius was marvellously offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying of any ambush for him: and therefore sent soldiers to his house, and commanded them to bring him by force, or else to set his house afire. After that time, Cicero and he were always at jar, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heed of another; until that the young Cæsar returning from the city of Apollonia, came as lawful heir unto Julius Cæsar Dictator, and had contention with Antonius for the sum of two thousand five hundred myriads, the which Antonius kept in his hands of his father's goods. Thereupon, Philip who had married the mother of this young Cæsar, and Marcellus, who had also married his sister, went with young Cæsar unto Cicero, and there agreed together, that Cicero should help young Cæsar with the favour of his authority and eloquence, as well towards the Senate, as also to the people: and that Cæsar in recompense of his good-will should stand by Cicero, with his money and soldiers. For this young Cæsar, had many of his father's old soldiers about him, that had served under him. Now there was another cause that made Cicero glad to embrace the friendship of this young Cæsar, and that was this. Whilst Pompey and Julius Cæsar were alive, and in good case: Cicero dreamed one night that the Senator's sons were called into the Capitol, because Jupiter

had appointed to shew them him, that one day Cicero's should come to be lord and king of Rome, and dream of that the Romans being desirous to see who it Octavius should be, ran all unto the temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly guarded gowns of purple, until that suddenly the doors of the temple were open, and then that all the children rose one after another, and went and passed by the image of Jupiter, who looked upon them all, and sent them discontented, saving this young Cæsar, unto whom he put forth his hand as he passed by, and said: My lords of Rome, this child is he that shall end all your civil wars, when he cometh to be lord of Rome. Some say, that Cicero had this vision in his dream, and that he carried in good memory the look of this child, howbeit that he knew him not; and that the next morning he went of purpose into the field of Mars, where these young boys did exercise themselves, who, when they came thither, had broken up from playing, and were going home, and that amongst them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him very well, and musing at him the more, asked him whose son he was. The boy answered, that he was the son of one Octavius (a man otherwise of no great calling) and of Atia, the sister of Julius Cæsar: who having no child, made him his heir by his last will and testament, and left him all his lands and goods. After that time, it is reported, that Cicero was very glad to speak to him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked Cicero's friendship, and making of him: for by good hap the boy was born the same year that Cicero was Consul. And these be the

Cicero's reasons alleged, why Cicero did favour this young great Cæsar. But in truth, first of all the great malice power at he bare unto Antonius, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honour, were (in my opinion) the chiefest causes why he became young Cæsar's friend: knowing that the force and power of his soldiers, would greatly strengthen his authority and countenance in managing the affairs of the state, besides that the young man could flatter him so well, that he called him father. But Brutus being offended with him for it, in his epistles he wrote unto Atticus, he sharply reproveth Cicero, saying, That for fear of Antonius he flattered this young Cæsar: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seek for the liberty of Rome, as he did procure himself a loving and gentle maister. This notwithstanding, Brutus brought with him Cicero's son that studied philosophy at Athens, and gave him charge of men under him and employed him in great affairs, wherein he shewed himself very forward and valiant. Now Cicero's authority and power grew again to be so great in Rome, as ever it was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed Antonius, that he drave him out of the city, and sent the two Consuls Hirtius and Pansa against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that young Cæsar should have sergeants to carry rods and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his country. After that Antonius had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were slain, both the armies came unto Cæsar. The Senate then being affraid of this young man, that had so great good fortune, they practised by honours and gifts to call

the armies from him, which he had about him, and Octavins so to minish the greatness of his power: saying, forsook That their country now stood in no need of force Cicero nor fear of defence, sith her enemy Antonius was fled and gone. Cæsar fearing this, sent men secretly unto Cicero, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls and that when they should be in office, he should do and appoint what he thought good, having the young man at his commandment, who desired no more but the honour only of the name. Cæsar himself confessed afterwards, that being afraid he should have been utterly cast away, to have been left alone: he finely served his turn by Cicero's ambition, having persuaded him to require the Consulship, through the help and assistance that he would give him. But there was Cicero finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to sue for the Consulship in his behalf, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his friends presently reproved him for it, and shortly after he perceived he had undone himself, and together also lost the liberty of his country. For this young man Octavius Cæsar being grown to be very great by his means and procurement: when he saw that he had the Consulship upon him, he forsook Cicero, and agreed with Antonius and Lepidus. Then joining his army with theirs, he divided the empire of Rome with them, as if it had been lands left in common between them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and upwards, whom they had appointed to be slain. But the greatest difficulty and difference that fell out between hem, was about the outlawing of Cicero. For

Triumviri

The Antonius would hearken to no peace between them, meeting unless Cicero were slain first of all: Lepidus was of the also in the same mind with Antonius: but Cæsar was against them both. Their meeting was by the city of Bolonia, where they continued three days together, the three only secretly consulting in a place environed about with a little river. Some say that Cæsar stuck hard with Cicero the two first days, but at the third, that he yielded and forsook him. The exchange they agreed upon between them, was this. Cæsar forsook Cicero: Lepidus, his own brother Paulus: and Antonius, Lucius Cæsar his uncle by the mother's side. Such place took wrath in them, as they regarded no kindred nor blood, and to speak more properly, they shewed that no brute or savage beast is so cruel as man, if with his licentiousness he have liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a-brewing, Cicero was at a house of his in the country, by the city of Tusculum, having at home with him also his brother Q. Cicero. News being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slain: they determined to go to Astyra, a place by the seaside where Cicero had another house, there to take sea, and from thence to go into Macedon unto Brutus. For there ran a rumour that Brutus was very strong, and had a great power. So, they caused themselves to be conveyed thither in two litters, both of them being so weak with sorrow and grief, that they could not otherwise have gone their ways. As they were on their way, both their litters going as near to each other as they could, they bewailed their miserable state: but Quintus

chiefly, who took it most grievously. For, re-Quintus membring that he took no money with him when Cicero he came from his house, and that Cicero his brother slain also had very little for himself: he thought it best that Cicero should hold on his journey, whilst he himself made an errand home to fetch such things as he lacked, and so to make haste again to overtake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly embracing one another, the tears falling from their eyes, they took leave of each other. Within few days after, Quintus Cicero being betrayed by his own servants, unto them that made search for him: he was cruelly slain, and his son with him. But Marcus Tullius Cicero being carried unto Astyra, and there finding a ship ready, embarked immediately, and sailed along the coast unto Mount Circeum, having a good gale of wind. There the mariners determining forthwith to make sail again, he came ashore, either for fear of the sea, or for that he had some hope that Cæsar had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithal returning towards Rome by land, he had gone about a hundred furlongs thence. But then being at a strait how to resolve, and suddenly changing his mind: he would needs be carried back again to the sea, where he continued all night marvellous sorrowful, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in mind to go secretly unto Octavius Caesar's house, and to kill himself by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to revenge his blood: but being affraid to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other unadvised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put

A won- himself again into his servants' hands, to be conderous veyed by sea to another place called Capitæ.

matter
foreshewed where the north winds, called etesiæ, do give a by crows trim fresh air in the summer season. In that place also there is a little temple dedicated unto Apollo, not far from the seaside. From thence there came a great shoal of crows, making a marvellous noise, that came flying towards Cicero's ship, which rowed upon the shore side. This shoal of crows came and lighted upon the yard of their sail, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that every man judged straight, that this was a sign of ill-luck at hand. Cicero notwithstanding this, came ashore, and went into his house, and laid him down to see if he could sleep. But the most part of these crows came and lighted upon the chamber window where he lay, making a wonderful great noise: and some of them got unto Cicero's bed where he lay, the clothes being cast over his head, and they never left him, till by little and little they had with their bills plucked off the clothes that covered his face. His men seeing that, and saying to themselves that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarry to see their master slain before their eyes, considering that brute beasts had care to save his life, seeing him so unworthily entreated, and that they should not do the best they could to save his life: partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they put him again into his litter to carry him to the sea. But in the meantime came the murderers appointed to kill him, Herennius a Centurion, and Popilius Lænas, Tribune of the soldiers (to wit, colonel of a thousand men, whose

cause Cicero had once pleaded before the judges, Cicero when he was accused for the murder of his own slain by father) having soldiers attending upon them. So Heren-nius force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They answered, they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the house called Philologus, a slave enfranchised by Quintus Cicero, whom Tullius Cicero had brought up in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberal sciences: he told this Herennius, that his servants carried him in a litter towards the sea, through dark narrow lanes, shadowed with wood on either side. Popilius the colonel taking some soldiers with him, ran about on the outside of the lanes to take him at his coming out of them; and Herennius on the other side entered the lanes. Cicero hearing him coming, commanded his men to set down his litter, and taking his beard in his left hand, as his manner was, he stoutly looked the murderers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face lean and wrinkled, for the extreme sorrows he had taken: divers of them that were by, held their hands before their eyes, whilst Herennius did cruelly murther him. So Cicero being three-score and four years of age, thrust his neck out of the litter, and had his head cut off by Antonius' commandment, and his hands also, which wrote the orations (called the Philippians) against him. For so did Cicero call the orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: and do yet continue the same name until this present time. When these poor dismembred members were brought to Rome, Antonius by chance was busily

mony of

Augus- occupied at that time about the election of certain tns' testi- officers: who when he heard of them and saw them, he cried out aloud that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: and thereupon commanded his head and his hands should straight be set up over the pulpit for orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearful and horrible sight unto the Romans, who thought they saw not Cicero's face, but an image of Antonius' life and disposition: who among so many wicked deeds as he committed, yet he did one act only that had some shew of goodness, which was this. He delivered Philologus into the hands of Pomponia, the wife of Quintus Cicero: and when she had him, besides other cruel torments she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his own flesh off by little morsels, and to broil them, and then to eat them. Some historiographers do thus report it. But Tyro who was a slave enfranchised by Cicero, made no mention of the treason of this Philologus. Howbeit I understood that Cæsar Augustus long time after that, went one day to see one of his nephews, who had a book in his hand of Cicero's: and he fearing lest his uncle would be angry to find that book in his hands, thought to hide it under his gown. Cæsar saw it, and took it from him, and read the most part of it standing, and then delivered it to the young boy, and said unto him: He was a wise man indeed, my child, and loved his country well. After he had slain Antonius, being Consul, he made Cicero's son his colleague and fellow Consul with him, in whose time the Senate ordained that the images of Antonius should be thrown

down, and deprived his memory of all other The honours: adding further unto his decree, that from decree thenceforth none of the house and family of the Antony should ever after bear the christen name of Marcus. So, God's justice made the extreme revenge and punishment of Antonius to fall into the house of Cicero.

Antonius

## THE COMPARISON OF

## CICERO WITH DEMOSTHENES

thenes' eloquence

Demos- This is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable acts and deeds worthy of memory, written of Cicero and Demosthenes. Furthermore, leaving the comparison aside of the difference of their eloquence in their orations: me thinks I may say thus much of them. Demosthenes did wholly employ all his wit and learning (natural or artificial) unto the art of rhetoric, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excel all the orators in his time: and for gravity and magnificent style, all those also that only write for shew or ostentation: and for sharpness and art, all the sophisters and masters of rhetoric. And that Cicero was a man generally learned in all sciences, and that had studied divers books, as appeareth plainly by the sundry books of philosophy of his own making, written after the manner of the Academic philosophers. more, they may see in his orations he wrote in certain causes to serve him when he pleaded: that he sought occasions in his by-talk to shew men that he was excellently well learned. thermore, by their phrases a man may discern some spark of their manners and conditions. For Demosthenes' phrase hath no manner of fineness, jests, nor grace in it, but is altogether grave and harsh,

and not only smelleth of the lamp, as Pytheas said Their when he mocked him, but sheweth a great drinker manners of water, extreme pains, and therewith also a sharp and sour nature. But Cicero oftentimes fell from pleasant taunts, unto plain scurrility: and turning all his pleadings of matters of importance, to sport and laughter, having a grace in it, many times he did forget the comeliness that became a man of his calling. As in his oration for Cælius, where he saith. It is no marvel if in so great abundance of wealth and fineness he give himself a little to take his pleasure: and that it was a folly not to use pleasures lawful and tolerable, sith the famousest philosophers that ever were, did place the chief felicity of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also that Marcus Cato having accused Murena, Cicero being Consul, defended his cause, and in his oration pleasantly girded all the sect of the Stoic philosophers for Cato sake, for the strange opinions they hold, which they call paradoxes: insomuch as he made all the people and judges also fall a-laughing a good. And Cato himself also smiling a little, said unto them that sat by him: What a laughing and mocking Consul have we, my lords? but letting that pass, it seemeth that Cicero was of a pleasant and merry nature: for his face shewed ever great life and mirth in it. Whereas in Demosthenes' countenance on the other side, they might discern a marvellous diligence and care, and a pensive man, never weary with pain: insomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth himself) called him a perverse and froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is discerned, that the one speaketh modestly in his own praise, so as no man

Demos- can justly be offended with him: and yet not thenes always, but when necessity enforceth him for some modest, matter of great importance, but otherwise very dis-Cicero ostenta- creet and modest to speak of himself. Cicero in tious contrary manner, using too often repetition of one self thing in all his orations, shewed an extreme ambition of glory, when incessantly he cried out:

> Let spear and shield give place to gown, And give the tongue the laurel crown.

Yea furthermore, he did not only praise his own acts and deeds, but the orations also which he had written or pleaded, as if he should have contended against Isocrates, or Anaximenes, a master that taught rhetoric, and not to go about to reform the people of Rome:

> Which were both fierce and stout in arms, And fit to work their enemies harms.

For, as it is requisite for a governor of a commonwealth to seek authority by his eloquence: so, to covet the praise of his own glorious tongue, or as it were to beg it, that sheweth a base mind. And therefore in this point we must confess that Demosthenes is far graver, and of a nobler mind: who declared himself, That all his eloquence came only but by practice, the which also required the favour of his auditory: and further, he thought them fools and madmen (as indeed they be no less) that therefore would make any boast of themselves. they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authority in their orations to the people, and for obtaining that they would propound: insomuch as captains, and they that had armies in their Cicero's hands, stood in need of their eloquence. As Chares, abstin-Diopithes, and Leosthenes, they all were holpen of money Demosthenes: and Pompey, and Octavius Cæsar the young man, of Cicero: as Cæsar himself confesseth in his commentaries he wrote unto Agrippa, and Mæcenas. But nothing sheweth a man's nature and condition more, (as it is reported, and so is it true) than when one is in authority: for that bewrayeth his humour, and the affections of his mind, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him. Demosthenes could never deliver any such proof of himself, because he never bare any office, nor was called forward. For he was not general of the army, which he himself had prepared against King Philip. Cicero on the other side being sent Treasurer into Sicily, and Pro-consul into Cilicia and Cappadocia, in such a time as covetousness reigned most: (insomuch that the captains and governors whom they sent to govern their provinces, thinking it villainy and dastardliness to rob, did violently take things by force, at what time also to take bribes was reckoned no shame, but to handle it discreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloved for it) he shewed plainly that he regarded not money, and gave forth many proofs of his courtesy and goodness. Furthermore, Cicero being created Consul by name, but Dictator in deed, having absolute power and authority over all things to suppress the rebellion and conspirators of Catiline: he proved Plato's prophecy true, which was: That the cities are safe from danger, when the chief magistrates and governors (by some good

Demos- divine fortune) do govern with wisdom and justice. theres a Demosthenes was reproved for his corruption, and money selling of his eloquence: because secretly he wrote one oration for Phormio, and another in the self same matter for Apollodorus, they being both Further, he was defamed also for adversaries. receiving money of the king of Persia, and therewithal condemned for the money which he had taken of Harpalus. And though some peradventure would object, that the reports thereof (which are many) do lie: yet they cannot possibly deny this, that Demosthenes had no power to refrain from looking on the presents which divers kings did offer him, praying him to accept them in good part for their sakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take usury by traffick on the sea, the extremest yet of all other. In contrary manner (as we have said before) it is certain that Cicero being Treasurer, refused the gifts which the Sicilians offered him, there: and the presents also which the king of the Cappadocians offered him whilst he was Pro-consul in Cilicia, and those especially which his friends pressed upon him to take of them, being a great sum of money, when he went as a banished man out of Rome. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him, because by judgement he was banished as a thief. The banishment of the other was for as honourable an act as ever he did, being banished for ridding his country of wicked men. And therefore of Demosthenes, there was no speech after he was gone: but for Cicero, all the Senate changed their apparel into black, and determined that they

would pass no decree by their authority, before Diverse Cicero's banishment was revoked by the people. causes Indeed Cicero idly passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in Macedon: and one of the chiefest acts that Demosthenes did, in all the time that he dealt in the affairs of the commonwealth, was in his banishment. For he went into every city, and did assist the ambassadors of the Grecians, and refused the ambassadors of the Mace-In the which he shewed himself a better donians. citizen, than either Themistocles, or Alcibiades, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell again to his old trade which he practised before, and was ever against Antipater, and the Macedonians. Where Lælius in open Senate sharply took up Cicero, for that he sat still and said nothing, when that Octavius Cæsar the young man made petition against the law, that he might sue for the Consulship, and being so young, that he had never a hair on his face. And Brutus self also doth greatly reprove Cicero in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished, a more grievous and greater tyranny, than that which they had put down. And last of all, me thinketh the death of Cicero most pitiful, to see an old man carried up and down, (with tender love of his servants) seeking all the ways that might be to fly death, which did not long prevent his natural course: and in the end, old as he was, to see his head so pitifully cut off. Whereas Demosthenes, though he yielded a little, entreating him that came to take him: et for that he had prepared the poison long before, that he had kept it long, and also used it as he did,

Their he cannot but be marvellously commended for it.

For sith the god Neptune denied him the benefit of his sanctuary, he betook him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he saved himself out of the soldiers' hands of the tyrant, and also scorned the bloody cruelty of Antipater.

THE END OF CICERO'S LIFE.

## THE LIFE OF DEMETRIUS

Who first likened arts to our senses, seemeth to How have respected especially that one property of them senses both, in receiving objects of contrary quality: for, and arts do agree in the use and end of their operation, there is great and differ difference. The senses receive indifferently, without discretion and judgement, white and black, sweet and sour, soft and hard: for their office is only to admit their several objects, and to carry and refer the judgement thereof to the common sense. But arts being the perfection of reason, receive and allow those things only which make for their operation, regarding and eschewing the contraries. The one chiefly, and for use: the other by the way, and with intent to avoid them. So physick dealeth with diseases, musick with discords, to the end to remove them, and work their contraries. And the great ladies of all other arts, temperance, justice, and wisdom, do not only consider honesty, uprightness, and profit: but examine withal, the nature and effects of lewdness, corruption, and damage. And innocency, which vaunteth her want of experience in undue practices: men call simplicity, and ignorance of things, that be necessary and good to be known. And therefore the ancient Lacedamonians in their solemn feasts forced their Helots the bondmen, to overcharge themselves with wine: and such

The they shewed them unto their youth, by the apparent cause of beastliness of drunken men, to work in them an describ-ing the abhorring of so loathsome vice. Wherein, although lives of I cannot much praise them for humanity or wisdom, the that corrupt and spoil one man, by example of him, wicked to correct and reclaim another: yet (as I hope) it shall not be reprehended in me, if amongst the rest I put in one or two pair of such, as living in great place and accompt, have increased their fame with infamy. Which in truth, I do not, to please and draw on the reader with variety of report: but as Ismenias the Theban musician shewed his scholars. both those that strake a clean stroke, with, Do so, and such as bungled it, with, Do not so: and Antigenidas thought men should like better, and with greater desire contend for skill, if they heard and discerned untunable notes: so think I, we shall be the forwarder in reading and following the good, if we know the lives, and see the deformity of the wicked. This treaty containeth the lives of Demetrius, surnamed the Fort-gainer, and M. Antony the Triumvir, and great examples to confirm the saying of Plato: That from great minds, both great vertues and great vices do proceed. They were both given over to women and wine, both valiant and liberal, both sumptuous and high-minded, fortune served them both alike, not only in the course of their lives, in attempting great matters, sometimes with good, sometimes with ill success, in getting and losing things of great consequence, overthrowing both when they feared not, restoring both when they hoped not. But also in their end there was no great difference, the one brought to his death by his mortal enemies, and the other's fortune not

much unlike. But now to our history. Antigonus Demehad two sons by his wife Stratonice, the daughter trins' of Corragus, the one of them he named Demetrius, parentand the other Philip, after his father's name. Thus manners far the most writers do agree: howbeit some hold opinion, that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonus, but his nephew. But because his father died leaving him a child, and that his mother was straight married again unto Antigonus: thereupon came the report that he was Antigonus' son. soever it was, Philip, that was not much younger than Demetrius, died. Now for Demetrius, though he was a very big man, he was nothing so high as his father, but yet so passing and wonderful fair, that no painter could possibly draw his picture and counterfeit to his likeness. For they saw a sweet countenance, mixed with a kind of gravity in his face, a fear with courtesy, and an incomparable princely majesty accompanied with a lively spirit and youth, and his wit and manners were such, that they were both fearful, and pleasant unto men that frequented him. For as he was most pleasant in company having leisure, and most given to banqueting, pleasant life, and more wantonly given to follow any lust and pleasure, than any king that ever was: yet was he always very careful and diligent in despatching matters of importance. And therefore he marvellously commended, and also endeavoured to follow Dionysius, (as much to say, as Bacchus) above all the other gods, as he that had been a wise and valiant captain in war, and that in peace invented and used all the pleasure that might be. He marvellously loved and reverenced his father, and it seemeth that the dutifulness he shewed

Deme- unto his mother, was more to discharge the due trius' love obedience and duty of a son, than otherwise to ento his tertain his father, for fear of his power, or hope to father be his heir. And for proof hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went unto his father Antigonus, giving audience to certain ambassadors, and after he had done his duty to him, and kissed him: he sat down by him even as he came from hunting, having his darts in his hand, which he carried out a-hunting with him. Then Antigonus calling the ambassadors aloud as they went their way, having received their answer: My lords, said he, you shall carry home this report of my son and me, be witnesses I pray you, how we live one with another. As meaning to shew thereby, that the agreement betwixt the father and the son together, is a great safety to the affairs of a king, as also a manifest proof of his greatness: so jealous is a king to have a companion, besides the hate and mistrust it should breed. So that the greatest prince and most ancientest of all the successors of Alexander, boasted that he stood not in fear of his son, but did suffer him to sit by him, having a dart in his hand. So was this house only of all other the Macedonian kings, least defiled with such villainy, many successions after: and to confess a troth. in all Antigonus' race there was not one, but Philip only, that slew his own son. But we have many examples of divers other houses of kings, that have put their sons, wives, and mothers to death; and for their brethren, it was an ordinary thing with them to kill them, and never stick at it. For like as geometricians would have men grant them certain propositions which they suppose without proof: even

so was this holden for a general rule, to kill their His brethren, for the safety of their estate. But further, courtesy to shew you more plainly that Demetrius was of a noble and curteous nature, and that he dearly loved his friends: we may allege this example. Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, was his familiar friend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed Antigonus' court, and never practised any villainy or treason to him, neither was he thought such a man: yet Antigonus did somewhat suspect him, because of a dream he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he sowed of the scrapings of gold, and that of that seed, first of all came up goodly wheat which had ears of gold: howbeit that shortly after returning that way again, he found nothing but the straw, and the ears of the wheat cut off, and that he being angry and very sorry for it, some told him that Mithridates had cut off these golden ears of wheat, and had carried them with him into the realm of Pont. Antigonus being marvellously troubled with this dream, after he had made his son swear unto him that he would make no man alive privy to that he would tell him: he told him all his dream what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man Mithridates to death. Demetrius was marvellous sorry for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble prince going as he was wont to pass the time away with Mithridates, he durst not by word of mouth utter that he knew, because of his oath: howbeit, taking him aside from his other familiars, when they were both together by themselves, he wrote on the ground with the end of his

Mithri- dart, Mithridates looking on him: Fly Mithridates. dates Mithridates found straight what he meant, and fled the very same night into Cappadocia: and shortly after it was his destiny to fulfil Antigonus' dream.

For he conquered many goodly countries, and it was he only that established the house of the kingdom of Pont, the which the Romans afterwards overthrew, about the eighth succession. By these examples we may easily conjecture the good-nature and courtesy of Demetrius. For like as the elements (according to Empedocles' opinion) are ever at strife together, but specially those that are nearest each to other: even so, though all the successors of Alexander were at continual wars together, yet was it soonest kindled, and most cruel between them which bordered nearest unto each other, and that by being near neighbours, had always occasion of brawl together, as fell out at that time between Antigonus and Ptolemy. This Antigonus lay most commonly in the country of Phrygia: who having intelligence that Ptolemy was gone into Cyprus, and that he overran all Syria, winning by force, or fair means, all the towns and cities subject unto them: he sent his son Demetrius thither, being at that time but two-and-twenty years of age, and it was the first time that ever he took charge as general to his father, in matters of great importance. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of But he being a young man, and that had no skill of wars, fighting a battell with an old soldier (trained up in the discipline of wars under Alexander the Great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battels) was soon overthrown, and his army put to flight, by the city of Gaza. At which overthrow were slain five thousand men,

and almost eight thousand taken: and besides, Dememetrius lost his tents and pavilions, his gold and trius' vicsilver, and to be short, all his whole carriage. But tory of Ptolemy sent him all his things again, and his friends also that were taken after the battell, with great courteous words: that he would not fight with them for all things together, but only for honour, and empire. Demetrius receiving them at his hands, besought the gods that he might not long live a debtor unto Ptolemy for this great courtesy, but that he might quickly requite it with the like again. Now Demetrius took not this overthrow like a young man, though it was his first soldier fare: but like an old and wise captain, that had abidden many overthrows, he used great diligence to gather men again to make new armours, and to keep the cities and countries in his hands under obedience. and did train and exercise his soldiers in arms, whom he had gathered together. Antigonus having news of the overthrow of his son Demetrius, said no more, but that Ptolemy had overcome beardless men: and that afterwards he should fight with bearded men. But now, because he would not discourage his son altogether, who craved leave once again to fight a battell with Ptolemy: he granted him. So, shortly after came Cilles, Ptolemy's general, with a great puissant army, to drive him altogether out of Syria. For they made no great accompt of Demetrius, because he had been once overthrown before. Howbeit Demetrius stale upon him, gave him charge on the sodain, and made him so afraid, that he took both the camp, and the general, with seven thousand prisoners besides, and wan a marvellous treasure of money:

Deme- which made him a glad man, not so much for the trius gain he should have by it, as for the opportunity he invaded had thereby to come out of Ptolemy's debt, nothing regarding the treasure nor the honour he had gotten by this victory, but only the benefit of this requital of Ptolemy's courtesy towards him. But yet he did nothing of his own head, before he had written to his father: and then receiving full grant and commission from him to dispose of all things as he thought good, he sent back Cilles unto Ptolemy, and all his other friends besides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully bestowed on them. This misfortune and overthrow did utterly put Ptolemy out of all Syria, and brought Anti-gonus also from the city of Celænæ, for the exceeding joy he had of this victory, as also for the great desire he had to see his son. that, he sent Demetrius into Arabia, against a people called the Nabathæans, to conquer them: but there he was in great danger and distress in the deserts for lack of water, howbeit he never shewed any sign that he was affraid. Thereby he so astonished the barbarous people, that he had leisure enough to retire with safety, and with a great booty of a thousand camels, which he brought away with him. About that time Seleucus (whom Antigonus had driven from Babylon) returning thither again, he came and conquered it without other aid than of himself: and went with a great army against the people and nations confining upon the Indians, and the provinces adjoining unto Mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereupon Demetrius hoping to find Mesopotamia without any guard or defence, suddenly passed over the river of Euphrates, and came unlooked for unto Babylon, and The there distressed the garrison of Seleucus, that kept liberty of one of the castles or citadels of the city, being two Greece of them: and then putting in seven thousand soldiers to keep them, he commanded the rest of his men to get what they could, and to bring it away with them. After that he marched towards the sea to return home, leaving thereby the realm and kingdom of Seleucus in better state and safety, than it was when he invaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the country from Seleucus, leaving him nothing in it, by spoiling and foraging all that was there. At his return home, news were brought him that Ptolemy lay at the siege of the city of Halicarnassus: whereupon he drew thither with speed to make him raise the siege, and thereby saved the city from him. Now because by this exploit they wan great fame, both of them (Antigonus and Demetrius) fell into a marvellous desire to set all Greece at liberty, the which Ptolemy and Cassander kept in servitude and bondage. Never king took in hand a more honourable nor juster war and enterprise, than that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people: he bestowed it all in restoring the Grecians to their liberty, and only to win fame and honour by it. So, they being in consultation what way to take, to bring their purpose and desire to pass, and having taken order to begin first at Athens: one of Antigonus' chiefest friends about him, told him that he should take the city, and place a good garrison there for themselves, if they could once win it: For, said he, it will be a good bridge to pass further into all Greece. Anti-

Deme- gonus would not hearken to that, but said, That the trius love and good-will of men was a surer bridge, and that the city of Athens was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediately make his doings shine through the world, as a cresset-light, upon the top of a keep or watch-tower. Thus Demetrius hoised sail, having five thousand silver talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, and sailed towards the city of Athens: in the which Demetrius Phalerian was governor in the behalf of Cassander, and kept a great strong garrison there within the haven and castle of Munychia. He had an excellent good wind to further his journey, so that with his good foresight and speed he made, he arrived in the haven of Piræus, the five-and-twentieth day of the moneth Thargelion (now called May) before any man knew of his coming. Now when this fleet was within a kenning of the city, and less, that they might easily see them from thence: every man prepared himself to receive them, taking them to be Ptolemy's ships. But in fine, the captains and governors understanding too late who they were, did what they could to help themselves: but they were all in hurly-burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keep their enemies from landing, and to repulse them, coming so sodainly upon them. Demetrius having found the bar of the haven open, launched in presently. Then being come to the view of them all, and standing upon the hatches of his galley, he made signs with his hand that he prayed silence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimed aloud by one of his heralds, That his father had sent him in a happy hour to deliver the Athenians from all their garrisons, and to restore them again to their ancient liberty and the Athefreedom, to enjoy their laws and ancient govern- nians to ment of their forefathers. After the proclamation made, all the common people straight threw down their weapons and targets at their feet, to clap their hands with great shouts of joy: praying him to land, and calling him aloud their saviour, and benefactor. Now for them that were with Demetrius Phalerian, they all thought good to let the stranger in, although he performed not that he promised, and also sent ambassadors unto him to treat of peace. Demetrius received them very courteously, and sent with them for pledge, one of the dearest friends his father had, Aristodemus Milesian. Furthermore, he was not careless of the health and safety of Demetrius Phalerian, who by reason of the change and alteration of the government of the commonwealth of Athens, stood more in fear of the people of Athens, than of his enemies. Therefore Demetrius regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conveyed (according to his desire) unto Thebes, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for Demetrius himself, although he was very desirous to see the city, he said he would not come into it, before he had first restored it unto her ancient liberty and freedom, and also driven away the garrison thence: and thereupon he cast trenches round about the castle of Munychia. In the mean season because he would not be idle, he hoised sail, and coasted toward the city of Megara, within the which Cassander also kept a strong garrison. Demetrius busily following these matters, was advertised that Cratesipolis, surnamed Polysperchon, (who had

Demetrius
beauty, and lay at that time in the city of Patras,
winneth
the city
of Megara

within the territory of the Megarians, took his
journey presently unto her, with a few of his
lightest armed men, and yet he stole from them,
and made his tent to be set up a good way from
them, because this lady might not be seen when
she came unto him. Some of his enemies having present intelligence thereof, came and set upon him before he knew it. Demetrius was so scared, that he had no further leisure, but to cast an ill-favoured cloak about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising himself to fly for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinency. But though they missed him, they took his tent and all his money in it. After that, the city of Megara was taken and won from Cassander's men, where Demetrius' soldiers would have sacked all: howbeit the Athenians made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoiled. Demetrius thereupon, after that he had driven out Cassander's garrison, he restored it again to her former liberty. In doing that he called to mind the philosopher Stilpo, a famous man in Megara, though he lived a quiet and contemplative life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken anything of his. Stilpo answered him, They had not: for, quoth he, I saw no man that took my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaves of the city were in manner carried away. Another time, Demetrius making much of him, as he was going his way said unto him: Well, Stilpo, I leave you your city free. It

is true, O king, quoth he, for thou hast left us never Too a slave. Shortly after, he returned again unto honours the which he took, and drave out the garrison, and afterwards razed it to the ground. After that, the Athethrough the entreaty and earnest desire of the nians Athenians, who prayed him to come and refresh himself in their city: he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to assemble, and then restored unto them their ancient laws and liberty of their country, promising them besides, that he would procure his father to send them an hundred and fifty thousand bushels of wheat, and as much wood and timber as should serve to make them a hundred and fifty galleys. Thus, the Athenians through Demetrius' means, recovered the Democratia again, (to wit, their popular government) fifteen years after they had lost it, and lived all the time between their loss and restitution from the war called Lamiacus war, and the battell that was fought by the city of Cranon, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, under the government of a few governors in sight, but in truth a monarchy or kingdom, because they were under the government of one man Demetrius Phalerian, that had absolute authority over them. But by this means they made their saviour and preserver of their country, Demetrius (who seemed to have obtained such honour and glory through his goodness and liberality) hateful and odious to all men, for the overgreat and unmeasurable honours which they gave him. For first of all, they called Antigonus and Demetrius kings, who before that time had always refused the name, and the which, (among all other princely honours and prerogatives

The bold- granted) they that had divided between them the ness of empire of Philip and Alexander, durst never once Stratocles presume to challenge, nor to take upon them. unto them only they gave the style and names of the gods saviours, and took away their yearly mayor, whom they called Eponymos, because they did shew the years of old time, by the names of them that had been mayors. Furthermore, instead thereof they ordained in the council of the city, that there should yearly be chosen one by voices of the people, whom they should name the priest of their saviours whose name they should write and subscribe in all public grants and covenants, to shew the year: and besides all this, that they should cause their pictures to be drawn in the veil or holy banner, in the which were set out the images of their gods, the patrons and protectors of their city. And furthermore they did consecrate the place where Demetrius first came out of his coach, and there did set up an altar, and called it Demetrius' altar coming out of his coach: and unto their tribes they added two other, the Antigonids, and the Demetriads. Their great council at large which they created yearly of five hundred men, was then first of all brought into six hundred, because every tribe must needs furnish of themselves, fifty councillors. But yet the strangest act, and most new-found invention of flattery, was that of Stratocles, (being the common flatterer and people-pleaser) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordained: that those whom the commonwealth should send unto Antigonus and Demetrius, should instead of ambassadors be called Theori, as much to say as ministers of the sacrifices.

For so were they called, whom they sent to Delphes, His cruel to Apollo Pythius, or unto Elid, to Jupiter Olympius, saying at the common and solemn feasts of all Greece, to do the ordinary sacrifices and oblations for the health and preservation of the cities. This Stratocles in all things else was a desperate man, and one that had always led a wicked and dissolute life: and for his shameless boldness, he seemed wholly to follow the steps of Cleon's foolhardiness, and old insolency, which (when he lived) he shewed unto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his house called Phylacion. One day she having bought for his supper, beasts' heads and necks commonly eaten, he said unto her: Why, how now? thou hast bought me acates which we toss like balls, that have to do in the commonwealth. Another time when the army of the Athenians was overthrown by sea, by the Isle of Amorgos: he would needs prevent the news of this overthrow, and came through the street of Ceramicus, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the Athenians had won the battell: and was also the author of a decree, whereby they did sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks for the victory: and meat was given amongst every tribe, in token of common joy. Bnt shortly after the messengers arrived, which brought report of the shipwrack and overthrow. The people were in an uproar withal, and sent for Stratocles in a marvellous rage. But he with a face of brass came unto them, and arrogantly defended the people's ill-will, and angrily told them: Well, and what hurt have I done you, if I have made you merry these two days? Such was Stratocles' impudency and rashness. But, as the poet Aristophanes saith:

## Wonders

But hotter matters were that time in hand, Than fire that wasteth both by sea and land,

For there was another that passed Stratocles in knavery. Who procured a decree, that as often as Demetrius came into the city of Athens, he should be received with all ceremonies and like solemnity, as they use in the feasts of Ceres and Bacchus: and further that they should give unto him that did excel all the rest in sumptuousness and riches, at such time as Demetrius made his entry into the city, so much money out of the common treasure, as should serve to make an image or other offering, which should be consecrated to the temples in memory of his liberality. And last of all, they changed the name of the moneth Munychion (to wit the moneth of January) and called it Demetrion: and the last day of the moneth which they called before the new and old moon, they then called it the Demetriad: and the feasts of Bacchus also called then Dionysia, they presently named Demetria. But the gods by divers signs and tokens shewed plainly, that they were offended with these changes and alterations. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order set down) they had painted the images of Antigonus and Demetrius, with the pictures of Jupiter and Minerva: as they carried it a procession through the street Ceranicus, it was torn asunder in the midst by a tempest of wind. And furthermore, about the altars which were set up in the honour of Demetrius and Antigonus, there grew a great deal of hemlock, the which otherwise was unpossible to grow there. On the feast-day also of Bacchus, they were compelled to leave the pomp or procession for that day, it was such an extreme

hard frost out of all season: and besides, there fell Philippisuch a mildew and great frost upon it, that not only des the their vines and olives were killed with it, but also poet the most part of the wheat-blades which were newly sprung up. And therefore the poet Philippides (an enemy of the aforesaid Stratocles) in one of his comedies writeth certain verses against him to this effect :

The party for whose wickedness the veil was rent in

twain. Which with the honour due to God did worship men most vain,

Is he for whom our budding vines were blasted with the frost.

Those things and not our comedies have us so dearly

This Philippides was very well-beloved of King Lysimachus, insomuch that for his sake the king had done many pleasures to the commonwealth of For he loved him so dearly, that as often as he saw him, or met with him at the beginning of any war, or matter of great importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good luck. For indeed he did not so much esteem him for the excellency of his art, but he was much more to be beloved and esteemed, for his vertuous and honest conditions. He was no troublesome man, neither was he infected with the fineness of court, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him, and giving him good countenance said unto him: What wilt thou have me give thee of my things Philippides? Even what it shall please thee, O king, so it be none of thy secrets. Thus much we thought good to speak of him in by-talk, because an honest player of

Deme- comedies should match with a shameless and imputrius had dent orator of the people. But yet there was many another Democlides, of the village of Sphettus, that dreamed out a more stranger kind of honour, touching the consecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of Apollo in Delphes, that is to say, that they should go and ask the oracle of Demetrius. But I will shew you the very effect and form of the law as it was set down. In good hour: the people ordain that he should be chosen one of the citizens of Athens, which shall go unto our saviour: and after that he hath done due sacrifice unto him, he shall ask Demetrius our saviour. after what sort the people shall with greatest holiness and devotion, without delay, make consecration of their holiest gifts and offerings: and according to the oracle it shall please him to give them, the people shall duly execute it. Thus, laying upon Demetrius all these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wise man, they made him a very fool. | Demetrius being at that time at leisure in Athens, he married a widow called Eurydice, which came of that noble and ancient house of Miltiades, and had been married before unto one Opheltas prince of the Cyrenians, and that after his death returned again to Athens. The Athenians were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honour that came to their city, supposing he had done it for their sakes. Howbeit he was soon won to be married, for he had many wives, but amongst them all, he loved Phila best, and gave her most honour and pre-eminence above them all: partly for the respect of her father Antipater, and partly also for that she had been first married unto Craterus, whom the

Macedonians loved best when he lived, and most The lamented after his death, above all the other suc- judgecessors of Alexander. His father I suppose made him to marry her by force, although indeed her and years was not meet for him: for he was marvellous obedience young, and she very old. And when Demetrius seemed not to be contented withal, his father rouned him softly in the ear with this saying:

Refuse no woman ne'er so old, Whose marriage bringeth store of gold,

Wherein he alluded cunningly to these verses of Euripides:

> Refuse not to become a thrall, Where lucre may ensue withal.

But so much did Demetrius honour his wife Phila, and all his other wives he married, that he was not ashamed to keep a number of courtesans, and other men's wives besides: so that he only of all other kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lechery. While these things passed on in this sort, he was commanded by his father, to fight with Ptolemy for the realm of Cyprus. So there was no remedy but he must needs obey him. although otherwise he was very sorry to leave the war he had begun, to set the Grecians at liberty, the which had been far more honourable and famous. Howbeit. before he departed from Athens, he sent unto Cleonides Ptolemy's general, that kept the cities of Corinth and Sicyon, to offer him money if he would set their cities at liberty. But Cleonides would not be dealt withal that way. Thereupon Demetrius straightway took sea, and sailed with all his army towards

Battell by Cyprus, where at his first coming he overcame sea in the Menelaus Ptolemy's brother. But shortly after, isle of Cyprus both by sea and land, and there passed betwixt them fierce threatenings and proud words to each other. For Ptolemy sent to Demetrius to bid him to depart if he were wise, before all his army came together: which would tread him under their feet, and march upon his belly, if he tarried his coming. Demetrius on the other side sent him word, That he would do him this favour to let him escape, if he would swear and promise unto him to withdraw his garrisons which he had in the cities of Corinth, and Sicyon. So the expectation of this battell made these two princes not only very pensive to fight one with the other, but also all the other lords, princes, and kings: because the success thereof was uncertain, which of them two should prevail. But every man judged this, that which of them obtained the victory, he should not only be lord of the realm of Cyprus and Syria, but therewith also of greater power than all the rest. Ptolemy in person with fifty sail began to row against his enemy Demetrius. and commanded his brother Menelaus that when he saw them fast grappled in fight together, he should launch out of the haven of Salamis, and give charge upon the rearward of Demetrius' ships, to break their order, with the three-score galleys he had in Demetrius on the other side prepared ten galleys against these three-score, thinking them enow to choke up the haven mouth being but narrow, so that none of the galleys that were within could come out: and furthermore, he dispersed his army by land upon the foreland points which reach

into the sea, and went himself into the main sea Demewith nine-score galleys, and gave such a fierce trius' charge upon Ptolemy, that he valiantly made him victory of Ptolemy fly. Who when he saw his army broken, fled as speedily as he could with eight galleys only: for all the rest were either broken or sunk in fight, and those eight only escaped, besides three-score and ten which were taken, and all their soldiers in them. And as for his carriage, his train, his friends, his officers, and household servants, his wives, his gold and silver, his armour, engines of battery, and all such other warlike furniture and munition as was conveyed aboard his caracks and great ships riding at anker: of all these things nothing escaped Demetrius' hands, but all was brought into his camp. Among those spoils also was taken that famous courtesan Lamia, who at the first had her name only, for her passing playing upon the flute: but after she fell to courtesan trade, her countenance and credit increased the more. So that even then when her beauty through years fell to decay, and that she found Demetrius much younger than her self: yet she so wan him with her sweet conversation and good grace, that he only liked her, and all the other women liked him. After this victory by sea, Menelaus made no more resistance, but yielded up Salamis and his ships unto Demetrius, and put into his hands also twelve hundred horsemen, and twelve thousand footmen well armed. famous and triumphant victory was yet much more beautified, by Demetrius' great bounty and goodness which he shewed in giving his enemies slain in battell honourable funerals, setting the prisoners at liberty without ransom-paying, and giving moreover

The news twelve hundred complete armours unto the Athenians. After this, Demetrius sent Aristodemus Milesian unto his father Antigonus, to tell him by word of mouth the news of this victory. Aristodemus was the greatest flatterer in all Antigonus' court, who devised then, as it seemeth to me, to add unto this exploit the greatest flattery possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Isle of Cyprus, he would in nowise have the ship he came in to come near the shore, but com-manded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leave the ship: but he himself got into a little boat, and went unto Antigonus, who all this while was in marvellous fear and perplexity for the success of this battell, as men may easily judge they are, which hope after so great uncertainties. Now when word was brought him that Aristodemus was coming to him all alone, then was he worse troubled than afore, insomuch that he could scant keep within doors himself, but sent his servants and friends one after another to meet Aristodemus, to ask him what news, and to bring him word presently again how the world went. But not one of them could get anything out of him, for he went on still fair and softly with a sad countenance, and very demurely, speaking never a word. Wherefore Antigonus' heart being cold in his belly, he could stay no longer, but would himself go and meet with Aristodemus at the gate, who had a marvellous press of people following of him, besides those of the court which ran out to hear his answer. At length when he came near unto Antigonus, holding out his right hand unto him, he cried out aloud, God save thee, O King Antigonus: we have over-

come King Ptolemy in battell by sea, and have won The title the realm of Cyprus, with sixteen thousand and eight of King hundred prisoners. Then answered Antigonus, And God save thee too. Truly Aristodemus thou hast kept us in a trance a good while, but to punish thee for the pain thou hast put us to, thou shalt the later receive the reward of thy good news. Then was the first time that the people with a loud voice called Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Now for Antigonus, his friends and familiars did at that present instant put on the royal band or diadem upon his head: but for Demetrius, his father sent it unto him, and by his letters called him king. They also that were in Egypt with Ptolemy, understanding that, did call and salute him by the name of king: because it should not seem that for one overthrow received, their hearts were dead. Thus this ambition by jealousy and emulation, went from man to man to all Alexander's successors. For Lysimachus then also began to wear the diadem, and likewise Seleucus, as often as he spake with the Grecians: for before that time, he dealt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But Cassander, though others wrote themselves kings, he only subscribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not only an increase of a new name, or changing of apparel, but it was such an honour, as it lift up their hearts, and made them stand upon themselves: and besides it so framed their manner of life and coversation with men, that they grew more proud and stately, than ever they were before: like unto common players of tragedies, who apparel-ling themselves to play their parts upon the stage do change their gait, their countenance, their voice,

Antigo- their manner of sitting at the table, and their nus and talk also. So that afterwards they grew more Demecruel in commanding their subjects, when they
trius
journey
against lation of their absolute power, which before
Ptolemy made them far more lowly and gentle in many
matters unto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought such a wonderful change in the world. Antigonus therefore puffed up with the glory of the victory of his son Demetrius, for the conquest of Cyprus: he determined forthwith to set upon Ptolemy. Himself led the army by land, having his son Demetrius still rowing by the shore side with a great fleet of ships. But one of his familiars called Medius, being asleep had a vision one night that told him, what should be the end and success of this journey. He thought he saw Anti-gonus run with all his army who should have the upper hand, and that at the first he ran with great force and swiftness: but that afterwards his strength and breath failed him so much, that when he should return, he had scant any pulse or breath, and with much ado retired again. And even so it chanced unto him. For Antigonus by land, was eftsoons in great danger: and Demetrius also by sea was often in hazard to leave the coast, and by storm and weather to be cast into places, where was neither haven, creeks, nor harborough for his ships. And at length, having lost a great number of his ships, he was driven to return without any attempt given. Now Antigonus was at that time little less than four-score year old, but yet his fat and corpulent body was more cumbersome to him than his years: therefore being grown unmeet for wars, he used his

son in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, Antigoas also skilful through the experience he had gotten, nus' mirth did wisely govern the weightiest matters. His with his father besides did not pass for his youthful parts, lavish expenses, and common drunkenness he gave himself unto. For in time of peace, he was given over to all those vices: but in time of war, he was as sober and continent, as any man so born by nature. And therefore it is reported, that Lamia being manifestly known to be mistress over him, one day when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kiss his father: and that Antigonus smiling upon him said, What, how now son, dost thou think thou art kissing of Lamia? Another time Demetrius was many days together drinking and rioting, and saw not his father: and then to excuse himself unto him, he told him he had gotten a rheum that made him keep his chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard, said Antigonus: but was it of Thasos or Chios, that rheum? He spake it, because that in either of those two islands, there were excellent good wines. Another time Demetrius sent his father word that he was not well. Thereupon Antigonus went to see him, and coming thither, he met a fair young boy at his door. he went up to his chamber, and sitting down by his bedside, he took him by the hand to feel his pulse. Demetrius told him that his fever had left him but a little before. I know it well, said Antigonus: for I met the young boy even at the door as I came in. So Antigonus did gently bear with his son's faults, in respect of his many other vertues he had. The voice goeth that the Scythians, when they are

Sundry disposed to drink drunk together, do divers times delights twang the strings of their bows, as though that of princes would serve to keep the strength of their courses would serve to keep the strength of their courage and hardiness, which otherwise the pleasantness of the wine would take from them. But Demetrius gave himself to one thing at one self time. Sometime to take his pleasure, sometime to deal in mat-ters of weight, and in all extremity he ever used but one of them, and would never mingle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no less politic and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for wars. For as he was a wise captain to lead an army, so was he also very careful to provide all things meet for their furniture, and would rather have too much, than too little. But above all, he exceeded in sumptuous building of ships, and framing of all sorts of engines of battery, and specially for the delight he took to invent and devise them. For he had an excellent natural wit to devise such works, as are made by wit and hand, and did not bestow his wit and invention in handicrafts, in trifling toys and baubles: as many other kings that have given themselves to play on flutes, others to paint and draw, and others also to turner's craft. As Aeropus king of Macedon, who delighted to make fine tables, and pretty lamps. And Attalus, surnamed Philometor (to say, as lover of his mother) that would plant and set physical herbs, as hellebore, lingwort, or bear's foot: hoscynamum, henbane, cicuta, hemlock, aconitum, libard-bane or wolf-bane, and dorycnium: for the which we have no English word: all these would he set himself with his own hands in the gardens of his own palace, and also gather them in time of the year, to know

the vertue and power of them. Or as Arsaces the Deme-kings of Parthia, that boasted they could themselves trius' make their arrows' heads, and sharpen them. But wonder-the artificer's works which Demetrius practised, shewed that they came from a king. For his manner of workmanship had a certain greatness in it, the which even with the subtilety and fineness of his works, shewed the trim handling of the workman: so that they appeared not only worthy the understanding and riches of a king, but also the forging and making by the hands of a great king. For his friends did not only wonder at their greatness, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beauty of them. And this is more true than meet to be spoken: the enemies could not but marvel when they saw his galleys rowing alongst the coast, with fifteen or sixteen banks of oars: and his engines of battery which they called Helepolis (as much to say, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great admiration unto those whom he besieged, as the events following did throughly witness. For Lysimachus who of all other kings did malice Demetrius most, coming to raise the siege from the city of Soli in Cilicia, the which Demetrius besieged: he sent unto him to pray him to let him see his engines of battery, and his galleys rowing upon the sea. Demetrius granting him, Lysimoshus returned with months of the sea. machus returned with wonderful admiration. The Rhodians also having long time defended his siege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leave some one of his engines with them, for a perpetual testimony and remembrance both of his power, and also of their courage and valiantness. The cause why Demetrius made war with the

engine of battery

Deme- Rhodians was, because they were confederates with trius' King Ptolemy, he brought against their walls the greatest greatest engine he had, the foot whereof was like a matter tile, more long than broad, and at the base on either side it was eight-and-forty cubits long, and three-score and six high, rising still narrow even to the very top: so that the upper parts were narrower than the nether, and within it were many pretty rooms and places convenient for soldiers. The forepart of it was open towards the enemy, and every room or partition had windows out of which they bestowed all kind of shot, because they were full of armed men fighting with all sorts of weapons. But now, because it was so well framed and counterpoised, that it gave no way nor reeled on either side, which way soever they removed it, but that it stood fast and upright upon her foundation, making a terrible noise and sound: that made the work as wonderful to behold, as it was a marvellous pleasure for men to see it. In this war were brought unto Demetrius two notable armours weighing forty pound apiece, and made by one Zoilus an armourer, who to shew the hardness and goodness of the temper, suffered them to be proved and shot at, at six-score paces, with the engines of their battery: and albeit the armours were shot at and hit, yet were they never pierced, and but only a little race or scratch seen, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurt. Demetrius always wore one of them in these wars, and Alcimus Albanian the other, the strongest and valiantest man he had in all his host, and that only carried a complete armour weighing six-score pound, where all other soldiers wore none above threescore. This Alcimus was slain at Rhodes valiantly The disfighting by the theatre. In this siege the Rhodians courtesy highting by the theatre. In this siege the Knoulans of the did valiantly defend themselves, that Demetrius Rhodians could do no act worthy memory. This notwithstanding, although he saw he could not prevail, but lose his time, yet was he the more obstinately bent against them, to be even with them; because they had taken a ship of his, in the which his wife Phila had sent unto him certain hangings of tapestry, linen, apparel, and letters, and because they had sent them all unto Ptolemy, as soon as they had taken them. But therein they did not follow the honest courtesy of the Athenians: who having intercepted certain couriers of King Philip's that made war against them, they opened all the letters they carried, and read them, saving only his wife Olympia's letters she sent him, the which they sent unto King Philip sealed, as they were when they received them. Now though this part did much grieve and offend him, yet he could not find in his heart to serve them in that sort, when he might have done it not long after. For by chance at that time, Protogenes an excellent painter, born in Caunus, did paint them the draught of the city of Ialysus. Demetrius found this table in a house in the suburbs of the city, being almost ended. The Rhodians thereupon sending an herald unto him. to beseech him to spare the defacing of so goodly a work: he returned them answer, that he would rather suffer his father's images to be burnt, than so excellent and passing a work as that to be lost, and brought to nothing. For it is reported, that Protogenes was seven years drawing of the same: and it is said also that Apelles himself when

Deme- he saw it, did so wonder at it, that his speech failed trins him, and he stood mute a long time, and at last concludeth
peace and of great labour, yet they want those graces and
with the ornaments whereby those that I paint do reach unto Rhodians heaven. This table afterwards being brought to Rome, and hanged up with others, was in the end burnt by fire. Now as the Rhodians were desirous to be rid of this war, and that Demetrius also was willing to take any honest occasion to do it: the ambassadors of the Athenians came happily to serve both their desires, who made peace between them with these conditions. That the Rhodians should be confederates with Antigonus and Demetrius against all men, but Ptolemy only. The Athenians sent for Demetrius, upon Cassander's coming to lay siege to their city. Whereupon Demetrius immediately hoised sail towards Athens. with three hundred and thirty galleys, and a great number of men of war besides: so that he did not only drive Cassander out of the province of Attica, but followed him even to the Strait of Thermopylæ, and there overthrew him in set battell, and received the city of Heraclea, which willingly yielded unto him, and six thousand Macedonians that came unto him to take his part. So in his return back, he set all the Grecians at liberty on this side the strait: he made league with the Boeotians, and took the city of Cenchrea, and the castles of Phylé and Panactos, in the frontiers and confines of Attica, in the which Cassander had left garrisons to keep the country in subjection: and after he had driven them out of the country, he rendered the forts again unto the Athenians. Therefore though it

seemed the Athenians had before bestowed to their Demeuttermost power all kinds of honours that could trius' be offered him, every man striving for life to wantonprefer the same: yet they found out new devices to flatter and please him. For they ordained that the place behind the temple of Minerva called Parthenon (as who would say, the temple of the virgin) should be prepared for his house to lie in: and they said, that the goddess Minerva did lodge him with her. But to say truly, he was too unchaste a guest, to think that a maiden goddess would be content he should lie with her. And yet his father Antigonus perceiving that they had lodged his son Philip on a time in a house, where there were three young women, he said nothing to Philip himself, but before him he sent for the harbinger, and said unto him: Wilt thou not remove my son out of this strait lodging, and provide him of a better? And Demetrius, that should have reverenced the goddess Minerva, though for no other respect but because he called her his eldest sister, (for so he would she should be called) he defiled all the castell where was the temple of these holy virgins, with horrible and abominable insolencies, both towards young boys of honest houses, as also unto young women of the city. So that this place seemed to be most pure and holy, at such time as he lay with his common courtesans, Chrysis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra. It shall not be greatly for the honour of the city of Athens, to tell particularly all the abominable parts he committed there. But Democles' vertue and honesty deserveth worthy and condign remembrance. This Democles was a young boy that had no hair on his face, of whose beauty

The Demetrius being informed by the surname he had, noble as commonly called through the city, Democles the end of Fair: he sought divers ways to enuce him, both by Democles fair means, large promises and gifts, and also with threats besides. But when he saw no man could bring him to the bent of his bow, and that the young boy in the end seeing him so importunate upon him, came no more to the common places of exercise, where other children used to recreate themselves, and that to avoid the common stoves, he went to wash himself in another secret stove: Demetrius watching his time and hour of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy seeing himself alone, and that he could not resist Demetrius, took off the cover of the kettle or cauldron where the water was boiling, and leaping into it, drowned himself. Truly he was unworthy of so lamentable an end, but yet he shewed a noble heart, worthy of his beauty and country. But he did not as another called Cleznetus, the son of Cleomedon, who brought letters from Demetrius, directed to the people, whereby through Demetrius' intercession and request, his father's fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for non-payment remained prisoner) was clearly remitted and forgiven. But by this act, he not only shamed and dishonoured himself, but also troubled all the city. For the people thereupon released Cleomedon of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no citizen should thenceforth bring any more letters from Demetrius. But afterward understanding that Demetrius was marvellously offended with this decree: they did not only revoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death, which were the pro- Demecurers and authors of the decree, and others also trius' they banished. And further they made a law, that into the people of Athens should account all religions Peloponto the gods, and just unto men, whatsoever it nesus pleased Demetrius to order and appoint. At that time there was one of the chiefest men of the city, that said Stratocles was a mad man to prefer such matters. Indeed, quoth Demochares surnamed Laconian, he were a madman if he were otherwise: and he spake it, because this Stratocles had many great pleasures at Demetrius' hands for this flattery. Howbeit, Demochares being accused and condemned upon these words, he was banished Athens. See the Athenians how they used themselves, who seemed to be delivered from the garrison they had before, and to be restored unto their former liberty and freedom. From thence Demetrius went into Peloponnesus, and never an enemy of his durst tarry his coming, but all fled before him, and left him their castles and towns. This Demetrius wan unto himself all the country called Acté, and all Arcadia, saving the city of Mantinea: and for the sum of an hundred talents given amongst them: he delivered the cities of Argos, Sicyon, and of Corinth, from the garrisons that lay amongst them. About that time fell out the great feast of Juno in Argos, called Heræa. Therefore Demetrius, to honour this feast with the Grecians, married Deidamia (the daughter of Æacides, king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus) and persuaded the Sicyonians to leave their city, and to come and build in another goodly place near unto it, where

Deme- they now do dwell: and so with the place and trius' situation, he changed also the name of the city. pride For instead of Sicyon, he made it to be called Demetriad. Then at a general assembly of the states of Greece, which was kept in the strait of Peloponnesus, called Isthmos: Demetrius was chosen lieutenant-general of all the Grecians, as Philip and Alexander (both kings of Macedon) had been before him, unto whom he did not only compare himself, but thought himself greater than they, because fortune smiled on him, and for that he had so good success in all his affairs. Whereas Alexander did never take away the title and name of king, from any other kings: neither did ever call himself king of kings, although he had given unto divers of them the name and power of a king: and in contrary manner also, Demetrius laughed them to scorn which called any other princes, kings but his father and himself. Moreover he took great pleasure to hear his flatterers, who being at banquets called for wine to drink to King Demetrius, and then to Seleucus maister of the elephants, to Ptolemy admiral, to Lysimachus, keeper of the treasure, and to Agathocles Cilician, governor of the isles. All the kings, but Lysimachus, laughed at these toys when they were reported to them: but Lysimachus was very angry, and thought great scorn that Demetrius should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old custom commonly to give an eunuch the charge of keeping the treasure. So Lysimachus of all other princes did bear him most malice, and because he would finely taunt him for that he ever kept Lamia his courtesan with him: Until this present

time, said he, I never saw harlot play in a tragedy The before. Demetrius answered him again, That his Mysharlot was chaster than Penelope his wife. So teries Demetrius departing for that time out of Peloponnesus, took his journey towards Athens, and wrote before to the Athenians, That when he came thither he would be received into the fraternity of the holy mysteries, and that he meant they should shew him at one self time, all that was to be seen, even from the least to the highest secrets of their ceremonies, called Epopticks, because they made the brethren of the fraternity see them long time after that they had been first received into the lesser ceremonies: the which was not lawful then, neither was ever heard of before. For these smaller mysteries, in old time were celebrated in the moneth of November, and the greater in the moneth of August; and beside it was not lawful to celebrate or use these ceremonies within the space of a year one of the other. When these letters were openly read, no man durst speak against them, but Pythodorus the Priest, who carried the torch lighted when they shewed these mysteries. Howbeit his words prevailed not, for by the device of Stratocles it was enacted at an assembly of the city, that the moneth of March in the which they were at that time, should be called and reputed November. And so as they could best help it, by their ordinances of the city they did receive Demetrius into the fraternity of the mysteries: and afterwards again, this self moneth of March which they had translated into November, became suddenly August: and in the self same year was celebrated the other ceremony of these great mysteries, whereby Deme-

Dente- trius was admitted to see the most straight and trius' secret ceremonies. Therefore Philippides the Poet prodigal inveighing against the sacrilege, and impiety of religion profaned by Stratocles, made these verses of him:

> Into one moneth his coming hither Hath thrust up all the year together,

And afterwards because Stratocles was the procurer that Demetrius was lodged in the temple of Minerva within the castell:

Of chaste Minerva's holy church he makes a filthy stews, And in that virgin's very sight his harlots doth abuse,

But yet of all the insolent parts done at that time in Athens, (although many were committed) none of all the rest grieved the Athenians more, than this did: that Demetrius commanded them they should presently furnish him with two hundred and fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very hard unto them, both for the shortness of the time appointed them, as also for the impossibility of abating any part of it. When he had seen all this mass of money laid on a heap before him, he commanded it should be given to Lamia, and among his other courtesans, to buy them soap. The shame the Athenians received by this gift, grieved them more, than the loss of their money: and the words he spake to the great contempt of them and their city, did more trouble them, than the payment they made. Some say notwith-standing, that Demetrius did not alone use the Athenians thus shamefully, but the Thessalians also

in the same manner. But passing this over: Lamia Lamia of her self and through her own countenance did get Helepolis a great sum of money together of divers persons for one supper she made unto Demetrius, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that Lycæus born in the Isle of Samos, did set down the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certain poet no less pleasantly than truly, called this Lamia, Helepolis: to wit, an engine to take cities. And Demochares, also born in the city of Soli, called Demetrius a fable, because he had Lamia ever with him: as in the fables which old women tell little children, there is ever lightly a Lamia, as much to say, as a witch, or sorceress. So that the great credit and authority this Lamia had and the love which Demetrius bare her: did not only cause his wives suspect and envy him, but made him hated also of all his friends and familiars. And therefore certain gentlemen, whom Demetrius sent in embassy unto King Lysimachus, he talking familiarly with them, and passing the time away, shewed them great wounds of the claws of a lion upon his arms and legs, telling them also how he was forced to fight with a lion, when through King Alexander's fury he was shut up in his den with him: they smiling to hear him, told him that the king their maister had also certain marks and bitings on his neck, of a wild beast called Lamia. And to say truly, it was a wonderful thing, that marrying (as he did) his wife Phila so much against his will, because she was too old for him: how he was so ravished with Lamia, and did so constantly love her so long together, considering also that she was very old, and past the best. Therefore Demo,

A pretty surnamed Mania, (as much to say the madwoman) suit pleasantly answered Demetrius, asking her one night when Lamia had played on the flute all supper-time, what she thought of Lamia? An old woman, O king, quoth she. Another time when fruit was served in, after the board was taken up: Do you see said Demetrius, how many pretty fine knacks Lamia sendeth me? My mother, answered Demo again, will send you more than these, if you please to lie with her. It is reported of this Lamia, that she overthrew Bocchoris' judgement in a matter. In Egypt there was a young man that had a marvellous fancy unto a famous courtesan called Thonis: who did ask him such a great sum of money to lie with her, that it was unpossible for him to give it her. At length, this amorous youth being so deep in love with her, dreamed one night he lay with her, and enjoyed her: so that for the pleasure he took by his conceit and imagination, when he awaked, his earnest love was satisfied. This courtesan whom he had cast fancy to, hearing of this his dream, did put him in suit before the judges, to be paid her hire for the pleasure the young man had taken of her by imagination. Bocchoris hearing the sum of her complaint, commanded the young man to bring before him in some vessel, at a certain day appointed, as much money as she did ask him to lie with her. Then he bade him to toss it to and fro in his hand before the courtesan, that she should not only have the shadow and sight of it: For quoth he, imagination and opinion is but a shadow of truth. Lamia said this was no equal judgement: For saith she, the shadow only or the sight of money, did not satisfy

the covetousness of the courtesan, as the young The conman's lust was quenched by his dream. Thus spiracy enough spoken of Lamia. But now the misfor-against tunes and gests of him we presently write of: they gonus do transport our history, as from a comical into a tragical theatre, that is to say, from pleasant and light matter, into lamentable and bitter tears. For all the princes and kings conspired generally against Antigonus, and joined all their force and armies together. Therefore Demetrius departed forthwith out of Greece, and came to join with his father, whose courage he found more lively and better given to this war than his years required: besides that Demetrius' coming made him the bolder, and did lift up his heart the more. And yet it seemeth to me, that if Antigonus would but have yielded up a few trifling things, or that he either could or would have bridled his over-immoderate covetous desire to reign: he had both kept for himself all the time of his life, and also left after his death unto his son, the supremest dignity and power, above all the other kings and successors of Alexander. But he was so cruel. and so rash of nature, and as insolent and brave in his doings, as in his words: that thereby he stirred up and brought upon him as his enemies, many great and mighty princes. For even at that present time he said, That he would as easily disperse and scatter asunder that conspiracy against him, as choughs or other little birds coming to peck up the corn newly sown, are easily scared away with a stone or making any little noise. So he carried to the field with him, above three-score and ten thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen, and

and his

Anti- three-score and fifteen elephants. His enemies had gonus three-score and four thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen more than he, with four hundred elephants, and six-score carts of war. When the two armies were one near unto the other, me thinks he had some imagination in his head that changed his hope, but not his courage. in all other battels and conflicts, having commonly used to look big on the matter, to have a loud high voice, and to use brave words, and sometime also even in the chiefest of all the battel to give some pleasant mock or other, shewing a certain trust he had in himself, and contempt of his enemy: then they saw him oftentimes alone and very pensive, without ever a word to any man.

One day he called all his army together, and presented his son unto the soldiers, recommending him unto them, as his heir and successor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men marvelled the more, because that he never used before to impart to any man the secrets of his counsel and determination, no not to his own son, but did all things of himself: and then commanded that thing openly to be done, which he had secretly purposed. For proof hereof it is said, Demetrius being but a young man, asked him on a time when the camp should remove: and that Antigonus in anger answered him, Art thou afraid thou shalt not hear the sound of the trumpet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill signs and tokens that killed their hearts. For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander the Great appeared armed unto him at all pieces, and that he asked him what word or signal of battell they were determined to give, at the day of battell, he an-

swered That they were determined to give, Jupiter Deme-and Victory. Then said Alexander, I will go to trius thine enemies that shall receive me: and afterwards at over rash the very day of the overthrow, when all their army were set in battell ray: Antigonus coming out of his tent, had such a great fall, that he fell flat on his face to the ground, and hurt himself very sorely. So when he was taken up, then lifting up his hands to heaven, he made his prayer unto the gods, that it would please them to grant him victory, or sudden death without great pain, before he should see himself vanquished and his army overthrown. When both battels came to join, and that they fought hand to hand: Demetrius that had the most part of the horsemen with him, went and gave charge upon Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and fought it out so valiantly on his side, that he overthrew his enemies, and put them to flight. But too fondly following the chase of them that fled, and out of time: he marred all, and was the occasion of the loss of his victory. For when he returned from the chase, he could not join again with their footmen, because the elephants were between both. Then Seleucus perceiving Antigonus' battell was naked of horsemen, he did not presently set upon them, but turned at one side as though he would environ them behind, and made them afraid: yet making head as he would charge them, only to give them leisure to come on their side as they did. For the most part of Antigonus' host did forsake him and yielded unto his enemies: the rest of them fled every man. And when a great troop of men together went with great fury to give charge on that side where Antigonus was:

Deme- one of them that were about him said unto him: trius' Your grace had need take heed, for these men come to charge us. He answered again: But how should they know me? and if they did my son Demetrius will come and help me. This was his last hope, and still he looked every way, if he could see his son coming towards him: till at length he was slain with arrows, darts and pikes. For of all his friends and soldiers, there tarried not one man by his body, but Thorax of the city of Larissa in Thessaly. Now the battell having such success as you have heard: the kings and princes that had won so noble a victory, as if they had cut a great body into sundry pieces, they divided Antigonus' kingdom among them, and every man had his part of all the provinces and countries which Antigonus kept adding that unto their other dominions which they possessed before. Now Demetrius flying with all possible speed that might be, with five thousand footmen and four thousand horsemen, he got to the city of Ephesus: where every man mistrusted, that being needy of money as he was, he would not spare the temple of Diana in Ephesus, but would rifle all the gold and silver in it. And in contrary manner also Demetrius being afraid of his soldiers, lest they would spoil it against his will: he suddenly de-parted thence, and sailed towards Greece, putting his greatest confidence and affiance in the Athenians, because he had left his wife Deïdamia at Athens, with ships and some money, supposing he could go no whither with better safety in his adversity, than to Athens, of whose good-wills he thought himself assured. Wherefore when

ambassadors of the Athenians came unto him, and The unfound him not far from the Isles of Cyclades, faithful-as he sailed with great speed towards Attica, and the Athethat they had declared unto him, he should forbear to come unto their city, because the people him had made an ordinance to suffer no more kings to come into Athens, and that they had sent Deïdamia his wife honourably accompanied unto the city of Megara: then was Demetrius for very anger and passion of mind, clean out of countenance, although until that time he had patiently borne his adversity, and his heart had never failed him. But this nipped him to the heart, when he saw (that contrary to expectation) the Athenians had deceived and failed him in his greatest need, and that in his adversity he found their former friendship counterfeit, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainly appeareth, that the most uncertain and deceivable proof of people's good-wills and cities towards kings and princes, are the immeasurable and extreme honours they do unto them. For sith it is so, that the truth and certainty of honour proceedeth from the good-will of those that give it: the fear which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause for them to mistrust that the people do it not with good-will and from their hearts, considering that for fear they do the self same things, which they will also do for love. Therefore grave and wise princes should not pass so much for the images and statues they set up for them, or the tables or divine honours they do decree unto them: as to regard their own works and deeds, and weighing them truly, so to believe and receive their honours for

Selencus true, or otherwise to reject and mistrust them, as requireth things done by compulsion. For commonly it is strate-that which maketh the people to hate kings the marriage more, when they do accept these immeasurable and extreme honours done unto them, but those sorts chiefly hate them most, that against their wills are forced to do them those honours. Demetrius seeing then how injuriously the Athenians had used him, and at that time not knowing how to be revenged of them: he modestly sent unto them only to make his complaints, and to demand his ships, among the which was that galley of sixteen banks of oars. The which when he had received, he hoised sail immediately toward the strait of Peloponnesus, and there found all things to go against him. For in every place where he had left any garrison, the captains that had the charge of them, either yielded them up, or else revolted, and kept them against him. Therefore leaving Pyrrhus his lieutenant in Greece, he took sea again, and sailed towards Cherronesus, and there with the mischiefs he did. and with the spoils he got in King Lysimachus' land, he paid his men, and enriched his army, the which began again to increase, and to be dreadful to his enemies. But now for Lysimachus, the other kings made no great account of him, neither did they stir to give him aid, because he was nothing inferior unto Demetrius: and for that he was of greater power and possessions than themselves, they therefore were the more afraid of him. Shortly after, Seleucus sent unto Demetrius, to require his daughter Stratonicé in marriage, notwithstanding that he had a son already called Antiochus, by his wife Apama a Persian. Howbeit

he thought that his affairs and greatness of his estate Demeand kingdom, was able enough to maintain many trius successors after him. And furthermore, he considered with himself that he should have need of Demetrius' alliance, because he saw Lysimachus himself match with one of Ptolemy's daughters, and his son Agathocles with his other daughter. Demetrius seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently took his daughter with him, and sailed with all his ships directly towards Syria. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessity to land sometimes, and specially in Cilicia, the which Plistarchus the brother of Cassander kept at that time, being given him by the other kings for his part and portion of the spoil of Antigonus, after he was overthrown. This Plistarchus thinking that Demetrius landed not to refresh himself, but to forage and spoil because he would complain of Seleucus for the alliance he made with their common enemy, without the consent and privity of all the other kings' and princes' confederates, he went purposely unto his brother Cassander. Demetrius having intelligence thereof, suddenly invaded the land, and spoiled as far as the city of Cyinda, and carried away (which he had levied) twelve hundred talents, which he found yet left of his father's treasure: and then with all the speed he could possible he returned to his ships, and hoised sail. Shortly after, his wife Phila also came unto him. So Seleucus received them all near unto the city of Orossus, and there their meeting was princely, without sorrow or suspicion one of the other. First of all Seleucus did feast Demetrius in his tent, in the middest of his camp:

Dissen- and afterwards Demetrius feasted him again in his sion begalley, with thirteen banks of owers. Thus they
twixt passed many days together feating and mining twixt passed many days together, feasting and rejoicing passed many days together, feasting and rejoicing each with other, being unarmed, and having no soldiers to wait upon them: until at length Seleucus with his wife Stratonicé departed, and took his way with great pomp towards the city of Antioch. Now for Demetrius, he kept the province of Cilicia, and sent his wife Phila unto her brother Cassander, to answer the complaints and accusations of Plistarchus against him. In the meantime Deïdamia his wife departed out of Greece to come unto him: who after she had remained with him a few days, died of a sickness. Afterwards Demetrius coming again in favour with Ptolemy, by Seleucus his son-in-law's means: he married his daughter Ptolemaïs. Hitherunto Seleucus used Demetrius very courteously: but afterwards he prayed him to deliver him Cilicia again, for a sum of money that he offered him: but Demetrius plainly denied him. Then did Seleucus shew a cruel and tyrannical covetousness: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenance he asked him the cities of Tyre and Sidon. But therein me thinks he lacked honesty and civility: as though he that had under his obedience and subjection all that which lay betwixt the Indians, and the sea of Syria, was in such need and poverty: that for two cities only, he should drive his father-in-law from him, who had sustained so hard and bitter change. But thereby he rightly confirmed Plato's saying: That he that will be rich indeed, must endeavour himself not to increase his riches, but rather to diminish his covetousness. For he shall never be

but a beggar, and needy, whose covetous desire Demehath no end. This notwithstanding, Demetrius trius' yielded not for fear, but provided to replenish the against cities with good garrisons to keep them against the him: saying, That though he had been overcome Atheten thousand times more in battell, yet it should nians never sink into his head that he should be contented, and think himself happy to buy Seleucus' alliance so dear. On the other side, being advertised that one Lachares having spied opportunity when the Athenians were in civil wars one against the other, and that he had overcome them, and did tyrannically usurp the government: he then persuaded himself that he might easily win it again, if he came thither upon the sudden. Thereupon he crossed the seas with a great fleet of ships, without any danger: but he had such a great storm and tempest upon the coast of Attica, that he lost the most part of his ships, and a great number of men besides. But for himself he scaped, and began to make a little war with the Athenians. Yet perceiving that he did no good there, but lost his time: he sent some of his men to gather a number of his ships again together, and he himself in the meantime went into Peloponnesus, to lay siege to the city of Messené, where his person was in great danger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blow with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ran through his cheek. Notwithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subjection again, certain towns that had rebelled against him. After that, he returned again into Attica, and took the cities of Eleusis, and of Rhamnus: and then spoiled all the

The country, and took a ship fraught with corn, and Athe hung up the marchant that owned it, and the niams do maister of the ship that brought it: thereby to terrify all other merchants, that they should be afraid to bring any more corn thither, and so to famish the city, by keeping them from all things necessary for their sustenance: and so it happened. For a bushel of salt was sold at Athens for forty silver drachmas, and the bushel of wheat for three hundred drachmas. In this extreme necessity, the Athenians had but a short joy for the hundred and fifty galleys they saw near unto Ægina, the which Ptolemy sent to aid them. For when the soldiers that were in them saw that they brought unto Demetrius a great number of ships out of Peloponnesus, out of Cyprus, and divers other parts, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred sail: they weighed their ankers, and fled presently. Then Lachares forsook the city, and secretly saved himself. Now the Athenians, who before had commanded upon pain of death, that no man should make any motion to the council, to treat of any peace with Demetrius: they did then upon Lachares flying, presently open the gates next unto Demetrius' camp, and sent ambassadors unto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but because necessity drave them to it. During this so hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderful and strange things: but among others, this one is of special note. It is reported that the father and the son sitting in their house, void of all hope of life: there fell a dead rat before them from the top of the house, and that the father and son fought who should have it

to eat. Moreover, that at the self same siege the Demephilosopher Epicurus maintained himself and his trius' scholars, by giving them a proportion of beans clemency every day, by the which they lived. Thus the city of Athens being brought unto this extremity, Demetrius made his entry into it, and gave commandment to all the citizens, that they should assemble every man within the theatre: where he made them to be compassed in with armed soldiers, and then placed all his guard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came down himself into the theatre, through high galleries and entries by the which the common players used to come to play their parts in tragedies, insomuch as the Athenians were then worse afraid than before: howbeit Demetrius presently pacified their fear, as soon as he began to speak unto them. For he did not fashion his oration with a hasty angry voice, neither did he use any sharp or bitter words: but only after he had curteously told them their faults and discurtesy towards him, he said he forgave them. and that he would be their friend again: and furthermore, he caused ten millions of bushels of wheat to be given unto them, and established such governors there, as the people misliked not of. Then Democles the Orator, seeing that the people gave out great shouts of joy in the praise of Demetrius, and that the orators daily contended in the pulpit for orations, who should exceed other in preferring new honours for Demetrius: he caused an order to be made, that the havens of Piræus and Munychia should be put into Demetrius' hands, to use at his pleasure. This being established by voices of the people, Demetrius of his own private

Deme- authority did place a great garrison within the fort called Museum, because the people should rebel no more against him, nor divert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken Athens, he went to set upon the Lacedæmonians. But Archidamus king of Lacedæmon, came against him with a puissant army, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the city of Mantinea. After that he invaded Laconia with all his army, and made an inroad to the city of Sparta, where he once again overthrew the Lacedæmonians in set battell, took five hundred of them prisoners, and slew two hundred: insomuch that every man thought he might even then go to Sparta without any danger to take it, the which had never yet been taken afore by any. But there was never king that had so often and sudden changes of fortune as Demetrius, nor that in other affairs was ever so often little, and then great: so suddenly down, and up again: so weak, and straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great adversities when Fortune turned so contrary against him, he was wont to cry out upon Fortune, that which Æschylus speaketh in a place:

Thou seemst to have begotten me, of purpose for to

Thy force in lifting of me up, me down again to throw.

Now again when his affairs prospered so well, and that he was likely to recover a great force and kingdom: news were brought him, first that Lysimachus had taken all his towns from him, which he held in Asia: and on the other side.

that Ptolemy had won from him all the realm of Strife Cyprus, the city of Salamis only excepted, in for the the which he kept his mother and children very realm of straitly besieged. This notwithstanding, Fortune played with him, as the wicked woman Archilochus speaketh of, who,

Did in the one hand water show, And in the other fire bestow.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the city of Sparta also out of his hands by these dreadful news, even when he was certain to have won it: she presently offered him hopes of other great and new things, by this occasion following. After the death of Cassander, Philip who was the eldest of all his other sons, and left his heir and successor in the kingdom of Macedon: he reigned no long time over the Macedonians, but deceased soon after his father was dead. The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and wars together: so that the one called Antipater, slew his own mother Thessalonica: and the other being Alexander, called in to aid him Demetrius, and Pyrrhus, the one out of the realm of Epirus, and the other out of Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus came first before Demetrius, and kept a great part of Macedon for recompense of his pains, coming to aid him at his desire: so that he became a dreadful neighbour unto Alexander himself, that had sent for him into his country. Furthermore, when he was advertised that Demetrius did presently upon the receipt of his letters, set forward with all his army to come to aid him: the young Prince Alexander, was twice as much more amazed and afraid, for the

Wiles great state and estimation of Demetrius. So he betwixt went to him notwithstanding, and received him at a place called Dion, and there embraced and welrand comed him. But immediately after, he told him trius. That his affairs were now in so good state, that praised be the gods he should not now need his presence to aid him. After these words the one began to mistrust the other. So it chanced one day, that as Demetrius went to Alexander's lodging where the feast was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was laid for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he should think to be merry at the banquet. But Demetrius was nothing abashed at the news, and only went a little softlier, not making such haste as he did before, and in the meantime sent to command his captains to arm their men, and to have them in readiness: and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many than those of Alexander's side) every man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarry there till he rose from the table. By this means the men whom Alexander had appointed to assault him, they durst not, being afraid of the great train he had brought with him. Furthermore, Demetrius feigning that he was not well at ease at that time to make merry, he went immediately out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him believe that he had certain news brought him of great importance: and prayed Alexander to pardon him, that he could no longer keep him company, for that he was driven of necessity to depart from him, and that another

time they would meet together, with better leisure Demeand liberty. Alexander was very glad to see that trius Demetrius went his way out of Macedon not Alexoffended, but of his own good-will: whereupon ander he brought him into Thessaly, and when they were come to the city of Larissa, they began again to feast one another, to entrap each other: the which offered Demetrius occasion to have Alexander in his hand, as he would wish himself. For Alexander of purpose would not have his guard about him fearing lest thereby he should teach Demetrius also to stand upon his guard. Thus Alexander turned his practice for another, upon himself: for he was determined not to suffer Demetrius to escape his hands, if he once again came within danger. So Alexander being bidden to supper to Demetrius, he came accordingly. Demetrius rising from the board in the middest of supper, Alexander rose also, being afraid of that strange manner, and followed him foot by foot to the very door. Then Demetrius said but to his warders at the gate, Kill him that followeth me. With those words he went out of the doors, and Alexander that followed him was slain in the place, and certain of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him said, That Demetrius had prevented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of uproar and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the Macedonians being marvellously troubled and afraid of Demetrius' great power, when they saw that no man came to assail them, but that Demetrius in contrary manner sent unto them to tell them that he would speak with

Macedon

Deme- them, and deliver them reason for that he had trius pro- done: then they all began to be bold again, and claimed willingly gave him audience. Now Demetrius needed not to use many words, nor to make any long orations, to win them unto him: for, because they hated Antipater as a horrible man-queller and murtherer of his mother, and because they had no better man to prefer, they easily chose Demetrius king of Macedon, and thereupon brought him back into Macedon, to take possession of the kingdom. This change was not misliked of the other Macedonians that remained at home in their country, for that they yet remembered the traitorous and wicked fact of Cassander, against Alexander the Great: for which cause they utterly hated and detested all his issue and posterity. And furthermore, if there were any spark of remembrance in their hearts, of the bounty and goodness of their grandfather Antipater: Demetrius received the fruit and benefit, for his wife Phila's sake, by whom he had a son that should succeed him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in camp with his father. Demetrius having this great good hap and fortune come unto him, he received news also that Ptolemy had not only raised his siege from the city of Salamis, where he kept his mother and children straitly besieged: but further, that he had done them great honour, and bestowed great gifts upon them. On the other side also he was advertised, that his daughter Stratonicé, who had before been married unto Seleucus, was now married again unto Antiochus, the son of the said Seleucus, and how that she was crowned queen of all the barbarous nations

inhabiting in the high provinces of Asia: and that Prince came to pass in this manner. It chanced that this Antio-young Prince Antiochus (as love overcometh all men) became in love with his mother-in-law Stratonicé, who already had a son by Seleucus his father. She being young, and passing fair, he was so ravished with her, that though he proved all the ways possible to master his fury and passion that way: yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning himself to death because he found his desire abominable, his passion incurable, and his reason utterly overcome: he resolved to kill himself by little and little, with abstinence from meat and drink, and made no other reckoning to remedy his grief, feigning to have some secret inward disease in his body. Yet could he not so finely cloak it, but that Erasistratus the Physician easily found his grief, that love, not sickness, was his infirmity: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in love. Erasistratus being earnestly bent to find out the party he loved, he sat by this young prince all day long in his chamber, and when any fair young boy or wife came to see him, he earnestly looked Antiochus in the face, and carefully observed all the parts of the body, and outward movings, which do commonly bewray the secret passions and affections of the mind. So having marked him divers times,

that when others came to see him, whatsoever they were, he still remained in one self state, and that when Stratonicé his mother-in-law came alone or in company of her husband Seleucus to visit him, he commonly perceived those signs in him, which Sappho writeth to be in lovers (to wit, that

The craft his words and speech did fail him, his colour of the became red, his eyes still rolled to and fro, and physician then a sudden sweat would take him, his pulse would beat fast and rise high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his heart had failed him, and shewed all these signs, he became like a wan in an ecstasy and trance, and white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true conjecture by these so manifest signs and declarations, that it was only Stratonicé whom this young prince fancied, and the which he forced himself to keep secret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him much, but yet trusting to his great affection and fatherly love he bare to his son, he ventured one day to tell him, That his son's sickness was no other but love, and withal, that his love was impossible to be enjoyed, and therefore that he must of necessity die, for it was incurable. Seleucus was cold at the heart to hear these news: so he asked him, What, is he incurable? Yea, sir, answered the physician, because he is in love with my wife. Then replied Seleucus again, Alas Eras-istratus, I have always loved thee as one of my dearest friends, and wouldst thou not now do me this pleasure, to let my son marry thy wife, sith thou knowest it well that I have no more sons but he, and that I see he is but cast away, if thou help me not? But your grace would not do it your self, said Erasistratus: if he were in love with Stratonice. O, said Seleucus to him again, that it were the will of the gods, some god or man could turn his love that way: for mine own part, I would not only leave him the thing he loved, but I would give my kingdom also to save his life. Then

Erasistratus seeing that the king spake these words Seleucus' from his heart, and with abundance of tears: he love unto took him by the right hand, and told him plainly, his son Your grace needeth not Erasistratus' help in this. For being father, husband, and king, your self also may only be the physician, to cure your son's disease. When Seleucus heard that, he called an assembly of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to crown his son Antiochus king of the high provinces of Asia, and Stratonicé queen, to marry them together: and that he was persuaded that his son, (who had always shewed himself obedient to his father's will) would not disobey him in this marriage. And as for Stratonicé, if she misliked this marriage, and would not consent unto it because it was no common matter: then he prayed that his friends would persuade her she should think all good and comely that should please the king: and withal that con-cerned the general benefit of the realm and commonwealth. Hereupon Antiochus and Stratonicé were married together. But now to return again to the history of Demetrius. Demetrius came by the kingdom of Macedon and Thessaly, by this means as you have heard, and did moreover possess the best part of Peloponnesus, and on this side the strait, the cities of Megara, and Athens. Furthermore he led his army against the Bœotians, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that Cleonymus king of Sparta was come into the city of Thebes with his army, the Bœotians encouraged by the fair words and allurement of one Pisis, born in the city of Thespiæ, who at that time bare all the sway and

The chief authority amongst them: they gave up their city of treaty of peace they had begun with Demetrius and determined to make war. Thereupon Demetrius went to besiege the city of Thebes, and Demetrius engines of battery unto it: insomuch as trius Cleonymus for fear, stale secretly out of the city. Thereupon the Thebans being also afraid, yielded themselves unto Demetrius' mercy: who putting great garrisons into the cities, and having levied a great sum of money of the province, left them Hieronymus the Historiographer, his lieutenant and governor there. So it appeared that he used them very courteously, and did them many pleasures, and specially unto Pisis. For when he had taken him prisoner, he did him no hurt, but received him very courteously, and used him well: and furthermore, he made him Polemarchus, (to wit, camp-maister) in the city of Thespiæ. Shortly after these things were thus brought to pass, King Lysimachus by chance was taken by another barbarous prince called Dromichætes. Thereupon, Demetrius, to take such a noble occasion offered him, went with a great army to invade the country of Thrace, supposing he should find no man to withstand him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soon as Demetrius' back was turned, the Bootians revolted again from him, and therewithal news was brought him, that Lysimachus was delivered out of prison. Then he returned back with all speed, marvellously offended with the Bœotians, whom he found already discomfited in battell, by his son Antigonus, and went again to lay siege to the city of Thebes, being the chief city of all that province of Bœotia. But at that present time, Pyrrhus came and foraged all Thessaly, Thebes and entered even to the strait of Thermopylæ. again Therefore Demetrius was constrained to leave his son to continue the siege at Thebes, whilst he himself went against Pyrrhus, who suddenly returned again into his realm. So Demetrius left ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen in Thessaly to defend the country, and returned with the rest of his army to win Thebes. Thereupon he brought his great engine of battery called Helepolis, against the wall, as you have heard before, the which was thrust forward by little and little, with great labour, by reason of the weight and heaviness of it: so that it could scant be driven forward two furlongs in two moneths. But the Bocotians and the Thebans did valiantly defend themselves: and Demetrius of a malicious mind and desire of revenge, (more oftener than needful, or to any purpose) compelled his men to go to the assault, and to hazard themselves: so that there were daily a great number of them slain. Antigonus his son perceiving it: Alas, said he, why do we thus suffer our men to be slain and cast away to no purpose? Wherefore Demetrius angrily answered him again: What needest thou to care? Is there any corn to be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, because men should not think he still meant to put

others in danger, and durst not venture himself: he fought with them, till at length he was shot through the neck with a sharp arrow-head, that was shot at him from the wall. Wherewithal he fell very sick, but yet raised not his siege, nor removed his camp, but took the city of Thebes again by assault: the which being not long before again replenished with

Demetrius' Now he put the Thebans in a marvellous fear, by
journey
against
Pyrrhus

Thebes: so that they looked to have received the extremest punishment the vanquished could have, through the just wrath and anger of the conqueror. Howbeit after Demetrius had put thirteen of them to death, and banished some: he pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia, in the honour of Apollo: and because the Ætolians kept all the highways to bring them unto the city of Delphes in the which of old time they did use to cele-brate those sports aforesaid: he caused them to be kept and solemnised at Athens as in a place where this god in reason should be best honoured and reverenced, because he was patron of the city, and for that the Athenians maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into Macedon, and knowing that it was against his nature to live idly, and in peace, and seeing on the other side also that the Macedonians did him more service, and were more obedient to him in wars, and that in time of peace they grew seditious, full of vanity and quarrel: he went to make war with the Ætolians, and after he had spoiled and destroyed their country, he left Pantauchus his lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. Demetrius himself went in the meantime with the rest of his army against Pyrrhus: and Pyrrhus also against him, but they missed of meeting each with other. Whereupon Demetrius passed further unto the realm of Epirus, the which he spoiled and foraged. Pyrrhus on the other side went on so far that he met with Pantauchus, Deme-Demetrius' lieutenant, with whom he fought a trius' battell, and came to the sword with him: so that insolency he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end Pyrrhus had the upper-hand, he put Pantauchus to flight, and slew a great number of his men, and took five thousand prisoners: the which was the chief overthrow of Demetrius. For Pyrrhus wan not the Macedonians' ill-will so much for the mischiefs and hurts he had done unto them, as he got himself great fame and renown with them, because himself alone had with his own hands done all the noble exploits of war in that journey: for the which, he was afterwards had in great estimation among the Macedonians. Now many of them began to say, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the lively image of the hardiness and valiantness of Alexander the Great was to be seen: and that all the rest, (but especially Demetrius) did but counterfeit his gravity and princely countenance, like players upon a stage that would counterfeit his countenance and gesture. And to say truly, there was much fineness and curiosity about Demetrius, to make him a playing-stock in common plays. For some say, that he did not only wear a great hat with his diadem upon his head, and was apparelled in purple gowns embroidered with gold: but also that he did use to wear certain woollen shoes on his feet dyed in purple colour, not woven, but fashioned together like a felt, and gilt upon it. And furthermore, he had long before caused a cloak to be made of a marvellous rich and sumptuous piece of work. For upon it was drawn the figure of the world, with stars and circles of heaven,

Spartan

The plain the which was not throughly finished by the change answer of his fortune. But, there was never king of of the Macedon after him that durst wear it: albeit there were many proud and arrogant kings that succeeded Now the Macedonians were not only sorry, and offended to see such things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withal; but they much more misliked this curious manner of life, and specially because he was ill to come to, and worse to be spoken with. For he gave no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, and would sharply take them up that had to do with him. As, he kept the ambassadors of the Athenians two years, and would give them no answer: and yet made as though he loved them better, than any other people of Greece. Another time also he was offended, because the Lacedæmonians had sent but one man only ambassador unto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him. And so did the am-bassador of the Lacedæmonians answer him very gallantly, after the Laconian manner. For when Demetrius asked him, How chanceth it that the Lacedæmonians do send but one man unto me? No more but one, said he, O king, unto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly and popular-like, than he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easilier speak with him, and that he would more courteously hear their complaints. Thereupon many came, and put up their humble supplications and bills of petition unto him. He received them, and put them up in the lap of his cloak. The poor suitors were glad of that, and waited upon him at his heels, hoping they should quickly be despatched: but when he was

upon the bridge of the river of Axius, he opened The his cloak, and cast them all into the river. This praise of went to the hearts of the Macedonians, who then thought they were no more governed by a king, courtesy but oppressed by a tyrant: and it grieved them so much more, because they did yet remember (either for that they had seen themselves, or otherwise for that they had seen themselves, or otherwise heard their forefathers say) how courteous King Philip was in all such matters, and how that one day as he passed through the street, a poor old woman pluckt him by the gown, and eftsoons humbly besought him to hear her, but he answered her he was not then at leisure. Whereupon the poor woman plainly cried out to him, Leave then to be king. This word so nettled him, and he took such a conceit of it, that he returned presently took such a concert of it, that he returned presently to his palace, and setting all other matters apart, did nothing else many days but gave himself to hear all suits, and began with this poor old woman. For truly nothing becometh a prince better, than to minister justice: for Mars (as Timotheus saith) signifieth force, and is a tyrant: but justice and law, according to Pindarus, is queen of all the world. Moreover, the wise poet Homer saith not that princes and kings have received the custody of engines, and of munition, neither also strong and mighty ships of Jupiter, to keep them to destroy towns withal: but with them to maintain law and justice. And therefore he calleth not the cruel and bloody king, but the just and merciful prince, Jupiter's friend and scholar. And Demetrius boasted that he had a name and title contrary unto Jupiter, whom they called Polieus, or Poli-uchos, signifying protector and preserver of cities:

Deme- and that he was called Poliorcetes, a Fort-gainer. trius' Thus the ill was taken for the good, and vice army preferred for vertue: because he could not discern the truth from falsehood, which turned his injustice to glory, and iniquity to honour. But now to return where we left: Demetrius fell into a great and dangerous sickness in the city of Pella, during which time he almost lost all Macedon, by a sudden invasion Pyrrhus made, who in manner rode it all over, and came as far as the city of Edessa. Howbeit so soon as he recovered health again, he easily drave him out, and afterwards made peace with him, because he would not fighting with him (whom he should have daily at his doors still skirmishing sometime here, sometime there) lose the opportunity, and weaken himself to bring that to pass which he had determined. For he had no small matters in his head, but thought to recover all the realms his father had: and besides, the preparation he made was no less sufficient, than the purpose of such an imagination required. For he had levied and assembled an army of a hundred thousand footmen, lacking but two thousand: and unto them he had also well near twelve thousand horsemen, and had besides gotten about five hundred ships together, which were built part in the haven of Piraus, part at Corinth, part in the city of Chalcis, and part about Pella. He himself in person went through their workhouses, and shewed the artificers how they should make them, and did help to devise them: so that every man wondered not only at his infinite preparation, but at the greatness and sumptuousness of his works. For at that time there was no man living that ever saw a galley

of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. But this is for the true, that afterwards Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator, recovery built a galley of forty banks of oars, the which was of his two hundred four-score cubits long, and from the sgain keel in height to the top of the poop, eight-andforty cubits: and to look to the tackle and guide her, required four hundred mariners, and four thousand watermen to row her, and besides all that she could yet carry above the hatches, well near three thousand fighting men. Howbeit this galley never served to other purpose but for shew, and was like to a house that never stirred; and it was never removed out of the place where it was built but with marvellous ado, and great danger, more to make men wonder at it, than for any service or commodity it could be employed unto. But now, the beauty of Demetrius' ships did nothing hinder their swiftness and goodness for fight, neither did the hugeness of their building take away the use of them, but their swiftness and nimbleness deserved more commendation, than their sumptuousness and stateliness. Thus as this great power and preparation was in hand, being such as never king before (since the time of Alexander the Great) had assembled a greater to invade Asia: these three kings, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, did all join together against him. And afterwards also, they sent ambassadors unto Pyrrhus in the name of them all, to draw him to their side, alluring him to come into Macedon, persuading him not to repose any trust in the peace Demetrius had made with him, to make account of it as a good and sure peace: for, they said that Demetrius did not give him pledge that he would never make war with him,

Three but rather first took opportunity himself to make kings war with whom he thought good. Pyrrhus conconspired sidering so much, and finding their words true, Deme-trius against Demetrius, who tracted time, and stayed yet to begin. For at one self time, Ptolemy with a great fleet of ships came down into Greece, and made all Greece revolt from him: and Lysimachus also on Thracia's side, and Pyrrhus upon the borders of Epirus, confining with the realm of Macedon, they entered with a great army, and spoiled and sacked all as they went. Thereupon Demetrius leaving his son Antigonus in Greece, he returned with all possible speed into Macedon, to go first against Lysimachus. But as he was preparing to go against him, news were brought him that Pyrrhus had already taken the city of Berhœa. This news being blown abroad amongst the Macedonians, all Demetrius' doings were turned topsy-turvy. For all his camp was straight full of tears and complaints, and his men began openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him, so that they would tarry no longer, but every one prayed leave to depart, pretending to look to their business at home, but in truth to go and yield themselves unto Lysimachus. Wherefore Demetrius thought it best for him to get him as far from Lysimachus as he could, and to bend all his army against Pyrrhus: because the other was their countryman, and familiarly known among the most of them, for that they had served together under Alexander the Great, and that as he thought, the Macedonians would not prefer Pyrrhus a stranger, before him. But there

his judgement failed him. For as soon as Pyrrhus Demehad pitched his camp hard by him, the Mace-trius' donians that had ever loved valiantness, and had of forsaketh ancient time esteemed him worthier to be king, that him was the best soldier and valiantest in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency and courtesy he had shewed to the prisoners he had taken: they having had goodwill of long time sought but good occasion to forsake Demetrius, and to yield themselves unto Pyrrhus, or to any other prince whatsoever he were. Then they secretly began to steal away one after another, by small companies at the first: but afterwards there rose such a general tumult against him throughout all the camp, that some of them were so desperate to go into his tent to bid him fly, and save himself, because the Macedonians were too weary with fighting for his curiosity. And yet Demetrius found these words more gentle, and modest, in respect of the vile and cruel words which others gave him. So he went into his tent, and cast a black cloak about his face, instead of his rich and stately cloak he was wont to wear: not like unto a king, but like a common player when the play is done, and then secretly stale away. When this was known in the camp, many of his soldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and every man took such hold of it to have his part, that they tore it in pieces, and drew their swords to fight for it. But Pyrrhus coming in the midst of the tumult, pacified this stir, and presently without blow given, wan all Demetrius' camp: and afterwards he divided the realm of Macedon with Lysimachus, in the which Demetrius had quietly reigned the

Demetrius' strange fortune space of seven years. Now Demetrius being thus miserably overthrown, and turned out of his realm: he fled unto the city of Cassandrea. There he found his wife Phila, who took it marvellous heavily, and could not abide to see him again a private man, driven out of his kingdom, and the most miserable king that ever was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vain hope, and detesting the fortune of her husband; she being more constant in calamity than in prosperity, killed her self with poison she took. Demetrius went from thence into Greece, purposing to gather together the rest of his shipwracks: and there assembled all his captains and friends that he had. So it seemeth to me, the comparison Menelaus maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles, in these verses:

My state doth turn continually about on Fortune's wheel,

Whose double-dealing divers times enforced I am to

Resembling right the moon whose face abideth at no stay

Two nights together, but doth change in shape from day to day.

At first she riseth small with horns; and as in age she grows,

With fuller cheeks and brighter light a greater face she shews.

And when she cometh to the full, and shineth fair and bright,

Among the goodly glistering stars the goodliest in the night:

She fades and falls away again, and runs a counterpace,

Until she have forgone the light and figure of her face.

This comparison might I say much better be applied

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unto Demetrius' fortune, to his rising and falling, Demeand to his overthrow and relief again. For when trius' every man thought his force and power utterly over- misery thrown, then began he to rise again by repair of princely soldiers, which by little and little came upto him, happiness and straight revived him with good hope. was the first time that he was ever seen meanly apparelled, like a private man up and down the country, without some shew or tokens of a king. And there was one that seeing him in this estate at Thebes, pleasantly applied these verses of Euripides unto bim :

Of god immortal, now become a mortal wight: Ismenus' banks and Dirce's streams he haunteth in our sight.

Now when he began to have some hope again, and was (as it were) entred into the great highway of kings, and had gotten soldiers about him, which made a body and shew of royal power: he restored the Thebans their liberty and government again. But the Athenians once more revolted from him, and did revoke the dignity and priesthood of Diphilus, who had been that year created priest of the Saviours, instead of the governor, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we have told you before: and made a law, that from thenceforth the ancient and common governors of their city should be restored again to their ancient manner: and they sent also into Macedon unto King Pyrrhus, rather to terrify Demetrius (whom they saw begin to rise again) than for any hope they had he would come and help them. Howbeit Demetrius came against them with great fury, and did straightly besiege the

Deme- city of Athens. Then the Athenians sent Crates trius the Philosopher to him, a man of great estimation married and authority, who so handled him, partly by entreaty, and partly also through his wise persuasions and counsels he gave him for his profit: that Demetrius presently raised the siege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together so many ships as were left him, and had embarked twelve thousand footmen, and a small number of horsemen: he presently took sea, and sailed towards Asia, meaning to take the provinces of Caria and Lydia from Lysimachus, and to make them to rebel against him. There Eurydice, sister to his wife Phila, received him by the city of Miletus, having with her one of Ptolemy's daughters and hers, called Ptolemaïs, the which had been before affianced to him by Seleucus' means. So he married Ptolemais there, with the good-will and consent of her mother Eurydice. After his marriage he presently went into the field again, and did set forwards to win some cities, whereof many willingly received him, and others he took by force. Amongst them he took the city of Sardis, whither came divers captains unto him of King Lysimachus, who vielded themselves, and brought him a great number of men, and much money besides. But Demetrius receiving advertisement that Agathocles. Lysimachus' son, followed him with a great army: he went thence into Phrygia, making account, and also hoping, that if he could win Armenia, he might easily make Media rebel, and then that he would see if he could conquer the high provinces of Asia, where he might have many places of refuge, if fortune turned against him. Agathocles

followed him very near, and yet skirmishing divers Plague times with him, Demetrius always had the better: and howbeit Agathocles did cut off his victuals from famine him every way and kept him at such a strait, that his men durst no more stray from the camp to forage: wherefore, they sustained great want of victuals, and then began his men to be afraid, and to mistrust that he would make them follow him into Armenia and Media. The famine daily increased more and more in his army, and it chanced besides, that missing his way, and failing to gauge the ford well as he passed over the river of Lycus, the fury and force of the river carried his men down the stream, and drowned a great number of them: and yet notwithstanding these great troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entry and coming into his tent, the first verse of the tragedy of Œdipus Colonian, written by Sophocles, changing only some word:

> Thou imp of old and blind Antigonus, To what a point hast thou now carried us?

But in the end, the plague began also in the middest of this famine, (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessity, it should be so) because that men being driven to need and necessity, do frame themselves to eat all that comes to hand: whereupon he was driven to bring back those few men that remained, having lost of all sorts (good and bad) not so few as eight thousand fully told. When he came into the province of Tarsus, he commanded his men in no case to meddle with anything, because the country was subject unto King Seleucus, whom he would in no wise dis-

Patrocles please. But when he saw it was impossible to stirreth stay his men being now brought to such extremity up Seleucus and need, and that Agathocles had barred up the straits and passages of Mount Taurus against him: he wrote a letter unto Seleucus, first declaring his miserable state and hard fortune, and then presenting his humble petition and request unto him, praying him to take pity upon his friend, whom spiteful fortune had thrown into such misery and calamity, that could not but move his greatest enemies to have compassion of him. These letters somewhat softened Seleucus' heart, insomuch that he wrote to his governors and lieutenants of those parts, to furnish Demetrius' person with all things needful for a prince's house, and victuals sufficient to maintain his men. But one Patrocles, a grave wise man accounted, and Seleucus' faithful friend also, came to tell him, that the charge to entertain Demetrius' soldiers, was not the greatest fault he made therein, and most to be accounted of: but that he did not wisely look into his affairs, to suffer Demetrius to remain in his country, considering that he had always been a more fierce and venturous prince than any other, to enterprise any matters of great importance, and now he was brought to such despair and extremity, that he had framed his men which were but rank cowards (contrary to their nature) to be most desperate and hardy in greatest dangers. Seleucus being moved with these persuasions, presently took his journey into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius being astonished with this sodain change, and dreading so great an army, got him to the strongest places of Mount Taurus. Then he sent

unto Seleucus, first of all to pray him to suffer him against to conquer certain barbarous people thereabouts, who lived according to their own laws, and never trius had king: to the end that he might yet there with safety end the rest of his life and exile, staying at length in some place where he might be safe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it would yet please him to victual his men for the winter-time only, in the same place where they were, and not to be so hard-hearted unto him as to drive him thence, lacking all needful things, and so to put him into the mouth of his most cruel and mortal enemies. But Seleucus mistrusting his demands, sent unto him that he should winter if he thought good, two moneths, but no more, in the country of Cataonia, so he gave him the chiefest of his friends for hostages: howbeit in the meantime he stopped up all the ways and passages going from thence into Syria. Demetrius now seeing himself kept in of all sides, like a beast to be taken in the toil: he was driven to trust to his own strength. Thereupon he overran the country thereabouts, and as often as it was his chance to have any skirmish or conflict with Seleucus, he had ever the better of him: and sometime also when they drave the armed carts with scythes against him, he overcame them, and put the rest to flight. Then he drave them away that kept the top of the mountains, and had barred the passages to keep him that he should not go into Syria, and so kept them himself. In fine, finding his men's hearts lift up again, and prettily encouraged: his heart also grew so big, that he determined to fight a battel with Seleucus, and to set all at six and seven. So that Seleucus was at

Deme- a strait with himself, and wist not what to do.

trius For he had returned back the aid which Lysiattempt machus sent unto him, because he was afraid of eth to assault him, and mistrusted him. On the other side also Seleucus he durst not fight with Demetrius alone, being by night afraid to venture himself with a desperate man: and also mistrusting much his unconstant fortune, the which having brought him to great extremity, raised him up again to great prosperity. But in the mean space Demetrius fell into a great sickness, the which brought his body very weak and low, and had almost utterly overthrown his affairs. For his soldiers, some of them yielded themselves to his enemies, and others stale away without leave, and went where they listed. Afterwards when he had hardly recovered his health, and within forty days' space was prettily grown to strength again: with those few soldiers that remained with him, he seemed to his enemies, that he would go and invade Cilicia. But then suddenly in the night without sounding any trumpet, he removed his camp, and went another way: and having passed over Mount Amanus, he spoiled all the country under it, as far as the region of Cyrrestica. But Seleucus followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereupon Demetrius sodainly armed his men, and went out by night to assault Seleucus, and to take him sleeping when he mistrusted nothing. So that Seleucus knew nothing of his stealing on him but late enough, until that certain traitors of Demetrius' camp that fled before, went quickly to advertise him finding him asleep, and brought him news of the danger he was in. Then Seleucus in a maze and fear withal, got up, and sounded the alarm:

and as he was putting on his hose and making him Demeready he cried out, (speaking to his friends and trius' familiars about him) We have now a cruel and army fordangerous beast to deal with. Demetrius on the other side perceiving by the great stir and noise he heard in the enemies' camp, that his enterprise was discovered: he retired again with speed, and the next morning by break of day, Seleucus went and offered him battell. Demetrius prepared himself to join with him, and having given one of his faithful friends the leading of one of the wings of his army, himself led the other, and overthrew some of his enemies on his side. But Seleucus in the midst of the battell lighted from his horse, and taking his helmet from his head, he took a target on his arm, and went to the first ranks of his army, to make himself known unto Demetrius' men: persuading them to yield themselves unto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had so long time deferred to give them battell, rather to save them, than to spare Demetrius. Demetrius' soldiers hearing him say so, they did him humble reverence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yielded unto him. Demetrius having sundry times before proved so many changes and overthrows of fortune, thinking yet to escape this last also, and to pass it over: he fled unto the gates Amanides, which are certain straits of the Mount Amanus. There he found certain little thick groves, where he determined to stay all night with certain gentlemen of his house, and a few other of his household servants and officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could possible, to take his way towards the city of Caunus, to go to that sea-coast,

Deme- hoping to hear of his ships there. But when it was trius told him he had no victuals nor provision left only yieldeth to serve him that day: he began then to devise some other way. At length, one of his familiar friends Sosigenes came unto him, that had four hundred pieces of gold about him in his girdle. So hoping that with the same money he might fly to the sea, they took their way by night directly, to the top of the mountain. But when they perceived that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great store of fires hard by them: they then despaired to pass any farther, lest they should be seen. So they returned to the self same place from whence they came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remained also any life in them as before. So, one among the rest took upon him, to say, that there was no other way to scape, but to put Demetrius into Seleucus' hands. Demetrius therewithal drew out his sword. and would have slain himself; but his friends about him would not suffer him, but persuaded him to yield himself unto Seleucus. Thereupon he sent unto Seleucus, to tell him that he yielded himself unto him. Seleucus was so joyful of the news, that he said it was not Demetrius' good fortune that saved him, but his own: who besides many other happy good turns she had done him, gave him yet so honourable occasion and good hap, as to make the world to know his clemency and courtesy. Thereupon immediately he called for his officers of household, and commanded them to set up his richest pavilion, and to prepare all things meet to receive him honourably. There was one

Apollonides, a gentleman in Seleucus' court, who nato sometime had been very familiar with Demetrius: Selencus him Seleucus sent immediately unto Demetrius, to will him to be of good cheer, and not to be afraid to come to the king his master, for he should find him his very good friend. So soon as the king's pleasure was known, a few of his courtiers went at the first to meet him; but afterwards, every man strived who should go meet him first, because they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of, and grow in credit with Seleucus. But hereby they turned Seleucus' pity into envy, and gave occasion also to Demetrius' enemies and spiteful men, to turn the king's bountiful good-nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and dangers, saying, That certainly so soon as the soldiers saw him, there would grow great stir and change in their camp. And therefore, shortly after that Apollonides was come unto Demetrius, being glad to bring him these good news, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good news from Seleucus, and that Demetrius himself after so great an overthrow (although that before he thought it a shameful part of him to have yielded his body into his enemies' hands) changed his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, and to have good hope to recover his state again: behold, there came one of Seleucus' captains called Pausanias, accompanied with a thousand footmen and horsemen in all, who compassed in Demetrius with them, and made the rest depart that were come unto him before, having

prisoner in Syria

Deme charge given him not to bring him to the court, but trius to convey him into Cherronesus of Syria, whither kept as he was brought, and ever after had a strong garrison about him to keep him. But otherwise, Seleucus sent him officers, money, and all things else meet for a prince's house: and his ordinary fare was so delicate, that he could wish for no more than he had. And furthermore, he had places of liberty and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasant walks, and goodly arbours to walk or sit in, and fine parks full of beasts where he might hunt: moreover, the king suffered his own household servants that followed him when he fled, to remain with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other unto him from Seleucus, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that so soon as Antiochus and Stratonicé were come, they would make some good agreement and peace between them. Demetrius remaining in this estate, wrote unto his son Antigonus, and to his friends and lieutenants which he had at Corinth and Athens, that they should give no credit to any letters written in his name, though his seal were to them: but that they should keep the towns they had in charge for his son Antigonus, and all the rest of his forces, as if he himself were dead. When Antigonus heard the pitiful captivity of his father, he marvellous grievously took his hard fortune, wearing blacks for sorrow, and wrote anto all the other kings, but unto Seleucus specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, and that he was ready to yield up all that he kept, to have

his father's liberty. The like request did many Heturned cities make unto him, and in manner all princes, his capbut Lysimachus: who promised Seleucus a great into sum of money to put Demetrius to death. But plea Seleucus, who of long time had no great fancy to Lysimachus, but rather utterly despised him: did then think him the more cruel and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made unto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, because he would have Demetrius delivered by his son Antiochus' and Stratonice's means, for that Demetrius should be bound to them for his delivery, and for ever should acknowledge it to them. Now for Demetrius, as he from the beginning patiently took his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forget the misery he was in. For first of all, he gave himself to riding and hunting, as far as the place gave him liberty. Then by little and little he grew to be very gross, and to give over such pastimes, and therewithal he fell into drunkenness and dicing: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seem, either to avoid the grievous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober: or else under colour of drunkenness and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or else finding in himself that it was that manner of life he had long desired, and that through his vain ambition and folly till that time he could never attain unto, greatly turmoiling and troubling himself and others, supposing to find in wars, by sea and land, the felicity and delight which he had found in ease and idleness, when he neither thought of it, nor looked

Deme-

The for it. For what better end can evil and unadvised death of kings and princes look for, of all their troubles, dangers, and wars? who indeed deceive themselves greatly, not only for that they follow their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicity, instead of vertue and honest life: but also, because that in truth they cannot be merry and take their pleasure as they would. So, Demetrius after he had been shut up in Cherronesus three years together, by ease, grossness, and drunkenness, fell sick of a disease whereof he died, when he was four-and-fifty years old. Therefore was Seleucus greatly blamed, and he himself also did much repent him that he so suspected him as he did, and that he followed not Dromichætes' courtesy, a barbarous man born in Thrace, who had so royally and courteously entreated Lysimachus, whom he had taken prisoner in the wars. But yet there was some tragical pomp in the order of his funeral. For his son Antigonus understanding that they brought him the ashes of his body, he took sea with all his ships, and went to meet them, to receive them in the isles: and when he had received them, he set up the funeral pot of gold (in the which were his embers) upon the poop of his admiral galley. So, all the cities and towns whereby they passed or harboured, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of men thither in mourning apparel, to accompany and honour the convoy, to the very solemnity of his funerals. In this sort sailed all the whole fleet towards the city of Corinth, the pot being plainly seen far off, standing on the top of the admiral galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple, and over it, Demethe diadem or royal band, and about it, also were trius' goodly young men armed, which were as pen-posterity sioners to Demetrius. Furthermore, Xenophantus the famousest musician in that time, being set hard by it, played a sweet and lamentable song on the flute, wherewithall the oars keeping stroke and measure, the sound did meet with a gallant grace, as in a convoy where the mourners do knock their breasts, at the foot of every verse. But that which most made the people of Corinth to weep and lament, which ran to the pier, and all alongst the shore-side to see it: was Antigonus, whom they saw all beblubbered with tears, apparelled as a mourner in blacks. Now, after they had brought a wonderful number of garlands and nosegays, and cast them upon the funeral pot, and had solemnised all the honours possible for the funerals at Corinth: Antigonus carried away the pot to bury it in the city of Demetriad, the which bare the name of Demetrius that was dead, and was a new city, that had been replenished with people, and built of little towns which are about Iolcos. metrius lest two children by his first wife Phila, to wit, Antigonus and Stratonicé: and two other sons, both of them named Demetrius, the one surnamed the Lean, of a woman of Illyria, and the other king of the Cyrenians, of his wife Ptolemais: and another by Deïdamia called Alexander, who lived in Egypt. And it is reported also, that he had another son called Corrhæbus, by his wife Eurydice, and that his posterity reigned by succession from the father to the son.

King until the time of Perseus: who was the last king of Macedon, whom the Romans overcame by Paulus Æmilius, and wan all the realm of Macedon unto the empire of Rome.

Now that the Macedonian hath played his part, give the Roman also leave to come upon the stage.

THE END OF THE LIFE OF DEMETRIUS.

### EPILOGUE

THERE is much pathos about the last of a great race. When by the inevitable course of Nature's laws, a nation sinks into luxury, sloth, and weakness, it often is seen that one last outburst of vigour goes before the final doom; one strong man is thrown up perhaps centuries after the force of the race has dwindled to nothing. Thus Rome has her Boethius and her Rienzi, mediæval Greece her Constantine; thus Sparta had her Cleomenes. The generous ideas of Agis never came to fruit: he died young, and, moreover, he seems to have lacked something of patience and persistency, and thus remains one of the world's bright failures. Cleomenes was less scrupulous in his methods, but the sore craved the knife; and for a time he did restore something of the old Spartan simplicity and strength. But he was not so happy as to finish his work; the treachery of Aratus swept away that power which might have united Greece against evil days to come. Thus not the last victim to those local jealousies, which have been the bane of Greece from time immemorial, the last great Spartan died.

The two Gracchi were not, like these, champions of a dead cause, but martyrs to a cause which was destined to triumph. It is impossible to read the story of those two brilliant young men without sympathy and admiration, even for those who may believe them to have been mistaken. Spurred on by the spectacle of oppression and wrong, and inspired to speak out at all

costs as truly as ever was Hebrew prophet, they sacrificed their own cherished hopes and desires, only to perish in the flower of youth. They may have been injudicious, but that is only to say they were not faultless; and what mortal is so? But such lives, and such deaths as theirs are among the priceless treasures of mankind. Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends; and all great causes, from the beginning of history to this day, are watered with martyrs' blood. They are of the noble army in which are Isaiah and Socrates, Latimer and Huss, to which, not a year since, China has added yet others. Their laws and their proposals concern us nothing; it was freedom and justice for which they died.

With Demetrius, the typical soldier of fortune, we need not linger, but pass on to the two orators whose characters have been so fruitful in controversy. Their faults indeed are patent, and are not amiable. Vanity is generally a sign of weakness, and Cicero was undoubtedly vain, even if the cause of his querulousness was, as Niebuhr holds, an extreme sensitiveness which smarted under neglect. Demosthenes is stated on good authority to have been not unapproachable by bribes. The great intellectual qualities of both are equally undeniable, and no one will question their supreme place as orators, each in his own country. Neither of them is notable for those fine philosophical generalisations, those trumpet-tongued statements of eternal truth which Burke abounds in; but they both spoke out with no uncertain sound, and showed true courage in championing a good cause. Cicero's promptness in action during his Consulship redeems him at once from the charge of weakness. The man rose to the crisis; fussy he was, but he had a backbone. He vacillated, perhaps because

of an over-subtle intellect, which saw too clearly the dangers of every course; but he died well. Demosthenes is one of those characters which create partisans. In his case it seems impossible to steer between vituperation and excessive praise. Yet it is hard to see how he can be denied the glory of a true patriot. His estimate of Philip was borne out by the facts; his exhortations to play the man almost awoke the gross spirits of the Athenian mob. If they preferred a free seat in the theatre to an army and fleet which might have made them free, that was no fault of his. He may have taken Harpalus' gold, but he took none of Philip and Alexander; and the evidence of Harpalus' slave, who gave a list of those that his master bribed, goes against this accusation, for he does not mention Demosthenes. However that may be, he spent his life in working for

at may be, he spent his life in working f freedom according to his lights, and in the end he too died for the cause. True of him also was that which Augustus said of Cicero: "He was a wise man, and loved his coun-

try well."

# **EDITORIAL NOTE**

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

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

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

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

from North's marginalia.

### NOTES

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2. 'and yet look'; the text has 'looks.'

4. 'Mandonium': so both translators, Sintenis adopts a correction Mandyrium.

14, etc. 'Juno Chalciccos': the goddess so called was Athena; and the name for Juno is not in the Greek

text. The mistake is Amyot's.

23. North adds this note: 'Note the reverent regard of the heathen unto the person of a king, abhorring to lay violent hands upon him.' It was not long since the Duke of Norfolk's plot against Elizabeth had been found out, and other plots were then in the air. This adds point to the note, which contrasts the heathen with Christians.

28. 'Empnistæ': not a noun in the Greek as might be imagined (there is no such noun), but the infinitive ἐμανεῖσθαι. The spelling fairly represents the pronunciation Amyot may have heard from his Greek

assistant,

32. 'Lysiadas': so both translators. The Greek text has Lydiadas.

34. 'Agesilaus': so both translators. The Greek text has Agylæus.

89. 'dolon' is a Greek word, not Latin.

137. 'but a straw': rather, 'as a speck' or 'stye' in the eve of Athens.

170. 'Harpalus' money': ed. 1595 alters 'money' to 'argent-synanche,' i.e. 'silver quinsy.' I should have placed this word in the text, but that the gross carelessness of this edition makes it certain that North could not have supervised it.

171. 'golden tongue': 'This conceipt can hardly be expressed in any other language than in Greek. For

he saith, οὐκ ἀκούσατε τοῦ τὴν κύλικα ἔχοντος; alluding to the verb κυλεῖν, which signifieth to delight by pleasant speech or sound.' This is paraphrased from Amyot, but with κυλεῖν for κηλεῖν. It shows that North's knowledge of Greek was not deep, for he writes an impossible form for ἀκούσεσθε, and κυλεῖν for κηλεῖν. Yet he seems to have had access to the text; Amyot begins the quotation at τοῦ.

197. 'Marcus Otho': North adds a note: 'Others do say Lucius Roscius Otho, Tribune of the People. Roscius' law for dividing of the Roman Knights from

the common people,'

210. 'They lived': what he said was vixerunt, 'they have

lived their life, it is over.'

215. 'Attius': both translators Actius (which is the way they write it): the Greek has Axius, which means 'worthy.' Hence the point of the saying: 'It is worthy of Crassus.' North's note, taken from Amyot, shows that there was no different reading: 'Actius is a proper name of a Roman, and & tos in Greek signifieth, worthy; so the grace of the equivocation cannot be expressed in any other language.'

216. 'a hole bored': 'Because the Africans have commonly their ears bored through,' N. from A.

219. 'Aura': so the Vulgate: Sintenis adopts the emendation Abra, as above, vol. vii., p. 141.

220. 'the one was called Terentia': 'Some old books do read Tertia,' N. from A. The Vulgate has Terentia, but

Sintenis accepts the emendation.

'King Marcius': the name was Marcius Rex, which Amyot writes, but North imagines Rex to be the common noun.

237. In Amyot the Greek words are written in Roman letters, and the explanations given in French.

248, 'Capitæ': 'Some do read Caieta,' N. from A.

249. 'beard' should be 'chin.'

259. 'ladies' is inserted by N. The Greek means 'the

greatest of the arts,' and so A.

264. 'Empedocles': 'Because he said, that love and discord were ever the efficient causes of generation and corruption of all things.' N. from A.

# Page

- Polysperchon was the surname of Alexander, not of the lady,
- 272. 'Demetrius' altar coming out of his coach,' i.e. the altar of Demetrius coming out of his coach.
- 274. 'Hemlock, the usual herb, with the juice whereof they poisoned offenders at Athens.' N.
- 284. All these plant-names represent Amyot's elicbore, iuscyame, eigne, aconite, and dorycnium. Gr. ύσσκύαμον, έλλέβορον, κώνειον, άκόνετον, δορύκνιον.
- 286. 'convenient': ed. 1 has 'conveyed.'
- 295. 'Lyczus': so both translators.' The Greek text has Lynceus.
- 296. 'overthrew': should be 'answered, contradicted.'
- 307. 'Epicurus': 'A rare device of Epicurus, at the strait siege of Athens, to keep his scholars alive with beans.' N.
- 308. The 'Museum' was no fort.
- 724. 'tracted time'; ed. 1 has 'him.'
  - 'topsy-turvy': ed. I has 'topsie turney,' doubtless a misprint for 'turuey.'

#### VOCABULARY

. . .

ACATES, victuals, 273.

ACHAIANS, a tribe dwelling N. of the Pelopounese, on the Gulf of Corinth.

ADRASTUS, a mythical king of Argos, whose two daughters were wedded with two fugitive princes, Tydeus and Polynices.

ÆGINA, an island opposite Athens, in the Saronic Gulf.

ÆGION, a city of Achaia, on the Gulf

of Corinth. ÆSCHINES, 389-314 B.C., an Attic orator, rival of Demosthenes.

ÆSCHYLUS, 525-456 B.C., first of the great Athenian tragic poets.

AFFIANCE, trust, 300. A GOOD, heartily, 253.

AGRIPPA, soldier and statesman, friend and minister of Augustus.

ALCIBIADES, about 450~404 B.C., an Athenian statesman and general, famous for beauty, power, wealth,

genius, and profligacy.
ALEXANDER ÆGUS, son of Alexander the Great and Roxana, born 323 B.C., partner of Philip Arrhideus, under tutelage, murdered by Cas-

sander, 311.

ALEXANDER, son of Cassander and nephew of Alexander the Great, quarrelled with his brother Antipater, and called to his aid Pyrrhus and Demetrius, who murdered him,

294 B.C.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, SOR of Philip of Macedon and Olympias, born at Pella, 356 B.C., king 336-323, crossed the Hellespont 334, battle of the Granicus 333, founded Alexandria 331, conquered Darius at Gaugamela 331 (Arbela), invaded India 327.

AMANUS, a branch of Mount Taurus. AMATE, amaze, 230.

AMAZONS, a tribe of women warriors who were said to dwell in Asia Minor.

Amorgos, one of the Sporades, an island in the Ægean Sea.

Amphissa, a city on the borders of Phocis, near Delphi.

AMYCLAS, a legendary king of Sparta, founder of Amyclæ.

ANTIOCH, capital of Syria.

ANTIOCHUS OF ASCALON, founder of the fifth Academy, teacher of Cicero.

ANTIPATER, a Macedonian, regent of Macedon for Alexander, defeated the Greeks at Crannon, 322 B.C., died 319.

ANTIPHANES, an Attic poet of the Middle Comedy, about 404-330

Antonius, Marcus, the Triumvir, born about 83 B.C., an enemy of Cicero, partisan of Cæsar, defeated at Mutina 43, triumvir with Octavianus and Lepidus 43, defeated by Octavianus at Actium 31, fled with Cleopatra, killed himself 30.

APRILES, the greatest painter of antiquity, a friend of Alexander the

Great.

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

APOLLONIUS OF ALABANDA, in Caria, called Molo, a rhetorician, visited Rome as ambassador from Rhodes. ARATUS OF SICYON, 271-213 B.C.,

general and statesman, who fought in defence of the Achsean League. ARCHILOCHUS, of Paros, flourished about 700 B.C., founder of Greek

AREOPAGITES, the Senates of "Mars' Hill," the Hill of Ares, a most

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ancient and venerable court of Athens, but without much power. Argolia, Argos, a plain in the N.E.

of Peloponnese.

Argos, a city in the N.E. of the Peloponnese.

Aristides, an Athenian statesman, called the Just, flourished about 500 B.C.

Aristobulus of Cassandrea, served under Alexander in Asia, and wrote a history of his reign.

ARISTOMBNES, a hero of the second

Messenian war, seventh century B.C. ARISTON OF CHIOS, a Stoic philosopher, and disciple of Zeno.

ARISTOPHANES, the great comic poet of Athens, about 444-380 B.C.

ARISTOTLE, of Stagira, the great philosopher, fourth century B.C.

ARM, in Apulia.

ATLAS, a Titan, who bore the heavenly

world on his shoulders.

ATRBUS, brother of Thyestes, and king of Mycenae. Thyestes seduced his brother's wife, and being banished, caused him to kill his own son; Atreus slew the two sons of Thyestes, and served up their flesh before their father at a feast. The curse rested for ever on this house.

ATTALUS PHILOMETOR, king of Pergamus 138-33 B.C., made the Roman people his heirs.

Avoid, depart, 202.

AWAY WITH, endure, 17.

BACCHUS, Greek god of wine. BECAUSE, in order that, 1.

Bellona, mad, 192. Bellona, Roman goddess of battles.

BERGA, in Macedon. Bib, drink, 145.

BLOSIUS, Or BLOSSIUS, C., of Cumæ, a disciple of Antipater of Tarsus, philosopher and friend of C. Gracchus.

BOLONIA, BOLOGNA, in N. Italy. BORYSTHENES, the Dnieper, also a town upon that river.

BRIGANTINE, coat of mail, small iron plates sewn upon leather, 199.

Brundusium, Brindisi, a port in S.E. Italy.

Brutus, M., joined Pompey in 49 B.C., pardoned by Cæsar after Pharsalia 48, murdered Cæsar 44.

Burden, accuse, 219.

BY-TALK, talk by the way, 275.
BYZANTIUM, a Greek colony on the site of Constantinople.

CÆCILIUS CALACTINUS, a Greek rhetorician of Sicily, who lived in Rome in the reign of Augustus, and wrote on philosophy and history.

CÆSÁR. See OCTAVIUS.

CALLISTHENES, a pupil of Aristotle, went with Alexander the Great to Asia. He wrote a History of Greece.

CALLISTRATUS, an Athenian orator, fourth century B.C., admired by Demosthenes, banished, and finally put to death.

CAPHYÆ, a town in Arcadia.

CAPITOL, one of the seven hills of Rome, where stood the Castle and the Temple of Jupiter.

CAPUA, chief city of Campania.

CARRIAGE, baggage, 279.
CARTHAGE, a Phoenician colony in
N. Africa, destroyed by Scipio
146 B.C.

CASSANDER, son of Antipater, after whose death he fought against Polysperchon and against Antigonus, smoothed his path by treacherous murders, took the title of king 306 B.C., after the Ipsus 301 obtained Macedonia and Greece, died 202.

CASSANDRA, daughter of Priam, had the gift of prophecy, but with the curse that no one should believe

ner.

CASSANDREA, built by Cassander on the site of Poridæa, in Macedon, on

the isthmus Pallene.

CATILINE, L. SERGIUS CATILINA, a young noble who batched a conspiracy 63 B.C., which was detected by Cicero; he escaped for the time, but fell in battle.

Caro, M. Porcius, called of Utica from the place of his death, 95-46 B.c.; opposed Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus: after the battle of Thaosus had made his cause hopeless, he killed himself.

CAUNUS, in Caria.

CELGENAE, a city of S. Phrygia. CENTAURS, mythical monsters, half man half horse

Cros, an island in the Ægean, one of the Cyclades.

CRRAMICUS, the Potters' Quarter of Athens, by the Dipylon Gate, wherein was the cemetery.

CERES, Greek Demeter, goddess of the earth and agriculture. Greek goddess with her daughter Persephone, the Maid, was worshipped at the Eleusinian Myste-

CETHEGUS, P. CORNELIUS, a friend of Marius, proscribed by Sulla, par-

doned by Sulla 82 B.C.

CHARRONEA, in Boeotia, where Philip, father of Alexander the Great, defeated the Athenians and Bozotians. 338 B.C.

CHAFF, to abuse, 201.

CHALCIS, in Eubœa.

CHALLENGE, claim, 272. CHERRONESUS, or CHERSONESUS, the tongue of land just N. of the Hellespont. The same name is used of several other places.

CHIOS, an island of the Ægean, near

Smyrna.

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

CICERO, Q. TULLIUS, brother of the orator, 102-43, pro-prætor of Africa 61-59, went to Gaul with Cassar 55, joined Pompey 49, proscribed

43, and slain.

CICH-PEASE, chick-pea, 180.

CINNA, L. CORNELIUS, during Sulla's absence in the East, 87-84 B.C., leader of the popular party; took part in Marius massacres; slain 84. CIMON, son of Miltiades, an Athenian

statesman and general of the fifth

century B.C.

CIRCRUM, a promontory of Latium. CITHARRON, a mountain range of Attica, being the frontier of Bœotia. CITHERN, lyre, 12.

CLEON, a tanner and demagogue of Athens, leader of the riot against

Pericles.

CLOYN, clown, 41. COLT, cheat, 245.

CONCEST, opinion, 321. CONCEITED, witty, 170.

CONSEQUENTLY, in succession, 38. CORNELIUS NEPOS, first century B.C.,

wrote Lives of Famous Men. Could no skill, knew nothing, 190. CRANON, near Larissa, in Thessaly.

CRASSUS, M. LICINIUS, led an army into Parthia, which was annihilated at Carrhæ 53 B.C.

CRATERUS, a general of Alexander the Great, assisted Antipater in the Samian wars, fell 321 B.C.

CRATES, of Athens, pupil of Polemo, succeeded him as president of the Academy.

CRATIPPUS, of Lesbos, a Peripatetic philosopher, teacher of Cicero. CROTON, a Greek colony, S.W. Italy.

CUMÆ, in Campania.

CURIOSITY, affectation, 78; whim,

CYTHERA, an island off the S. of the Peloponnese.

DANGER, power, 311.

DELPHES, DELPHI, in Phocis, seat or the oracle of Apolio Pythian.

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

DEMEAN, demesne, common land, 84. DEMETRIUS, of Phalerum, born about 345 B.C., orator, statesman, philosopher, and poet.

DEMOSTHENES, the great Athenian orator and patriot, about 485-322 B.C., stirred up his countrymen to resist Philip, and in fleeing from Antipater, took poison to avoid

capture. DENARIUS, a Roman silver coin about the size of a franc.

DEPART, part, 8. DETECTED, exposed, 277. DIANA, Greek Artemis, virgin goddess of the wild woodland, daughter of Leto, and sister of Apollo. She is queen and huntress, chaste and fair, and bears a silver bow.

Dionysius, of Magnesia, a rhetorician, visited by Cicero in Asia

between 79-77 B.C. DIOPHANES, of Mytilene, a rhetorician, who taught Tiberius Gracchus. DOLABELLA, Cn. Cornelius, governor of Cilicia, condemned for extortion 70 B.C.

Drachma, a silver coin about the size of a tranc.

DRIFT, plan, 157.

DURIS, of Samos, a historian, wrote a History of Greece. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. DYRRHACHIUM, a port on the W. of

Greek Illyria.

ECBATANA, a summer residence of the Persian kings.

EFTSOONS, SOOR, 188.

ELATRA, in Phocis, taken by Philip of Macedon 338 B.C.

ELEMENT, upper air, 14.

ELEUSIS, a city near Athens, where the Mysteries were celebrated in honour of Demeter and Persephone. ELIS, in south Greece, in which was

the sacred city Olympia, scene of the great games, wherein was a temple and statue of Zeus Olympius.

EMBASE, abase, debase, 95.

EMPEDOCLES, of Agrigentum, fifth century B.C., a philosopher, orator, healer, and would be wonder worker.

EPAMINONDAS, general, statesman, and patriot of Thebes, freed his country from Sparta 379 B.C., commanded at Leuctra 371, four times invaded Peloponnese, founded Messene and Megalopolis, killed at the victory of Mantinea 362.

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

EPHIALTES, friend and fellow-worker of Pericles, a democratic statesman at Athens in the fifth century B.C.

EPICURUS, of Samos, 342-270 B.C., founder of a philosophy which cultivated 'life according to nature.' This school soon degenerated into sensualism.

EPIDAURUS, a city and health resort in the N.E. of the Peloponnese, near Argos and Trœzen.

EPONYMOS, a Greek word meaning

titular, 272. ERATOSTHENES, of Cyrene, 276-196 B.C., librarian of Alexandria, writer and scholar. Amongst other things he wrote a History.

Ern, eagle, perhaps vulture, 161. ETESLE, not the name of a wind, but a word meaning yearly or yearlong, 248.

EUBŒA, or NEGROPONT, a large island off the coast of Bœotia. EURIPIDES, 480-406 B.C., the third of the great Athenian tragic poets.

FACT, deed, 312. FACTOR, porter, menial, 9. FANNIUS STRABO, C., son-in-law of

Lælius, served in Africa under Scipio 146 B.C., in Spain 142, and wrote a Roman History.

Finely, finally, 29.

FINENESS, luxury, 275; refinement, elaboration, 78.

FLATLING, prone, 124. FLAW, gust, 117. FOND, foolish, 162.

Foul, ugly, 218. FREGELLE, a town of Latium, near Rome.

Grar, rage, turmoil, 217. GESTS, acts, 297. GIRD, jest, taunt, 189.

GRAVEL, take aback, annoy, 95. metaphor from wrestling, i.e. to throw down.

GUARDED, trimmed, 243.

HALICARNASSUS, a port of Caria, now Budrun, opposite Cos.

HALONNESUS, an island of the Ægean, off the coast of Thessaly,

HANNIBAL, son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, invaded Italy 218 B.C., won several crushing victories, forced to retreat to Africa, defeated at Zama 202, driven into banishment, took poison to avoid capture about 183.

HAPPILY, by chance, 288. HARBOROUGH, refuge, harbour, 282.

HARNEST, armed, 220.

HARPALUS, a Macedonian, treasurer of Alexander in his Asiatic campaign. He robbed the treasury, and fled to Greece with a large body of men. His end was that he fled to Crete and was murdered

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

HERMIPPUS, of Smyrna, a philosopher and biographer, flourished about

200 B.C.

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

HORTENSIUS, Q., the orator, Cicero's

rival, 114-50 S.C.

Hoscynamum, Fr. jusquiame, hogsbane or henbane, 284.

Hornouse, bath, 125. HUNDRETH, hundred, 12.

IALYSUS, a city of Rhodes. IDOMENEUS, of Lampsacus, third century s.c., a friend and disciple of Epicurus, author of philosophical and historical works now lost, Incontinently, immediately, 118.

Indiversant, impartial, 131. INDIFFERENTLY, impartially, 48.

Iмг, son, 389.

VIII

Ion, a tragic poet of Athens, fifth century B.C.

Is aus, an Attic orator, who lived between 420 and 348 B.C.

ISOCRATES, 436-338 B.C., an Attic orator and rhetorician, a patriot, killed himself after the battle of Chæronea.

JET, stamp, 78.

JOINTER, jointure, 190. JUNO, Greek Hera, wife of Jupiter (Zeus), and queen of heaven. The title of Chalciecus, of the Brazen House, belonged to Athena at

Sparta, not to Hera. JUPITER, Greek Zeus, king of the gods. A title of his was Capitoline, from the Roman Capitol, where he had a great temple. Jupiter Ammon had an oracle in the Libyan desert.

KEARCHER, kerchief, 314.

LELIUS, C., a friend of Scipio African the Younger, of Polybius, Terence, and Lucilius; born about 186 B.C.

LERTES, father of Ulysses, who lived on his farm in the country.

LAMIA, in Thessaly, where Antipater was besieged by the Greeks, 323 B.C.

LEHMAN, lover, paramour, 65. LENTULUS, P. CORNELIUS, joined in the plot of Catiline 63 B.C., and

executed. LENTULUS SURA, P., one of the chief men in Catiline's conspiracy, ejected from the Senate for evil life 70 B.C.,

executed 62.

LET, hinder, o. LEUCTRA, in Bocotia, where Epaminondas defeated the Spartans 371

LIST, like, 157; desire, 234. Luke, Lucania in S. Italy, 225.

Lust, desire, 234.

Lysimachus, one of Alexander's generals, after his death governor of Thrace, joined Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander against Antigonus 315 B.C., called himself king 306,

conquered Antigonus and Demetrius at the Ipsus 301, leagued against Demetrius 288, lord of all Greece 286, killed on plain of Corus

M.ECENAS, friend of Augustus, a great patron of learning.

Malea, a promontory (not a city) S. of the Peloponnese.

MALICE, dislike, 218.
MANCINUS, C. HOSTILIUS, Consul 137 B.C., defeated by the Numan-tines and disgraced.

MANTINEA, a city in Arcadia.

MARCUS OCTAVIUS, tribune of the people 133 B.C. with Tiberius Gracchus, whom he opposed, and who therefore deposed him.

MARS, Roman god of war.

MEGALOPOLIS, a city in Arcadia, founded by Epaminondas as a political centre.

MEGARA, a Doric city between Athens and Corinth.

MESSENE, in the Peloponnese, capital of Messenia, on Mt. Ithome.

MESSENIA, a plain west of Sparta, separated from it by Mt. Taygetus. The two, Messenia and Sparta, were rivals for centuries, and fought long and bloody wars together.

MICIPSA, king of Numidia.

MILO PAPINIANUS, T. ANNIUS, a daring and extravagant man, tribune of the plebs 57 B.C., supported Cicero's recall, killed Clodius in a brawl 52.

MINA, a sum of money equal in bullion to some £4. Sixty minæ make

a talent.

MINERVA, Greek Athena, goddess of skill and craftsmanship, and patroness of Athens. Her sacred bird was the owl, and there was a sacred serpent on the Acropolis.

Minish, diminish, 95.

MISENUS, a promontory in the S. of

Campania.

MITHRIDATES II., king of Pontus, 337-302 B.C., established Pontus as an independent kingdom.

M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the people 122 B.C., outbid C. Gracchus

for popularity,

MONETH, month, 18.

MURENA, L. LICINIUS, served in Asia, prætor 65 B.C., elected Consul for 62 accused of bribery but successfully defended by Cicero.

Mysteries, a feast celebrated at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and the Maid (Persephone); of two sorts, the Lesser and the Greater.

MYTILENE, chief city of Lesbos.

Nasica Serapis, P. Corn. Scipio, led the senatorial party in attacking and killing Tiberius Gracchus. NAUGHTY, worthless, 156.

NEPHEW, grandson, 5.

NEPTUNE, Greek Poscidon, god of the sea.

Noint, anoint, 190.

NUMANTIA, on the E. coast of Spain.

OBLIGATORY, used of writings: bonds and deeds, 16.

Obolus, one-sixth of a Greek drachma. a silver coin worth about red.

OCTAVIUS, C., great-nephew of Julius Casar, on adoption by him took the name of C. Julius Casar Octavianus, 63 B.C.-A.D. 14. At Cæsar's murder he was but twenty, yet with great tact and skill organised the party of revenge, conquered his enemies, and after the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., became emperor. His imperial title Augustus was given him 27 B.C.

OLYMPIA, in Elis, scat of the great games, where were seen many noble temples, in chief that of Zeus.

OLYMPIC GAMES, celebrated every four years at Olympia in Elis, for the honour of Zeus (Jupiter): these were the greatest games of all Greece.

OLYMPUS, on the borders of Thessaly, highest mountain in Greece.

ORCHOMENUS, (1) a city in Bosotia, on Lake Copais; (2) a city in Arcadia. Ordinary, table, 78.

OWER, 021, 304.

PALATINE, one of the Seven Hills of Rome, adjoining the Forum. PANÆTIUS, of Rhodes, second century

B.C., a Stoic philosopher, lived at Athens and at Rome, and wrote a

book on Duties.

PART, feature of character, act. 42. PASIPHAE, wife of Minos king of Crete, smitten with madness which made her fall in love with a bull, by which she became mother of the monster Minotaur.

Pass, care, 147.

PATRAS, a port of Achaia, at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth. PAULUS, L. ÆMILIUS, defeated Per-

seus at Pydna 168 B.C. Pergamus, a city of Mysia, in the

N. of Asia Minor.

PELLA, in Macedon, birthplace of Alexander the Great.

PELTING, mean, 137.

PENSIVE, hesitating, 278.

PERDICCAS, of Macedon, one of Alexander's chief generals, after his death regent, opposed by a coalition of Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy, invaded Egypt, where he was killed.

Pericles, an Athenian orator and democratic statesman, died 429 B.C. Perseus, last king of Macedon, reigned 178-168 B.C., when he was conquered by L. Æmilius Paulus.

PHARSALIA, a plain in Thessaly, by Pharsalus, where Cæsar defeated

Pompey 48 B.C.

PHASELIS, a scaport of Lycia. PHILIP, founder of the Macedonian

empire, 382-336 B.C.

PHILO, of Larissa, an Academic philosopher, teacher of Cicero.

PHILOCRATES, an Athenian orator of the fourth century B.C., and a sup-

porter of Philip.

Phocion, 402-317 B.C., an Athenian general and statesman, noted for his courage, honour, and magnanimity. Phœbus, a name of Apollo.

PHYLARCHUS, a Greek historian, who

lived at Athens.

PINDAR, a lyric poet of Thebes, about 522-442 B.C.

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

POLYBIUS, a Greek of Megalopolis, kept at Rome as a state prisoner for many years, a friend of Scinio. author of a History of Rome in Greek.

POLYBUCTUS, an Athenian orator, friend of Demosthenes, worked against the Macedonian party.

POLYSPERCHON, an officer of Alexander the Great, served afterwards under Antipater in Europe, regent of the young king after Antipater's death, fought against Cassander, but afterwards served under him.

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

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

POPILLIUS LÆNAS, P., a plebeian, Consul 132 s.c., persecuted the friends of Tiberius Gracchus.

Post, post-baste, 106. PRACTISE, intrigue, 64.

PREFER, propose, 84.

PRESENTLY, at present, 77; at once

PREVENT, forestall, 240. PRIAM, king of Troy.

PTOLEMY, name of an officer of Alexander the Great, and of several

kings of Egypt.

Pyranus, king of Epirus, 318-272 B.C., who after a long career of conquest invaded Italy 280, at first successful, afterwards defeated at Beneventum 275.

Pytheas, an Athenian orator, op-

ponent of Demosthenes. PVTHIA, priestess of Apollo Pythius at Delphi.

PYTHIAN GAMES, held every four

years at Delphi in honour of Apollo Pythius. The contests were athletic, &c., and literary or musical.

OUADRYNE, Lat. quadrums, a small coin.

Quawmire, quagmire, 32. QUIT, acquit, 157.

RACE, scratch, 286. RAMP, to tread, dance, 165. REX, Q. MARCIUS, Consul 68 B.C., took the field against Catiline 63. RHAMNUS, in Attica, N. of Athens. ROUN, to round, 277. RUNAGATE, runaway, 7.

SALAMIS, (1) an island lying close off Attica, opposite to the harbour of Pirzeus, where the Greeks conquered Xerxes 480 B.C., (2) a city in Cyprus,

Samos, an island off Cape Mycale in Asia Minor.

SAPPHO, of Lesbos, the supreme Greek poetess, flourished about 600 a.c. SARDIS, capital city of Lydia.

SARDONIAN'S LAUGH, the laugh of a man who has little cause for it.

SATURN, an ancient Latin deity under whom men were supposed to have enjoyed the Golden Age. His temple in the Forum was the public treasury; part of it still stands.

SCEVOLA, Q. MARCIUS, the Augur, friend of Scipio African the Less. SCIPIO, L. CORNELIUS, conqueror of

Antiochus II. 190 B.C.

Scipio Africanus Major, P. Corn., conqueror of Hannibal at Zama 202 B.C., and one of Rome's greatest

Scipio, P. Corn. Sc. Æmilianus AFRICANUS MINOR, born about 185 B.C., took Carthage 146, Numantia 133, died suddenly, probably by murder, 129.

Scor, fee, 115.

SELEUCUS, name of several kings of

Syria. SELLASIA, a city near Sparta. SENTENCE, opinion, 104. SESS, assess, 58. SEVERAL, separate, 197. SHAMEFAST, modest, 26. SHARP, AT THE, with sharp weapons,

SHRICH, screech, 219. Sicyon, a city near Corinth. Sight, great number, 223. SIGNIORY, lordship, 42. SITH, since, 15.

SITHENCE, since, 25. SOCRATES, a philosopher of Athens, 469-309 B.C., the founder of dialectic teaching, teacher of Plato. Sodain, sudden, 56. SODOMITE, vicious person.

SOLDIER-FARE, warfare, 265. Sommer, summer, 241.

SOPHOCLES, second of the great Athe-

nian tragic poets, 495-406 B.C. SPHÆRUS, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Zeno, lived at Alexandria, and visited Sparta.

SOUINANCE, quinsy, 170. STATE, potentate, 101. STINT, allowance, 58. STOUT, bold, 230. Stove, hot bath, 200.

STRAIGHT, strict, strictly kept, 204. STRAIT, isthmus, 202; pass, 317. SULLA, L. CORNELIUS, 138-78 B.C., a

noble, profligate, but a great general and statesman, made himself dictator 82 B.C., when his proscriptions made Rome run with blood.

Susa, a city where was the winter palace of the Persian kings.

TABLE, tablet, 221.

TALENT, 60 minæ, 6000 dræchmæ, a sum in bullion equal to about £240. TARGET, shield, 333.

TARENTUM, a Greek colony and port in S. Italy.

TARSUS, capital of Cilicia, no mean city.

TAYGETUS, a mountain range parting Messenia from Sparta. TEGEA, a city in the Peloponnese, not

far from Sparta.

TEMPER, tune, make harmonious, well proportioned, or symmetrical, 44.

TERPANDER, of Lesbos, the founder of Greek music and lyric poetry, seventh century B.C. He lived at Sparta.

THALAME, (1) a city in Elis, (2) a city in Messenia.

THALES, of Crete, a musician and lyric poet, seventh century B.C. He lived in Sparta.

THEOPHRASTUS, of Lesbos, a Greek philosopher and naturalist, died at a great age 987 B.C.

THEOPOMPUS, king of Sparta, about 770-720 B.C.

Theorompus, of Chios, a Greek historian, fourth century B.C.

THERAMENES, as known to history, was a mean and cowardly man, who was a leader of the oligarchical 400 in Athens 417 B.C.; but his manner of facing of death was highly praised in antiquity.

THERMODON, a river near Chæronea. THERMOPVLÆ, a pass between Thessaly and Locris.

THESMOPHORIA, a feast of the women at Athens, held at sowing time (October) in honour of Demeter (Ceres).

THESPIÆ, in Bœotia.

THESSALONICA, near Saloniki, on the Gulf of Therma.

THUCYDIDES, (1) son of Melesias, an Athenian statesman of the fifth century B.C.; (2) son of Olorus, historian of the Peloponnesian War-

Thursi, a Greek colony in South Italy. Tisick, ptisic, 62. Toy, trifle, 292.

TRACT, protract, 324.

TROEZEN, a district and town on the N.E. of the Peloponnese.

TROTH, truth, 87.

TYRTHUS, an Athenian, who wrote war songs for Sparta during the second Messenian War.

UNHABITED, uninhabited, 85. UNWARES, unawares, 3.

VERRES, C., a rapacious and unscrupulous man, who was accused by Cicero for his dealings in Sicily 73-71 B.C., and forced to fly.

VERY, true, 88.
VIBON, VIBO, Greek Hipponium a
city in Bruttium, S. Italy.

WRSIL, weazand, throat, 170. WIST, knew, 332.

ZENO OF CITIUM, third century B. founder of the Stoic philosophy.