

**THE
TEMPLE
PLUTARCH**

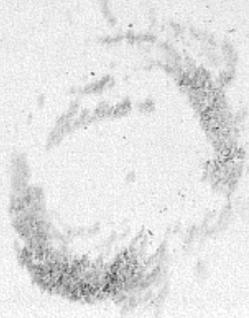


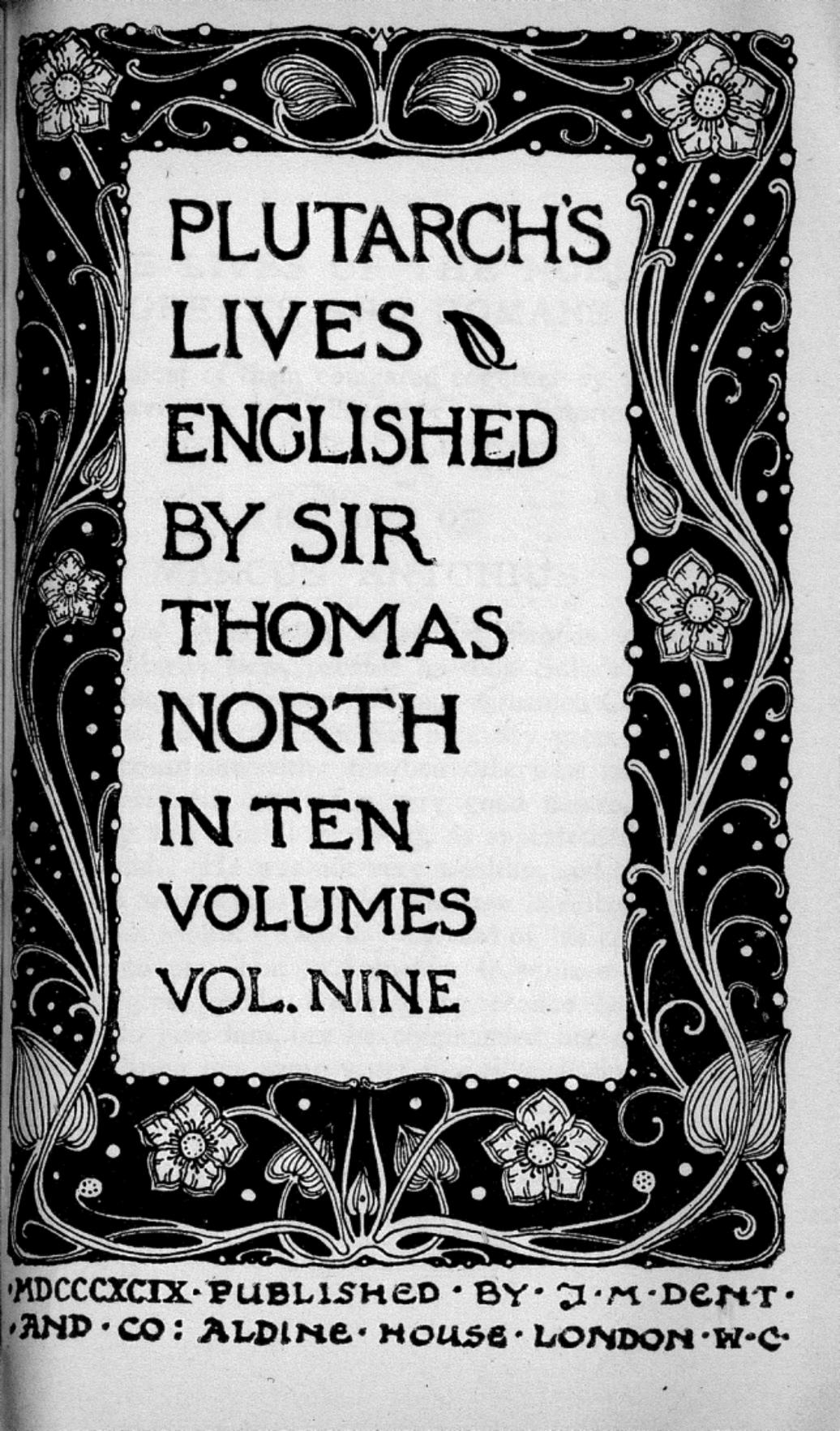
**Edited by
W. H. D.
ROUSE
M.A.**



M. ANTONIUS.

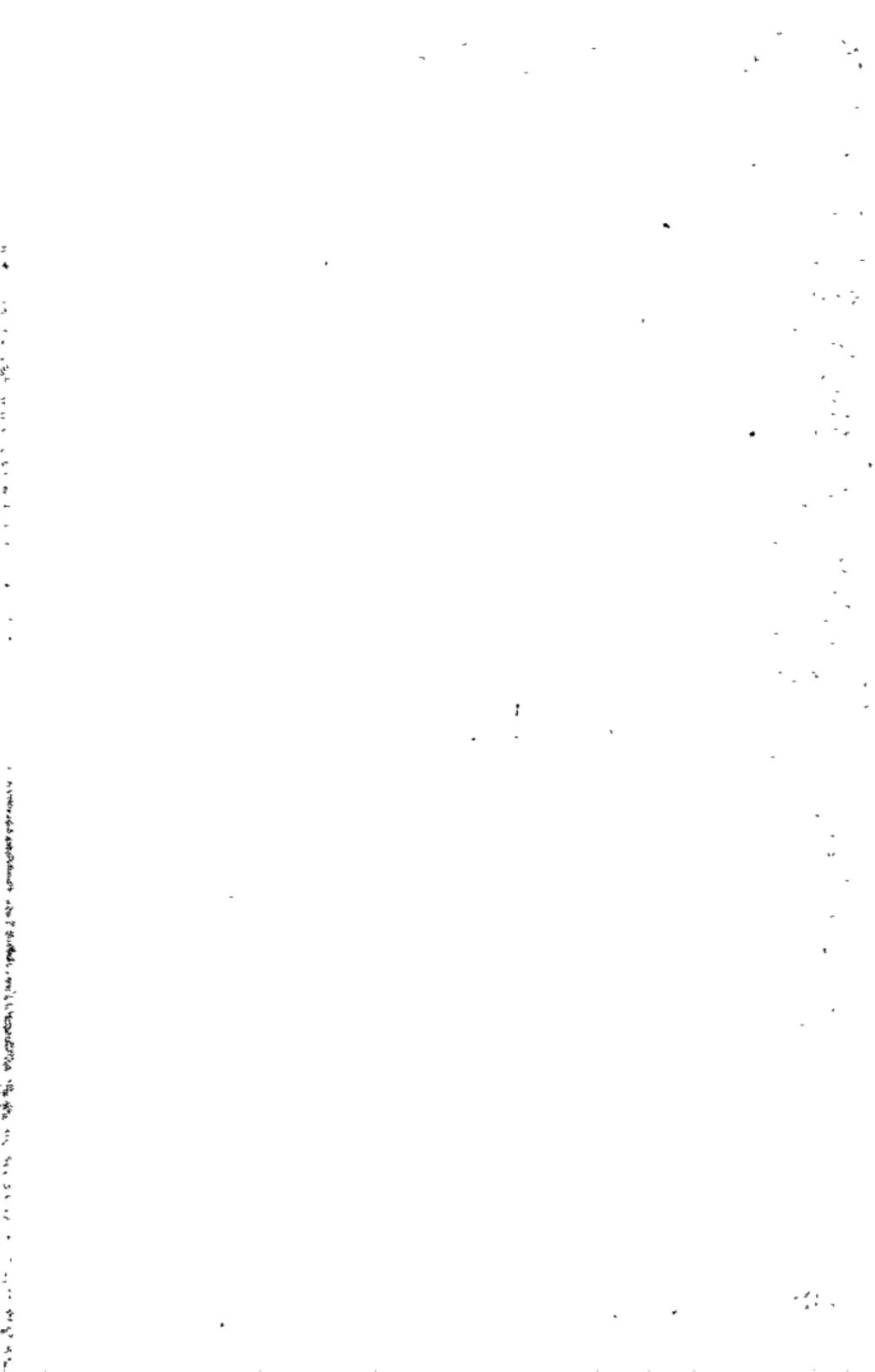
From a coin struck in Egypt.





PLUTARCH'S
LIVES &
ENGLISHED
BY SIR
THOMAS
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THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

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

THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

ANTONIUS' grandfather was that famous orator whom Marius slew, because he took Sulla's part. His father was another Antonius surnamed Cretan, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the commonwealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberal in giving, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his wife would not let him use his liberality and frank nature. One day a friend of his coming to him to pray him to help him to some money, having great need: Antonius by chance had no money to give him, but he commanded one of his men to bring him some water in a silver basin, and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an errand for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the silver basin, and bade him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a

Antonius
parent-
age

**Antonius
corrupted
by Curio**

great stir in the house among the servants, seeking out this silver basin. Insomuch as Antonius seeing his wife marvellously offended for it, and that she would examine all her servants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was Julia, of the noble house and family of Julius Cæsar: who for her vertue and chastity, was to be compared with the noblest lady of her time. M. Antonius was brought up under her, being married after her first husband's death, unto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus, and others, for that he was of Catilina's conspiracy against the commonwealth. And this seemeth to be the original cause and beginning of the cruel and mortal hate Antonius bare unto Cicero. For Antonius self saith, That he would never give him the body of his father-in-law to bury him, before his mother went first to entreat Cicero's wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied burial to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a fair young man, and in the prime of his youth: he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given over to all lust and insolency, who to have Antonius the better at his commandment, trained him on into great follies, and vain expenses upon women, in rioting and banquetting. So that in short time, he brought Antonius into a marvellous great debt, and too great for one of his years, to wit: of two hundred and fifty talents, for all which sum Curio was his surety.

His father hearing of it, did put his son from him, and forbade him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stir and mischief in Rome: but at length he forsook him, being weary of his rashness and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Greece, and there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in wars, and otherwhile in the study of eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his speech, called Asiatic, which carried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish bravery, and vain ambition. After he had remained there some time, Gabinius Proconsul going into Syria, persuaded him to go with him, Antonius told him he would not go as a private man: wherefore Gabinius gave him charge of his horsemen, and so took him with him. So, first of all he sent him against Aristobulus, who had made the Jews to rebel, and was the first man himself that got up to the wall of a castell of his, and so drave Aristobulus out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he overcame all the Jews in set battle, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, took Aristobulus himself prisoner with his son. Afterwards Ptolemy king of Egypt, that had been driven out of his country, went unto Gabinius to entreat him to go with his army with him into Egypt, to put him again into his kingdom: and promised him if he would go with him,

His acts
against
Aristo-
bulus

**Antoni-
us' acts in
Egypt** ten thousand talents. The most part of the captives thought it not best to go thither, and Gabinius himself made it dainty to enter into this war: although the covetousness of these ten thousand talents stuck sorely with him. But Antonius that sought but for opportunity and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratify Ptolemy's request: he went about to persuade Gabinius to go this voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go, to come to the city of Pelusium, than they feared any danger of the war besides: because they were to pass through deep sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marshes through, which are called the marshes Serbonian, which the Egyptians call the exhalations or fume, by the which the giant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the Red Sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place, where it is divided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius was sent before into Egypt with his horsemen, who did not only win that passage, but also took the city of Pelusium (which is a great city) with all the soldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the army, and the hope of the victory also certain for his captain. Now did the enemies themselves feel the fruits of Antonius' courtesy, and the desire he had to win honour. For when Ptolemy (after he had entered into the city of Pelusium) for the malice he bare unto the city, would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword: Antonius withstood him, and by no means would suffer him to do it. And in all other great

battels and skirmishes which they fought, being many in number, Antonius did many noble acts of a valiant and wise captain: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victory that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honourable reward, as his valiantness deserved. So was his great courtesy also much commended of all, the which he shewed unto Archelaus. For having been his very friend, he made war with him against his will while he lived: but after his death he sought for his body, and gave it honourable burial. For these respects he wan himself great fame of them of Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the soldiers in the Romans' camp. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thick beard, a broad forehead; crooked nosed, and there appeared such a manly look in his countenance, as is commonly seen in Hercules' pictures, stamped or graven in metal. Now it had been a speech of old time, that the family of the Antonii were descended from one Anton, the son of Hercules, whereof the family took name. This opinion did Antonius seek to confirm in all his doings: not only resembling him in the likeness of his body, as we have said before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shew himself abroad before many people, he would always wear his cassock girt down low upon his hips, with a great sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some ill-favoured cloak. Furthermore, things that seem intolerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jest with one or other, to drink like a

His shape
and pre-
sence

Antonius'
liberality

good fellow with everybody, to sit with the soldiers when they dine, and to eat and drink with them soldierlike: it is incredible what wonderful love it won him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love: that made him the more desired, and by that means he brought many to love him. For he would further every man's love, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advancement, was his liberality, who gave all to the soldiers, and kept nothing for himself: and when he was grown to great credit, then was his authority and power also very great, the which notwithstanding himself did overthrow, by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example only of his wonderful liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer that kept his money, to give a friend of his five-and-twenty myriads: which the Romans call in their tongue, *decies*. His cofferer marvelling at it, and being angry withal in his mind, brought him all this money, in a heap together, to shew him what a marvellous mass of money it was. Antonius seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his cofferer answered him, It was the money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the spite of his man, I thought, said he, that *decies* had been a greater sum of money than it is, for this is but a trifle: and therefore he gave his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the Romans maintaining two factions at Rome at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that took part with the Senate, did join with Pompey being then in

Rome: and the contrary side taking part with the people, sent for Cæsar to aid them, who made wars in Gaul. Then Curio Antonius' friend, that had changed his garments, and at that time took part with Cæsar, whose enemy he had been before: he won Antonius, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and sway he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expense of money he made which Cæsar gave him: that Antonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augur. But this was a great help and furtherance to Cæsar's practices. For so soon as Antonius became Tribune he did oppose himself against those things which the Consul Marcellus preferred: (who ordained that certain legions which had been already levied and billed, should be given unto Cnæus Pompey, with further commission and authority to levy others unto them) and set down an order, that the soldiers which were already levied and assembled, should be sent into Syria, for a new supply unto Marcus Bibulus, who made war at the time against the Parthians. And furthermore, prohibition that Pompey should levy no more men, and also that the soldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompey's friends and followers would not suffer Cæsar's letters to be received and openly read in the Senate: Antonius having power and warrant by his person, through the holiness of his Tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men change their minds: for it appeared to them that Cæsar by his letters required no unreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideration unto the Senate, whether they thought

His acts
for
Cæsar

He flieth from Rome unto Cæsar good that Pompey or Cæsar, should leave their army : there were few of the Senators that thought it meet Pompey should leave his army, but they all in manner commanded Cæsar to do it. Then Antonius rising up, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cæsar both, should leave their armies. Thereunto all the Senators jointly together gave their whole consent, and with a great cry commending Antonius, they prayed him to refer it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allow of that. Therefore Cæsar's friends preferred other reasonable demands and requests again, but Cato spake against them : and Lentulus, one of the Consuls drave Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grievous curses against him. After that, he took a slave's gown, and speedily fled to Cæsar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hired coach. When they came to Cæsar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand over head at Rome : for the Tribunes of the people might not speak their minds, and were driven away in great danger of their lives, as many as stood with law and justice. Hereupon Cæsar incontinently went into Italy with his army, which made Cicero say in his Philippics : That as Helen was cause of the war of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the civil wars, which indeed was a stark lie. For Cæsar was not so fickle-headed, nor so easily carried away with anger, that he would so suddenly have gone and made war with his country, upon the sight only of Antonius and Cassius, being fled unto him in miserable apparel, and in a hired coach : had he not long before determined it with himself. But sith indeed Cæsar looked of long

time but for some colour, this came as he wished, and gave him just occasion of war. But to say truly, nothing else moved him to make war with all the world as he did, but one self cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to reign, with a senseless covetousness to be the best man in the world, the which he could not come unto, before he had first put down Pompey, and utterly overthrown him. Now, after that Cæsar had gotten Rome at his commandment, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, he purposed first to go into Spain, against the legions Pompey had there: and in the meantime to make provision for ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Prætor, governor of Rome: and Antonius that was Tribune, he gave him charge of all the soldiers, and of Italy. Then was Antonius straight marvellously commended and beloved of the soldiers, because he commonly exercised himself among them, and would oftentimes eat and drink with them, and also be liberal unto them, according to his ability. But then in contrary manner, he purchased divers other men's evil wills, because that through negligence he would not do them justice that were injured, and dealt very churlishly with them that had any suit unto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to entice men's wives. To conclude, Cæsar's friends that governed under him, were cause why they hated Cæsar's government (which indeed in respect of himself was no less than a tyranny) by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed

He receives the charge of Italy

Antonius' vices greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Cæsar notwithstanding, when he returned from the wars of Spain, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him : but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valiant captain, he employed him in his chiefest affairs, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the Ionian Sea unto Brundusium, being but slenderly accompanied : and sent unto Antonius and Gabinus, that they should embark their men as soon as they could, and pass them over into Macedon. Gabinus was afraid to take the sea, because it was very rough, and in the winter-time : and therefore fetched a great compass about by land. But Antonius fearing some danger might come unto Cæsar, because he was compassed in with a great number of enemies : first of all he drave away Libo, who rode at anker with a great army, before the haven of Brundusium. For he manned out such a number of pinnaces, barks, and other small boats about every one of his galleys, that he drave him thence. After that, he embarked into ships twenty thousand footmen, and eight hundred horsemen, and with this army he hoised sail. When the enemies saw him, they made out to follow him : but the sea rose so high, that the billows put back their galleys that they could not come near him, and so he escaped that danger. But withal he fell upon the rocks with his whole fleet, where the sea wrought very high : so that he was out of all hope to save himself. Yet by good fortune, suddenly the wind turned south-west, and blew from the gulf, driving the waves of the river into the main sea. Thus Antonius loosing from

the land, and sailing with safety at his pleasure, soon after he saw all the coasts full of shipwracks. For the force and boisterousness of the wind, did cast away the galleys that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and divers also cast away, and Antonius took a great number of them prisoners, with a great sum of money also. Besides all these, he took the city of Lissus, and brought Cæsar a great supply of men, and made him courageous, coming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Now there were divers hot skirmishes and encounters, in the which Antonius fought so valiantly, that he carried the praise from them all: but specially at two several times, when Cæsar's men turned their backs, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to return again to fight: so that the victory fell on Cæsar's side. For this cause he had the second place in the camp among the soldiers, and they spake of no other man unto Cæsar, but of him: who shewed plainly what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of Pharsalia (which indeed was the last trial of all, to give the conqueror the whole empire of the world) he himself did lead the right wing of his army, and gave Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest soldier of all those he had about him. After Cæsar had won the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey step by step: howbeit before he named Antonius general of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The general of the horsemen is the second office of dignity, when the Dictator is in the city: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the only man

At Pharsalia

Disen-
 sion be-
 twixt
 Antonius
 and Do-
 labella

that remaineth, and all the other officers and magistrates are put down, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that time Tribune, and a young man desirous of change and innovation: he preferred a law which the Romans call *Novas tabulas* (as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and specialties, and were called the new tables, because they were driven then to make books of daily receipt and expense) and persuaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratify the common people) to aid him to pass this law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, and took such a conceit of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house, being his cousin-german, and the daughter of C. Antonius, who was Consul with Cicero: and joining with Asinius, he resisted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolabella had gotten the market-place where the people do assemble in council, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this law of the new tables to pass by force. Antonius by commandment of the Senate, who had given him authority to levy men, to use force against Dolabella: he went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slain on both sides. But by this means, he got the ill-will of the common people, and on the other side, the noblemen (as Cicero saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at unseasonable times, and his extreme wasteful expenses upon vain light huswives,

and then in the day-time he would sleep or walk out his drunkenness, thinking to wear away the fume of the abundance of wine which he had taken over night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and mask : and himself passed away the time in hearing of foolish plays, or in marrying these players, tumblers, jesters, and such sort of people. As for proof hereof it is reported, that at Hippias' marriage, one of his jesters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next morning when he came to plead before the people assembled in council, who had sent for him : he being queasy-stomached with his surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gown instead of a basin. He had another pleasant player called Sergius, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called Cytherid, of the same profession, whom he loved dearly : he carried her up and down in a litter unto all the towns he went, and had as many men waiting upon her litter, she being but a player, as were attending upon his own mother. It grieved honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the country, he carried with him a great number of cupboards full of silver and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had been the pomp or shew of some triumph : and that oftsoons in the midst of his journey he would set up his halls and tents hard by some green grove or pleasant river, and there his cooks should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, lions were harnessed in traces to draw his carts : and besides also, in honest men's houses in the cities where he came, he

His in-
solvency

Fulvia would have common harlots, courtesans, and these
ruled An- tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieved men
tonius much, to see that Cæsar should be out of Italy
following of his enemies, to end this great war,
with such great peril and danger: and that others
in the meantime abusing his name and authority,
should commit such insolent and outrageous parts
unto their citizens. This me thinks was the cause
that made the conspiracy against Cæsar increase
more and more, and laid the reins of the bridle
upon the soldiers' necks, whereby they durst
more boldly commit many extortions, cruelties, and
robberies. And therefore Cæsar after his return
pardoned Dolabella, and being created Consul the
third time, he took not Antonius, but chose Lepi-
dus, his colleague and fellow-Consul. After-
wards when Pompey's house was put to open sale,
Antonius bought it: but when they asked him
money for it, he made it very strange, and was
offended with them, and writeth himself that he
would not go with Cæsar into the wars of Africk,
because he was not well recompensed for the
service he had done him before. Yet Cæsar did
somewhat bridle his madness and insolency, not
suffering him to pass his fault so lightly away,
making as though he saw them not. And there-
fore he left his dissolute manner of life, and mar-
ried Fulvia that was Clodius' widow, a woman not
so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and
housewifery, and was not contented to maister her
husband at home, but would also rule him in his
office abroad, and command him, that commanded
legions and great armies: so that Cleopatra was
to give Fulvia thanks for that she had taught

Antonius this obedience to women, that learned at home
so well to be at their commandment. Now, be- and
cause Fulvia was somewhat sour and crooked of abroad
condition, Antonius devised to make her pleasanter,
and somewhat better disposed : and therefore he
would play her many pretty youthful parts to make
her merry. As he did once, when Cæsar returned
the last time of all conqueror out of Spain, every
man went out to meet him : and so did Antonius
with the rest. But on the sudden there ran a
rumour through Italy, that Cæsar was dead, and
that his enemies came again with a great army.
Thereupon he returned with speed to Rome, and
took one of his men's gowns, and so apparelled
came home to his house in a dark night, saying
that he had brought Fulvia letters from Antonius.
So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as
he was, for being known : but she taking the matter
heavily, asked him if Antonius were well. An-
tonius gave her the letters, and said never a word.
So when she had opened the letters, and began to
read them : Antonius ramped of her neck, and
kissed her. We have told you this tale for ex-
ample's sake only, and so could we also tell you
of many suchlike as these. Now when Cæsar
was returned from his last war in Spain, all the
chiefest nobility of the city, rode many days'
journey from Rome to meet him, where Cæsar
made marvellous much of Antonius, above all the
men that came unto him. For he always took him
into his coach with him, throughout all Italy : and
behind him, Brutus Albinus and Octavius, the son
of his niece, who afterwards was called Cæsar,
and became emperor of Rome long time after.

**Cæsar
and An-
tonius
consuls**

So Cæsar being afterwards chosen Consul the fifth time, he immediately chose Antonius his colleague and companion: and desired by deposing himself of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his room, and had already moved it to the Senate. But Antonius did stoutly withstand it, and openly reviled Dolabella in the Senate: and Dolabella also spared him as little. Thereupon Cæsar being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when Cæsar attempted again to substitute Dolabella Consul in his place, Antonius cried out, That the signs of the birds were against it: so that at length Cæsar was compelled to give him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvellously offended with him. Now in truth, Cæsar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Cæsar answered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for some matter of conspiracy: Tush said he, they be not those fat fellows and fine combed men that I fear, but I mistrust rather these pale and lean men, meaning by Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death, and slew him. Antonius unwares afterwards, gave Cæsar's enemies just occasion and colour to do as they did: as you shall hear. The Romans, by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and Cæsar being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chief officers for that year: who running naked up and down the city anointed with the oil of olive,

for pleasure do strike them they meet in their way, with white leather thongs they have in their hands. Antonius being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies and old customs of that solemnity: he ran to the tribune where Cæsar was set, and carried a laurel crown in his hand, having a royal band or diadem wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient mark and token of a king. When he was come to Cæsar, he made his fellow-runners with him lift him up, and so he did put this laurel crown upon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But Cæsar making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head: Cæsar again refused it, and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as Cæsar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things subjects should do by commandment of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. Cæsar in a rage rose out of his seat, and plucking down the collar of his gown from his neck, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This laurel crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of Cæsar's statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt off. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Cæsar did turn

He putteth the diadem on Cæsar's head

Cæsar's death them out of their offices for it. This was a good encouragement for Brutus and Cassius to conspire his death, who fell into a consort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make Antonius privy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, saving Trebonius only. He told them, that when they rode to meet Cæsar at his return out of Spain, Antonius and he always keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind afar off: but Antonius finding his meaning, would hearken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding never made Cæsar acquainted with this talk, but had faithfully kept it to himself. After that they consulted whether they should kill Antonius with Cæsar. But Brutus would in nowise consent to it, saying: That venturing on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and justice, it ought to be clear from all villainy. Yet they fearing Antonius' power, and the authority of his office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that when Cæsar were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keep Antonius in a talk out of the Senate-house. Even as they had devised these matters, so were they executed: and Cæsar was slain in the midst of the Senate. Antonius being put in a fear withal, cast a slave's gown upon him, and hid himself. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers slew no man else, and that they went only into the Capital: he sent his son unto them for a pledge, and bade them boldly come down upon his word. The self same day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bade Brutus. The next morning the Senate

was assembled, and Antonius himself preferred a law that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint provinces, unto Cassius and Brutus: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordained, that they should cancel none of Cæsar's laws. Thus went Antonius out of the Senate more praised, and better esteemed, than ever man was: because it seemed to every man that he had cut off all occasion of civil wars, and that he had shewed himself a marvellous wise governor of the commonwealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great weight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceived of himself after he had a little felt the goodwill of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himself the chiefest man if he might overcome Brutus: did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when Cæsar's body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in commendation of Cæsar, according to the ancient custom of praising noble-men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to hear Cæsar spoken of, and his praises uttered: he mingled his oration with lamentable words, and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine to conclude his oration, he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors, cruel and cursed murderers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently took Cæsar's body, and burnt it in the market-place, with such tables and forms as they could get together.

Antonius
maketh
uproar
among
the people

M. Antonius consul Then when the fire was kindled, they took fire-brands, and ran to the murtherers' houses to set them on fire, and to make them come out to fight. Brutus therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driven to fly the city. Then came all Cæsar's friends unto Antonius, and specially his wife Calpurnia putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her money into his house, which amounted to the sum of four thousand talents, and furthermore brought him all Cæsar's books and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done and ordained. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were prisoners: and then he said that all those things were so appointed and ordained by Cæsar. Therefore the Romans mocking them that were so moved, they called them Charonites: because that when they were overcome, they had no other help but to say, that thus they were found in Cæsar's memorials, who had sailed in Charon's boat, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consul, and Caius one of his brethren Prætor, and Lucius the other, Tribune. Now things remaining in this state at Rome, Octavius Cæsar the younger came to Rome, who was the son of Julius Cæsar's niece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawful heir by will, remaining at the time of the death of his great uncle that was slain, in the city of Apollonia. This young man at his first arrival went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father

Cæsar's friends, who by his last will and testament had made him his heir: and withal, he was presently in hand with him for money and other things which were left of trust in his hands, because Cæsar had by will bequeathed unto the people of Rome, three-score and fifteen silver drachmas to be given to every man, the which he as heir stood charged withal. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very young: and said he lacked wit, and good friends to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand, as to undertake to be Cæsar's heir. But when Antonius saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in hand with him for his father's goods, but specially for the ready money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keep him from being Tribune of the people: and also when Octavius Cæsar began to meddle with the dedicating of the chair of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honour Cæsar with: he threatened to send him to prison, and moreover desisted not to put the people in an uproar. This young Cæsar seeing his doings, went unto Cicero, and others, which were Antonius' enemies, and by them crept into favour with the Senate: and he himself sought the people's good-will every manner of way, gathering together the old soldiers of the late deceased Cæsar, which were dispersed in divers cities and colonies. Antonius being afraid of it, talked with Octavius in the Capitol, and became his friend. But the very same night Antonius had a strange dream, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after

Variance
betwixt
him and
Octavius

Antonius' patience in adversity word was brought him, that Cæsar lay in wait to kill him. Cæsar cleared himself unto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make Antonius believe the contrary. Whereupon they became further enemies than ever they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old soldiers through Italy, that were dispersed in divers towns: and made them large promises, and sought also to win the legions on their side, which were already in arms. Cicero on the other side being at that time the chiefest man of authority and estimation in the city, he stirred up all men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed young Cæsar's sergeants to carry axes before him, and such other signs as were incident to the dignity of a Consul or Prætor: and moreover sent Hirtius and Pansa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls together with Cæsar, who also had an army, went against Antonius that besieged the city of Modena, and there overthrew him in battel: but both the Consuls were slain there. Antonius flying upon this overthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would overcome any adversity, and the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he himself. Every man that feeleth want or adversity, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should do: but when indeed they are overlaid with extremity, and be sore oppressed, few have the hearts to follow that which

they praise and commend, and much less to avoid that they reprove and dislike. But rather to the contrary, they yield to their accustomed easy life: and through faint heart, and lack of courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderful example to the soldiers, to see Antonius that was brought up in all fineness and superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to eat wild fruits and roots: and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alps, they did eat the barks of trees, and such beasts, as never man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to join with the legions that was on the other side of the mountains, under Lepidus' charge: whom Antonius took to be his friend, because he had helped him to many things at Cæsar's hand, through his means. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venture himself, and to go unto Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at Modena, he suffered his beard to grow at length and never clipped it, that it was marvellous long, and the hair of his head also without combing: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gown, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of Lepidus' camp. Then he began to speak unto the soldiers, and many of them their hearts yearned for pity to see him so poorly arrayed, and some also through his words began to pity him: insomuch that Lepidus began to be afraid, and therefore commanded all the trumpets to sound together to stop the soldiers' ears, that they should not hearken to Antonius

notwith-
standing
his fine
bringing
up

Antonius
 won all
 Lepidus'
 army
 from him

This notwithstanding, the soldiers took the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius' and Lælius' means, whom they sent unto him disguised in women's apparel, and gave him counsel that he should not be afraid to enter into their camp, for there were a great number of soldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would say the word. Antonius would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a little river that ran between them: and himself was the foremost man that took the river to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus' camp that gave him their hands, plucked up the stakes, and laid flat the bank of their trench to let him into their camp. When he was come into their camp, and that he had all the army at his commandment: he used Lepidus very courteously, embraced him, and called him father: and though indeed Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he always gave Lepidus the name and honour of the captain. Munatius Plancus, lying also in camp hard by with an army: understanding the report of Antonius' courtesy, he also came and joined with him. Thus Antonius being afoot again, and grown of great power, repassed over the Alps, leading into Italy with him seventeen legions, and ten thousand horsemen, besides six legions he left in garrison among the Gauls, under the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would drink lustily with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed Cotylion: to wit, a bibber. So Octavius Cæsar would not lean to Cicero, when he saw that his whole travel and endeavour was only to restore the common-

wealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certain of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends again: and thereupon all three met together, (to wit, Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus) in an island environed round about with a little river, and there remained three days together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did divide all the empire of Rome between them, as if it had been their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of blood, and holiness of friendship at their feet. For Cæsar left Cicero to Antonius' will, Antonius also forsook Lucius Cæsar, who was his uncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirm, that Cæsar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change than this was. For thus changing murder for murder, they did as well kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kill: but so much more was their wickedness and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed upon between them: the soldiers that were thereabouts, would have this friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by marriage, and that Cæsar should marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, and

The pro-
scription
of the
triumvirs

Antonius' cruelty
unto Cicero

Antonius' wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, they condemned three hundred of the chiefest citizens of Rome, to be put to death by proscription. And Antonius also commanded them to whom he had given commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective orations (called Philippics) against Antonius. So when the murderers brought him Cicero's head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great joy, and laughed heartily, and that oftentimes for the great joy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, over the pulpit for orations (where when he was alive, he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his own fortune, shewing himself (to his great shame and infamy) a cruel man, and unworthy the office and authority he bare. His uncle Lucius Cæsar also, as they sought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fled unto his sister. The murderers coming thither, forcing to break into her chamber, she stood at her chamber door with her arms abroad, crying out still: You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar, before you first kill me, that bare your captain in my womb. By this means she saved her brother's life. Now the government of these Triumviri grew odious and hateful to the Romans, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, because he being elder than Cæsar, and of more power and force than Lepidus, gave himself again to his former riot and excess, when he left to deal in the affairs of the commonwealth. But setting aside

the ill name he had for his insolency, he was yet **His riot** much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the Great: a man as famous for his temperance, modesty, and civil life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the captains, magistrates of the city, and also ambassadors of strange nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tumblers, antic dancers, jugglers, players, jesters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzzling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most part of his money he got by all kind of possible extortions, bribery and policy. For they did not only sell by the crier the goods of those whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murder, slanderously deceived the poor widows and young orphans, and also raised all kind of imposts, subsidies, and taxes: but understanding also that the holy vestal nuns had certain goods and money put in their custody to keep, both of men's in the city, and those also that were abroad: they went thither, and took them away by force. Octavius Cæsar perceiving that no money would serve Antonius' turn, he prayed that they might divide the money between them, and so did they also divide the army, for them both to go into Macedon to make war against Brutus and Cassius: and in the meantime they left the government of the city of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the seas, and that they began to make war, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Cæsar against Brutus: Cæsar did no great matter, but Antonius

The valiant-ness of Antonius had always the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battell Cæsar was overthrown by Brutus, and lost his camp, and very hardly saved himself by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth himself in his commentaries, that he fled before the charge was given, because of a dream one of his friends had. Antonius on the other side overthrew Cassius in battell, though some write that he was not there himself at the battel, but that he came after the overthrow, whilst his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slain by a faithful servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had enfranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Cæsar. Shortly after they fought another battell again, in the which Brutus was overthrown, who afterwards also slew himself. Thus Antonius had the chiefest glory of all this victory, specially because Cæsar was sick at that time. Antonius having found Brutus' body after this battell, blaming him much for the murther of his brother Caius, whom he had put to death in Macedon for revenge of Cicero's cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortensius than in him: he made Hortensius to be slain on his brother's tomb. Furthermore, he cast his coat armour (which was wonderful rich and sumptuous) upon Brutus' body, and gave commandment to one of his slaves enfranchised, to defray the charge of his burial. But afterwards, Antonius hearing that his enfranchised bondman had not burnt his coat armour with his body, because it was very rich, and worth a great sum of money, and that he had also kept back much of the ready money appointed for his funeral and tomb: he also put

him to death. After that Cæsar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor escape the sickness he had. Antonius on the other side went towards the east provinces and regions, to levy money: and first of all he went into Greece, and carried an infinite number of soldiers with him. Now, because every soldier was promised five thousand silver drachmas, he was driven of necessity to impose extreme tallages and taxations. At his first coming into Greece, he was not hard nor bitter unto the Grecians, but gave himself only to hear wise men dispute, to see plays, and also to note the ceremonies and sacrifices of Greece, ministering justice to every man, and it pleased him marvellously to hear them call him Philhellene, (as much to say, a lover of the Grecians) and specially the Athenians, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the Megarians, to exceed the Athenians, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly sight, they prayed him to come and see their Senate-house, and council hall. Antonius went thither to see it: so when he had seen it at his pleasure, they asked him, My lord, how like you our hall? He thinks (quoth he) it is little, old, and ready to fall down. Furthermore he took measure of the temple of Apollo Pythius, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into Asia, having left Lucius Censorinus governor in Greece, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the east parts, and that princes, great lords, and kings, came to wait at his gate for his coming out, and that queens and princesses to excel one another, gave him very rich presents, and came to see him, curiously setting

His great
courtesy
in Greece

Antoni-
us' cruelty in
Asia

forth themselves, and using all art that might be to shew their beauty, to win his favour the more: (Cæsar in the mean space turmoiling his wits and body in civil wars at home, Antonius living merrily and quietly abroad) he easily fell again to his old licentious life. For straight one Anaxenor a player of the cithern, Xouthus a player of the flutes, Metrodorus a tumbler, and such a rabble of minstrels and fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia, (who in fineness and flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of Italy) all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway: and after that, all went awry. For every one gave themselves to riot and excess, when they saw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the city Sophocles speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

Was full of sweet perfumes, and pleasant songs,
With woeful weeping mingled there amongs.

For in the city of Ephesus, women attired as they go in the feasts and sacrifice, of Bacchus, came out to meet him with such solemnities and ceremonies, as are then used: with men and children disguised like fauns and satyrs. Moreover, the city was full of ivy, and darts wreathed about with ivy, psalterions, flutes, and howboys, and in their songs they called him Bacchus, father of mirth, courteous, and gentle: and so was he unto some, but to the most part of men, cruel, and extreme. For he robbed noblemen and gentlemen of their goods, to give it unto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged men's goods living, as though they had been dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a citizen's house of Magnesia unto a

cook, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and imposed a second upon Asia. But then Hybreas the Orator sent from the estates of Asia, to tell him the state of their country, boldly said unto him: If thou wilt have power to lay two tributes in one year upon us, thou shouldst also have power to give us two summers, two autumns, and two harvests. This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken unto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him well to hear it: but afterwards amplifying his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose: Asia hath paid the two hundred thousand talents. If all this money be not come to thy coffers, then ask account of them that levied it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone. Hybreas' words nettled Antonius roundly. For he understood not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authority, in his treasure and affairs: not so much because he was careless, as for that he over simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plain man, without subtilty, and therefore over late found out the foul faults they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confess it unto them whom his officers had done injury unto, by countenance of his authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well-doers: and yet he did exceed more in giving, than in punishing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting of every man: that was remedied by itself. For a man might as boldly exchange a mock with him, His manners

Antoni^{us}' and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to
love to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all.
Cleopatra For he thought that those which told him so
plainly, and truly in mirth: would never flatter
him in good earnest, in any matter of weight. But
thus he was easily abused by the praises they gave
him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their
flattery, under this familiar and plain manner of
speech unto him, as a fine device to make difference
of meats with sharp and tart sauce, and also to keep
him by this frank jesting and bourding with him at
the table, that their common flattery should not be
troublesome unto him, as men do easily mislike to
have too much of one thing: and that they handled
him finely thereby, when they would give him
place in any matter of weight, and follow his
counsel, that it might not appear to him they did
it so much to please him, but because they were
ignorant, and understood not so much as he did.
Antoni^{us} being thus inclined, the last and ex-
tremest mischief of all other (to wit, the love of
Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and
stir up many vices yet hidden in him, and were
never seen to any: and if any spark of goodness or
hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched
it straight, and made it worse than before. The
manner how he fell in love with her was this.
Antoni^{us} going to make war with the Parthians,
sent to command Cleopatra to appear personally
before him, when he came into Cilicia, to answer
unto such accusations as were laid against her, being
this: that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in
their war against him. The messenger sent unto
Cleopatra to make this summons unto her, was

called Dellius: who when he had throughly considered her beauty, the excellent grace and sweetness of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would do any hurt to so noble a lady, but rather assured himself, that within few days she should be in great favour with him. Thereupon he did her great honour, and persuaded her to come into Cilicia, as honourably furnished as she could possible, and bade her not to be afraid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous lord, than any that she had ever seen. Cleopatra on the other side believing Dellius' words, and guessing by the former access and credit she had with Julius Cæsar, and Cneus Pompey (the son of Pompey the Great) only for her beauty: she began to have good hope that she might more easily win Antonius. For Cæsar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the world meant: but now she went to Antonius at the age when a woman's beauty is at the prime, and she also of best judgement. So, she furnished her self with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthy and rich a realm as Egypt was. But yet she carried nothing with her wherein she trusted more than in her self, and in the charms and enchantment of her passing beauty and grace. Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius himself, and also from his friends, she made so light of it: and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poop whereof

whom he
sent for
into
Cilicia.

The wonderful
sumptuousness

was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, howboys, citherns, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of her self: she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus, commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphs nereids (which are the mermaids of the waters) and like the Graces, some steering the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderful passing sweet savour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharf's side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongst the river-side: others also ran out of the city to see her coming in. So that in the end, there ran such multitudes of people one after another to see her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market-place, in his imperial seat to give audience: and there went a rumour in the people's mouths, that the goddess Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus, for the general good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to him. But she sent him word again, he should do better rather to come and sup with her. Antonius therefore to shew himself courteous unto her at her arrival, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sump-

tuous fare, that no tongue can express it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lights and torches hanged on the top of the house, giving light in every place, so artificially set and ordered by devices, some round; some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever books could mention. The next night, Antonius feasting her, contended to pass her in magnificence and fineness: but she overcame him in both. So that he himself began to scorn the gross service of his house, in respect of Cleopatra's sumptuousness and fineness. And when Cleopatra found Antonius' jests and slents to be but gross, and soldierlike, in plain manner: she gave it him finely, and without fear taunted him throughly. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatchable of other women, nor yet such, as upon present view did enamour men with her: but so sweet was her company and conversation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talk and discourse, her courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of music to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easily turned to any language that pleased her. She spake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them answer her self, or at the least the most part of them: as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers

of Cleo-
 patra
 Queen of
 Egypt

**Antonius
and Cleo-
patra in
Egypt**

of her progenitors, the kings of Egypt, could scarce learn the Egyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speak the Macedonian. Now, Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great wars, and much ado with Cæsar for his affairs, and that the army of the Parthians (the which the king's lieutenants had given to the only leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia ready to invade Syria: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yielded himself to go with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most precious thing a man can spend, as Antiphon saith: and that is, time. For they made an order between them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable and matchable with it) one feasting each other by turns, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proof hereof, I have heard my grandfather Lamprias report, that one Philotas a physician, born in the city of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied physic: and that having acquaintance with one of Antonius' cooks, he took him with him to Antonius' house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderful sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diversities of meats, and amongst others, eight wild boars roasted whole: he began to wonder at it, and said, Sure you have a great number of guests to supper. The cook fell a-laughing, and answered him, No (quoth he) not many guests, nor above

twelve in all : but yet all that is boiled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For Antonius peradventure will sup presently, or it may be a pretty while hence, or likely enough he will defer it longer, for that he hath drunk well to-day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand : and therefore we do not dress one supper only, but many suppers, because we are uncertain of the hour he will sup in. Philotas the Physician told my grandfather this tale, and said moreover, That it was his chance shortly after to serve the eldest son of the said Antonius, whom he had by his wife Fulvia : and that he sat commonly at his table with his other friends, when he did not dine nor sup with his father. It chanced one day there came a physician that was so full of words, that he made every man weary of him at the board : but Philotas to stop his mouth, put out a subtile proposition to him. It is good in some sort to let a man drink cold water that hath an ague : every man that hath an ague hath it in some sort, ergo it is good for a man that hath an ague to drink cold water. The physician was so gravelled and amated withal, that he had not a word more to say. Young Antonius burst out in such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said unto him : Philotas, take all that, I give it thee : shewing him his cupboard full of plate, with great pots of gold and silver. Philotas thanked him, and told him he thought himself greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have given so many things, and of so great value. But much more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius' men

Philotas'
subtile
pro-
position

Cleopatra brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding
queen him set his mark and stamp upon them, and to lock
of all them up. Philotas returned the bringer of them,
flatterers fearing to be reproved if he took them. Then the
young gentleman Antonius said unto him: Alas
poor man, why dost thou make it nice to take
them? Knowest thou not that it is the son of
Antonius that gives them thee, and is able to do
it? If thou wilt not believe me, take rather the
ready money they come to: because my father per-
adventure may ask for some of the plate, for the
antique and excellent workmanship of them. This
I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But
now again to Cleopatra, Plato writeth that there
are four kinds of flattery: but Cleopatra divided it
into many kinds. For she, were it in sport, or in
matters of earnest, still devised sundry new delights
to have Antonius at commandment, never leaving
him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of
her sight. For she would play at dice with him,
drink with him, and hunt commonly with him, and
also be with him when he went to any exercise or
activity of body. And sometimes also, when he
would go up and down the city disguised like a
slave in the night, and would peer into poor men's
windows and their shops, and scold and brawl with
them within the house: Cleopatra would be also in
a chambermaid's array, and amble up and down the
streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare
away both mocks and blows. Now, though most
men misliked this manner, yet the Alexandrians
were commonly glad of this jollity, and liked it
well, saying very gallantly, and wisely: That An-
tonius shewed them a comical face, to wit, a merry

countenance: and the Romans a tragical face, to say, a grim look. But to reckon up all the foolish sports they made, revelling in this sort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angry as could be, because Cleopatra stood by. Wherefore he secretly commanded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fish on his hook which they had taken before: and so snatched up his angling rod, and brought up fish twice or thrice. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondered at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her self among her own people, she told them how it was, and bade them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher-boats to see this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line and Cleopatra straight commanded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius' men, and to put some old salt-fish upon his bait, like unto those that are brought out of the country of Pont. When he had hung the fish on his hook, Antonius thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fell a-laughing. Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him: Leave us (my Lord) Egyptians (which dwell in the country of Pharus and Canobus) your angling rod: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realms and countries. Now Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill news were brought him from two places. The first from

Antonius'
fishing'

All the
empire of
Rome

Rome, that his brother Lucius and Fulvia his wife, fell out first between themselves, and afterwards fell to open war with Cæsar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to fly out of Italy. The second news, as bad as the first: That Labienus conquered all Asia with the army of the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syria, unto the countries of Lydia and Ionia. Then began Antonius with much ado, a little to rouse himself as if he had been wakened out of a deep sleep, and as a man may say, coming out of a great drunkenness. So, first of all he bent himself against the Parthians, and went as far as the country of Phœnicia: but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. Whereupon he straight returned towards Italy, with two hundred sail: and as he went, took up his friends by the way that fled out of Italy, to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this war: who being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uproar in Italy, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune, his wife Fulvia going to meet with Antonius sickened by the way, and died in the city of Sicyon: and therefore Octavius Cæsar, and he were the easier made friends together. For when Antonius landed in Italy, and that men saw Cæsar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side laid all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia: the friends of both parties would not suffer them to unrip any old matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this war, fearing to make matters worse between

them: but they made them friends together, and divided the empire of Rome between them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces eastward unto Antonius: and the countries westward, unto Cæsar: and left Africk unto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three one after another should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be themselves. This seemed to be a sound counsel, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia the eldest sister of Cæsar, not by one mother, for she came of Ancharia, and Cæsar himself afterwards of Atia. It is reported, that he dearly loved his sister Octavia, for indeed she was a noble lady, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who died not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had been widower ever since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confess that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this Egyptian Cleopatra. Thereupon every man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this lady Octavia, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honesty, joined unto so rare a beauty, that when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a lady deserveth) she should be a good mean to keep good love and amity betwixt her brother and him. So when Cæsar and he had made the match between them, they both went to Rome about this marriage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be married within ten moneths after her husband's death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the

divided
between
the
triumviri

Antonius law, and so the marriage proceeded accordingly.
and Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicily, and
Octavius so made many an inroad into Italy with a great
Cæsar number of pinnaces and other pirates' ships, of the
 which were captains two notable pirates, Menas and
 Menecrates, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts,
 that none durst peep out with a sail. Furthermore,
 Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with An-
 tonius, for he had courteously received his mother,
 when she fled out of Italy with Fulvia: and there-
 fore they thought good to make peace with him.
 So they met all three together by the mount of
 Misenum, upon a hill that runneth far into the sea:
 Pompey having his ships riding hard by at anker,
 and Antonius and Cæsar their armies upon the shore
 side, directly over against him. Now, after they
 had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicily
 and Sardinia, with this condition, that he should
 rid the sea of all thieves and pirates, and make
 it safe for passengers, and withal that he should
 send a certain of wheat to Rome: one of them did
 feast another, and drew cuts who should begin.
 It was Pompeius' chance to invite them first.
 Whereupon Antonius asked him: And where shall
 we sup? There, said Pompey, and shewed him
 his admiral galley which had six banks of oars:
 That (said he) is my father's house they have left
 me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he
 had his father's house, that was Pompey the Great.
 So he cast ankers enow into the sea, to make his
 galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to
 convey them to his galley, from the head of Mount
 Misenum: and there he welcomed them, and made
 them great cheer. Now in the midst of the feast,

when they fell to be merry with Antonius' love unto Cleopatra : Menas the Pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his ear, said unto him : Shall I cut the cables of the ankers, and make thee lord not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole empire of Rome besides ? Pompey having paused awhile upon it, at length answered him : Thou shouldst have done it, and never have told it me, but now we must content us with that we have. As for my self, I was never taught to break my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their camp, and then he returned into Sicily. Antonius after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keep them they should come no further : and he himself in the meantime, to gratify Cæsar, was contented to be chosen Julius Cæsar's priest and sacrificer, and so they jointly together despatched all great matters, concerning the state of the empire. But in all other manner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other : Antonius was ever inferior unto Cæsar, and always lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Egypt, that could cast a figure, and judge of men's nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of it self was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemished and obscured by Cæsar's fortune : and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. For thy demon said he, (that is to

do make
peace
with
Sextus
Pompeius

Antonius say, the good angel and spirit that keepeth thee)
and is afraid of his: and being courageous and high
Caesar's when he is alone, becometh fearful and timorous
luck when he cometh near unto the other. Howsoever
 it was, the events ensuing proved the Egyptian's
 words true. For, it is said, that as often as they
 two drew cuts for pastime, who should have any-
 thing, or whether they played at dice, Antonius
 always lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed
 to see cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight
 one with another: Cæsar's cocks or quails did ever
 overcome. The which spited Antonius in his mind,
 although he made no outward shew of it: and there-
 fore he believed the Egyptian the better. In fine,
 he recommended the affairs of his house unto Cæsar,
 and went out of Italy with Octavia his wife, whom
 he carried into Greece, after he had had a daughter
 by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens,
 news came unto him of the victories of Ventidius,
 who had overcome the Parthians in battell, in the
 which also were slain, Labienus and Pharnapates,
 the chieftest captain King Hyrodes had. For these
 good news he feasted all Athens, and kept open
 house for all the Grecians, and many games of
 price were played at Athens, of the which he him-
 self would be judge. Wherefore leaving his guard,
 his axes, and tokens of his empire at his house, he
 came into the show place (or lists) where these
 games were played in a long gown and slippers
 after the Grecian fashion, and they carried tip-
 staves before him, as marshals' men do carry before
 the judges to make place: and he himself in person
 was a stickler to part the young men, when they
 had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to

the wars, he made him a garland of the holy olive, and carried a vessel with him of the water of the fountain Clepsydra, because of an oracle he had received that so commanded him. In the meantime, Ventidius once again overcame Pacorus, (Hyrodes' son king of Parthia) in a battel fought in the country of Cyrrestica, he being come again with a great army to invade Syria: at which battell was slain a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus, the king's own son slain. This noble exploit as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romans, of the shame and loss they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians fly, and glad to keep themselves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia, and Media, after they had thrice together been overcome in several battels. Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any farther, fearing lest he should have gotten Antonius' displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his army against them that had rebelled, and conquered them again: amongst whom he besieged Antiochus, king of Commagena, who offered him to give a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at Antonius' commandment. But Ventidius made him answer, That he should send unto Antonius, who was not far off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this little exploit should pass in his name, and that they should not think he did anything but by his lieutenant Ventidius. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the town, seeing they could not be received upon no reasonable composition:

Ventidius'
notable
victory

New dis-pleasures determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he took not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state and affairs of Syria, he returned again to Athens: and having given Ventidius such honours as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumph for the Parthians. Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians until this present day, a mean man born, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained unto, through Antonius' friendship, the which delivered him happy occasion to achieve to great matters. And yet to say truly, he did so well quit himself in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cæsar: to wit, that they were always more fortunate when they made war by their lieutenants, than by themselves. For Sossius, one of Antonius' lieutenants in Syria, did notable good service: and Canidius whom he had also left his lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto Mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of Antonius' power increased more and more, and grew dreadful unto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius notwithstanding, grew to be marvellously offended with Cæsar, upon certain reports that had been brought unto him: and so took sea to go towards Italy with three hundred sail. And because those of Brundisium would not receive his

army into their haven, he went farther unto Tarentum. There his wife Octavia that came out of Greece with him, besought him to send her unto her brother: the which he did. Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put herself in journey, and met with her brother Octavius Cæsar by the way, who brought his two chief friends, Mæcenæ and Agrippa with him. She took them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, entreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become now the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, every man's eyes do gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the emperors and wife of the other. And if the worst counsel take place, (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to wars: for your selves, it is uncertain to which of them two the gods have assigned the victory, or overthrow. But for me, on which side soever victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These words of Octavia so softened Cæsar's heart, that he went quickly unto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an army by land not to stir, and so many ships afloat in the road, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindness of friends, lovingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Cæsar, which he granted unto for his sisters sake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Cæsar should give Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians: and that Antonius should let Cæsar have a hundred galleys armed with brazen spurs at the proes. Besides all this, Octavia obtained of

betwixt
Antonius
and
Octavius
Cæsar

Antonius her husband, twenty brigantines for her brother :
gave and of her brother for her husband, a thousand
great armed men. After they had taken leave of each
provinces other, Cæsar went immediately to make war with
unto Sextus Pompeius, to get Sicily into his hands.
Cleopatra Antonius also leaving his wife Octavia and little
 children begotten of her with Cæsar, and his other
 children which he had by Fulvia: he went directly
 into Asia. Then began this pestilent plague and mis-
 chief of Cleopatra's love (which had slept a long
 time, and seemed to have been utterly forgotten,
 and that Antonius had given place to better counsel)
 again to kindle, and to be in force, so soon as An-
 tonius came near unto Syria. And in the end, the
 horse of the mind as Plato termeth it, that is so hard
 of rein (I mean the unreined lust of concupiscence)
 did put out of Antonius' head, all honest and com-
 mendable thoughts: for he sent Fonteius Capito to
 bring Cleopatra into Syria. Unto whom, to wel-
 come her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that
 she had already, he added the provinces of Phœnicia,
 those of the nethermost Syria, the Isle of Cyprus,
 and a great part of Cilicia, and that country of Jewry,
 where the true balm is, and that part of Arabia
 where the Nabatzæans do dwell, which stretcheth
 out towards the ocean. These great gifts much
 misliked the Romans. But now, though Antonius
 did easily give away great seignories, realms, and
 mighty nations unto some private men, and that also
 he took from other kings their lawful realms: (as
 from Antigonus king of the Jews, whom he openly
 beheaded, where never king before had suffered like
 death) yet all this did not so much offend the
 Romans, as the unmeasurable honours which he did

unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill-will towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought him two twins, a son and a daughter, he named his son Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra, and gave them to their surnames, the Sun to the one, and the Moon to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloak his shameful deeds with fine words, said that the greatness and magnificence of the empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romans took, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongst men, by the posterity of kings, when they left off their seed in divers places: and that by this means his first ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the womb of one only woman, fearing Solon's laws, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the foundation of many noble races and families in divers places. Now when Phraates had slain his father Hyrodes, and possessed the kingdom: many gentlemen of Parthia forsook him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Monæses, a nobleman, and of great authority among his countrymen, who came unto Antonius, that received him, and compared his fortune unto Themistocles, and his own riches and magnificence, unto the kings of Persia. For he gave Monæses three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which was called before Bambycé. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home again, upon his faith and word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steal upon Phraates

Antonia
drunk
with the
love of
Cleopatra

unprovided. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remain good friends, and have peace together, so he would but only redeliver the standards and ensigns of the Romans, which the Parthians had won in the battel where Marcus Crassus was slain, and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this overthrow. In the meantime he sent Cleopatra back into Egypt, and took his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there took a general muster of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandment to aid him, being a marvellous number: of the which the chiefest was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who did furnish him with six thousand horsemen, and seven thousand footmen. There were also of the Romans about three-score thousand footmen, and of horsemen (Spaniards and Gauls reckoned for Romans) to the number of ten thousand, and of other nations thirty thousand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light-armed footmen. This so great and puissant army which made the Indians quake for fear, dwelling about the country of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble: served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had to lie all winter with her, made him begin his war out of due time, and for haste, to put all in hazard, being so ravished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly return again: more than how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having come

eight thousand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and invade Media, before the Parthians should stir out of their houses and garrisons: he could tarry no longer, but led them forthwith unto the province of Atropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and foraged all the country. Furthermore, making all the haste he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were carried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ram four-score foot long) being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high provinces of Asia have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make suchlike engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as a hindrance to bring his matters and intent speedily to pass: and left a certain number of men to keep them, and gave them in charge unto one Tatianus. Then he went to besiege the city of Phraata, being the chiefest and greatest city the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was fain for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the wall) to force a mount of earth hard to the walls of the city, the which by little and little with great labour, rose to some height. In the meantime, King Phraates came down with a great army: who understanding that Antonius had left his engines of battery behind him, he sent a great number of horsemen before,

**Antonius
besiegeth
Phraata**

Battell which environed Tatianus with all his carriage, and
betwixt slew him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people took these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they took also King Polemon. This discomfiture marvellously troubled all Antonius' army, to receive so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their journey: insomuch that Artabazus, king of the Armenians, despairing of the good success of the Romans: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himself the first procurer of this war and journey. On the other side, the Parthians came courageously unto Antonius' camp, who lay at the siege of their chiefest city, and cruelly reviled and threatened him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his men's hearts would fail them: he took ten legions, with three cohorts or ensigns of the Prætors (which are companies appointed for the guard of the general) and all his horsemen, and carried them out to forage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the Parthians to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a day's journey from his camp, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to give him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would think to march his way. Therefore he set out his signal of battell, and yet caused his tents and fardels to be trussed up, as though he meant not to fight, but only to lead his men back again. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshalled like a crescent or half moon: and commanded his horsemen, that as soon as they thought the legions were near enough unto their enemies to set upon the voward, that then

they should set spurs to their horses, and begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the Romans as they marched: they appeared to be soldiers indeed, to see them march in so good array as was possible. For in their march, they kept the ranks a little space one from another, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking never a word. But so soon as the alarm was given, the horsemen sodainly turned head upon the Parthians, and with great cries gave charge on them: who at the first received their charge courageously, for they were joined nearer them within an arrow's shoot. But when the legions also came to join with them, shouting out aloud, and rattling of their armours: the Parthians' horses and themselves were so afraid and amazed withal, that they all turned tail and fled, before the Romans could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to have brought to end all, or the most part of this war. But after that his footmen had chased them fifty furlongs off, and the horsemen also thrice as far: they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about four-score men only slain. But this did much discourage them, when they considered with themselves, that obtaining the victory, they had slain so few of their enemies: and where they were overcome, they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when the carriage was taken. The next morning, Antonius' army trussed up their carriage, and marched back towards their camp: and by the way in their return they met at the first a few of the Parthians: then going further, they met a

the
Parthians
and
Antonius

**The craft
of the
Parthians** few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reviled them, and troubled them on every side, as freshly and courageously, as if they had not been overthrown: so that the Romans very hardly got to their camp with safety. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chief city of Phraata, made a sally out upon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and drave them for fear, from the mount they kept. Antonius was so offended withal, that he executed the decimation. For he divided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them instead of wheat. Thus this war fell out troublesome unto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearful. For Antonius could look for no other of his side, but famine: because he could forage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loss of his men. Phraates on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the Parthians to anything else, but to lie in camp abroad in the winter. Therefore he was afraid, that if the Romans continued their siege all winter long, and made war with him still: that his men would forsake him, and specially because the time of the year went away apace, and the air waxed cloudy, and cold, in the equinoctial autumn. Thereupon he called to mind this device. He gave the chiefest of his gentlemen of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romans out of their camp, going to forage, or to water their horse, or for some other provision, that they should not distress them too much

but should suffer them to carry somewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantness and hardiness, for the which their king did esteem them the more, and not without cause. After these first baits and allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer unto them, and to talk with them a-horseback, greatly blaming Antonius' self-will that did not give their King Phraates occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more, than to save the lives of so goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadful enemies he could have, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they should hardly away withal, though the Parthians did the best they could to aid and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant, for the good hope he had of his return: but yet he would not send unto the king of Parthia, before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so courteously unto his men, whether they spake it of themselves, or that they were their master's words. When they told them the king himself said so, and did persuade them further not to fear or mistrust them: then Antonius sent some of his friends unto the king, to make demand for the delivery of the ensigns and prisoners he had of the Romans, since the overthrow of Crassus: to the end it should not appear, that if he asked nothing, they should think he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the danger he was in. The king of Parthia answered him: That for the ensigns and prisoners he demanded, he should not break his head about it: notwithstanding, that if he would presently

against
the
Romans

The Parthians do set upon Antonius depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius after he had given his men some time to truss up their carriage, he raised his camp, and took his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertain his soldiers and men of war, and that he could passingly well do it, as well, or better than any captain in his time: yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speak unto them at his removing, but willed Domitius Ahenobarbus to do it. Many of them took this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently understood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carry the like respect unto their captain, that their captain did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him. So Antonius was minded to return the same way he came, being a plain barren country without wood. But there came a soldier to him born in the country of the Mardians, who by oft frequenting the Parthians of long time, knew their fashions very well, and had also shewed himself very true and faithful to the Romans, in the battell where Antonius' engines of battery and carriage were taken away. This man came unto Antonius, to counsel him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a prey, being heavily armed, unto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compass him round about: and that this was Phraates' fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions and courteous words to make him raise his siege, that

he might afterwards meet him as he would, in the plains: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, another way on the right hand, through woods and mountains, a far nearer way, and where he should find great plenty of all things needful for his army. Antonius hearing what he said, called his council together, to consult upon it. For after he had made peace with the Parthians, he was loath to give them cause to think he mistrusted them: and on the other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and pass by places well inhabited, where he might be provided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the Mardian what pledge he would put in, to perform that he promised. The Mardian gave himself to be bound hand and foot, till he had brought his army into the country of Armenia. So he guided the army thus bound, two days together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, Antonius thinking the Parthians would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffered the soldiers to march in disorder as every man listed. The Mardian perceiving that the dams of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the river had overflown the banks and drowned all the way they should have gone: he guessed straight that the Parthians had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the Romans for getting too far before them. Thereupon he bade Antonius look to himself, and told him that his enemies were not far from thence. Antonius having set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and slingers to resist the enemies, and to drive them back: they descried the Par-

in his
return

The bold act
thians that wheeled round about the army to compass them in on every side, and to break their ranks, and their light-armed men gave charge upon them. So after they had hurt many of the Romans with their arrows, and that they themselves were also hurt by them with their darts and plummetts of lead: they retired a little, and then came again and gave charge. Until that the horsemen of the Gauls turned their horses, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rearward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darts and slingmen, and made his army march in a square battell: commanding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assail them, they should drive them back, but not follow them too far. Thus the Parthians four days after, seeing they did no more hurt to the Romans, than they also received of them: they were not so hot upon them, as they were commanded, but excusing themselves by the winter that troubled them, they determined to return back again. The fift day, Flavius Gallus, a valiant man of his hands, that had charge in the army: came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have some more of his light-armed men than were already in the rearward, and some of the horsemen that were in the vaward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them unto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set upon the tail of the army, and to skirmish with them: Flavius courageously made them retire, but not as they

were wont to do before, to retire and join presently with their army, for he over-rashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The captains that had the leading of the rearward, seeing Flavius stray too far from the army: they sent unto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himself the treasurer, took the ensigns, and did what he could to make the ensign-bearers return back, reviling Flavius Gallus, because that through his folly and desperateness he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and slain to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to stay. Wherefore Titius returned again into the army, and Gallus still overthrowing and driving the enemies back whom he met in the vaward, he was not aware that he was compassed in. Then seeing himself environed of all sides, he sent unto the army, that they should come and aid him: but there the captains that led the legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimation about Antonius made one) committed many faults. For where they should have made head with the whole army upon the Parthians, they sent him aid by small companies: and when they were slain, they sent him others also. So that by their beastliness and lack of consideration, they had like to have made all the army fly, if Antonius himself had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the midst of them that fled, until they came to front of the enemies, and that they stayed them from chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slain no less than three thousand men,

of Flavius
Gallus

Antonius' care of them that were wounded and five thousand besides brought sore hurt into the camp, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in four places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the tents to visit and comfort the sick and wounded, and for pity sake he could not refrain from weeping: and they also shewing him the best countenance they could, took him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble himself for them, most reverently calling him their emperor and captain: and that for themselves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed to say truly, there was not at that time any emperor or captain that had so great and puissant an army as his together, both for lusty youths and courage of the soldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great pains and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto their captain, with a marvellous earnest love and good-will, was so great: and all were indifferently (as well great as small, the noble men, as mean men, the captains and soldiers) so earnestly bent to esteem Antonius' good-will and favour, above their own life and safety: that in this point of martial discipline, the ancient Romans could not have done any more. But divers things were cause thereof, as we have told you before: Antonius' nobility and ancient house, his eloquence, his plain nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to sport and to be merry in company: but specially the care he took at that time to help, visit, and lament those that were sick and wounded, seeing every man to have that which was meet for him: that was of such force and effect, as it made them that were

sick and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him service, than those that were whole and sound. This victory so encouraged the enemies, (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any farther) that all night long they kept the fields, and hovered about the Romans' camp, thinking that they would presently fly, and then that they should take the spoil of their camp. So the next morning by break of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the Parthians, than they were before. For the rumour was, that there were not much fewer than forty thousand horse, because their king sent thither even the very guard about his person, as unto a most certain and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoil and booty they hoped to have had: for as touching the king himself, he was never in any conflict or battel. Then Antonius desirous to speak to his soldiers, called for a black gown, to appear the more pitiful to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his coat armour, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his army: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven back their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had overcome, prayed him to be of good cheer: the other also to clear themselves, willingly offered to take the lots of decimation if he thought good, or otherwise, to receive what kind of punishment it should please him to lay upon them, so that he would forget any more to dislike, or to be offended with them. Antonius seeing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his prayer to the gods,

The
love and
reverence
of the
soldiers
unto him

Antonius'
charitable
prayer to
the gods

That if in exchange of his former victories, they would now send him some bitter adversity: then that all might light on himself alone, and that they would give the victory to the rest of his army. The next morning, they gave better order on every side of the army, and so marched forward; so that when the Parthians thought to return again to assail them, they came far short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight, but to spoil and make havoc of all: when they came near them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other javelins as the Romans darted at them, and the Parthians found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had been fresh men they had dealt withal. Whereupon their hearts began again to fail them. But yet when the Romans came to go down any steep hills or mountains, then they would set on them with their arrows, because the Romans could go down but fair and softly. But then again, the soldiers of the legion that carried great shields, returned back, and enclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the midst amongst them, and did kneel of one knee on the ground, and so set down their shields before them: and they of the second rank also covered them of the first rank, and the third also covered the second, and so from rank to rank all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of covering and shading themselves with shields, was devised after the fashion of laying tiles upon houses, and to sight, was like the degrees of a theatre, and is a most strong defence and bulwark against all arrows and shot that falleth upon it. When the Parthians saw this countenance of the Roman

soldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sort upon one knee, supposing that they had been wearied with travail: they laid down their bows, and took their spears and lances, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romans suddenly rose upon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them, they slew the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next days that followed. But by means of these dangers and lets, Antonius' army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could have but little corn, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it, and besides that, they had no instruments to grind it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had been left behind, because the beasts that carried them were either dead, or else employed to carry them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreme great, that the eighth part of a bushel of wheat was sold for fifty drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the weight of silver. In the end, they were compelled to live off herbs and roots, but they found few of them that men do commonly eat of, and were enforced to taste of them that were never eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and he knew no manner of thing, but only busied himself in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had been a matter of great weight, and to be done with all possible speed. All the camp over, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one place to another: but at the

A deadly herb incurable without wine

The
Parthians
very
subtile

last, they cast up a great deal of choler, and died suddenly, because they lacked wine, which was the only sovereign remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius seeing such a number of his men die daily, and that the Parthians left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cried out sighing, and said: O, ten thousand! He had the valiantness of ten thousand Grecians, in such admiration, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus: because they had come a farther journey from Babylon, and had also fought against much more enemies many times told, than themselves, and yet came home with safety. The Parthians therefore seeing that they could not break the good order of the army of the Romans, and contrarily that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and well-favouredly beaten: they fell again to their old crafty subtilities. For when they found any of the Romans scattered from the army to go forage, to seek some corn, or other victuals: they would come to them as if they had been their friends, and shewed them their bows unbent, saying, That themselves also did return home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no farther, howbeit that they should yet have certain Medes that would follow them a day's journey or two, to keep them that they should do no hurt to the villages from the highways, and so holding them with this talk, they gently took their leave of them, and bade them farewell, so that the Romans began again to think themselves safe. Antonius also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plain country, because also they should find no water in the moun-

tains, as it was reported unto him. So as he was determined to take this course, there came into his heat one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies camp, who was cousin unto Monzses that fled unto Antonius, and unto whom he had given three cities. When he came to Antonius' camp, he prayed them to bring him one that could speak the Parthian, or Syrian tongue. So one Alexander Antiochian, a familiar of Antonius, was brought unto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and said, That Monzses had sent him to Antonius, to requite the honour and courtesy he had shewed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious speech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high mountains afar off, which he pointed unto him with his finger. Alexander answered, He did. The Parthians (said he) do lie in ambush at the foot of those mountains, under the which lieth a goodly plain champion country: and they think that you being deceived with their crafty subtile words, will leave the way of the mountains, and turn into the plain. For the other way, it is very hard and painful, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withal: but if Antonius take the lower way, let him assure himself to run the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did. So Mithridates having said, he departed. Antonius was marvellously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to hear what they would say to it. The Mardian also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered: That he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had said. For, said he, admit that there were no ambush of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit:

and
crafty
people

A salt river where taking the mountain way, though it be stony and painful, yet there is no other danger, but a whole day's travelling without any water. So Antonius changing his first mind and determination, removed that night, and took the mountain way, commanding every man to provide himself of water. But the most part of them lacking vessels to carry water in, some were driven to fill their salets and murrions with water, and others also filled goats' skins to carry water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought unto the Parthians that they were removed: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the self same night, so that by break of day they overtook the rearward of the Romans, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lack of sleep, that they were even done. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlongs, and further, to see their enemies so suddenly at their backs, that made them utterly despair: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their enemies back, yet creeping on still. The voward of the army by chance met with a river that was very clear and cold water, but it was salt and venomous to drink: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunk it, and made them marvellous dry, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the Mardian had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them back that would have kept them from drinking, and so drank. But Antonius going up and down amongst them, prayed them to take a little patience for a while, for hard

The
tumult
Antoni
soldier

by there was another river that the water was excellent good to drink, and that from thenceforth the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the retreat to be sounded to call them back that fought, and commanded the tents to be set up, that the soldiers might yet have shadow to refresh them with. So when the tents were set up, and the Parthians also retired according to their manner: the gentleman Mithridates before named, returned again as before, and Alexander in like manner again brought unto him for interpreter. Then Mithridates advised him, that after the army had reposed a little, the Romans should remove forthwith, and with all possible speed get to the river: because the Parthians would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander carried the report thereof unto Antonius, who gave him a great deal of gold-plate to bestow upon Mithridates. Mithridates took as much of him as he could well carry away in his gown, and so departed with speed. So Antonius raised his camp being yet daylight, and caused all his army to march, and the Parthians never troubled any of them by the way: but amongst themselves it was as ill and dreadful a night as ever they had. For there were villains of their own company, who cut their fellows' throats for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and carriage of such money as they carried: and at length, they set upon Antonius' slaves that drave his own sumpters and carriage, they brake goodly tables and rich plate in pieces, and divided it among themselves. Thereupon all the camp was straight in tumult and uproar: for

Antonius' the residue of them were afraid it had been the
desperate Parthians that had given them this alarm, and had
mind put all the army out of order. Insomuch that
Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his slaves
enfranchised that was of his guard, and made him
give him his faith that he would thrust his sword
through him when he would bid him, and cut off
his head: because he might not be taken alive of
his enemies, nor known when he were dead. This
grieved his friends to the heart, that they burst out
a-weeping for sorrow. The Mardian also did com-
fort him, and assured him that the river he sought
for was hard by, and that he did guess it by a sweet
moist wind that breathed upon them, and by the air
which they found fresher than they were wont, and
also, for that they fetched their wind more at liberty:
and moreover, because that since they did set for-
ward he thought they were near their journey's end,
not lacking much of day. On the other side also,
Antonius was informed, that this great tumult and
trouble came not through the enemies, but through
the vile covetousness and villainy of certain of his
soldiers. Therefore Antonius to set his army again
in order, and to pacify this uproar, sounded the
trumpet that every man should lodge. Now day
began to break, and the army to fall again into good
order, and all the hurly-burly to cease, when the
Parthians drew near, and that their arrows lighted
among them of the rearward of his army. There-
upon the signal of battell was given to the light-
armed men, and the legioners did cover themselves
as they had done before with their shields, with
the which they received and defended the force of
the Parthians' arrows, who never durst any more

come to handy strokes with them: and thus they that were in the vaward, went down by little and little, till at length they spied the river. There Antonius placed his armed men upon the sands to receive and drive back the enemies, and first of all, got over his men that were sick and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left to resist the enemies, had leisure enough to drink safely, and at their pleasure. For when the Parthians saw the river, they unbent their bows, and bade the Romans pass over without any fear, and greatly commended their valiantness. When they had all passed over the river at their ease, they took a little breath, and so marched forward again not greatly trusting the Parthians. The sixth day after this last battell, they came to the river of Araxes, which divideth the country of Armenia from Media: the which appeared unto them very dangerous to pass, for the depth and swiftness of the stream. And furthermore, there ran a rumour through the camp, that the Parthians lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come and set upon them whilst they were troubled in passing over the river. But now, after they were all come safely over without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other side, into the province of Armenia: then they worshipped that land, as if it had been the first land they had seen after a long and dangerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy haven: and the tears ran down their cheeks, and every man embraced each other for the great joy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitful country so plentiful of all things, after so great a famine and want of all

The riv
Araxes

The
treachery
of Arta-
bazus

things: they so crammed themselves with such plenty of victuals, that many of them were cast into fluxes and dropsies. There Antonius mustering his whole army, found that he had lost twenty thousand footmen, and four thousand horsemen, which had not all been slain by their enemies: for the most part of them died of sickness, making seven-and-twenty days' journey, coming from the city of Phraata into Armenia, and having overcome the Parthians in eighteen several battels. But these victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of Armenia, had kept Antonius from ending this war. For if the sixteen thousand horsemen which he brought with him out of Media, had been at these battels, considering that they were armed and apparelled much after the Parthians' manner, and acquainted also with their fight: when the Romans had put them to flight that fought a battel with them, and that these Armenians had followed the chase of them that fled, they had not gathered themselves again in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often, after they had been so many times overthrown. Therefore, all those that were of any credit and countenance in the army, did persuade and egg Antonius to be revenged of this Armenian king. But Antonius wisely dissembling his anger, he told him not of his treachery, nor gave him the worse countenance, nor did him less honour than he did before: because he knew his army was weak, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned again into Armenia with a

great army, and so with fair words, and sweet promises of messengers, he allured Artabazus to come unto him : whom he then kept prisoner, and led in triumph in the city of Alexandria. This greatly offended the Romans, and made them much to mislike it : when they saw that for Cleopatra's sake he deprived his country of her due honour and glory, only to gratify the Egyptians. But this was a pretty while after. Howbeit then, the great haste he made to return unto Cleopatra, caused him to put his men to so great pains, forcing them to lie in the field all winter long when it snowed unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his men, and so came down to the seaside with a small company, unto a certain place called Blancbourg, which standeth betwixt the cities of Berytus and Sidon, and there tarried for Cleopatra. And because she tarried longer than he would have had her, he pined away for love and sorrow. So that he was at such a strait, that he wist not what to do, and therefore to wear it out, he gave himself to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast were ended : but many times while others banqueted, he ran to the seaside to see if she were coming. At length she came and brought with her a world of apparel and money to give unto the soldiers. But some say notwithstanding, that she brought apparel but no money, and that she took of Antonius' money, and caused it to be given amongst the soldiers in her own name, as if she had given it them. In the meantime it chanced, that the king of the Medes, and Phraortes king of the Parthians, fell at great wars

Antonius
triumphed
of him in
Egypt

**Octavia
came to
Athens**

together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoils of the Romans: and grew to be so hot between them, that the king of Medes was no less afraid, than also in danger to lose his whole realm. Thereupon he sent unto Antonius to pray him to come and make war with the Parthians, promising him that he would aid him to his uttermost power. This put Antonius again in good comfort, considering that unlooked for, the only thing he lacked, (which made him he could not overcome the Parthians, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offered him in that sort: that he did him more pleasure to accept it, than it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had spoken with the king of Medes at the river of Araxes, he prepared himself once more to go through Armenia, and to make more cruel war with the Parthians, than he had done before. Now whilst Antonius was busy in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whom he had left at Rome, would needs take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Caesar was willing unto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors do report) as for that he might have an honest colour to make war with Antonius if he did misuse her, and not esteem of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to Athens, she received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there until his coming, and did advertise her of his journey and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knew it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of answer, she asked him whether he would have those things sent unto him which she had brought him, being great

store of apparel for soldiers, a great number of horse, sum of money and gifts, to bestow on his friends and captains he had about him: and besides all these, she had two thousand soldiers chosen men, all well armed like unto the Prætors' bands. When Niger, one of Antonius' friends whom he had sent unto Athens, had brought these news from his wife Octavia, and withal did greatly praise her, as she was worthy, and well deserved: Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behaviour, (besides the great power of her brother Cæsar) she did add thereunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too strong for her, and in the end win him away: she subtilly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pining her body for lack of meat. Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenance, that when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy. Straight again when he went from her, she fell a-weeping and blubbering, looked ruefully of the matter, and still found the means that Antonius should oftentimes find her weeping: and then when he came suddenly upon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weep. All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readiness to go into Syria, to speak with the king of Medea. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatra's mind, blamed Antonius, and told him that he was a hard-natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poor lady in such torment for his sake, whose life

The
sickening
enticements of
Cleopatra

**Octavia's
wise and
womanly
behaviour**

depended only upon him alone. For, Octavia, said they, that was married unto him as it were of necessity, because her brother Cæsar's affairs so required it, hath the honour to be called Antonius' lawful spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being born a queen of so many thousands of men, is only named Antonius' leman, and yet that she disdained not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him: but if he once leave her, that then it is impossible she should live. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought Antonius' effeminate mind, that fearing lest she would make her self away, he returned again unto Alexandria, and referred the king of Medes to the next year following, although he received news that the Parthians at that time were at civil wars among themselves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he married his daughter which was very young, unto one of the sons that Cleopatra had by him: and then returned being fully bent to make war with Cæsar. When Octavia was returned to Rome from Athens, Cæsar commanded her to go out of Antonius' house, and to dwell by her self, because he had abused her. Octavia answered him again, That she would not forsake her husband's house, and that if he had no other occasion to make war with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for said she, it were too shameful a thing, that two so famous captains should bring in civil wars among the Romans, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousy betwixt one another. Now as she spake the word, so did she also perform the deed. For she kept

still in Antonius' house, as if he had been there, and very honestly, and honourably kept his children, not those only she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia. Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the commonwealth: she received him very courteously, and so used her self unto her brother, that she obtained the thing she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband, made every man hate him, when they saw he did so unkindly use so noble a lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice unto him, was for the division of lands he made amongst his children in the city of Alexandria. And to confess a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the Romans. For he assembled all the people in the shew-place, where young men do exercise themselves, and there upon a high tribunal silvered, he set two chairs of gold, the one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chairs for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria, and at that time also, Cæsarion king of the same realms. This Cæsarion was supposed to be the son of Julius Cæsar, who had left Cleopatra great with child. Secondly he called the sons he had by her, the kings of kings, and gave Alexander for his portion, Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the country: and unto Ptolemy for his portion, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And there-

Antonius
arrogantly
divideth
diverse
provinces
to his
children

Accusa-
tions
betwixt

withal he brought out Alexander in a long gown after the fashion of the Medes with a high cop-tank hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians do use to wear them: and Ptolemy apparelled in a cloak after the Macedonian manner, with slippers on his feet, and a broad hat, with a royal band or diadem. Such was the apparel and old attire of the ancient kings and successors of Alexander the Great. So after his sons had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of Armenian soldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the Macedonians the other. Now for Cleopatra, she did not only wear at that time, (but at all other times else when she came abroad) the apparel of the goddess Isis, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new Isis. Octavius Cæsar reporting all these things unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome: he thereby stirred up all the Romans against him. Antonius on the other side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest points of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that having spoiled Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, he did not give him his part of the isle. Secondly, that he did detain in his hands the ships he lent him to make that war. Thirdly, that having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate out of his part of the empire, and having deprived him of all honours: he retained for himself the lands and revenues thereof, which had been assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner divided all Italy amongst his own soldiers,

and had left no part of it for his soldiers. Octavius Cæsar answered him again: That for Lepidus, he had indeed deposed him, and taken his part of the empire from him, because he did over-cruelly use his authority. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of arms, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that for his soldiers, they should seek for nothing in Italy, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which provinces they had added to the empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperor and captain. Antonius hearing these news, being yet in Armenia, commanded Canidius to go presently to the seaside with his sixteen legions he had: and he himself with Cleopatra, went unto the city of Ephesus, and there gathered together his galleys and ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great ships of burden: and of those Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thousand talents besides, and provision of victuals also to maintain all the whole army in this war. So Antonius, through the persuasions of Domitius, commanded Cleopatra to return again into Egypt, and there to understand the success of this war. But Cleopatra, fearing lest Antonius should again be made friends with Octavius Cæsar, by the means of his wife Octavia: she so plied Canidius with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokesman unto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this war, who defrayed so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, because that thereby the Egyptians would then be

Octavius
Cæsar
and
Antonius

**Antonius
kept
great
feasting**

utterly discouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederates, that Cleopatra was inferior unto, either for wisdom or judgement, seeing that long before she had wisely governed so great a realm as Egypt, and besides that she had been so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manage great affairs. These fair persuasions wan him: for it was predestined that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cæsar's hands. Thus, all their forces being joined together, they hoised sail towards the Isle of Samos, and there gave themselves to feasts and solace. For as all the kings, princes, and communalities, peoples, and cities from Syria, unto the marishes Mæotides, and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent unto, to send and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could: even so all players, minstrels, tumblers, fools, and jesters, were commanded to assemble in the Isle of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighs and tears: only in this Isle of Samos there was nothing for many days' space, but singing and piping, and all the theatre full of these common players, minstrels, and singing men. Besides all this, every city sent an ox thither to sacrifice, and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts. So that every man said, What can they do more for joy of victory, if they win the battell? When they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the war? When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these minstrels, and

such kind of people, the city of Priéné to keep them withal, during this war. Then he went unto the city of Athens, and there gave himself again to see plays and pastimes, and to keep the theatres. Cleopatra, on the other side, being jealous of the honours which Octavia had received in this city, where indeed she was marvellously honoured and beloved of the Athenians: to win the people's good-will also at Athens, she gave them great gifts: and they likewise gave her many great honours, and appointed certain ambassadors to carry the decree to her house, among the which Antonius was one, who as a citizen of Athens reported the matter unto her, and made an oration in the behalf of the city. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife Octavia out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all Antonius' children, saving the eldest of them he had by Fulvia, who was with his father, bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompted one of the chiefest causes of this civil war. The Romans did pity her, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seen Cleopatra: who neither excelled Octavia in beauty, nor yet in young years. Octavius Cæsar understanding the sudden and wonderful great preparation of Antonius, he was not a little astonished at it, (fearing he should be driven to fight that summer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of money did sorely oppress the people. For all manner of men else, were driven to pay the fourth part of their goods and revenue: but the libertines, (to wit, those whose fathers or other predecessors had sometime been

He put
his wife
Octavia
out of his
house at
Rome

Antoqius' testament bondmen) they were sessed to pay the eighth part of all their goods at one payment. Hereupon, there rose a wonderful exclamation and great uproar all Italy over: so that among the greatest faults that ever Antonius committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to give Cæsar battell. For he gave Cæsar leisure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great sum of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grew to mutiny upon it: but when they had once paid it, they remembered it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius' chiefest friends and that had been both of them Consuls) for the great injuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindered all they could, that she should not come to this war: they went and yielded themselves unto Cæsar, and told him where the testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The will was in the custody of the Vestal Nuns: of whom Cæsar demanded for it. They answered him, That they would not give it him: but if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon Cæsar went thither, and having read it first to himself, he noted certain places worthy of reproach: so assembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon divers were marvellously offended, and thought it a strange matter that he being alive, should be punished for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. Cæsar chiefly took hold of this that he ordained touching his burial: for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in funeral pomp through the midst of the market-place, and that it should

be sent into Alexandria unto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among divers other faults wherewith Antonius was to be charged, for Cleopatra's sake: Calvisius, one of Cæsar's friends reproved him because he had frankly given Cleopatra all the libraries of the royal city of Pergamus, in the which she had above two hundred thousand several books. Again also, that being on a time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the board and trod upon Cleopatra's foot, which was a sign given between them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra, their sovereign lady. That divers times sitting in his tribunal and chair of state, giving audience to all kings and princes: he had received love-letters from Cleopatra, written in tables of onyx or crystal, and that he had read them, sitting in his imperial seat. That one day when Furnius, a man of great account, and the eloquentest man of all the Romans, pleaded a matter before him: Cleopatra by chance coming through the market-place in her litter where Furnius was a-pleading: Antonius straight rose out of his seat, and left his audience to follow her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Calvisius devised the most part of all these accusations of his own head. Nevertheless they that loved Antonius, were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one Geminus unto Antonius, to pray him he would take heed, that through his negligence his empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people of Rome. This Geminus being arrived in Greece, made Cleopatra jealous straight of his coming: because she surmised that he came not

Antonius
bidden to
take heed
to himself

Many of
Antonius'
friends do
forsake

but to speak for Octavia. Therefore she spared not to taunt him all supper-time, and moreover to spite him the more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the board, the which he took patiently, expecting occasion to speak with Antonius. Now Antonius commanding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither : he answered him, That it was no table-talk, and that he would tell him to-morrow morning fasting : but drunk or fasting, howsoever it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, unless Cleopatra were sent back into Egypt. Antonius took these words in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other side answered him, Thou doest well Geminius, said she, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments : but within few days after, Geminius stole away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also to please Cleopatra, did make her drive many other of Antonius' faithful servants and friends from him, who could not abide the injuries done unto them : among the which these two were chief, Marcus Silanus, and Dellius the Historiographer : who wrote that he fled, because her physician Glaucus told him, that Cleopatra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore he had Cleopatra's displeasure, because he said one night at supper, that they made them drink sour wine, where Sarmenus at Rome drank good wine of Falernus. This Sarmenus was a pleasant young boy, such as the lords of Rome are wont to have about them to make them pastime, which they call their joys, and he was Octavius Cæsar's boy. Now after that Cæsar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open war against Cleopatra, and made the people to

abolish the power and empire of Antonius, because he had before given it up unto a woman. And Cæsar said furthermore, That Antonius was not master of himself, but that Cleopatra had brought him beside himself, by her charms and amorous poisons: and that they that should make war with them, should be Mardian the Eunuch, Pothinus, and Iras, a woman of Cleopatra's bed-chamber, that frizzled her hair, and dressed her head, and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affairs of Antonius' empire. Before this war as it is reported, many signs and wonders fell out. First of all, the city of Pisaurum which was made a colony to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius, standing upon the shore side, of the sea Adriatic, was by a terrible earthquake sunk into the ground. One of the images of stone which was set up in the honour of Antonius, in the city of Alba, did sweat many days together: and though some wiped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the city of Patras whilst Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the city of Athens also, in a place where the war of the giants against the gods is set out in imagery: the statue of Bacchus with a terrible wind was thrown down in the theatre. It was said that Antonius came of the race of Hercules, as you have heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus: and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering storm of wind, overthrew the great monstrous images at Athens, that were made in the honour of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named and entitled, the Antonians, and yet they did hurt none of the

Signs and
wonders
before the
civil wars

Antonius'
power
against
Octavius
Cæsar

other images which were many besides. The admiral galley of Cleopatra, was called Antoniad, in the which there chanced a marvellous ill sign. Swallows had bred under the poop of her ship, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked down their nests. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew near to fight: it was found that Antonius had no less than five hundred good ships of war, among which there were many galleys that had eight and ten banks of oars, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meet for fight, as for triumph: a hundred thousand footmen, and twelve thousand horsemen, and had with him to aid him these kings and subjects following. Bocchus king of Libya, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates king of Commagena, and Sadalas king of Thrace. All which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as Polemon king of Pont, Malchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Jewry: and furthermore, Amyntas king of Lycaonia, and of the Galatians: and besides all these, he had all the aid the king of Medes sent unto him. Now for Cæsar, he had two hundred and fifty ships of war, four-score thousand footmen, and well near as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part, had all under his dominion from Armenia, and the river of Euphrates, unto the sea Ionium and Illyricum. Octavius Cæsar had also for his part, all that which was in our hemisphere, or half-part of the world, from Illyria, unto the ocean sea upon the west: then all from the ocean, unto Mare Siculum: and from Africk, all that

which is against Italy, as Gaul, and Spain. Furthermore, all from the province of Cyrene, to Ethiopia, was subject unto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subject to a woman's will, that though he was a great deal the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatra's sake he would needs have this battell tried by sea: though he saw before his eyes, that for lack of watermen, his captains did prest by force all sorts of men out of Greece that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muleteers, reapers, harvest men, and young boys, and yet could they not sufficiently furnish his galleys: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant row, because they lacked watermen enough. But on the contrary side Cæsar's ships were not built for pomp, high and great, only for a sight and bravery, but they were light of yarage: armed and furnished with watermen as many as they needed, and had them all in readiness, in the havens of Tarentum, and Brundusium. So Octavius Cæsar sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy: and that for his own part he would give him safe harbour, to land without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his army from the sea, as far as one horse could run, until he had put his army ashore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word again, and challenged the combat of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Julius Cæsar, and Pompey had done before. Now whilst Antonius rode at anker, lying idly in harbour at the head of Actium, in the place where the

Antonius
rode at
anker in
the head
of Actium

Antonius'
strata-
gem city of Nicopolis standeth at this present: Cæsar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Toryné, before Antonius understood that he had taken ship. Then began his men to be afraid, because his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it: And what danger, I pray you, said she, if Cæsar keep at Toryne? The next morning by break of day, his enemies coming with full force of oars in battell against him, Antonius was afraid that if they came to join, they would take and carry away his ships that had no men of war in them. So he armed all his watermen, and set them in order of battell upon the fore-castell of their ships, and then lift up all his ranks of oars towards the element, as well on the one side as on the other, with the proes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulf, which beginneth at the point of Actium, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had been armed and furnished with watermen and soldiera. Thus Octavius Cæsar being finely deceived by this stratagem, retired presently, and therewithal Antonius very wisely and suddenly did cut him off from fresh water. For understanding that the places where Octavius Cæsar landed, had very little store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with strong ditches and trenches he cast, to keep them from sallying out at their pleasure, and so to go seek water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatra's mind. For, he being sick of an ague when he went and took a little boat to go unto Cæsar's camp, Antonius was very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his carriage,

train, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, he died immediately after. There were certain kings also that forsook him, and turned on Cæsar's side: as Amyntas and Deïotarus. Furthermore his fleet and navy that was unfortunate in all things, and unready for service, compelled him to change his mind, and to hazard battell by land. And Canidius also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius' determination: he turned him clean contrary, and counselled him to send Cleopatra back again, and himself to retire into Macedon, to fight there on the mainland. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes king of the Getæ, promised him to aid him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonour to him to let Cæsar have the sea, (because himself and his men both had been well practised and exercised in battells by sea, in the war of Sicily against Sextus Pompeius) but rather that he should do against all reason, he having so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valiantness of so many lusty armed footmen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by dividing them into ships. But now notwithstanding all these good persuasions, Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by sea: considering with her self how she might fly and provide for her safety, not to help him to win the victory, but to fly more easily after the battell lost. Betwixt Antonius' camp and his fleet of ships, there was a great high point of firm land that ran a good way into the sea, the which Antonius used

Cleopatra
forced
him to
fight at
sea

Antonius
regardeth
not good
counsel

often for a walk, without mistrust of fear or danger. One of Cæsar's men perceived it, and told his master that he would laugh if they could take up Antonius in the midst of his walk. Thereupon Cæsar sent some of his men to lie in ambush for him, and they missed not much of taking of him: for they took him that came before him, because they discovered too soon, and so Antonius escaped very hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other ships on fire, but three-score ships of Egypt, and reserved only but the best and greatest galleys, from three banks, unto ten banks of oars. Into them he put two-and-twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now as he was setting his men in order of battel, there was a captain, and a valiant man, that had served Antonius in many battels and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who as Antonius passed by him, cried out unto him and said: O noble emperor, how cometh it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle ships? what, do you mistrust these wounds of mine and this sword? Let the Egyptians and Phœnicians fight by sea, and set us on the mainland, where we used to conquer, or to be slain on our feet. Antonius passed by him and said never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himself. For when the maisters of the galleys and pilots would have let their sails alone, he made them clap them on, saying to colour the matter withal, That not one of his enemies should scape. All that day and the three days following, the sea rose so high and was so

boisterous, that the battell was put off. The fifth day the storm ceased, and the sea calmed again and then they rowed with force of oars in battell one against the other. Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Cælius the left, and Marcus Octavius, and Marcus Justeus the midst. Octavius Cæsar on the other side, had placed Agrippa in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himself. For the armies by land, Canidius was general of Antonius' side, and Taurus of Cæsar's side: who kept their men in battell ray the one before the other, upon the seaside, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the chieftains: Antonius being in a swift pinnace, was carried up and down by force of oars through his army, and spake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on mainland, because of the steadiness and heaviness of their ships: and commanded the pilots and maisters of the galleys, that they should not stir, none otherwise than if they were at anker, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not go out of the strait of the gulf. Cæsar betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to see his ships throughout: met a man by chance that drave an ass before him. Cæsar asked the man what his name was. The poor man told him that his name was Eutyclus, to say Fortunate: and his ass's name Nicon, to say Conqueror. Therefore Cæsar after he had won the battell, setting out the market-place with the spurs of the galleys he had taken, for a sign of his victory: he caused also the man and his ass to be set up in brass. When he had visited the order of his army

Battell by
sea: at
Actium

**Battell by
sea at
Actium**

throughout, he took a little pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he saw his enemies lie still in the strait, and stirred not. For discerning them afar off, men would have thought they had been ships riding at anker, and a good while he was so persuaded. So he kept his galleys eight furlong from his enemies: about noon there rose a little gale of wind from the sea, and then Antonius' men waxing angry with tarrying so long, and trusting to the greatness and height of their ships, as if they had been invincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. Cæsar seeing that, was a glad man and began a little to give back from the right wing, to allure them to come farther out of the strait and gulf, to the end that he might with his light ships well manned with watermen, turn and environ the galleys of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarge, both for their bigness, as also for lack of watermen to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to join, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by sea. For on the one side, Antonius' ships for their heaviness, could not have the strength and swiftness to make their blows of any force: and Cæsar's ships on the other side took great heed, not to rush and shock with the forecastles of Antonius' ships, whose prows were armed with great brazén spurs. Furthermore they durst not flank them, because their points were easily broken, which way so ever they came to set upon his ships, that were made of great main square pieces of timber, bound together with great iron pins: so that the battell

was much like to a battell by land, or to speak more properly to the assault of a city. For there were always three or four of Cæsar's ships about one of Antonius' ships, and the soldiers fought with their pikes, halberds and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. Antonius' ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their cross-bows and engines of battery, great store of shot from their high towers of wood, that were upon their ships. Now Publicola seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Cæsar's army, to compass in Antonius' ships that fought: he was driven also to loose off to have more room, and going a little at one side, to put those farther off that were afraid, and in the midst of the battell. For they were sore distressed by Antonius. Howbeit the battell was yet of even hand, and the victory doubtful, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they saw the three-score ships of Cleopatra busy about their yard-masts, and hoising sail to fly. So they fled through the midst of them that were in fight, for they had been placed behind the great ships, and did marvellously disorder the other ships. For the enemies themselves wondered much to see them sail in that sort, with full sail towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius shewed plainly, that he had not only lost the courage and heart of an emperor, but also of a valiant man, and that he was not his own man: (proving that true which an old man spake in mirth, that the soul of a lover lived in another body, and not in his own) he was so carried away with the vain love of this woman, as if he had been glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw Cleopatra's ship under

betwixt
Antonius
and
Cæsar

Antoni-
us
fleeth
after
Cleopatra

sail, he forgot, forsook, and betrayed them that fought for him, and embarked upon a galley with five banks of oars, to follow her that was already begun to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew his galley afar off, she lift up a sign in the poop of her ship, and so Antonius coming to it, was pluckt up where Cleopatra was, howbeit he saw her not at his first coming, nor she him, but went and sat down alone in the prow of his ship, and said never a word, clapping his head between both his hands. In the meantime came certain light brigantines of Cæsar's that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prow of his ship, and presently put the rest to flight, saving one Eurycles Lacedæmonian, that followed him near, and pressed upon him with great courage, shaking a dart in his hand over the prow as though he would have thrown it unto Antonius. Antonius seeing him, came to the fore-castle of his ship and asked him What he was that durst follow Antonius so near? I am, answered he, Eurycles the son of Lachares, who through Cæsar's good fortune seeketh to revenge the death of my father. This Lachares was condemned of felony, and beheaded by Antonius. But yet Eurycles durst not venture upon Antonius' ship, but set upon the other admiral galley (for there were two) and fell with him with such a blow of his brazen spur, that was so heavy and big, that he turned her round, and took her, with another that was laden with very rich stuff and carriage. After Eurycles had left Antonius, he returned again to his place, and sate down, speaking never a word as he did before: and so lived three days alone, without

speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of Tænarus, there Cleopatra's women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speak together, and afterwards, to sup and lie together. Then began there again a great number of merchants' ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow: who brought news, that his army by sea was overthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent unto Canidius, to return with his army into Asia, by Macedon. Now for himself, he determined to cross over into Africk, and took one of his carecks or hulks loden with gold and silver, and other rich carriage, and gave it unto his friends: commanding them to depart, and to seek to save themselves. They answered him weeping, That they would neither do it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very courteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote unto Theophilus governor of Corinth, that he would see them safe, and help to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with Cæsar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his enfranchised bondmen that revolted from him, and yielded unto Cæsar, and afterwards went and dwelt at Corinth. And thus it stood with Antonius. Now for his army by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium: they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more than a great boisterous wind that rose full in the prows of their ships and yet with much ado, his navy was at length overthrown;

Antonius'
navy
over-
thrown

Antonius' five hours within night. There were not slain above
 legions five thousand men: but yet there were three hun-
 do yield dred ships taken as Octavius Cæsar writeth himself
 them- in his commentaries. Many plainly saw Antonius
 selves fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he
 that had nineteen legions whole by land and twelve
 thousand horsemen upon the seaside, would so have
 forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly: as if he
 had not oftentimes proved both the one and the
 other fortune, and that he had not been throughly
 acquainted with the diverse changes and fortunes of
 battells. And yet his soldiers still wished for him,
 and ever hoped that he would come by some
 means or other unto them. Furthermore they
 shewed themselves so valiant and faithful unto
 him, that after they certainly knew he was fled,
 they kept themselves whole together seven days.
 In the end Canidius, Antonius' lieutenant, flying by
 night, and forsaking his camp: when they saw
 themselves thus destitute of their heads and leaders,
 they yielded themselves unto the stronger. This
 done, Cæsar sailed towards Athens, and there made
 peace with the Grecians, and divided the rest of
 the corn that was taken up for Antonius' army, unto
 the towns and cities of Greece, the which had been
 brought to extreme misery and poverty, clean with-
 out money, slaves, horse, and other beasts of carriage.
 So that my grandfather Nicarchus told, that all the
 citizens of our city of Chæronea, (not one excepted)
 were driven themselves to carry a certain measure of
 corn on their shoulders to the seaside, that lieth
 directly over against the Isle of Anticyra, and yet
 were they driven thither with whips. They carried
 it thus but once: for the second time that they were

charged again to make the like carriage, all the corn being ready to be carried, news came that Antonius had lost the battel, and so escaped our poor city. For Antonius' soldiers and deputies fled immediately, and the citizens divided the corn amongst them. Antonius being arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra before into Egypt from the city of Parz-tonium: and he himself remained very solitary, having only two of his friends with him, with whom he wandered up and down, both of them orators, the one Aristocrates a Grecian, and the other Lucilius a Roman: of whom we have written in another place, that at the battell where Brutus was overthrown, by the city of Philippi, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he: because Brutus in the meantime might have liberty to save himself. And afterwards because Antonius saved his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithful and friendly unto him till his death. But when Antonius heard, that he whom he had trusted with the government of Libya, and unto whom he had given the charge of his army there, had yielded unto Cæsar: he was so mad withal, that he would have slain himself for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, and kept him from it. So he went unto Alexandria, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderful enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the Red Sea, and the sea between the lands that point upon the coast of Egypt there is a little piece of land that divideth both the seas, and separateth Africk from Asia: the which strait is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not above three handreth

The
fidelity of
Lucilius

The wonderful attempt of Cleopatra furlongs over. Cleopatra went about to lift her ships out of the one sea, and to hale them over the strait into the other sea: that when her ships were come into the Gulf of Arabia, she might then carry all her gold and silver away, and so with a great company of men go and dwell in some place about the ocean sea far from the sea Mediterranean, to scape the danger and bondage of this war. But now, because the Arabians dwelling about the city of Petra, did burn the first ships that were brought to land, and that Antonius thought that his army by land, which he left at Actium was yet whole: she left off her enterprise, and determined to keep all the ports and passages of her realm. Antonius, he forsook the city and company of his friends, and built him a house in the sea, by the Isle of Pharos, upon certain forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished himself from all men's company: saying That he would lead Timon's life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered unto Timon: and that for the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto, and whom he took to be his friends, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of Athens, that lived about the war of Peloponnesus, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes' comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man unto mankind, to shun all other men's companies, but the company of young Alcibiades, a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast, and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apocemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what he meant to make so much of

that young man alone, and to hate all others : Timon answered him, I do it said he, because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the Athenians. This Timon sometimes would have Apcemantus in his company, because he was much like of his nature and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called Choæ at Athens, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where they make sprinklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apcemantus said unto the other : Oh here is a trim banquet Timon. Timon answered again, Yea said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being assembled in the market-place about despatch of some affairs) got up into the pulpit for orations, where the orators commonly used to speak unto the people : and silence being made, every man listening to hear what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place : at length he began to speak in this manner. My Lords of Athens, I have a little yard in my house where there groweth a fig tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves : and because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the fig tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go hang yourselves. He died in the city of Halæ, and was buried upon the seaside. Now it chanced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tomb round about, that no man could come to it : and upon the same was written this epitaph :

Timon
Misan-
thropus

Antonius'
rioting
after his
over-
throw

Here lies a wretched corpse, of wretched soul bereft,
Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked
wretches left.

It is reported that Timon himself when he lived made this epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the poet Callimachus:

Here lie I Timon who alive all living men did hate,
Pass by, and curse thy fill: but pass, and stay not
here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this little shall suffice at this present. But now to return to Antonius again. Canidius himself came to bring him news, that he had lost all his army by land at Actium: on the other side he was advertised also, that Herodes king of Jewry, who had also certain legions and bands with him, was revolted unto Cæsar, and all the other kings in like manner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forego all his hope, and so to be rid of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitary house he had built by the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra received him into her royal palace. He was no sooner come thither, but he straight set all the city on rioting and banqueting again, and himself to liberality and gifts. He caused the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be enrolled (according to the manner of the Romans) amongst the number of young men: and gave Antyllus, his eldest son he had by Fulvia, the man's gown, the which was a plain gown, without

guard or embroidery of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banqueting, and dancing in Alexandria many days together. Indeed they did break their first order they had set down, which they call Amimetobion, (as much to say, No life comparable) and did set up another, which they called Synapothanumenon (signifying the order and agreement of those that will die together) the which is exceeding sumptuousness, and cost was not inferior to the first. For their friends made themselves to be enrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great feasts one to another: for every man when it came to his turn, feasted their whole company and fraternity. Cleopatra in the meantime was very careful in gathering all sorts of poisons together, to destroy men. Now to make proof of those poisons which made men die with least pain, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poisons that were sudden and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments: and in contrary manner, that such as were more mild and gentle, had not that quick speed and force to make one die suddenly: she afterwards went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sort and some in another. So when she had daily made divers and sundry proofs, she found none of them all she had proved so fit, as the biting of an aspic, the which causeth only a heaviness of the head, without swooning or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleep, with a little sweat in the face, and so by little and little taketh away the senses and vital powers, no living creature perceiving that the patients feel any

Cleopatra
very busy
in proving
the force
of poison

**Antonius
and Cleo-
patra**

pain. For they are so sorry when anybody awaketh them, and taketh them up: as those that being taken out of a sound sleep, are very heavy and desirous to sleep. This notwithstanding, they sent ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realm of Egypt for their children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at Athens like a private man, if Cæsar would not let him remain in Egypt. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were enforced to send Euphronius the schoolmaister of their children. For Alexas Laodicean, who was brought into Antonius' house and favour by means of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, than any other Grecian: (for that he had always been one of Cleopatra's ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well) him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Jewry, hoping still to keep him his friend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he persuaded him to turn to Cæsar: and trusting King Herodes, he presumed to come in Cæsar's presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chains to his own country, and there by Cæsar's commandment put to death. Thus was Alexas in Antonius' lifetime put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, Cæsar would not grant unto Antonius' requests: but for Cleopatra, he made her answer, That he would deny her nothing reasonable, so

that she would either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her country. Therewithal he sent Thyrsus one of his men unto her, a very wise and discreet man, who bringing letters of credit from a young lord unto a noble lady, and that besides greatly liked her beauty, might easily by his eloquence have persuaded her. He was longer in talk with her than any man else was, and the queen her self also did him great honour: in-somuch as he made Antonius jealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well-favouredly whipped, and so sent him unto Cæsar: and bade him tell him that he made him angry with him, because he shewed himself proud and disdainful towards him, and now specially when he was easy to be angered, by reason of his present misery. To be short, If this mislike thee said he, thou hast Hipparchus one of my enfranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whip him at thy pleasure, that we may cry quittance. From thenceforth, Cleopatra to clear her self of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him than ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnise the day of her birth very meanly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: she now in contrary manner did keep it with such solemnity, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousness and magnificence: so that the guests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poor, went away rich. Now things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after another unto Cæsar, prayed him to return to Rome, because the affairs there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did defer the war till the next year

send am-
bassadors
unto
Octavius
Cæsar

**Cleo-
patra's
monu-
ments** following: but when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africk, to make wars against Antonius, and his other captains. When the city of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumour in the city, that Seleucus, by Cleopatra's consent, had surrendered the same. But to clear her self that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus' wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombs and monuments, as well for excellency of workmanship, as for height and greatness of building, joining hard to the temple of Isis. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and precious things she had of the ancient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emeralda, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, and besides all that, a marvellous number of torches, faggots, and flax. So Octavius Cæsar being afraid to lose such a treasure and mass of riches, and that this woman for spite would set it afire, and burn it every whit: he always sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meantime drew near the city with his army. So Cæsar came, and pitched his camp hard by the city, in the place where they run and manage their horses. Antonius made a sally upon him, and fought very valiantly, so that he drave Cæsar's horsemen back, fighting with his men even into their camp. Then he came again to the palace, greatly boasting of this victory, and sweetly kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of arms unto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra to reward his

manliness, gave him an armour and head-piece of clean gold: howbeit the man at arms when he had received this rich gift, stole away by night, and went to Cæsar. Antonius sent again to challenge Cæsar, to fight with him hand to hand. Cæsar answered him, That he had many other ways to die than so. Then Antonius seeing there was no way more honourable for him to die, than fighting valiantly: he determined to set up his rest, both by sea and land. So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commanded his officers and household servants that waited on him at his board, that they should fill his cups full, and make as much of him as they could: For said he, you know not whether you shall do so much for me to-morrow or not, or whether you shall serve another maister: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead body. This notwithstanding, perceiving that his friends and men fell a-weeping to hear him say so: to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, That he would not lead them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to return with victory, than valiantly to die with honour. Furthermore, the self same night within little of midnight, when all the city was quiet, full of fear, and sorrow, thinking what would be the issue and end of this war: it is said that suddenly they heard a marvellous sweet harmony of sundry sorts of instruments of musick, with the cry of a multitude of people, as they had been dancing, and had sung as they used in Bacchus' feasts, with movings and turnings after the manner of the Satyrs: and it seemed that this dance went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies,

set up by
the
temple of
Isis

Antonius'
navy do
yield
them-
selves

and that all the troop that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeit and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by break of day, he went to set those few footmen he had in order upon the hills adjoining unto the city: and there he stood to behold his galleys which departed from the haven, and rowed against the galleys of his enemies, and so stood still, looking what exploit his soldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come near unto them, they first saluted Cæsar's men: and then Cæsar's men re-saluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row towards the city. When Antonius saw that his men did forsake him, and yielded unto Cæsar, and that his footmen were broken and overthrown: he then fled into the city, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them, with whom he had made war for her sake. Then she being afraid of his fury, fled into the tomb which she had caused to be made, and there locked the doors unto her, and shut all the springs of the locks with great bolts, and in the meantime sent unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead. Antonius believing it, said unto himself: What dost thou look for further, Antonius, sith spiteful fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou hadst, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life? when he had said these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed himself, and being naked said thus: O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that

I have lost thy company, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry, that having been so great a captain and emperor, I am indeed condemned to be judged of less courage and noble mind, than a woman. Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to swear unto him, that he should kill him when he did command him: and then he willed him to keep his promise. His man drawing his sword, lift it up as though he had meant to have stricken his master: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into himself, and fell down dead at his master's foot. Then said Antonius, O noble Eros, I thank thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to my self, which thou couldst not do for me. Therewithal he took his sword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell down upon a little bed. The wound he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a little when he was laid: and when he came somewhat to himself again, he prayed them that were about him to despatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting himself: until at last there came a secretary unto him called Diomedes, who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was alive, he very earnestly prayed his men to carry his body thither, and so he was carried in his men's arms into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windows, and cast out certain chains and ropes, in the which Antonius

**Cleopatra
flieth into
her tomb**

A lamentable sight to see was trussed : and Cleopatra her own self, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, triced Antonius up. They that were present to behold it, said they never saw so pitiful a sight. For, they plucked up poor Antonius all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to Cleopatra raised up himself as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up : but Cleopatra stooping down with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much ado, and never let go her hold, with the help of the women beneath that bade her be of good courage, and were as sorry to see her labour so, as she her self. So when she had gotten him in after that sort, and laid him on a bed : she rent her garments upon him, clapping her breast, and scratching her face and stomach. Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her lord, her husband, and emperor, forgetting her own misery and calamity, for the pity and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was athirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had drunk, he earnestly prayed her, and persuaded her, that she would seek to save her life, if she could possible, without reproach and dishonour : and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius above any man else about Cæsar. And as for himself, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his days : but rather that she should think him the more fortunate, for the former triumphs and

The
death of
Antonius

honours he had received, considering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest prince of the world, and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Roman by another Roman. As Antonius gave the last gasp, Proculeius came that was sent from Cæsar. For after Antonius had thrust his sword in himself, as they carried him into the tombs and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his guard called Dercetæus, took his sword with the which he had stricken himself, and hid it: then he secretly stole away, and brought Octavius Cæsar the first news of his death, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied. Cæsar hearing these news, straight withdrew himself into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with tears, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had been his friend and brother-in-law, his equal in the empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battels. Then he called for all his friends, and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his answers also sent him again, during their quarrel and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. After this, he sent Proculeius, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to Rome, she would marvellously beautify and set out his triumph. But Cleopatra would never put herself into Proculeius' hands, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were very thick and strong, and surely barred, but

Cleopatra yet there were some crannies through the which her
taken voice might be heard, and so they without understood, that Cleopatra demanded the kingdom of Egypt for her sons : and that Proculcius answered her, That she should be of good cheer, and not be affrayed to refer all unto Cæsar. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer unto Cæsar. Who immediately sent Gallus to speak once again with her, and bade him purposely hold her with talk, whilst Proculcius did set up a ladder against that high window, by the which Antonius was triced up, and came down into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stood to hear what Gallus said unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her, saw Proculcius by chance as he came down, and shrieked out : O poor Cleopatra, thou art taken. Then when she saw Proculcius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her self in with a short dagger she wore of purpose by her side. But Proculcius came suddenly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her : Cleopatra, first thou shalt do thy self great wrong, and secondly unto Cæsar : to deprive him of the occasion and opportunity, openly to shew his bounty and mercy, and to give his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble prince that ever was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruel and merciless man, that were not to be trusted. So even as he spake the word, he took her dagger from her, and shook her clothes for fear of any poison hidden about her. Afterwards Cæsar sent one of his enfranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom

he straightly charged to look well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her self away: and for the rest, to use her with all the courtesy possible. And for himself, he in the meantime entered the city of Alexandria, and as he went, talked with the philosopher Arrius, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen should reverence him the more, because they saw Cæsar so highly esteem and honour him. Then he went into the shew-place of exercises, and so up to his chair of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commandment, all the people of Alexandria were assembled, who quaking for fear, fell down on their knees before him, and craved mercy. Cæsar bade them all stand up, and told them openly that he forgave the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this war. First, for the founder sake of the same city, which was Alexander the Great: secondly, for the beauty of the city, which he much esteemed and wondered at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his very friend Arrius. Thus did Cæsar honour Arrius, who craved pardon for himself and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters and orators of his time, for present and sudden speech: howbeit he falsely named himself an academic philosopher. Therefore, Cæsar that hated his nature and conditions, would not hear his suit. Thereupon he let his grey beard grow long, and followed Arrius step by step in a long mourning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek verse:

Cæsar
took
Alex-
andria

A wise man if that he be wise indeed,
May by a wise man have the better speed.

**Cæsarion
put to
death**

Cæsar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his fear, as to rid Arrius of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching Antonius' sons, Antyllus, his eldest son by Fulvia was slain, because his schoolmaster Theodorus did betray him unto the soldiers, who strake off his head. And the villain took a precious stone of great value from his neck, the which he did sew in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, and so Cæsar trussed him up for it. For Cleopatra's children, they were very honourably kept, with their governors and train that waited on them. But for Cæsarion, who was said to be Julius Cæsar's son: his mother Cleopatra had sent him unto the Indians through Ethiopia, with a great sum of money. But one of his governors also called Rhodon, even such another as Theodorus, persuaded him to return into his country, and told him that Cæsar sent for him to give him his mother's kingdom. So, as Cæsar was determining with himself what he should do, Arrius said unto him:

Too many Cæsars is not good.

Alluding unto a certain verse of Homer that saith:

Too many lords doth not well.

Therefore Cæsar did put Cæsarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra. Many princes, great kings and captains did crave Antonius' body of Octavius Cæsar, to give him honourable burial: but Cæsar would never take it from Cleopatra, who

did sumptuously and royally bury him with her own hands, whom Cæsar suffered to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funerals. Now was she altogether overcome with sorrow and passion of mind, for she had knocked her breast so pitifully, that she had martyred it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflammations, so that she fell into a fever withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to abstain from meat, and that so she might have died easily without any trouble. She had a physician called Olympus, whom she made privy of her intent, to the end he should help her to rid her out of her life: as Olympus writeth himself, who wrote a book of all these things. But Cæsar mistrusted the matter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in fear, and threatened her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, Cleopatra for fear yielded straight, as she would have yielded unto strokes: and afterwards suffered her self to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, Cæsar came himself in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra being laid upon a little low bed in poor state, when she saw Cæsar come into her chamber, she suddenly rose up, naked in her smock, and fell down at his feet marvellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her hair from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nails, and besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunk into her head with continual blubbing and moreover, they might see the most part of her stomach torn in sunder. To be short, her body was not much better than her mind: yet her good grace and

Cæsar
comes to
see Cleo-
patra

Cleo-
patra's
words
unto
Cæsar

comeliness, and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ugly and pitiful state of hers, yet she shewed her self within, by her outward looks and countenance. When Cæsar had made her lie down again, and sat by her bedside: Cleopatra began to clear and excuse her self for that she had done, laying all to the fear she had of Antonius: Cæsar, in contrary manner, reprov'd her in every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to die, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a brief and memorial of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood Seleucus by, one of her treasurers, who to seem a good servant, came straight to Cæsar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and took him by the hair of the head, and boxed him well-favouredly. Cæsar fell a-laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O Cæsar: is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou having vouchsafed to take the pains to come unto me, and hast done me this honour, poor wretch, and caitiff creature, brought into this pitiful and miserable state: and that mine own servants should come now to accuse me, though it may be I have reserved some jewels and trifles meet for women, but not for me (poor soul) to set out my self withal, but meaning to give some pretty presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they making means and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me? Cæsar was glad to hear her

say so, persuading himself thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, That he did not only give her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept back, but further promised to use her more honourably and bountifully than she would think for : and so he took his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself. There was a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cæsar's very great familiars, and besides did bear no evil will unto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that Cæsar determined to take his journey through Syria, and that within three days he would send her away before with her children. When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Cæsar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, unto the soul of Antonius. This being granted her, she was carried to the place where his tomb was, and there falling down on her knees, embracing the tomb with her women, the tears running down her cheeks, she began to speak in this sort : "O my dear lord Antonius, not long sithence I buried thee here, being a freewoman : and now I offer unto thee the funeral sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blows, which they carefully guard and keep, only to triumph of thee : look therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, sith now they carry her away. Whilst we lived together, nothing could sever our companies : but now at our death, I

Her
lamenta-
tion over
Antonius'
tomb

Cleopatra fear me they will make us change our countries.
killed For as thou being a Roman, hast been buried in Egypt: even so wretched creature I, an Egyptian, shall be buried in Italy, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authority, sith our gods here have forsaken us: suffer not thy true friend and lover to be carried away alive, that in me, they triumph of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one self tomb with thee. For though my griefs and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could less bear withal: than this small time, which I have been driven to live alone without thee." Then having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tomb with garlands and sundry nosegays, and marvellous lovingly embraced the same: she commanded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed her self, she fell to her meat, and was sumptuously served. Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a countryman, and brought her a basket. The soldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and took out the leaves that covered the figs, and shewed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figs. The countryman laughed to hear them, and bade them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bade him carry them in. After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certain table written and sealed unto Cæsar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombs where she was, but the two women, then she shut the doors to her. Cæsar

when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himself: howbeit he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sodain. For those whom Cæsar sent unto her ran thither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors, they found Cleopatra stark dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet: and her other woman called Charmion half-dead, and trembling, trimming the diadem which Cleopatra wore upon her head. One of the soldiers seeing her, angrily said unto her: Is that well done Charmion? Very well said she again, and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble kings. She said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report that this aspic was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leaves, that when she should think to take out the figs, the aspic should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would have taken away the leaves for the figs, she perceived it, and said, Art thou here then? And so, her arm being naked, she put it to the aspic to be bitten. Others say again, she kept it in a box, and that she did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the aspic being angered withal, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arm. How-

with the
biting of
an aspick

The noble
mind of
Octavia

beit few can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poison in a hollow razor which she carried in the hair of her head: and yet was there no mark seen of her body, or any sign discerned that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this serpent in her tomb. But it was reported only, that there were seen certain fresh steps or tracks where it had gone, on the tomb side toward the sea, and specially by the door side. Some say also, that they found two little pretty bitings in her arm, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Cæsar himself gave credit unto, because in his triumph he carried Cleopatra's image, with an asp biting of her arm. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Cæsar, though he was marvellous sorry for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commanded she should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should have honourable burial. Cleopatra died being eight-and-thirty years old, after she had reigned two-and-twenty years, and governed above fourteen of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three-and-fifty years: and others say, six-and-fifty. All his statues, images, and metals, were plucked down and overthrown, saving those of Cleopatra which stood still in their places, by means of Archibius one of her friends, who gave Cæsar a thousand talents that they should not be handled, as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seven children by three wives, of the which, Cæsar did put Antyllus, the eldest son he had by Fulvia, to death. Octavia his wife took all the rest, and brought them up with hers,

and married Cleopatra, Antonius' daughter, unto King Juba, a marvellous courteous and goodly prince. And Antonius, the son of Fulvia came to be so great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Cæsar, and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a son also called Marcellus: Cæsar married his daughter unto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his son. And Octavia also married one of her daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had been married a while, Octavia perceiving that her brother Cæsar was very busy to choose some one among his friends, whom he trusted best to make his son-in-law: she persuaded him, that Agrippa should marry his daughter, (Marcellus' widow) and leave her own daughter. Cæsar first was contented withal, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards took away her daughter and married her unto Antonius, and Agrippa married Julia, Cæsar's daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octavia and Antonius. Domitius Ahenobarbus married the one: and the other, which was Antonia, so fair and vertuous a young lady, was married unto Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law of Cæsar. Of this marriage came Germanicus and Claudius: of the which, Claudius afterwards came to be emperor. And of the sons of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius, came also to be emperor: who, after he had licentiously reigned a time, was slain, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also, having a son by her first husband Ahenobarbus

Of
Antonius'
issue
came
emperors

Nero called Lucius Domitius : was afterwards married unto Claudius, who adopted her son, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was emperor in our time, and slew his own mother, had almost destroyed the empire of Rome, through his madness and wicked life, being the fifth emperor of Rome after Antonius.

THE COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS WITH ANTONIUS

Now, sithence it falleth out, that Demetrius and Antonius were one of them much like to the other, having fortune alike divers and variable unto them: let us therefore come to consider their power and authority, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certain that Demetrius' power and greatness fell unto him by inheritance from his father Antigonus: who became the greatest and mightiest prince of all the successors of Alexander, and had won the most part of Asia, before Demetrius came of full age. Antonius in contrary manner, born of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of war, and had not left him any means to arise to such greatness: durst take upon him to contend for the empire with Cæsar, that had no right unto it by inheritance, but yet made himself successor of the power, the which the other by great pain and travail had obtained, and by his own industry became so great, without the help of any other: that the empire of the whole world being divided into two parts, he had the one half, and took that of the greatest countenance and power. Antonius being absent, oftentimes overcame the Parthians in battell by his lieutenants, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about Mount Caucasus, unto the sea Hyrcanium, insomuch as the thing they most

The
power of
Deme-
trius and
Antonius

Their ambition to govern reprove him for, did most witness his greatness. For, Demetrius' father made him gladly marry Phila, Antipater's daughter, although she was too old for him: because she was of a nobler house than himself. Antonius on the other side was blamed for marrying of Cleopatra, a queen that for power and nobility of blood, excelled all other kings in her time, but Arsaces: and moreover made himself so great, that others thought him worthy of greater things, than he himself required. Now for the desire that moved the one and the other to conquer realms: the desire of Demetrius was unblamable and just, desiring to reign over people, which had been governed at all times, and desired to be governed by kings. But Antonius' desire was altogether wicked and tyrannical: who sought to keep the people of Rome in bondage and subjection, but lately before rid of Cæsar's reign and government. For the greatest and most famous exploit Antonius ever did in wars (to wit, the war in the which he overthrew Cassius and Brutus) was begun to no other end, but to deprive his countrymen of their liberty and freedom. Demetrius in contrary manner, before fortune had overthrown him, never left to set Greece at liberty, and to drive the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bondage: and not like Antonius, that boasted he had slain them that had set Rome at liberty. The chiefest thing they commended in Antonius, was his liberality and bounty: in the which Demetrius excelled him so far, that he gave more to his enemies, than Antonius did to his friends: although he was marvellously well thought of, for the honourable and sumptuous funeral he gave unto Brutus'

body. Howbeit Demetrius caused all his enemies be buried that were slain in battell, and returned unto Ptolemy all the prisoners he had taken, with great gifts and presents he gave them. They were both in their prosperity, very riotously and licentiously given: but yet no man can ever say, that Demetrius did at any time let slip any opportunity or occasion to follow great matters, but only gave himself indeed to pleasure, when he had nothing else to do. And further, to say truly, he took pleasure of Lamia, as a man would have a delight to hear one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to do, or is desirous to sleep: but indeed when he was to make any preparation for war, he had not then ivy at his darts' end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of the ladies' closets, picked and prinkt to go to battell: but he let all dancing and sporting alone, and became as the poet Euripides saith:

Their
liberality
and
bounty

The soldier of Mars, cruel, and bloody.

But to conclude, he never had overthrow or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to follow his own pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where Omphalé secretly stealeth away Hercules' club, and took his lion's skin from him. Even so Cleopatra oftentimes unarmed Antonius, and enticed him to her, making him lose matters of great importance, and very needful journeys, to come and be dandled with her, about the rivers of Canobus, and Taphosiris. In the end, as Paris fled from the battell, and went to hide himself in Helen's arms: even so did he in Cleopatra's arms, or to speak more properly, Paris hid himself in

Their wives Helen's closet, but Antonius to follow Cleopatra, fled and lost the victory. Furthermore, Demetrius had many wives that he had married, and all at one time: the which was not disallowable or not forbidden by the kings of Macedon, but had been used from Philip and Alexander's time, as also King Lysimachus and Ptolemy had, and did honour all them that he married. But Antonius first of all married two wives together, the which never Roman durst do before, but himself. Secondly, he put away his first Roman wife, which he had lawfully married, for the love of a strange woman, he fondly fell in fancy withal, and contrary to the laws and ordinances of Rome. And therefore Demetrius' marriages never hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wives: but Antonius contrarily was undone by his wives. Of all the lascivious parts Antonius played, none were so abominable, as this only fact of Demetrius. For the historians write, That they would not suffer dogs to come into the castle of Athens, because of all beasts he is too busy with bitchery: and Demetrius, in Minerva's temple it self lay with courtesans, and there defiled many citizens' wives. And besides all this, the horrible vice of cruelty, which a man would think were least mingled with these wanton delights, is joined with Demetrius' concupiscence: who suffered, (or more properly compelled) the goodliest young boy of Athens, to die a most pitiful death, to save himself from violence, being taken. And to conclude, Antonius by his incontinence, did no hurt but to himself: and Demetrius did hurt unto all others. Demetrius never hurt any of his

friends: and Antonius suffered his uncle by his mother's side to be slain, that he might have his will of Cicero to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruel of it self, that he hardly deserved to have been pardoned, though he had killed Cicero, to have saved his uncle's life. Now where they falsified and brake their oaths, the one making Artabazus prisoner, and the other killing of Alexander: Antonius out of doubt had best cause, and justest colour. For Artabazus had betrayed him, and forsaken him in Media. But Demetrius (as divers do report) devised a false matter to accuse Alexander, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some think he did accuse him, to whom he himself had done injury unto: and was not revenged of him, that would do him injury. Furthermore, Demetrius himself did noble feats of war, as we have recited of him before: and contrarily Antonius, when he was not there in person, wan many famous and great victories by his lieutenants: and were both overthrown being personally in battell, but yet not both after one sort. For the one was forsaken of his men being Macedonians, and the other contrarily forsook his that were Romans: for he fled, and left them that ventured their lives for his honour. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beastly left them that loved him best, and were most faithful to him. And for their deaths, a man cannot praise the one nor the other, but yet Demetrius' death the more reproachful. For he suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and when he was sent away to be kept in a strange

**Their
 love and
 impiety,
 faith and
 falsehood**

Their place, he had the heart to live yet three years longer,
deaths to serve his mouth and belly, as brute beasts
do. Antonius on the other side slew him-
self, (to confess a truth) cowardly,
and miserably, to his great pain
and grief: and yet was it
before his body came
into his ene-
mies' hands.

THE END OF ANTONIUS' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF ARTAXERXES

ARTAXERXES, the first of this name of all the kings of Persia, a noble and courteous prince as any of all his house : was surnamed Longhand, because his right hand was longer than his left, and he was the son of King Xerxes. But the second, whose life we presently intend to write, was surnamed Mnemon, as much to say, Great memory : and he was the son of the daughter of the first Artaxerxes. For King Darius, and his wife Parysatis, had four sons of the which, the eldest was this Artaxerxes, the second Cyrus, and two other younger, Ostances and Oxathres. Cyrus from the beginning bare the name of the former ancient Cyrus, which in the Persian tongue signifieth the sun. But Artaxerxes was called before Arsicas, although Dinon writeth, that he was called Oarses. Howbeit it is unlikely that Ctesias (although his books otherwise be full of fables, and as untrue as they are found) should forget the name of the prince with whom he dwelt, whom he served, and continually followed, both him, his wife, and children. Cyrus from his cradle was of a hot stirring mind, and Artaxerxes in contrary manner, more mild and gentle in all his actions and doings. He was married to a very fair lady, by his father and mother's commandment : and afterwards kept her against their wills, being for-

The
parent-
age of
Arta-
xerxes

Cyrus
and Ar-
taxerxes

bidden by them. For King Darius his father, having put his son's wife's brother to death, he would also have put her to death: but her husband with tears made such humble suit to his mother for her, that with much ado, he did not only get pardon for her life, but grant also that she should not be put from him. This notwithstanding, his mother always loved Cyrus better than him, and prayed that he might be king after his father's death. Wherefore Cyrus being in his provinces of Asia by the seaside, when he was sent for to come to the court, at what time his father lay sick of the disease he died: he went thither in good hope his mother had prevailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heir of the realm of Persia. For his mother Parysatis alleged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did help King Xerxes in the like case, through Damaratus' counsel. She said that Arsicas was born before her husband Darius was king, and Cyrus after he was crowned king. All this could not prevail. For her eldest son Arsicas, surnamed Artaxerxes, was assigned king of Persia, and Cyrus governor of Lydia, and the king's lieutenant-general of all the low countries of Asia towards the seaside. Shortly after King Darius' death, the new king Artaxerxes went unto Pasargades, there to be consecrated and anointed king, by the priests of the country of Persia. The place of this Pasargades, is a temple dedicated unto Minerva the goddess of battels, as I take it: where the new king must be consecrated, and when he cometh into the temple, he putteth off his gown, and putteth on that which the old ancient Cyrus wore before he was king. Furthermore, he

must eat of a certain tart or fricassee made of figs with turpentine: and then he must drink a drink made with vinegar and milk. There are also certain other secret ceremonies which they must keep, and none do know, but the very priests themselves. Now Artaxerxes being ready to enter into all these ceremonies, Tisaphernes came unto him, and brought him one of the priests that had been Cyrus' schoolmaister in his youth, and had taught him magic, who by reason should have been more offended than any man else, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cause why they believed him the better, when he accused Cyrus. For he said that Cyrus had conspired treason against the king his brother's own person, and that he meant traitorously to kill him in the temple, when he should put off his gown. Some do report, that Cyrus was apprehended upon this simple accusation by word of mouth. Others write also, that Cyrus came into the temple, and hiding himself, he was taken with the manner, and bewrayed by the priest. So as he was going to suffer death, his mother took Cyrus in her arms, and wound the hair of her head about his neck, and tied him straightly to her: and withal she wept so bitterly, and made such pitiful moan unto the king her son, that through her intercession, the king granted him his life, and sent him again into his country and government. But this satisfied not Cyrus, neither did he so much remember the king his brother's favour unto him, in granting him his life, as he did the despite he had offered him, to be made prisoner. Insomuch that for this grudge and evil will, he ever after had a greater desire than before to be king. Some writers allege, that he

Cyrus
lay in
wait to
kill Ar-
taxerxes

Arta- entered into actual rebellion against his brother by
xerxes force of arms, because he had not sufficient revenue
courteous to defray the ordinary expenſe of his houſe : how-
 beit it is a mere folly to ſay ſo. For though he had
 had no other help but his mother, he might have
 had of her what he would have taken, and deſired.
 Again, to ſhew that of himſelf he had ability
 enough : we need but allege the ſoldiers and
 ſtrangers he gave pay unto, in divers places, as
 Xenophon writeth. For he brought them not all
 together into one army, becauſe he deſired to keep
 his enterpriſe as ſecret as he could : but he had
 friends and ſervants that levied them in divers places,
 and under divers colours. And furthermore, he had
 his mother always about the king, that cleared all
 ſuſpicions conceived againſt him. He himſelf alſo
 on the other ſide, whiſt he made theſe preparations,
 wrote very humbly unto his brother, ſome time
 aſking ſomewhat of him, and another time accuſing
 Tiſaphernes : all to blind the king, to make him
 think that he bent all his malice and ſpite againſt
 him : beſides that, the king of his own nature was
 ſomewhat dull, and ſlow, which the common people
 thought to proceed of his courteſy and good nature.
 At his firſt coming to the crown, he followed the
 firſt Artaxerxes' goodneſs and courteſy, by whom
 he had his name. For he gave more eaſy audience
 unto ſuiters, he did alſo more honourably reward
 and recompenſe thoſe that had deſerved well : and
 he uſed ſuch moderation in puniſhing of offenders,
 that it appeared he did it not of any malicious mind
 and deſire of revenge, nor yet of will to hurt any
 man. When he had anything given him, he took
 it as thankfully, as they offered it him, and did as

willingly and frankly also give again. For, how little a thing soever was offered him, he took it well. And it is reported that one Romises on a time presented him a marvellous fair pomegranate. By the sun, said he, this man in a short time of a little town would make a great city, he that would make him governor of it. Another time there was a poor labourer seeing every man give the king a present; some one thing, some another as he passed by them: he having nothing at hand to give him, ran to the river-side, and took both his hands full of water, and came and offered it him. King Artaxerxes was so glad of it, that he sent him in a cup of massive gold, a thousand daricks, which were pieces of gold so named, because the image of Darius was stamped upon them. And unto one Euclidas a Lacedæmonian, that presumed to give him bold words, it pleased him to answer him by one of his captains: Thou mayest say what thou list, and I as king, may say and do what I list. Another time as he was a-hunting, Tiribazus shewed the king his gown that was all-to-tattered: Well, said the king, and what wouldst thou have me to do? Tiribazus answered him, I pray your Grace take another, and give me that you have on. The king did so, and told him: Tiribazus, I give thee my gown, but I command thee not to wear it. Tiribazus took it, and cared not for the king's commandment that he should not wear it, not that he was any evil-disposed man, but because he was a fond light-headed fellow that cared for nothing: thereupon he straight put the king's gown on his back, and not contented therewith, he did besides set on many jewels of gold which kings only are

Sayings
of Arta-
xerxes

Cyrus
maketh
war

went to wear, and women's trinkets and ornaments. Therewithal every man in the court murmured at him, because it was a presumption, directly against the laws and ordinances of Persia. Howbeit the king but laughed at it, and told him: I give thee leave Tiribazus to wear those women's gawds as a woman, and the king's robe as a fool. Furthermore, where the manner was in Persia that no person sat at the king's board, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother sat uppermost, and his wife lowermost: Artaxerxes made his two brethren Ostanes and Oxathres sit at his own board. But yet he pleased the Persians best of all, because he was content his wife Statira should sit openly in her chariot, and that she might be seen and revered by the other ladies of the country. And this made him singularly beloved of the people. Now, such as desired innovation and change, and that could not away with quiet life: they gave out that the realm of Persia required such a prince as Cyrus, that was liberal of nature, given to arms, and greatly rewarded his servants, and that the greatness of the empire of Persia stood in need of a king, whose mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterprises. So Cyrus thereupon began to make war upon his brother, not only trusting unto them that were of the low countries about him, but hoping of those also in the high provinces near unto the king. Furthermore he wrote also unto the Lacedæmonians, to pray them to send him men of war, promising to give the footmen they sent, horses: and the horsemen, coaches: landed men, whole villages: and to those that had villages, to give

them cities. Besides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that should serve him in this war, he would not pay them by account, but by full measure. And boasting largely of himself, he said he had a greater mind than his brother, that he could better away with hardness than he, that he understood magic better than he, and that he could drink more wine than he, and carry it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was so womanish and fearful, that when he went a-hunting, he durst scarce get up upon his horse back: and when he went to the wars, he would hardly take his chariot. When the Lacedæmonians had read his letters, they sent a little scroll unto Clearchus, commanding him to obey Cyrus in anything he would command him. So Cyrus did set forward to make war against his brother, having levied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of Grecians, little less than thirteen thousand men: sometime advertising one cause, sometime another, why he levied such a multitude of men. But his purpose could not long be dissembled: for Tisaphernes went himself unto the court, to bring news of his attempt. Then all the court was straight in an uproar withal. Many men also did accuse the queen mother, for the practice of this war, and all her friends and servants were vehemently suspected to be conspirators with Cyrus: but the greatest thing that troubled Parysatis most, was Queen Statira her daughter-in-law, who stormed marvellously to see this war begun against King Artaxerxes her husband, and incessantly cried out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedst by oath? whereto are

against
his
brother

Women's
quarrels

thy intercessions come thou madest, for the pardon of his life : who now conspireth his brother's death ? By saving of his life, art not thou now the cause of this war and troubles we see at hand ? After this reproach and shame received by Statira, Parysatis, being a cruel and malicious woman of nature, so hated her, that from thenceforth she sought all the ways she could to put her to death. And Dion the Historiographer saith, That during this war, she did execute her wicked purpose upon her : but Ctesias writeth, that it was after the war. And therefore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of Persia's court, should certainly know the time when she did execute her treason against her, and also there is no cause why he should rather write it in any other time, than in that in the which the fact was done : although in many other places he commonly useth to fitten, and to write devices of his own head. Therefore let us leave the report of this fact to the self same time and place as he hath written it. Now when Cyrus drew near unto his brother's country, he had news, and a rumour ran through his camp, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him so soon : and that he meant first to go further into Persia, and to tarry there till he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proof hereof, the king having cast a great trench of ten yards broad, and as many high, the space of four hundred furlongs in length : he left it without guard, and let Cyrus win it, who came on further without any resistance, even to the very city self of Babylon. Howbeit in the end, Tiribazus (as it is reported) was the first man that durst tell the king, that he should not fly fight in

that sort, nor hide himself in the farthest part of Persia, leaving his enemy the realms of Media, Babylon, and Susa: considering also that he had many more soldiers in readiness than his enemy, and an infinite number of captains more skilful, and abler to give counsel, and to fight, than he was. These words of Tiribazus made the king alter his mind, and to determine to give battell as soon as he could. Thereupon he marched forward against his enemy, with nine hundred thousand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That marvellously astonished Cyrus' men, and made them afraid at the first, when they saw them in so excellent good order before them: for that they were dispersed straggling here and there without any order, and men unarmed, trusting too much in themselves, in despising of their enemy: so that Cyrus had much ado to set his men in battell ray, and yet was it with great noise and tumult. But the Grecians wondered most of all other, when they saw the king's army march in so good order of battell without any noise. For they thought to have seen a wonderful great disorder and confusion, in such an infinite multitude of people: and supposed they would have made such a noise, that one of them should not have heard another. Where indeed to the contrary, all was so well marshalled, specially because he had placed before his battell the best carts he had armed with scythes, and drawn with the strongest and biggest great horse he had in all his army: hoping by the fierceness and fury of their career, to break into the ranks of the enemies, before they could come to join with theirs. But sith this battell is

Arta-
kerkes'
army

**Clearchus
reproved**

described by divers historiographers, but specially by Xenophon, who hath (as a man would say) lively set it out to the eye, and setteth it forth to the reader, not as a battell already fought, but presently a-fighting, stirring up their minds as if themselves were in the action and instant danger, he hath so passingly set it down: it were but a folly therefore of me to take upon me to make any further description of it, saving to touch some special points worthy of note, which he peradventure hath left out. As, the place where the battell was fought, is called Cunaxa, five hundred furlongs from Babylon: and how that before the battell, Clearchus gave Cyrus counsel to keep behind the squadron of the Grecians, and not to hazard his person among the first: and that Cyrus answered him, What sayest thou Clearchus? wouldst thou have me that strives to be king, to shew my self unworthy to be a king? But Cyrus having made this fault, not standing upon his safety and guard, but over-rashly thrusting himself into great danger: Clearchus self also committed as great a fault (if it were not worse) when he would not set his men in order directly against the battell of the enemies, where the king's person stood, but went and pent them up by the river-side, being afraid lest they should have been compassed in behind. For if he would have looked so straightly to himself, and have provided every way for his safety, that no man might come to hurt him: he should have kept himself at home, and not have stirred one foot out of the doors. But sith he had come so far, as from the low countries of Asia, unto the place where the field was fought, and uncompelled, only to put Cyrus in his father's

seat and imperial crown, to go choose a place in the battell, not where he might do his lord best service that had hired him, but rather where he might fight more at his ease, and at less danger: it was even as much, as if through cowardliness his wits had been taken from him when he should have fought, or that through treason he had forsaken his enterprize. For, to prove that the troops which were about the king's person, had never been able to have received the charge of the Grecians, and that those being overthrown, the king had been slain in the field, or else forced to fly, and that Cyrus had won the field, and by this victory had been king: the success of this battell doth plainly shew it. And therefore Clearchus' over-curious respect, deserved more blame for the loss of this battell: than Cyrus' overhardiness. For if King Artaxerxes would have chosen or wished a place where the Grecians might have done him less hurt: he could not have devised a fitter place that was so far from him, and from whence the Grecians could neither see nor hear what was done where he was, as it fell out in sequel. For Cyrus was slain before he could prevail by Clearchus' victory, he was so far from him: and furthermore, Cyrus therein knew before what was meetest to be done. For he commanded Clearchus to place himself with his company in the midst of the battell: who answered him, He should take no thought for nothing, for he would see all things well ordered. And when he had said so, he marred all afterwards: for where the Grecians were, they overthrew the barbarous people, that made head against them, and had them in chase while they were weary of following of them. Cyrus

for
cowardli-
ness

Cyrus being mounted upon a hot stirring horse, that had a
slew hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called
Artager- Pasacas, as Ctesias writeth: Artageres, the gover-
gerses nor of the province of the Cadusians, spied him afar
 off, and when he had found him, clapped spurs to
 his horse, and came with full career unto him, and
 cried out: O traitor, and most unfaithful and des-
 perate man, thou now dishonourest the name of
 Cyrus (which is the goodliest and most honourablest
 name of all the Persians) for that thou hast brought
 so valiant Grecians hither to so wicked an enter-
 prise, to spoil the Persians' goods, in hope to destroy
 thy sovereign lord and only brother, who hath an
 infinite number of slaves and servants far honestest
 men than thou wilt be while thou livest, and that
 thou shalt presently know by proof, for thou shalt
 die before thou see the king thy brother's face:
 and therewithal he threw his dart at him with all
 the force he had. But Cyrus' armour was so good,
 that it pierced him not: yet the blow came with
 such good-will, that it made him stagger on his
 horse back. When Artageres had given him
 that blow, he presently turned his horse. But
 Cyrus therewithal threw a dart at him so happily,
 that he slew him right in the place above the bone
 that joineth the two shoulders together: so that the
 head of his dart, ran quite through his neck. Now,
 that Cyrus slew Artageres with his own hands in
 the field, all the historiographers do agree upon
 it: but for the death of Cyrus, because Xenophon
 toucheth it but a little by the way, for that he was
 not present in the very place where he was slain:
 it shall not be hurtful particularly to set down the
 manner thereof, both according to the report of

Dion, and also of Ctesias. First, Dion writeth, that after Cyrus had slain Artageres, he went with great fury, and flew in amongst the troop of them which were nearest unto the king's person, and that he came so near the king, that he slew his horse stark dead under him, and the king fell to the ground withal. But Tiribazus that was hard by him, straight mounted the king again upon another horse, and said unto him: Your grace will remember this battle another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And Cyrus clapping spurs again to his horse, threw another dart at Artaxerxes, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king told them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather die than suffer it: so therewithal he spurring his horse to charge Cyrus (who came fiercely and desperately, having an infinite number of blows with darts thrown at him on every side) threw his dart at him also. So did all those that were about his person: and so was Cyrus slain in this conflict. Some say, that he was slain with the wound the king his brother gave him. Others say, that it was a man at arms of the country of Caria, unto whom the king for reward of his good service, gave him the honour in all battells to carry before the first rank, a cock of gold on the top of a spear: for the Persians do call the Carians cocks, because in the wars they used to wear crests in the top of their headpieces. And this is Dion's report. But Ctesias, to couch in few words that which Dion reporteth at large, saith: That Cyrus after he had slain Artageres, he galloped on the spur against the king himself, and the king against him, and not a word between them both. Ariæus one of Cyrus'

Dion's
report of
Cyrus'
death

Arta-
xerxes
hurt by
Cyrus

flatterers, threw the first dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force again threw his dart, thinking to have hit Cyrus, but he missed him, and slew Tisaphernes, one of the valiantest and stoutest men Cyrus had about him, and so fell down dead. Then Cyrus hit Artaxerxes so sore a blow on his breast, that he pierced his armour, and entered into his flesh two fingers deep. The king with this blow fell down to the ground: wherewithal the most part of his men about him were so afraid, that they forsook him and fled. Howbeit he got up again, with the help of others that were about him, amongst whom Ctesias said he was one: and so recovered a little hill not far off, to take a little breath. In the meantime, Cyrus' horse that was hot in the mouth, and hard headed as we have told you: carried his maister spite of his heart far from his men, among his enemies, and no man knew him, because it was night, and his men were very busy in seeking for him. But Cyrus hoping he had won the victory, being of a hot stirring nature, and valiant: he went up and down in the thickest of his enemies, crying out in the Persian tongue, Save your selves poor men, save your selves. When they heard him say so, some made a lane for him to pass by them, and did him reverence: but by evil fortune his tiara (which is the high royal hat after the Persian manner) fell off from his head. Then a young Persian called Mithridates, passing by him, hit him a blow with his dart upon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound straight fell on a marvellous bleeding. Whereupon, Cyrus staggering at it, fell to the ground in a swoon, and

his horse ran away from him : but the caparison he had upon him fell to the ground all bloodied, and his page that had hurt him, took it up. Shortly after Cyrus being come to himself again, some of his eunuchs (which were men gelt, and grooms of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him up, thinking to set him upon another horse, and to get him out of the press : but he was not able to sit on his horse. Thereupon he proved if he could better go afoot, and the eunuchs held him up by the arms, and led him amazed as he was, not able to stand on his feet, although he thought he had won the battell : because he heard his enemies flying about him cry, The gods save king Cyrus, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receive them to mercy. But in the meantime, there came certain poor men of the city of Caunus, who followed the king's camp, getting their living as drudges and slaves, to do most vile service. They joined with the troop where Cyrus was, supposing they had been the king's men : but when they perceived in the end by the red coats they wore upon their armours, that they were enemies, for that the king's men wore white coats : there was one among the rest that valiantly struck at Cyrus behind with his partisan, not knowing indeed that it was Cyrus. The blow lighted full on the ham of his leg and cut his sinews so, that Cyrus fell withal, and falling, by misfortune fell upon a great stone with his brow, where he had been hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth Ctesias report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his throat with a dull-edged knife, he hath such ado to bring Cyrus to his end. Now after Cyrus was dead, Artasyras, one of King Artaxerxes'

Cyrus'
miserable
deceasy

Artaxerxes eunuchs, whom they called the king's eye in the court: passing by a-horseback, knew Cyrus' eunuchs that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their master. So he asked the eunuch whom Cyrus loved best: Who is that that is dead, O Pariscas, that thou weepest so bitterly? Pariscas answered him again, Seest thou not Artasyras, that it is Cyrus but newly dead? Artasyras wondered much when he saw him. So he comforted the eunuch, and willed him in no case to go from the body: and in the meantime he galloped apace to the king, who thought he had lost all, and was very ill besides, both for the great thirst he suffered, as also for his wound he had on his breast. Now when the eunuch came unto the king, and told him with a smiling countenance the news, how he had seen Cyrus dead: the king was so joyful at the news, that he was desirous himself forthwith to go unto the place where he lay to see him, and commanded Artasyras to bring him thither. But after he had considered better of it, he was counselled not to go thither himself for fear of the Grecians, who they said won all, and were yet chasing and killing them in the field, that fled: but rather that he should send a good company of men thither, to bring him just report, whether the news were true of his death or not. Upon this advice he stayed, and sent thither thirty men, every man with torches in their hands. In the meantime, one of his eunuchs called Satibarzanes, ran up and down to see if he could get any water for the king, that was almost dead for thirst: for there was no water near unto him where he was, and besides, his camp was far from him. His eunuch having run up and down a great way to seek it, met by chance

with these poor slaves and porters the Caunians, among the which one of them carried in an old ragged goat's skin, about eight glassfuls of naughty stinking water. So he presently carried the same to the king, who drank it up every whit. When the king had drunk it, the eunuch asked him, If that naughty water did him no hurt. The king swore by the gods unto him, That he never drank better wine, nor sweeter water than that was, nor that pleased him better than that did: and therefore, said he, I beseech the gods if it be not my hap to find him that gave thee this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to send him good fortune. As the king was talking thus with his eunuch, the thirty men with their torches returned unto him, who altogether with joyful countenance, confirmed the good news he looked not for: and then there were come together again a great number of soldiers about him, and still came more one after another, that he began again to be courageous. Then he came down into the plain, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went straight to the place where his brother Cyrus' body lay. There, following the ancient manner of the Persians against traitors to the king: he caused his head and right hand to be stricken off, and then made his head be brought unto him, the which he took by the hairs of his head (for Cyrus wore them long and thick) and did himself shew it unto them that fled still, and were afraid, to encourage them again. They wondering to see it, did him humble reverence, and so gathered by companies about the king, that in a small time there were gathered together about him, three-score and ten thousand fighting men, with the which he

Arta-
xerxes
takes
courage

How Artaxerxes rewarded the good took his way again towards the camp. Indeed Ctesias saith, That he had but four hundred thousand fighting men in all : but Dinon and Xenophon say more. And for the number of them that were slain, Ctesias saith, That word was brought to the king, that there were not above nine thousand slain, howbeit that to sight they seemed to be no less than twenty thousand. But for that point, he might be talked withal, in either of both. But furthermore, where he saith that the king did send him with Phaëllus Zacynthian unto the Grecians, and others with him : that is a flat lie. For Xenophon knew right well, that this Ctesias waited upon the king, because he speaketh of him in divers places of his history : and if he had been appointed by the king to carry report unto the Grecians of so weighty a matter, it is like enough Xenophon would not have concealed it, when he nameth Phaëllus Zacynthian. But Ctesias (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, and partial unto the Lacedæmonians, but specially unto Clearchus : and is glad when he can get any occasion to speak of himself for his glory, of Lacedæmon, and of Clearchus. Now after this battell, King Artaxerxes sent goodly rich gifts unto Artagerses' son, whose father Cyrus had slain with his own hands, and as it is reported, did also greatly honour Ctesias and many others : and did not forget also to cause the poor Caunian slave to be sought out, that had given him the water to be carried to him which saved his life : and when he had found him out, of a poor wretch unknown before, he made him a rich nobleman. He severely punished those also that had offended the martial law, as amongst others, Arbaces, one of the Medes :

who when the battell was joined, he fled first on Cyrus' side, and then when he understood he was slain, he returned again to the king's side. For, supposing that it was rather timorousness and cowardly nature, than for treason or evil will he bare him: he compelled him to carry a whore on his back stark naked, all day long about the market-place. And to another, who besides he had yielded himself to his enemies, falsely boasted that he had slain two: he made his tongue to be bored through in three several places with a cordiner's awl. Now the king being of opinion that it was himself that had slain his brother Cyrus with his own hand, and being desirous that every man should so think and say: he sent presents unto Mithridates, that had hurt him first in the forehead, and commanded him that carried the gifts unto him, to tell him from the king: The king doth send thee these presents, because thou finding first the caparison of Cyrus' horse, didst bring it unto the king. The Carian also that had cut the ham of his leg wherewith Cyrus fell down, asked his gift likewise: the which the king gave him, and bade the messenger tell him, The king doth give thee this, because thou wast the second person that broughtest him the good news. For Artasyras was the first, and thou the second, that brought him news of the death of Cyrus. Now Mithridates, albeit he was not well pleased in his mind with those words, he went his way, and said nothing then, nor made anything ado; but the unfortunate Carian fondly fell into a foolish vein, common unto men. For, the sudden joy he felt (as it seemeth) to see such a goodly rich present before him, as the king sent him: made him so

and also
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of Pary-
satis'
strange
cruelty

forget himself, that he began to aspire, and to pretend greater things, than became his state and calling. And therefore he would not take the king's gift, as in respect that he had brought him word of Cyrus' death: but began to storm, and to rage, calling the gods to witness, that it was he only, and none other, that slew Cyrus, and that they did him great wrong, to take this honour from him. The king being told of it, took it so angrily: that he presently commanded them to strike off his head. But Parysatis (the queen mother) being present when the king gave this commandment, she prayed him not to put him to death in that sort: For the villain, said she, let me alone, I will chastise him well enough for his presumption and rash speech. The king was contented she should have him. Thereupon she sent the sergeants to take this cursed Carian, and made him be hanged upon a gibbet ten days together, and at the ten days' end, caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and last of all, poured molten metal into his ears, and so killed the villain with this kind of torment. Mithridates also shortly after, died miserably by a like folly. He was bidden to supper at a feast, whither came also the king and queen mother's eunuchs: and when they came, Mithridates eat down at the board in the king's golden gown he gave him. When they had supped, and that they began to drink one to another, one of Parysatis' eunuchs said unto Mithridates: The king hath indeed given thee a goodly gown Mithridates, and goodly chains and carcanets of gold, and so is the sword very rich and good he gave thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man I

warrant thee but will think thee a happy man. Mithridates then, the wine fuming into his brain, answered straight: What meanest thou by that, Sparamizes? I deserved a better than this, when the battell was fought. Then Sparamizes laughing on him, answered, I do not speak it for any hurt or evil-will I bear thee, Mithridates: but to speak frankly among our selves, because the Grecians have a common proverb, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valiant act was it to take up a caparison of a horse that fell on the ground, and to carry it to the king? which the eunuch spitefully put forth unto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to provoke him to speak, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, and could not keep his tongue, and least of all when he had drunk so well as he had done, and so it fell out indeed. For Mithridates could not bite it in, but replied straight: You may talk as long as you list of the caparison of a horse, and such trash, but I tell you plainly, that Cyrus was slain with mine own hands, and with no man's else. For I hit him not in vain as Artagerses did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and struck him through and through his head again, and so overthrew him, of which blow he died. He had no sooner spoken those words, but the rest that were at the board, cast down their eyes, foreseeing the death of this poor and unfortunate Mithridates. But then the maister of the feast began to speak, and said unto him: Friend Mithridates, I pray thee let us drink and be merry, and reverence and thank the good fortune of our king, and for the rest, let this talk

See the
peril of
hastiness
and rash
answer

The
terrible
death of
offenders
in boats

go, it is too high for us. When the eunuch went from thence, he told Parysatis the queen mother what Mithridates had said before them all: and she went and told the king of it. Who was marvellously offended withal to be so belied and to lose the thing that was most honourable, and best pleased him in his victory. For it was his mind, that all the world (both Grecians and barbarous people) should certainly believe, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt, but yet that he slew Cyrus with his own hand. So the king commanded that Mithridates should suffer the pains of death in boats, the which is after this manner. They take two boats made of purpose so even, that the one is neither broader nor longer than the other, and then lay the offender in one of them upon his back, and so cover him with the other, and do sew both boats together: so that the party's feet, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpose for him, the rest of his body is all hidden within. Now they give him meat as much as he will eat, and if he will not eat, they force him to it, by thrusting awls in his eyes: then when he hath eaten, they give him honey to drink mingled with milk, and they do not only pour it into his mouth, but also all his face over, turning him full into the sun, so that his face is all covered over with flies: and furthermore, being driven to do his needs in that trough, of his excrements there engender worms that eat his body even to the very privities. Then, when they see the man is dead, they take off the uppermost boat, and find all his flesh devoured with vermin engendering of him, even to his very

intrals. So, when Mithridates had miserably languished in this manner, seventeen days together: at length he died in extreme torments. Now Parysatis (the queen mother) lacked no more to accomplish her wicked desire, but Masabates, one of the king's eunuchs that had cut off Cyrus' head and hand: and seeing that he was very wary and circumspect in his behaviour, that she could not take him at any advantage: in the end she devised a fine way to entrap him. She had a marvellous wit, and among other things could play passingly well at all games at dice, and did many times play with the king her son before the wars: and after the wars also, when he had made peace, she did play at dice with him as she had done before, inso-much as she knew all his secret love, and furthered him to enjoy it. To be short, she would never be out of his sight but as little as she could, and would let his wife Statira have as little time with him as might be, that she might govern and rule him as she would: both because she hated her of all creatures living, and also for that she would bear the greatest sway and credit about him. When she saw the king one day at leisure, not knowing how to pass the time away: she enticed him to play a thousand daricks at dice, and was contented to lose them willingly, and paid the thousand daricks down, seeming notwithstanding to be angry with her loss. So she prayed him also to play one of his eunuchs with her: and the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed between them that they should both name and except five of the trustiest and chiefest eunuchs they had: and then, which of them lost, should

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Tisaphernes
betrayeth
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Greece

presently deliver unto the winner his choice of all the other eunuchs he would demand. Thus they fell to play, and she employing all the cunning she had, and playing as warily as she could possible, besides that the dice ran on her side, her luck served her so, that she wan: and then she required Masabates for her winnings, being none of those the king had excepted. When she had him delivered her, she gave him to the hangmen, and willed them to flay him alive, and then that they should crucify him, and nail him to a cross, and hang his skin upon another piece of timber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was marvellous angry withal when he knew it, and grievously offended with his mother. Howbeit, she sported it out, and laughing told him: Indeed it becomes thee well to be angry for losing an old gelded villain, where I lost a thousand daricks quietly, and said never a word. So there came no other thing of it, saving that the king was a little angry, and repented him that he had played so fondly and was so finely mocked. But Queen Statira on the other side, besides that she was against her in all other things: she spared not to tell queen mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the king's good and faithful servants so cruelly to death, for Cyrus sake. But now, after that Tisaphernes (King Artaxerxes' lieutenant) had deceived Clearchus, and other captains of Greece, detestably falsifying his word he had given them, and that he had sent them bound unto the king: Ctesias saith, That Clearchus prayed him to help him to a comb, and that having had one by his means, and also combed his head, it

pleased him so well, that to requite his good-will, he gave him his seal of arms from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, for a witness of the great friendship that was between them two. He saith also that in the stone of this ring there was graven the dance of the Caryatides. And furthermore, that the other soldiers which were prisoners with Clearchus, did take away the most part of the victuals that were sent to him, and left him little or nothing: and that he did remedy all this, procuring a greater quantity to be sent unto them, and that they should put Clearchus' portion apart, and all the other soldiers' part also by themselves. This he did, as he saith, by Parysatis' consent and commandment, who knowing that amongst other victuals they daily sent Clearchus a gammon of bacon: she told him one day he should do well to hide a little knife in this gammon of bacon, and to send it him, to the end that the life of so noble and valiant a man as he was, should not fall to the cruelty of the king. Howbeit, that he was afraid to meddle withal, and durst not do it: and that the king swore, and promised his mother (who was an earnest suitor to him for Clearchus) that he would not put him to death. This notwithstanding, the king being afterwards procured, and persuaded to the contrary, by Queen Statira his wife: he put them all to death, but Menon. Therefore Parysatis, queen mother, after that time (saith Ctesias) devised all the ways she could to poison Queen Statira, and to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this smelleth like a lie, that Parysatis should intend so wicked and dangerous an act, as to put the king's lawful wife to death, by whom he

The captains of Greece put to death

Parysatis practiseth had sons that were to inherit the crown, only for the love and respect of Clearchus: and it is too plain that he coined that, to honour and magnify Clearchus' memory the more. But to prove it, a man may easily find it by the lies he addeth afterwards unto it: saying, That after the captains were slain, all the bodies of the rest were torn in pieces by dogs and fowls: and also that there came a boisterous wind, and covered all Clearchus' body with a great hill of dust, and that out of this hill of dust shortly after there sprung up many palm trees, which made a pretty thick grove, that it shadowed all that place. Insomuch that the king himself did afterwards marvellously repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honest man, and beloved of the gods. This was not for Clearchus sake, but for an old cankered malice Parysatis had long time borne in her heart against Queen Statira: because she saw well enough, that the credit and authority her self had with the king, was in respect of a son's duty and obedience to his mother, and in contrary manner, Statira's credit and authority had a better ground and foundation, because it came of the love and good-will the king did bear her. And this is the only cause that made her to practise the death of Queen Statira, having determined that her self, or daughter-in-law, must needs die. Now queen mother had one of the women of her chamber called Gigis, that was of great credit about her, and whom she only trusted. Dinon writeth, That this Gigis did help Parysatis to make the poison. But Ctesias writeth contrarily, and saith That she only knew it, but otherwise that it was against her

will: and that he that made the poison, was one Belitaras, but Dinon calleth him Melantas. Now, though in outward semblance and shew queen mother and Statira seemed to have forgotten all malice between them, and that they began again one of them to keep company with the other, and did eat and drink together: yet one of them mistrusted the other, and took great heed to themselves, both of them eating one self meat, and in one dish together, and were both served with one self officers and men. In Persia there is a little bird, of the which all the parts of it is excellent good to eat, and is full of fat within: so that it is thought it liveth by air and dew, and in the Persian tongue they call it Rhyntaces. Parysatis, as Ctesias saith, took one of these birds, and cut it in the midst with a little knife, the which was poisoned only on one of the sides, and gave that half which was poisoned unto Statira. Yet Dinon writeth, that it was not Parysatis her self that gave it her, but her carver Melantas that carved her meat, and still gave Queen Statira of that meat which the side of his poisoned knife had touched. So Queen Statira presently fell sick of the disease whereof she died, with grievous pangs and gripings in her bowels, and found plainly that she was poisoned by Parysatis' means: whereupon she told the king as much, who was of the same opinion, and thought it was his mother, because he knew her cruel revenging mind, that never pardoned any, against whom she conceived any grudge. The king therefore to know the truth, when his wife Satira was dead, apprehended all his mother's household servants and officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confess the

to poison
Queen
Statira

The
punish-
ment for
poisoners
in Persia

truth, saving Gigis, whom queen mother kept close in her chamber a long time, and would never suffer the king to have her: who earnestly requested her to deliver her unto him. Notwithstanding, Gigis her self at length prayed queen mother to give her leave one night to go home to her house. The king understanding it, laid wait for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when she was taken, he condemned her to suffer the pains of death ordained for poisoners, the which in Persia is executed in this manner. They make them put their head upon a great plain stone, and with another stone they press and strike it so long, till they have dashed the brains of the malefactor out of their head. After this sort was Gigis put to death. Now for Parysatis his mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor said no more unto her, but confined her unto Babylon according to her desire, and swore, that whilst she lived, he would never see Babylon. In this state stood the affairs of the king. But now, Artaxerxes having done the utmost he could to have overcome the Grecians which came to make war with him in the heart of his realm, and would have been as glad of that, as he was to have overcome Cyrus, and to keep his crown and realm: he could never prevail against them. For though they had lost Cyrus that gave them entertainment, and all their private captains that led them: they saved themselves notwithstanding, being in the heart of his realm, and shewed the Persians by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold and silver, curiosity, and fair women, and otherwise, nothing but pomp and vanity. Hereupon all the Grecians became courageous, and despised the barbarous people: in-

somuch that the Lacedæmonians thought it a great shame and dishonour unto them, if they did not deliver the Grecians that dwelt in Asia, from the slavery and bondage of the Persians, and kept them from the open violence and cruelty of the barbarous people. For they having at other times attempted to do it by their captain Thimbron, and afterwards also by Dercyllidas, whom they sent thither with an army, and having done nothing worthy memory : at length they determined to send their king Agesilæus thither in person, who passing through Asia with his ships, began presently to make hot war against the Persians as soon as ever he had landed his army. For, at the first conflict he overthrew Tisaphernes (the king of Persia's lieutenant) in battell, and made the most part of the cities of Greece that are in Asia, to rebel against him. Artaxerxes looking into this war, and wisely considering what way and means he was to take, to make war with the Grecians : he sent into Greece one Hermocrates a Rhodian, (of great credit about him) with a marvellous sum of gold and silver, bountifully to bestow in gifts among the nobility and chief rulers of the cities of Greece, to make all the other Grecians to rise against the Lacedæmonians. Hermocrates wisely executed his commission, for he made the chiefest cities of Greece to rebel against Lacedæmon : so that all Peloponnesus being up in arms, and in great garboil, the ephori at Lacedæmon were enforced to send for Agesilæus home again. Agesilæus being sorry to depart out of Asia, said unto his friends : That the king of Persia had driven him out of his realm with thirty thousand archers : because that the Persian

**Agesi-
laus
maketh
war with
the
Persians**

Artaxerxes and Conon coin is stamped with an archer, having a bow in his hand. Artaxerxes also drove the Lacedæmonians out of all their jurisdiction by sea, by the means of Conon, general of the Athenians, whom Pharnabazus (one of his lieutenants) had won to take his part. For Conon, after he was overthrown in battell at a place called the Goats' River, kept ever after in the Isle of Cyprus, not so much for the safety of his person, as also for that it was a meet place to stay in, until the wars of Greece were appeased. He knowing that the device he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, and on the contrary side, that the power of the king lacked a man of deep judgement to be employed: he wrote letters unto him of his device what he thought to do, straightly charging him whom he delivered his letters unto, that if he could possibly, he should cause the same to be delivered unto the king by Zenon the Cretan, one of the king's dancers, or by one Polycritus his physician, born in the city of Mendes: and in both their absences, then to give it unto Ctesias, to deliver unto the king. It chanced so that this letter came to the hands of Ctesias: who (as it is reported) added moreover unto the contents of the letter, that the king should send him unto Conon, because he was a necessary man to be employed in his service, but specially by sea. Ctesias saith not so, but writeth that the king of his own voluntary motion gave him this charge. Now, after Artaxerxes had through the leading of Conon and Pharnabazus, won the battel by sea near to the Isle of Gnidus, and that thereby he had driven all the Lacedæmonians from their jurisdiction by sea, all Greece had him in marvellous great estima-

tion : so that he gave unto the Grecians with such conditions as he would, that so famous peace, called Antalcidas' peace. This Antalcidas was a citizen of Sparta, the son of one Leon, who favouring King Artaxerxes' affairs, procured by the treaty of this peace, that the Lacedæmonians left unto Artaxerxes all the cities of Greece in Asia, and all the isles contained in the same, to enjoy quietly making them pay tribute at his pleasure. This peace being concluded with the Grecians (if so shameful a treason, reproach, and common infamy to all Greece may be called a peace, as never war fell out more dishonourable and infamous for the vanquished) King Artaxerxes that otherwise hated the Lacedæmonians to the death, and that esteemed them (as Dinon writeth) the impudentest men living : did notwithstanding love Antalcidas passingly well, and entertained him very honourably, when he came into Persia unto him. It is reported that the king one day took a garland of flowers, and did wet it with the most precious and sweetest oil of perfume that was prepared for the feast, and sent the same unto Antalcidas : insomuch as every man marvelled to see the king set so much by him. Indeed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curiosity of the Persians, and had well deserved such a garland to be sent him : who was so bold to dance a dance before the Persians, mocking and counterfeiting Leonidas and Callicratidas, two of the valiantest men that ever were in Greece. Therefore one said at that time in the presence of King Ageilæus : Oh how unhappy is poor Greece at this day, when the Lacedæmonians come to follow the Persians ! But Ageilæus presently answered him again, Not so, said he :

Antalcidas' peace

The death of Antalcidas but rather the Persians follow the Lacedæmonians. Notwithstanding, this wise answer Agesilæus made, did not take away the shame of the fact: and shortly after, the Lacedæmonians lost the battell of Leuctra, and therewith also the signiory and principality they had kept of long time over all Greece, although they had lost their estimation before, for consenting to so shameful and dishonourable a peace. When Sparta flourished most, and was chief of all the other cities of Greece: so long did Artaxerxes still continue to make much of Antalcidas, and called him his friend. But after that the Lacedæmonians had lost the battell of Leuctra, having received so great an overthrow and wanting money: they sent Agesilæus into Egypt, and Antalcidas into Persia, unto King Artaxerxes, to pray him to aid and help the Lacedæmonians. Howbeit the king made so small account of him, and disdained him so much, denying him, and his requests: that he returned back to Sparta, as a man knocked on the head, without anything done with the king. And there also seeing that his enemies mocked him: and fearing that the ephori would commit him to prison: he killed himself with famine. About that time also, the Thebans after they had won the battell of Leuctra, sent Ismenias and Pelopidas into Persia, unto King Artaxerxes: where Pelopidas did nothing unworthy of himself. Howbeit Ismenias being commanded to kneel to the king, he let fall his ring at his feet, and stooped to take it up: whereby it was thought of some that he did it to kneel to the king. Another time Artaxerxes liking a secret advertisement very well sent him from Timagoras the Athenian: he gave

him ten thousand daricks by his secretary called Beluris. And because he had a sickly body, and was driven to drink cows' milk to restore him: the king therefore sent four-score milch kine with him to give milk to the pail, to have fresh milk every day. Furthermore, he sent him a bed throughly furnished with all things necessary, and grooms of the chamber to make his bed, saying, That the Grecians could not tell how to make it: and did also let him have men to carry him upon their arms to the seaside, because he was sick, and whilst he was at the court, he entertained him very honourably and bountifully. So Ostanes, the king's brother, said one day unto him: Timagoras, remember how honourably thou art served at thy board, for it is not for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treason, than for any remembrance of the benefit received. So the Athenians afterwards condemned the same Timagoras to die, because he had taken bribes and money of the king of Persia. But Artaxerxes in recompense of so many other things that he had done, to despite the Grecians with, he did one thing that pleased them marvellously: when he did put Tisaphernes to death, who was the dreadfullest enemy the Grecians had. Parysatis the queen mother did help to bring this to pass, aggravating the accusations brought in against him. For the king kept not his anger long against his mother, but fell in again with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an excellent wit and noble courage to govern a great kingdom: and besides, that there was nothing now to let them to come together as

King
Arta-
xerxes
killeth
Tisa-
phernes

Arta-
xerxes
married
his
daughter

much as they would, to give any occasion of jealousy or malice to any person. So ever after, his mother Parysatis endeavoured her self to feed the king her son's humour every manner of way, seeming to mislike nothing that he did: whereby she grew in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatsoever she asked him. So she perceived that the king was extremely in love with one of his own daughters, that was called Atossa: howbeit that he dissembled his love the best he could, and kept it secret, chiefly for fear of her, although some write, that indeed he had already had her maidenhead. Now Parysatis having found his love, she began to make more of his daughter than she did before, and talking with her father, sometimes she praised her beauty, another time her grace and good countenance, saying that she was like a queen and noble princess. So that at length by little and little she persuaded him to marry her openly, not passing for the laws and opinions of the Grecians, considering that God had given him unto the Persians, to establish laws unto them, to decide right from wrong, and the good from the bad. Some historiographers do write, and amongst them Heraclides of Cumæ: that Artaxerxes did not only marry the eldest of his daughters, but the second also called Amestris, of whom we will speak hereafter. Now when he had married the eldest, Atossa, he loved her so entirely well, that though she fell sick of the disease commonly called vitiligo, that ran over all her body: he loved her not the worse for it, but prayed continually for her unto the goddess Juno, honouring no other goddess but her only, and fell down on his knees before

her image, and sent by his friends and lieutenants so many offerings, that all the way from his court gates unto the temple of Juno, (which was sixteen furlongs off) was full of gold, silver, rich purple silks, and horse that were sent thither. He began to make war also with the Egyptians, and made Pharnabazus and Iphicrates Athenian, his lieutenants, who did no good, because they fell at variance the one with the other. But afterwards, Artaxerxes himself went in person to conquer the Cadusians with three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. So he invaded their country, which was a very rude country, always dark and cloudy. The earth bringeth forth nothing that man soweth, but doth only feed the inhabitants with pears, apples, and suchlike fruit, and yet the men be very strong and valiant notwithstanding. So when he was entered far into the country before he was aware, he fell in a great want of victuals, and was also in great danger. For his soldiers found nothing in all the country that was good to eat, and worst of all, no victuals could come unto them from any place, because of the hardness and naughty ways of the country: so that his camp lived only with the flesh of their beasts of carriage, and yet they sold it dearly: for, an ass's head was sold for three-score silver drachmas. To conclude, the famine was so great, that provision failed for the king's own mouth, and there were but few horse left, for all the rest were eaten. Then Tiribazus, that had oftentimes been chief about the king, because he was a valiant man, and that through his folly was many times also out of favour, as at that present time, when he

Great
famine in
Arta-
xerxes'
army

Tiribazus' stratagem had no authority nor estimation: he devised a stratagem, whereby he saved the king and all his camp. In this country of the Cadusians, there were two kings in the field with their armies, both of them camped asunder one from the other. Tiribazus, after he had spoken with King Artaxerxes, and had told him what he meant to do: he went unto one of the kings, and at the self same time also secretly sent his son unto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king had sent ambassadors unto Artaxerxes to make peace with him, unwitting to his companion, and therefore he counselled them if they were wise, one of them to seek to prevent another with all the possible speed he could, and promised them both, one after another, to help them the best he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gave credit to his words, either of them both mistrusting one another: so that the one speedily sent his ambassadors unto King Artaxerxes, with Tiribazus, and the other also his ambassadors with his son. But Tiribazus tarrying long in his journey, King Artaxerxes began somewhat to suspect him, his enemies also did accuse him in his absence, and the king grew very choleric, and repented him that he had trusted him so far, and was willing to hear every man that spake against him. Howbeit Tiribazus at length returned, and his son also, and either of them brought with them the ambassadors of the Cadusians, and so peace was taken with them both. Then was Tiribazus aloft again, and in greater credit than ever he was, and so departed with the king. The king then shewed plainly, that cowardliness proceedeth not of pomp and curiosity,

as some take it, believing that it doth effeminate men's hearts, but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly followeth evil, and the worst counsel. For neither the jewels of gold, the kingly robe, nor other sumptuous ornaments which the king ever wore about him, worth twelve thousand talents as it is reported, did not hinder him at that time to travail, and to take as much pain as any man in all his army. For he himself marched afoot the foremost man, carrying his own truss in a scarf upon his shoulders, and his target on his arm, and travelled through high stony mountains. So that his soldiers seeing the courage and pain the king himself took, they marched so nimbly, that it seemed they had wings: for he daily marched above two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by sore travel, came to one of his own houses, where there were goodly arbours and parks, with goodly trees passingly set forth: but all the country besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was marvellous cold. The king suffered his soldiers to hew down the goodly pines and cypress trees in his parks: and because they durst not presume to touch them, he himself as he was, took an axe in his hand and began to hew down the goodliest tree there. The soldiers seeing that, fell every man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short time they had provided themselves well with wood, and made them great fires in every place, and so passed over the night quietly by the fires' side. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valiant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore thinking his men would mock him, because he did

The
courage
of King
Arta-
xerxes

**Darius
and
Ochus**

fail of his purpose: he began to grow mistrustful, and to suspect the chiefest noblemen he had about him: so that in a rage he put many of them to death, but much more of them remained, whom he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruel, nor a greater bloodsucker, than a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more courteous, and less suspicious, than a valiant and hardy man. And therefore brute beasts that be never made tame nor mastered, are commonly cowardly, and timorous: and the other to the contrary, that are noble and courageous, are bold straight, and do come to know a man, because they have no fear, neither do they fly from their clapping and making much of them as they do. Afterwards King Artaxerxes being grown very old, heard that there was great stir and contention between his sons, which of them should be heir after his death, and that this contention fell out also among his friends and men of great calling. The wisest of them wished, that as he himself came unto the crown, as his father's eldest son: so that he likewise should after his death leave it unto his eldest son, called Darius. But the younger, which was called Ochus, being a valiant man, and of a hot stirring nature, had some in the court also that took his part, and hoped to attain to his purpose, by the means of his sister Atossa, whom he loved and honoured, promising to marry her, and to make her queen, if he might come to be king after his father's decease. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their father's lifetime he secretly kept her: howbeit Artaxerxes never understood it. Now, because he would betimes put his son Ochus out of all hope to succeed him in the

kingdom, lest this expectation might make him to go about to practise that which Cyrus did, and that by this means his realm should grow into faction and civil wars: he proclaimed his eldest son Darius (being fifty years old) king after his death, and furthermore gave him leave from thenceforth to wear the point of his hat right up. In Persia the custom is, that when any cometh to be proclaimed successor and heir-apparent to the crown, he should require a gift of him that proclaimeth him successor. The which the other doth grant him, whatsoever it be that he asketh, so it be not impossible. Darius then asked his father a concubine called **Aspasia**, who was first with Cyrus, and in greatest favour with him above all the rest, but then was for the king's own body. She was born in the country of **Ionian**, of free parents: and being vertuously brought up, she was brought one night unto Cyrus as he was at supper with other women, who sat them down, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were very glad when Cyrus offered to play and be merry with them, giving every one of them some pleasant word, and they made it not coy. But Aspasia stood on her feet by the table, and said never a word: and notwithstanding that Cyrus called her, she would not come at him. Moreover, when one of the grooms of his chamber would have taken her to have brought her to him: The first saith she, that layeth hands on me shall repent it. Thereupon all those that were present, said she was a foolish thing, and simply brought up, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit Cyrus being glad of it, passed it over with laughing, and told him that had brought them unto him: Dost

The barbarous people cannot away with rivalry in love thou not see, that of all these thou hast brought me, there is not an honest woman but she? After that, Cyrus began to make much of her, and loved her better continually than all the rest, and called her Aspasia the wise. This Aspasia was taken among the spoils of Cyrus' camp after he was overthrown, and Darius as we have told ye, did beg her of his father, who was very angry with it in his mind. For the barbarous people of all other things are marvellous jealous of their women, so that not only he should be put to death, that durst but speak to, or touch any concubine of the king's but in sport: but also whosoever came near them, or near their coaches as they travelled. The king's daughter Atossa, whom he had married against all law, was yet living, and besides her he had also three hundred and three-score passing fair concubines: and yet when his son Darius asked Aspasia of him, the king answered, She was a freewoman born, and therefore if she would, he was content he should have her: but if she were unwilling to go to him, then he would not have him force her by no means. So Aspasia was sent for, and she was asked with whom she had rather be. She answered, With Darius: contrary to King Artaxerxes' expectation, who both by the custom, and also the law, was compelled to let him have her. But shortly after he took her from him again, saying That he would place her in a nunry of Diana, in the country of Ecbatana, where they call her Anaitis, there to serve the goddess, and to live chaste all the days of her life: supposing by this means to punish his son, not rigorously, but moderately, with grief mixed with sport and earnest. Howbeit his

son took it not so patiently, either because he was deeply in love with Aspasia, or else for that he saw his father mocked him in that point. Tiribazus finding this, and perceiving that Darius took it very grievously: he aggravated his anger against his father, knowing the passion of love in Darius, by his own, upon the like occasion. King Artaxerxes had many daughters, and had promised Pharnabazus one of them, called Apama: unto Orontes, Rodogouné: and to Tiribazus, Amestris. The king performed the other two marriages, and did put Tiribazus by his wife. For the king himself married his own daughter Amestris, and for her, he promised Tiribazus the younger, Atossa: with whom also he himself fell in love, and married her. Tiribazus hereupon was in such a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not because he was any traitor or seditious man in nature, but a mad harebrained fellow. For sometime he was aloft, and in as good credit and authority as the best: suddenly again he would play some mad part to anger the king, and then he was in as much disgrace, and out of countenance: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authority, he made every man hate him for his pride: and being in disgrace, he could not humble himself, but look bigger than before. Now there was fire and brimstone met, when Tiribazus took part with Darius. For he daily blew into his ears, that it was to no purpose for him to wear his hat right up, if his affairs also went not rightly forward: and that he deceived himself much, if he did not know that his brother (by means of the women he kept) secretly aspired to

Tiribazus
incenseth
Darius

Darius the crown : and that his father being so unconstant
con- as he was, he must not trust in any sort to succeed
spireth his father in the kingdom, what proclamation soever
against he hath made in his behalf to the contrary. For,
his said he, he that for a Grecian woman hath broken
father and violated the holiest law that was in Persia :
 thou must not look that he will perform that he
 hath promised thee. And furthermore, he per-
 suaded him, that it was not a like repulse unto
 Ochus, to be denied that which he looked for : as
 it was for him to be turned out of all that ever he
 had gotten. For said he, if it please Ochus to live
 like a private man, he may safely do it, and no
 man will trouble him : but for himself that was
 already proclaimed king, he must of necessity make
 himself king, or else he must not live. So the poet
 Sophocles his saying most commonly proveth true :

Ill counsel easily takes place.

For the way is large and plain for a man to be-
 lieve as he list, and men commonly are given rather
 to believe the evil than the good, because most men
 know not what goodness meaneth. But now be-
 side these persuasions, the greatness of the kingdom,
 and the fear Darius stood in of his brother Ochus,
 took great force and effect with him : and it may
 be also, that Venus her self did somewhat in the
 matter, for the malice and spite that Aspasia was
 taken from him. But whatsoever the cause was,
 thus was it handled : that Darius flatly conspired
 against his father Artaxerxes, together with Tiri-
 bazus. Now, they having gotten many conspirators
 to join with them, one of the king's eunuchs per-
 ceiving it, ran and told the king of it, and how

they had suddenly determined to assail him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among themselves, that they should kill him in his bed in the night. Artaxerxes receiving this advertisement, thought it was not good to be careless of a matter of so great importance as his life: and also that it were too great lightness in him so suddenly to believe his eunuch, without better proof or knowledge. So he took this way with himself. He commanded the eunuch that had given him this information, to keep company still with the conspirators, and to follow them wheresoever they went, to see their doings: and in the meantime he beat down his wall behind his bed, and made a door through, and set up a hanging of tapestry before it. When the time was come, as the eunuch had advertised the king, that the traitors meant to do their feat: Artaxerxes being laid on his bed, rose not up till he had seen every traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he saw them coming towards him with their swords drawn, he suddenly lift up the hanging, and got into his inner chamber, and shut the door after him, making an outcry, Murder, murder. So the traitors being plainly seen and known by the king, fled the same way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bade Tiribazus save himself, because he was known. So they dispersed themselves, and escaped by flying. But Tiribazus was taken tardy, although he had slain divers of the king's guard, valiantly defending himself: yet they took him not, till he was stricken with a dart a good way off, which slew him. Darius was also taken and apprehended, and brought prisoner with his sons: and the king referred him

A device
of Artaxerxes.

Darius
con-
demned
to die

to be judged by his peers. For the king himself would not be present to give judgement of him; but deputed others in his place to accuse him: howbeit he commanded his secretaries to set down in writing the opinion and sentence of every one of the judges and to bring it him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to die. Then the officers laid hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of the prison, where the hangman came with a razor in his hand with the which he used to cut men's throats so condemned to die. So the hangman coming into the chamber, when he saw it was Darius, he was afraid, and came out of the chamber again, his heart failing him, and durst not lay hands upon the person of the king. But the judges that stood without the chamber, bade him go and do it, unless he would have his own throat cut. So the hangman then came in, and took Darius by the hair of the head, and made him hold down his head, and so cut his neck with his razor he had in his other hand. Others do write, that this sentence was given in the presence of King Artaxerxes self, and that Darius seeing himself convicted by manifest proofs brought in against him, he fell down at his father's feet, and besought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angry, rose up, and drew out his curtelax and wounded him in so many places withal, that at length he slew him. Then returning into the court, he worshipped the sun, and turning him to his lords that were about him, he said unto them: My lords, God be with you, and be merry at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great Oromazes hath

taken revenge of them that practised treason against me. This was the end of Darius' treason. Now Darius being dead Ochus his brother stood in good hope to be next heir to the crown, and the rather through the means and friendship of his sister Atossa: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he feared him called Ariaspes, who was only left of all the rest that were legitimate: and of his bastard brethren, Arsames: not because Ariaspes was elder than he, but for that he was of a soft and plain nature, the Persians desired he might be their king. On the other side, Arsames was wise and valiant: and Ochus saw that his father loved him dearly. So he determined to entrap them both. Now Ochus being a subtle and malicious-natured man, he first shewed his cruelty upon Arsames, and his malice upon Ariaspes his legitimate brother. For, because he knew he was but simple and plain, he sent daily some of the king's eunuchs unto him, who brought him threatening words and messages, as from the king: telling him that he had determined to put him to a shameful and cruel death. So, forging these news continually as things very secret, they did so terrify poor Ariaspes, telling him that the king was fully bent to put some of his threats in execution out of hand: that he was put in such fear and despair of his life, that he prepared himself a poison, and drank it, to rid himself of his life. King Artaxerxes understanding of his death, took it very heavily, and began to mistrust the cause that made him to make himself away: howbeit he could not seek the proof of it, for his extreme age. But this chance made him love Arsames better than before, shewing plainly that

King
Arta-
xerxes'
sons

The death of King Artaxerxes he trusted him better than Ochus, and did make him privy to all things. Ochus could no longer abide to defer his intent, and therefore enticed Harpaces, Tiribazus' son, to kill his bastard brother Arsames: the which he did. Now Artaxerxes was so extreme old, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his son Arsames was murdered, he could bear it no longer, but took it so to his heart for sorrow, that when he had lived four-score and fourteen years, and reigned three-score and two, he died. When

he was dead, they then found that he had been

a gracious and courteous prince, and one

that loved his people and subjects:

when they saw the proof of

his successor Ochus, that

passed all men living,

in cruelty and

severity.

THE END OF ARTAXERXES' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF DION

LIKE as Simonides, O Sosius Senecio, saith that the city of Ilium was not offended with the Corinthians, for that they came to make war with them with other Grecians, because Glaucus (whose first ancestors came from Corinth) had taken arms, and lovingly fought for the same: even so me thinks, that neither the Grecians, nor Romans have cause to complain of the Academy, sith they be both alike praised of the same in this present book, in the which are contained the lives of Dion and Brutus. Of the which, the one of them having been very familiar with Plato himself, and the other from his childhood brought up in Plato's doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one self school-house, to attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no marvel if they two were much like in many of their doings, proving that true which their schoolmaister Plato wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the government of a commonwealth, which should be famous, and of credit, authority and good fortune must both meet in one self person, joined with justice and wisdom. For, as a certain fencer called Hippomachus said, that he knew his scholars far off, if he did but see them coming from the market with meat in their hands: so it must needs follow, that men having been ver-

How
men's
acts
should
be
famous

A wicked
spirit
appeared
unto
Dion and
Brutus

tuously brought up, must needs be wise in all their doings, and beside that it bringeth them to civility and honesty, even so it frameth their conditions much like one unto another. Furthermore, their fortunes having also fallen out both alike, more by chance than by any reason, do make their lives very like to each other. For, they were both of them slain, before they could bring their enterprises to pass which they had determined. But the greatest wonder of all is this: that their deaths were fore-shewed unto them both, by a wicked spirit that visibly appeared unto either of them: albeit there be some that cannot abide those opinions, and do maintain that these sights and evil spirits do never appear to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of little children, or old women, or of some men that their wits are weakened by sickness, and so have a certain imagination of such strange sights, being of this superstitious mind, that they have a wicked spirit, and an evil angel in them. But if Dion and Brutus, both of them grave and learned philosophers, and very constant men, not overcome by any sudden passion or imagination of mind, have been moved by such sights and spirits, and have also told it unto their friends: I cannot tell whether we shall be enforced, to grant the most strangest and oldest opinion of this, which saith: That there be evil spirits which envying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly minds, do make them afraid with these fearful sights, enticing them to forsake their godliness, lest that persisting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, than theirs is. But let us refer this disputation to

some other book, and now in this twelfth couple of these famous men's lives compared, let us first begin to write the life of him that is the elder of these two men we speak of. Dionysius' wives

Dionysius the elder, after he had the government of Sicily in his hands, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, a citizen of Syracuse. But yet not being thoroughly settled in his tyranny, the Syracusans did rebel against him, and did so cruelly and abominably handle the body of his wife, that she willingly poisoned her self. So after he had established himself in his government with more surety than before, he married again two other wives together, the one a stranger of the city of Locris, called Dorid: and the other of the country it self, called Aristomaché, the daughter of Hipparinus the chiefest man of all Syracuse, and that had been companion with Dionysius, the first time he was chosen general. It was said that Dionysius married them both in one day, and that they could never tell which of them he knew first: but otherwise, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly sat together with him at his table, and did either of them lie with him by turns: though the Syracusans would have their own countrywoman preferred before the stranger. Howbeit the strange woman had this good hap, to bring forth Dionysius his eldest son, which was a good countenance to defend her, being a foreigner. Aristomaché in contrary manner, continued a long time with Dionysius without fruit of her womb, although he was very desirous to have children by her: so that he put the Locrian woman's mother to death, accusing her that she

Plato had with sorceries and witchcraft, kept Aristotomaché from being with child. Dion being the brother of Aristotomaché, was had in great estimation at the first, for his sister's sake : but afterwards the tyrant finding him to be a wise man, he loved him then for his own sake. Insomuch, that among many sundry things and pleasures he did for him : he commanded his treasurers to let him have what money he asked of them, so they made him acquainted withal the self same day they gave him any. Now though Dion had ever before a noble mind in him by nature, yet much more did that magnanimity increase, when Plato by good fortune arrived in Sicily. For his coming thither surely was no man's device, as I take it, but the very providence of some god : who (bringing far off the first beginning and foundation of the liberty of the Syracusans, and to overthrow the tyrannical state) sent Plato out of Italy unto the city of Syracuse, and brought him acquainted with Dion, who was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter wit to learn, and readier good-will to follow vertue, than any young man else that followed Plato : as Plato himself writeth, and his own doings also do witness. For Dion having from a child been brought up with humble conditions under a tyrant, and acquainted with a servile timorous life, with a proud and insolent reign, with all vanity and curiosity, as placing chief felicity in covetousness : nevertheless, after he had felt the sweet reasons of philosophy, teaching the broad way to vertue, his heart was inflamed straight with earnest desire to follow the same. And because he found that he was so easily persuaded to love vertue and honesty, he simply

thinking (being of an honest plain nature) that the self same persuasions would move a like affection in Dionysius: obtained of Dionysius, that being at leisure, he was contented to see Plato, and to speak with him. When Plato came to Dionysius, all their talk in manner was of vertue, and they chiefly reasoned what was fortitude: where Plato proved that tyrants were no valiant men. From thence passing farther into justice, he told him that the life of just men was happy, and contrarily the life of unjust men unfortunate. Thus the tyrant Dionysius perceiving he was overcome, durst no more abide him, and was angry to see the standers-by to make such estimation of Plato, and that they had such delight to hear him speak. At length he angrily asked him, what business he had to do there? Plato answered him, He came to seek a good man. Dionysius then replied again: What, in God's name, by thy speech then it seemeth thou hast found none yet. Now Dion thought that Dionysius' anger would proceed no farther, and therefore as Plato's earnest request, he sent him away in a galley with three banks of oars, the which Pollis a Lacedæmonian captain carried back again into Greece. Howbeit Dionysius secretly requested Pollis to kill Plato by the way, as ever he would do him pleasure: if not, yet that he would sell him for a slave, howsoever he did. For said he, he shall be nothing the worse for that: because if he be a just man, he shall be as happy to be a slave, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this Pollis carried Plato into the Isle of Ægina, and there sold him. For the Æginetes having war at that time with the Athenians, made a decree,

Plato
sold
in the
island of
Ægina

Dion's boldness in speaking that all the Athenians that were taken in their isle, should be sold. This notwithstanding, Dionysius refused not to honour and trust Dion, as much as ever he did before, and did also send him ambassador in matters of great weight. As when he sent him unto the Carthaginians, where he behaved himself so well, that he wan great reputation by his journey: and the tyrant could well away with his plain speech. For no man but he durst say their minds so boldly unto him, to speak what he thought good: as on a time he reproved him for Gelon. One day when they mocked Gelon's government before the tyrant's face, and that Dionysius himself said (finely descanting on his name, which signifieth laughter) that he was even the very laughing-stock himself of Sicily: the courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter passingly well. But Dion not being well pleased withal, said unto him: For his sake men trusted thee, whereby thou camest to be tyrant: but for thine own sake they will never trust any man. For to say truly, Gelon shewed by his government, that it was as goodly a thing as could be, to see a city governed by an absolute prince: but Dionysius by his government on the other side, made it appear as detestable a thing. This Dionysius had by his Locrian wife three children, and by Aristomaché four: of the which, two were daughters, the one called Sophrosyné, and the other, Areté. Of them, Dionysius' eldest son married Sophrosyné, and Areté was married unto his brother Thearides, after whose death Dion married her, being his niece. Now when Dionysius her father fell sick, not likely to escape: Dion would have spoken

with him for his children he had by his sister Aristomaché. Howbeit the physicians about him, to curry favour with the next heir and successor of the tyranny, would never let him have any time or opportunity to speak with him. For, as Timæus writeth, they gave Dionysius the elder (as he had commanded them) a strong opiate drink to cast him in a sleep, and so thereby they took from him all his senses and joined death with his sleep. Notwithstanding, in the first council and assembly holden by his friends, to consult about the state and affairs of the younger Dionysius, Dion moved matter so necessary and profitable for that present time, that by his wisdom he shewed they were all but children, and by his bold and frank speech, made them know that they were but slaves of the tyranny: because they beastly and cowardly gave such counsel and advice, as might best please and feed the young tyrant's humour. But he made them most to wonder at him, when they fearing above all other things, the danger Dionysius' state was in, by reason of Carthage, he did promise them, that if Dionysius would have peace, he would then go forthwith into Africk, and find the means honourably to quench the wars: or if otherwise he better liked of war, that he would furnish him at his own proper costs and charges, fifty galleys ready to row. Dionysius wondered greatly at the noble mind of Dion, and thanked him much for the good-will he bare unto him, touching his estate. But all men else taking Dion's noble offer to be a reproach of their avarice, and his credit and authority, an impair unto theirs: they presently upon this liberal offer took occasion to accuse him, not sparing

Dion mar-
rieth his
niece
Areté

**Flatter-
ing cour-
tiers do
incense
Diony-
sius the
younger** any reproachful words against him, to move Diony-
sius to be offended with him. For they complained
of him, and said that he cunningly practised to
possess the tyranny, making himself strong by sea,
going about by his galleys to make the tyranny fall
into the hands of the children of Aristomaché his
sister. But the chiefest cause of all why they did
malice and hate him, was his strange manner of
life: that he neither would keep company with
them, nor live after their manner. For they that
from the beginning were crept in favour and friend-
ship with this young evil-brought-up tyrant, by
flattering of him, and feeding him with vain plea-
sures: studied for no other thing, but to entertain
him in love matters, and other vain exercises, as to
riot and banquet, to keep light women company,
and all such other vile vicious pastimes and re-
creations, by the which the tyranny became
like iron softened by fire, and seemed to be
very pleasant unto the subjects, because the over-
great majesty and severity thereof was somewhat
milder, not so much by the bounty and goodness, as
by the folly and retchlessness of the lord. Thus,
this little care and regard increasing more and
more, still winning way with the young tyrant: did
at length melt and break asunder those strong
diamond chains, with the which Dionysius the
elder made his boast that he left his monarchy and
tyranny chained to his son. For some time he
would be three days together without intermission,
still banqueting and being drunk: and all that time
his court-gates were kept shut unto grave and wise
men, and for all honest matters, and was then full
of drunkards, of common plays, dancings, masks,

and mummeries, and full of all such trumpery and dissolute pastimes. And therefore Dion undoubtedly was much envied of them, because he gave himself to no sport nor pleasure: whereupon they accused him, and misnamed his vertues, vices, being somewhat to be resembled unto them. As in calling his gravity, pride: his plainness and boldness in his oration, obstinacy: if he did persuade them, that he accused them: and because he would not make one in their fond pastimes, that therefore he despised them. For to say truly, his manners by nature had a certain haughtiness of mind and severity, and he was a sour man to be acquainted with: whereby his company was not only troublesome, but also unpleasant to this younger Dionysius, whose ears were so fine, that they could not away to hear any other thing but flattery. And furthermore, divers of his very friends and familiars, that did like and commend his plain manner of speech and noble mind: they did yet reprove his sternness, and austere conversation with men. For it seemed unto them, that he spake too roughly, and dealt over hardly with them that had to do with him, and more than became a civil or courteous man. And for proof hereof, Plato himself some time wrote unto him (as if he had prophecied what should happen) that he should beware of obstinacy, the companion of solitariness, that bringeth a man in the end to be forsaken of every one. This notwithstanding, they did more reverence him at that time, than any man else: because of the state and government, and for that they thought him the only man that could best provide for the safety and quietness of the tyranny, the which stood then in tickle state. Now Dion

Dion's
manners
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Dionysius the
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knew well enough, that he was not so well taken and esteemed through the good-will of the tyrant, as against his will, and for the necessity of the state and time. So Dion supposing that ignorance, and want of knowledge in Dionysius was the cause: he devised to put him into some honest trade or exercise, and to teach him the liberal sciences, to frame him to a civil life, that thenceforth he should no more be afraid of vertue, and should also take pleasure and delight in honest things. For Dionysius of his own nature, was none of the worst sort of tyrants, but his father fearing that if he came once to have a feeling and conceit of himself, or that he companied with wise and learned men, he would go near to enter into practice, and put him out of his seat: he ever kept him locked up in a chamber, and would suffer no man to speak with him. Then the younger Dionysius having nothing else to do, gave himself to make little chariots, candlesticks, chairs, stools, and tables of wood. For his father Dionysius was so fearful and mistrustful of everybody, that he would suffer no man with a pair of barber's scissors to poll the hairs of his head, but caused an image-maker of earth to come unto him, and with a hot burning coal to burn his goodly bush of hair round about. No man came into his chamber where he was with a gown on his back, no not his own brother nor son, but he was driven before he could come in, to put off his gown, and the guard of his chamber to strip him naked whatsoever he was: and then they gave him another gown to cast upon him, but not his own. One day his brother Leptines, going about to describe unto him the situation of some place, he

took a halberd from one of the guard, and with the point thereof began to draw out a plot of the same upon the ground. Dionysius was terribly offended with him, and did put the soldier to death that gave him his halberd. He said he was afraid of his friends, yea and of the wisest of them : because he knew that they desired rather to rule, than to be ruled, and to command, than to obey. He slew one of his captains called Marsyas, whom he had preferred and had given him charge of men : because he dreamed that he killed him : saying That he dreamed of this in the night, because that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now Dionysius that was so timorous, and whose mind through fearfulness was still miserably occupied : he was notwithstanding marvellously offended with Plato, because he did not judge him to be the noblest and valiantest man alive. Dion therefore seeing (as we have said) the younger Dionysius clean marred, and in manner cast away for lack of good education : persuaded him the best he could to give himself unto study, and by the greatest entreaty he could possibly make, to pray the prince of all philosophers to come into Sicily. And then when through his entreaty he were come, that he would refer himself wholly unto him, to the end that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby : (the best example that can be possible, and by whom all the whole world is ruled and governed, which otherwise were out of all order and confused) he should first obtain great happiness to himself, and consequently unto all his citizens also, who ever after through the temperance and justice of a father, would with good-will do

timorous
and sus-
picious
man

Plato
goeth
into
Sicily

those things, which they presently unwillingly did for the fear of a lord, and in doing this, from a tyrant he should come to be a king. For, the chains of a diamond to keep a realm in safety, were not force, and fear, as his father Dionysius held opinion: neither the great multitude of young soldiers, nor the guard of ten thousand barbarous people: but in contrary manner, that they were the love and good-will of their subjects, which the prince obtaineth through vertue and justice: the which chains though they be slacker than the other that are so hard and stiff, yet are they stronger, and will last longer time, to keep a realm and kingdom in safety. And furthermore, the prince (said he) is not desirous of honour, neither is a man that deserveth greatly to be praised and commended, that only studieth to wear sumptuous apparel, and that glorieth to see his court richly furnished, and himself curiously served: and in the meantime doth not frame himself to speak better, to be wiser, and to carry a greater majesty than any other mean or common person, not esteeming to adorn and beautify the princely palace of his mind, as becometh the royal majesty of a king. Dion oftentimes rehearsing these exhortations unto Dionysius, and other while interlacing between, some reasons he had learned of Plato: he grafted in him a wonderful, and as it were a vehement desire to have Plato in his company, and to learn of him. So sundry letters came from Dionysius unto Athens, divers requests from Dion, and great entreaty made by certain Pythagorean philosophers, that prayed and persuaded Plato to come into Sicily, to bridle the light disposition of this young man, by his grave

and wise instructions : who without regard of reason, led a dissolute and licentious life. Therefore Plato, as himself reporteth, blushing to himself, and fearing lest he should give men cause to think that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of himself he was unwilling to do any worthy act : and further, hoping that doing good but unto one man alone, who was the only guide of all the rest, he should as it were recover all Sicily from her corruption and sickness : he performed their requests that sent unto him. But Dion's enemies fearing the change and alteration of Dionysius, they persuaded him to call Philistus the Historiographer home again from banishment, who was a learned man, and had been brought up and acquainted with the tyrant's fashions : to the end he should serve as a counterpease, to withstand Plato and his philosophy. For this Philistus, from the first time that the tyranny began to be established, did shew himself very willing and conformable to the establishment thereof, and had of long time kept the castle : and the voice went, that he kept the mother of Dionysius the elder, and as it was supposed, not altogether without the tyrant's knowledge. But afterwards, Leptines having had two daughters by one woman, whom he enticed to folly being another man's wife : he married one of these his daughters unto Philistus, and made not Dionysius privy to it before. The tyrant therewith was so offended, that he put Leptines' woman in prison fast locked up, and drave Philistus out of Sicily. He being banished thus, repaired unto some of his friends that dwelt about the Adriatic Sea, where it seemeth he wrote the most part of all his history, being

to teach
Dionysius the
younger

Plato then at good leisure. For he was not called home
cometh again during the life of Dionysius the elder: but
into after his death, the malice the courtiers bare unto
Sicilia Dion, caused them to procure Philistus' calling home
again, as we have told you, as the man they thought
would stick stoutly in defence of the tyranny. So
Philistus no sooner returned, but he stoutly began
to defend the tyranny: and others in contrary
manner, devised accusations to the tyrant against
Dion, accusing him that he had practised with
Theodotes and Heraclides, to overthrow the tyranny
of Dionysius. For Dion, in my opinion, hoped by
Plato's coming to bridle and lessen a little the over-
licentious and imperious tyranny of Dionysius, and
thereby to frame Dionysius a wise and righteous
governor. But on the other side, if he saw he
would not follow his counsel, and that he yielded
not to his wise instructions: he then determined to
put him down, and to bring the government of the
commonwealth into the hands of the Syracusans:
not that he allowed of Democratia (to wit, where
the people govern) but yet certainly thinking that
Democratia was much better than the tyranny,
when they could not come unto Aristocratia, to
wit, the government of a few of the nobility. Now
things being in this state, Plato arrived in Sicily,
where he was marvellously received and honoured
by Dionysius. For when he landed on the shore,
leaving his galley that brought him: there was
ready for him one of the king's rich and sumptuous
chariots to convey him to the castell: and the
tyrant made sacrifice to give the gods thanks for
his coming, as for some wonderful great good
hap chanced unto his seigniory. Furthermore,

the wonderful modesty and temperance that was begun to be observed in feasts and banquets, the court clean changed, and the great goodness and clemency of the tyrant in all things, in ministering justice to every man: did put the Syracusans in great good hope of change, and every man in the court was very desirous to give himself to learning and philosophy. So that, as men reported, the tyrant's palace was full of sand and dust, with the numbers of students that drew plates and figures of geometry. Shortly after Plato was arrived, by chance the time was come about to do a solemn sacrifice within the castell, at which sacrifice the herald (as the manner was) proclaimed aloud the solemn prayer accustomed to be done, that it would please the gods long to preserve the state of the tyranny: and that Dionysius being hard by him, said unto him, What, wilt thou not leave to curse me? This word grieved Philistus and his companions to the heart, thinking that with time, by little and little, Plato would win such estimation and great authority with Dionysius, that afterwards they should not be able to resist him: considering that in so short a time as he had been with Dionysius, he had so altered his mind and courage. And therefore they now began, not one by one, nor in hugger-mugger, but all of them with open mouth together, to accuse Dion: and said, That it was easy to be seen, how he charmed and enchanted Dionysius through Plato's eloquence, to make him willing to resign his government because he would transfer it to the hands of the children of his sister Aristomaché. Others seemed to be offended, for that the Athenians having come before into Sicily

Philistus'
accusa-
tions
against
Dion

Dion sent away by Dionysius with a great army, both by sea and land, they were all lost and cast away, and could not win the city of Syracuse: and that now by one only sophister, they utterly destroyed and overthrew the empire of Dionysius, persuading him to discharge the ten thousand soldiers he had about him for his guard, to forsake the four hundred galleys, the ten thousand horsemen, and as many more footmen, to go to the Academy to seek an unknown happiness never heard of before, and to make him happy by geometry, resigning his present happiness and felicity to be a great lord, to have money at will, and to live pleasantly, unto Dion and his nephews. By suchlike accusations and wicked tongues, Dionysius began first to mistrust Dion, and afterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frown upon him. In the meantime they brought letters Dion wrote secretly unto the governors of the city of Carthage, willing them that when they would make peace with Dionysius, they should not talk with him unless he stood by: assuring them that he would help them to set things in quietness, and that all should be well again. When Dionysius had read these letters with Philistus, and had taken his advice and counsel what he should do, as Timæus said: he deceived Dion under pretence of reconciliation, making as though he meant him no hurt, and saying that he would become friends again with him. So he brought Dion one day to the seaside under his castell, and shewed him these letters, burdening him to have practised with the Carthaginians against him. And as Dion went about to make him answer to clear himself: Dionysius would not hear him, but caused him to be taken up as he was,

and put into a pinnace, and commanded the mariners **into Italy** to set him aland upon the coast of Italy. After this was done, and that it was known abroad in the city, every man thought it a cruel part of Dionysius: insomuch that the tyrant's palace was in a marvellous peck of troubles, for the great sorrow the women made for the departure of Dion. Moreover, the city self of Syracuse began to look about **them**, looking for some sudden great change and innovation, for the tumult and uproar that would happen by means of Dion's banishment, and for the mistrust also that all men would have of Dionysius. Dionysius considering this, and being afraid of some misfortune, he gave his friends and the women of his palace comfortable words, telling them that he had not banished him, but was contented that he should absent himself for a time: being afraid, that in his sudden angry mood he might peradventure be compelled to do him some worse turn if he remained, because of his obstinacy and self-will. Furthermore, he gave unto Dion's friends two ships, to carry as much goods, money, and as many of Dion's servants as they would, and to convey them unto him unto Peloponnesus. Dion was a marvellous rich man, and for the pomp of his service, and sumptuous movables of his house, they were like unto the person of a tyrant. All these riches Dion's friends brought aboard upon those ships, and carried them unto him: besides many other rich gifts, which the women and his friends sent unto him. So that by means of his great riches, Dion was marvellously esteemed among the Grecians: who by the riches of a banished citizen, conjectured what the power of a tyranny might be.

Dionysius' tyrannical love to Plato

But now concerning Plato: when Dion was exiled, Dionysius caused him to be lodged in his castle, and by this means craftily placed, under cloak of friendship, an honourable guard about him, because he should not return into Greece to seek Dion, to tell him of the injury he had done unto him. Howbeit Dionysius often frequenting his company, (as a wild beast is made tame by company of man) he liked his talk so well, that he became in love with him, but it was a tyrannical love. For he would have Plato to love none but him, and that he should esteem him above all men living, being ready to put the whole realm into his hands, and all his forces: so that he would think better of him, than of Dion. Thus was this passionate affection of Dionysius grievous unto Plato. For he was so drowned with the love of him, as men extremely jealous of the women they love: that in a moment he would sodainly fall out with him, and straight again become friends, and pray him to pardon him. And to say truly, he had a marvellous desire to hear Plato's philosophy: but on the other side, he reverenced them that did dissuade him from it, and told him that he would spoil himself, if he entered over-deeply into it. In the meantime fell out war, and thereupon he sent Plato again away, promising him that the next spring he would send for Dion home. But he brake promise therein, and yet sent him his revenues: and prayed Plato to pardon him, though he had not kept promise at his time appointed. For he alleged the war was the cause, and that so soon as he had ended his war, he would send for Dion: whom in the meantime he prayed to have patience and not to attempt any stir or

altercation against him, nor to speak evil of him among the Grecians. This Plato sought to bring to pass, and brought Dion to study philosophy, and kept him in the Academy at Athens. Dion lay in the city of Athens with one Callippus, whom he had known of long time, howbeit he bought him a house in the country, to lie there sometime for his pleasure, the which he gave afterwards (at his return into Sicily) unto Speusippus that kept him company, and was continually with him, more than with any other friend he had in Athens, through Plato's counsel: who to soften and recreate Dion's manners, gave him the company of some pleasant conceited man, knowing that this Speusippus could modestly observe time and place to be pleasant and merry: for which respect, Timon in his satirical jests, calleth Speusippus a good jester. Now Plato himself having undertaken to defray the charges of common plays in the dancings of young children: Dion took the pains to teach and exercise them, and moreover was himself at the whole charge of these plays, Plato suffering him to bestow that liberality and courtesy upon the Athenians: the which wan Dion a great deal more good-will, than Plato honour. Dion kept not still at Athens, but went also to see the other good cities of Greece, passing his time away. He being at common feasts and assemblies with the chiefest men, and best learned in matters of state and government, and never shewing any light parts, nor sign of tyrannical pride in his manner of life, nor of a man that had been brought up with all pomp and pleasure, but like a grave vertuous man, and well studied in philosophy, whereby he grew to

Dion's
life in
Greece

Dion's
vertues
and
honours

be generally beloved and esteemed of all men: the city granted him publick honours, and sent him decrees of his glory, made in their councils and assemblies. Furthermore, the Lacedæmonians made him a Spartan and burgess of the city, not passing for Dionysius' displeasure, though at that time he had given them great aid, in the war they made against the Thebans. Some report, that Dion on a time was entreated by Ptœodorus Megarian, to come and see him at his house: and Dion went thither. This Ptœodorus was a marvellous great rich man, and therefore Dion seeing a great number of people standing at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and speak with him he had such great business: he turned unto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tarry so long at the gate, and said unto them: What cause have we to think evil of him, sith we did the like when we were at Syracuse? But Dionysius being incensed with envy against him, and fearing the good-will the Grecians bore him: he kept back his revenue, and would no more send it him, and seized all the goods, the which he gave to his receivers to keep. Furthermore, because he would clear himself of the infamy he had gotten amongst the philosophers for Plato's sake, he went for divers wise and learned men, and vainly coveting to excel them all in wisdom, he was driven improperly, and out of time, to allege many wise sayings he had learned of Plato. Thereupon he began again to wish for him, and to condemn himself, for that he had no wit to use him well when he had him at his commandment, and that he had not heard him so much as he should have done: and like a tyrant as

he was, madly carried away with light desires, and easily changing mind from time to time, a sodain vehement desire took him in the head, to have Plato again. So he sought all the means and ways he could devise, to pray Archytas the Pythagorean philosopher to tell him, that he might boldly come, and to be his surety unto him for that he would promise him: for first of all, they were acquainted together by his means. Therefore Archytas sent thither Archidamus the Philosopher. Dionysius also sent certain galleys, and some of his friends thither, to pray Plato to come to him: and he himself wrote specially, and plainly, that it should not go well with Dion, if Plato came not into Sicily: but if he would be persuaded to come, that then he would do what he would have him. Many letters and requests came unto Dion from his wife and sister, insomuch as Dion so used the matter, that Plato obeyed Dionysius, without making any excuse at all. So Plato writeth himself, That he was driven to come again the third time into the strait of Sicily,

done unto
him by
the
Grecians

To try if once again he could Charybdis' dangers pass.

Now Plato being arrived in Sicily, he made Dionysius a great joyful man, and filled all Sicily again with great good hope: for they were all very desirous, and did what they could, to make Plato overcome Philistus and the tyranny, with his philosophy. The women of Dionysius' court did entertain Plato the best they could: but above all, Dionysius seemed to have a marvellous trust and affiance in him, and more than in any other of all his friends. For he suffered Plato to come to him

**Plato's
third
journey
into
Sicily** without searching of him, and oftentimes offered to give him a great sum of money: but Plato would take none of it. Therefore Aristippus Cyrenian being at that time in the tyrant's court in Sicily, said that Dionysius bestowed his liberality surely. For, to us that ask much he giveth little, and much unto Plato that requireth nothing. After Dionysius had given Plato his welcome, he began to move him again of Dion. Dionysius on the other side, at the first did use him with fine delays, but afterwards he shewed himself angry indeed: and at length fell out with Plato, but yet so covertly, that others saw it not. For Dionysius dissembled that, and otherwise in all other things he did him as much honour as he could devise, practising thereby to make him to forsake Dion's friendship. Now Plato found him at the first, that there was no trust to be given to his words, and that all were but lies and devices he either said or did: howbeit he kept it to himself, and ever patiently bore all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he believed him. They two thus finely dissembling with each other, thinking to deceive all men, and that none should understand their secrets: Helicon Cyzicenean, one of Plato's friends, did prognosticate the eclipse of the sun. The same falling out as he had prognosticated, the tyrant esteemed marvellously of him, and gave him a silver talent for his labour. Then Aristippus sporting with other philosophers, said he could tell them of a stranger thing to happen than that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognosticate, said he, that Plato and Dionysius will be enemies ere it be long. In the end it came to pass, that Dionysius

made port-sale of all Dion's goods, and kept the money to himself, and lodged Plato that before lay the next court to his palace, among the soldiers of his guard, whom he knew maliced him of long time, and sought to kill him: because he did persuade Dionysius to leave his tyranny and to live without his guard. Plato being in this instant danger, Archytas sent ambassadors forthwith unto Dionysius, in a galley of thirty oars, to demand Plato again: declaring that Plato came again to Syracuse, upon his word and caution. Dionysius to excuse himself, and to shew that he was not angry with him at his departure from him: he made him all the great cheer and feasts he could, and so sent him home with great shews of goodwill. One day among the rest, he said unto Plato: I am afraid Plato, said he, that thou wilt speak evil of me, when thou art among thy friends and companions in the Academy. Then Plato smiling, answered him again: The gods forbid that they should have such scarcity of matter in the Academy, as that they must needs talk of thee. Thus was Plato's return, as it is reported, although that which he himself writeth agreeth not much with this report. These things went to Dion's heart, so that shortly after he shewed himself an open enemy unto Dionysius, but specially when he heard how he had handled his wife. Plato under covert words, sent Dionysius word of it by his letters. And thus it was. After Dion was exiled, Dionysius returning Plato back again, he willed him secretly to feel Dion's mind, whether he would not be angry that his wife should be married to another man: because there ran a rumour abroad (whether it were true, or

Plato's
merry
answer.

The noble answer of Thesté invented by Dion's enemies) that he liked not his marriage, and could not live quietly with his wife. Therefore when Plato was at Athens, and had told Dion of all things, he wrote a letter unto Dionysius the Tyrant, and did set all other things down so plainly, that every man might understand him, but this one thing only so darkly, that he alone, and none other could understand him, but him to whom he had written: declaring {unto him, That he had spoken with Dion about the matter he wrote of, and that he did let him understand he would be marvellous angry, if Dionysius did it. So at that time, because there was great hope of reconciliation between them, the tyrant did nothing lately touching his sister, but suffered her still to remain with Dion's son. But when they were so far out, that there was no more hope to return in favour again, and that he had also sent home Plato in disgrace and displeasure: then he married his sister Areté (Dion's wife) against her will, unto one of his friends called Timocrates, not following therein his father's justice and lenity. For Polyxenus that had married his father's sister Thesté, being also become his enemy: he fled out of Sicily. Dionysius the elder sent for his sister Thesté, and took her up very sharply, for that she knowing her husband would fly, she did come and tell him of it. Thesté nobly answered him again, and never was afraid nor abashed: Why, Dionysius, dost thou think me a woman so faint-hearted and beastly, that if I had known my husband would have gone his way, and left me: that I would not have taken the sea with him, and both have run one fortune together? Truly I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had been more for

mine honour to have been called the wife of the banished Polyxenus, than the sister of thee a tyrant. Dionysius marvelled to hear his sister speak thus boldly, and the Syracusans wondered at her noble courage: insomuch that when the tyranny was utterly destroyed, they did not refuse to do her all the honour they could devise, as unto a queen. And when she was dead also, all the citizens of Syracuse by a common decree, did accompany her body at her burial. This little digression from our history, is not altogether unprofitable. But now again to our matter. Dion from thenceforth disposed himself altogether unto war, against Plato's counsel and advice: who did his best endeavour to dissuade him from it, both for the respect of Dionysius' good entertainment he had given him, as also for that Dion was of great years. Howbeit on the other side, Speusippus, and his other friends did provoke him unto it, and did persuade him to deliver Sicily from the slavery and bondage of the tyrant, the which held up her hands unto him, and would receive him with great love and good-will. For whilst Plato lay at Syracuse, Speusippus keeping the citizens company more than Plato did, he knew their minds better than he. For at the first they were afraid to open themselves unto him, and frankly to speak what they thought, mistrusting he was a spy unto the tyrant, sent amongst them to feel their minds: but within a short time they began to trust him, and were all of one mind, for they prayed and persuaded Dion to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of ships, soldiers, nor horses with him, but only to hire a ship, and to lend the Sicilians his body and name against Diony-

Dion
beginneth
to make
war

Dion's **army** **sus.** Speusippus reporting these news unto Dion, did put him in good heart again: whereupon he began secretly to levy men by other men's means, to hide his purpose and intent. The philosophers do set forward Dion's wars. Many citizens dealing in the affairs of the commonwealth did aid him, and divers of them also that only gave their minds to the study of philosophy: and among them, Eudemus Cyprian (on whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue of the soul) and Timonides Leucadian, went with him. Furthermore, there joined also with him Miltas Thessalian, a soothsayer, and that had been his companion in study in the Academy. Now of all them whom the tyrant had banished, (which were no less than a thousand persons) there were but only five-and-twenty that durst accompany him in this war. For all the other were such dastards, that they forsook him, and durst not go with him. The place where they appointed to meet, was the Isle of Zacynth, where they levied all their soldiers, that were not above eight hundred in all, but all of them brave soldiers, and valiant men, and excellently well trained in wars: and to conclude, such lusty men, as would encourage all the army Dion hoped of at his arrival in Sicily, to fight like valiant men with them. These hired soldiers, the first time that they understood it was to go into Sicily, to make war with Dionysius: they were amazed at the first, and misliked the journey, because it was undertaken rather of malice and spite that Dion had to be revenged, than otherwise of any good cause or quarrel, who having no better hope, took upon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the

soldiers were offended with their captains that had pressed them, because they had not told them of this war before. But after that Dion by a notable oration had told them, How tyrannies have evil foundations, and are subject unto ruin, and that he led them not into Sicily so much for soldiers, as he did to make them captains of the Syracusans, and the other Sicilians, who of long time desired nothing more than occasion to rise. And, when after him also Alcimenes, (a companion with him in this war, and the chiefest man of all the Achaians, both for nobility and estimation) did speak unto them in like manner, then they were all contented to go whither they would lead them. It was then in the heart of summer, and the wind blew called the Grecian wind, the moon being at the full, and Dion having prepared to make a sumptuous sacrifice unto the god Apollo, he led all his men armed with white corselets in procession into the temple: and after the sacrifice done, he made them a feast in the park or shew-place of the Zacynthians. There the tables were laid, and the soldiers wondered to see the great state and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and silver, and such other furniture and preparation, as passed a private man's wealth: then they thought with themselves, that a man being so old, and lord of so great a good, would not attempt things of such danger, without good ground, and great assurance of his friends' aid and help. But after his oblations of wine, and common prayers made to the gods at feasts: suddenly the moon eclipsed. Dion thought it not strange to see an eclipse, considering the revolutions of the eclipses, and knowing very well it is a shadow

The
eclipse of
the moon

Wonders shewed to Dion that falleth upon the body of the moon, because of the direct interposition of the earth betwixt her and the sun. But because the soldiers that were afraid and astonished withal, stood in need of some comfort and encouragement: Miltas the Soothsayer standing up in the midst amongst them, said unto them: My fellow-soldiers, be of good cheer, and assure your selves that we shall prosper: for God doth foreshew us by this sight we see, that some one of the chiefest things now in highest place and dignity shall be eclipsed. And at this present time what thing carrieth greater glory and fame, than the tyranny of Dionysius? Therefore you must think, that so soon as you arrive in Sicily, your selves shall put out his light and glory. This interpretation of the eclipse of the moon, did Miltas the Soothsayer make, before all the whole company. But touching the swarm of bees that lighted on the poop of Dion's ship, he told him, and his friends privately: That he was afraid his acts which should fall out famous and glorious, should last but a while, and flourishing a few days, would straight consume away. It is reported also, that Dionysius in like manner had many strange signs and wonderful tokens from above. Among others, there came an eagle that snatched the partisan out of the soldiers' hands, and carried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the sea. The sea also beating against the walls of the castell, was as sweet to drink a whole day together, as any conduit or running water: as those that tasted of it found it true. Furthermore, a sow farrowed pigs that lacked no parts of the body, but only their ears. This the soothsayers said did signify rebellion, and disobedience of his

subjects: and that the citizens would no more hear him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the sweetness of the salt water prognosticated to the Syracusans, change of cruel and evil time, unto good and civil government: and that the eagle, Jupiter's minister, and the partisan, the mark and token of the kingdom and empire, did betoken that Jupiter the chief of all gods had determined to destroy and put down the tyranny. Theopompus reporteth this matter thus. So Dion's soldiers were embarked into two great ships of burden, and another third ship that was not very great, and two pinnaces with thirty oars followed them. For their armour and weapon, besides those the soldiers had: he carried two thousand targets, a great number of bows and arrows, of darts, of pikes, and plenty of victuals: that they should lack nothing all the time they were upon the sea, considering that their journey stood altogether at the courtesy of the winds and sea, and for that they were afraid to land, understanding that Philistus rode at anker in the coast of Apulia, with a fleet of ships that lay in wait for their coming. So having a pleasant gale of wind, they sailed the space of twelve days together, and the thirteenth day they came to the foreland of Sicily called Pachynus. There the pilot thought it best they should land presently: for if they willingly looffed into the sea, and lost that point, they were sure they should lose also many nights and days in vain in the midst of the sea, being then summer-time, and the wind at the south. But Dion being afraid to land so near his enemies, he was desirous to go farther, and so passed by the foreland of Pachynus.

Dion's
prepara-
tions

A tempest on the sea against Dion. Then the north wind rose so big and great, that with great violence it drave back their ships from the coast of Sicily. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withal (because it was at that time when the star Arcturus beginneth to shew) it made so terrible a tempest, and poured down such a sore shower of rain upon them, that all the mariners were amazed withal, and knew not whither the wind would drive them: till that suddenly they saw the storm had cast them upon the Isle of Cercina, (which is on the coast of Libya) and specially where it is most dangerous to arrive for the rocks, for their ships were like to have run upon them, and to have made shipwrack. But with much ado they bare off the ships with their great long poles, and wandered up and down the sea, not knowing whither they went, until the storm ceased. Then they met a ship, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the mariners call the heads of the Great Syrt. Thus they wandering up and down, being marvellous angry that the sea was calm, there rose a little south wind from the land, although they least looked for any such wind at that time, and little thinking it would so have changed: but seeing the wind rise bigger and bigger, they packed on all the sails they had, and making their prayers unto the gods they crossed the sea, and sailed from the coast of Libya, directly unto Sicily, and had the wind so lucky, that at the fifth day they were near unto a little village of Sicily, called Minoa, the which was subject to the Carthaginians. Synalus Carthaginian, being at that time captain and governor of the town of Minoa, and Dion's friend, was there by chance at that present,

who being ignorant of his enterprise and coming, did what he could to keep Dion's soldiers from landing. But they notwithstanding sodainly leapt aland armed, but slew no man. For Dion had commanded them the contrary, for the friendship he bore the captain : and they following the townsmen hard that fled before them, entered the town, hand over head amongst them, and so wan the market-place. When both the captains met, and that they had spoken together, Dion redelivered the town into Synalus' hands again, without any hurt or violence offered him. Synalus on the other side did endeavour himself all he could to make much of the soldiers, and help Dion to provide him of all things necessary. But this did most of all encourage the soldiera, because Dionysius at their arrival, was not then in Sicily: for it chanced so, that not many days before he went into Italy, with four-score sail. Therefore when Dion willed them to remain there a few days to refresh themselves, because they had been so sore sea-beaten a long time together : they themselves would not, they were so glad to embrace the occasion offered them, and prayed Dion to lead them forthwith to Syracuse. Dion leaving all his superfluous armour and provision in the hands of Synalus, and praying him to send them to him when time served : he took his way towards Syracuse. So by the way, two hundred horsemen of the Argentes, which dwell in that part called Ecnomus, came first to join with him, and after them, the Geloians. The rumour of their coming ran straight to Syracuse. Thereupon Timocrates that had married Areté, Dion's wife, and Dionysius the

Dion
went to
Syracusa

A wolf
carried
away the
messen-
ger's
port-
mantle

father's sister, and to whom^a Dionysius the younger had left the charge and government of all his men and friends in the city: he presently despatched a post with letters, to advertise Dionysius of Dion's coming. He himself also in the meantime had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutiny in the city, though they all of them lacked no good-will to rebel: but because they were uncertain whether this rumour was true or false, being afraid, every man was quiet. Now there chanced a strange misfortune unto the messengers, which carried the letters unto Dionysius. For after he had passed the strait, and that he was arrived in the city of Rhegium of Italy's side, making haste to come to the city of Caulonia, where Dionysius was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that carried a mutton but newly sacrificed. This good fellow gave him a piece of it, and the messenger spurred away with all the speed he could possible. But when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so weary and drowsy for lack of sleep, that he was driven to lie down. So he lay down upon the ground in a wood hard by the highway. The savour of this flesh brought a wolf to him that carried away the flesh and the portmantle it was wrapped in, and in the which also were his letters of advertisement, which he carried unto Dionysius. When he awoke out of his sleep, and saw that his portmantle was gone: he inquired for it, and went wandering up and down a long time to seek it: howbeit all in vain, for he could never find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to go to the tyrant without his letters, but rather to fly into some unknown

place where nobody knew him. Thus overlate received Dionysius advertisement by others of this war, which Dion made in Sicily. In the meantime, the Camarinians came and joined with Dion's army, in the highway towards Syracuse: and still there came unto him also a great number of the Syracusans that were up in arms, which were gotten into the field. On the other side, certain Campanians and Leontines, which were gotten into the castell of Epipolæ with Timocrates of purpose to keep it: upon a false rumour Dion gave out (and which came unto them) that he would first go against their towns: they forsook Timocrates, and went to take order to defend their own goods. Dion understanding that, being lodged with his army in a place called Macræ: he presently removed his camp being dark night, and marched forward till he came unto the river of Anapus, which is not from the city above ten furlongs off: and there staying a while, he sacrificed unto the river, and made his prayer, and worshipped the rising of the sun. At the self same instant also, the soothsayers came and told him, that the gods did promise him assured victory. And the soldiers also seeing Dion wear a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremony of the sacrifice: all of them with one self good-will, took every man one of them, (being no less than five thousand men that were gathered together by the way, and but slenderly armed with such things as came first to hand, howbeit supplying with good-will their want of better furniture and armour) and when Dion commanded them to march, for joy they ran, and encouraged one another with great

Dion's
strata-
gem

Dion re-
ceived
into Syra-
cusa

cries, to shew themselves valiant for recovery of their liberty. Now for them that were within the city self of Syracuse, the noblemen and chief citizens went to receive them at the gates in their best gowns. The common people on the other side ran and set upon them that took part with the tyrant, and spoiled them that were called the Protagogids (as much to say, the common promoters of men) the detestablest villains, hateful to the gods and men. For they like sycophants and busy tale-bearers, would jet up and down the city, and mingle among the citizens, having an oar in every man's matter, being full of prittle-prattle, and busy-headed, to know what every man said and did, and then to go carry it to the tyrant. These men were they that had their payment first of all, for they killed them with dry blows, beating them to death with staves. When Timocrates could not enter into the castell with them that kept it, he took his horseback, and fled out of the city, and flying made all men afraid and amazed where he came, enlarging Dion's power by his report, because it should not seem that for fear of a trifle, he had forsaken the city. In the meantime, Dion came on towards the city with his men, and was come so near, that they might see him plainly from the city, marching foremost of all, armed with a fair bright white corselet, having his brother Megacles on his right hand of him, and Callippus Athenian on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him also there followed a hundred soldiers that were strangers, chosen for his guard about him, and the rest came marching after in good order of battell, being led by their

captains. The Syracusans saw him coming, and went out and received him as a holy and blessed procession, that brought them their liberty and popular state again, the which they had lost the space of eight-and-forty years. When Dion was come into the city by the gate called Menitid, he caused his trumpeter to sound to appease the rumour and tumult of the people. Then he commanded an herald to proclaim aloud, that Dion and Megacles, who were come to put down the tyranny, did set all the Syracusans at liberty, and all the other Sicilians also from the bondage and subjection of the tyrant: and because Dion himself was desirous to speak unto the people, he went to the upper part of the town called Acradina. The Syracusans all the streets through as he passed by, had on either hand of him prepared sacrifices, and set up tables and cups upon them: and as he passed by their houses, they cast flowers and fruits on him, and made prayers unto him, as if he had been a god. Now under the castle there was a place called Pentapyla, a clock to know by the sun how the day went, the which Dionysius had caused to be made, and it was of a good pretty height. Dion got up upon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and persuading his countrymen to do their endeavour to recover their liberty again, and to maintain it. They being in a marvellous joy withal, and desirous to please Dion: did choose him and his brother Megacles their lieutenants-general, with absolute power and authority. Afterwards also, by the consent of Dion himself and his brother, and at their requests in like manner, they

He restoreth
the Syracusans to
liberty

Dionysius sent ambassadors chose twenty other captains, of the which the most part of them had been banished by the tyrant, and were returned again with Dion. The soothsayers and prognosticators liked it well, and said it was a good sign for Dion, that he trod that sumptuous building and workmanship of the tyrant under his feet, when he made his oration: but because the hand of the dial did shew the course of the sun, which never leaveth going, upon the which he got up when he was chosen lieutenant-general with absolute power and authority: they were afraid again, that it was a sign Dion's affairs should have a sudden change of fortune. After this, Dion having taken the castle of Epipolæ, he set all the citizens at liberty which were kept there as prisoners in captivity by the tyrant, and environed the castell round about with a wall. Within seven days after, Dionysius returned by sea to the castell of Syracuse, and therewithal also came the carts loden with armour and weapon to Syracuse, the which Dion had left with Synalus: the which Dion caused to be distributed among the citizens of Syracuse that had none. Others did furnish themselves as well as they could, and shewed that they had courage and good-will to fight for the maintenance and defence of their liberty. In the meantime, Dionysius sent ambassadors, first unto Dion privately, to see if he would yield to any composition. But Dion would not hear them, but bade them tell the Syracusans openly what they had to say, being men that were free, and enjoyed liberty. Then the ambassadors spake in the behalf of the tyrant, unto the people of Syracuse, promising them with mild and gentle words, that they should pay no

more subsidies and taxes, but very little, and should be no more troubled with wars, other than such as they themselves should like of. The Syracusans made a mockery at those offers, and Dion also answered the ambassadors, and willed Dionysius to send no more to the Syracusans, before he had dispossessed himself of his tyranny : and so that he would leave it, he would be his mean to obtain all things just and reasonable of the people. Dionysius liked very well of this good offer, and therefore sent his ambassadors again to pray the Syracusans that they would appoint some amongst them to come to the castell, to talk with him for the benefit and commodity of the commonwealth, that he might hear what they would allege, and they also what answer he would make. Dion chose certain whom he sent unto him. Now there ran a rumour in the city among the Syracusans, which came from the castell : that Dionysius would willingly of himself, rather than by reason of Dion's coming, depose himself of the tyranny. But this was but a false alarm, and crafty fetch of Dionysius, to entrap the Syracusans by. For those that were sent him from the city, he kept them prisoners every man of them, and one morning having made his soldiers drink wine lustily, which he kept in pay to guard his person, he sent them with great fury to assault the wall the Syracusans had built against the castle. Now, because the Syracusans looked for nothing less than for the sudden assault, and for that these barbarous people with a wonderful courage and great tumult overthrew the wall, and others of them also did set upon the Syracusans : there was not a man of them that durst make

Dion
fighteth
with
Dionysius

head to fight with them, saving the soldiers that were strangers whom Dion had brought with him. Who when they heard the noise ran straight to repulse them, and yet they themselves could not well tell what they should do upon that sudden. For they could hear nothing, for the great noise and hurly-burly of the Syracusans which fled with great disorder, and came and mingled themselves amongst them. Till at length, Dion perceiving he could not be heard, to shew them by deed what they should do: he went first himself against these barbarous people, and about him there was a cruel and bloody fight. For his enemies knew him as well as his own men, and they all ran upon him with great cries. Now for Dion himself, indeed because of his age, he was heavier than was requisite for one that should away with the pains of such battels: but he had such a valiant courage in him, that he went thorough withal lustily, and slew them that did assail him. Yet he had his hand also thrust through with a pike, and very hardly did his cuirasse hold out the blows of the darts and thrusts by hand which he received on them, they were so mangled and hacked with such a number of darts and pikes passed through his shield and broken on him, that in the end he was beaten down: howbeit his soldiers rescued him straight. Then he made Timonides their captain, and he himself took his horseback, and went up and down the city, staying and quieting the flying of the Syracusans. Then he sent for his soldiers the strangers, which he had put in garrison in that part of the city called the Acradine to keep it, and brought them being fresh, against the barbarous people of the castell that were wearied,

and almost all of them discouraged to attempt any further enterprise. For they had made this sally out, in hope to have taken all the city at the first onset, only running up and down: but when contrary to their expectation, they met these valiant soldiers and fresh supply, they then began to retire again unto the castell. And the Grecian soldiers on the other side, perceiving they gave back, they came the faster upon them, so that they were compelled to turn their backs, and were driven within their walls, after they had slain three-score and fourteen of Dion's men, and lost a great number of their own. This was a noble victory, and therefore the Syracusans gave the soldiers that were strangers, an hundred silver minas, in reward for their good service: and they gave Dion their general, a crown of gold. After this, there came letters to Dion by a trumpet from the castell, written from the women of his house: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed: To my father: the which Hipparinus wrote unto him. For that was Dion's son's name, though Timæus writeth he was called Aretæus, after his mother's name Areté. But in such matters, me thinks Timonides is better to be credited, because he was his friend and companion in arms. All the other letters that were sent, were openly read before the assembly of the Syracusans, and did only concern requests of these women unto Dion. The Syracusans would not have the supposed letter of his son to be openly read: but Dion against their minds opened it, and found that it was Dionysius' letter, who by words, made the direction of it unto Dion, but in effect, he spake unto the Syracusans. For in sight, it

Dion's
victory of
Dionysius

Dionysius' craft
unto Dion

seemed a manner of request and justification of himself: but in truth, it was written of purpose to accuse Dion. First of all he remembered him of the things he had done before, for the establishing and preservation of the tyranny: and afterwards of cruel threats against those whom he should love best, as his wife, his son and sister: and last of all, full of most humble requests and entreaties with sorrow and lamentation. But that which most moved Dion of all other was that he required him not to destroy the tyranny, but rather to take it for himself and not to set them at liberty that hated him, and would always remember the mischief he had done unto them: and that he would himself take upon him to be lord, saving by that means the lives of their parents and friends. When these letters had been read before the whole assembly of the people, the Syracusans thought not how to reverence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible constancy and magnanimity of Dion, that stood firm and fast for justice and vertue, against such vehement entreaty and persuasion of his kinsfolk and friends: but they contrarily began to be afraid, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessity should be forced to pardon the tyrant, for the great pledges and hostages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to choose them new governors, and the rather, because they heard that Heraclides was coming unto them, whom they loved singularly well. This Heraclides was one of them that had been banished, a good soldier and captain, and well esteemed of for the charge and office he bare under the tyrants: howbeit a very unconstant man in everything, and would not continue long in a mind, and

least constant in wars where he had great charge of honour in hand. He had fallen out with Dion in Peloponnesus, wherefore he determined to come with a power by himself and with his own fleet against the tyrant. So he arrived at length in Syracuse, with seven galleys, and three other ships, where he found Dionysius again shut up into his castell with a wall, and the Syracusans also to have the better hand of him. Then he began to curry favour with the common people all the ways he could possibly devise, having by nature a certain pleasing manner to win the common people, which seek nothing else but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to win them, because the people did already mislike Dion's severity, as a man too severe and cruel to govern a commonwealth. For they had now their will so much, and were grown so strong-headed, because they saw themselves the stronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they only be lords, and do rule) before they were fully set at liberty. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authority of the governors: they ran in a fury, of their own light heads, unto the place of common assemblies, and there chose Heraclides admiral. Then Dion understanding this, came to complain of the injury they had done him, declaring unto them, that to give this power now unto Heraclides, was to take that away which they had first given unto him: because he should no more be general, if they chose any other admiral by sea than himself. The Syracusans then, as it were against their wills, did revoke the power they had given unto Heraclides: but afterwards

Heraclides
chosen
Admiral

Heraclides a dissembler Dion sent for Heraclides, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a little, and told him that it was not honestly, nor profitably done of him, to sue to the people, and to contend for honour against him in so dangerous a time, when the least occasion in the world was enough to have marred all. Afterwards Dion himself called an assembly again of the city, and established Heraclides admiral: and persuaded the citizens to give him soldiers, as he had indeed. Heraclides outwardly seemed to honour Dion, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound unto him, and was always at his heels very lowly, being ready at his commandment: but in the meantime, secretly he enticed the common people to rebel, and to stir up those whom he knew meet men to like of change. Whereby he procured Dion such trouble, and brought him into such perplexity, that he knew not well what way to take. For if he gave them advice to let Dionysius quietly come out of the castell: then they accused him, and said he did it to save his life. If on the other side, because he would not trouble them, he continued siege still, and did establish nothing: then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the wars in length, because he might the longer time remain their chieftain general, and so to keep the citizens longer in fear. At that time there was one Sosis in Syracuse; a man of no name, but noted among the Syracusans for his villainy and wickedness, esteeming that full and ample liberty, when he might unchecked licentiously speak what he would, as indeed he did. For he seeking to do Dion a displeasure: first of all one day at a common counsel he stood up on his

feet, and called the Syracusans beasts, (amongst many other vile words he gave them) if they did not perceive, that being come from a fond and drunken tyranny, they had now received a sober maister, and a wise wary tyrant. So when he had thus openly shewed himself an enemy unto Dion, he came no more that day into the market-place: but the next morning he was seen running up and down the city naked, his head and face all of a gore-blood, as if he had been followed of men to have slain him. Thus Sosis coming in this manner into the midst of the market-place, cried out That Dion's strangers had lain in wait for him, and had handled him in this sort, shewing his wound on his head. Many of the people took this matter very grievously, and cried out upon Dion, and said it was vilely and tyrannically done of him: by fear of murder and danger, to take away the liberty from the citizens to speak. Now though the whole assembly hereupon fell into an uproar withal, Dion notwithstanding came thither to clear himself of these accusations, and made them presently see, that this Sosis was brother to one of Dionysius' guard: who had put into his head, in this sort to put the city of Syracuse in an uproar, because Dionysius had no other hope nor means to escape, but by stirring up faction and sedition among them, to make one of them fall out with another. The surgeons were sent for forthwith to search the wound of this Sosis: who found that it was rather a little scratch, than any violent wound given him. For the wounds or cuts of a sword, are ever deepest in the midst: and Sosis' cut was but very little, and not deep, having had many beginnings, and given

Sosis
moveth
sedition
against
Dion

Sosis con-
demned
to death

him (as it seemed) at sundry times, that for very pain, the party that cut him was driven to leave off, and came to cut him at diverse times. Furthermore, there came certain of his friends in the meantime, that brought a razor before the assembly, and reported that as they came, they met Sosis by the way all bloodied: who said, That he fled from Dion's soldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they presently followed them, but found no man, and only they saw a razor, which somebody had cast upon a hollow stone thereabouts, where they first saw him coming unto them. Thus Sosis' device had but evil success. For beside all these proofs and tokens, Dion's household servants came to be a witness against him: that very early in the morning he went abroad alone with a razor in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuse Dion, knew not what to say to the matter, but shrunk away: whereupon the people condemning Sosis to death, they were quiet again with Dion. Yet were they always afraid of these soldiers that were strangers, specially when they saw the greatest conflicts they had with the tyrant, was by sea, after that Philistus was come from the coast of Apulia with a great number of galleys to aid the tyrant. For then they thought, that these soldiers the strangers being armed at all parts to fight by land, they would do them no more service by sea: because the citizens themselves were they that kept them in safety, for that they were men practised to fight by sea, and were also the stronger by means of their ships. But beside all this, the only thing that made them to be courageous again, was the good fortune they had at the battell by sea, in the which

when they had overcome Philistus, they cruelly and barbarously used him. Truly Ephorus saith, That Philistus slew himself, when he saw his galley taken. Howbeit Timonides (who was always with Dion from the first beginning of this war) writing unto Speusippus the Philosopher, saith that Philistus was taken alive, because his galley ran a-land: and that the Syracusans first took off his ~~feet~~ ^{feet}, and stripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villainy and spite they could, they cut off his head, and gave his body unto boys, commanding them to drag it into that part of the city called Acradine, and then to cast it into the common privy. Timæus also to spite him the more, saith that the boys tied the dead body by his lame leg, and so dragged him up and down the city, where all the Syracusans did what villainy to it they could, being glad to see him dragged by the leg, that had said Dionysius should not fly from the tyranny upon a light horse, but that they should pull him out by the leg against his will. Now Philistus reporteth this matter thus, not as spoken to Dionysius by himself, but by some other. But Timæus taking a just occasion and colour to speak evil of the good-will, fidelity, and care that Philistus had always seemed to shew in the confirmation and defence of the tyranny: doth liberally bestow injurious words on him in this place. Now for them whom he had indeed offended, if they of malice and spite to be revenged, did offer him cruelty, peradventure they were not much to be blamed: but for them that since his death have written the gesta, who were never offended by him in his lifetime, and who ought to shew themselves discreet in their writing, me thinks that if they had

Timæus
and
Ephorus
reproved

Dionysius regarded their own credit and estimation, they should
flyeth not so fondly and outrageously have reprov'd the
 adversities and misfortunes, which by fortune may
 as well chance to be the honestest man, as unto him.
 Thus fondly did Ephorus praise Philistus, who
 although he have an excellent fine wit to counterfeit
 goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and
 dishonest parts, ~~and~~ eloquently to devise by honest
 words to defend an evil cause: yet cannot he
 with all the fine wits he hath, excuse himself, that
 he hath not been the only man of the world that
 hath most favoured tyrants, and that hath ever
 loved, and specially desired power, wealth and
 alliance with tyrants. But he in my opinion taketh
 the right course of an historiographer, that neither
 doth commend Philistus' doings, nor yet casteth his
 adversities in his teeth to his reproach. After
 Philistus' death, Dionysius sent unto Dion, to make
 him an offer to deliver him the castell, armour,
 munition, and soldiers that were in it, with money
 also to pay them for five moneths' space. For him-
 self, he prayed that he might be suffered to go safely
 into Italy, and to lie there, to take the pleasure of
 the fruits of the country called Gyarta, which was
 within the territory of Syracuse, and lieth out from
 the sea towards the mainland. Dion refused this
 offer, and answered the ambassadors that they must
 move the Syracusans in it. They supposing they
 should easily take Dionysius alive, would not hear
 the ambassadors speak, but turned them away.
 Dionysius seeing no other remedy, left the castle
 in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and
 having a lusty gale of wind, he secretly embarked
 certain of his men he loved best, with the richest

things he had, and so hoised sail, unwares to Heraclides, the admiral of Syracuse. The people were marvellously offended with Heraclides for it, and began to mutiny against him. But Heraclides, to pacify this tumult of the people, suborned one Hippon an orator, who preferred the law agraria unto the people, for the division of all the island amongst them: and that the beginning of liberty was equality, and of bondage poverty, unto them that had no lands. Heraclides giving his consent to this decree, and stirring the common people to sedition against Dion, that withstood it: persuaded the Syracusans not only to confirm the law Hippon had propounded, but also to discharge the hired strangers, to choose other captains and governors, and to rid themselves of Dion's severe government. But they supposing straight to have been rid from the tyranny, as from a long and grievous sickness, overrashly taking upon them like people that of long time had been at liberty, they utterly undid themselves, and overthrew Dion's purpose: who like a good physician was careful to see the city well ordered and governed. So when they were assembled to choose new officers in the midst of summer, there fell such horrible thunders, and other terrible storms, and unfortunate signs in the element, that for the space of fifteen days together, the people were still scattered and dispersed when they were assembled: insomuch, that being afraid of these signs above, they durst not at that time create any new captains. Certain days after, as the orators had chosen a fair time to proceed to the election of officers: an ox drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with every sight and noise) suddenly without any occa-

Signs
appearing
to the
Syracu-
sians

Dion departeth sion offered, fell into a madness against the carter that drave him, and breaking his yoke asunder, ran straight to the theatre, and there made the people run into every corner, to fly and save themselves: and then flinging, and bearing all down before him that stood in his way, he ran through as much of the city, as the enemies afterwards wan of them. This notwithstanding, the Syracusans making light account of all these signs, they chose five-and-twenty captains, of the which Heraclides was one: and secretly they sent to feel the hired soldiers, to see if they could entice them from Dion, to cause them to take their part, and made them large promises to make them freemen, as themselves of Syracuse. The soldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully and lovingly took Dion amongst them with their armour and weapon, and putting him in the midst of them, led him in this manner out of the city, and did no man hurt, but reproving their unthankfulness and villainy unto all those they met by the way. Then the Syracusans despising them for their small number, and because they did not first set upon them, but trusting on the other side to themselves for that they were the greater number: they came to assail them, supposing they should easily overcome them in the city, and kill every man of them. Dion being thus in a strait, that of necessity he must fight against his own countrymen, or else be slain himself with his soldiers: he held up his hands to the Syracusans and very earnestly prayed them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the castell that was full of their enemies, which shewed themselves upon the walls, and saw what they did. In the end when he saw that he could not pacify

their fury and tumult, and that all the city was in an uproar with the prittle-prattle of these seditious people, who like the sea were carried with the wind: he did yet forbid his soldiers to give any charge upon them, who notwithstanding made a countenance with great cries, and rattling of their harness, as if they had meant to run on them. Then the Syracusans durst not abide by it, but ran away like sheep through the streets and no man chased them. So Dion called back again his men, and led them directly into the country of the Leontines. Then the new officers and governors of Syracuse, perceiving that the women laughed them to scorn: because they would recover the shame they had lost, they armed their men anew again, and did march after Dion to fight with him, whom they overtook at a river, as he was ready to pass over. Then began their horsemen a little to skirmish with Dion's company. But when they saw he did no more bear with their faults for countries sake, but frowned indeed upon them, and did set his men in battell ray against them: then they turned their backs again, with more shame and reproach than before, and so fled unto the city of Syracuse, and had not many of their men slain. The Leontines received Dion very honourably, took the strangers his soldiers, and gave them pay, and made them free citizens with them: and sent ambassadors also unto the Syracusans, to will them to let the strangers have their pay. The Syracusans on their side also, sent ambassadors unto the Leontines to accuse Dion. So all their confederates were assembled in the city of the Leontines, and in that assembly, after both

The negligence
and
troubles

parties had bin heard, to hear what they would say: it was judged that the Syracusans were to blame. Howbeit they would not stand to the judgement of their confederates, for they were now grown proud and careless, because they were governed by no man, but had captains that studied to please them, and were afraid also to displeas them. After that, there arrived certain galleys of Dionysius' at Syracuse, of the which Nypsius Neapolitan was captain: which brought victuals and money, to help them that were besieged within the castell. These galleys were fought with, and the Syracusans obtained victory, and took four of the tyrant's galleys with three banks of oars apiece: howbeit they fondly abused their victory. For they having nobody to command nor rule them, employed all their joy, in rioting and banqueting, and in fond and dissolute meetings, taking so little care and regard to their business, that now when they thought the castell was sure their own, they almost lost their city. For Nypsius perceiving that every part of the city was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long unto dark night, but bib and drink drunk, dancing after their pipes and howboys, and that the governors themselves were very glad also to see such feasting, or else for that they dissembled it, and durst not command and compel them that were drunk: he wisely took the occasion offered him, and scaled the wall which had shut up the castell, and wan it, and overthrew it. Then he sent the barbarous soldiers into the city, and commanded them to do with them they met, what they would or could. The Syracusans then too late found

their fault, and hardly gave present remedy, they were so amazed and suddenly set on: for indeed they made a right sack of the city. Here men were killed, there they overthrew the wall, in another place they carried away women and little children prisoners into the castell, weeping and crying out: and lastly, they made the captains at their wits' end, who could give no present order, nor have their men to serve them against their enemies, that came hand over head on every side amongst them. The city being thus miserably in garboil, and the Acradine also in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rise again: every man thought then with himself that Dion must be sent for, but yet no man moved it notwithstanding, being ashamed of their unthankfulness and over-great folly that they had committed, in driving him away. Yet necessity enforcing them unto it, there were certain of the horsemen and of their confederates that cried, That they must send for Dion, and the Peloponnesians his soldiers, which were with him in the territory of the Leontines. As soon as the first word was heard, and that one had the heart to tell it to the people, all the Syracusans cried out, There was the point: and they were so glad of it, that the water stood in their eyes for joy, and besought the gods it would please them to bring him unto them, they were so desirous to have him again. For they called to mind how valiant and resolute he was in danger, and how that he was never afraid, but did encourage them with his manhood in such sort, that being led by him, they were not afraid to set upon their enemies. So the confederates for them, sent

of the
Syracu-
sans

The Syracusans do send for Dion again

presently Archonides and Telesides unto him; and the noblemen that served on horseback, they sent him also five amongst them, besides Hellanicus. Who took their horses, and posted for life, so that they came unto the city of the Leontines about sunset, and lighting off from their horses, they went first of all and kneeled down at Dion's feet, and weeping, told him the miserable state of the Syracusans. Straight there came divers of the Leontines, and many of the Peloponnesian soldiers unto Dion, mistrusting then that there was some news in hand, to see the earnest and humble suit the ambassadors of Syracuse made unto him. Wherefore Dion took them presently with him, and brought them himself unto the theatre, where the common councils and assemblies of the city were holden. Thither ran every man to hear what the matter was. Then Archonides and Hellanicus brought in by Dion, told openly before the whole assembly the greatness of their misery, and requested the hired soldiers to come and aid the Syracusans, forgetting the injury they had received: considering that they had more dearly paid for their folly, than they themselves whom they had so injured, would have made them to have suffered. When they had said their minds, there was a great silence through all the theatre: and then Dion rose up, and began to speak. But the great tears that fell from his eyes would not suffer him to speak: wherefore the hired soldiers being sorry to see him weep, prayed him not to trouble himself, but to be of good courage. Then Dion letting go the sorrow and grief he had conceived, he began to speak unto them in this manner. "My lords of

Peloponnesus, and you also the confederates: I have called you together to consult with you, what you should do. For my self, it were no honesty for me to consult what I should do now, when the city of Syracuse standeth in peril of destruction: and therefore if I cannot save it from destruction, yet at the least I will bury my self in the fire and ruin of my country. But for you, if it please you once more to help us unadvised and more unfortunate people: you shall by your means set the poor distressed city of Syracuse again on foot, which is your deed. Or if it be so, that remembering the injuries the Syracusans have offered you, you will suffer it to be destroyed: yet I beseech the gods that at the least they will require your valiantness, fidelity, and good love you have borne me until this present, beseeching you to remember Dion, who neither forsook you at any time when you have been injured, nor his countrymen, when they were in trouble." So going on still with his tale, the mercenary strangers stepped forth with great noise, and prayed him to lead them to aid Syracuse. Then the ambassadors also that were sent from the Syracusans saluted and embraced them, and prayed the gods to bless Dion, and them, with all the good hap that might be. So when all was whiaht and quiet, Dion willed them forthwith to go and prepare themselves, and that they should be there ready armed after supper, determining the very same night to go to aid Syracuse. But now at Syracuse, while daylight lasted, Dionysius' soldiers and captains did all the mischief and villainy, they could in the city, and when night came, they retired again into their castell, having lost very few of their men. Then

Dion's
oration
unto his
soldiers

Syracusa set on fire the seditious governors of the Syracusans took heart again unto them, hoping that the enemies would be contented with that they had done: and therefore began anew to persuade the citizens to let Dion alone, and not to receive him with his mercenary soldiers if they came to aid him, saying that they themselves were honest men than the strangers to save their city, and to defend their liberty without help of any other. So other ambassadors were sent again unto Dion, some from the captains and governors of the city, to stay them that they should not come, and others also from the horsemen, and noble citizens his friends to hasten his journey: whereupon by reason of this variance, Dion marched very softly at his ease. Now by night, Dion's enemies within the city got to the gates, and kept them that Dion should not come in. Nypsius on the other side made a sally out of the castle, with his mercenary soldiers, being better appointed, and a greater number of them than before: and with them he straight plucked down all the wall which they had built before the castell, and ran and sacked the city. At this sally out of the castell, they did not only kill the men they met, but women and little children also, and stayed no more to spoil but to destroy and put all to havock. For, because Dionysius saw that he was brought to a strait and desperate case, he bore such mortal malice against the Syracusans, that sith there was no remedy but that he must needs forego his tyranny: he determined to bury it, with the utter destruction and desolation of their city. And therefore, to prevent Dion's aid, and to make a quick despatch to destroy all: they

came with burning torches in their hands, and did set fire on all things they could come to: and farther off, they fired their darts and arrows, and bestowed them in every place of the city. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withal, and slain in the streets by the soldiers, and others also that ran into their houses, were driven out again by force of fire. For there were a number of houses that were on fire, and fell down upon them that went and came. This misery was the chiefest cause why all the Syracusans agreed together to set open the gates unto Dion. For when Dion heard by the way, that Dionysius' soldiers were gone again into the castell, he made no great haste to march forward: but when day was broken, there came certain horsemen from Syracuse, unto Dion, who brought him news that the enemies had once again taken the city. Then also came other of his enemies unto him and prayed him to make haste. Now their misery increasing still, and they being brought into hard state: Heraclides first sent his brother unto Dion, and then Theodotes his uncle, to pray him to come quickly, and help them. For now there was no man left to resist the enemies, because he himself was hurt, and the city also was in manner clean burnt and destroyed. When these men came to Dion, he was yet about three-score furlongs from the town. So he told his mercenary soldiers the danger that the town was in, and having encouraged them, he led them no more fair and softly, but running toward the city, and meeting messengers one of another's neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the possible speed he could. By this means, the soldiers marching with

by
Diony-
sius'
soldiers

Dion's
fight
in the
city of
Syracusa

wonderful speed and good-will together, he entered the gates of the city at a place called Hecatompedon. First of all, he sent the lightest armed he had, against the enemies, to the end that the Syracusans seeing them, they might take a good heart again to them, whilst he himself in the meantime did set all the other heavy-armed soldiers and citizens that came to join with him, in battel ray, and did cast them into divers squadrons, of greater length and breadth, and appointed them that should have the leading of them, to the end that setting upon the enemies in divers places together, they should put them in greater fear and terror. When he had set all things in this order, and had made his prayer unto the gods, and that they saw him marching through the city against their enemies: then there rose such a common noise and rejoicing, and great shout of the soldiers, mingled with vows, prayers, and persuasions of all the Syracusans: that they called Dion their god and saviour, and the mercenary soldiers their brethren, and fellow-citizens. Furthermore, there was not a Syracusan that so much regarded his own life and person, but he seemed to be more afraid of the loss of Dion only, than of all the rest. For they saw him the foremost man running through the danger of the fire, treading in blood, and upon dead bodies that lay slain in the midst of the streets. Now indeed to charge the enemies, it was a marvellous dangerous enterprise: for they were like mad beasts, and stood beside in battell ray alongst the wall which they had overthrown, in a very dangerous place, and hard to win. Howbeit the danger of the fire did most of all trouble and amaze the strangers,

and did stop their way. For on which side soever they turned them, the houses round about them, were all on a fire, and they were driven to march over the burnt timber of the houses, and to run in great danger of the walls of the house-sides that fell on them, and to pass through the thick smoke mingled with dust, and besides to keep their ranks with great difficulty. And when they came to assail the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, because of the straitness of the place: howbeit the Syracusans with force of cries and shouts did so animate, and encourage their men, that at length they drave Nypsius and his men to forsake the place. The most part of them got into the castle, being very near unto them: the other that could not get in in time, fled stragglingly up and down, whom the Grecian soldiers slew, chasing of them. The extremity of the time did not presently suffer the conquerors to reap the fruit of their victory, neither the joys and embracings meet for so great an exploit. For the Syracusans went every man home to his own house, to quench the fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night. When day brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tarry in the city, but condemning themselves, they fled to take their fortune. Heraclides and Theodotes came together of their own good-wills to yield themselves unto Dion, confessing that they had done him wrong, and humbly praying him to shew himself better unto them, than they had shewed themselves unto him: and that it was more honourable for him, being every way unmatchable for his vertues, to shew himself more

**Nypsius
compelled
to fly**

**Dion's
mercy
to his
enemies** noble to conquer his anger, than his unthankful enemies had done : who contending with him before in vertue, did now confess themselves to be far inferior unto him. This was the sum and effect of Heraclides' and Theodotes' submission unto Dion. But his friends did persuade him not to pardon two such wicked men, who did malice and envy his honour : and as he would do the strangers his soldiers any pleasure, that he should put Heraclides into their hands, to root out of the commonwealth of Syracuse, his vile manner to flatter and curry favour with the people, the which was as dangerous and great a plague to a city, as the tyranny. Dion pacifying them, answered, "Other generals of armies," said he, "do employ all their wits in martial exercise and wars : but for himself, that he had of long time studied and learned in the school of the Academy, to overcome anger, envy, and all malice and contention. The noble proof whereof is most seen, not in using honest men and his friends moderately, but shewing mercy also unto his enemies, and forgetting his anger against them that have offended him : and that for his part, he had rather overcome Heraclides, not in riches and wisdom, but in clemency and justice, for therein chiefly consisted excellency, sith no man else in wars can challenge power and government, but fortune, that ruleth most. And though Heraclides," said he, "through envy hath done like a wicked man : must Dion therefore through anger blemish his vertue? Indeed by man's law it is thought meetter to revenge an injury offered, than to do an injury : but nature sheweth, that they both proceed of one self imperfection. Now though it be a hard thing to change,

and alter the evil disposition of a man, after he is once nursed in villainy : yet is not man of so wild and brutish a nature, that his wickedness may not be overcome with often pleasures, when he seeth that they are continually shewed him." Dion answering his friends thus, he forgave Heraclides, and beginning again to shut up the castell with a wall round about, he commanded the Syracusans every man of them to cut down a stake, and to bring it thither. So when night was come, setting his soldiers the strangers in hand withal whilst the Syracusans slept and took their ease : by morning he had compassed the castell round about with a pale. The next day, they that saw the greatness and sudden expedition of this work, wondered much at it, as well the enemies, as also the citizens, and when he had buried the dead bodies, and redeemed them that were taken prisoners, (which were not much less than two thousand persons) he called a common council of the city, in the which Heraclides made a motion, that Dion should be chosen general of Syracuse, with absolute power and authority, both by sea and land. The chiefest men of the city liked very well of it, and would have had the people to have passed it. But the rabble of these mariners, and other mechanical people living by their labour, would not suffer Heraclides to be put from his admiralship, but fell to mutiny, thinking that though Heraclides did them no pleasure else, yet he would ever be a more popular man than Dion, and please the common people better. Dion granted their desire, and made Heraclides admiral again of the sea : howbeit he did anger them as much another way, when he did not only reject the

The forwardness of the Syracusans

Heraclides
again
stirreth
up

earnest suit they made to have the law agraria pass for division of lands in equality amongst them, but did also cancel and revoke all that had been done before. Wherefore Heraclides remaining at Messina, began thenceforth to enter into new practices again, and to flatter the soldiers and sea-faring men he had brought thither with him and to stir them up to rebel against Dion, saying That he would make himself tyrant : and himself in the meantime secretly practised with Dionysius, by means of a Spartan called Pharax. The noblest men of the Syracusans mistrusted it, and thereupon there fell out great mutiny in their camp, whereby also followed great famine in Syracuse : so that Dion was at such a strait, that he could not tell what to say to it, and was reprov'd of all his friends for that he had again preferred too great authority against himself, so untractable a man and so malicious and wicked a person as Heraclides was. Now when Pharax lay in camp with an army near unto the city of Naples, in the marches of the Agrigentines : Dion did bring the army of the Syracusans into the field, being yet determin'd not to fight with him till another time. But through Heraclides and the seamen's crying out, that said he would not try this war by battell, but would draw it out in length because he would be still general : he was forced to give battell, and lost it. Howbeit the overthrow was not great, and happened rather because his men were at a jar among themselves, by reason of their faction and division, than otherwise. Dion therefore prepared to fight another battell, and gathered his men together again encouraging them, when even at twilight word was brought him that Hera-

clides with all his fleet was under sail towards Syracuse meaning to take the city, and to shut Dion and his army out of it. Wherefore he presently took with him the chiefest men of authority in the city, and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such haste, that they were at the gates of Syracuse the next morning by nine of the clock, having ridden seven hundred furlongs. Heraclides that had sailed with all the possible speed he could to prevent him with his ships, perceiving that he came short, he turned sail, and taking seas at all adventure by chance he met with Gæsylyus Lacedæmonian, who told him he was sent from Lacedæmon, to be general to the Sicilians in this war, as Gylippus was sent at other times before. He was glad he had met with him to have such a remedy and defence against Dion, and boasted of it unto the friends and confederates of Syracuse, and sent an herald before unto the Syracusans, summoning them to receive Gæsylyus Lacedæmonian, who was sent to be their general. Dion made answer: That the Syracusans had governors enough, and though that their affairs did of necessity require a Lacedæmonian captain, yet that himself was he, for that he was made free in Sparta. Then Gæsylyus perceiving he could not obtain to be general, he went unto Syracuse, and came to Dion, and there made Heraclides and him friends again, by the great and solemn oaths he made: and because Gæsylyus also swore, That he himself would be revenged of him for Dion sake, and punish Heraclides, if ever after he did once more conspire against him. After that the Syracusans broke up their army by sea, because it did them then no ser-

the Syra-
cusans
to rebel
against
Dion

The vice, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, and
 castell further did also breed sedition and trouble amongst
 of Syra- their governors: and so went to lay straighter
 cusa sur- siege to the castle than ever they did, and built up
 rendered unto the wall again, which the enemies had overthrown.
 Dion Then Dionysius' son seeing no aid to come to him
 from any part, and that victuals failed them, and
 further, that the soldiers began to mutiny, being
 unable to keep them: he fell to a composition with
 Dion, and delivered up the castell into his hands,
 with all the armour and munition in it: and so took
 his mother and his sisters of Dion, and put them
 aboard upon five galleys, with the which he went
 unto his father, through the safe conduct of Dion.
 There was not a man at that time in all Syracusa,
 but was there to see this sight, or if by chance there
 were any absent, the others that were there called
 them thither as loud as they could cry, saying,
 That they did not see the goodliest day and sun-
 shine, which the city of Syracusa might see then at
 her rising, the same being now restored again to her
 former liberty. If until this present day they do
 reckon the flying of Dionysius, for one of the
 rarest examples of Fortune's change, as one of the
 greatest and notablest things that ever was: what
 joy think we had they that drove him out, and
 what pleasure had they with themselves, that with
 the least mean that could be possible, did destroy
 the greatest tyranny in the world? So when Apollo-
 crates Dionysius' son was embarked, and that Dion
 was entered into the castell: the women within the
 castell would not tarry till he came into the house,
 but went to meet him at the gates, Aristomaché
 leading Dion's son in her hand, and Areté following

her weeping, being very fearful how she should call and salute her husband, having lain with another man. Dion first spake to his sister, and afterwards to his son: and then Aristomaché offering him Areté, said unto him, "Since thy banishment, O Dion, we have led a miserable and captive life: but now that thou art returned home with victory, thou hast rid us out of care and thralldom, and hast also made us again bold to lift up our heads, saving her here, whom I wretched creature have by force (thy self alive) seen married unto another man. Now then, sith fortune hath made thee lord of us all, what judgement givest thou of this compulsion? How wilt thou have her to salute thee, as her uncle, or husband?" As Aristomaché spake these words, the water stood in Dion's eyes: so, he gently and lovingly taking his wife Areté by the hand, he gave her his son, and willed her to go home to his house where he then remained, and so delivered the castell unto the Syracusans. He having this prosperous success and victory, would not reap any present benefit or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed himself thankful to his friends, given great gifts also unto the confederates of Syracusa, and specially, before he had given every one of his friends in the city, and his mercenary soldiers the strangers, some honourable reward according to their deserts, exceeding his hability with magnanimity of mind: when he himself lived soberly, and kept a moderate diet, contenting him with anything that came first to hand. Every man that heard of it, wondered at him, considering that not only all Sicily and Carthage, but generally all Greece looked upon his great prosperity and good fortune, thinking

Dion
taketh
his wife
again

Dion's no man living greater than himself, nor that any
tem- captain ever attained unto such fame and wonderful
perance fortune, as he was come unto. This notwithstanding Dion lived as temperately and modestly in his apparel, and also in his number of servants, and service at his board, as if he had lived with Plato in the Academy at Athens, and had not been conversant amongst soldiers and captains, which have no other comfort nor pleasure for all the pains and dangers they suffer continually, but to eat and drink their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. Plato wrote unto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But Dion, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one city (to wit, the Academy) and would have no other judges nor lookers into his doings, but the scholars of the same: who neither wondred at his great exploits, valiantness, nor victory, but only considered if he did wisely and modestly use the fortune he had, and could so keep himself within modest bounds, having done so great things. Furthermore, touching the gravity he had when he spake to anybody, and his inflexible severity which he used towards the people, he determined never to alter or change it: notwithstanding that his affairs required him to shew courtesy and lenity, and that Plato also reproved him for it, and wrote, that severity and obstinacy (as we said before) was the companion of solitariness. But it seemeth to me that Dion did use it for two respects. The first, because nature had not framed him, courteous and affable to win men: secondly, he did what he could to draw the Syracusans to the contrary, who were over-licentious, and spoiled with too much flattery: for

Heraclides began again to be busy with him. First of all, Dion sending for him to come to counsel, he sent him word he would not come: and that being a private citizen, he would be at the common council amongst others when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not overthrown and razed the castle: and also because he would not suffer the people to break open the tomb of Dionysius the elder, to cast out his body: and because he sent for counsellors to Corinth, and disdained to make the citizens his companions in the government of the commonwealth. Indeed to confess a troth, Dion had sent for certain Corinthians, hoping the better to establish the form of a commonwealth, which he had in his mind, when they were come. For his mind was utterly to break the government of Democratia, (to wit, the absolute government and authority of the people in a city, not being as it were a commonwealth, but rather a fair and market where things are sold, as Plato saith) and to establish the Laconian or Cretan commonwealth, mingled with a princely, and popular government: and that should be, Aristocratia, to wit, the number of a few noblemen that should govern and direct the chiefest and weightiest matters of state. And for that purpose, he thought the Corinthians the meetest men to help him to frame this commonwealth, considering that they governed their affairs more by choosing a few number of the nobility, than otherwise, and that they did not refer many things to the voice of the people. And because he was assured that Heraclides would be against him in it all that he could, and that otherwise he knew he was a seditious, a troublesome, and light-headed fellow: he

Dion
meant to
abolish
Democra-
tia

Callippus
con-
spireth
against
Dion

then suffered them to kill him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, and so they went home to his house, and slew him there. The murder of Heraclides was much disliked of the Syracusans: howbeit Dion caused him to be honourably buried, and brought his body to the ground, followed with all his army. Then he made an oration himself to the people, and told them, that it was impossible to avoid sedition and trouble in the city, so long as Dion and Heraclides did both govern together. At that time there was one Callippus an Athenian, a familiar of Dion's, who (as Plato saith) came not acquainted with Dion through the occasion of his study in philosophy: but because he had bin his guide to bring him to see the secret mysteries and ceremonies of the sacrifices, and for such other like common talk and company. This notwithstanding, Callippus did accompany him in all this war, and was very much honoured of him, and was one of the first of all his friends that entered into Syracuse with him, and did valiantly behave himself in all the battels and conflicts that were fought. This Callippus seeing that Dion's best and chiefest friends were all slain in this war, and that Heraclides also was dead, that the people of Syracuse had no more any head, and besides, that the soldiers which were with Dion did love him better than any other man: he became the unfaithfullest man and the veriest villain of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend Dion, he should undoubtedly come to have the whole government of all Sicily, and as some do report, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twenty talents for his labour to com-

mit this murder. So he began to practise, to bribe, and to suborn certain of the mercenary soldiers against Dion, and that by a marvellous crafty and subtile fetch. For, using commonly to report unto Dion certain seditious words, spoken peradventure by the soldiers indeed, or else devised of his own head: he wan such a liberty and boldness by the trust Dion had in him, that he might safely say what he would to any of the soldiers, and boldly speak evil of Dion by his own commandment: to the end he might thereby understand the better whether any of the soldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this policy, Callippus straight found out those that bore Dion grudge, and that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conspiracy. And if any man unwilling to give ear unto him, went and told Dion, that Callippus would have enticed him to conspire against him: Dion was not angry with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had commanded him to do. Now as this treason was practising against Dion, there appeared a great and monstrous ghost or spirit unto him. By chance sitting late one evening all alone, in a gallery he had, and being in a deep thought with himself, suddenly he heard a noise: and therewith casting his eye to the end of his gallery, (being yet daylight) he saw a monstrous great woman, like unto one of the furies shewed in plays, and saw her sweeping of the house with a broom. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his friends, and told them what a sight he had seen: and prayed them to tarry with him all night, being as it were a man beside himself, fearing lest the spirit would come to him again if they left him

A spirit
appeared
unto
Dion.

The alone, of the which notwithstanding he never heard
 lament- more afterwards. Howbeit shortly after, his son
 able being grown to man's state, for a certain light
 death anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he
 of Dion's cast himself headlong down from the top of the
 son house, and so was slain. Dion being in this state,
 Callippus went on still with his treason, and spread
 a rumour abroad among the Syracusans, that Dion
 seeing himself now destitute of children, was de-
 termined to send for Apollocrates, Dionysius' son,
 to make him his heir and successor, being cousin-
 german to his wife, and his sister's daughter's son.
 Then began Dion, his wife, and sister to mistrust
 Callippus' practices, and they were told of it by
 divers sundry and manifest proofs. But Dion being
 sorry (as I suppose) for Heraclides' death, and
 inwardly taking that murder in very evil part, as
 a foul blot to his life and doings: he said he had
 rather die a thousand deaths, and to offer his throat
 to be cut to any that would, rather than he would
 live in that misery, to be compelled to take heed as
 well of his friends, as of his enemies. Callippus
 then seeing the women so busy and inquisitive of
 his doings, and fearing lest he should be betrayed:
 he came weeping unto them, and told them it was
 nothing, and that he was ready to assure them of it
 by any manner of way they would devise. The
 women then willed him to swear by the great oath,
 which was in this manner. He that must take
 this oath, cometh into the temple of the goddesses
 Thesmophores, which are, Ceres and Proserpina.
 And after certain sacrifices done, he putteth on the
 purple chaplet of the goddess Proserpina, holding
 a burning torch in his hand and sweareth in this

manner. Callippus having done all these ceremonies, and made the oath in form as I have told you : he made so light account of the goddesses, that he tarried no longer to do the murder he had determined, but till the very feast-day of the goddess should come, by whom he had sworn : and slew him on the day of the feast of Proserpina, Now, I do not think that he chose that day of set purpose, knowing right well that he did always sin against her, what time soever he had killed his brother, being by his means specially admitted to the society and brotherhood with him, of the fraternity and mysteries of Ceres and Proserpina. Of this conspiracy there were divers. For, as Dion was set in his chamber talking with his friends where there were many beds to sit on : some compassed the house round about, others came to the doors and windows of his chamber, and they that should do the deed to despatch him, which were the Zacynthian soldiers, came into his chamber in their coats without any sword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the doors after them, and locked them in, lest any man should come out : and they that were within, fell upon Dion, and thought to have strangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a sword. Never a man that was within, durst open the doors, though there were many with Dion. For they thought every man to save their own lives, by suffering him to be killed, and therefore durst not come to help him. So the murderers tarried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one Lycon a Syracusan, that gave one of the Zacynthian soldiers a dagger in at the

Dion
slain by
Callippus
Athenian

Callippus window, with the which they cut Dion's throat, as
slain a wether they had holden a long time in their hands, even dead for fear. The murder being executed, they cast his sister, and wife, great with child, into prison, and there the poor lady was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring up, than otherwise to do anything with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, because Callippus began then a little to grow to some trouble. For at the first, after he had slain Dion, he bare all the whole sway for a time, and kept the city of Syracuse in his hands: and wrote unto Athens, the which next unto the immortal gods he was most afraid of, having defiled his hands in so damnable a treason. And therefore, in my opinion, it was not evil spoken, that Athens is a city of all others that bringeth forth the best when they give themselves to goodness, and the wickedest people also, when they dispose themselves to evil: as their country also bringeth forth the best honey that is, and hemlock in like manner that quickly despatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not suffer this treason and wicked man to reign long, having come to the government of a realm by so damnable a murder: but shortly after they gave him his payment he had deserved. For Callippus going to take a little town called Catana, he lost the city of Syracuse: whereupon he said that he had lost a city, and got a cheese-knife. Afterwards he went to assail the Messenians, and there he lost a great number of his men, and amongst them were slain those that killed Dion. Now Callippus finding no city in all Sicily,

that would receive him, but that they all did hate and abhor him : he went to take the city of Rhegium in Italy. There being in great distress and need of all things, and not able to maintain his soldiers : he was slain by Leptines, and Polysperchon, with the self same dagger wherewith Dion before was slain : the which was known by the fashion, being short after the Laconian daggers, and also by the workmanship upon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of Callippus. Now for Aristomaché and Areté, they were taken out of prison : and Hicetes Syracusan, that sometimes had been one of Dion's friends, took them home to his own house, and used them very well and faithfully for a certain time, but afterwards was won and corrupted by Dion's enemies. So he caused a ship to be provided for them, and bore them in hand that he would send them into Peloponnesus : but he gave them charge that carried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them overboard into the sea. Some say, that the two women, and the little young boy, were cast alive into the sea. But this reward of the sinful act that he committed, returned again upon himself, as it had done before unto others. For he was taken by Timoleon that put him to death : and besides, the Syracusans did also kill two of his daughters in revenge of the unfaithfulness he had shewed unto Dion.

with the
dagger
that slew
Dion

THE END OF DION'S LIFE.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS

The parent-
age of
Brutus

MARCUS BRUTUS came of that Junius Brutus, for whom the ancient Romans made his statue of brass to be set up in the Capitol, with the images of the kings, holding a naked sword in his hand: because he had valiantly put down the Tarquins from their kingdom of Rome. But that Junius Brutus being of a sour stern nature, not softened by reason, being like unto sword blades of too hard a temper: was so subject to his choler and malice he bore unto the tyrants, that for their sakes he caused his own sons to be executed. But this Marcus Brutus in contrary manner, whose life we presently write, having framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue and study of philosophy, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things: methinks he was rightly made and framed unto vertue. So that his very enemies which wish him most hurt, because of his conspiracy against Julius Cæsar: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracy, they refer it wholly unto Brutus, and all the cruel and violent acts unto Cassius, who was Brutus' familiar friend, but not so well given, and conditioned as he. His mother Servilia, it is thought came of the blood of Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Mælius went about to make himself king,

and to bring it to pass had enticed the common people to rebel: took a dagger and hid it close under his arm, and went into the market-place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had somewhat to say unto him, and pressed as near him as he could: wherefore Mælius stooping down with his head, to hear what he would say, Brutus stabbed him in with his dagger, and slew him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, some for the evil will and malice they bore unto Brutus, because of the death of Julius Cæsar, do maintain that he came not of Junius Brutus that drove out the Tarquins: for there were none left of his race, considering that his two sons were executed for conspiracy with the Tarquins: and that Marcus Brutus came of a mean house, the which was raised to honour and office in the commonwealth, but of late time. Posidonius the Philosopher writeth the contrary, that Junius Brutus indeed slew two of his sons which were men grown, as the histories do declare: howbeit that there was a third son, being but a little child at that time, from whom the house and family afterwards was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his time certain famous men of that family, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of Junius Brutus. And thus much for this matter. Marcus Cato the Philosopher was brother unto Servilia, M. Brutus' mother: whom Brutus studied most to follow of all the other Romans, because he was his uncle, and afterwards he married his daughter. Now touching the Grecian philosophers, there was no sect nor philosopher of them, but he heard and

His
father
and
mother

Brutus' studies liked it : but above all the rest, he loved Plato's sect best, and did not much give himself to the new nor mean Academy as they call it, but altogether to the old Academy. Therefore he did ever greatly esteem the philosopher Antiochus, of the city of Ascalon : but he was more familiar with his brother Ariston, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other philosophers, but for wisdom and courtesy, equal with the best and chiefest. Touching Empylus, whom Marcus Brutus himself doth mention in his epistles, and his friends also in many places : he was an orator, and left an excellent book he wrote of the death of Julius Cæsar, and titled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latin tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it, besides that he could also plead very well in Latin. But for the Greek tongue, they do note in some of his epistles, that he counterfeited that brief compendious manner of speech of the Lacedæmonians. As when the war was begun, he wrote unto the Pergamenians in this sort ; I understand you have given Dolabella money : if you have done it willingly, you confess you have offended me : if against your wills, shew it then by giving me willingly. Another time again unto the Samians : Your counsels be long, your doings be slow, consider the end. And in another epistle he wrote unto the Patariensians : The Xanthians despising my good-will, have made their country a grave of despair : and the Patariensians that put themselves into my protection, have lost no jot of their liberty. And therefore whilst you have liberty, either choose the judgement of the Patariensians, or the fortune of the Xanthians. These

were Brutus' manner of letters which were honoured for their briefness. So Brutus being but a young stripling went into Cyprus with his uncle Cato, who was sent against Ptolemy king of Egypt, who having slain himself, Cato staying for certain necessary business he had in the Isle of Rhodes, had already sent Canidius, one of his friends, before to keep his treasure and goods. But Cato fearing he would be light-fingered, wrote unto Brutus forthwith to come out of Pamphylia, (where he was but newly recovered of a sickness) into Cyprus, the which he did. The which journey he was sorry to take upon him, both for respect of Canidius' shame, whom Cato as he thought wrongfully slandered: as also because he thought this office too mean and unmeet for him, being a young man, and given to his book. This notwithstanding, he behaved himself so honestly and carefully, that Cato did greatly commend him: and after all the goods were sold and converted into ready money, he took the most part of it, and returned withal to Rome. Afterwards when the empire of Rome was divided into factions, and that Cæsar and Pompey both were in arms one against the other, and that all the empire of Rome was in garboil and uproar: it was thought then that Brutus would take part with Cæsar, because Pompey not long before had put his father to death. But Brutus preferring the respect of his country and commonwealth, before private affection, and persuading himself that Pompey had juster cause to enter into arms than Cæsar: he then took part with Pompey, though oftentimes meeting him before, he thought scorn to speak to him, thinking it

Brutus
taketh
part with
Pompey

Brutus saved a great sin and offence in him, to speak to the murderer of his father. But then submitting himself unto Pompey, as unto the head of the commonwealth: he sailed into Sicily, lieutenant under Sestius that was governor of that province. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploits, and that Cæsar and Pompey were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of himself unsent for into Macedon, to be partaker of the danger. It is reported that Pompey being glad, and wondering at his coming when he saw him come to him: he rose out of his chair, and went and embraced him before them all, and used him as honourably, as he could have done the noblest man that took his part. Brutus being in Pompey's camp, did nothing but study all day long, except he were with Pompey, and not only the days before, but the self same day also before the great battell was fought in the fields of Pharsalia, where Pompey was overthrown. It was in the midst of sommer, and the sun was very hot, besides that the camp was lodged near unto marshes, and they that carried his tent, tarried long before they came, whereupon, being very weary with travel, scant any meat came into his mouth at dinner-time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morrow after: he fell to his book, and wrote all day long till night, writing a breviary of Polybius. It is reported that Cæsar did not forget him, and that he gave his captains charge before the battell, that they should beware they killed not Brutus in fight, and if he yielded willingly unto them, that then they should bring him unto him: but if he resisted,

by Julius
Cæsar

and would not be taken, then that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for Servilia's sake, Brutus' mother. For when he was a young man, he had been acquainted with Servilia, who was extremely in love with him. And because Brutus was born in that time when their love was hottest, he persuaded himself that he begat him. For proof hereof the report goeth, that when the weightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracy of Catilina, which was likely to have undone the city of Rome, Cæsar and Cato sat near together, and were both of contrary minds to each other: and then, that in the meantime one delivered Cæsar a letter. Cæsar took it, and read it softly to himself: but Cato cried out upon Cæsar, and said he did not well to receive advertisements from enemies. Whereupon the whole Senate began to murmur at it. Then Cæsar gave Cato the letter as it was sent him, who read it, and found that it was a love-letter sent from his sister Servilia: thereupon he cast it again to Cæsar, and said unto him, Hold, drunken sop. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintained his opinion as he did before: so commonly was the love of Servilia known which she bare unto Cæsar. So, after Pompey's overthrow at the battell of Pharsalia, and that he fled to the sea: when Cæsar came to besiege his camp, Brutus went out of the camp gates unseen of any man, and leapt into a marsh full of water and reeds. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went unto the city of Larissa: from whence he wrote unto Cæsar, who was very glad that he had escaped, and sent for him to come unto him. When Brutus was come, he

Brutus had a vehement will did not only pardon him, but also kept him always about him, and did as much honour and esteem him, as any man he had in his company. Now no man could tell whither Pompey was fled, and all were marvellous desirous to know it: wherefore Cæsar walking a good way alone with Brutus, he did ask him which way he thought Pompey took. Cæsar perceiving by his talk that Brutus guessed certainly whither Pompey should be fled: he left all other ways, and took his journey directly towards Egypt. Pompey, as Brutus had conjectured, was indeed fled into Egypt, but there he was villainously slain. Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of Cæsar for Cassius: and defending also the king of Libya's cause, he was overlaid with a world of accusations against him, howbeit entreating for him, he saved him the best part of his realm and kingdom. They say also that Cæsar said, when he heard Brutus plead: I know not, said he, what this young man would, but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as Brutus' gravity and constant mind would not grant all men their requests that sued unto him, but being moved with reason and discretion, did always incline to that which was good and honest: even so when it was moved to follow any matter, he used a kind of forcible and vehement persuasion that calmed not, till he had obtained his desire. For by flattering of him, a man could never obtain anything at his hands, nor make him to do that which was unjust. Further he thought it not meet for a man of calling and estimation, to yield unto the requests and entreaties of a shameless and importunate suitor, requesting things unmeet: the which notwithstanding, some men do for shame,

because they dare deny nothing, and therefore he was wont to say, That he thought them evil brought up in their youth, that could deny nothing. Now when Cæsar took sea to go into Africk, against Cato and Scipio, he left Brutus governor of Gaul in Italy, on this side of the Alps, which was a great good hap for that province. For where others were spoiled and polled by the insolency and covetousness of the governors, as if it had been a country conquered: Brutus was a comfort and rest unto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholly unto Cæsar's grace and goodness. For, when Cæsar returned out of Africk, and progressed up and down Italy: the things that pleased him best to see, were the cities under Brutus' charge and government, and Brutus himself: who honoured Cæsar in person, and whose company also Cæsar greatly esteemed. Now there were divers sorts of Prætorships at Rome, and it was looked for, that Brutus or Cassius would make suit for the chiefest Prætorship, which they called the Prætorship of the city: because he that had that office, was as a judge to minister justice unto the citizens. Therefore they strove one against the other, though some say that there was some little grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did set them further out, though they were allied together. For Cassius had married Junia, Brutus' sister. Others say, That this contention betwixt them came by Cæsar himself, who secretly gave either of them both hope of his favour. So their suit for the Prætorship was so followed and laboured of either party, that one of them put another in suit of law.

Brutus
governor
of Gaul

Cæsar suspected
lean
people

Brutus with his vertue and good name contended against many noble exploits in arms, which Cassius had done against the Parthians. So Cæsar after he had heard both their objections, he told his friends with whom he consulted about this matter: Cassius' cause is the juster, said he, but Brutus must be first preferred. Thus Brutus had the first Prætorship, and Cassius the second: who thanked not Cæsar so much for the Prætorship he had, as he was angry with him for that he had lost. But Brutus in many other things tasted of the benefit of Cæsar's favour in anything he requested. For if he had listed, he might have been one of Cæsar's chiefest friends, and of greatest authority and credit about him. Howbeit Cassius' friends did dissuade him from it (for Cassius and he were not yet reconciled together sithence their first contention and strife for the Prætorship) and prayed him to beware of Cæsar's sweet enticements, and to fly his tyrannical favours: the which they said Cæsar gave him, not to honour his vertue, but to weaken his constant mind, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now Cæsar on the other side did not trust him overmuch, nor was not without tales brought unto him against him: howbeit he feared his great mind, authority, and friends. Yet on the other side also, he trusted his good-nature, and fair conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him: he answered, That these fat long-haired men made him not afraid, but the lean and whitely-faced fellows, meaning that, by Brutus and Cassius. At another time also when one accused Brutus unto him, and bade him beware of him: What, said

he again, clapping his hand on his breast : think ye that Brutus will not tarry till this body die? Meaning that none but Brutus after him was meet to have such power as he had. And surely, in my opinion, I am persuaded that Brutus might indeed have come to have been the chiefest man of Rome, if he could have contented himself for a time to have been next unto Cæsar, and to have suffered his glory and authority which he had gotten by his great victories, to consume with time. But Cassius being a choleric man, and hating Cæsar privately, more than he did the tyranny openly : he incensed Brutus against him. It is also reported, that Brutus could evil away with the tyranny, and that Cassius hated the tyrant : making many complaints for the injuries he had done him, and amongst others, for that he had taken away his lions from him. Cassius had provided them for his sports, when he should be Ædile, and they were found in the city of Megara, when it was won by Calenus, and Cæsar kept them. The rumour went, that these lions did marvellous great hurt to the Megarians. For when the city was taken, they broke their cages where they were tied up, and turned them loose, thinking they would have done great mischief to the enemies, and have kept them from setting upon them : but the lions contrary to expectation, turned upon themselves that fled unarmed, and did so cruelly tear some in pieces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause, as some do report, that made Cassius conspire against Cæsar. But this holdeth no water. For Cassius even from his cradle could not abide any manner of tyrants, as it

**Cassius
incenseth
Brutus
against
Cæsar**

Cassius
an enemy
of tyrants

appeared when he was but a boy, and went unto the same school that Faustus, the son of Sulla did. And Faustus bragging among other boys, highly boasted of his father's kingdom: Cassius rose up on his feet, and gave him two good whirts on the ear. Faustus' governors would have put this matter in suit against Cassius: but Pompey would not suffer them, but caused the two boys to be brought before him, and asked them how the matter came to pass. Then Cassius, as it is written of him, said unto the other: Go to Faustus, speak again and thou darest, before this nobleman here, the same words that made me angry with thee, that my fists may walk once again about thine ears. Such was Cassius' hot stirring nature. But for Brutus, his friends and countrymen, both by divers procurements, and sundry rumours of the city, and by many bills also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For, under the image of his ancestor Junius Brutus, that drave the kings out of Rome, they wrote: Oh that it pleased the gods thou wert now alive, Brutus: and again, that thou wert here among us now. His tribunal (or chair) where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of such bills: Brutus, thou art asleep, and art not Brutus indeed. And of all this, Cæsar's flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and unspeakable honours they daily devised for him, in the night-time they did put diadems upon the heads of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him king, instead of dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrary, as we have written more at large in Julius Cæsar's life. Now

**How
Brutus
was in-
censed
against
Cæsar**

when Cassius felt his friends, and did stir them up against Cæsar: they all agreed and promised to take part with him, so Brutus were the chief of their conspiracy. For they told him, That so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so much require men of manhood, and courage to draw their swords: as it stood them upon to have a man of such estimation as Brutus, to make every man boldly think, that by his only presence the fact were holy, and just. If he took not this course, then that they should go to it with fainter hearts, and when they had done it, they should be more fearful: because every man would think that Brutus would not have refused to have made one with them, if the cause had been good and honest. Therefore Cassius considering this matter with himself, did first of all speak to Brutus, since they grew strange together for the suit they had for the Prætorship. So when he was reconciled to him again, and that they had embraced one another: Cassius asked him If he were determined to be in the Senate-house, the first day of the moneth of March, because he heard say that Cæsar's friends should move the council that day, that Cæsar should be called king by the Senate. Brutus answered him, He would not be there. But if we be sent for said Cassius: how then? For my self then said Brutus, I mean not to hold my peace, but to withstand it, and rather die than lose my liberty. Cassius being bold, and taking hold of this word: Why, quoth he, what Roman is he alive that will suffer thee to die for the liberty? What, knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be cobblers,

The con- tapsters, or suchlike base mechanical people, that
spiracy write these bills and scrolls which are found daily in thy Prætor's chair, and not the noblest men and best citizens that do it? No, be thou well assured, that of other Prætors they look for gifts, common distributions amongst the people, and for common plays, and to see fencers fight at the sharp, to shew the people pastime: but at thy hands, they specially require (as a due debt unto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake, so that thou wilt shew thy self to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kissed Brutus, and embraced him: and so each taking leave of other, they went both to speak with their friends about it. Now amongst Pompey's friends, there was one called Caius Ligarius, who had been accused unto Cæsar for taking part with Pompey, and Cæsar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Cæsar so much for his discharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannical power. And therefore in his heart he was always his mortal enemy, and was besides very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being sick in his bed, and said unto him: O Ligarius, in what a time art thou sick? Ligarius rising up in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, said unto him: Brutus, said he, if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thy self, I am whole. After that time they began to feel all their acquaintance whom they trusted, and laid their heads together consulting upon it, and did not only pick out their friends, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that

were not afraid to lose their lives. For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracy, although he was a man whom they loved dearly, and trusted best: for they were afraid that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his fear, he would quite turn and alter all their purpose, and quench the heat of their enterprise, the which specially required hot and earnest execution, seeking by persuasion to bring all things to such safety, as there should be no peril. Brutus also did let other of his friends alone, as Statilius Epicurean, and Favonius, that made profession to follow Marcus Cato. Because that having cast out words afar off, disputing together in philosophy to feel their minds: Favonius answered, That civil war was worse than tyrannical government usurped against the law. And Statilius told him also, That it were an unwise part of him, to put his life in danger, for a sight of ignorant fools and asses. Labeo was present at this talk, and maintained the contrary against them both. But Brutus held his peace, as though it had been a doubtful matter, and a hard thing to have decided. But afterwards, being out of their company, he made Labeo privy to his intent: who very readily offered himself to make one. And they thought good also to bring in another Brutus to join with him, surnamed Albinus: who was no man of his hands himself, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaves, and fencers at the sharp, whom he kept to shew the people pastime with their fighting, besides also that Cæsar had some trust in him. Cassius and Labeo told Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no answer. But when he

Civil war
worse
than
tyranny

Porcia
Cato's
daughter

had spoken with Brutus himself alone, and that Brutus had told him he was the chief ringleader of all this conspiracy: then he willingly promised him the best aid he could. Furthermore, the only name and great calling of Brutus, did bring on the most of them to give consent to this conspiracy. Who having never taken oaths together, nor taken or given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves one to another by any religious oaths: they all kept the matter so secret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding the gods did reveal it by manifest signs and tokens from above, and by predictions of sacrifices: yet all this would not be believed. Now Brutus, who knew very well that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest, and most courageous men of Rome did venture their lives, weighing with himself the greatness of the danger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and fashion his countenance and looks, that no man could discern he had anything to trouble his mind. But when night came that he was in his own house, then he was clean changed. For, either care did wake him against his will when he would have slept, or else oftentimes of himself he fell into such deep thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his mind all the dangers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, found that there was some marvellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himself. His wife Porcia (as we have told you before) was the daughter of Cato, whom Brutus married being his cousin, not a maiden, but a young widow after the death of her first husband Bibulus, by whom she

had also a young son called Bibulus, who afterwards wrote a book of the acts and gests of Brutus, extant at this present day. This young lady being excellently well seen in philosophy, loving her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wise: because she would not ask her husband what he ailed before she had made some proof by her self, she took a little razor such as barbers occupy to pare men's nails, and causing her maids and women to go out of her chamber, gave her self a great gash withal in her thigh, that she was straight all of a gore-blood, and incontinently after, a vehement fever took her, by reason of the pain of her wound. Then perceiving her husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest: even in her greatest pain of all, she spake in this sort unto him: "I being, O Brutus," (said she) "the daughter of Cato, was married unto thee, not to be thy bedfellow and companion in bed and at board only, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with thee, of thy good and evil fortune. Now for thy self, I can find no cause of fault in thee touching our match: but for my part, how may I shew my duty towards thee, and how much I would do for thy sake, if I cannot constantly bear a secret mischance or grief with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity? I confess, that a woman's wit commonly is too weak to keep a secret safely: but yet, Brutus, good education, and the company of vertuous men, have some power to reform the defect of nature. And for my self, I have this benefit moreover: that I am the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of

Porcia's
words
unto her
husband

The wonderful constancy these things before: until that now I have found by experience, that no pain nor grief whatsoever can overcome me." With those words she shewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to prove her self. Brutus was amazed to hear what she said unto him, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good pass, that he might be found a husband, worthy of so noble a wife as Porcia: so he then did comfort her the best he could. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped Cæsar would not fail to come: the conspirators determined then to put their enterprise in execution, because they might meet safely at that time without suspicion, and the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the city would be there. Who when they should see such a great matter executed, would every man then set to their hands, for the defence of their liberty. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the council should be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the theatre, in the which there was a certain place full of seats for men to sit in, where also was set up the image of Pompey, which the city had made and consecrated in honour of him: when he did beautify that part of the city with the theatre he built, with diverse porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the Romans call, *Idus Martias*: so that it seemed some god of purpose had brought Cæsar

thither to be slain, for revenge of Pompey's death. So when the day was come, Brutus went out of his house with a dagger by his side under his long gown, that nobody saw nor knew, but his wife only. The other conspirators were all assembled at Cassius' house, to bring his son into the market-place, who on that day did put on the man's gown, called *toga virilis*, and from thence they came all in a troop together unto Pompey's porch, looking that Cæsar would straight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderful assured constancy of these conspirators, in so dangerous and weighty an enterprise as they had undertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reason of their office, whose duty is to minister justice to everybody: they did not only with great quietness and courtesy hear them that spake unto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive ear, as if they had had no other matter in their heads: but moreover, they gave just sentence, and carefully despatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certain sum of money, refused to pay it, and cried out that he did appeal unto Cæsar. Then Brutus casting his eyes upon the conspirators, said, Cæsar shall not let me to see the law executed. Notwithstanding this, by chance there fell out many misfortunes unto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The first and chiefest was, Cæsar's long tarrying, who came very late to the Senate: for because the signs of the sacrifices appeared unlucky, his wife Calpurnia kept him at home, and the soothsayers bade him beware he went not abroad. The second cause was, when one came unto Casca being a con-

of the
con-
spirators

The weakness of Porcia spirator, and taking him by the hand, said unto him: O Casca, thou keepest it close from me, but Brutus hath told me all. Casca being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and said: Why, how now, how cometh it to pass thou art thus rich, that thou dost sue to be *Ædile*? Thus Casca being deceived by the other's doubtful words, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracy. Another Senator called Popilius Lænas, after he had saluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly than he was wont to do: he rounded softly in their ears, and told them, I pray the gods you may go through with that you have taken in hand, but withal, despatch I read you, for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had said, he presently departed from them, and left them both afraid that their conspiracy would out. Now in the meantime, there came one of Brutus' men post-haste unto him, and told him his wife was a-dying. For Porcia being very careful and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weak to away with so great and inward grief of mind: she could hardly keep within, but was frightened with every little noise and cry she heard, as those that are taken and possessed with the fury of the Bacchantes, asking every man that came from the market-place, what Brutus did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to know what news. At length, Cæsar's coming being prolonged as you have heard, Porcia's weakness was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she suddenly swooned, that she had no leisure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soon

came to her self again, and so was laid in her bed, and tended by her women. When Brutus heard these news, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed : yet he left not off the care of his country and commonwealth, neither went home to his house for any news he heard. Now, it was reported that Cæsar was coming in his litter : for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he was afraid of the unlucky signs of the sacrifices) but to adjourn matters of importance unto the next session and council holden, feigning himself not to be well at ease. When Cæsar came out of his litter : Popillius Lænas, that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the gods they might bring this enterprize to pass : went unto Cæsar, and kept him a long time with a talk. Cæsar gave good ear unto him. Wherefore the conspirators (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to Cæsar, but conjecturing by that he had told them a little before, that his talk was none other but the very discovery of their conspiracy : they were afraid every man of them, and one looking in another's face, it was easy to see that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands. And when Cassius and certain others clapped their hands on their swords under their gowns to draw them : Brutus marking the countenance and gesture of Lænas, and considering that he did use himself rather like an humble and earnest suitor, than like an accuser : he said nothing to his companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracy) but with a pleasant countenance

Fear of
betrayal

Brutus encouraged his fearful consorts nance encouraged Cassius. And immediately after, Lænas went from Cæsar, and kissed his hand: which shewed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himself, that he had held him so long in talk. Now all the Senators being entered first into this place or chapter-house where the council should be kept, all the other conspirators straight stood about Cæsar's chair, as if they had had something to have said unto him. And some say, that Cassius casting his eyes upon Pompey's image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had been alive. Trebonius on the other side, drew Antonius aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sat, and held him with a long talk without. When Cæsar was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his coming in. So when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one Tillius Cimber, who made humble suit for the calling home again of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessors for him, and took him by the hands, and kissed his head and breast. Cæsar at the first, simply refused their kindness and entreaties: but afterwards, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Cæsar's gown over his shoulders, and Casca that stood behind him, drew his dagger first, and struck Cæsar upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. Cæsar feeling himself hurt, took him straight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: O traitor, Casca, what doest thou? Casca on the other side cried in Greek, and called his brother to help him. So divers running on a heap together to fly upon Cæsar,

he looking about him to have fled, saw Brutus with a sword drawn in his hand ready to strike at him : then he let Casca's hand go, and casting his gown over his face, suffered every man to strike at him that would. Then the conspirators thronging one upon another because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloodied. Cæsar being slain in this manner, Brutus standing in the midst of the house, would have spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracy, to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both affrayed and amazed, fled one upon another's neck in haste to get out at the door, and no man followed them. For it was set down, and agreed between them, that they should kill no man but Cæsar only, and should entreat all the rest to defend their liberty. All the conspirators, but Brutus, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny : besides also, for that he was in great estimation with soldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them : and specially having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authority at that time, being Consul with Cæsar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest : secondly, because he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that Antonius being a noble-minded and coura-

The
murder
of Cæsar

Brutus
with his
consorts

geous man (when he should know that Cæsar was dead) would willingly help his country to recover her liberty, having them an example unto him, to follow their courage and vertue. So Brutus by this means saved Antonius' life, who at that present time disguised himself, and stole away. But Brutus and his consorts, having their swords bloody in their hands, went straight to the Capitol, persuading the Romans as they went, to take their liberty again. Now, at the first time when the murder was newly done, there were sudden outcries of people that ran up and down the city, the which indeed did the more increase the fear and tumult. But when they saw they slew no man, neither did spoil or make havoc of anything: then certain of the Senators, and many of the people emboldening themselves, went to the Capitol unto them. There a great number of men being assembled together one after another: Brutus made an oration unto them to win the favour of the people, and to justify that they had done. All those that were by, said they had done well, and cried unto them That they should boldly come down from the Capitol. Whereupon, Brutus and his companions came boldly down into the market-place. The rest followed in troop, but Brutus went foremost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the city, which brought him from the Capitol, through the market-place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehells of all sorts, and had a goodwill to make some stir: yet being ashamed to do it for the reverence they bore unto Brutus, they kept silence, to hear what he would say. When

Brutus began to speak, they gave him quiet audience : **went unto the Capitol**
howbeit immediately after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called Cinna would have spoken, and began to accuse Cæsar : they fell into a great uproar among them, and marvellously reviled him. Insomuch that the conspirators returned again into the Capitol. There Brutus being affrayed to be besieged, sent back again the noblemen that came thither with him, thinking it no reason, that they which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the danger. Then the next morning the Senate being assembled, and holden within the temple of the goddess Tellus, to wit the earth : and Antonius, Plancus, and Cicero, having made a motion to the Senate in that assembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to establish friendship and peace again : it was decreed, that they should not only be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should refer it to the Senate what honours should be appointed unto them. This being agreed upon, the Senate broke up, and Antonius the Consul, to put them in heart that were in the Capitol, sent them his son for a pledge. Upon this assurance, Brutus and his companions came down from the Capitol, where every man saluted and embraced each other, among the which, Antonius himself did bid Cassius to supper to him : and Lepidus also bade Brutus, and so one bade another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called again to council, did first of all commend Antonius, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civil war : then they

Brutus also gave Brutus and his consorts great praises, and
 lastly they appointed them several governments of
 committed provinces. For unto Brutus, they appointed Crete :
 two great Africk, unto Cassius : Asia, unto Trebonius : Bithy-
 faults nia unto Cimber : and unto the other Decius Brutus
 Albinus, Gaul on this side the Alps. When this
 was done, they came to talk of Cæsar's will and
 testament, and of his funerals and tomb. Then
 Antonius thinking good his testament should be
 read openly, and also that his body should be
 honourably buried, and not in hugger-mugger, lest
 the people might thereby take occasion to be worse
 offended if they did otherwise : Cassius stoutly spake
 against it. But Brutus went with the motion, and
 agreed unto it : wherein it seemeth he committed a
 second fault. For the first fault he did was, when
 he would not consent to his fellow-conspirators,
 that Antonius should be slain. And therefore he
 was justly accused, that thereby he had saved and
 strengthened a strong and grievous enemy of their
 conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed
 that Cæsar's funerals should be as Antonius would
 have them : the which indeed marred all. For
 first of all, when Cæsar's testament was openly read
 among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed
 unto every citizen of Rome, seventy-five drachmas
 a man, and that he left his gardens and arbours
 unto the people, which he had on this side of the
 river of Tiber, in the place where now the temple
 of Fortune is built : the people then loved him, and
 were marvellous sorry for him. Afterwards when
 Cæsar's body was brought into the market-place,
 Antonius making his funeral oration in praise of
 the dead, according to the ancient custom of Rome,

and perceiving that his words moved the common people to compassion: he framed his eloquence to make their hearts yearn the more, and taking Cæsar's gown all bloody in his hand, he laid it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithal the people fell presently into such a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cried out, Kill the murtherers: others plucked up forms, tables, and stalls about the market-place, as they had done before at the funerals of Clodius, and having laid them all on a heap together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of Cæsar, and burnt it in the midst of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, some here, some there, took burning firebrands, and ran with them to the murtherers' houses that had killed him, to set them afire. Howbeit the conspirators foreseeing the danger before, had wisely provided for themselves, and fled. But there was a poet called Cinna, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was always one of Cæsar's chiefest friends: he dreamed the night before, that Cæsar bade him to supper with him, and that he refusing to go, Cæsar was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great dark place, where being marvellously afraid, he was driven to follow him in spite of his heart. This dream put him all night into a fever, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard that they carried Cæsar's body to burial, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals: he went out of his house, and thrust himself into the press

Antonius'
funeral
oration

Brutus and his consorts of the common people that were in a great uproar. And because some one called him by his name, Cinna : the people thinking he had been that Cinna, who in an oration he made had spoken very evil of Cæsar, they falling upon him in their rage, slew him outright in the market-place. This made Brutus and his companions more afraid, than any other thing, next unto the change of Antonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the first in the city of Antium, hoping to return again to Rome, when the fury of the people were a little assuaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, considering that they had to deal with a fickle and unconstant multitude, easy to be carried, and that the Senate stood for them : who notwithstanding made no inquiry of them that had torn poor Cinna the Poet in pieces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended, that went with firebrands to set fire of the conspirators' houses. The people growing weary now of Antonius' pride and insolency, who ruled all things in manner with absolute power : they desired that Brutus might return again, and it was also looked for, that Brutus would come himself in person to play the plays which were due to the people, by reason of his office of Prætorship. But Brutus understanding that many of Cæsar's soldiers which served under him in the wars, and that also had lands and houses given them in the cities where they lay, did lie in wait for him to kill him, and that they daily by small companies came by one and by one into Rome : he durst no more return thither, but yet the people had the pleasure and pastime in his absence, to see the games and sports he made them, which

were sumptuously set forth, and furnished with all things necessary, sparing for no cost. For he had bought a great number of strange beasts, of the which he would not give one of them to any friend he had, but that they should all be employed in his games: and went himself as far as Byzantium, to speak to some players of comedies and musicians that were there. And further he wrote unto his friends for one Canutius an excellent player, that whatsoever they did, they should entreat him to play in these plays: For, said he, it is no reason to compel any Grecian, unless he will come of his own good-will. Moreover, he wrote also unto Cicero, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these plays. Now the state of Rome standing in these terms, there fell out another change and alteration, when the young man Octavius Cæsar came to Rome. He was the son of Julius Cæsar's niece, whom he had adopted for his son, and made his heir, by his last will and testament. But when Julius Cæsar his adopted father was slain, he was in the city of Apollonia, where he studied tarrying for him, because he was determined to make war with the Parthians: but when he heard the news of his death, he returned again to Rome, where to begin to curry favour with the common people, he first of all took upon him his adopted father's name, and made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed unto them. By this means he troubled Antonius sorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his father's soldiers together, that had served in the wars with him. And Cicero himself, for the great malice he bore Antonius, did favour his proceedings. But Brutus marvellously reprov'd him

do fly
from
Rome

Octavius
Cæsar's
coming to
Rome

for it, and wrote unto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sorry to have a maister, but only to be afraid to have one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the commonwealth did witness, that he chose to be subject to a mild and courteous bondage, sith by his words and writings he did commend this young man Octavius Cæsar, to be a good and gentle lord. For our predecessors said he, would never abide to be subject to any maisters, how gentle or mild soever they were: and for his own part that he had never resolutely determined with himself to make war, or peace, but otherwise, that he was certainly minded never to be slave nor subject. And therefore he wondered much at him, how Cicero could be afraid of the danger of civil wars, and would not be afraid of a shameful peace: and that to thrust Antonius out of the usurped tyranny, in recompense he went about to establish young Octavius Cæsar tyrant. These were the contents of Brutus' first letters he wrote unto Cicero. Now, the city of Rome being divided in two factions, some taking part with Antonius, others also leaning unto Octavius Cæsar, and the soldiers making port sale of their service to him that would give most: Brutus seeing the state of Rome would be utterly overthrown, he determined to go out of Italy, and went afoot through the country of Luke, unto the city of Elea, standing by the sea. There Porcia being ready to depart from her husband Brutus, and to return to Rome, did what she could to dissemble the grief and sorrow she felt at her heart: but a certain painted table bewrayed her in the end, although until that time she always shewed a constant and patient mind. The device of the

table was taken out of the Greek stories, how Andromaché accompanied her husband Hector, when he went out of the city of Troy to go to the wars, and how Hector delivered her his little son, and how her eyes were never off him. Porcia seeing this picture, and likening her self to be in the same case, she fell a-weeping : and coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. Acilius one of Brutus' friends perceiving that, rehearsed the verses Andromaché speaketh to this purpose in Homer :

How
Brutus
bestowed
his time
in Athens

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

Then Brutus smiling, answered again : But yet (said he) I cannot for my part say unto Porcia, as Hector answered Andromaché in the same place of the poet :

Tush, meddle thou with weighing duly out
Thy maids their task, and pricking on a clout.

For indeed the weak constitution of her body, doth not suffer her to perform in shew, the valiant acts that we are able to do : but for courage and constant mind, she shewed her self as stout in the defence of her country, as any of us. Bibulus, the son of Porcia, reporteth this story thus. Now Brutus embarking at Elea in Luke, he sailed directly towards Athens. When he arrived there, the people of Athens received him with common joys of rejoicing, and honourable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to hear the lectures of Theomnestus Academic

Brutus philosopher, and of Cratippus the Peripatetick, and so would talk with them in philosophy, that it seem'd he left all other matters, and gave himself only unto study: howbeit secretly notwithstanding, he made preparation for war. For he sent Herostratus into Macedon, to win the captains and soldiers that were upon those marches, and he did also entertain all the young gentlemen of the Romans, whom he found in Athens studying philosophy: amongst them he found Cicero's son, whom he highly praised and commended, saying: That whether he waked or slept, he found him of a noble mind and disposition, he did in nature so much hate tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into arms: and being advertised that there came out of Asia a certain fleet of Roman ships that had good store of money in them, and that the captain of those ships (who was an honest man, and his familiar friend) came towards Athens: he went to meet him as far as the Isle of Carystos, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leave his ships in his hands. Whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his birthday. When the feast day came, and that they began to drink lustily one to another: the guests drank to the victory of Brutus, and the liberty of the Romans. Brutus therefore to encourage them further, called for a bigger cup, and holding it in his hand, before he drank spake this aloud:

My destiny and Phœbus are agreed,
To bring me to my final end with speed.

And for proof hereof, it is reported, that the same day he fought his last battell by the city of

Philippi, as he came out of his tent, he gave his men for the word and signal of battell, Phœbus: so that it was thought ever since, that this his sudden crying out at the feast, was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gave him of the money he carried into Italy, fifty myriads. Furthermore, all Pompey's soldiers that straggled up and down Thessaly, came with very good-will unto him. He took from Cinna also, five hundred horsemen, which he carried into Asia, unto Dolabella. After that, he went by sea unto the city of Demetriad, and there took a great deal of armour and munition which was going to Antonius: and the which had been made and forced there by Julius Cæsar's commandment, for the wars against the Parthians. Furthermore, Hortensius governor of Macedon, did resign the government thereof unto him. Besides, all the princes, kings and noblemen thereabouts, came and joined with him, when it was told him that Caius (Antonius' brother) coming out of Italy, had passed the sea, and came with great speed towards the city of Dyrrachium, and Apollonia, to get the soldiers into his hands, which Gabinius had there. Brutus therefore to prevent him, went presently with a few of his men in the midst of winter when it snowed hard, and took his way through hard and foul countries, and made such speed indeed, that he was there long before Antonius' sumpters, that carried the victuals. So that when he came near unto Dyrrachium, a disease took him which the physicians call *βουλιμία*, to say, a cormorant and unsatiabable appetite to eat: by reason of the cold and pains he had taken. This sickness chanceth often,

Brutus' thankfulness and clemency

both to men and beasts, that travel when it hath snowed: either because the natural heat being retired into the inward parts of the body, by the coldness of the air hardening the skin, doth straight digest and consume the meat: or else because a sharp subtile wind coming by reason of the snow when it is molten, doth pierce into the body, and driveth out the natural heat which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heat being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withal coming out of the skin of the body: causeth the sweats that follow the disease. But hereof we have spoken at large in other places. Brutus being very faint, and having nothing in his camp to eat: his soldiers were compelled to go to their enemies, and coming to the gates of the city, they prayed the warders to help them to bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was, they brought him both meat and drink: in requital whereof, afterwards when he wan the city, he did not only entreat and use the citizens thereof courteously, but all the inhabitants of the city also for their sakes. Now, when Caius Antonius was arrived in the city of Apollonia, he sent unto the soldiers thereabouts to come unto him. But when he understood that they went all to Brutus, and furthermore, that the citizens of Apollonia did favour him much: he then forsook that city, and went unto the city of Bathrotum, but yet he lost three of his ensigns by the way, that were slain every man of them. Then he sought by force to win certain places of strength about Byllis, and to drive Brutus' men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtain his purpose, he fought a battell with Cicero, the

son of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whom he was overcome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a captain, and did many notable exploits by his service. Shortly after, having stoles upon Caius Antonius in certain marishes far from the place from whence he fled: he would not set on him with fury, but only rode round about him, commanding his soldiers to spare him and his men, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striking: and so indeed it happened. For they yielded themselves, and their captain Antonius, unto Brutus: so that Brutus had now a great army about him. Now Brutus kept this Caius Antonius long time in his office, and never took from him the marks and signs of his Consulship, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote unto him to put him to death. But when he saw Antonius secretly practised with his captains to make some alteration: then he sent him into a ship, and made him to be kept there. When the soldiers whom C. Antonius had corrupted, were gotten into the city of Apollonia, and sent from thence unto Brutus to come unto them: he made them answer, That it was not the manner of Roman captains to come to the soldiers, but the soldiers to come to the captain, and to crave pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So Brutus preparing to go into Asia, news came unto him of the great change at Rome. For Octavius Cæsar was in arms, by commandment and authority from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But after that he had driven Antonius out of Italy, the Senate then began to be affraid of him: because he sued to be

C. Antonius
yielded
unto
Brutus

The Triumvirate Consul, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the empire of Rome had no need of them. On the other side, Octavius Cæsar perceiving the Senate stayed not there, but turned unto Brutus that was out of Italy, and that they appointed him the government of certain provinces: then he began to be affraid for his part, and sent unto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then coming on with his army near to Rome, he made himself to be chosen Consul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a stripling or springal of twenty years old, as himself reporteth in his own commentaries. So when he was Consul, he presently appointed judges to accuse Brutus and his companions, for killing of the noblest person in Rome, and chiefest magistrate, without law or judgement: and made L. Cornificius accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa, Cassius. So, the parties accused were condemned, because the judges were compelled to give such sentence. The voice went, that when the herald (according to the custom after sentence given) went up to the chair or pulpit for orations, and proclaimed Brutus with a loud voice, summoning him to appear in person before the judges: the people that stood by sighed openly, and the noblemen that were present hung down their heads, and durst not speak a word. Among them, the tears fell from Publius Silicius' eyes: who shortly after, was one of the proscrip'ts or outlaws appointed to be slain. After that, these three Octavius Cæsar, Antonius and Lepidus, made an agreement between themselves, and by those articles divided the provinces belonging to the empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up

bills of proscription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number, Cicero was one. News being brought thereof into Macedon, Brutus being then enforced to it, wrote unto Hortensius, that he should put Caius Antonius to death, to be revenged of the death of Cicero, and of the other Brutus, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this cause therefore, Antonius afterwards taking Hortensius at the battell of Philippi, he made him to be slain upon his brother's tomb. But then Brutus said, That he was more ashamed of the cause for the which Cicero was slain, than he was otherwise sorry for his death: and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he had at Rome, who were slaves more through their own fault, than through their valiantness or manhood which usurped the tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and faint-hearted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should only have grieved them to the heart. Now when Brutus had passed over his army (that was very great) into Asia, he gave order for the gathering of a great number of ships together, as well in the coast of Bithynia, as also in the city of Cyzicus, because he would have an army by sea: and himself in the meantime went unto the cities, taking order for all things, and giving audience to princes and noblemen of the country that had to do with him. Afterwards he sent unto Cassius in Syria, to turn him from his journey into Egypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdom for themselves, that they wandered up and down in

C. Antonius
mur-
thered

Brutus that sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their
and country again to their liberty: and that the multi-
Cassius tude of soldiers they gathered together, was to
do join subdue the tyrants that would keep them in slavery
armies and subjection. Wherefore regarding their chief
together purpose and intent, they should not be far from
Italy, as near as they could possible, but should
rather make all the haste they could, to help their
countrymen. Cassius believed him, and returned.
Brutus went to meet him, and they both met at the
city of Smyrna, which was the first time that they
saw together since they took leave each of other,
at the haven of Piræus, in Athens: the one going
into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they
were marvellous joyful, and no less courageous,
when they saw the great armies together which
they had both levied: considering that they de-
parted out of Italy, like naked and poor banished
men, without armour and money, nor having any
ship ready, nor soldier about them, nor any one
town at their commandment: yet notwithstanding,
in a short time after they were now met together,
having ships, money and soldiers enough, both
footmen and horsemen, to fight for the empire of
Rome. Now Cassius would have done Brutus as
much honour, as Brutus did unto him: but Brutus
most commonly prevented him, and went first unto
him, both because he was the elder man, as also for
that he was sickly of body. And men reputed
him commonly to be very skilful in wars, but
otherwise marvellous choleric and cruel, who
sought to rule men by fear, rather than with lenity:
and on the other side he was too familiar with his
friends, and would jest too broadly with them:

But Brutus in contrary manner, for his vertue and valiantness, was well-beloved of the people and his own, esteemed of noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies: because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble-minded, and would never be in any rage, nor carried away with pleasure and covetousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yield to any wrong or injustice, the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the good-will that every man bore him: for they were all persuaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly believe, that if Pompey himself had overcome Cæsar, he would have resigned his authority to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would still keep the sovereignty and absolute government in his hands, taking only, to please the people, the title of Consul or Dictator, or of some other more civil office. And as for Cassius, a hot, choleric, and cruel man, that would oftentimes be carried away from justice for gain: it was certainly thought that he made war, and put himself into sundry dangers, more to have absolute power and authority, than to defend the liberty of his country. For, they that will also consider others, that were elder men than they, as Cinna, Marius, and Carbo: it is out of doubt that the end and hope of their victory, was to be lords of their country: and in manner they did all confess that they fought for the tyranny, and to be lords of the empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies themselves did never reprove Brutus, for any such change or desire. For, it was said that Antonius spake it openly

Brutus' gentle and fair conditions

Brutus' diverse times that he thought, that of all them that
intent had slain Cæsar, there was none but Brutus only
good that was moved to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it self: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death, for some private malice or envy, that they otherwise did bear unto him. Hereby it appeareth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his army, as he did to his own vertue: as is to be seen by his writings. For approaching near to the instant danger, he wrote unto Pomponius Atticus, that his affairs had the best hap that could be. For, said he, either I will set my country at liberty by battell, or by honourable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certain and assured of all things else, this one thing only was doubtful to them: whether they should live or die with liberty. He wrote also that Antonius had his due payment for his folly. For where he might have bin a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, and have made one with them: he liked better to choose to be joined with Octavius Cæsar alone: with whom, though now he be not overcome by us, yet shall he shortly after also have war with him. And truly he proved a true prophet, for so came it indeed to pass. Now whilst Brutus and Cassius were together in the city of Smyrna: Brutus prayed Cassius to let him have some part of his money whereof he had great store, because all that he could rap and rend of his side he had bestowed it in making so great a number of ships, that by means of them they should keep all the sea at their commandment. Cassius' friends hindered this re-

quest, and earnestly dissuaded him from it: persuading him, that it was no reason that Brutus should have the money which Cassius had gotten together by sparing, and levied with great evil will of the people their subjects, for him to bestow liberally upon his soldiers, and by this means to win their good-wills, by Cassius' charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gave him the third part of his total sum. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from each other, Cassius took the city of Rhodes, where he too dishonestly and cruelly used himself: although when he came into the city, he answered some of the inhabitants, who called him lord and king, that he was neither lord nor king, but he only that had slain him, that would have been lord and king. Brutus departing from thence, sent unto the Lycians to require money, and men of war. But there was a certain orator called Naucrates, that made the cities to rebel against him, insomuch that the countrymen of that country kept the straits and little mountains, thinking by that means to stop Brutus' passage. Wherefore Brutus sent his horsemen against them, who stale upon them as they were at dinner, and slew six hundred of them: and taking all the small towns and villages, he did let all the prisoners he took, go without payment of ransom, hoping by this his great courtesy to win them, to draw all the rest of the country unto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that they would mutiny for every small hurt they received as they passed by their country, and did despise his courtesy and good-nature: until that at length he went to besiege the city of the Xanthians, within the which were shut up the cruelest and

Brutus'
gests in
Lycia

The most warlikest men of Lycia. There was a river
desperate that ran by the walls of the city, in the which
end many men saved themselves, swimming between
two waters, and fled: howbeit they laid nets
overthwart the river, and tied little bells on the top
of them, to sound when any man was taken in
the nets. The Xanthians made a sally out by
night, and came to fire certain engines of battery
that beat down their walls: but they were presently
driven in again by the Romans, so soon as they
were discovered. The wind by chance was mar-
vellous big, and increased the flame so sore, that it
violently carried it into the cranews of the wall of
the city, that the next houses unto them were straight
set on fire thereby. Wherefore Brutus being afraid
that all the city would take on fire, he presently
commanded his men to quench the fire, and to save
the town if it might be. But the Lycians at that
instant fell into such a frenzy, and strange and
horrible despair, that no man can well express it:
and a man can no more rightly compare or liken it,
than to a frantic and most desperate desire to die.
For all of them together, with their wives and
children, maisters and servants, and of all sorts of
age whatsoever, fought upon the ramparts of their
walls, and did cast down stones and fireworks on
the Romans, which were very busy in quenching
the flame of the fire, to save the city. And in
contrary manner also, they brought faggots, dry
wood, and reeds, to bring the fire farther into the
city as much as might be, increasing it by such
things as they brought. Now when the fire had
gotten into all the parts of the city, and that the
flame burned bright in every place: Brutus being

sorry to see it, got upon his horse, and rode round about the walls of the city, to see if it were possible to save it, and held up his hands to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their city, and to save themselves. Howbeit they would not be persuaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselves away, not only men and women, but also little children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast themselves into the fire: others headlong throwing themselves down from the walls, brake their necks: others also made their necks bare, to the naked swords of their fathers, and undid their clothes, praying them to kill them with their own hands. After the city was burnt, they found a woman hanged up by the neck, holding one of her children in her hand dead by her, hanged up also: and in the other hand a burning torch setting fire on her house. Some would have had Brutus to have seen her, but he would not see so horrible and tragical a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a-weeping, and caused a herald to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would give a certain sum of money, to every soldier that could save a Xanthian. So there were not (as it is reported) above fifty of them saved, and yet they were saved against their wills. Thus the Xanthians having ended the revolution of their fatal destiny, after a long continuance of time: they did through their desperation, renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of their ~~Ad-~~cestors. Who in like manner, in the wars of the Persians, did burn their city, and destroyed themselves. Therefore Brutus likewise besieging the city of the Patareans, perceiving that they stoutly

of the
Xanthi-
ans

Brutus' clemency unto the Lycians resisted him : he was also afraid of that, and could not well tell whether he should give assault to it, or not, lest they would fall into the despair and desperation of the Xanthians. Howbeit having taken certain of their women prisoners, he sent them back again, without payment of ransom. Now they that were the wives and daughters of the noblest men of the city, reporting unto their parents, that they had found Brutus a merciful, just, and courteous man : they persuaded them to yield themselves and their city unto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yielded themselves, divers other cities also followed them, and did the like : and found Brutus more merciful and courteous, than they thought they should have done, but specially far above Cassius. For Cassius, about the self same time, after he had compelled the Rhodians every man to deliver all the ready money they had in gold and silver in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the sum of eight thousand talents : yet he condemned the city besides, to pay the sum of five hundred talents more. Where Brutus in contrary manner, after he had levied of all the country of Lycia but a hundred and fifty talents only : he departed thence into the country of Ionia, and did them no more hurt. Now Brutus in all this journey, did many notable acts and worthy of memory, both for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserved it : wherefore among the rest, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himself, and all the noblemen of the Romans were marvellous glad. When Pompey the Great (having lost the battell against Julius Cæsar, in the fields of Pharsalia) came and fell upon the coast of

Egypt, hard by the city of Pelusium: those that were protectors to the young king Ptolemy, being then but a child, sat in council with his servants and friends, what they should determine in that case. They were not all of one mind in this consultation: for some thought it good to receive Pompey, others also, that they should drive him out of Egypt. But there was a certain rhetorician called Theodotus, that was born in the Isle of Chios, who was the king's schoolmaister to teach him rhetoric. He being called to this council for lack of sufficient men, said, That both the one and the other side went awry, as well those that were of opinion to receive Pompey, as the other that would have had him driven away: and that the best way was (considering the present time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him, adding withal, this sentence, That a dead man biteth not. The whole council stuck to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and unlooked for unto Pompey: Pompey the Great was slain, by the motion and counsel of this wicked rhetorician Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwards did himself boast of it. But when Julius Cæsar came afterwards into Egypt, the wicked men that consented to this counsel, had their payment according to their deserts: for they died every man of them a wicked death, saving this Theodotus, whom fortune respited a little while longer, and yet in that time he lived a poor and miserable life, never tarrying long in any one place. So Brutus going up and down Asia, Theodotus could hide himself no longer, but was brought unto Brutus, where he suffered pains of death: so that he wan more fame by his death, than ever he did in his

A dead
man
biteth not

Brutus life. About that time, Brutus sent to pray **Cassius** to come to the city of Sardis, and so he did. **and** Brutus understanding of his coming, went to meet **Cassius** him with all his friends. There, both their armies do meet being armed, they called them both emperors. Now, as it commonly happeneth in great affairs between two persons, both of them having many friends, and so many captains under them : there ran tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a little chamber together, and bade every man avoid and did shut the doors to them. Then they began to pour out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a-weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them loud within, and angry between themselves, they were both amazed, and afraid also lest it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commanded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding, one Marcus Favonius, that had been a friend and follower of Cato while he lived, and took upon him to counterfeit a philosopher, not with wisdom and discretion, but with a certain bedlam and frantic motion : he would needs come into the chamber, though the men offered to keep him out. But it was no boot to let Favonius, when a mad mood or toy took him in the head : for he was a hot hasty man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for never a Senator of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of speech after the profession of the Cynic philosophers, (as who would say, Dogs) yet this boldness did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This

Favonius at that time, in despite of the doorkeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certain scoffing and mocking gesture which he counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor said in Homer :

at the
city of
Sardis

My lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
For I have seen moe years than suchie three.

Cassius fell a-laughing at him : but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeit Cynic. Howbeit his coming in broke their strife at that time, and so they left each other. The self same night Cassius prepared his supper in his chamber, and Brutus brought his friends with him. So when they were set at supper, Favonius came to sit down after he had washed. Brutus told him aloud, No man sent for him, and bade them set him at the upper end : meaning indeed at the lower end of the bed. Favonius made no ceremony, but thrust in amongst the midst of them, and made all the company laugh at him : so they were merry all supper-time, and full of their philosophy. The next day after, Brutus, upon complaint of the Sardians, did condemn and noted Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had been a Prætor of the Romans, and whom Brutus had given charge unto : for that he was accused and convicted of robbery and pilfery in his office. This judgement much disliked Cassius : because he himself had secretly (not many days before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them : but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly

Brutus'
care and
watching

reproved Brutus, for that he would shew himself so straight and severe in such a time, as was meeter to bear a little, than to take things at the worst. Brutus in contrary manner answered, That he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they slew Julius Cæsar : who neither pilled nor polled the country, but only was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoil, by his countenance and authority. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly set aside justice and equity : they should have had more reason to have suffered Cæsar's friends, to have robbed and done what wrong and injury they had would, than to bear with their own men. For then said he, they could but have said they had been cowards : and now they may accuse us of injustice, beside the pains we take, and the danger we put ourselves into. And thus may we see what Brutus' intent and purpose was. But as they both prepared to pass over again, out of Asia into Europe : there went a rumour that there appeared a wonderful sign unto him. Brutus was a careful man, and slept very little, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the daytime, and in the night no longer, than the time he was driven to be alone, and when everybody else took their rest. But now whilst he was in war, and his head ever busily occupied to think of his affairs, and what would happen : after he had slumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in despatching of his weightiest causes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would read some book till the third watch of the night, at

what time the captains, petty captains and colonels, did use to come to him. So, being ready to go into Europe, one night very late (when all the camp took quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never a word. So Brutus boldly asked What he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit answered him, I am thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi. Brutus being no otherwise afraid, replied again unto it: Well, then I shall see thee again. The spirit presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all. Thereupon Brutus returned again to think on his matters as he did before: and when the day broke, he went unto Cassius, to tell him what vision had appeared unto him in the night. Cassius being in opinion an Epicurean, and reasoning thereon with Brutus, spoke to him touching the vision thus. In our sect, Brutus, we have an opinion, that we do not always feel, or see, that which we suppose we do both see and feel: but that our senses being credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in their own objects) are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that, which they in truth do not. For, our mind is quick and cunning to work (without either cause or matter) anything in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay, and the mind to the potter: who without any other

**A spirit
appeared
unto
Brutus**

Cassius' opinion of dreams

cause than his fancy and pleasure, changeth it into what fashion and form he will. And this doth the diversity of our dreams shew unto us. For our imagination doth upon a small fancy grow from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and forms of things imagined. For the mind of man is ever occupied, and that continual moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature given to melancholic discoursing, and of late continually occupied: your wits and senses having been overlaboured, do easilier yield to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angels, and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voices, or any power at all to come unto us: it is a mockery. And for mine own part, I would there were such, because that we should not only have soldiers, horses, and ships, but also the aid of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honourable attempts. With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Brutus. When they raised their camp, there came two eagles that flying with a marvellous force, lighted upon two of the foremost ensigns, and always followed the soldiers, which gave them meat, and fed them, until they came near to the city of Philippi: and there one day only before the battell, they both flew away. Now Brutus had conquered the most part of all the people, and nations of that country: but if there were any other city or captain to overcome, then they made all clear before them, and so drew towards the coasts of Thasos. There Norbanus lying in camp in a certain place called the straits, by another place called Symbolon: (which is a

port of the sea) Cassius and Brutus compassed him in in such sort, that he was driven to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger besides to have lost all his army. For, Octavius Cæsar could not follow him because of his sickness, and therefore stayed behind: whereupon they had taken his army, had not Antonius' aid been, which made such wonderful speed, that Brutus could scant believe it. So Cæsar came not thither of ten days after: and Antonius camped against Cassius, and Brutus on the other side against Cæsar. The Romans called the valley between both camps, the Philippian fields: and there were never seen two so great armies of the Romans, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, Brutus' army was inferior to Octavius Cæsar's, in number of men: but for bravery and rich furniture, Brutus' army far excelled Cæsar's. For the most part of their armours were silver and gilt, which Brutus had bountifully given them: although in all other things he taught his captains to live in order without excess. But for the bravery of armour, and weapon, which soldiers should carry in their hands, or otherwise wear upon their backs: he thought that it was an encouragement unto them that by nature are greedy of honour, and that it maketh them also fight like divels that love to get, and to be afraid to lose: because they fight to keep their armour and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, Octavius Cæsar took the muster of his army within the trenches of his camp, and gave his men only a little corn, and five silver drachmas to every man to sacrifice to the gods, and

**Brutus'
and
Cassius'
camps
before
Philippi**

Unlucky signs to pray for victory. But Brutus scorning this misery and niggardliness, first of all mustered his army, and did purify it in the fields, according to the manner of the Romans: and then he gave unto every band a number of wethers to sacrifice, and fifty silver drachmas to every soldier. So that Brutus' and Cassius' soldiers were better pleased, and more courageously bent to fight at the day of battell, than their enemies' soldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certain unlucky signs unto Cassius. For one of his sergeants that carried the rods before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he should have worn on his head in the time of sacrificing. Moreover it is reported also, that another time before, in certain sports and triumph where they carried an image of Cassius' victory of clean gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that carried it. And yet further, there were seen a marvellous number of fowls of prey, that feed upon dead carcasses: and beehives also were found, where bees were gathered together in a certain place within the trenches of the camp: the which place the soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the camp, for to take away the superstitious fear and mistrust men would have of it. The which began somewhat to alter Cassius' mind from Epicurus' opinions, and had put the soldiers also in a marvellous fear. Thereupon Cassius was of opinion not to try this war at one battell, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armours.

But Brutus in contrary manner, did always before and at that time also, desire nothing more, than to put all to the hazard of battell, as soon as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his country to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such great armies together. But perceiving that in the daily skirmishes and bickerings they made, his men were always the stronger, and ever had the better: that yet quickened his spirits again, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yielded themselves to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreover divers others would do the like: that made many of Cassius' friends, which were of his mind before, (when it came to be debated in council whether the battell should be fought or not) that they were then of Brutus' mind. But yet was there one of Brutus' friends called Atellius, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tarry the next winter. Brutus asked him what he should get by tarrying a year longer? If I get nothing else, quoth Atellius again, yet have I lived so much longer. Cassius was very angry with this answer: and Atellius was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereupon it was presently determined they should fight battell the next day. So Brutus all supper-time looked with a cheerful countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of philosophy, and after supper went to bed. But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by himself in his tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper-

Opinions
about
the
battell

**Brutus
and
Cassius
talk**

time he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he took him by the hand, and holding him fast (in token of kindness as his manner was) told him in Greek: Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as Pompey the Great was) to jeopard the liberty of our country, to the hazard of a battell. And yet we must be lively, and of good courage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although we follow evil counsel. Messala writeth, That Cassius having spoken these last words unto him, he bade him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it was his birthday. The next morning by break of day, the signal of battell was set out in Brutus' and Cassius' camp, which was an arming scarlet coat: and both the chieftains spoke together in the midst of their armies. There Cassius began to speak first, and said: The gods grant us, O Brutus, that this day we may win the field, and ever after to live all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods have so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most uncertain, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to-day than we wish or look for, we shall hardly meet again: what art thou then determined to do, to fly, or die? Brutus answered him, Being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world: I trust (I know not how) a certain rule of philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Cato for killing of himself, as being no lawful nor godly act, touching the gods, nor concerning men,

valiant ; not to give place and yield to divine providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to draw back and fly : but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for us : I will look no more for hope, neither seek to make any new supply for war again, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gave up my life for my country in the Ides of March, for the which I shall live in another more glorious world. Cassius fell a-laughing to hear what he said, and embracing him, Come on then said he, let us go and charge our enemies with this mind. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to fear the conquerors. After this talk, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he might have the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was far meeter for Cassius : both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassius gave it him, and willed that Messala (who had charge of one of the warlikest legions they had) should be also in that wing with Brutus. So Brutus presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footmen also were as willing and ready to give charge. Now Antonius' men did cast a trench from the marrish by the which they lay, to cut off Cassius' way to come to the sea : and Cæsar, at the least his army stirred not. As for Octavius Cæsar himself, he was not in his camp, because he was sick. And for his people,

before the
battell

The
battell at
Philippi

they little thought the enemies would have given them battell, but only have made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts and slings to have kept them from finishing of their work : but they taking no heed to them that came full upon them to give them battell, marvelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trench. In the meantime Brutus that led the right wing, sent little bills to the colonels and captains of private bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battell : and he himself riding a-horseback by all the troops, did speak to them, and encouraged them to stick to it like men. So by this means very few of them understood what was the word of the battell, and besides, the most part of them never tarried to have it told them, but ran with great fury to assail the enemies : whereby through this disorder, the legions were marvellously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all, Messala's legion, and then the next unto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glancing by them, overthrew some as they went, and so going on further, fell right upon Cæsar's camp, out of the which (as himself writeth in his commentaries) he had been conveyed away a little before, through the counsel and advice of one of his friends called Marcus Artorius : who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared unto him, that commanded Octavius Cæsar should be carried out of his camp. Insomuch as it was thought he was slain, because his litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There

was great slaughter in this camp. For amongst others there were slain two thousand Lacedæmonians, who were arrived but even a little before, coming to aid Cæsar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given a charge full upon Cæsar's battell: they easily made them fly, because they were greatly troubled for the loss of their camp, and of them there were slain by hand, three legions. Then being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand over head into their camp, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion shewed it unto them that were overcome: and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, and unguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too far off, in following of them that were overthrown. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not break into the midst of their battell, where they found men that received them, and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they broke and overthrew the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their camp, the which they spoiled, none of both the chieftains being present there. For Antonius, as it is reported, to fly the fury of the first charge, was gotten into the next marrish: and no man could tell what became of Octavius Cæsar, after he was carried out of his camp. Inſomuch that there were certain soldiers that shewed their swords bloodied, and said that they had slain him, and

against
Octavius
Cæsar
and
Antonius

**Octavius
falsely
reported
to be slain**

did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore the voward, and the middest of Brutus' battell, had already put all their enemies to flight that withstood them, with great slaughter: so that Brutus had conquered all on his side, and Cassius had lost all on the other side. For nothing undid them, but that Brutus went not to help Cassius, thinking he had overcome them, as himself had done: and Cassius on the other side tarried not for Brutus, thinking he had been overthrown, as himself was. And to prove that the victory fell on Brutus' side, Messala confirmeth it: that they wan three eagles, and divers other ensigns of their enemies, and their enemies wan never a one of theirs. Now Brutus returning from the chase, after he had slain and sacked Cæsar's men: he wondred much that he could not see Cassius' tent standing up high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his camp standing as they were before, because all the whole camp had been spoiled, and the tents thrown down, at the first coming in of the enemies. But they that were about Brutus, whose sight served them better, told him that they saw a great glittering of harness, and a number of silvered targets, that went and came into Cassius' camp, and were not (as they took it) the armours, nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the camp: and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies, and great overthrw, as there should have been, if so many legions had been slain. This made Brutus at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keep the camp of his enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent

for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to lead them to aid Cassius, who was in this state as you shall hear. First of all he was marvellous angry to see how Brutus' men ran to give charge upon their enemies, and tarried not for the word of the battell, nor commandment to give charge, and it grieved him besides, that after he had overcome them, his men fell straight to spoil, and were not careful to compass in the rest of the enemies behind. But with tarrying too long also, more than through the valiantness or foresight of the captains his enemies: Cassius found himself compassed in with the right wing of his enemies' army. Whereupon his horsemen broke immediately, and fled for life towards the sea. Furthermore, perceiving his footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keep them from flying, and took an ensign from one of the ensign-bearers that fled, and stuck it fast at his feet: although with much ado he could scant keep his own guard together. So Cassius himself was at length compelled to fly, with a few about him, unto a little hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plain: howbeit Cassius himself saw nothing, for his sight was very bad, saving that he saw (and yet with much ado) how the enemies spoiled his camp before his eyes. He saw also a great troop of horsemen, whom Brutus sent to aid him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he sent Titinius, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. Brutus' horsemen saw him coming afar off, whom when they knew that he was one of Cassius' chiefest friends, they shouted out for joy: and they

Cassius'
misfor-
tune

**Cassius
slain by
his man**

that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about a-horse-back, with songs of victory and great rushing of their harness, so that they made all the field ring again for joy. But this marred all. For Cassius thinking indeed that Titinius was taken of the enemies, he then spoke these words: Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken, for my sake, before my face. After that, he got into a tent where nobody was, and took Pindarus with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reserved ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battel of the Parthians, where Crassus was slain, though he notwithstanding escaped from that overthrow: but then casting his cloak over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body: but after that time Pindarus was never seen more. Whereupon, some took occasion to say, That he had slain his maister without his commandment. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see Titinius crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed unto Cassius. But when he perceived by the cries and tears of his friends which tormented themselves, the misfortune that had chanced to his captain Cassius, by mistaking: he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had tarried so long, and so slew himself presently in the field. Brutus in the meantime came forward still, and understood also that Cassius had been overthrown: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very

near to his camp. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romans, being unpossible that Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he: he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thasos, fearing lest his funerals within the camp should cause great disorder. Then he called his soldiers together, and did encourage them again. And when he saw that they had lost all their carriage, which they could not brook well: he promised every man of them two thousand drachmas in recompense. After his soldiers had heard his oration, they were all of them prettily cheered again, wondring much at his great liberality, and waited upon him with great cries when he went his way, praising him, for that he only of the four chieftains, was not overcome in battell. And to speak the truth, his deeds shewed that he hoped not in vain to be conqueror. For with few legions, he had slain and driven all them away, that made head against him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgone their enemies to run to spoil their goods: surely it was like enough he had slain them all, and had left never a man of them alive. There were slain of Brutus' side, about eight thousand men, counting the soldiers' slaves, whom Brutus called Brigæ: and of the enemies side, as Messala writeth, there were slain as he supposeth, more than twice as many more. Wherefore they were more discouraged than Brutus, until that very late at night, there was one of Cassius' men called Demetrius, who went unto Antonius, and carried his maister's clothes, whereof he was stripped not long

**The
number
of men
slain**

Brutus' clemency and courtesy

before, and his sword also. This encouraged Brutus' enemies, and made them so brave, that the next morning betimes, they stood in battell ray again before Brutus. But on Brutus' side, both his camps stood wavering, and that in great danger. For his own camp being full of prisoners, required a good guard to look unto them: and Cassius' camp on the other side took the death of their captain very heavily, and besides, there was some vile grudge between them that were overcome, and those that did overcome. For this cause therefore Brutus did set them in battell ray, but yet kept himself from giving battell. Now for the slaves that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to and fro amongst the armed men, not without suspicion: he commanded they should kill them. But for the freemen, he sent them freely home, and said, That they were better prisoners with his enemies, than with him. For with them, they were slaves and servants: and with him they were freemen, and citizens. So when he saw that divers captains and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no means save their lives: Brutus himself hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius a jester, and Sacculo a common player, of whom Brutus made no accompt at all. Howbeit his friends brought them unto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorn, and to jest broadly with them. Brutus made no answer to it, because his head was occupied other ways. Whereupon, Messala Corvinus said: That it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then

to send them naked, well whipped, unto the captains of their enemies, to shew them their shame, to keep such mates as those in their camp, to play the fools, to make them sport. Some that stood by, laughed at his device. But Publius Casca, that gave Julius Cæsar the first wound when he was slain, said then: It doth not become us to be thus merry at Cassius' funerals: and for thee, Brutus, thou shalt shew what estimation thou madest of such a captain thy compeer, by putting to death, or saving the lives of these bloods, who hereafter will mock him, and defame his memory. Brutus answered again in choler: Why then do you come to tell me of it, Casca, and do not your selves what you think good? When they heard him say so, they took his answer for a consent against these poor unfortunate men, to suffer them to do what they thought good: and therefore they carried them away, and slew them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promise he had made to the soldiers, and gave them the two thousand drachmas apiece, but yet he first reprov'd them, because they went and gave charge upon the enemies at the first battell, before they had the word of battell given them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battell they fought like men, he would give them the sack and spoil of two cities, to wit, Thessalonica, and Lacedæmon. In all Brutus' life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gainsaid: though Antonius and Octavius Cæsar did reward their soldiers far worse for their victory. For when they had driven all the natural Italians out of Italy, they gave their soldiers their lands and towns, to the which they had no right: and more-

Brutus'
fault

His fault
wisely
excused
by Plu-
tarch

over, the only mark they shot at in all this war they made, was but to overcome, and reign. Where in contrary manner they had so great an opinion of Brutus' vertue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to overcome, nor to save himself, otherwise than justly and honestly, and specially after Cassius' death: whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moved Brutus to great cruelty. But now, like as the mariners on the sea after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest, do seek to nail on some other piece of wood in lieu thereof, and do help themselves to keep them from hurt, as much as may be upon that instant danger: even so Brutus, having such a great army to govern, and his affairs standing very tickle, and having no other captain coequal with him in dignity and authority: he was forced to employ them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, and was of mind himself also to grant them anything, that he thought might make them serve like noble soldiers at time of need. For Cassius' soldiers were very evil to be ruled, and did shew themselves very stubborn and lusty in the camp, because they had no chieftain that did command them: but yet rank cowards to their enemies, because they had once overcome them. On the other side Octavius Cæsar, and Antonius, were not in much better state: for first of all, they lacked victuals. And because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharp winter, being camped as they were by the marish side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plenty of rain about the autumn, where through, all their tents were full of mire and dirt,

the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently. But beside all these discommodities, there came news unto them of the great loss they had of their men by sea. For Brutus' ships met with a great aid and supply of men, which were sent them out of Italy, and they overthrew them in such sort, that there escaped but few of them: and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eat the tackle and sails of their ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to fight a battell again, before Brutus should have intelligence of this good news for him: for it chanced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the self same day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather than through the malice or negligence of the captains, this victory came not to Brutus' ear, till twenty days after. For had he known of it before, he would not have been brought to have fought a second battell, considering that he had excellent good provision for his army for a long time, and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his camp could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had been a quiet lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would have marvellously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that pass, that it could no more abide to be governed by many lords, but required one only absolute governor: God, to prevent Brutus that it should not come to his government, kept this victory from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a little too late. For the day before the last battell was given, very late in the night, came Clodius, one of his enemies into his camp, who

**Brutus'
victory
by sea**

Strange sights before Brutus' second battell told that Cæsar hearing of the overthrow of his army by sea, desired nothing more than to fight a battell before Brutus understood it. Howbeit they gave no credit to his words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him unto Brutus, because they thought it was but a lie devised, to be the better welcome for this good news. The self same night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before unto Brutus in the city of Sardis, did now appear again unto him in the self same shape and form, and so vanished away, and said never a word. Now Publius Volumnius, a grave and wise philosopher, that had been with Brutus from the beginning of this war, he doth make no mention of this spirit, but saith: That the greatest eagle and ensign was covered over with a swarm of bees, and that there was one of the captains, whose arm suddenly fell a-sweating, that it dropped oil of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to dry him, but all would do no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two eagles fought between both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a marvellous great silence all the valley over, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight between them: and that in the end, the eagle towards Brutus gave over, and flew away. But this is certain, and a true tale: that when the gate of the camp was open, the first man the standard-bearer met that carried the eagle, was an Æthiopian, whom the soldiers for ill-luck mangled with their swords. Now after that Brutus had brought his army into the field, and had set them in battell ray, directly against the voward of his enemy: he paused

a long time, before he gave the signal of battell. For Brutus riding up and down to view the bands and companies : it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides, that some came to tell him so much as he thought. Moreover, he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to give charge : but still stayed, to see what the footmen would do. Then suddenly, one of the chiefest knights he had in all his army called Camulatus, and that was always marvellously esteemed of for his valiantness, until that time : he came hard by Brutus on horseback, and rode before his face to yield himself unto his enemies. Brutus was marvellous sorry for it, wherefore partly for anger, and partly for fear of greater treason and rebellion, he suddenly caused his army to march, being past three of the clock in the afternoon. So in that place where he himself fought in person, he had the better : and broke into the left wing of his enemies, which gave him way, through the help of his horsemen that gave charge with his footmen, when they saw the enemies in a maze, and afraid. Howbeit the other also on the right wing, when the captains would have had them to have marched : they were afraid to have been compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number than their enemies, and therefore did spread themselves, and leave the midst of their battell. Whereby they having weakened themselves, they could not withstand the force of their enemies, but turned tail straight, and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight upon it to compass Brutus behind, who in the midst of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilful captain and valiant soldier : both for his wisdom, as also for

Brutus'
second
battell

Brutus' valiant-ness and great skill in war his hardiness, for the obtaining of victory. But that which wan him the victory at the first battell, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut in pieces: but at the second battell, of Cassius' men that were put to flight, there were few slain: and they that saved themselves by speed, being afraid because they had been overcome, did discourage the rest of the army when they came to join with them, and filled all the army with fear and disorder. There was the son of M. Cato slain, valiantly fighting amongst the lusty youths. For, notwithstanding that he was very weary, and overharried, yet would he not therefore fly, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his father's name, at length he was beaten down amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slain round about him. So there were slain in the field, all the chiefest gentlemen and nobility that were in his army.: who valiantly ran into any danger to save Brutus' life. Amongst them there was one of Brutus' friends called Lucilius, who seeing a troop of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behind, told them that he was Brutus: and because they should believe him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he said he was afraid of Cæsar, and that he did trust Antonius better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good hap, and thinking themselves happy men: they carried him in the night, and sent some before unto Antonius, to tell him of their

coming. He was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meet them that brought him. Others also understanding of it, that they had brought Brutus prisoner: they came out of all parts of the camp to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying, That it was not done like himself so cowardly to be taken alive of the barbarous people, for fear of death. When they came near together, Antonius stayed awhile bethinking himself how he should use Brutus. In the meantime Lucilius was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said, Antonius, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken nor shall take Marcus Brutus alive: and I beseech God keep him from that fortune. For wheresoever he be found, alive or dead: he will be found like himself. And now for my self, I am come unto thee, having deceived these men of arms here, bearing them down that I was Brutus: and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. Lucilius words made them all amazed that heard him. Antonius on the other side, looking upon all them that had brought him, said unto them: My companions, I think ye are sorry you have failed of your purpose, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong: but I do assure you, you have taken a better booty, than that you followed. For, instead of an enemy, you have brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For, I had rather have such men my friends, as this man here, than enemies. Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that time delivered him to one of his friends in custody, and Lucilius ever after served him

The
fidelity of
Lucius

Brutus flying faithfully, even to his death. Now Brutus having passed a little river, walled in on either side with high rocks, and shadowed with great trees, being then dark night, he went no further, but stayed at the foot of a rock with certain of his captains and friends that followed him: and looking up to the firmament that was full of stars, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect:

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

And saith that he had forgotten the other. Within a little while after, naming his friends that he had seen slain in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh than before: specially when he came to name Labeo and Flavius, of the which the one was his lieutenant, and the other captain of the pioneers of his camp. In the meantime, one of the company being athirst, and seeing Brutus athirst also: he ran to the river for water, and brought it in his sallet. At the self same time they heard a noise on the other side of the river. Whereupon Volumnius took Dardanus, Brutus' servant with him, to see what it was: and returning straight again, asked if there were any water left. Brutus smiling, gently told them All was drunk, but they shall bring you some more. Thereupon he sent him again that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly escaped, being sore hurt. Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slain in battell, and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go

through his enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp) and from thence if all were well, that he would lift up a torch-light in the air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarry long after that, and that he came not again, he said : If Statilius be alive, he will come again. But his evil fortune was such, that as he came back, he lighted in his enemies hands, and was slain. Now, the night being far spent, Brutus as he sat bowed towards Clitus one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear, the other answered him not, but fell a-weeping. Thereupon he proved Dardanus, and said somewhat also to him : at length he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greek, prayed him for the study's sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would help him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others : and amongst the rest, one of them said, There was no tarrying for them there, but that they must needs fly. Then Brutus rising up, We must fly indeed said he, but it must be with our hands not with our feet. Then taking every man by the hand, he said these words unto them with a cheerful countenance. It rejoiceth my heart that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complain of my fortune, but only for my country's sake : for, as for me, I think my self happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetual fame of our courage and manhood, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attain unto by force nor money,

Brutus' saying

Brutus
slew him-
self

neither can let their posterity to say, that they being naughty and unjust men, have slain good men, to usurp tyrannical power not pertaining to them. Having said so, he prayed every man to shift for themselves, and then he went a little aside with two or three only, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of rhetoric. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ran himself through. Others say, that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it: and so ran himself through, and died presently. Messala, that had been Brutus' great friend, became afterwards Octavius Cæsar's friend. So, shortly after, Cæsar being at good leisure, he brought Strato, Brutus' friend unto him, and weeping, said: Cæsar, behold, here is he that did the last service to my Brutus. Cæsar welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithful service in all his affairs, as any Grecian else he had about him, until the battell of Actium. It is reported also, that this Messala himself answered Cæsar one day, when he gave him great praise before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affection for him, at the battell of Actium: (notwithstanding that he had been his cruel enemy before, at the battell of Philippi, for Brutus sake) I ever loved, said he, to take the best and justest part. Now, Antonius having found Brutus' body, he caused it to be wrapped up in one of the richest coat-armours he had. Afterwards also, Antonius understanding that this coat-armour was stolen, he

put the thief to death that had stolen it, and sent the ashes of his body unto Servilia his mother. And for Porcia, Brutus' wife: Nicolaus the Philosopher, and Valerius Maximus do write, that she determining to kill her self (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it) took hot burning coals, and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choked her self. There was a letter of Brutus found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his wife being sick, they would not help her, but suffered her to kill her self, choosing to die, rather than to languish in pain. Thus it appeareth, that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus' letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this lady, and also the manner of her death.

**Porcia
killeth
herself**

THE COMPARISON OF DION WITH BRUTUS

**Why
Dion is** To come now to compare these two noble person-
ages together, it is certain that both of them having
had great gifts in them (and specially Dion) of
small occasions they made themselves great men :
and therefore Dion of both deserveth chiefest praise.
For, he had no co-helper to bring him unto that
greatness, as Brutus had of Cassius : who doubtless
was not comparable unto Brutus, for vertue and
respect of honour, though otherwise in matters
of war, he was no less wise and valiant than he.
For many do impute unto Cassius, the first begin-
ning and original of all the war and enterprise :
and said it was he that did encourage Brutus,
to conspire Cæsar's death. Where Dion fur-
nished himself with armour, ships, and soldiers,
and wan those friends and companions also that
did help him, to prosecute his war. Nor he
did not as Brutus, who rose to greatness by his
enterprises, and by war got all his strength and
riches. But he in contrary manner, spent of his
own goods to make war for the liberty of his coun-
try and disbursed of his own money, that should
have kept him in his banishment. Furthermore,
Brutus and Cassius were compelled of necessity to
make wars, because they could not have lived safely
in peace, when they were driven out of Rome : for

that they were condemned to death, and pursued by their enemies. And for this cause therefore they were driven to hazard themselves in war, more for their own safety, than for the liberty of their countrymen. Whereas Dion on the other side, living more merrily and safely in his banishment, than the tyrant Dionysius himself that had banished him : did put himself to that danger, to deliver Sicily from bondage. Now the matter was not alike unto the Romans, to be delivered from the government of Cæsar : as it was for the Syracusans, to be rid of Dionysius' tyranny. For Dionysius denied not, that he was not a tyrant, having filled Sicily with such misery and calamity. Howbeit Cæsar's power and government when it came to be established, did indeed much hurt at his first entry and beginning unto those that did resist him : but afterwards, unto them that being overcome had received his government, it seemed he rather had the name and opinion only of a tyrant, than otherwise that he was so indeed. For there never followed any tyrannical nor cruel act, but contrarily, it seemed that he was a merciful physician, whom God had ordained of special grace to be governor of the empire of Rome, and to set all things again at quiet stay, the which required the counsel and authority of an absolute prince. And therefore the Romans were marvellous sorry for Cæsar after he was slain, and afterwards would never pardon them that had slain him. On the other side, the cause why the Syracusans did most accuse Dion, was : because he did let Dionysius escape out of the castle of Syracuse, and because he did not overthrow and deface the tomb of his father. Furthermore,

to be
preferred
before
Brutus

In what things Dion touching the wars: Dion always shewed himself a captain unreprouable, having wisely and skilfully taken order for those things, which he had enterprised of his own head and counsel: and did amend the faults others committed, and brought things to better state than he found them. Where it seemeth, that Brutus did not wisely to receive the second battell: considering his rest stood upon it. For, after he had lost the battell, it was unpossible for him ever to rise again: and therefore his heart failed him, and so gave up all, and never durst strive with his evil fortune as Pompey did, considering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his soldiers, and being besides a dreadful lord all the sea over. Furthermore, the greatest reproach they could object against Brutus, was: That Julius Cæsar having saved his life, and pardoned all the prisoners also taken in battell, as many as he had made request for, taking him for his friend, and honouring him above all his other friends: Brutus notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his blood, wherewith they could never reprove Dion. For on the contrary side, so long as Dion was Dionysius' friend and kinsman, he did always help him to order and govern his affairs. But after he was banished his country, and that his wife was forcibly married to another man, and his goods also taken from him: then he entered into just and open wars against Dionysius the Tyrant. But in this point, they were contrary together. For wherein their chiefest praise consisted, to wit, in hating of tyrants and wicked men: it is most true that Brutus' desire was most sincere of both. For having no private cause of complaint or grudge

against Cæsar, he ventured to kill him, only to set his country again at liberty. Where if Dion had not received private cause of quarrel against Dionysius: he would never have made war with him. The which Plato proveth in his epistles, where is plainly seen: that Dion being driven out of the tyrant's courts against his will, and not putting himself to voluntary banishment, he drave out Dionysius. Furthermore, the respect of the commonwealth caused Brutus, that before was Pompey's enemy, to become his friend, and enemy unto Cæsar, that before was his friend: only referring his friendship and enmity, unto the consideration of justice and equity. And Dion did many things for Dionysius' sake and benefit, all the while he trusted him: and when he began to mistrust him, then for anger he made war with him. Wherefore all his friends did not believe, but after he had driven out Dionysius, he would establish the government of himself, flattering the people with a more courteous and gentle title than the name of a tyrant. But for Brutus, his very enemies themselves confessed, that of all those that conspired Cæsar's death, he only had no other end and intent to attempt his enterprise, but to restore the empire of Rome again to her former state and government. And, furthermore, it was not all one thing to deal with Dionysius, as it was to have to do with Julius Cæsar. For no man that knew Dionysius, but would have despised him, considering that he spent the most part of his time in drinking, dicing, and in haunting lewd women's company. But to have undertaken to destroy Julius Cæsar, and not to have shrunk back for fear of his great wisdom,

was inferior
unto
Brutus

Brutus
honoured
of his
enemies

power, and fortune, considering that his name only was dreadful unto every man, and also not to suffer the kings of Parthia and India to be in rest for him: this could not come but of a marvelous noble mind of him, that for fear never fainted, nor let fall any part of his courage. And therefore, so soon as Dion came into Sicil, many thousands of men came and joined with him, against Dionysius. But the fame of Julius Cæsar did set up his friends again after his death, and was of such force, that it raised a young stripling, Octavius Cæsar, (that had no means nor power of himself) to be one of the greatest men of Rome: and they used him as a remedy to encounter Antonius' malice and power. And if men will say, that Dion drave out the tyrant Dionysius with force of arms, and sundry battels: and that in contrary manner Brutus slew Cæsar, being a naked man, and without guard: then do I answer again, That it was a noble part, and of a wise captain, to choose so apt a time and place, to come upon a man of so great power, and to find him naked without his guard. For he went not suddenly in a rage, and alone, or with a small company to assail him: but his enterprise was long time before determined of, and that with divers men, of all the which, not a man of them once failed him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chose them honest men, or else that by his choice of them, he made them good men. Whereas Dion, either from the beginning made no wise choice in trusting of evil men, or else because he could not tell how to use them he had chosen: of good men he made them become evil, so that neither the one nor the other could be the

part of a wise man. For Plato himself reproveth **after his**
 him, for that he had chosen such men for his **death**
 friends, that he was slain by them, and after he was
 slain, no man would then revenge his death. And
 in contrary manner, of the enemies of Brutus, the
 one (who was Antonius) gave his body honourable
 burial: and Octavius Cæsar the other, reserved his
 honours and memories of him. For at Milan, (a
 city of Gaul on Italy's side) there was an image of
 his in brass, very like unto him: the which Cæsar
 afterwards passing that way, beheld very advisedly,
 for that it was made by an excellent workman, and
 was very like him, and so went his way. Then he
 stayed sodainly again, and called for the governors
 of the city, and before them all told them, That
 the citizens were his enemies, and traitors unto him,
 because they kept an enemy of his among them.
 The governors of the city at the first were as-
 tonished at it, and stoutly denied it: and none
 of them knowing what enemy he meant, one of
 them looked on another. Octavius Cæsar then
 turning him unto Brutus' statue, bending his brows,
 said unto them: This man you see standing up
 here, is he not our enemy? Then the gov-
 ernors of the city were worse afraid than before,
 and could not tell what answer to make him.

But Cæsar laughing, and commend-
 ing the Gauls for their faithfulness
 to their friends, even in their
 adversities: he was con-
 tented Brutus' image
 should stand still
 as it did.

EPILOGUE

To see a strong man make shipwreck upon his own baser passions is common enough ; no age but shows it, yet it is saddest of human tragedies. Antony is for us the supreme example, since Shakespeare touched him with his magician's wand. The bold soldier, Cæsar's trusted lieutenant and faithful friend, at one time most powerful man in the Roman state, changes before our eyes into a weak wanton, who lacks even the pluck to stand when brought to bay. The rake's progress began early, as we know from Cicero ; but though his manhood was being sapped by indulgence, he was still a man until he met Cleopatra. The irony of fate would so have it, that Cleopatra must appear before him as an offender, to answer a charge of aiding his enemies in war. But she soon took the blunt soldier's measure ; with gorgeous pomp and luxury she attracted his eye, the judge became the victim, and from that hour he was a doomed man. The secret of her charm has died with her. Her beauty, says Plutarch, was not so passing, as unmatchable of other women, and this is borne out by such portraits as have come down to us ; but so sweet was her company and conversation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. Plutarch states the fact simply, and lets be ; his genius lies in telling a story, in recording a jest or a speech, in drawing the outside of things : the subtle dialogue which reveals character is beyond his simple art. Hence we hear of the golden galley with oars of silver and purple sails,

the flutes and howboys and all her magnificent circumstance; her charm is not made credible. But what Plutarch leaves us to take on faith, Shakespeare gives to behold: again the witch lives, risen from her ashes, the wrangling queen, whom everything becomes—to laugh, to weep, to chide:

Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety. Other women cloy
The appetites they feed; but she makes hungry
Where most she satisfies.

It would seem as though the serpent of old Nile in biting Antony was bitten herself, and loved him as far as love was possible for her. It was not fear only of being made the gazing-stock for Rome that made her willing to die. Why might she not have snared Octavius as she had snared Julius Cæsar, Pompey, and Antony, if there had been nothing but ambition in her heart? Some trace perhaps of real feeling made her choose the aspic's tooth.

In strong contrast to the light-o'-love stands the figure of Octavia: young and beautiful, married by a brother who used her as a pawn in the game, to a husband who treated her with contumely and contempt, noble and dignified always. She that sacrificed her own life to heal the breach between friends, had to bewail herself as a cause of civil war; who tried to wean Antony from his leman to a life of energy and self-respect, she was not only neglected but bidden to depart out of her husband's house, and that by the mouth of a messenger while he rioted in Greece. Not all this could make her bitter: from her husband's house she departed, but pitifully took his young children with her, and brought them up with her own.

Octavia embodies in her life and acts the finest traditions of the Roman matron.

Passing by the eastern despot, whose story has little of ethical value in it, and interests only as a picture of manners, we come to a pair of figures which Plutarch might more justly have contrasted than compared. Dion and Brutus were both good men, but Brutus falls far short of the other in the balance of his qualities. What Shakespeare says of him is more nearly true of Dion :

The elements
So mixt in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, This was a man.

In another age, Brutus might have been an arch-inquisitor. His conscience was clear, his moral character high, but a weak brain and narrow sympathies sent the man all awry. Too blind to see that Rome was not fit for what he called freedom, too narrow to understand that the life had gone out of the old forms and the world wanted a master, he murdered the greatest man of the ancient world for a pedant's fad. He is one of those good men who would have done less mischief if they had been bad.

EDITORIAL NOTE

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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37. Philotas' subtle quibble depends on two meanings of the word *πως*, 'in some way' and 'in a certain way,' and this it is: 'To one who has fever in a certain way, cold water should be given; but every one who has fever, has fever in some way: therefore cold water should be given to every one who has fever.' North puts 'in some sort' after 'good': it should go after 'fever.'
51. 'Tatianus': so both translators; but the Greek text has Statianus.
52. 'Prætors' should be 'Prætorian Guards.'
54. Decimation was carried out by telling off the men, not the legions, in tens, and executing each tenth man. Amyot has correctly *par dizaines*, not speaking of legions.
59. 'beastliness': A. *bestise*, i.e. stupidity.
71. 'Blancbourg': Amyot's translation of *Λευκή κώμη*, the White Village.
72. 'for his respect' should be 'for her respect.'
73. 'Prætors' bands,' Prætorian Guards.
86. 'Toryne': N. adds a note taken from A.: 'The grace of this taunt cannot properly be expressed in another tongue because of the equivocation of the word Toryne, which signifieth a city of Albania, and also a ladle to scum the pot with: as if she meant, Cæsar sat by the fireside, scumming of the pot.'
111. 'Stomach torn in sunder': the Greek means, 'much of the hurt done to her breast was visible.'
114. 'tombs,' where she then was: A. has *sepultures*, but there is no word corresponding in the Greek.
125. The order of Lives in the Greek is Dion, Brutus, Artaxerxes.
129. 'Romises': the Greek has *Ῥομισον*.

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143. 'boasted' is printed 'boasting' in ed. 1.
161. North says: 'Note that soft apparel and riches make not a man cowardly and effeminate: but a vile, base mind, that followeth evil advice and counsel.'
170. 'Harpaces': so both translators. The Greek text has *Arpates*.
205. 'Menitid': the Greek has *Τεμεντίδας πύλας*.
230. 'the noblest men': the texts read 'man,' a misprint, as the original shows, *les plus notables personnages*.
241. 'cheese-knife': North adds this note, paraphrased from Amyot: 'κατάνη in corrupt speech signifieth a knife to scrape or cut cheese, which is trulier called πατάνη. Julius Pollux, lib. 10. cap. 24.'
248. 'King of Libya': 'This king was Juba: howbeit it is true also, that Brutus made intercession for Deiotarus king of Galatia; who was deprived notwithstanding of the most part of his country by Cæsar, and therefore this place were better to be understood by Deiotarus.'—*N. from A.*
262. 'Trebonius': 'In Cæsar's life, it is said, it was Decius Brutus Albinus that kept Antonius with a talk without.'—*N.*
- 'Tillius Cimber': 'In Cæsar's life he is called Metellus Cimber.'—*N.*

VOCABULARY

- ABUSE**, misuse, 74.
ACADEMICS, the philosophic school founded by Plato, who taught in the Academia, a grove near Athens.
ACADEMY, a plantation near Athens, where Plato taught; so the title of the Platonic school of philosophers.
ACTIUM, in Acarnania, off which place and head Octavius conquered Antony, 31 B.C.
AGESILAUS, king of Sparta, 398-360 B.C., a distinguished soldier; fought in Asia Minor against the Persians.
AGRIPPA, M. VIPSANIUS, a statesman and general, right-hand man of Augustus, 63 B.C.-A.D. 14.
AMAZED, stunned, 139.
AND, often used instead of *if*, 252.
ANTALCIDAS' PEACE, 387 B.C.; the Persian king to retain Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and the Greek cities in Asia.
ANTIGONUS, a general of Alexander the Great, afterwards king of Asia. There were several other kings of the name.
ANTIPATER, a Macedonian, regent of Macedon for Alexander, defeated the Greeks at Crannon, 322 B.C., died 319.
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.
APOLLO, god of wisdom and prophecy, later of the sun. His chief temple and oracle was at Delphi, where he was called Pythius.
APOLLONIA, name of several towns one was in Illyria, one in Macedon.
ARISTOBULUS, a Jewish prince, brought to Rome by Pompey, escaped and rebelled, and brought back by Gabinius. Released in 49 B.C. by Julius Cæsar, but was poisoned.
ASTONIED, astounded, 79.
ATTALUS, son of Eumenes, king of Pergamus.
AVOID, go out, 286.
AWAY WITH, endure, 55.
BACCHUS, Greek god of wine.
BEAR DOWN, convince, 309.
BEDLAM, mad, 286.
BERAV, cover, 106.
BERYTUS, BEYROUT, a port of Syria W. of Damascus.
BIB, drink, 220.
BIBBER, drinker, 24.
BOOT, help, 286.
BOURD, jest, 32.
BRAVERY, finery, 291.
BREVIARY, abstract, 246.
BRINDISIUM, BRINDISI, a port on the S.E. of Italy.
BRUTUS, LUCIUS JUNIUS, roused the Romans to expel the kings, 510 B.C.
BRUTUS, M., joined Pompey in 49 B.C., pardoned by Cæsar after Pharsalia 48, murdered Cæsar 44.
BURDEN, accuse, 186.
BUTHROTUM, in Epirus.
BYZANTIUM, a Greek colony on the site of Constantinople.
CÆSAR, C. JULIUS, born 100 B.C., Consul 59, in Gaul 58-50, crossed the Rubicon 49, conquered Pompey

- at Pharsalia 48, dictator 48-44, murdered 44.
- CAITIFF**, helpless and miserable, 112.
- CALENUS, Q. FABIVS**, tribune 61 B.C., a partisan of Cæsar, fought with him in Gaul, Spain, and Greece, took Megara 48.
- CALLICRATIDAS**, admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet after Lysander, fought against Cæsar.
- CALLIMACHUS**, a poet and grammarian of Alexandria, third century B.C.
- CALVISIVS SORBINVS, C.**, a legate of Cæsar's, Consul 39 B.C., commanded the fleet of Octavius against Sex. Pompey, 38.
- CAPITOL**, one of the seven hills of Rome, where stood the Castle and the Temple of Jupiter.
- CARBO, CN. PAPIRIVS**, one of the Marian leaders, Consul 85, 84, and 82 B.C., driven to Sicily, and there killed.
- CARRIAGE**, baggage, 53.
- CARYATIDES**, maidens of Caryæ near Sparta, who performed a yearly dance in honour of Artemis.
- CASCA, P. SERVILIUS**, tribune 44 B.C., one of Cæsar's murderers, fought at Philippi 42, and died soon after.
- CASSIVS LONGINVS, C.**, quæstor of Crassus 53 B.C., tribune 49, fought against Cæsar at Pharsalia 48, pardoned by Cæsar, formed the plot for his murder, killed after Philippi by his own command 42.
- CASSOCK**, tunic, 5.
- CATILINE, L. SERGIUS CATILINA**, a young noble who hatched a conspiracy 63 B.C., which was detected by Cicero; he escaped for the time, but fell in battle.
- CATO, M. PORCIUS**, called of Utica, from the place of his death, 95-46 B.C.; opposed Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, after the battle of Thapsus had made his cause hopeless, he killed himself.
- CERES**, Greek Demeter, goddess of the earth and agriculture.
- CETHEGVS, P. CORNELIVS**, a friend of Marius, proscribed by Sulla, pardoned by Sulla 83 B.C.
- CHÆRONEA**, in Bœotia, where Philip defeated the combined Greeks 338 B.C.
- CHAMPION, CHAMPAIN**, plain flat land, 65.
- CHANGE**, exchange, 25.
- CHANGEABLE**, expensive, 232.
- CHARON**, ferryman who took the dead over the river Styx.
- CHARYBDIS**, a mythical whirlpool, supposed to have been in the Strait of Messina.
- CHOLER**, bile, 64.
- CICERO, M. TULLIVS**, 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.
- CIMBER, L. TULLIVS**, friend and murderer of Cæsar.
- CINNA, L. CORNELIVS**, during Sulla's absence in the East, 87-84 B.C., leader of the popular party; took part in Marius's massacres; slain 84.
- CLEARCHVS**, a Spartan, commander of the Ten Thousand Greek mercenaries who served under Cyrus.
- CLEOPATRA**, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, 68-31 B.C., married to her brother Ptolemy according to custom, driven from her kingdom, set on the throne by Cæsar, 47 B.C.; her husband perished in war; she became Cæsar's lover and bore him a son, Cæsarion; in 41 she met Antony, and became his lover; after Actium killed herself.
- CLODIUS, P. CLAVDIVS OR CLODIUS PVLCHER**, a profligate noble, the great enemy of Cicero, killed in a brawl with Milo.
- CONCEIT**, opinion, 12.
- CONCEITED**, witty, 189.
- CONON**, an Athenian general, who defeated the Spartans at sea off Cnidus, 394 B.C.
- CONSORT**, agreement, plot, 18.
- CONSTANTLY**, with constancy, 257.
- COP-TANK, COPPIN-TANK, COPPLE-CROWN**, a peaked sugar-loaf hat, 76.
- CORDINER**, cordwainer, shoemaker, 143.

- CORNIFICIUS, L., Consul 35 B.C., one of Octavianus' generals.
- COUNTERPEASE, counterpoise, 183.
- CRANW, cranny, 282.
- CRASSUS, M. LICINIUS, led an army into Parthia, which was annihilated at Carrhæ 53 B.C.
- CRATIPPUS OF LESBOS, a peripatetic philosopher, teacher of Cicero.
- CTESIAS OF CNIDUS, flourished about 420 B.C., lived seventeen years at the Persian Court, and wrote a history of Persia and Assyria. He left Persia in 398.
- CURACES, cuirass, body-armour, 215.
- CURIOSITY, luxury, 152.
- CURTELAX, knife, cutlass, 168.
- CYNICS, a philosophical sect, who professed to despise all the decencies and fair appearances of life, and to live on the barest necessities.
- CYRENE, in N. Africa.
- DECIES, *i.e.* decies centena millia sestertium, one million sesterces.
- DELLIUS, Q., a Roman knight, who fought in the civil wars, on either side. He fought under Antony against the Parthians, and wrote a history of that war.
- DĒMÁDES, an Athenian orator, who favoured the Macedonians, put to death by Antipater 318 B.C.
- DEMETRIAS, a city in Thessaly.
- DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM, born about 345 B.C., orator, statesman, philosopher, and poet.
- DIAMOND, adamant, steel, 178.
- 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.
- DINON, wrote a history of Persia.
- DIONYSIUS, the elder, 430-367 B.C., a soldier of fortune, and tyrant of Syracuse; he fought with Carthage, and with many of his neighbouring cities.
- DOLABELLA, CN. CORNELIUS, governor of Cilicia, condemned for extortion 79 B.C.
- DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, CN., fought against Cæsar at Pharsalia, pardoned by him, served with Antony in Parthia 36 B.C., Consul 32, deserted to Augustus soon after.
- DRACHMA, a silver coin about the size of a franc.
- DRUSUS, (1) Nero Claudius Drusus, brother of Tiberius, an able general, and much beloved, died 9 B.C.; (2) Drusus Cæsar, son of Tiberius, also a soldier, murdered by his wife.
- DYRRHACHIUM, a port on the Adriatic, in Greek Illyria.
- EFTSOONS, soon, 13.
- ELEMENT, upper air, 86.
- EPHESUS, a city on the coast of Asia Minor, S. of Smyrna.
- EPHORI, a board of magistrates at Sparta, who controlled the kings.
- EPHORUS OF CYMÆ, in Æolia, a Greek historian, fl. 340 B.C. He wrote a universal history.
- EPICUREANS, a sect founded by Epicurus, who professed to live according to nature. They soon degenerated into sensualists.
- EUMENES, king of Pergamus.
- EURIPIDES, 480-406 B.C., the third of the great Athenian tragic poets.
- FALERNUS, district in N. Campania.
- FARDL, bundle, 52.
- FAUN, a half-human creature, of Pan's rout, fabled to dwell in the woods.
- FAVONIUS, M., an imitator of Cato Utican, hence called Cato's Ape, supported Pompey, pardoned by Cæsar, took part in his murder, taken prisoner after Philippi, 42 B.C., and killed.
- FETCH, trick, 56.
- FIFT, fifth, 58.
- FINENESS, luxury, or finesse, 30.
- FITEN, pretend, 132.
- FLICKERING, fluttering, dallying, or wanton, 73.
- FONDLY, foolishly, 55.
- FURNIUS, C., friend of Cicero, partisan of Cæsar, and after Cæsar's death of Antony, reconciled to Octavius after Actium, 31 B.C.

GARBOIL, uproar, 153.

GATE, course, 98.

GELON, tyrant of Syracuse, 491-478 B.C. "Gelo signifieth laughter."—*N.*

GELT, gelded, castrated, 139.

GERMANICUS, CÆSAR, son of Nero Claudius Drusus, 15 B.C.—16 A.D., adopted by Tiberius, a notable soldier; the men offered to make him emperor, but he refused; defeated Arminius; supposed to have been poisoned.

GESTS, deeds, history, 215.

GILLOT, or **GILL**, wench, hussy, 16.

GNIDUS, or **CNIDUS**, a promontory (not an island) of Asia Minor, near Halicarnassus, in Caria.

GUARD, border, edge, 99.

GYLIPPUS, a Spartan who commanded the Syracusans when the Athenians were besieging the city, 413 B.C.

HABILITY, power, 233.

HECTOR, the hero of the Trojans in the great siege.

HELEN, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, whose abduction by Paris caused the Trojan War.

HERACLIDES OF CUMÆ, a historian of the third century B.C.

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

HIT, find, 65.

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

HORTENSIUS, Q., the orator, Cicero's rival, 114-50 B.C.

HOWBOY, **HAUTBOY**, a wind instrument of music, 220.

HUNDRETH, hundred, 95.

HUSWIFE, housewife, hussy, 12.

HUGGER-MUGGER, IN, on the sly, 185.

IDES, first of the month.

ILIUM, Troy.

INCONTINENTLY, at once, 8.

IN HAND, urgent, 21.

INTRALS, entrails, 147.

ISIS, one of the chief goddesses of Egypt.

JET, strut, 204.

JUBA, son of Juba, king of Mauritania, brought up at Rome, and became a learned historian. He wrote in Greek histories of Africa, Arabia, Assyria, and Rome.

LABIENUS, Q., joined Brutus and Cassius after Cæsar's murder, sent into Parthia by them.

LABIENUS, T., tribune, 63 B.C., legate of Cæsar 58, his ablest officer; joined Pompey 49, fought at Pharsalia and Thapsus; slain at Munda, 45.

LEMAN, lover, 74.

LENTULUS SURA, P. CORN., one of the chief men in Catiline's conspiracy, ejected from the Senate for evil life 70 B.C., executed 63.

LEPIDUS, M. ÆMILIUS, the Triumvir, a partisan of Cæsar, assisted Antony after Cæsar's murder, triumvir with Antony and Octavian 43 B.C., resisted Octavian but conquered 42, died 13.

LEONIDAS, king of Sparta, who fell with all his men at Thermopylae 480 B.C.

LEUCTRA, Bœotia, where Epaminondas defeated the Spartans 371 B.C.

LOOF, luff, bring close to the wind 199.

LISSA, a town in Dalmatia.

LIVIA, wife of Augustus.

LUKE, Lucania, in S. Italy.

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 281.
- MÆCENAS**, friend of Augustus, a great patron of learning.
- MÆOTIS**, marsh, Sea of Azov.
- MAGNESIA**, name of two cities of Lydia, in Asia Minor; (1) on the Mæander; (2) near Mt. Sipylus; and (3) a district of Thessaly.
- MARCELLUS**, M., son of M. Marcellus and Octavia, and nephew of Augustus, 43-23 B.C., a young man of brilliant promise, much regretted.
- MARCHES**, boundaries, 230.
- MARISH**, marsh, 78.
- MARIUS**, C., a plebeian soldier, seven times Consul, conqueror of Jugurtha, of the Cimbri 102, caused a civil war, and died 86.
- MARS**, Roman god of war.
- MEAN**, middle, 244.
- MECHANICAL PEOPLE**, craftsmen and labourers, 229.
- MINERVA**, Roman goddess of wisdom, and patroness of the arts and crafts. The name is often used for the Greek Athena.
- MODENA**, in N. Italy.
- MONETH**, month, 216.
- MOE**, more (in number), 54.
- MUNATIUS PLANCUS**, L., a friend of Julius Cæsar, united with Antony and Lepidus, whom he afterwards left for Octavius.
- MURRION**, morion, helmet, 66.
- MUTTON**, sheep, 202.
- NAUGHTY**, worthless, 12.
- NEPHEW**, grandson, 186.
- NERO**, fifth emperor of Rome, reigned 54-68 A.D., notable as a cruel and sensual tyrant.
- NUSLE**, to nurse, 228.
- OBOLUS**, one-sixth of a Greek drachma, a silver coin worth about $\frac{1}{3}$ d.
- OCTAVIUS**, C., grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, who adopted him; whereat he took the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus; dates 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.
- OMPHALE**, mistress of Hercules, who wore his lionskin and made him spin.
- PARIS**, or **ALEXANDER**, son of Priam, who by abducting Helen caused the Trojan War.
- PARTISAN**, short pike, 198.
- PATRAS**, a port of Achaia, on the Gulf of Corinth.
- PERGAMUS**, a great city in Mysia, capital of Pergamus.
- PELUSIUM**, at the mouth of the Nile.
- PERADVENTURE**, by chance, 134.
- PERIPATETICS**, or **WALKABOUTS**, the school of philosophy founded by Aristotle, who taught while walking.
- PETRA**, a city of Arabia Petraea, near the Dead Sea.
- PHARSALIA**, in Thessaly, where Julius Cæsar conquered Pompey 48 B.C.
- PHRÆATA**, a winter residence of the Parthian kings, near the river Amardus.
- PHAROS**, an islet in the harbour of Alexandria.
- PHILIPPI**, in Macedon, scene of the defeat of Brutus and Cassius 42 B.C.
- PHILISTUS**, of Syracuse, about 435-356 B.C., wrote a great history of Sicily.
- PILL**, strip, 288.
- PISAURUM**, in Umbria.
- PLATO**, the Athenian philosopher and friend of Socrates, 429-347 B.C. He taught in the Academia, hence his followers were called Academicians.
- POLICY**, intrigue, 27.
- POLL**, rob, tax, 249.

- POMPEY, CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS**, born 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.
- PORTMANTLE**, bag, portmanteau, 202.
- PORT-SALE**, originally of prizes taken at sea, afterwards any auction of confiscated goods, 193.
- POSIDONIUS**, of Syria, a Stoic philosopher, second century B.C., a great traveller, teacher of Cicero, died about 51 B.C.
- PRACTISE**, intrigue, 7.
- PREFER**, propose, 217.
- PRESENTLY**, at once, 227.
- PREST**, press, get ready, 85.
- PRICK**, embroider, 271.
- PRIENE**, an Ionic city of Asia Minor, near Mt. Mycale.
- PRINK**, decorate, 121.
- PROSERPINA**, Greek Persephone, or the Maid, daughter of Ceres.
- PULPIT**, platform, 26.
- PYTHAGORAS**, of Samos, a philosopher and mystic of the sixth century B.C., who founded a religious brotherhood. He taught the transmigration of the soul.
- QUEASY**, sick, 13.
- RAMP**, jump, romp, 15.
- RAY**, array, 53.
- REFER**, put off, 74.
- RETCHLESSNESS**, recklessness, 178.
- SALET**, light helmet, 66.
- SATYR**, a half-human creature, of Pan's rout; goat-footed, fabled to dwell in the woods. They were noted for all bestial passions.
- SELEUCUS**, name of several kings of Syria.
- SELF**, same, 114.
- SERBONIAN BOG**, in N. Africa.
- SESS**, assess, 80.
- SIDON**, a port on the coast of Palestine.
- SIMONIDES**, (1) of Amorgos, an iambic poet, seventh century B.C.; (2) of Cos, a famous lyric poet, sixth century B.C.
- SITH, SITHENCE**, since, 113.
- SODAIN**, sudden, 53.
- SOLOD**, a statesman and lawgiver who reformed the Athenian constitution, 594 B.C.
- SOP**, bibber, 247.
- SPRINGAL**, youngster, 276.
- STARK**, strong, stiff, 8.
- SUCHIE**, such, 287.
- 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.
- SUMPTER**, baggage animal, 67.
- SYRT**; the Syrtes were two bays in N. Africa full of quicksands and dangerous currents.
- TABLE**, tablet, 81.
- TÆNARUS**, a promontory south of the Peloponnese.
- TALENT**, 60 minæ, 6000 drachmæ, a sum in bullion equal to about £240.
- TALLAGE**, tax, levy, 29.
- THASOS**, an island in the Ægean Sea, near Thrace.
- THEMISTOCLES**, an Athenian statesman and soldier of the fifth century B.C. To him is due the credit for the victory of Salamis.
- THEOPOMPUS**, of Chios, a Greek historian, fourth century B.C.
- TICKLE**, ticklish, delicate, 179.
- TIMÆUS**, of Sicily, a historian about 352-256 B.C.
- TIMON THE MISANTHROPE**, end of fifth century B.C., lived at Athens, and refused to associate with mankind.
- TO-TATTERED**, tattered to pieces, 129.
- TRAVEL**, work, 24.
- TRIBUNE**, tribunal, platform, 17.
- TROTH**, truth, 75.
- TRUSS'D**, packed, 52.
- TRUSS UP**, hang up, execute by hanging, 110.
- TYPHON**, Greek name for the Egyptian monster Set.

VERY, true, 5.

VITILIGO (Latin), white leprosy.

VOWARD, vanguard, 52.

WHISHT, silent, 223.

WHIRT, blow, 252.

WIST, knew, 71.

XENOPHON, an Athenian literary man and soldier. When the Ten Thou-

sand Greeks, who were hired to fight for Cyrus against Artaxerxes, lost their leaders by treachery, Xenophon led them safely back to the coast, 399 B.C.

YARAGE, nimbleness, 85.

ZACYNTH, ZACYNTHUS, an island west of Greece.