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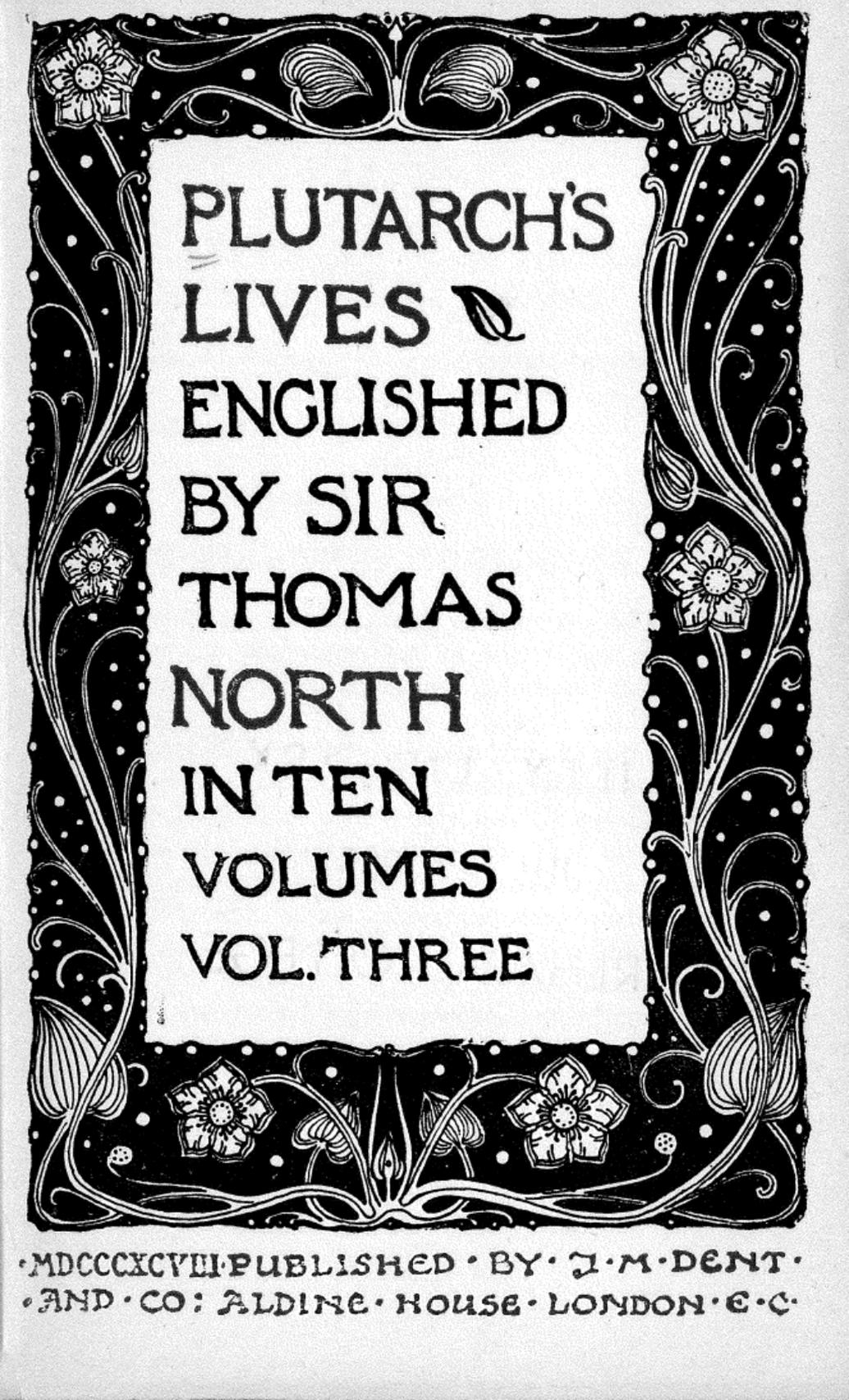
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HEAD OF MARCELLUS.

From a Coin.



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THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

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

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS

THE house of the Marcians at Rome was of the **His**
number of the patricians, out of the which have **family**
sprong many noble personages, whereof Ancus
Marcius was one, King Numa's daughter's son, who
was King of Rome after Tullus Hostilius. Of the
same house were Publius, and Quintus, who brought
to Rome their best water they had by conduits.
Censorinus also came of that family, that was so
surnamed because the people had chosen him Censor
twice. Through whose persuasion they made a
law, that no man from thenceforth might require,
or enjoy the Censorship twice. Caius Marcius,
whose life we intend now to write, being left an
orphan by his father, was brought up under his
mother, a widow, who taught us by experience,
that orphanage bringeth many discommodities to a
child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest
man, and to excel in vertue above the common sort:
as they that are meanly born, wrongfully do

**Cholerick
and im-
patient**

complain, that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought up, and taught that were meet. This man also is a good proof to confirm some men's opinions: That a rare and excellent wit untaught, doth bring forth many good and evil things together, as a fat soil that lieth unmanured bringeth forth herbs and weeds. For this Marcius' natural wit and great heart did marvellously stir up his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other side for lack of education, he was so cholerick and impatient, that he would yield to no living creature: which made him churlish, uncivil, and altogether unfit for any man's conversation. Yet men marvelling much at his constancy, that he was never overcome with pleasure, nor money, and how he would endure easily all manner of pains and travails: thereupon they well liked and commended his stoutness and temperancy. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen useth to be with another in the city: his behaviour was so unpleasant to them by reason of a certain insolent and stern manner he had, which because it was too lordly, was disliked. And to say truly, the greatest benefit that learning bringeth unto men, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compass and rule of reason, to be civil and courteous, and to like better the mean state, than the higher. Now in those days, valiantness was honoured in Rome above all other vertues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of vertue it self, as including in that general name, all other special vertues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin,

was as much as valiantness. But Marcius being more inclined to the wars, than any other gentleman of his time, began from his childhood to give himself to handle weapons, and daily did exercise himself therein: and he esteemed outward armour to no purpose, unless one were naturally armed within. Moreover he did so exercise his body to hardness and all kind of activity, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, and mighty in griping, so that no man could ever cast him. Inso-much as those who would try masteries with him for strength and nimbleness, would say when they were overcome: that all was by reason of his natural strength, and hardness of ward, that never yielded to any pain or toil he took upon him. The first time he went to the wars, being but a stripling, was when Tarquin surnamed the Proud (that had been King of Rome, and was driven out for his pride, after many attempts made by sundry battells to come in again, wherein he was ever overcome) did come to Rome, with all the aid of the Latins, and many other people of Italy: even as it were to set up his whole rest upon a battell by them, who with a great and mighty army had undertaken to put him into his kingdom again, not so much to pleasure him, as to overthrow the power of the Romans, whose greatness they both feared and envied. In this battell, wherein were many hot and sharp encounters of either party, Marcius valiantly fought in the sight of the Dictator: and a Roman soldier being thrown to the ground even hard by him, Marcius straight bestrid him, and slew the enemy with his own hands that had before overthrown the Roman. Hereupon, after the battell was won, the

Corio-
lanus'
first
going
to wars

Crowned
with a
garland
of oaken
boughs

Dictator did not forget so noble an act, and therefore first of all he crowned Marcius with a garland of oaken boughs. For whosoever saveth the life of a Roman, it is a manner among them, to honour him with such a garland. This was, either because the law did this honour to the oak, in favour of the Arcadians, who by the oracle of Apollo were in old time called eaters of acorns: or else because the soldiers might easily in every place come by oaken boughs: or lastly, because they thought it very necessary, to give him that had saved a citizen's life, a crown of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated unto Jupiter, the patron and protector of their cities, and thought amongst other wild trees to bring forth a profitable fruit, and of plants to be the strongest. Moreover, men at the first beginning did use acorns for their bread, and honey for their drink: and further, the oak did feed their beasts, and give them birds, by taking glue from the oaks, with the which they made birdlime to catch silly birds. They say that Castor and Pollux appeared in this battell, and how incontinently after the battell, men saw them in the market-place at Rome, all their horses being on a white foam: and they were the first that brought news of the victory, even in the same place, where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honour of them near unto the fountain. And this is the cause, why the day of this victory (which was the fifteenth of July) is consecrated yet to this day unto Castor and Pollux. Moreover it is daily seen, that honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time, and before they have any great courage by nature: the desire to win more dieth straight in

them, which easily happeneth, the same having no deep root in them before. Where contrariwise, the first honour that valiant minds do come unto, doth quicken up their appetite, hasting them forward as with force of wind, to enterprise things of high deserving praise. For they esteem not, to receive reward for service done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them do better in time to come : and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heels, not seeking to increase it still by like desert of worthy valiant deeds. This desire being bred in Marcius, he strained still to pass himself in manliness, and being desirous to shew a daily increase of his valiantness, his noble service did still advance his fame, bringing in spoils upon spoils from the enemy. Whereupon, the captains that came afterwards (for envy of them that went before) did contend who should most honour him, and who should bear most honourable testimony of his valiantness. Insomuch as the Romans having many wars and battells in those days, Coriolanus was at them all : and there was not a battell fought, from whence he returned not with some reward of honour. And as for other, the only respect that made them valiant, was that they hoped to have honour : but touching Marcius, the only thing that made him to love honour, was the joy he saw his mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him so happy and honourable, as that his mother might hear everybody praise and commend him, that she might always see him return with a crown upon his head, and that she might still embrace him with tears running down her cheeks for joy. Which desire they say Epaminondas did avow, and confess to

His noble
endeavour to
continue
well-
deserving

Ex-
tremity
of usury
com-
plained
of at
Rome

have been in him : as to think himself a most happy and blessed man, that his father and mother in their lifetime had seen the victory he wan in the plain of Leuctra. Now as for Epaminondas, he had this good hap, to have his father and mother living, to be partakers of his joy and prosperity. But Marcius thinking all due to his mother, that had been also due to his father if he had lived : did not only content himself to rejoice and honour her, but at her desire took a wife also, by whom he had two children, and yet never left his mother's house therefore. Now he being grown to great credit and authority in Rome for his valiantness, it fortun'd there grew sedition in the city, because the Senate did favour the rich against the people, who did complain of the sore oppression of usurers, of whom they borrowed money. For those that had little, were yet spoiled of that little they had by their creditors, for lack of ability to pay the usury : who offer'd their goods to be sold to them that would give most. And such as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold on, and they were made their bondmen, notwithstanding all the wounds and cuts they shewed, which they had received in many battels, fighting for defence of their country and commonwealth : of the which, the last war they made was against the Sabines, wherein they fought upon the promise the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would entreat them more gently, and also upon the word of Marcus Valerius chief of the Senate, who by authority of the Council, and in the behalf of the rich, said they should perform that they had promised. But after that they had faithfully served in this last battell of all, where they

overcame their enemies, seeing they were never a whit the better, nor more gently entreated, and that the Senate would give no care to them, but made as though they had forgotten their former promise, and suffered them to be made slaves and bondmen to their creditors, and besides, to be turned out of all that ever they had: they fell then even to flat rebellion and mutiny, and to stir up dangerous tumults within the city. The Romans' enemies hearing of this rebellion did straight enter the territories of Rome with a marvellous great power, spoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediately made open proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all those that were of lawful age to carry weapon, should come and enter their names into the muster-master's book, to go to the wars: but no man obeyed their commandment. Whereupon their chief magistrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of divers opinions among themselves. For some thought it was reason, they should somewhat yield to the poor people's request, and that they should a little qualify the severity of the law. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was Marcius for one. For he alleged, that the creditors, losing their money they had lent, was not the worst thing that was thereby: but that the lenity that was favoured, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proud attempt of the communalty, was to abolish law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he said, if the Senate were wise, they should betimes prevent and quench this ill-favoured and worse meant beginning. The Senate met many days in consultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poor common

Corio-
lanus
against
the people

An excellent tale told by Menenius Agrippa

people seeing no redress, gathered themselves one day together, and one encouraging another, they all forsook the city, and encamped themselves upon a hill, called at that day the holy hill, amongst the river of Tiber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or making any shew of actual rebellion: saving that they cried as they went up and down, that the rich men had driven them out of the city, and that all Italy through they might find air, water, and ground to bury them in. Moreover, they said, to dwell at Rome was nothing else but to be slain, or hurt with continual wars, and fighting for defence of the rich men's goods. The Senate being afraid of their departure, did send unto them certain of the pleasantest old men, and the most acceptable to the people among them. Of those Menenius Agrippa was he, who was sent for chief man of the message from the Senate. He, after many good persuasions and gentle requests made to the people, on the behalf of the Senate: knit up his oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of man's body did rebel against the belly, complaining of it, that it only remained in the midst of the body, without doing anything, neither did bear any labour to the maintenance of the rest: whereas all other parts and members did labour painfully, and were very careful to satisfy the appetites and desires of the body. And so the belly, all this notwithstanding laughed at their folly, and said: It is true, I first receive all meats that nourish man's body; but afterwards I send it again to the nourishment of other parts of the same. Even so (quoth he) O you, my maisters, and citizens of Rome: the reason

is alike between the Senate and you. For matters being well digested, and their counsels thoroughly examined, touching the benefit of the commonwealth: the Senators are cause of the common commodity that cometh unto every one of you. These persuasions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would grant there should be yearly chosen five magistrates, which they now call *Tribuni plebis*, whose office should be to defend the poor people from violence and oppression. So Junius Brutus, and Sicinius Bellutus, were the first Tribunes of the people that were chosen, who had only been the causers and procurers of this sedition. Hereupon the city being grown again to good quiet and unity, the people immediately went to the wars, shewing that they had a good will to do better than ever they did, and to be very willing to obey the magistrates in that they would command, concerning the wars. Marcius also, though it liked him nothing to see the greatness of the people thus increased, considering, it was to the prejudice, and imbasing of the nobility, and also saw that other noble patricians were troubled as well as himself: he did persuade the patricians, to shew themselves no less forward and willing to fight for their country, than the common people were: and to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not so much pass the people in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true nobility and valiantness. In the country of the Volscians against whom the Romans made war at that time, there was a principal city and of most fame, that was called Corioli, before the which the Consul Cominius did lay siege. Wherefore all the other Volscians fearing

The first
beginning
of the
Tribuni
plebis

The city
of Corioli
besieged

lest that city should be taken by assault, they came from all parts of the country to save it, intending to give the Romans battell before the city, and to give an onset on them in two several places. The Consul Cominius understanding this, divided his army also into two parts, and taking the one part with himself, he marched towards them that were drawing to the city out of the country: and the other part of his army he left in the camp with Titus Lartius (one of the valiantest men the Romans had at that time) to resist those that would make any sally out of the city upon them. So the Coriolans making small accompt of them that lay in camp before the city, made a sally out upon them, in the which at the first the Coriolans had the better, and drave the Romans back again into the trenches of their camp. But Marcus being there at that time, running out of the camp with a few men with him, he slew the first enemies he met withal, and made the rest of them stay upon the sodain, crying out to the Romans that had turned their backs, and calling them again to fight with a loud voice. For he was even such another, as Cato would have a soldier and a captain to be, not only terrible, and fierce to lay about him, but to make the enemy afeard with the sound of his voice, and grimness of his countenance. Then there flocked about him immediately, a great number of Romans: whereat the enemies were so afeard, that they gave back presently. But Marcus not staying so, did chase and follow them to their own gates, that fled for life. And there perceiving that the Romans retired back, for the great number of darts and arrows

which flew about their ears from the walls of the city, and that there was not one man amongst them that durst venter himself to follow the flying enemies into the city, for that it was full of men of war, very well armed and appointed: he did encourage his fellows with words and deeds, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the city, more for the followers than the fliers. But all this notwithstanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit Marcius being in the throng among the enemies, thrust himself into the gates of the city, and entred the same among them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turn their face upon him, or offer to stay him. But he looking about him, and seeing he was entred the city with very few men to help him, and perceiving he was environed by his enemies that gathered round about to set upon him: did things as it is written, wonderful and incredible, as well for the force of his hand, as also for the agility of his body, and with a wonderful courage and valiantness he made a lane through the midst of them, and overthrew also those he laid at: that some he made run to the furthest part of the city, and other for fear he made yield themselves, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this means, Marcius that was gotten out, had some leisure to bring the Romans with more safety into the city. The city being taken in this sort, the most part of the soldiers began incontinently to spoil, to carry away, and to lock up the booty they had won. But Marcius was marvellous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to look after spoil, and to run straggling here and

The city
of Corioli
taken

Soldiers' testaments there to enrich themselves, whilst the other Consul and their fellow-citizens peradventure were fighting with their enemies: and how that leaving the spoil, they should seek to wind themselves out of danger and peril. Howbeit, cry and say to them what he could, very few of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered themselves to follow him, he went out of the city, and took his way towards that part, where he understood the rest of the army was: exhorting and entreating them by the way that followed him not to be faint-hearted, and oft holding up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in a good hour to hazard his life in defence of his countrymen. Now the Romans when they were put in battell ray, and ready to take their targets on their arms, and to gird them upon their arming coats, had a custom to make their wills at that very instant, without any manner of writing, naming him only whom they would make their heir in the presence of three or four witnesses. Marcius came just to that reckoning, whilst the soldiers were doing after that sort, and that the enemies were approached so near, as one stood in view of the other. When they saw him at his first coming, all bloody, and in a sweat, and but with a few men following him: some thereupon began to be afeard. But soon after, when they saw him run with a lively cheer to the Consul, and to take him by the hand, declaring how he had taken the city of Corioli, and that they saw the Consul Cominius also kiss and embrace him: then there was not a man but took heart again to him,

and began to be of a good courage, some hearing him report from point to point the happy success of this exploit, and other also conjecturing it by seeing their gestures afar off. Then they all began to call upon the Consul to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to give charge upon the enemy. Marcius asked him how the order of their enemies' battell was, and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The Consul made him answer, that he thought the bands which were in the vaward of their battell, were those of the Antiates, whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valiant courage would give no place, to any of the host of their enemies. Then prayed Marcius, to be set directly against them. The Consul granted him, greatly praising his courage. Then Marcius, when both armies came almost to join, advanced himself a good space before his company, and went so fiercely to give charge on the vaward that came right against him, that they could stand no longer in his hands: he made such a lane through them, and opened a passage into the battell of the enemies. But the two wings of either side turned one to the other, to compass him in between them: which the Consul Cominius perceiving, he sent thither straight of the best soldiers he had about him. So the battell was marvellous bloody about Marcius, and in a very short space many were slain in the place. But in the end the Romans were so strong, that they distressed the enemies, and brake their array: and scattering them, made them fly. Then they prayed Marcius that he would retire to the camp, because they saw he was able to do no more,

The
Volscians
were
overcome
in battell

Valiancy
rewarded
with
honour
in the
field

he was already so wearied with the great pain he had taken, and so faint with the great wounds he had upon him. But Marcius answered them, that it was not for conquerors to yield, nor to be faint-hearted : and thereupon began afresh to chase those that fled, until such time as the army of the enemies was utterly overthrown, and numbers of them slain and taken prisoners. The next morning betimes, Marcius went to the Consul, and the other Romans with him. There the Consul Cominius going up to his chair of state, in the presence of the whole army, gave thanks to the gods for so great, glorious, and prosperous a victory : then he spake to Marcius, whose valiantness he commended beyond the moon, both for that he himself saw him do with his eyes, as also for that Marcius had reported unto him. So in the end he willed Marcius, that he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all their goods they had won (whereof there was great store) ten of every sort which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gave him in testimony that he had won that day the price of prowess above all other, a goodly horse with a caparison, and all furniture to him : which the whole army beholding, did marvellously praise and commend. But Marcius stepping forth, told the Consul, he most thankfully accepted the gift of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his service had deserved his general's commendation : and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenary reward, than an honourable recompense, he would have none of it, but was contented to

have his equal part with other soldiers. Only, this grace (said he) I crave and beseech you to grant me. Among the Volscians there is an old friend and host of mine, an honest wealthy man, and now a prisoner, who living before in great wealth in his own country, liveth now a poor prisoner, in the hands of his enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his misery and misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could save him from this one danger, to keep him from being sold as a slave. The soldiers hearing Marcius' words, made a marvellous great shout among them: and there were more that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they saw so little covetousness in him, than they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantness. For even they themselves, that did somewhat malice and envy his glory, to see him thus honoured, and passingly praised, did think him so much the more worthy of an honourable recompense for his valiant service, as the more carelessly he refused the great offer made unto him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, than that which made them to be offered to him, as unto a worthy person. For it is far more commendable, to use riches well, than to be valiant: and yet it is better not to desire them than to use them well. After this shout and noise of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consul Cominius began to speak in this sort. We cannot compel Marcius to take these gifts we offer him if he will not receive them: but we will give him such a reward for the noble service he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we do order and

Marcus
sur-
named
Corio-
lanus

How the Romans came to have three names decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, unless his valiant acts have won him that name before our nomination. And so ever since, he still bare the third name of Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the Romans have, as Caius: was as our Christian name now. The second, as Marcius: was the name of the house and family they came of. The third, was some addition given, either for some act or notable service, or for some mark on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some special vertue they had. Even so did the Grecians in old time give additions to princes, by reason of some notable act worthy memory. As when they have called some, Soter and Callinicos: as much to say saviour and conqueror. Or else of some notable apparent mark on one's face, or on his body, they have called him Physcon, and Grypos, as ye would say, gore-belly, and hook-nosed: or else for some vertue, as Euergetes, and Philadelphos: to wit, a benefactor, and lover of his brethren. Or otherwise for one's great felicity, as Eudæmon: as much to say, as fortunate. For so was the second of the Battæ surnamed. And some kings have had surnames of jest and mockery. As one of the Antigoni that was called Doston, to say, the Giver: who was ever promising, and never giving. And one of the Ptolemies was called Lamyros: to say, conceitive. The Romans use more than any other nation, to give names of mockery in this sort. As there was one Metellus surnamed Diadematus, the banded: because he carried a band about his head of long time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his own family was called

Celer, the quick flyer: because a few days after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruel fight of fencers at unrebated swords, which they found wonderful for the shortness of time. Other had their surnames derived of some accident of their birth. As to this day they call him Proculeius, that is born, his father being in some far voyage: and him Postumius, that is born after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other surviveth: they call the survivor, Vopiscus. Sometimes also they give surnames derived of some mark or misfortune of the body. As Sulla, to say, crooked nosed: Niger, black: Rufus, red: Cæcus, blind: Claudus, lame. They did wisely in this thing to accustom men to think, that neither the loss of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace unto them, but the manner was to answer boldly to such names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories than this. Now when this war was ended, the flatterers of the people began to stir up sedition again, without any new occasion, or just matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this second insurrection against the nobility and patricians, upon the people's misery and misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discord and sedition between them and the nobility. Because the most part of the arable land within the territory of Rome, was become heathy and barren for lack of plowing, for that they had no time nor mean to cause corn to be brought them out of other countries to sow, by reason of their wars

**Sedition
at Rome
by reason
of famine**

Velitræ made a colony to Rome which made the extreme dearth they had among them. Now those busy prattlers that sought the people's good-will by such flattering words, perceiving great scarcity of corn to be within the city, and though there had been plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buy it: they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the nobility, that they in revenge of the people, had practised and procured the extreme dearth among them. Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there came ambassadors to Rome from the city of Velitræ, that offered up their city to the Romans, and prayed them they would send new inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had been so extreme among them, and had killed such a number of them, as there was not left alive the tenth person of the people that had been there before. So the wise men of Rome began to think, that the necessity of the Velitrians fell out in a most happy hour, and how by this occasion it was very meet in so great a scarcity of victuals, to disburden Rome of a great number of citizens: and by this means as well to take away this new sedition, and utterly to rid it out of the city, as also to clear the same of many mutinous and seditious persons, being the superfluous ill humours that grievously fed this disease. Hereupon the Consuls prickt out all those by a bill, whom they intended to send to Velitræ, to go dwell there as in form of a colony: and they levied out of all the rest that remained in the city of Rome, a great number to go against the Volsces, hoping by the means of foreign war, to pacify their sedition at home. Moreover they imagined, when the poor with the rich, and the mean sort with the

nobility, should by this device be abroad in the wars, and in one camp, and in one service, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and loving together. But Sicinius and Brutus, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these devices, and cried out upon the noblemen, that under the gentle name of a colony, they would cloak and colour the most cruel and unnatural fact as might be: because they sent their poor citizens into a sore infected city and pestilent air, full of dead bodies unburied, and there also to dwell under the tuition of a strange god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people. This were (said they) even as much, as if the Senate should headlong cast down the people into a most bottomless pit. And are not yet contented to have famished some of the poor citizens heretofore to death, and to put other of them even to the mercy of the plague: but afresh they have procured a voluntary war, to the end they would leave behind no kind of misery and ill, wherewith the poor silly people should not be plagued, and only because they are weary to serve the rich. The common people being set on a broil and bravery with these words, would not appear when the Consuls called their names by a bill, to prest them for the wars, neither would they be sent out to this new colony: insomuch as the Senate knew not well what to say or do in the matter. Marcius then, who was now grown to great credit, and a stout man besides, and of great reputation with the noblest men of Rome, rose up, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the city of Velitræ, he did compel those that were chosen,

**The
Tribunes
against
both these
devices**

Corio-
lanus
invadeth
the An-
tiates

to go thither, and to depart the city, upon great penalties to him that should disobey: but to the wars, the people by no means would be brought or constrained. So Marcius taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he could by fair words entreat to go with him, did run certain forays into the dominion of the Antiates, where he met with great plenty of corn, and had a marvellous great spoil, as well of cattell, as of men he had taken prisoners, whom he brought away with him, and reserved nothing for himself. Afterwards, having brought back again all his men that went out with him, safe and sound to Rome, and every man rich and loaden with spoil: then the hometrarriers and house-doves that kept Rome still, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and so envied both them that had sped so well in this journey, and also of malice to Marcius, they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, Marcius stood for the Consulship: and the common people favoured his suit, thinking it would be a shame to them to deny and refuse the chiefest nobleman of blood, and most worthy person of Rome, and specially him that had done so great service and good to the commonwealth. For the custom of Rome was at that time, that such as did sue for any office, should for certain days before be in the market-place, only with a poor gown on their backs, and without any coat underneath, to pray the citizens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus devised, either to move the people the more, by requesting them in such

mean apparel, or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten in the wars in the service of the commonwealth, as manifest marks and testimony of their valiantness. Now it is not to be thought that the suitors went thus loose in a simple gown in the market-place, without any coat under it, for fear, and suspicion of the common people: for offices of dignity in the city were not then given by favour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and selling fell out in election of officers, and that the voices of the electors were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten way into the election of offices, it hath run from man to man, even to the very sentence of judges, and also among captains in the wars: so as in the end, that only turned commonwealths into kingdoms, by making arms subject to money. Therefore me thinks he had reason that said: he that first made bankets, and gave money to the common people, was the first that took away authority, and destroyed common wealth. But this pestilence crept in by little and little, and did secretly win ground still, continuing a long time in Rome, before it was openly known and discovered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the people's voices for money, nor that corrupted the sentence of the judges. Howbeit at Athens some hold opinion, that Anytus, the son of Anthemion, was the first that fed the judges with money, about the end of the wars of Peloponnesus, being accused of treason for yielding up the fort of Pylos, at that time, when the golden and unsoiled age remained yet whole in judgement at Rome. Now Marcus

Offices
given
then by
desert
without
favour

See the
fickle
minds of
common
people

following this custom, shewed many wounds and cuts upon his body, which he had received in seventeen years' service at the wars, and in many sundry battels, being ever the foremost man that did set out feet to fight. So that there was not a man among the people, but was ashamed of himself, to refuse so valiant a man : and one of them said to another, We must needs choose him Consul, there is no remedy. But when the day of election was come, and that Marcius came to the market-place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole nobility of the city about him, who sought to make him Consul, with the greatest instance and entreaty they could, or ever attempted for any man or matter : then the love and goodwill of the common people, turned straight to a hate and envy toward him, fearing to put this office of sovereign authority into his hands, being a man somewhat partial toward the nobility, and of great credit and authority amongst the patricians, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the liberty from the people. Whereupon for these considerations, they refused Marcius in the end, and made two other that were suitors, Consuls. The Senate being marvellously offended with the people, did account the shame of this refusal, rather to redound to themselves, than to Marcius : but Marcius took it in far worse part than the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too full of passion and choler, and too much given to over self-will and opinion, as one of a high mind and great courage, that lacked the gravity, and affability that is gotten with judgement of learning and reason, which only is to be looked for in a governor of

state : and that remembred not how wilfulness is the thing of the world, which a governor of a commonwealth for pleasing should shun, being that which Plato called solitariness. As in the end, all men that are wilfully given to a self-opinion and obstinate mind, and who will never yield to others' reason, but to their own : remain without company, and forsaken of all men. For a man that will live in the world, must needs have patience, which lusty bloods make but a mock at. So Marcius being a stout man of nature, that never yielded in any respect, as one thinking that to overcome always, and to have the upper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimity, and of no base and faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weak and passioned part of the heart, much like the matter of an imposthume : went home to his house, full freighted with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest young gentlemen, whose minds were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly used for to follow and honour him. But then specially they flockt about him, and kept him company, to his much harm ; for they did but kindle and inflame his choler more and more, being sorry with him for the injury the people offered him, because he was their captain and leader to the wars, that taught them all marshal discipline, and stirred up in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantness, and yet without envy, praising them that deserved best. In the mean season, there came great plenty of corn to Rome, that had been bought, part in Italy, and part was sent out of Sicily, as given by Gelon the tyrant of Syracusa : so that many stood in great hope, that

The fruits
of self-
will and
obstinacy

**Corio-
lanus'**
speech
against

the dearth of victuals being holpen, the civil dissen- sion would also cease. The Senate sat in council upon it immediately, the common people stood also about the palace where the council was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out : persuading them- selves, that the corn they had bought should be sold good cheap, and that which was given should be divided by the poll, without paying any penny, and the rather, because certain of the Senators amongst them did so wish and persuade the same. But Marcius standing upon his feet, did somewhat sharply take up those, who went about to gratify the people therein : and called them people-pleasers, and traitors to the nobility. Moreover, he said, they nourished against themselves, the naughty seed and cockle of insolency and sedition, which had been sowed and scattered abroad amongst the people whom they should have cut off, if they had been wise, and have prevented their greatness : and not to their own destruction to have suffered the people, to stablish a magistrate for themselves, of so great power and authority, as that man had, to whom they had granted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what he listed, neither passed for any obedience to the Consuls, but lived in all liberty, acknowl- edging no superior to command him, saving the only heads and authors of their faction, whom he called his magistrates. Therefore, said he, " they that gave counsel, and persuaded that the corn should be given out to the common people gratis, as they used to do in the cities of Greece, where the people had more absolute power : did but only nourish their dis- obedience, which would break out in the end, to

the utter ruin and overthrow of the whole state. For they will not think it is done in recompense of their service past, sithence they know well enough they have so oft refused to go to the wars, when they were commanded : neither for their mutinies when they went with us, whereby they have rebelled and forsaken their country : neither for their accusations which their flatterers have preferred unto them, and they have received, and made good against the Senate : but they will rather judge, we give and grant them this, as abasing ourselves, and standing in fear of them, and glad to flatter them every way. By this means, their disobedience will still grow worse and worse : and they will never leave to practise new sedition and uproars. Therefore it were a great folly for us, methinks, to do it : yea, shall I say more ? we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulship, and the cause of the division of the city. The state whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becometh dismembered in two factions, which maintains always civil dissension and discord between us, and will never suffer us again to be united into one body." Marcius dilating the matter with many such like reasons, won all the young men, and almost all the rich men to his opinion : insomuch they rang it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who stood out against the people, and never flattered them. There were only a few old men that spake against him, fearing lest some mischief might fall out upon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being present at this consultation of the

the insolency of the people

**Sedition
at Rome
for Corio-
lanus**

Senate, when they saw that the opinion of Marcius was confirmed with the more voices, they left the Senate, and went down to the people, crying out for help, and that they would assemble to save their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ran on head in tumult together, before whom the words that Marcius spake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people so stomached, that even in that fury they were ready to fly upon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen wholly upon Marcius, and sent their sergeants forthwith to arrest him, presently to appear in person before the people, to answer the words he had spoken in the Senate. Marcius stoutly withstood these officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their own persons, accompanied with the *Ædiles*, went to fetch him by force, and so laid violent hands upon him. Howbeit the noble patricians gathering together about him, made the Tribunes give back, and laid sore upon the *Ædiles*: so for that time, the night parted them, and the tumult appeased. The next morning betimes, the Consuls seeing the people in an uproar, running to the market-place out of all parts of the city, they were afraid lest all the city would together by the ears: wherefore assembling the Senate in all haste, they declared how it stood them upon, to appease the fury of the people, with some gentle words, or grateful decrees in their favour: and moreover, like wise men they should consider, it was now no time to stand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour against the communalty; they being fallen to so great an extremity, and offering such imminent danger.

Wherefore they were to consider temperately of things, and to deliver some present and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senators that were present at this council, thought this opinion best, and gave their consents unto it. Whereupon the Consuls rising out of council, went to speak unto the people as gently as they could, and they did pacify their fury and anger, purging the Senate of all the unjust accusations laid upon them, and used great modesty in persuading them, and also in reproving the faults they had committed. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corn: they promised there should be no disliking offered them in the price. So the most part of the people being pacified, and appearing so plainly by the great silence and still that was among them, as yielding to the Consuls, and liking well of their words: the Tribunes then of the people rose out of their seats, and said: Forasmuch as the Senate yielded unto reason, the people also for their part, as became them, did likewise give place unto them: but notwithstanding, they would that Marcius should come in person to answer to the articles they had devised. First, whether he had not solicited and procured the Senate to change the present state of the common-weal, and to take the sovereign authority out of the people's hands. Next, when he was sent for by authority of their officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had driven and beaten the Ædiles into the market-place before all the world: if in doing this, he had not done as much as in him lay, to raise civil wars, and to set one citizen against another. All this was spoken to one of these two ends, either that Marcius against

Articles
against
Corio-
lanus

Corio-
lanus'
stoutness
in defence
of himself

his nature should be constrained to humble himself, and to abase his haughty and fierce mind : or else if he continued still in his stoutness, he should incur the people's displeasure and ill-will so far, that he should never possibly win them again. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, than otherwise : as indeed they guessed unhappily, considering Marcius' nature and disposition. So Marcius came, and presented himself, to answer their accusations against him, and the people held their peace, and gave attentive ear, to hear what he would say. But where they thought to have heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not only to use his wonted boldness of speaking (which of itself was very rough and unpleasant, and did more aggravate his accusation, than purge his innocence) but also gave himself in his words to thunder, and look therewithal so grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This stirred coals among the people, who were in wonderful fury at it, and their hate and malice grew so toward him, that they could hold no longer, bear, nor endure his bravery and careless boldness. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruellest and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a little with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the people, Marcius as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then presently he commanded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and carry him straight to the rock Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong down the same. When the Ædiles came to lay hands upon Marcius to do that they were commanded, divers of the people themselves thought it too cruel and violent a deed. The noble men also being much

troubled to see such force and rigour used, began to cry aloud, Help Marcius; so those that laid hands on him being repulsed, they compassed him in round among themselves, and some of them holding up their hands to the people, besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words, nor crying out could aught prevail, the tumult and hurly-burly was so great, until such time as the Tribunes' own friends and kinsmen weighing with themselves the impossibleness to convey Marcius to execution, without great slaughter and murder of the nobility: did persuade and advise not to proceed in so violent and extraordinary a sort, as to put such a man to death, without lawful process in law, but that they should refer the sentence of his death, to the free voice of the people. Then Sicinius bethinking himself a little, did ask the patricians, for what cause they took Marcius out of the officers' hands that went to do execution? The patricians asked him again, why they would of themselves so cruelly and wickedly put to death, so noble and valiant a Roman as Marcius was, and that without law or justice? Well then, said Sicinius, if that be the matter, let there be no more quarrel or dissension against the people: for they do grant your demand, that his cause shall be heard according to the law. Therefore said he to Marcius, We do will and charge you to appear before the people, the third day of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shall be objected against you, that by free voice the people may give sentence upon you as shall please them. The noblemen were glad then of the adjournment, and were much pleased they had

Sicinius
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sentence
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Corio-
lanus
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answer
the people

gotten Marcius out of this danger. In the mean space, before the third day of their next session came about, the same being kept every ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latin, *Nundina*: there fell out war against the Antiates, which gave some hope to the nobility, that this adjournment would come to little effect, thinking that this war would hold them so long, as that the fury of the people against him would be well swaged, or utterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the wars. But contrary to expectation, the peace was concluded presently with the Antiates, and the people returned again to Rome. Then the patricians assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might stand to Marcius, and keep the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutiny again, and rise against the nobility. And there Appius Claudius (one that was taken ever as a heavy enemy to the people) did avow and protest, that they would utterly abase the authority of the Senate, and destroy the common-weal, if they would suffer the common people to have authority by voices to give judgement against the nobility. On the other side again, the most ancient Senators, and such as were given to favour the common people, said: That when the people should see they had authority of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruel and fierce, but gentle and civil. More also, that it was not for contempt of nobility or the Senate, that they sought to have the authority of justice in their hands, as a preheminance and prerogative of honour: but because they feared, that themselves should be contemned and hated of the nobility. So as they were persuaded, that so

soon as they gave them authority to judge by voices : so soon would they leave all envy and malice to condemn any. Marcius seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolve, partly for the love and goodwill the nobility did bear him, and partly for the fear they stood in of the people : asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would show how he did aspire to be King, and would prove that all his actions tended to usurp tyrannical power over Rome. Marcius with that, rising up on his feet, said : That thereupon he did willingly offer himself to the people, to be tried upon that accusation. And that if it were proved by him, he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then refuse no kind of punishment they would offer him : conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing else besides, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate. They promised they would not. Under these conditions the judgement was agreed upon, and the people assembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoever became of it) that the people would proceed to give their voices by tribes, and not by hundreds : for by this means the multitude of the poor needy people (and all such rabble as had nothing to lose, and had less regard of honesty before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voices were numbred by the poll) than the noble honest citizens, whose persons and purse did dutifully serve the commonwealth in their wars. And then when the Tribunes saw they could not prove he went about to make himself King, they began to broach afresh the former

**Corio-
lanus
accused
that he
sought
to be
King**

Corio-
lanus
banished
for ever

words that Marcius had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the corn at mean price unto the common people, and persuading also to take the office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third, they charged him anew, that he had not made the common distribution of the spoil he had gotten in the invading the territories of the Antiates: but had of his own authority divided it among them, who were with him in that journey. But this matter was most strange of all to Marcius, looking least to have been burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sodain, and having no ready excuse to make even at that instant: he began to fall a-praising of the soldiers that had served with him in that journey. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out so loud, and made such a noise, that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voices of the tribes, there were three voices odd, which condemned him to be banished for ever. After declaration of the sentence, the people made such joy, as they never rejoiced more for any battell they had won upon their enemies, they were so brave and lively, and went home so jocondly from the assembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate again in contrary manner were as sad and heavy, repenting themselves beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to have done and suffered anything whatsoever, before the common people should so arrogantly and outrageously have abused their authority. There needed no difference of garments I warrant you, nor outward shows to know a plebeian from a patrician, for they were

easily discerned by their looks. For he that was on the people's side, looked cheerily on the matter : but he that was sad, and hung down his head, he was sure of the noblemen's side. Saving Marcius alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gait, did ever show himself abashed, or once let fall his great courage : but he only of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly show no manner of passion, nor care at all of himself. Not that he did patiently bear and temper his evil hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition : but because he was so carried away with the vehemency of anger, and desire of revenge, that he had no sense nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people judge not to be sorrow, although indeed it be the very same. For when sorrow (as you would say) is set on fire, then it is converted into spite and malice, and driveth away for that time all faintness of heart and natural fear. And this is the cause why the choleric man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man set on fire with a burning ague : for when a man's heart is troubled within, his pulse will beat marvellous strongly. Now that Marcius was even in that taking, it appeared true soon after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, and had taken his leave of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and shrieking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and persuaded them to be content with his chance : he went immediately to the gate of the city, accompanied with a great number of patricians that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or four of his friends only, taking nothing with

**Corio-
lanus'**
constant
mind in
adversity

**Corio-
lanus dis-
guised**

him, nor requesting anything of any man. So he remained a few days in the country at his houses, turmoiled with sundry sorts and kinds of thoughts, such as the fire of his choler did stir up. In the end, seeing he could resolve no way, to take a profitable or honourable course, but only was pricked forward still to be revenged of the Romans: he thought to raise up some great wars against them, by their nearest neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his best way, first to stir up the Volscians against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had received not long before, and that their power was not so much impaired, as their malice and desire was increased to be revenged of the Romans. Now in the city of Antium, there was one called Tullus Aufidius, who for his riches, as also for his nobility and valiantness was honoured among the Volscians as a king. Marcius knew very well that Tullus did more malice and envy him, than he did all the Romans besides: because that many times in battels where they met, they were ever at the encounter one against another, like lusty courageous youths, striving in all emulation of honour, and had encountred many times together. Insomuch as besides the common quarrel between them, there was bred a marvellous private hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that Tullus Aufidius was a man of a great mind, and that he above all other of the Volscians most desired revenge of the Romans, for the injuries they had done unto them: he did an act that confirmed the true words of an ancient poet, who said:

It is a thing full hard man's anger to withstand,
If it be stiffly bent to take an enterprise in hand.
For then most men will have the thing that they desire,
Although it cost their lives therefore: such force hath
wicked ire.

goeth to
Antium

And so did he. For he disguised himself in such array and attire, as he thought no man could ever have known him for the person he was, seeing him in that apparel he had upon his back: and as Homer said of Ulysses,

So did he enter into the enemy's town.

It was even twilight when he entred the city of Antium, and many people met him in the streets, but no man knew him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius' house, and when he came thither, he got him up straight to the chimney hearth, and sat him down, and spake not a word to any man, his face all muffled over. They of the house spying him, wondred what he should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For ill-favouredly muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certain majesty in his countenance, and in his silence: whereupon they went to Tullus who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. Tullus rose presently from the board, and coming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then Marcius unmuffled himself, and after he had paused a while, making no answer, he said unto him. "If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and seeing me, dost not perhaps believe me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessity bewray my self to be that I am. I am Caius Marcius, who hath done to thy self particularly, and

Corio-
lanus'
oration to
Tullus
Aufidius

to all the Volscians generally, great hurt and mischief, which I cannot deny for my surname of Coriolanus that I bear. For I never had other benefit nor recompense, of all the true and painful service I have done, and the extreme dangers I have been in, but this only surname: a good memory and witness of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest bear me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me: for the rest, the envy and cruelty of the people of Rome have taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobility and magistrates, who have forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremity hath now driven me to come as a poor suitor, to take thy chimney hearth, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to have put my life in hazard: but prickt forward with desire to be revenged of them that thus have banished me, which now I do begin, in putting my person into the hands of their enemies. Wherefore, if thou hast any heart to be wrecked of the injuries thy enemies have done thee, speed thee now, and let my misery serve thy turn, and so use it, as my service may be a benefit to the Volscians: promising thee, that I will fight with better goodwill for all you, than I did when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiantly, who know the force of the enemy, than such as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art weary to prove fortune any more: then am I also weary to live any longer. And it were no wisdom in thee, to save the life of him, who hath been heretofore thy mortal enemy, and whose service now can nothing help nor pleasure thee."

Tullus hearing what he said, was a marvellous glad man, and taking him by the hand, he said unto him. "Stand up, O Marcius, and be of good cheer, for in proffering thyself unto us, thou dost us great honour: and by this means thou mayest hope also of greater things, at all the Volscians' hands." So he feasted him for that time, and entertained him in the honourablest manner he could, talking with him in no other matters at that present: but within few days after, they fell to consultation together in what sort they should begin their wars. Now on the other side, the city of Rome was in marvellous uproar and discord, the nobility against the communalty, and chiefly for Marcius' condemnation and banishment. Moreover the priests, the soothsayers, and private men also, came and declared to the Senate certain sights and wonders in the air, which they had seen, and were to be considered of: amongst the which, such a vision happened. There was a citizen of Rome called Titus Latinus, a man of mean quality and condition, but otherwise an honest sober man, given to a quiet life, without superstition, and much less to vanity or lying. This man had a vision in his dream, in the which he thought that Jupiter appeared unto him, and commanded him to signify to the Senate, that they had caused a very vile lewd dancer to go before the procession: and said, the first time this vision had appeared unto him, he made no reckoning of it: and coming again another time into his mind, he made not much more account of the matter than before. In the end, he saw one of his sons die, who had the best nature and condition of all his brethren: and suddenly he himself was so taken in

**Great dis-
sension
at Rome**

The
Romans'
manner of
punishing
their
slaves

all his limbs, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he told the whole circumstance of this vision before the Senate, sitting upon his little couch or bed, whereon he was carried on men's arms : and he had no sooner reported this vision to the Senate, but he presently felt his body and limbs restored again to their former strength and use. So raising up himself upon his couch, he got up on his feet at that instant, and walked home to his house, without help of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent inquiry to understand the truth : and in the end they found there was such a thing. There was one that had delivered a bondman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other slaves and bondmen, and had commanded them to whip him up and down the market-place, and afterwards to kill him : and as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did so martyr the poor wretch, that for the cruel smart and pain he felt, he turned and writhed his body in strange and pitiful sort. The procession by chance came by even at the same time, and many that followed it, were heartily moved and offended with the sight, saying : that this was no good sight to behold, nor meet to be met in procession time. But for all this, there was nothing done : saving they blamed and rebuked him that punished his slave so cruelly. For the Romans at that time, did use their bondmen very gently, because they themselves did labour with their own hands, and lived with them and among them : and therefore they did use them the more gently and familiarly. For the greatest punishment they gave a slave that had offended, was this. They made him carry a limmer on

his shoulders that is fastened to the axletree of a coach, and compelled him to go up and down in that sort amongst all their neighbours. He that had once abidden this punishment, and was seen in that manner, was proclaimed and cried in every market-town: so that no man would ever trust him after, and they called him *Furcifer*, because the Latins call the wood that runneth into the axletree of the coach, *furca*, as much to say, as a forke. Now when Latinus had made report to the Senate of the vision that had happened to him, they were devising whom this unpleasant dancer should be, that went before the procession. Thereupon certain that stood by, remembred the poor slave that was so cruelly whipped through the market-place, whom they afterwards put to death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the strange and rare manner of his punishment. The priests hereupon were repaired unto for their advice: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slave. So they caused the slave's maister to be punished, and began again a new procession, and all other shews and sights in honour of Jupiter. But hereby appeareth plainly, how King Numa did wisely ordain all other ceremonies concerning devotion to the gods, and specially this custom which he established, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishops, priests, or other religious ministers go about any divine service, or matter of religion, an herald ever goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age*: as to say, do this, or mind this. Hereby they are specially commanded, wholly to dispose themselves to serve God, leaving all other business and matters aside: knowing well enough,

A ceremony instituted by King Numa

The
superstition
of the
Romans

that whatsoever most men do, they do it as in a manner constrained unto it. But the Romans did ever use to begin again their sacrifices, processions, plays, and such like shews done in honour of the gods, not only upon such an occasion, but upon lighter causes than that. As when they went a procession through the city, and did carry the images of their gods, and such other like holy reliques upon open hallowed coaches or charrets, called in Latin *Tensæ*: one of the coach horses that drew them stood still, and would draw no more: and because also the coachman took the reins of the bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the procession should be begun again anew. Of later time also, they did renew and begin a sacrifice thirty times one after another, because they thought still there fell out one fault or other in the same, so holy and devout were they to the gods. Now Tullus and Marcius had secret conference with the greatest personages of the city of Antium, declaring unto them, that now they had good time offered them to make war with the Romans, while they were in dissension one with another. They answered them, they were ashamed to break the league, considering that they were sworn to keep peace for two years. Howbeit shortly after, the Romans gave them great occasion to make war with them. For on a holy day common plays being kept in Rome, upon some suspicion, or false report, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the Volscians should avoid out of Rome before sunset. Some think this was a craft and deceit of Marcius, who sent one to Rome to the Consuls, to accuse the Volscians falsely, advertising

them how they had made a conspiracy to set upon them, whilst they were busy in seeing these games, and also to set their city on fire. This open proclamation made all the Volscians more offended with the Romans, than ever they were before: and Tullus aggravating the matter, did so inflame the Volsci against them, that in the end they sent their ambassadors to Rome, to summon them to deliver their lands and towns again, which they had taken from them in times past, or to look for present wars. The Romans hearing this, were marvellously nettled: and made no other answer but thus: if the Volscians be the first that begin war, the Romans will be the last that will end it. Incontinently upon return of the Volscians' ambassadors, and delivery of the Romans' answer: Tullus caused an assembly general to be made of the Volscians, and concluded to make war upon the Romans. This done, Tullus did counsel them to take Marcius into their service, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of anything past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come: for he would do them more service in fighting for them, than ever he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So Marcius was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no less eloquent in tongue, than warlike in shew: and declared himself both expert in wars, and wise with valiantness. Thus he was joined in commission with Tullus as general of the Volscians, having absolute authority between them to follow and pursue the wars. But Marcius fearing lest tract of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the Volscians, would rob

The
Romans
gave the
Volscians
occasion
of wars

Corio-
lanus in-
vadeth

him of the mean he had to execute his purpose and intent : left order with the rulers and chief of the city, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary provision for the camp. Then he with the lightest soldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stole away upon the sudden, and marched with all speed, and entered the territories of Rome, before the Romans heard any news of his coming. Insomuch as the Volscians found such spoil in the fields, as they had more than they could spend in their camp, and were weary to drive and carry away that they had. Howbeit the gain of the spoil and the hurt they did to the Romans in this invasion, was the least part of his intent. For his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissension between the nobility, and the communalty : and to draw that on, he was very careful to keep the noble men's lands and goods safe from harm and burning, but spoiled all the whole country besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt anything of the noble men's. This made greater stir and broil between the nobility and the people, than was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, because they had so unjustly banished a man of so great valour and power. The people on the other side, accused the nobility, how they had procured Marcius to make these wars, to be revenged of them : because it pleased them to see their goods burnt and spoiled before their eyes, whilst themselves were well at ease, and did behold the people's losses and misfortunes, and knowing their own goods safe and out of danger : and how the war was not made against the noble men, that had the enemy abroad, to keep that they had in safety. Now

Marcius having done this first exploit (which made the Volscians bolder, and less fearful of the Romans) brought home all the army again, without loss of any man. After their whole army (which was marvellous great, and very forward to service) was assembled in one camp: they agreed to leave part of it for garrison in the country about, and the other part should go on, and make the war upon the Romans. So Marcius bad Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him answer, he knew by experience that Marcius was no less valiant than himself, and how he ever had better fortune and good hap in all battells, than himself had. Therefore he thought it best for him to have the leading of those that should make the wars abroad: and himself would keep home, to provide for the safety of the cities and of his country, and to furnish the camp also of all necessary provision abroad. So Marcius being stronger than before, went first of all unto the city of Cerceii, inhabited by the Romans, who willingly yielded themselves, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entred the country of the Latins, imagining the Romans would fight with him there, to defend the Latins, who were their confederates, and had many times sent unto the Romans for their aid. But on the one side, the people of Rome were very ill willing to go: and on the other side the Consuls being upon going out of their office, would not hazard themselves for so small a time: so that the ambassadors of the Latins returned home again, and did no good. Then Marcius did besiege their cities, and having taken by force the towns of the Tolerinians, Vicanians, Pedanians, and the

the territories
of the
Romans

Great
heart-
burning

Bolanians, who made resistance : he sacked all their goods, and took them prisoners. Such as did yield themselves willingly unto him, he was as careful as possible might be, to defend them from hurt : and because they should receive no damage by his will, he removed his camp as far from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he took the city of Bolæ by assault, being about an hundred furlong from Rome, where he had a marvellous great spoil, and put every man to the sword that was able to carry weapon. The other Volscians that were appointed to remain in garrison for defence of their country, hearing this good news, would tarry no longer at home, but armed themselves, and ran to Marcius' camp, saying they did acknowledge no other captain but him. Hereupon his fame ran through all Italy, and every one praised him for a valiant captain, for that by change of one man for another, such and so strange events fell out in the State. In this while, all went still to wrack at Rome. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to hear of it, they were one so much against another, and full of seditious words, the nobility against the people, and the people against the nobility. Until they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had laid siege to the city of Lavinium, in the which were all the temples and images of the gods their protectors, and from whence came first their ancient original, for that Æneas at his first arrival into Italy did build that city. Then fell there out a marvellous sudden change of mind among the people, and far more strange and contrary in the nobility. For the people thought good to repeal the condemnation and exile of Marcius.

The Senate assembled upon it, would in no case yield to that. Who either did it of a selfwill to be contrary to the people's desire: or because Marcius should not return through the grace and favour of the people. Or else, because they were throughly angry and offended with him, that he would set upon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would shew himself an open enemy besides unto his country: notwithstanding the most part of them took the wrong they had done him, in marvellous ill part, and as if the injury had been done unto themselves. Report being made of the Senate's resolution, the people found themselves in a strait: for they could authorise and confirm nothing by their voices, unless it had been first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But Marcius hearing this stir about him, was in a greater rage with them than before: insomuch as he raised his siege incontinently before the city of Lavinium, and going towards Rome, lodged his camp within forty furlong of the city, at the ditches called Cluilix. His encamping so near Rome, did put all the whole city in a wonderful fear: howbeit for the present time it appeased the sedition and dissension betwixt the nobility and the people. For there was no consul, senator, nor magistrate, that durst once contrary the opinion of the people, for the calling home again of Marcius. When they saw the women in a marvellous fear, running up and down the city: the temples of the gods full of old people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the gods: and finally, not a man either wise or hardy to provide for their safety: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home Marcius again,

**The
Romans
send am-
bassadors**

to reconcile themselves to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in marvellous great fault to be angry and in choler with him, when it stood them upon rather to have gone out and entreated him. So they all agreed together to send ambassadors unto him, to let him understand how his countrymen did call him home again, and restored him to all his goods, and besought him to deliver them from this war. The ambassadors that were sent, were Marcius' familiar friends and acquaintance, who looked at the least for a courteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend and kinsman. Howbeit they found nothing less. For at their coming, they were brought through the camp, to the place where he was set in his chair of state, with a marvellous and an unspeakable majesty, having the chiefest men of the Volscians about him: so he commanded them to declare openly the cause of their coming. Which they delivered in the most humble and lowly words they possibly could devise, and with all modest countenance and behaviour agreeable for the same. When they had done their message: for the injury they had done him, he answered them very hotly, and in great choler. But as general of the Volscians, he willed them to restore unto the Volscians, all their lands and cities they had taken from them in former wars: and moreover, that they should give them the like honour and freedom of Rome, as they had before given to the Latins. For otherwise they had no other mean to end this war, if they did not grant these honest and just conditions of peace. Thereupon he gave them thirty days' respite to make him answer. So the ambassadors returned straight to Rome, and Marcius forthwith

departed with his army out of the territories of the Romans. This was the first matter wherewith the Volscians (that most envied Marcius' glory and authority) did charge Marcius with. Among those, Tullus was chief: who though he had received no private injury or displeasure of Marcius, yet the common fault and imperfection of man's nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to see his own reputation blemished, through Marcius' great fame and honour, and so himself to be less esteemed of the Volscians, than he was before. This fell out the more, because every man honoured Marcius, and thought he only could do all, and that all other governors and captains must be content with such credit and authority, as he would please to countenance them with. From hence they derived all their first accusations and secret murmurings against Marcius. For private captains conspiring against him, were very angry with him: and gave it out, that the removing of the camp was a manifest treason, not of the towns, nor forts, nor of arms, but of time and occasion, which was a loss of great importance, because it was that which in treason might both loose and bind all, and preserve the whole. Now Marcius having given the Romans thirty days' respite for their answer, and specially because the wars have not accustomed to make any great changes, in less space of time than that: he thought it good yet, not to lie asleep and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the lands of the enemy's allies, and took seven great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the Romans durst not once put themselves into the field, to come to their aid and help: they were so faint-hearted, so mistrustful, and

to Corio-
lanus to
treat of
peace

Another
ambas-
sade sent
to Corio-
lanus

loth besides to make wars. Insomuch as they properly resembled the bodies paralytick, and loosed of their limbs and members : as those which through the palsy have lost all their sense and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, Marcius being returned into the dominions of the Romans again with all his army, they sent another ambassade unto him, to pray peace, and the remove of the Volscians out of their country : that afterwards they might with better leisure fall to such agreements together, as should be thought most meet and necessary. For the Romans were no men that would ever yield for fear. But if he thought the Volscians had any ground to demand reasonable articles and conditions, all that they would reasonably ask should be granted unto, by the Romans, who of themselves would willingly yield to reason, conditionally, that they did lay down arms. Marcius to that answered: that as general of the Volscians he would reply nothing unto it. But yet as a Roman citizen, he would counsel them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise : and that they should return again within three days, delivering up the articles agreed upon, which he had first delivered them. Or otherwise, that he would no more give them assurance or safe conduct to return again into his camp, with such vain and frivolous messages. When the ambassadors were returned to Rome, and had reported Marcius' answer to the Senate : their city being in extreme danger, and as it were in a terrible storm or tempest, they threw out (as the common proverb sayeth) their holy anker. For then they appointed all the bishops, priests, ministers of the gods, and

keepers of holy things, and all the augurs or sooth-sayers, which foreshew things to come by observation of the flying of birds (which is an old ancient kind of prophesying and divination amongst the Romans) to go to Marcius appavelled, as when they do their sacrifices: and first to entreat him to leave off war, and then that he would speak to his countrymen, and conclude peace with the Volscians. Marcius suffered them to come into his camp, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he entertain them or speak more courteously to them, than he did the first time that they came unto him, saving only that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace under the first conditions offered, or else to receive war. When all this goodly rabble of superstition and priests were returned, it was determined in council that none should go out of the gates of the city, and that they should watch and ward upon the walls, to repulse their enemies if they came to assault them: referring themselves and all their hope to time, and fortune's uncertain favour, not knowing otherwise how to remedy the danger. Now all the city was full of tumult, fear, and marvellous doubt what would happen: until at the length there fell out such a like matter, as Homer oft-times said they would least have thought of. For in great matters, that happen seldom, Homer saith, and crieth out in this sort:

The
priests
and
sooth-
sayers
sent to
him

The goddess Pallas she, with her fair glittering eyes,
Did put into his mind such thoughts, and made him
so devise.

And in another place:

Free will
and divine
inspiration

But sure some god hath ta'en out of the people's mind
Both wit and understanding eke, and have therewith
assigned
Some other simple spirit instead thereof to bide,
That so they might their doings all for lack of wit
misguide.

And in another place :

The people of themselves did either it consider,
Or else some god instructed them, and so they joined
together.

Many reckon not of Homer, as referring matters
unpossible, and fables of no likelihood or troth,
unto man's reason, freewill, or judgement: which
indeed is not his meaning. But things true and
likely, he maketh to depend of our own free will
and reason. For he oft speaketh these words :

I have thought it in my noble heart :

And in another place :

Achilles angry was, and sorry for to hear
Him so to say: his heavy breast was fraught with
pensive fear.

And again in another place :

Bellerophon she could not move with her fair tongue ;
So honest and so vertuous he was the rest among.

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which
are done by secret inspirations and motions, he doth
not say that God taketh away from man his choice
and freedom of will, but that he doth move it :
neither that he doth work desire in us, but objecteth
to our minds certain imaginations whereby we are

led to desire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of success. For, either we must say, that the gods meddle not with the causes and beginnings of our actions: or else what other means have they to help and further men? It is apparent that they handle not our bodies, nor move not our feet and hands, when there is occasion to use them: but that part of our mind from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or carried away by such objects and reasons, as God offereth unto it. Now the Roman ladies and gentlewomen did visit all the temples and gods of the same, to make their prayers unto them: but the greatest ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the altar of Jupiter Capitoline, among which troop by name, was Valeria, Publicola's own sister. The self same Publicola, who did such notable service to the Romans, both in peace and wars: and was dead also certain years before, as we have declared in his life. His sister Valeria was greatly honoured and revered among all the Romans: and did so modestly and wisely behave her self, that she did not shame nor dishonour the house she came of. So she sodainly fell into such a fancy, as we have rehearsed before, and had (by some god as I think) taken hold of a noble device. Whereupon she rose, and the other ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of Volumnia, Marcius' mother: and coming in to her, found her, and Marcius' wife her daughter-in-law set together, and having her husband Marcius' young children in her lap. Now all the train of these ladies sitting in a ring round

**The visit
of Valeria
unto Vol-
umnia**

The
answer of
Volumnia
to the
Roman
ladies

about her : Valeria first began to speak in this sort unto her. “ We ladies, are come to visit you ladies (my lady Volumnia and Virgilia) by no direction from the Senate, nor commandment of other magistrate, but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god above. Who having taken compassion and pity of our prayers, hath moved us to come unto you, to entreat you in a matter, as well beneficial for us, as also for the whole citizens in general : but to your selves in special (if it please you to credit me) and shall redound to our more fame and glory, than the daughters of the Sabines obtained in former age, when they procured loving peace, in stead of hateful war, between their fathers and their husbands. Come on, good ladies, and let us go all together unto Marcius, to entreat him to take pity upon us, and also to report the troth unto him, how much you are bound unto the citizens : who notwithstanding they have sustained great hurt and losses by him, yet they have not hitherto sought revenge upon your persons by any discourteous usage, neither ever conceived any such thought or intent against you, but do deliver you safe into his hands, though thereby they look for no better grace or clemency from him.” When Valeria had spoken this unto them, all the other ladies together with one voice confirmed that she had said. Then Volumnia in this sort did answer her. “ My good ladies, we are partakers with you of the common misery and calamity of our country, and yet our grief exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular misfortune : to feel the loss of my son Marcius’ former valiancy and glory, and to see his person environed now with our enemies in

arms, rather to see him forthcoming and safe kept, than of any love to defend his person. But yet the greatest grief of our heaped mishaps is, to see our poor country brought to such extremity, that all the hope of the safety and preservation thereof, is now unfortunately cast upon us simple women: because we know not what account he will make of us, since he hath cast from him all care of his natural country and common weal, which heretofore he hath holden more dear and precious, than either his mother, wife or children. Notwithstanding, if ye think we can do good, we will willingly do what you will have us: bring us to him I pray you. For if we cannot prevail, we may yet die at his feet, as humble suitors for the safety of our country." Her answer ended, she took her daughter-in-law, and Marcius' children with her, and being accompanied with all the other Roman ladies, they went in troop together unto the Volscians' camp: whom when they saw, they of themselves did both pity and reverence her, and there was not a man among them that once durst say a word unto her. Now was Marcius set then in his chair of state, with all the honours of a general, and when he had spied the women coming afar off, he marvelled what the matter meant: but afterwards knowing his wife which came foremost, he determined at the first to persist in his obstinate and inflexible rancour. But overcome in the end with natural affection, and being altogether altered to see them: his heart would not serve him to tarry their coming to his chair, but coming down in haste, he went to meet them, and first he kissed his mother, and embraced her

The
meeting
of mother
and son

The ora-
tion of
Volumnia

a pretty while, then his wife and little children. And nature so wrought with him, that the tears fell from his eyes, and he could not keep himself from making much of them, but yielded to the affection of his blood, as if he had been violently carried with the fury of a most swift-running stream. After he had thus lovingly received them, and perceiving that his mother Volumnia would begin to speak to him, he called the chiefest of the council of the Volsci to hear what she would say. Then she spake in this sort. "If we held our peace (my son) and determined not to speak, the state of our poor bodies, and present sight of our raiment, would easily bewray to thee what life we have led at home, since thy exile and abode abroad. But think now with thy self, how much more unfortunately than all the women living, we are come hither, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all other to behold, spiteful fortune hath made most fearful to us: making my self to see my son, and my daughter here, her husband, besieging the walls of his native country. So as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adversity and misery, to pray unto the gods, and to call to them for aid: is the only thing which plungeth us into most deep perplexity. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victory, for our country, and for safety of thy life also: but a world of grievous curses, yea more than any mortal enemy can heap upon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our prayers. For the bitter sop of most hard choice is offered thy wife and children, to forgo one of the two: either to lose the person of thy self, or the nurse of their native

country. For my self (my son) I am determined not to tarry, till fortune in my lifetime do make an end of this war. For if I cannot persuade thee, rather to do good unto both parties, than to overthrow and destroy the one, preferring love and nature, before the malice and calamity of wars: thou shalt see, my son, and trust unto it, thou shalt no sooner march forward to assault thy country, but thy foot shall tread upon thy mother's womb, that brought thee first into this world. And I may not defer to see the day, either that my son be led prisoner in triumph by his natural countrymen, or that he himself do triumph of them, and of his natural country. For if it were so, that my request tended to save thy country, in destroying the Volscians: I must confess, thou wouldst hardly and doubtfully resolve on that. For as to destroy thy natural country, it is altogether unmeet and unlawful: so were it not just, and less honourable, to betray those that put their trust in thee. But my only demand consisteth, to make a gail-delivery of all evils, which delivereth equal benefit and safety, both to the one and the other, but most honourable for the Volscians. For it shall appear, that having victory in their hands, they have of special favour granted us singular graces: peace, and amity, albeit themselves have no less part of both, than we. Of which good, if so it came to pass, thy self is the only author, and so hast thou the only honour. But if it fail, and fall out contrary: thy self alone deservedly shall carry the shameful reproach and burthen of either party. So, though the end of war be uncertain, yet this notwithstanding is most certain: that if it be thy chance to conquer, this

unto her
son

**Volum-
nia's
second
appeal**

benefit shalt thou reap of thy goodly conquest, to be chronicled the plague and destroyer of thy country. And if fortune also overthrow thee, then the world will say, that through desire to revenge thy private injuries, thou hast for ever undone thy good friends, who did most lovingly and courteously receive thee." Marcius gave good ear unto his mother's words, without interrupting her speech at all: and after she had said what she would, he held his peace a pretty while, and answered not a word. Hereupon she began again to speak unto him, and said. "My son, why doest thou not answer me? doest thou think it good altogether to give place unto thy choler and desire of revenge, and thinkest thou it not honesty for thee to grant thy mother's request, in so weighty a cause? dost thou take it honourable for a noble man, to remember the wrongs and injuries done him: and doest not in like case think it an honest noble man's part, to be thankful for the goodness that parents do shew to their children, acknowledging the duty and reverence they ought to bear unto them? No man living is more bound to shew himself thankful in all parts and respects, than thy self: who so unnaturally shewest all ingratitude. Moreover (my son) thou hast sorely taken of thy country, exacting grievous payments upon them, in revenge of the injuries offered thee: besides, thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poor mother any courtesy. And therefore, it is not only honest, but due unto me, that without compulsion I should obtain my so just and reasonable request of thee. But since by reason I cannot persuade thee to it, to what purpose do I defer my last hope?" And with these words, her self, his

wife and children, fell down upon their knees before him. Marcius seeing that, could refrain no longer, but went straight and lift her up, crying out: Oh mother, what have you done to me? And holding her hard by the right hand, Oh mother, said he, you have won a happy victory for your country, but mortal and unhappy for your son: for I see my self vanquished by you alone. These words being spoken openly, he spake a little apart with his mother and wife, and then let them return again to Rome, for so they did request him: and so remaining in camp that night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homewards into the Volscians' country again, who were not all of one mind, nor all alike contented. For some misliked him, and that he had done. Other being well pleased that peace should be made, said: that neither the one, nor the other, deserved blame nor reproach. Other, though they misliked that was done, did not think him an ill man for that he did, but said: he was not to be blamed, though he yielded to such a forcible extremity. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his commandment, more for respect of his worthiness and valiancy, than for fear of his authority. Now the citizens of Rome plainly shewed, in what fear and danger their city stood of this war, when they were delivered. For so soon as the watch upon the walls of the city perceived the Volscians' camp to remove, there was not a temple in the city but was presently set open, and full of men, wearing garlands of flowers upon their heads sacrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do upon the news of some great obtained victory. And this common joy was yet more manifestly

Corio-
lanus'
compas-
sion of his
mother

The Temple of Fortune built for the women shewed, by the honourable courtesies the whole Senate and people did bestow on their ladies. For they were all throughly persuaded, and did certainly believe, that the ladies only were cause of the saving of the city, and delivering themselves from the instant danger of the war. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that the magistrates to gratify and honour these ladies, should grant them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of Fortune of the women, for the building whereof they offered themselves to defray the whole charge of the sacrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the service of the gods. Nevertheless, the Senate commending their goodwill and forwardness, ordained, that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the city. Notwithstanding that, the ladies gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of Fortune, which the Romans say did speak as they offered her up in the temple, and did set her in her place: and they affirm, that she spake these words: Ladies, ye have devoutly offered me up. Moreover, that she spake that twice together, making us to believe things that never were, and are not to be credited. For to see images that seem to sweat or weep, or to put forth any humour red or bloody, it is not a thing impossible. For wood and stone do commonly receive certain moisture, whereof is engendered an humour, which do yield of themselves, or do take of the air, many sorts and kinds of spots and colours: by which signs and tokens it is not amiss me thinks, that the gods sometimes do warn men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues

do sometimes put forth sounds, like unto sighs or mourning, when in the midst or bottom of the same, there is made some violent separation, or breaking asunder of things, blown or devised therein : but that a body which hath neither life nor soul, should have any direct or exquisite word formed in it by express voice, that is altogether impossible. For the soul, nor god himself can distinctly speak without a body, having necessary organs and instruments meet for the parts of the same, to form and utter distinct words. But where stories many times do force us to believe a thing reported to be true, by many grave testimonies : there we must say, that it is some passion contrary to our five natural senses, which being begotten in the imaginative part or understanding, draweth an opinion unto it self, even as we do in our sleeping. For many times we think we hear, that we do not hear : and we imagine we see, that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously given to think on heavenly things, so as they can no way be drawn from believing that which is spoken of them, they have this reason to ground the foundation of their belief upon. That is, the omnipotency of God which is wonderful, and hath no manner of resemblance or likeness of proportion unto ours, but is altogether contrary as touching our nature, our moving, our art, and our force : and therefore if he do anything impossible to us, or do bring forth and devise things, above man's common reach and understanding, we must not therefore think it impossible at all. For if in other things he is far contrary to us, much more in his works and secret operations, he far passeth all the rest : but the most

Of the sweating and voices of images

Tullus part of God's doings, as Heraclitus saith, for lack
Anfidius of faith, are hidden and unknown unto us. Now
seeketh when Marcius was returned again into the city of
to kill Antium from his voyage, Tullus that hated and
Corio- could no longer abide him for the fear he had of
lanus his authority, sought divers means to make him
 out of the way, thinking if he let slip that present
 time, he should never recover the like and fit occa-
 sion again. Wherefore Tullus having procured
 many other of his confederacy, required Marcius
 might be deposed from his estate, to render up
 account to the Volscians of his charge and govern-
 ment. Marcius fearing to become a private man
 again under Tullus being general (whose authority
 was greater otherwise, than any other among all the
 Volscians) answered: he was willing to give up his
 charge, and would resign it into the hands of the lords
 of the Volscians, if they did all command him, as by
 all their commandment he received it. And more-
 over, that he would not refuse even at that present
 to give up an account unto the people, if they
 would tarry the hearing of it. The people here-
 upon called a common council, in which assembly
 there were certain orators appointed, that stirred up
 the common people against him: and when they
 had told their tales, Marcius rose up to make them
 answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people
 made a marvellous great noise, yet when they saw
 him, for the reverence they bare unto his valiant-
 ness, they quieted themselves, and gave still audience
 to allege with leisure what he could for his purga-
 tion. Moreover, the honestest men of the Antiates,
 and who most rejoiced in peace, shewed by their
 countenance that they would hear him willingly, and

judge also according to their conscience. Whereupon Tullus fearing that if he did let him speak, he would prove his innocency to the people, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good service he had done to the people of the Volscians, did win him more favour, than these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimony of the goodwill they ought him, for they would never have thought he had done them wrong for that they took not the city of Rome, if they had not been very near taking of it, by means of his approach and conduction. For these causes Tullus thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarry for the mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracy, began to cry out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not suffer a traitor to usurp tyrannical power over the tribe of the Volscians, who would not yield up his state and authority. And in saying these words, they all fell upon him, and killed him in the market-place, none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a clear case, that this murder was not generally consented unto, of the most part of the Volscians: for men came out of all parts to honour his body, and did honourably bury him, setting out his tomb with great store of armour and spoils, as the tomb of a worthy person and great captain. The Romans understanding of his death, showed no other honour or malice, saving that they granted the ladies the request they made: that they might mourn ten moneths for him, and that was the full time they

**Corio-
lanus is
murdered
in the
city of
Antium**

Tullus used to wear blacks for the death of their fathers,
Aufidius brethren, or husbands, according to Numa Pompilius'
slain in order, who established the same, as we have enlarged
battel more amply in the description of his life. Now
 Marcus being dead, the whole state of the Volscians
 heartily wished him alive again. For first of all they
 fell out with the Æquians (who were their friends
 and confederates) touching preheminance and place :
 and this quarrel grew on so far between them, that
 frays and murders fell out upon it one with another.
 After that the Romans overcame them in battell, in
 which Tullus was slain in the field, and the flower
 of all their force was put to the sword : so
 that they were compelled to accept most
 shameful conditions of peace, in
 yielding themselves subject unto
 the conquerors, and pro-
 mising to be obedient
 at their com-
 mandment.

THE COMPARISON OF
ALCIBIADES WITH MARCIUS
CORIOLANUS

Now that we have written all the deeds of worthy memory, done by either of them both: we may presently discern, that in matters of war, the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were alike hardy and valiant for their persons, as also wise and politick in the wars: unless they will say, that Alcibiades was the better captain, as he that had foughten more battels with his enemies, both by sea and land, than ever Coriolanus had done, and had always the victory of his enemies. For otherwise, in this they were much alike: that where they were both present and had charge and power to command, all things prospered notably, and with good success on the part they were of: and also when they took the contrary side, they made the first have the worst every way. Now for matters of government, the noble men and honest citizens did hate Alcibiades' manner of rule in the common weal, as of a man most dissolute, and given to flattery: because he ever studied by all device he could, to curry favour with the common people. So did the Romans malice also Coriolanus' government, for that it was too arrogant, proud, and tyrannical: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithstanding

The acts
done by
both

The manners of Alcibiades and Coriolanus he is less to be blamed, that seeketh to please and gratify his common people : than he that despiseth and disdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and injury, because he would not seem to flatter them, to win the more authority. For as it is an evil thing to flatter the common people to win credit : even so is it besides dishonesty, and injustice also, to attain to credit and authority, for one to make himself terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that Marcius was ever counted an honest-natured man, plain and simple, without art or cunning : but Alcibiades merely contrary, for he was fine, subtile, and deceitful. And the greatest fault they ever burdened Alcibiades for, was his malice and deceit, wherewith he abused the ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians, and that he was a let that peace was not concluded, as Thucydides reporteth. Now, though by this act he suddenly brought the city of Athens into wars, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearful to the enemies, by making alliance with the Mantineans and the Argives, who by Alcibiades' practice entered into league with the Athenians. And Marcius, as Dionysius the historiographer writeth : did by craft and deceit bring the Romans into wars against the Volscians, causing the Volscians maliciously and wrongfully to be suspected, that went to Rome to see the games played. But the cause why he did it, made the fact so much more foul and wicked. For it was not done for any civil dissension, nor for any jealousy and contention in matters of government, as Alcibiades did : but only following his cholerick mood, that would be pleased with nothing, as Dion said he would needs

trouble and turmoil the most part of Italy, and so being angry with his country, he destroyed many other towns and cities that could not help it, nor do withal. This is true also, that Alcibiades' spite and malice did work great mischief and misery to his country: but when he saw they repented them of the injury they had done him, he came to himself, and did withdraw his army. Another time also, when they had banished Alcibiades, he would not yet suffer the captains of the Athenians to run into great errors, neither would he see them cast away, by following ill counsel which they took, neither would he forsake them in any danger they put themselves into. But he did the very same that Aristides had done in old time unto Themistocles, for which he was then, and is yet so greatly praised. For he went unto the captains that had charge then of the army of the Athenians, although they were not his friends, and told them wherein they did amiss, and what they had further to do. Where Marcius to the contrary, did first great hurt unto the whole city of Rome, though all in Rome had not generally offended him: yea, and when the best and chiefest part of the city were grieved for his sake, and were very sorry and angry for the injury done him. Furthermore, the Romans sought to appease one only displeasure and despite they had done him by many ambassades, petitions and requests they made, whereunto he never yielded until his mother, wife and children came, his heart was so hardened. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruel war (when he would hearken to no peace) of an intent utterly to destroy and spoil his country, and not as though he meant to recover it, or to return

**The hard-
ness of
Marcius**

Alcibiades and Coriolanus' thither again. Here was indeed the difference between them: that spials being laid by the Lacedæmonians to kill Alcibiades, for the malice they did bear him, as also for that they were afraid of him, he was compelled to return home again to Athens. Where Marcius contrariwise, having been so honourably received and entertained by the Volscians, he could not with honesty forsake them, considering that they had done him that honour, as to choose him their general, and trusted him so far, as they put all their whole army and power into his hands: and not as the other, whom the Lacedæmonians rather abused than used him, suffering him to go up and down their city (and afterwards in the midst of their camp) without honour or place at all. So that in the end Alcibiades was compelled to put himself into the hands of Tisaphernes: unless they will say that he went thither of purpose to him, with intent to save the city of Athens from utter destruction, for the desire he had to return home again. Moreover, we read of Alcibiades, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with money: and when he had it, he would most licentiously and dishonestly spend it. Where Marcius in contrary manner would not so much as accept gifts lawfully offered him by his captains to honour him for his valiantness. And the cause why the people did bear him such ill-will, for the controversy they had with the nobility about clearing of debts, grew: for that they knew well enough it was not for any gain or benefit he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and displeasure he thought to do them. Antipater in a letter of his, writing of the death of Aristotle the philo-

sopher, doth not without cause commend the singular gifts that were in Alcibiades, and this especially: that he passed all other for winning men's good wills. Whereas all Marcius' noble acts and vertues, wanting that affability, became hateful even to those that received benefit by them, who could not abide his severity and self-will: which causeth desolation (as Plato saith) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forsaken. Contrariwise, seeing Alcibiades had a trim entertainment, and a very good grace with him, and could fashion himself in all companies: it was no marvel if his well-doing were gloriously commended, and himself much honoured and beloved of the people, considering that some faults he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of sport, and toys of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurt to the common wealth, yet they did oft make him their general, and trusted him with the charge of the whole city. Where Marcius suing for an office of honour that was due to him, for the sundry good services he had done to the state, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus do we see, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him: and the other that honoured his vertue, had no liking to love his person. Marcius also did never any great exploit, being general of his countrymen, but when he was general of their enemies against his natural country: whereas Alcibiades, being both a private person, and a general, did notable service unto the Athenians. By reason whereof, Alcibiades wheresoever he was present, had the upper hand ever of his accusers, even as he would himself, and their accusations took no manner for money

Alci-
biades
and
Corio-
lanus'

place against him : unless it were in his absence. Where Marcius being present, was condemned by the Romans : and in his person murdered and slain by the Volscians. But here I cannot say they have done well, nor justly, albeit himself gave them some colour to do it, when he openly denied the Roman ambassadors peace, which after he privately granted, at the request of women. So by this deed of his, he took not away the enmity that was between both people : but leaving war still between them, he made the Volscians (of whom he was general) to lose the opportunity of noble victory. Where indeed he should (if he had done as he ought) have withdrawn his army with their counsel and consent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their general : if he had made that account of them, as their goodwill towards him did in duty bind him. Or else, if he did not care for the Volscians in the enterprise of this war, but had only procured it of intent to be revenged, and afterwards to leave it off when his anger was blown over : yet he had no reason for the love of his mother to pardon his country, but rather he should in pardoning his country, have spared his mother, because his mother and wife were members of the body of his country and city, which he did besiege. For in that he uncurteously rejected all public petitions, requests of ambassadors, entreaties of the bishops and priests, to gratify only the request of his mother with his departure : that was no act so much to honour his mother with, as to dishonour his country by, the which was preserved for the pity and intercession of a woman, and not for the love of it self, as if it had not been worthy of it. And so

was this departure a grace, to say truly, very odious and cruel, and deserved no thanks of either party, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army, not at the request of the Romans, against whom he made war: nor with their consent, at whose charge the war was made. And of all his misfortune and ill hap, the austerity of his nature, and his haughty obstinate mind, was the only cause: the which of it self being hateful to the world, when it is joined with ambition, it groweth then much more churlish, fierce, and intolerable. For men that have that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, seeming thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the people: and yet on the other side, if the people should not give them honour and reverence, they would straight take it in scorn, and little care for the matter. For so did Metellus, Aristides, and Epaminondas, all used this manner: not to seek the goodwill of the common people by flattery and dissimulation: which was indeed, because they despised that which the people could give or take away. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and set at any fines, or that they banished them, or gave them any other repulse: but they loved them as well as they did before, so soon as they shewed any token of repentance, and that they were sorry for the wrong they had done them, and were easily made friends again with them, after they were restored from their banishment. For he that disdaineth to make much of the people, and to have their favour, should much more scorn to seek to be revenged when he is repulsed. For, to take a repulse and denial of honour so inwardly to the heart,

love unto
their
country

Coriolanus' notable abstinence from bribes cometh of no other cause, but that he did too earnestly desire it. Therefore Alcibiades did not dissemble at all, that he was not very glad to see himself honoured, and sorry to be rejected and denied any honour: but also he sought all the means he could to make himself beloved of those amongst whom he lived. Whereas Marcius' stoutness, and haughty stomach, did stay him from making much of those, that might advance and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnaw himself for spite and anger, when he saw he was despised. And this is all that reasonably may be reprov'd in him: for otherwise he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and clean hands from taking of bribes and money, he may be compared with the most perfect, vertuous, and honest men of all Greece: but not with Alcibiades, who was in that undoubtedly always too licentious and loosely given, and had too small regard of the duty of honesty.

THE END OF CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS' LIFE.

THE LIFE OF
PAULUS ÆMILIUS

WHEN I first began to write these lives, my intent was to profit other : but since, continuing and going on, I have much profited my self by looking into these histories, as if I looked into a glass, to frame and fashion my life, to the mould and pattern of these vertuous noblemen. For running over their manners in this sort, and seeking also to describe their lives : methinks I am still conversant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruse their histories, and to weigh the vertues and qualities they have had, and what singularity each of them possessed : and to choose and cull out the chiefest things of note in them, and their best speeches and doings most worthy of memory : then I cry out,

The
writer's
profit

O gods, can there be more passing pleasure in the world ?

Or is there anything of more force, to teach man civil manners, and a ruled life, or to reform the vice in man ? Democritus the philosopher writeth, that we should pray we might ever see happy images and sights in the air, and that the good which is meet and proper to our nature, may rather come to us, than that is evil and unfortunate : presupposing a

The false opinion and doctrine in philosophy, which allureth men to infinite superstitions: that there are good and bad images flying in the air, which give a good or ill impression unto men, and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continual reading of ancient histories, and gathering these lives together which now I leave before you, and by keeping always in mind the acts of the most noble, vertuous, and best given men of former age, and worthy memory: I do teach and prepare myself to shake off and banish from me all lewd and dishonest condition, if by chance the company and conversation of them whose company I keep, and must of necessity haunt, do acquaint me with some unhappy or ungracious touch. This is easy unto me, that do dispose my mind, being quiet and not troubled with any passion, unto the deep consideration of so many noble examples. As I do present unto you now in this volume, the lives of Timoleon the Corinthian, and of Paulus Æmilius the Roman, who had not only a good and an upright mind with them, but were also fortunate and happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you shall hardly judge, when you have read over their lives, whether wisdom, or good fortune brought them to achieve to such honourable acts and exploits as they did. Many (and the most part of historiographers) do write, that the house and family of the Æmilians in Rome, was always of the most ancient of the nobility, which they call patricians. Some writers affirm also, that the first of the house that gave name to all the posterity after, was Marcus, the son of Pythagoras the wise, whom King Numa for the sweetness and pleasant grace of his tongue, surnamed

Marcus Æmilius : and those specially affirm it, that say King Numa was Pythagoras' scholar. Howsoever it was, the most part of this family that obtained honour and estimation for their vertue, were ever fortunate also in all their doings, saving Lucius Paulus only, who died in the battell of Cannes. But his misfortune doth bear manifest testimony of his wisdom and valiancy together. For he was forced to fight against his will, when he saw he could not bridle the rashness of his fellow Consul that would needs join battell, and to do as he did, saving that he fled not as the other, who being first procurer of the battell, was the first that ran away : where he to the contrary, to his power did what he could to let him, and did stick by it, and fought it valiantly unto the last gasp. This Æmilius left a daughter behind him called Æmilia, which was married unto Scipio the great : and a son, Paulus Æmilius, being the same man whose life we presently treat of. His youth fortunately fell out in a flourishing time of glory and honour, through the sundry vertues of many great and noble persons living in those days, among whom he made his name famous also : and it was not by that ordinary art and course, which the best esteemed young men of that age did take and follow. For he did not use to plead private men's causes in law, neither would creep into men's favour by fawning upon any of them : though he saw it a common practice, and policy of men, to seek the people's favour and goodwills by such means. Moreover, he refused not that common course which other took, for that it was contrary to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had been so disposed : but he

The
vertues o.
Paulus
Æmilius

His diligence even in trifles rather sought to win reputation by his honesty, his valiantness, and upright dealing, as choosing that the better way than either of the other two, inso-much as in marvellous short time he passed all those that were of his age. The first office of honour he sued for, was the office of *Ædilis*, in which suit he was preferred before twelve other that sued for the self same office : who were men of no small quality, for they all came afterwards to be *Consuls*. After this, he was chosen to be one of the number of the priests, whom the Romans call *Augurs* : who have the charge of all the divinations and soothsayings, in telling of things to come by flying of birds, and signs in the air. He was so careful, and took such pains to understand how the Romans did use the same, and with such diligence sought the observation of the ancient religion of Romans in all holy matters : that where that priesthood was before esteemed but a title of honour, and desired for the name only, he brought it to pass, that it was the most honourable science, and best reputed of in Rome. Wherein he confirmed the philosophers' opinion : that religion is the knowledge how to serve God. For when he did anything belonging to his office of priesthood, he did it with great experience, judgement, and diligence, leaving all other thoughts, and without omitting any ancient ceremony, or adding to any new, contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which seemed light, and of small moment : declaring unto them, that though we do presume the gods are easy to be pacified, and that they readily pardon all faults and scapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for respect of commonwealth's sake, they should not slightly nor carelessly dissemble or

pass over faults committed in those matters. For no man (saith he) at the first that committeth any fault, doth alone trouble the state of the common wealth: but withal, we must think he leaveth the grounds of civil government, that is not as careful to keep the institutions of small matters, as also of the great. So was he also a severe captain, and strict observer of all marshall discipline, not seeking to win the soldiers' love by flattery, when he was general in the field, as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a second charge, by shewing himself gentle and courteous in the first, unto those that served under him: but himself did orderly shew them the very rules and precepts of the discipline of wars, even as a priest that should express the names and ceremonies of some holy sacrifice, wherein were danger to omit any part or parcel. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the law of arms upon rebellious and disobedient soldiers, he kept up thereby the state of the commonweal the better: judging, to overcome the enemy by force, was but an accessary as a man may term it, in respect of well training and ordering his citizens by good discipline. While the Romans were in wars against King Antiochus surnamed the Great, in the south parts: all the chiefest captains of Rome being employed that ways, there fell out another in the neck of that, in the west parts towards Spain, where they were all up in arms. Thither they sent Æmilius Prætor, not with six axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelve: so that under the name of Prætor, he had the authority and dignity of a Consul. He twice overcame the barbarous people in main battell, and slew

The discipline of wars

A pretty tale of a Roman that forsook his wife a thirty thousand of them, and got this victory through his great skill and wisdom, in choosing the advantage of place and time, to fight with his enemies, even as they passed over a river: which easily gave his soldiers the victory. Moreover he took there, two hundred and fifty cities, all which did open, and gladly receive him in. So, leaving all that country quiet and in good peace, and having received their fealty by oath made between his hands, he returned again to Rome, not enriched the value of a drachma more than before. For then he took little regard to his expenses, he spent so frankly, neither was his purse his maister, though his revenue was not great to bear it out: as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had, was little enough to satisfy his wife's jointure. His first wife was Papiria, the daughter of a noble Consul Papirius Maso, and after they had lived a long time together, he was divorced from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus. The just cause of the divorce between them, appeareth not to us in writing: but me thinks the tale that is told concerning the separation of a certain marriage is true. That a certain Roman having forsaken his wife, her friends fell out with him, and asked him: what fault doest thou find in her? is she not honest of her body? is she not fair? doth she not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foot, shewed them his shoe, and answered them: is not this a goodly shoe? is it not finely made? and is it not new? yet I dare say there is never a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to say truly, great and open faults are

commonly occasions to make husbands put away their wives: but yet oftentimes household words run so between them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diversity of natures, which strangers are not privy unto) that in process of time they do beget such a strange alteration of love and minds in them, as one house can no longer hold them. So Æmilius, having put away Papiria his first wife, he married another that brought him two sons, which he brought up with himself in his house, and gave his two first sons (to wit, Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus) in adoption, to two of the noblest and richest families of the city of Rome. The elder of the twain, unto Fabius Maximus, he that was five times Consul, and the younger unto the house of the Cornelians, whom the son of the great Scipio the African did adopt, being his cousin-german, and named him Scipio. Concerning his daughters, the son of Cato married the one, and Ælius Tubero the other, who was a marvellous honest man, and did more nobly maintain himself in his poverty, than any other Roman: for they were sixteen persons all of one name, and of the house of the Ælians, very near akin one to the other, who had all but one little house in the city, and a small farm in the country, wherewith they entertained themselves, and lived all together in one house, with their wives, and many little children. Amongst their wives, one of them was the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, after he had been twice Consul, and had triumphed twice, not being ashamed of her husband's poverty, but wondering at his vertue that made him poor. Whereas brethren and kinsmen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not

The vertue of Ælius Tubero, his poverty and quiet life

Æmilius far asunder, and in other countries, not one near
over- another, and that rivers part them not, or walls
cometh divide their lands, leaving great large wastes be-
the tween them: they are never quiet, but still in
Ligurians quarrel one with another. Goodly examples doth
 this story lay before the wise, and well advised
 readers, to learn thereby how to frame their life,
 and wisely to behave themselves. Now Æmilius
 being chosen Consul, went to make war with the
 Ligurians, who dwelled in the Alps, and which
 otherwise are called Ligustines. These are very
 valiant and warlike men, and were very good
 soldiers at that time, by reason of their continual
 wars against the Romans, whose near neighbours
 they were. For they dwelt in the furthest part of
 Italy, that bordereth upon the great Alps, and the
 row of Alps, whereof the foot joineth to the Tuscan
 Sea, and pointeth towards Africk, and are mingled
 with the Gauls and Spaniards, neighbours unto the
 sea-coast: who scouring all the Mediterranean Sea
 at that time, unto the strait of Hercules' Pillars, did
 with their little light pinnaces of pirates, let all the
 traffic and intercourse of merchandise. Æmilius
 being gone to seek them in their country, they
 tarried his coming with an army of forty thousand
 men: nevertheless, though he had but eight thou-
 sand men in all, and that they were five to one of
 his, yet he gave the onset upon them, and overthrew
 them, and drave them into their cities. Then he
 sent to offer them peace, for the Romans would
 not altogether destroy the Ligurians, because their
 country was a rampier or bulwark against the in-
 vasion of the Gauls, who lay lurking for opportunity
 and occasion to invade Italy: whereupon these

Ligurians yielded themselves unto him, and put all their forts and ships into his hands. Æmilius delivered unto them their holds again, without other hurt done unto them, saving that he razed the walls of their fortifications: howbeit he took all their ships from them, leaving them little boats of three owers only, and no greater, and set all the prisoners at liberty they had taken, both by sea and by land, as well Romans as other, which were a marvellous number. These were all the notable acts he did worthy memory, in the first year of his Consulship. Afterwards, he oftentimes shewed himself very desirous to be Consul again, and did put forth himself to sue for it: but when he was denied it, he never after made suit for it again, but gave himself only to study divine things, and to see his children vertuously brought up, not only in the Roman tongue which himself was taught, but also a little more curiously in the Greek tongue. For he did not only retain grammarians, rhetoricians, and logicians, but also painters, gravers of images, riders of horses, and hunts of Greece about his children: and he himself also (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was ever with them in the school when they were at their books, and also when they otherwise did exercise themselves. For he loved his children as much, or more than any other Roman. Now concerning the state of the common wealth, the Romans were at wars with King Perseus, and they much blamed the captains they had sent thither before, for that for lack of skill and courage, they had so cowardly behaved themselves, as their enemies laughed them to scorn: and they received more hurt of them, than they did unto the king.

The
coward-
ice of the
Romans
in Spain

The suc-
cession of
Anti-
gonus,
King of
Macedon

For not long before, they had driven King Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus, and had made him forsake the rest of Asia, and had shut him up within the borders of Syria, who was glad that he had bought that country with fifteen thousand talents, which he paid for a fine. A little before also, they had overcome Philip, king of Macedon, in Thessaly, and had delivered the Grecians from the bondage of the Macedonians. And moreover, having overcome Hannibal (unto whom no prince nor king that ever was in the world was comparable, either for his power or valiantness) they thought this too great a dishonour to them, that this war they had against King Perseus, should hold so long of even hand with them, as if he had been an enemy equal with the people of Rome: considering also that they fought not against them, but with the refuse and scattered people of the overthrown army his father had lost before, and knew not that Philip had left his army stronger, and more expert by reason of his overthrow, than it was before. As I will briefly rehearse the story from the beginning. Antigonus, who was of the greatest power of all the captains and successors of Alexander the Great, having obtained for himself and his posterity the title of a king, had a son called Demetrius, of whom came Antigonus the second, that was surnamed Gonatas, whose son was also called Demetrius, that reigned no long time, but died, and left a young son called Philip. By reason whereof, the princes and nobility of Macedon, fearing that the realm should be left without heir: they preferred one Antigonus, cousin to the last deceased king, and made him marry the mother of Philip the

less, giving him the name at the first of the king's protector only, and lieutenant-general of his majesty. But after, when they had found he was a good and wise prince, and a good husband for the realm, they then gave him the absolute name of a king, and surnamed him Dason, to say, the giver: for he promised much and gave little. After him reigned Philip, who in his green youth gave more hope of himself, than any other of the kings before: insomuch they thought that one day he would restore Macedon her ancient fame and glory, and that he alone would pluck down the pride and power of the Romans, who rose against all the world. But after that he had lost a great battell, and was overthrown by Titus Quintius Flamininus near unto the city of Scotusia: then he began to quake for fear, and to leave all to the mercy of the Romans, thinking he escaped good cheap, for any light ransom or tribute the Romans should impose upon him. Yet afterwards coming to understand himself, he grew to disdain it much, thinking that to reign through the favour of the Romans, was but to make himself a slave, to seek to live in pleasure at his ease, and not for a valiant and noble prince born. Whereupon he set all his mind, to study the discipline of wars, and made his preparations as wisely and closely, as possibly he could. For he left all his towns amongst the sea-coast, and standing upon any highways, without any fortification at all, and in manner desolate without people, to the end there might appear no occasion of doubt or mistrust in him: and in the meantime, in the high countries of his realm far from great beaten ways, he levied a great number of men of war, and replenished his towns

**Philip of
Macedon
overcome
in battell**

Perseus extreme covetous and strongholds that lay scatteringly abroad, with armour and weapon, money, and men, providing for war, which he kept as secretly as he could. For he had provision of armour in his armoury, to arm thirty thousand men, and eight million bushels of corn safely lockt up in his forts and stronger places, and ready money, as much as would serve to entertain ten thousand strangers in pay, to defend his country for the space of ten years. But before he could bring that to pass he had purposed, he died for grief and sorrow, after he knew he had unjustly put Demetrius the best of his sons to death, upon the false accusation of the worst, that was Perseus: who as he did inherit the kingdom of his father by succession, so did he also inherit his father's malice against the Romans. But he had no shoulders to bear so heavy a burden, and especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many lewd and naughty conditions he had, he was extreme covetous and miserable. They say also, that he was not legitimate, because Philip's wife had taken him from Gnathainion (a tailor's wife born at Argos) immediately after he was born, and did adopt the child to be hers. And some think that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put Demetrius to death, fearing lest this lawful son would seek occasion to prove him a bastard. Notwithstanding, simple though he was, and of vile and base nature, he found the strength of his kingdom so great, that he was contented to take upon him to make war against the Romans, which he maintained a long time, and fought against their Consuls, that were their generals, and repulsed great armies of theirs both

by sea and land, and overcame some. As Publius Licinius among other, the first that invaded Macedon, was overthrown by him in a battel of horsemen, where he slew at that time two thousand five hundred good men of his, and took six hundred prisoners. And their army by sea, riding at anker before the city of Oreus, he did suddenly set upon, and took twenty great ships of burden, and all that was in them, and sunk the rest, which were all laden with corn: and took of all sorts besides, about 54 foists, and galliots of fifty owers a-piece. The second Consul and general he fought withal, was Hostilius, whom he repulsed, attempting by force to invade Macedon by way of the city of Elimia. Another time again, when he entred in by stealth upon the coast of Thessaly, he offered him battell, but the other durst not abide it. And as though this war troubled him nothing at all, and that he had cared little for the Romans: he went and fought a battell in the meantime with the Dardanians, where he slew ten thousand of those barbarous people, and brought a marvellous great spoil away with him. Moreover he procured the nation of the Gauls dwelling upon the river of Danuby, which they call Bastarnæ (men very warlike, and excellent good horsemen) and did practise with the Illyrians also by mean of their king Gentius, to make them join with him in these wars: so that there ran a rumour, that for money he had gotten these Gauls to come down into Italy, from the high country of Gaul, all alongst the Adriatic Sea. The Romans being advertised of these news, thought the time served not now to dispose their offices in wars any more

**He
maketh
wars
with the
Romans**

Æmilius by grace and favour unto those that sued for them :
hath but contrariwise, that they should call some noble
charge man that were very skilful and a wise captain, and
of the could discreetly govern and perform things of great
wars of charge. As Paulus Æmilius, a man well stepped
Macedon on in years, being three score year old, and yet
of good power, by reason of the lusty young men
his sons, and sons-in-law, besides a great number
of his friends and kinsfolk. So all that bare great
authority, did altogether with one consent counsel
him to obey the people, which called him to the
Consulship. At the beginning indeed he delayed
the people much that came to importune him, and
utterly denied them : saying, he was no meet man
neither to desire, nor yet to take upon him any
charge. Howbeit in the end, seeing the people
did urge it upon him, by knocking continually at
his gates, and calling him aloud in the streets,
willing him to come into the market-place, and
perceiving they were angry with him, because he
refused it : he was content to be persuaded. And
when he stood among them that sued for the Con-
sulship, the people thought straight that he stood
not there so much for desire of the office, as for
that he put them in hope of assured victory, and
happy success of this begun war : so great was
their love towards him, and the good hope they
had of him, that they chose him Consul again the
second time. Wherefore so soon as he was chosen,
they would not proceed to drawing of lots accord-
ing to their custom, which of the two Consuls
should happen to go into Macedon : but presently
with a full and whole consent of them all, they
gave him the whole charge of the wars of Macedon.

So being Consul now, and appointed to make war upon King Perseus, all the people did honourably company him home unto his house : where a little girl (a daughter of his) called Tertia, being yet an infant, came weeping unto her father. He making much of her : asked her why she wept. The poor girl answered, coiling him about the neck, and kissing him : Alas, father, wote you what? our Perseus is dead. She meant it by a little whelp so called, which was her playfellow. In good hour, my girl, said he, I like the sign well. Thus doth Cícero the orator report of it in his book of divinations. The Romans had a custom at that time, that such as were elected Consuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) should make an oration of thanks unto the people, for the honour and favour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the custom) being gathered together to hear Æmilius speak, he made this oration unto them. "That the first time he sued to be Consul, was in respect of himself, standing at that time in need of such honour : now he offered himself the second time unto it, for the good love he bare unto them, who stood in need of a general, wherefore he thought himself nothing bound nor beholding unto them now. And if they did think also this war might be better followed by any other, than by himself, he would presently with all his heart resign the place. Furthermore, if they had any trust or confidence in him, that they thought him a man sufficient to discharge it : then that they would not speak nor meddle in any matter that concerned his duty, and the office of a general, saving only, that they would be

His oration of thanks to the Romans

See what
fruit
soldiers
reap by
obedience
and
reason

diligent (without any words) to do whatsoever he commanded, and should be necessary for the war and service they took in hand. For if every man would be a commander, as they had been heretofore, of those by whom they should be commanded: then the world would more laugh them to scorn in this service, than ever before had been accustomed."

These words made the Romans very obedient to him, and conceived good hope to come, being all of them very glad that they had refused those ambitious flatterers that sued for the charge, and had given it unto a man, that doth boldly and frankly tell them the troth. Mark how the Romans by yielding unto reason and vertue, came to command all other, and to make themselves the mightiest people of the world. Now that Paulus Æmilius setting forward to this war, had wind at will, and fair passage to bring him to his journey's end: I impute it to good fortune, that so quickly and safely conveyed him to his camp. But for the rest of his exploits, he did in all this war, part of them being performed by his own hardiness, other by his wisdom and good counsel, other by the diligence of his friends in serving him with good will, other by his own resolute constancy and courage in extremest danger, and last, by his marvellous skill in determining at an instant what was to be done: I cannot attribute any notable act or worthy service unto this his good fortune they talk of so much, as they may do in other captains' doings. Unless they will say peradventure, that Perseus' covetousness and misery was Æmilius' good fortune: for his miserable fear of spending money, was the only cause and destruction of the

whole realm of Macedon, which was in good state and hope of continuing in prosperity. For there came down into the country of Macedon at King Perseus' request, ten thousand Bastarnæ a-horseback, and as many footmen to them, who always joined with them in battell, all mercenary soldiers, depending upon pay and entertainment of wars, as men that could not plow nor sow, nor traffick merchandise by sea, nor skill of grazing to gain their living with: and to be short, that had no other occupation or merchandise, but to serve in the wars, and to overcome those with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to encamp and lodge in the Mædica, near to the Macedonians, who saw them so goodly great men, and so well trained and exercised in handling all kind of weapons, so brave and lusty in words and threats against their enemies: they began to pluck up their hearts, and to look big, imagining that the Romans would never abide them, but would be afraid to look them in the face, and only to see their march, it was so terrible and fearful. But Perseus, after he had encouraged his men in this sort, and had put them in such a hope and jollity, when this barbarous supply came to ask him a thousand crowns in hand for every captain, he was so damped and troubled withal in his mind, casting up the sum it came to, that his only covetousness and misery made him return them back, and refuse their service: not as one that meant to fight with the Romans, but rather to spare his treasure, and to be a husband for them, as if he should have given up a straight account unto them of his charges in this war, against whom he made it. And not-

Perseus' covetousness was the destruction of his realm

Note what came of Perseus' husbandry withstanding also his enemies did teach him what he had to do, considering that besides all other their warlike furniture and munition, they had no less than a hundred thousand fighting men lying in camp together, ready to execute the Consul's commandment: yet he taking upon him to resist so puissant an army, and to maintain the wars, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in entertaining such multitudes of men, and more than needed, hardly would depart with his gold and silver, but kept it safe locked up in his treasury, as if he had been afraid to touch it, and had been none of his. And he did not shew that he came of the noble race of these kings of Lydia, and of Phœnicia, who gloried to be rich: but shewed how by inheritance of blood he challenged some part of the vertue of Philip, and of Alexander, who both because they esteemed to buy victory with money, not money with victory, did many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common saying in old time, that it was not Philip, but his gold and silver that won the cities of Greece. And Alexander when he went to conquer the Indies, seeing the Macedonians carry with them all the wealth of Persia, which made his camp very heavy, and slow to march: he himself first of all set fire of his own carriage that conveyed all his necessaries, and persuaded other to do the like, that they might march more lightly and easily on the journey. But Perseus contrarily would not spend any part of his goods, to save himself, his children and realm, but rather yielded to be led prisoner in triumph with a great ransom, to shew the Romans how

good a husband he had been for them. For he did not only send away the Gauls without giving them pay as he had promised, but moreover having persuaded Gentius king of Illyria to take his part in these wars, for the sum of three hundred talents which he had promised to furnish him with: he caused the money to be told, and put up in bags by those whom Gentius sent to receive it. Whereupon Gentius thinking himself sure of the money promised, committed a fond and foul part: for he stayed the ambassadors the Romans sent unto him, and committed them to prison. This part being come to Perseus' ears, he thought now he needed not hire him with money to be an enemy to the Romans, considering he had waded so far, as that he had already done, was as a manifest sign of his ill-will towards them, and that it was too late to look back and repent him, now that his foul part had plunged him into certain wars, for an uncertain hope. So did he abuse the unfortunate king, and defrauded him of the three hundred talents he had promised him. And worse than this, shortly after he suffered Lucius Anicius the Roman Prætor, whom they sent against him with an army, to pluck king Gentius, his wife, and children, out of his realm and kingdom, and to carry them prisoners with him. Now when Æmilius was arrived in Macedon, to make war against such an enemy: he made no manner of reckoning of his person, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one camp he had four thousand horsemen, and no less than forty thousand footmen, with the which army he had planted himself alongst the sea side, by the foot of the mount Olympus, in a place

**Perseus'
double
dealing
with King
Gentius**

Æmilius' impossible to be approached: and there he had so
admoni- well fortified all the straits and passages unto him
tions with fortifications of wood, that he thought himself
to his to lie safe out of all danger, and imagined to dally
soldiers with Æmilius, and by tract of time to eat him out
 with charge. Æmilius in the mean season lay not
 idle, but occupied his wits throughly, and left no
 means unattempted, to put some thing in proof.
 And perceiving that his soldiers by overmuch licen-
 tious liberty (wherein by sufferance they lived
 before) were angry with delaying and lying still,
 and that they did busily occupy themselves in the
 general's office, saying this, and such a thing would
 be done that is not done: he took them up roundly,
 and commanded them they should meddle no more
 too curiously in matters that pertained not to them,
 and that they should take care for nothing else, but
 to see their armour and weapon ready to serve
 valiantly, and to use their swords after the Romans'
 fashion, when their general should appoint and
 command them. Wherefore, to make them more
 careful to look to themselves, he commanded those
 that watched, should have no spears nor pikes,
 because they should be more wakeful, having no
 long weapon to resist the enemy, if they were
 assaulted. The greatest trouble his army had, was
 lack of fresh water, because the water that ran
 to the sea was very little, and marvellous foul by
 the sea side. But Æmilius considering they were
 at the foot of the mount Olympus (which is of
 a marvellous height, and full of wood withal) con-
 jectured, seeing the trees so fresh and green, that
 there should be some little pretty springs among
 them, which ran under the ground. So he made

them dig many holes and wells amongst the mountain, which were straight filled with fair water, being pent within ground before for lack of breaking open the heads, which then ran down in streams, and met together in sundry places. And yet some do deny, that there is any meeting of waters within the ground, from whence the springs do come: and they say, that running out of the earth as they do, it is not for that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendreth and riseth at the same time and place where it runneth out, turning the substance into water, which is a moist vapour, thickeneth and waxeth cold by the coldness of the earth, and so becometh a stream, and runneth down. For, say they, as women's breasts are not always full of milk, as milk pans are that continually keep milk, but do of themselves convert the nutriment women take into milk, and after cometh forth at their nipples: even so the springs and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountains come, have no meetings of hidden waters, nor hollow places so capable, readily to deliver water from them, as one would draw it out of a pump or sestern, from so many great brooks, and deep rivers: but by their natural coldness and moisture, they wax thick, and put forth the vapour and air so strong, that they turn it into water. And this is the reason why the places where they dig and open the earth, do put forth more abundance of water by opening the ground: like as women's breasts do give more milk, when they are most drawn and sucked, because in a sort they do better

The original of springs

Diamond
cut
diamond

feed the vapour within them, and convert it thereby into a running humour. Where, to the contrary, those parts of the earth that are not digged, nor have no vent outward, are the more unable, and less meet to ingender water, having not that provocation and course to run, that causeth the bringing forth of moisture. Yet such as maintain this opinion, do give them occasion that love argument, to contrary them thus. Then we may say by like reason also, that in the bodies of beasts there is no blood long before, and that it ingendreth upon a sudden, when they are hurt, by transferring of some spirit or flesh that readily changeth into some running liquor. And moreover, they are confuted by the common experience of these mine men, that dig in the mines for metal, or that undermine castles to win them: who when they dig any great depth, do many times meet in the bowels of the earth with running rivers, the water whereof is not ingendred by little and little, as of necessity it should be, if it were true, that upon the present opening of the ground, the humour should immediately be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we see oftentimes that in cutting through a mountain or rock, suddenly there runneth out a great quantity of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to return to our history again. Æmilius lay there a convenient time, and stirred not: and it is said there were never seen two so great armies one so near to the other, and to be so quiet. In the end, casting many things with himself, and devising sundry practises, he was informed of another way to enter into Macedon, through the country of Perrhæbia, over against the

temple called Pythion, and the rock upon which it is built, where there lay no garrison: which gave him better hope to pass that way, for that it was not kept, than that he feared the narrowness and hardness of the way unto it. So, he brake the matter to his council. Thereupon Scipio called Nasica (the son adopted of that great Scipio the African, who became afterwards a great man, and was president of the Senate or council) was the first man that offered himself to lead them, whom it would please him to send to take that passage, and to assault their enemies behind. The second was Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Æmilius, who being but a very young man, rose notwithstanding, and offered himself very willingly. Æmilius was very glad of their offers, and gave them not so many men as Polybius writeth, but so many as Nasica himself declareth, in a letter of his he wrote to a king, where he reporteth all the story of this journey. There were 3000 Italians levied in Italy, by the confederates of the Romans, who were not of the Roman legions, and in the left wing about 5000. Besides those, Nasica took also 120 men at arms, and about 200 Cretans and Thracians mingled together, of those Harpalus had sent thither. With this number Nasica departed from the camp, and took his way toward the sea side, and lodged by the temple of Hercules, as if he had determined to do this feat by sea, to environ the camp of the enemies behind. But when the soldiers had supped, and that it was dark night, he made the captains of every band privy to his enterprise, and so marched all night a contrary way from the sea, until at the length they came under the temple

**Nasica
and
Fabius
offer
them-
selves to
take the
straits**

The height of the Mount Olympus of Pythion, where he lodged to rest the soldiers that were sore travelled all night. In this place, the mount Olympus is about ten furlong high, as appeareth in a place engraven by him that measured it.

Olympus mount is just by measure made with line,
Twelve hundred seventy paces trod, as measure can
assign.

The measure being made right o'er against the place,
Whereas Apollo's temple stands ybuilt with stately
grace.

Even from the level plot of that same country's plain,
Unto the top which all on high doth on the hill remain.
And so Xenagoras the son of Eumelus,
In olden days by measure made, the same did find
for us.

And did engrave it here in writing for to see,
When as he took his latest leave (Apollo god) of thee.

Yet the geometricians say, that there is no mountain higher, nor sea deeper, than the length of ten furlongs: so that I think this Xenagoras (in my opinion) did not take his measure at adventure, and by guess, but by true rules of the art, and instruments geometrical. There Nasica rested all night. King Perseus perceiving in the meantime that Æmilius stirred not from the place where he lay, mistrusted nothing his practise, and the coming of Nasica who was at hand: until such time as a traitor of Creta (stealing from Nasica) did reveal unto him the pretended practise, as also the Romans compassing of him about. He wondered much at these news, howbeit he removed not his camp from the place he lay in, but dispatched one of his captains called Milon, with ten thousand strangers, and two thousand Macedonians: and straightly

commanded him with all the possible speed he could, to get the top of the hill before them. Polybius saith, that the Romans came and gave them an alarm, when they were sleeping. But Nasica writeth, that there was a marvellous sharp and terrible battle on the top of the mountain: and said plainly, that a Thracian soldier coming towards him, he threw his dart at him, and hitting him right in the breast, slew him stark dead: and having repulsed their enemies, Milon their captain shamefully running away in his coat without armour or weapon, he followed him without any danger, and so went down to the valley, with the safety of all his company. This conflict fortuning thus, Perseus raised his camp in great haste from the place where he was, and being disappointed of his hope, he retired in great fear, as one at his wits' end, and not knowing how to determine. Yet was he constrained either to stay, and encamp before the city of Pydna, there to take the hazard of battell: or else to divide his army into his cities and strongholds, and to receive the wars within his own country, the which being once crept in, could never be driven out again, without great murder and bloodshed. Hereupon his friends did counsel him, to choose rather the fortune of battell: alleging unto him, that he was the stronger in men a great way, and that the Macedonians would fight lustily with all the courage they could, considering that they fought for the safety of their wives and children, and also in the presence of their king, who should both see every man's doing, and fight himself in person also for them. The king moved by these persuasions, determined to venter the chance

**Nasica
won the
straits of
Macedon**

The skill and foresight of a wise captain of battell. So he pitched his camp, and viewed the situation of the places all about, and divided the companies amongst his captains, purposing to give a hot charge upon the enemies when they should draw near. The place and country was such, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to range a battell of footmen in, and little pretty hills also one depending upon another, which were very commodious for archers, naked men, and such as were lightly armed, to retire themselves unto being distressed, and also to environ their enemies behind. There were two small rivers also, *Æson* and *Leucus* that ran through the same, the which though they were not very deep, being about the latter end of the summer, yet they would annoy the Romans notwithstanding. Now when *Æmilius* was joined with *Nasica*, he marched on straight in battell ray towards his enemies. But perceiving afar off their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same: he wondered to behold it, and suddenly stayed his army, considering with himself what he had to do. Then the young captains having charge under him, desirous to fight it out presently, went unto him to pray him to give the onset: but *Nasica* specially above the rest, having good hope in the former good luck he had at his first encounter. *Æmilius* smiling, answered him: So would I do, if I were as young as thou. But the sundry victories I have won heretofore, having taught me by experience the faults the vanquished do commit: do forbid me to go so hotly to work (before my soldiers have rested, which did return but now) to assault an army set in such order of

battell. When he had answered him thus, he commanded the first bands that were now in view of the enemies, should imbattell themselves, shewing a countenance to the enemy as though they would fight: and that those in the rearward should lodge in the meantime, and fortify the camp. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindmost, by changing from man to man before the enemies were aware of it: he had broken his battell by little and little, and lodged his men, fortified within the camp without any tumult or noise, and the enemies never perceiving it. But when night came, and every man had supped, as they were going to sleep and take their rest: the moon which was at the full, and of a great height, began to darken and to change into many sorts of colours, losing her light, until such time as she vanished away, and was eclipsed altogether. Then the Romans began to make a noise with basons and pans, as their fashion is to do in such a chance, thinking by this sound to call her again, and to make her come to her light, lifting up many torches lighted, and firebrands into the air. The Macedonians on the other side did no such matter within their camp, but were altogether stricken with an horrible fear: and there ran straight a whispering rumour through the people, that this sign in the element signified the eclipse of the king. For Æmilius was not ignorant of the diversities of the eclipses, and he had heard say the cause is, by reason that the moon making her ordinary course about the world (after certain revolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round shadow of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden: until such time as having passed

**The
supersti-
tion of the
Romans
when the
moon is
eclipsed**

Æmilius' the dark region of the shadow, she cometh afterwards to recover her light which she taketh of the sun. Nevertheless, he being a godly devout man, so soon as he perceived the moon had recovered her former brightness again, he sacrificed eleven calves. And the next morning also by the break of day, making sacrifice to Hercules, he could never have any signs or tokens that promised him good luck, in sacrificing twenty oxen one after another: but at the one-and-twentieth he had signs that promised him victory, so he defended himself. Wherefore, after he had vowed a solemn sacrifice of a hundred oxen to Hercules, and also games of prizes at the weapons, he commanded his captains to put their men in readiness to fight: and so sought to win time, tarrying till the sun came about in the afternoon towards the west, to the end that the Romans which were turned towards the east, should not have it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meantime, he reposed himself in his tent, which was all open behind towards the side that looked into the valley, where the camp of his enemies lay. When it grew towards night, to make the enemies set upon his men, some say he used this policy. He made a horse be driven towards them without a bridle, and certain Romans followed him, as they would have taken him again: and this was the cause of procuring the skirmish. Other say, that the Thracians serving under the charge of Captain Alexander, did set upon certain foragers of the Romans, that brought forage into the camp: out of the which, seven hundred of the Ligurians ran suddenly to the rescue, and relief coming still from both armies,

at the last the main battell followed after. Wherefore Æmilius like a wise general foreseeing by the danger of this skirmish, and the stirring of both camps, what the fury of the battell would come to : came out of his tent, and passing by the bands did encourage them, and prayed them to stick to it like men. In the meantime, Nasica thrusting himself into the place where the skirmish was hottest, perceived the army of the enemies marching in battell, ready to join. The first that marched in the voward, were the Thracians, who seemed terrible to look upon, as he writeth himself : for they were mighty made men, and carried marvellous bright targets of steel before them, their legs were armed with greaves, and their thighs with tassess, their coats were black, and marched shaking heavy halberds upon their shoulders. Next unto these Thracians, there followed them all the other strangers and soldiers whom the king had hired, diversely armed and set forth : for they were people of sundry nations gathered together, among whom the Pæonians were mingled. The third squadron was of Macedonians, and all of them chosen men, as well for the flower of their youth, as for the valiantness of their persons : and they were all in goodly gilt armours, and brave purple cassocks upon them, spick and span new. And at their backs came after them, the old bands to shew themselves out of the camp, with targets of copper, that made all the plain to shine with the brightness of their steel and copper. And all the hills and mountains thereabouts did ring again like an echo, with the cry and noise of so many fighting men, one encouraging another. In this order they

**The army
of the
Macedonians**

**The
battell
betwixt
Perseus
and
Æmilius**

marched so fiercely with so great heart-burning, and such swiftness: that the first which were slain at the encounter, fell dead two furlongs from the camp of the Romans. The charge being given and the battell begun, Æmilius galloping to the vaward of his battell, perceived that the captains of the Macedonians which were in the first ranks, had already thrust their pikes into the Romans' targets, so as they could not come near them with their swords: and that the other Macedonians carrying their targets behind them, had now plucked them before them, and did base their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the Romans. Which when he had considered, and of what strength and force his wall and rank of targets was, one joining so near another, and what a terror it was to see a front of a battell with so many armed pikes and steel heads: he was more afraid and amazed withal, than with any sight he ever saw before. Nevertheless he could wisely dissemble it at that time. And so passing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet upon his head, he shewed a noble cheerful countenance unto them that fought. But on the contrary side, Perseus the king of Macedon, as Polybius writeth, so soon as the battell was begun, withdrew himself, and got into the city of Pydna, under pretence to go to do sacrifice unto Hercules: who doth not accept the faint sacrifice of cowards, neither doth receive their prayers, because they be unreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not, should hit the white: nor that he should win the victory, that bideth not the battell: neither that he should have

any good, that doeth nothing toward it: nor that a naughty man should be fortunate, and prosper. The gods did favour Æmilius' prayers, because he prayed for victory with his sword in his hand, and fighting did call to them for aid. Howbeit there is one Posidonius a writer, who saith he was in that time, and moreover, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an history containing many books of the acts of King Perseus, where he saith that it was not for faint heart, nor under colour to sacrifice unto Hercules, that Perseus went from the battell: but because he had a stripe of a horse on the thigh the day before. Who though he could not very well help himself, and that all his friends sought to persuade him not to go to the battell: yet he caused one of his horse to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly used to ride up and down on) and taking his back, rode into the battell unarmed, where an infinite number of darts were thrown at him from both sides. And among those, he had a blow with a dart that hurt him somewhat, but it was overthwart, and not with the point, and did hit him on the left side glancing wise, with such a force, that it rent his coat, and razed his skin underneath, so as it left a mark behind a long time after. And this is all that Posidonius writeth to defend and excuse Perseus. The Romans having their hands full, and being stayed by the battell of the Macedonians that they could make no breach into them: there was a captain of the Pelignians called Salvius, who took the ensign of his band, and cast it among the press of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians brake in upon them, with a marvellous force and

Salvius
saves the
day

A desperate struggle

fury into that place: for all Italians think it too great a shame and dishonour for soldiers to lose or forsake their ensign. Thus was there marvellous force of both sides used in that place: for the Pelignians proved to cut the Macedonians' pikes with their swords, or else to make them give back with their great targets, or to make a breach into them, and to take the pikes with their hands. But the Macedonians to the contrary, holding their pikes fast with both hands, ran them through that came near unto them: so that neither target nor corselet could hold out the force and violence of the push of their pikes, insomuch as they turned up the heels of the Pelignians and Terracinians, who like desperate beasts without reason, shutting in themselves among their enemies, ran wilfully upon their own deaths, and their first rank were slain every man of them. Thereupon those that were behind, gave back a little, but fled not turning their backs, and only retired giving back towards the mountain Olocrus. Æmilius seeing that (as Posidonius writeth) rent his arming coat from his back for anger, because that some of his men gave back: other durst not front the battell of the Macedonians, which was so strongly embattled on every side, and so mured in with a wall of pikes, presenting their armed heads on every side a man could come, that it was impossible to break into them, no not so much as come near them only. Yet notwithstanding, because the field was not altogether plain and even, the battell that was large in the front, could not always keep that wall, continuing their targets close one to another, but they were driven of necessity to break and open in many

places, as it happeneth oft in great battels, according to the great force of the soldiers : that in one place they thrust forward, and in another they give back, and leave a hole. Wherefore Æmilius suddenly taking the vantage of this occasion divided his men into small companies, and commanded them they should quickly thrust in between their enemies, and occupy the places they saw void in the front of their enemies, and that they should set on them in that sort, and not with one whole continual charge, but occupying them here and there with divers companies in sundry places. Æmilius gave this charge unto the private captains of every band and their lieutenants, and the captains also gave the like charge unto their soldiers that could skilfully execute their commandment. For they went presently into those parts where they saw the places open, and being once entred in among them, some gave charge upon the flanks of the Macedonians, where they were all naked and unarmed : other set upon them behind : so that the strength of all the corps of the battell (which consisteth in keeping close together) being opened in this sort, was straight overthrown. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a few against a few : the Macedonians with their little short swords, came to strike upon the great shields of the Romans, which were very strong, and covered all their bodies down to the foot. And they to the contrary, were driven of necessity to receive the blows of the strong heavy swords of the Romans, upon their little weak targets : so that what with their heaviness, and the vehement force wherewith the blows lighted upon them, there was no target nor

The
tabies
turned

The valiantness
of Marcus
Cato

corselet, but they passed it through, and ran them in. By reason whereof they could make no long resistance, whereupon they turned their backs and ran away. But when they came to the squadron of the old beaten soldiers of the Macedonians, there was the cruellest fight and most desperate service, where they say that Marcus Cato (son of great Cato, and son-in-law of Æmilius) shewing all the valiantness in his person that a noble mind could possibly perform, lost his sword which fell out of his hand. But he like a young man of noble courage, that had bin valiantly brought up in all discipline, and knew how to follow the steps of his father (the noblest person that ever man saw) was to shew then his value and worthiness: and thought it more honour for him there to die, than living to suffer his enemies to enjoy any spoil of his. So, by-and-by he ran into the Roman army, to find out some of his friends, whom he told what had befallen him, and prayed them to help him to recover his sword: whereto they agreed. And being a good company of lusty valiant soldiers together, they rushed straight in among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and so did set upon them with such force and fury, that they made a lane through the middest of them, and with great slaughter and spilling of blood, even by plain force, they cleared the way still before them. Now when the place was voided, they sought for the sword, and in the end found it with great ado, amongst a heap of other swords and dead bodies, wherent they rejoiced marvellously. Then singing a song of victory, they went again more fiercely than before to give a charge upon their enemies, who

were not yet broken asunder : until such time as at the length, the three thousand chosen Macedonians fighting valiantly even to the last man, and never forsaking their ranks, were all slain in the place. After whose overthrow, there was a great slaughter of other also that fled : so that all the valley and foot of the mountains thereabouts was covered with dead bodies. The next day after the battell, when the Romans did pass over the river of Leucus, they found it running all a-blood. For it is said there were slain at this field, of Perseus' men, above five-and-twenty thousand : and of the Romans' side, as Posidonius saith, not above six-score, or as Nasica writeth, but four-score only. And for so great an overthrow, it is reported it was wonderful quickly done and executed. For they began to fight about three of the clock in the afternoon, and had won the victory before four, and all the rest of the day they followed their enemies in chase, an hundred and twenty furlongs from the place where the battell was fought : so that it was very late, and far forth night, before they returned again into the camp. So such as returned, were received with marvellous great joy of their pages that went out with links and torches lighted, to bring their maisters into their tents, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them up with crowns and garlands of laurel, saving the general's tent only : who was very heavy, for that of his two sons he brought with him to the wars, the younger could not be found, which he loved best of the twain, because he saw he was of a better nature than the rest of his brethren. For even then, being new crept out of the shell as it were, he was

**Æmilius'
victory of
Perseus**

The valiantness of Scipio the Less

marvellous valiant and hardy, and desired honour wonderfully. Now Æmilius thought he had been cast away, fearing lest for lack of experience in the wars, and through the rashness of his youth, he had put himself too far in fight amongst the prease of the enemies. Hereupon the camp heard straight what sorrow Æmilius was in, and how grievously he took it. The Romans being set at supper, rose from their meat, and with torchlight some ran to Æmilius' tent, other went out of the camp to seek him among the dead bodies, if they might know him: so all the camp was full of sorrow and mourning, the valleys and hills all abouts did ring again with the cries of those that called Scipio aloud. For even from his childhood he had a natural gift in him, of all the rare and singular parts required in a captain and wise governor of the common weal above all the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his coming again, he happily returned from the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars only, all bloodied with new blood (like a swift running greyhound fleshed with the blood of the hare) having pursued very far for joy of the victory. It is that Scipio which afterwards destroyed both the cities of Carthage and Numantia, who was the greatest man of war, and valiantest captain of the Romans in his time, and of the greatest authority and reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her spite, which she did bear to so noble an exploit, suffered Æmilius for that time, to take his full pleasure of that noble victory. And as for Perseus, he fled first from the city of Pydna, unto the city of Pella, with his

horsemen, which were in manner all saved. Where-
upon the footmen that saved themselves by flying,
meeting them by the way, called them traitors,
cowards, and villains: and worse than that, they
turned them off their horsebacks, and fought it
out lustily with them. Perseus seeing that, and
fearing lest this mutiny might turn to light
on his neck, he turned his horse out of the
highway, and pulled off his purple coat, and carried
it before him, and took his diadem, fearing to be
known thereby: and because he might more easily
speak with his friends by the way, he lighted
afoot, and led his horse in his hand. But such
as were about him, one made as though he would
mend the latchet of his shoe, another seemed to
water his horse, another as though he would drink:
so that one dragging after another in this sort, they
all left him at the last, and ran their way, not fearing
the enemies fury so much, as their king's cruelty:
who being grieved with his misfortune, sought to
lay the fault of the overthrow upon all other, but
himself. Now he being come into the city of
Pella by night, Euctus and Eudæus, two of his
treasurers, came unto him, and speaking boldly (but
out of time) presumed to tell him the great fault
he had committed, and to counsel him what he
should do. The king was so moved with their
presumption, that with his own hands he stabbed
his dagger in them both, and slew them outright.
But after this fact, all his servants and friends re-
fused him, and there only tarried with him but
Evander Cretan, Archedamus Ætolian, and Neo
Bœotian. And as for the mean soldiers, there were
none that followed him but the Cretans, and yet it

**Perseus is
deserted**

**Misers
whine for
their
goods**

was not for the good will they did bear him, but for the love of his gold and silver, as bees that keep their hives for love of the honey. For he carried with him a great treasure, and gave them leave to spoil certain plate and vessel of gold and silver, to the value of fifty talents. But first of all, when he was come into the city of Amphipolis, and afterwards into the city of Alepsus, and that the fear was well blown over: he returned again to his old humour, which was born and bred with him, and that was, avarice and misery. For he made his complaint unto those that were about him, that he had unwares given to the soldiers of Creta, his plate and vessel of gold to be spoiled, being those which in old time belonged unto Alexander the Great: and prayed them with tears in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to change it for ready money. Now such as knew his nature, found straight this was but a fraud and a Cretan lie, to deceive the Cretans with: but those that trusted him, and did restore again the plate they had, did lose it every iota, for he never paid them penny for it. So he got of his friends, the value of thirty talents, which his enemies soon after did take from him. And with that sum he went into the Isle of Samothracia, where he took the sanctuary and privilege of the temple of Castor and Pollux. They say, that the Macedonians of long continuance did naturally love their kings: but then seeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hearts failed them, and broke withal. For they all came and submitted themselves unto Æmilius, and made him lord of the whole realm of Macedon in two days: and this doth seem to confirm their words,

who impute all Æmilius' doings unto his good fortune. And surely, the marvellous fortune he happened on in the city Amphipolis, doth confirm it much, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the special grace of the gods. For one day beginning to do sacrifice, lightning fell from heaven, and set all the wood on fire upon the altar, and sanctified the sacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For four days after Perseus had lost the battell, and that the city of Pella was taken, as the people of Rome were at the lists or shew-place, seeing horses run for games: suddenly there arose a rumour at the entring into the lists where the games were, how Æmilius had won a great battell of King Perseus, and had conquered all Macedon. This news was rife straight in every man's mouth, and there followed upon it a marvellous joy and great cheer in every corner, with shouts and clapping of hands, that continued all the day through the city of Rome. Afterwards they made diligent inquiry, how this rumour first came up, but no certain author could be known, and every man said they heard it spoken: so as in the end it came to nothing, and passed away in that sort for a time. But shortly after, there came letters, and certain news that made them wonder more than before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first news of it: which could be devised by no natural means, and yet proved true afterwards. We do read also of a battell that was fought in Italy, near unto the river of Sagra, whereof news was brought the very same day unto Peloponnesus. And of another also in like manner that was fought in Asia against the

News brought to Rome, and no man knew how

Miraculous news

Medes, before the city of Mycalé: the news whereof came the same day unto the camp of the Grecians, lying before the city of Platæa. And in that great journey where the Romans overthrew the Tarquins, and the army of the Latins: immediately after the battell was won, they saw two goodly young men come newly from the camp, who brought news of the victory to Rome, and they judged they were Castor and Pollux. The first man that spake to them in the market-place before the fountain, where they watered their horse being all of a white foam, told them: that they wondred how they could so quickly bring these news. And they laughing came to him, and took him softly by the beard with both their hands, and even in the market-place his hair being black before, was presently turned yellow. This miracle made them believe the report the man made, who ever after was called *Ahenobarbus*, as you would say, bearded as yellow as gold. Another like matter that happened in our time, maketh all such news credible. For when *Antonius* rebelled against the Emperor *Domitian*, the city of Rome was in a marvellous perplexity, because they looked for great wars towards Germany. But in this fear, there grew a sudden rumour of victory, and it went currently through Rome, that *Antonius* himself was slain, and all his army overthrown, and not a man left alive. This rumour was so rife, that many of the chiefest men of Rome believed it, and did sacrifice thereupon unto the gods, giving them thanks for the victory. But when the matter came to sifting, who was the first author of the rumour: no man could tell. For one put it over still to another,

and it died so in the end amongst the people, as in a bottomless matter, for they could never bolt out any certain ground of it : but even as it came flying into Rome, so went it flying away again, no man can tell how. Notwithstanding, Domitian holding on his journey to make this war, met with posts that brought him letters for the certain victory : and remembering the rumour of the victory that ran before in Rome, he found it true, that it was on the very same day the victory was gotten, and the distance between Rome and the place where the field was won, was above twenty thousand furlongs off. Every man in our time knoweth this to be true. But again to our history. Cn. Octavius, lieutenant of the army of Æmilius by sea, came to anker under the Isle of Samothracia, where he would not take Perseus by force out of the sanctuary where he was, for the reverence he did bear unto the gods Castor and Pollux : but he did besiege him in such sort, as he could not scape him, nor fly by sea out of the island. Yet he had secretly practised with one Oroandes a Cretan, that had a brigantine, and was at a price with him for a sum of money to convey him away by night : but the Cretan served him a right Cretan's trick. For when he had taken aboard by night into his vessel, all the king's treasure of gold and silver, he sent him word that he should not sail the next night following to come unto the pier by the temple of Ceres, with his wife, his children and servants, where indeed was no possibility to take shipping : but the next night following he hoised sail, and got him away. It was a pitiful thing that Perseus was driven to do and suffer at that time. For he

The
miserable
state Per-
seus was
brought
unto

King Perseus yieldeth himself came down in the night by ropes, out of a little straight window upon the walls, and not only himself, but his wife and little babes, who never knew before what flying and hardness meant. And yet he fetched a more grievous bitter sigh, when one told him on the pier, that he saw Oroandes the Cretan under sail in the main seas. Then day beginning to break, and seeing himself void of all hope, he ran with his wife for life to the wall, to recover the sanctuary again, before the Romans that saw him could overtake him. And as for his children, he had given them himself into the hands of one Ion, whom before he had marvellously loved, and who then did traitorously betray him: for he delivered his children unto the Romans. Which part was one of the chiefest causes that drave him (as a beast that will follow her little ones being taken from her) to yield himself into their hands that had his children. Now he had a special confidence in Scipio Nasica, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yield himself, but it was answered him, that he was not there. Then he began to lament his hard and miserable fortune every way. And in the end, considering how necessity enforced him, he yielded himself into the hands of Cnæus Octavius, wherein he shewed plainly, that he had another vice in him more unmanly and vile, than avarice: that was, a faint heart, and fear to die. But hereby he deprived himself of others' pity and compassion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot deny and take from the afflicted, and specially from them that have a noble heart. For he made request they would bring him unto the general Æmilius, who rose from his chair

when he saw him come, and went to meet him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to meet a great king by fortune of war, and by the will of the gods, fallen into that most lamentable state. But he to the contrary, unmanly and shamefully behaved himself. For he fell down at his feet, and embraced his knees, and uttered such uncomely speech and vile requests, as Æmilius self could not abide to hear them: but knitting his brows against him, being heartily offended, he spake thus unto him. "Alas poor man, why dost thou discharge fortune of this fault, where thou mightest justly charge and accuse her to thy discharge, doing things, for the which every one judgeth thou hast deserved thy present misery, and art unworthy also of thy former honour? why dost thou defame my victory, and blemish the glory of my doings, shewing thyself so base a man, as my honour is not great to overcome so unworthy an enemy? The Romans have ever esteemed magnanimity, even in their greatest enemies: but dastardliness, though it be fortunate, yet it is hated of everybody." Notwithstanding, he took him up, and taking him by the hand, gave him into the custody of Æmilius Tubero. Then Æmilius went into his tent, and carried his sons and sons-in-law with him, and other men of quality, and specially the younger sort. And being set down, he continued a great space very pensive with himself, not speaking a word: insomuch that all the standers by wondered much at the matter. In the end he began to enter into discourse and talk of fortune, and the uncon-
 stancy of these worldly things, and said unto them. "Is there any man living, my friends, who having

Perseus'
un-
princely
behaviour

Æmilius'
oration
touching
fortune

fortune at will, should therefore boast and glory in the prosperity of his doings, for that he hath conquered a country, city, or realm : and not rather to fear the unconstancy of fortune ? who laying before our eyes, and all those that profess arms at this present, so notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainly teach us to think, that there is nothing constant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men may think themselves assured, considering that when they have overcome others, then are they driven to mistrust fortune most, and to mingle fear and mistrust, with joy of victory : if they will wisely consider the common course of fatal destiny that altereth daily, sometime favouring one, otherwhile throwing down another ? You see, that in an hour's space we have trodden under our feet the house of Alexander the Great : who hath been the mightiest and most redoubted prince of the world. You see a king, that not long since was followed and accompanied, with many thousand soldiers of horsemen and footmen : brought at this present into such miserable extremity, that he is enforced to receive his meat and drink daily at the hands of his enemies. Should we have any better hope then, that fortune will always favour our doings, more than she doth his now, at this present ? no out of doubt. Therefore digesting this matter well, you young men I say, be not too brag nor foolish proud of this conquest and noble victory : but think what may happen hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turn the envy of this our present prosperity." Such were Æmilius' words to these young men, as it is reported, bridling by these and such like persuasions, the lusty bravery

of this youth, even as with the bit and bridle of reason. Afterwards he put his army into garrisons to refresh them: and went himself in person in the meantime to visit Greece, making it an honourable progress, and also a commendable. For as he passed through the cities, he relieved the people, reformed the government of their state, and ever gave them some gift or present. Unto some he gave corn, which King Perseus had gathered for the wars: and unto other he gave oils, meeting with so great store of provision, that he rather lacked people to give it unto, to receive it at his hands, than wanting to give, there was so much. As he passed by the city of Delphes, he saw there a great pillar, four square, of white stone, which they had set up, to put King Perseus' image of gold upon it. Whereupon he commanded them to set up his in that place, saying: it was reason the conquered should give place unto the conquerors. And being in the city of Olympia, visiting the temple of Jupiter Olympian, he spake this openly, which ever since hath been remembered: that Phidias had rightly made Jupiter, as Homer had described him. Afterwards when the ten ambassadors were arrived that were sent from Rome to establish with him the realm of Macedon, he redelivered the Macedonians their country and towns again, to live at liberty, according to their laws, paying yearly to the Romans for tribute, a hundred talents: where before they were wont to pay unto their kings ten times as much. And he made plays and games of all sorts, and did celebrate sumptuous sacrifices unto the gods. He kept open court to all comers, and made noble

Æmilius'
honour-
able pro-
gress in
Greece

Æmilius' feasts, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, **absti-** with the treasure Perseus had gathered together, **nence** sparing for no cost. But through his care and foresight there was such a special good order taken, every man so courteously received and welcomed, and so orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and calling, that the Grecians wondered to see him so careful in matters of sport and pleasure: and that he took as great pains in his own person, to see that small matters should be ordered as they ought, as he took regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a marvellous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous sights prepared to shew pleasure to the persons invited, no sight nor stately show did so delight them, as to enjoy the sight and company of his person. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence and care in these matters: that to order a feast well, required as great judgement and discretion, as to set a battell: to make the one fearful to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friends. But men esteemed his bounty and magnanimity for his best vertue and quality. For he did not only refuse to see the king's wonderful treasure of gold and silver, but caused it to be told, and delivered to the custody of the treasurers, to carry to the coffers of store in Rome: and only suffered his sons that were learned, to take the books of the king's library. When he did reward the soldiers for their valiant service in this battell, he gave his son-in-law *Æmilius Tubero* a cup, weighing five talents. It is the same *Tubero* we told you of before, who lived with sixteen other of his kin all in one house,

and of the only revenue they had of a little farm in the country. Some say, that cup was the first piece of plate that ever came into the house of the Ælians, and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither themselves, nor their wives, would ever have, or wear, any gold or silver. After he had very well ordered and disposed all things, at the last he took leave of the Grecians, and counselled the Macedonians to remember the liberty the Romans had given them, and that they should be careful to keep it, by their good government and concord together. Then he departed from them, and took his journey towards the country of Epirus, having received commission from the Senate of Rome, to suffer his soldiers who had done service in the battell, and overthrow of King Perseus, to spoil all the cities of that country. Wherefore that he might surprise them on a sudden, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the cities that they should send him by a certain day, ten of the chiefest men of every city. Who when they were come, he commanded them to go and bring him by such a day, all the gold and silver they had within their cities, as well in their private houses, as in their temples and churches, and gave unto every one of them a captain and garrison with them, as if it had been only to have received and searched for the gold and silver he demanded. But when the day appointed was come, the soldiers in divers places (and all at one time) set upon their enemies, and did rife and spoil them of that they had, and made them also pay ransom every man: So as by this policy, there were taken and made slaves in one

**His cruel
act
spoiling
of Epirus**

Æmilius
took ship
and re-
turned
into Italy

day, a hundred and fifty thousand persons, and three-score and ten cities spoiled and sacked every one. And yet when they came to divide the spoil of this general destruction of a whole realm by the poll, it came not to every soldier's part, above eleven silver drachms a-piece. Which made every one to wonder greatly, and to fear also the terror of the wars, to see the wealth and riches of so great a realm, to amount to so little for every man's share. When Æmilius had done this act against his own nature, which was very gentle and curteous: he went unto the sea-side to the city of Oricum, and there embarked with his army bound for Italy. Where when he was arrived, he went up the river of Tiber against the stream, in King Perseus' chief galley, which had sixteen owers on a side, richly set out with the armour of the prisoners, rich clothes of purple colour, and other such spoils of the enemies: so that the Romans running out of Rome in multitudes of people to see this galley, and going side by side by her as they rowed softly, Æmilius took as great pleasure in it, as in any open games or feasts, or triumph that had been shewed indeed. But when the soldiers saw, that the gold and silver of King Perseus' treasure was not divided amongst them according unto promise, and that they had a great deal less than they looked for, they were marvellously offended, and inwardly grudged Æmilius in their hearts. Nevertheless they durst not speak it openly, but did accuse him, that he had been too strait unto them in this war: and therefore they did shew no great desire, nor forwardness, to procure him the honour of triumph. Which Servius Galba understanding, that had been an old

enemy of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a thousand men under him in this war: he like an envious viper told the people, how Æmilius had not deserved the honour of triumph, and sowed seditious words against him among the soldiers, to aggravate their ill-will the more against him. Moreover, he craved a day of the Tribunes of the people, to have respite to bring forth such matter as they determined to object against him: saying the time then was far spent, the sun being but four hours high, and that it would require longer time and leisure. The Tribunes made him answer, that he should speak then what he had to say against him, or otherwise they would not grant him audience. Hereupon he began to make a long oration in his dispraise, full of railing words, and spent all the rest of the day in that railing oration. Afterwards when night came on, the Tribunes brake up the assembly, and the next morning the soldiers being encouraged by Galba's oration, and having considered together, did flock about Galba, in the mount of the Capitol, where the Tribunes had given warning they would keep their assembly. Now being broad day, Æmilius' triumph was referred to the most number of voices of the people, and the first tribe flatly did deny his triumph. The Senate, and the residue of the people hearing that, were very sorry to see they did Æmilius so open wrong and injury. The common people said nothing to it, but seemed to be very sorry, howbeit they sought no redress. The Lords of the Senate cried out upon them, and said it was too much shame, and exhorted one another to bridle the insolency and boldness of these soldiers, who would

The envy
of Servius
Galba
unto
Æmilius

Servilius' oration grow in the end to such tumult and disorder, that they would commit all mischief and wickedness, if betimes they were not looked to, and prevented, seeing they did so openly stand against their general, seeking to deprive him of the honour of his triumph and victory. So they assembled a good company of them together, and went up to the Capitol, and prayed the Tribunes they would stay to take the voices of the people, until they had acquainted them with such needful matter, as they had to open unto them. The Tribunes granted to it, and silence was made. Then Marcus Servilius, who had been Consul, and had fought three-and-twenty combats of life and death in his own person, and had always slain as many of his enemies as challenged him man for man: rose up, and spake in favour of Æmilius in this manner. "I know now (said he) better than before, how noble and worthy a captain Paulus Æmilius is, who hath achieved such glory and honourable victory, with so dishonourable and disobedient soldiers. And I can but wonder that the people not long since rejoiced, and made great account of the victories and triumphs won upon the Illyrians and other nations of Africk: and that now they should for spite envy his glory (doing what lieth in them to hinder) to bring a Macedonian king alive in a triumph, and to show the glory and greatness of King Philip and Alexander the Great, subdued by the Romans' force and power. What reason have ye, that not long since, upon a flying rumour that Æmilius had won the battell against Perseus, you straight made sacrifices to the gods with great joy, praying them that you might be witnesses of the truth thereof: and now that the

person himself whom ye made general is returned home, and doth deliver you most assured victory, you do frustrate the gods' most solemn thanks and honour due to them, and do deprive your selves also of your wonted glory in such a case: as if you were afear'd to see the greatness of your prosperity, or that you meant to pardon a king, your slave and prisoner. And yet of the two, you have more reason to hinder the triumph, as pitying the king, than envying your captain. But the malice of the wicked, through your patience is grown to such an insolent audacity and boldness, that we see men present here before us, which never went from the smoke of the chimney, nor carried away any blows in the field, being crammed at home like women and house-doves, and yet they are so impudent and shameless, as they dare presume unreverently to your faces, to prate of the office and duty of a general of an army, and of the desert of triumph, before you I say, who by experience of many a sore cut and wound upon your bodies in the wars, have learned to know a good and valiant captain, from a vile and cowardly person." And speaking these words, he cast open his gown, and shewed before them all, the infinite scars and cuts he had received upon his breast: and then turning him behind, shewed all such places as were not fit to be seen openly, and so turned him again to Galba, and said unto him. "Thou mockest me for that I shew thee: but I rejoyce before my countrymen and citizens: that for serving my country night and day a-horseback, I have these wounds upon me which thou seest. Now get thee about thy business, and receive their voices: and I will come after,

for the
further-
ance of
Æmilius'
triumph

A notable
description

noting them that are naughty and unthankful citizens, who like to be soothed with flattery, and not stoutly commanded, as behoveth a general in the war." These words so reined the hard-headed soldiers with the curb of reason that all the other tribes agreed in one, and granted Æmilius' triumph: the order and solemnity whereof was performed in this sort. First, the people having set up sundry scaffolds, as well in the lists and field (called *circus* by the Latins) where the games and common running of horses and chariots are made, as also about the market-place, and in other streets of the city, the which, the show of the triumph should pass: they all presented themselves in their best gowns to see the magnificence and state thereof. All the temples of the gods also were set wide open, hanged full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there were set through all the quarters of the city, numbers of sergeants and other officers holding tipstaves in their hands to order the straggling people, and to keep them up in corners and lanes' ends, that they should not pester the streets, and hinder the triumph. Furthermore, the sight of this triumph was to continue three days, whereof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the images, tables, and pictures, and statues of wonderful beings, all won and gotten of their enemies, and drawn in the show upon two hundred and fifty charrets. The second day, there were carried upon a number of carts, all the fairest and richest armour of the Macedonians, as well of copper, as also of iron and steel, all glistening bright, being newly furbished, and artificially laid in order (and yet in such sort, as if they had been cast in heaps one

upon another, without taking any care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) fair burganets upon targets: habergions, or brigantines and corselets, upon greaves: round targets of the Cretans, and javelins of the Thracians, and arrows amongst the armed pikes: all this armour and carriage, being bound one to another so trimly (neither being too loose, nor too strait) that one hitting against another, as they drew them upon the carts through the city, they made such a sound and noise, as it was fearful to hear it: so that the only sight of these spoils of the captains being overcome, made the sight so much more terrible to behold it. After these carts loden with armour, there followed three thousand men, which carried the ready money in seven hundred and fifty vessels, which weighed about three talents a-piece, and every one of them were carried by four men: and there were other that carried great bowls of silver, cups and goblets fashioned like horns, and other pots to drink in, goodly to behold, as well for their bigness, as for their great and singular embossed works about them. The third day early in the morning, the trumpets began to sound and set forwards, sounding no march nor sweet note, to beautify the triumph withal: but they blew out the brave alarum they sound at an assault, to give the soldiers courage for to fight. After them followed six-score goodly fat oxen, having all their horns gilt, and garlands of flowers and nosegays about their heads, and there went by them certain young men, with aprons of needlework, girt about their middle, who led them to the sacrifice, and young boys with them

of
Æmilius'
triumph

Perseus' children also, that carried goodly basons of gold and silver, to cast and sprinkle the blood of the sacrifices about. And after these, followed those that carried all coins of gold divided by basons and vessels, and every one of them weighing three talents as they did before, that carried the great holy cup, which Æmilius had caused to be made of massy gold, set full of precious stones, weighing the weight of ten talents, to make an offering unto the gods. And next unto them went other that carried plate, made and wrought after antique fashion, and notable cups of the ancient kings of Macedon: as the cup called Antigonus, and another Seleucus: and to be short, all the whole cubberd of plate of gold and silver of King Perseus. And next them came the charret of his armour, in the which was all King Perseus' harness, and his royal band (they call a diadem) upon his armour. And a little space between them, followed next the king's children, whom they led prisoners, with the train of their school-maisters and other officers, and their servants, weeping and lamenting: who held up their hands unto the people that looked upon them, and taught the king's young children to do the like, to ask mercy and grace at the people's hands. There were three pretty little children, two sons and a daughter amongst them, whose tender years and lack of understanding, made them (poor souls) they could not feel their present misery, which made the people so much more to pity them, when they saw the poor little infants, that they knew not the change of their hard fortune: so that for the compassion they had of them, they almost let

the father pass without looking upon him. Many people's hearts did melt for very pity, that the tears ran down their cheeks, so as this sight brought both pleasure and sorrow together to the lookers on, until they were past and gone a good way out of sight. King Perseus the father, followed after his children and their train, and he was clothed in a black gown, wearing a pair of slippers on his feet after his country manner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled mind, opprest with sorrow of his most miserable state and fortune. He was followed with his kinsfolks, his familiar friends, his officers and household servants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamenting tears, and sorrowful eyes cast upon their unfortunate maister, how much they sorrowed and bewailed his most hard and cruel fortune, little accounting of their own misery. The voice goeth, that Perseus sent unto Æmilius to entreat him, that he should not be led through the city in the show and sight of the triumph. But Æmilius mocking (as he deserved) his cowardly faint heart, answered: As for that, it was before, and is now in him, to do if he will. Meaning to let him understand thereby, that he might rather choose to die, than living to receive such open shame. Howbeit his heart would not serve him, he was so cowardly, and made so effeminate, by a certain vain hope he knew not what, that he was contented to make one among his own spoils. After all this, there followed 400 princely crowns of gold, which the cities and towns of Greece had purposely sent by their ambassadors unto Æmilius, to honour his victory: and next

Æmilius' unto them, he came himself in his charret **adversity** triumphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth and adorned. It was a noble sight to behold: and yet the person of himself only was worth the looking on, without all that great pomp and magnificence. For he was apparelled in a purple gown branched with gold, and carried in his right hand a laurel bough, as all his army did besides: the which being divided by bands and companies, followed the triumphing charret of their captain, some of the soldiers singing songs of victory, which the Romans use to sing in like triumphs, mingling them with merry pleasant toys, rejoicing at their captain. Other of them also did sing songs of triumph, in the honour and praise of Æmilius' noble conquest and victory. He was openly praised, blessed, and honoured of every body, and neither hated nor envied of honest men. Saving the ordinary use of some god, whose property is always to lessen or cut off some part of man's exceeding prosperity and felicity, mingling with man's life the sense and feeling of good and evil together: because that no living person should pass all his time of life, without some adversity or misfortune, but that such (as Homer saith) should only think themselves happy, to whom fortune hath equally sorted the good with the evil. And this I speak because Æmilius had four sons, two of the which he gave in adoption unto the families of Scipio and of Fabius, as we have said before: and two other which he had by his second wife, he brought up with him in his own house, and were both yet very young. Of the which the one died, being fourteen years of age, five days before

his father's triumph : and the other died also three days after the pomp of triumph, at twelve years of age. When this sorrowful chance had befallen him, every one in Rome did pity him in their hearts : but fortune's spite and cruelty did more grieve and fear them, to see her little regard towards him, to put into a house of triumph (full of honour and glory, and of sacrifices and joy) such a pitiful mourning, and mingling of sorrows and lamentations of death, amongst such songs of triumph and victory. Notwithstanding this, Æmilius taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to use constancy and magnanimity, against the sword and pike of the enemy : but a like also against all adversity and enmity of spiteful fortune. So, he wisely weighed and considered his present misfortune, with his former prosperity : and finding his misfortune counterpoised with felicity, and his private griefs cut off with common joy, he gave no place to his sorrows and mischances, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triumph and victory. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sons, he left not to make his triumphant entry, as you have heard before. And his second son also being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to assemble, and in face of the whole city he made an oration, not like a discomfited man, but like one rather that did comfort his sorrowful countrymen for his mischance. He told them, "that concerning men's matters, never any thing did fear him : but for things above, he ever feared fortune, mistrusting her change and inconstancy, and specially in the last war, doubting for so great prosperity as could

His fortitude in his great adversity

Æmilius'
oration
in his
trouble

be wished, to be paid home with an after intolerable adversity, and sinister chance. For as I went (said he) I passed over the gulf of the Adriatic Sea, from Brindes unto Corfu in one day. And from thence in five days after, I arrived in the city of Delphes, where I did sacrifice unto Apollo. And within five other days, I arrived in my camp, where I found mine army in Macedon. And after I had done the sacrifice, and due ceremonies for purifying of the same, I presently began to follow the purpose and cause of my coming: so as in fifteen days after, I made an honourable end of all those wars. But yet, mistrusting fortune always, seeing the prosperous course of my affairs, and considering that there were no other enemies, nor dangers I needed to fear: I feared sorely she would change at my return, when I should be upon the sea, bringing home so goodly and victorious an army, with so many spoils, and so many princes and kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arrived in the haven, and seeing all the city at my return full of joy, and of feasts and sacrifices: I still suspected fortune, knowing her manner well enough, that she useth not to gratify men so frankly, nor to grant them so great things clearly, without some certain spark of envy waiting on them. Neither did my mind being still occupied in fear of some thing to happen to the common wealth, shake off this fear behind me: but that I saw, this home mishap and misery lighted upon me, eniorcing me with mine own hands in these holy days of my triumph, to bury my two young sons one after another, which I only brought up with me, for the succession of my name and house. Wherefore, me

thinks now I may say, I am out of all danger, at the least touching my chiefest and greatest misfortune: and do begin to stablish my self with this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remain with us evermore, without fear of other unlucky or sinister chance. For she hath sufficiently countervailed the favourable victory she gave you, with the envious mishap wherewith she hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the conqueror and triumpher, as noble an example of man's misery and weakness, as the party conquered, that had been led in triumph. Saving that Perseus yet conquered as he is, hath this comfort left him: to see his children living, and that the conqueror Æmilius hath lost his." And this was the sum of Æmilius' notable oration he made unto the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble and honourably disposed mind. And though it pitied him in his heart to see the strange change of King Perseus' fortune, and that he heartily desired to help him, and to do him good: yet he could never obtain other grace for him, but only to remove him from the common prison (which the Romans called *Carcer*) into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being straitly guarded and looked unto, he killed himself by abstinence from meat, as the most part of historiographers do write. Yet some writers tell a marvellous strange tale, and manner of his death. For they say the soldiers that guarded him, kept him from sleep, watching him straitly when sleep took him, and would not suffer him to shut his eyelids (only upon malice they did bear him, because they could not otherwise hurt him) keeping him awake by force, not suffering him to take rest:

The
death of
King
Perseus

Æmilius
favoured
the
noble men

until such time as nature being forced to give over, he gave up the ghost. Two of his sons died also : but the third called Alexander, became an excellent turner and joiner, and was learned, and could speak the Roman tongue very well, and did write it so trimly, that afterwards he was chancellor to the magistrates of Rome, and did wisely and discreetly behave himself in his office. Furthermore, they do add to this goodly conquest of the realm of Macedon, that Æmilius conquered another special good thing, that made him marvellously well liked of the common people : that is, that he brought so much gold and silver unto the treasury store of Rome, as the common people needed never after to make contribution for anything, until the very time and year that Hirtius and Pansa were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first wars of Augustus and Antonius. And yet Æmilius had one singular good gift in him : that though the people did greatly love and honour him, yet he ever took part with the Senate and nobility, and did never by word nor deed anything in favour of the people, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning government, he did ever lean to the nobility and good men. And this did Appius afterwards cast in his son's teeth, Scipio Africanus. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Censor : Appius had about him to favour his suit, all the Senate and nobility, as of ancient time the family of the Appians had ever held on their part. And Scipio Africanus, though he was a great man of himself, yet he was in all times favoured and beloved of the

common people. Whereupon when Appius saw him come into the market-place, followed with men of small quality and base condition, that had been slaves before, but otherwise could skilfully handle such practices, bring the people together, and by opportunity of cries and loud voices (if need were) obtain what they would in the assemblies of the city: he spake out aloud, and said. O Paulus Æmilius, now hast thou good cause to sigh and mourn in thy grave where thou liest (if the dead do know what we do here on earth) to see Æmilius a common sergeant, and Licinius a prattling fellow, how they bring thy son unto the dignity of a Censor. And as for Scipio, he was always beloved of the common people, because he did favour them in all things. But Æmilius also, although he took ever the noblemen's part, he was not therefore less beloved of the common people, than those that always flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them: which the common people did witness, as well by other honours and offices they offered him, as in the dignity of the Censor which they gave him. For it was the holiest office of all other at that time, and of greatest power and authority, specially for inquiry and reformation of every man's life and manners. For he that was Censor, had authority to put any Senator of the Council, and so degrade him, if he did not worthily behave himself according to his place and calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and fittest for the place again. Moreover, they might by their authority, take from licentious young men, their

Æmilius
chosen
Censor

Æmilius' sickness horse which was kept at the charge of the commonweal. Furthermore, they be the sessors of the people, and the muster-maisters, keeping books of the number of persons at every mustering. So there appeared numbered in the register-book Æmilius made then of them, three hundred seven and thirty thousand, four hundred and two and fifty men, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus named President of the Senate, who had that honour four times before, and did put off the Council three Senators, that were but mean men. And the like mean and moderation he and his companion, Marcius Philippus kept, upon view and muster taken of the Roman horsemen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his charge and office, he fell sick of a disease that at the beginning seemed very dangerous, but in the end there was no other danger, saving that it was a lingering disease, and hard to cure. So, following the counsel of physicians, who willed him to go to a city in Italy called Velia, he took sea and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleasant houses upon the sea-side quietly and out of all noise. But during this time of his absence, the Romans wished for him many a time and often. And when they were gathered together in the theatres, to see the plays and sports, they cried out divers times for him: whereby they shewed that they had a great desire to see him again. Time being come about when they used to make a solemn yearly sacrifice, and Æmilius finding himself also in good perfect health: he returned again to Rome, where he made the sacrifice with the other priests, all the people of

Rome gathering about him, rejoicing much to see him. The next day after, he made another particular sacrifice, to give thanks unto the gods for recovery of his health. After the sacrifice was ended, he went home to his house, and sate him down to dinner: he suddenly fell into a raving (without any perseverance of sickness spied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went from him in such sort, that he died within three days after, lacking no necessary thing that an earthly man could have, to make him happy in this world. For he was even honoured at his funerals, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with gold, silver, nor ivory, nor with other such sumptuousness or magnificence of apparel, but with the love and good-will of the people, all of them confessing his vertue and well-doing: and this did not only his natural countrymen perform in memory of him, but his very enemies also. For all those that met in Rome by chance at that time, that were either come out of Spain, from Genoa, or out of Macedon, all those that were young and strong, did willingly put themselves under the coffin where his body lay, to help to carry him to the church: and the old men followed his body to accompany the same, calling Æmilius the benefactor, saviour, and father of their country. For he did not only entreat them gently, and graciously, whom he had subdued: but all his lifetime he was ever ready to pleasure them, and to set forwards their causes, even as they had been his confederates, very friends, and near kinsmen. The inventory of all his goods after his death, did scant

His
funerals

Æmilius' amount unto the sum of three hundred threescore
goods and ten thousand silver drachms, which his two sons
what they did inherit. But Scipio being the younger, left
came to all his right unto his elder brother Fabius,
because he was adopted into a very
rich house, which was the house
of the great Scipio Africanus.
Such they say was Pau-
lus Æmilius' condi-
tions and life.

THE END OF PAULUS ÆMILIUS' LIFE

THE LIFE OF TIMOLEON

BEFORE Timoleon was sent into Sicily, thus stood the state of the Syracusans. After that Dion had driven out the tyrant Dionysius, he himself after was slain immediately by treason, and those that aided him to restore the Syracusans to their liberty, fell out, and were at dissension among themselves. By reason whereof, the city of Syracusa changing continually new tyrants, was so troubled and turmoiled with all sorts of evils, that it was left in manner desolate, and without inhabitants. The rest of Sicily in like case was utterly destroyed, and no cities in manner left standing, by reason of the long wars: and those few that remained, were most inhabited of foreign soldiers and strangers (a company of loose men gathered together that took pay of no prince nor city) all the dominions of the same being easily usurped, and as easy to change their lord. Insomuch Dionysius the tyrant, ten years after Dion had driven him out of Sicily, having gathered a certain number of soldiers together again, and through their help driven out Nysæus, that reigned at that time in Syracusa: he recovered the realm again, and made himself king. So, if he was strangely expelled by a small power out of the greatest kingdom that ever was in the world: likewise he more strangely recovered it

The state
of the
Syracu-
sans

Hicetes
tyrant of
the Leon-
tines

again, being banished and very poor, making himself king over them, who before had driven him out. Thus were the inhabitants of the city compelled to serve this tyrant: who besides that of his own nature he was never curteous nor civil, he was now grown to be far more dogged and cruel, by reason of the extreme misery and misfortune he had endured. But the noblest citizens repaired unto Hicetes, who at that time as lord ruled the city of the Leontines, and they chose him for their general in these wars: not for that he was anything better than the open tyrants, but because they had no other to repair unto, at that time, and they trusted him best, for that he was born (as themselves) within the city of Syracuse, and because also he had men of war about him, to make head against this tyrant. But in the meantime, the Carthaginians came down into Sicily with a great army, and invaded the country. The Syracusans being affraid of them, determined to send ambassadors into Greece unto the Corinthians, to pray aid of them against the barbarous people, having better hope of them, than of any other of the Grecians. And that not altogether because they were lineally descended from them, and that they had received in times past many pleasures at their hands: but also for that they knew that Corinth was a city, that in all ages and times, did ever love liberty and hate tyrants, and that had always made their greatest wars, not for ambition of kingdoms, nor of covetous desire to conquer and rule, but only to defend and maintain the liberty of the Grecians. But Hicetes in another contrary sort, he took upon him to be general, with a mind to make himself King of Syracuse. For he

had secretly practised with the Carthaginians, and openly notwithstanding, in words he commended the counsel and determination of the Syracusans, and sent ambassadors from himself also with theirs, unto Peloponnesus: not that he was desirous any aid should come from them to Syracuse, but because he hoped if the Corinthians refused to send them aid (as it was very likely they would, for the wars and troubles that were in Greece) that he might more easily turn all over to the Carthaginians and use them as his friends, to aid him against the Syracusans, or the tyrant Dionysius. And that this was his full purpose and intent, it appeared plainly soon after. Now when their ambassadors arrived at Corinth, and had delivered their message, the Corinthians, who had ever been careful to defend such cities as had sought unto them, and specially Syracuse: very willingly determined in counsel to send them aid, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, having wars with none of the Grecians. So their only stay rested upon choosing of a general to lead their army. Now as the magistrates and governors of the city were naming such citizens, as willingly offered their service, desirous to advance themselves: there stept up a mean commoner who named Timoleon, Timodemus' son, a man that until that time was never called on for service, neither looked for any such preferment. And truly it is to be thought it was the secret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this mean commoner to name Timoleon: whose election fortune favoured very much, and joined to his valiantness and vertue, marvellous good success in all his doings after

By what
voice
Timoleon
came
to be
general

Timoleon's
parentage
and
manners

wards. This Timoleon was born of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called Timodemus, and his mother Demareté. He was naturally inclined to love his country and commonweal: and was always gentle and courteous to all men, saving that he mortally hated tyrants and wicked men. Furthermore nature had framed his body apt for wars and for pains: he was wise in his greenest youth, in all things he took in hand, and in his age he shewed himself very valiant. He had an elder brother called Timophanes, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a rash harebrained man, and had a greedy desire to reign, being put into his head by a company of mean men, that bare him in hand they were his friends, and by certain soldiers gathered together which he had always about him. And because he was very hot and forward in wars, his citizens took him for a noble captain, and a man of good service, and therefore oftentimes they gave him charge of men. And therein Timoleon did help him much to hide the faults he committed, or at the least, made them seem less, and lighter than they were, still increasing that small good gift that nature brought forth in him. As in a battell the Corinthians had against the Argives and the Cleoneians, Timoleon served as a private soldier amongst the footmen: and Timophanes his brother, having charge of horsemen, was in great danger to be cast away, if present help had not been. For his horse being hurt, threw him on the ground in the midst of his enemies. Whereupon part of those that were about him, were afraid and dispersed themselves here and there: and those that remained with him, being

few in number, and having many enemies to fight withal, did hardly withstand their force and charge. But his brother Timoleon seeing him in such instant danger afar off, ran with all speed possible to help him, and clapping his target before his brother Timophanes, that lay on the ground, receiving many wounds on his body with sword and arrows, with great difficulty he repulsed the enemies, and saved his own and his brother's life. Now the Corinthians fearing the like matter to come that before had happened unto them, which was to lose their city through default of their friends' help: they resolved in counsel, to entertain in pay continually four hundred soldiers that were strangers, whom they assigned over to Timophanes' charge. Who, abandoning all honesty and regard of the trust reposed in him, did presently practise all the ways he could to make himself lord of the city: and having put divers of the chiefest citizens to death without order of law, in the end he openly proclaimed himself king. Timoleon being very sorry for this, and taking his brother's wickedness would be the very highway to his fall and destruction: sought first to win him with all the good words and persuasion he could, to move him to leave his ambitious desire to reign, and to salve (as near as might be) his hard dealing with the citizens. Timophanes set light by his brother's persuasions, and would give no ear unto them. Thereupon Timoleon then went unto one Æschylus his friend, and brother unto Timophanes' wife, and to one Satyrus a soothsayer (as Theopompus the historiographer calleth him, and Ephorus calleth him Orthagoras) with whom he came again another

Timophanes' usurpation of the kingdom

Timophanes slain by his brother's procurement

time unto his brother : and they three coming to him instantly besought him to believe good counsel, and to leave the kingdom. Timophanes at the first did but laugh them to scorn, and sported at their persuasions : but afterwards he waxed hot, and grew into great choler with them. Timoleon seeing that, went a little aside, and covering his face fell a-weeping : and in the mean season, the other two drawing out their swords, slew Timophanes in the place. This murder was straight blown abroad through the city, and the better sort did greatly commend the noble mind and hate Timoleon bare against the tyrant : considering that he being of a gentle nature, and loving to his kin, did notwithstanding regard the benefit of his country, before the natural affection of his brother, and preferred duty and justice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had saved his brother's life, fighting for the defence of his country : and now in seeking to make himself king and to rule the same, he made him to be slain. Such then as misliked popular government and liberty, and always followed the nobility : they set a good face on the matter, as though they had bin glad of the tyrant's death. Yet still reproving Timoleon for the horrible murder he had committed against his brother, declaring how detestable it was both to the gods and men : they so handled him, that it grieved him to the heart he had done it. But when it was told him that his mother took it marvellous evil, and that she pronounced horrible curses against him, and gave out terrible words of him, he went unto her in hope to comfort her : howbeit she could never abide to see him, but

always shut her door against him. Then he being wounded to the heart with sorrow, took a conceit suddenly, to kill himself by abstaining from meat: but his friends would never forsake him in this despair, and urged him so far by entreaty and persuasion that they compelled him to eat. Thereupon he resolved thenceforth to give himself over to a solitary life in the country, secluding himself from all company and dealings: so as at the beginning, he did not only refuse to repair unto the city, and all access of company, but wandering up and down in most solitary places, consumed himself and his time with melancholy. And thus we see, that counsels and judgements are lightly carried away (by praise or dispraise) if they be not shored up with rule of reason, and philosophy, and rest confounded in themselves. And therefore it is very requisite and necessary, that not only the act be good and honest of itself, but that the resolution thereof be also constant, and not subject unto change: to the end we may do all things considerately. Lest we be like unto lickerous-mouthed men, who as they desire meats with a greedy appetite, and after are soon weary, disliking the same: even so we do suddenly repent our actions grounded upon a weak imagination, of the honesty that moved us thereunto. For repentance maketh the act which before was good, nought. But determination, grounded upon certain knowledge and truth of reason, doth never change, although the matter enterprised, have not always happy success. And therefore Phocion the Athenian having resisted (as much as in him lay) certain things which the general Leosthenes did, and which contrary to his mind took good

**Our acts
must be
honest
and con-
stant**

Timoleon
chosen
general to
go into
Sicily

effect: and perceiving the Athenians did open sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks for the same, and much rejoice at the victory they had obtained. I would have rejoiced too (said he) if I had done this: but so would I not for anything, but I had given the counsel. And after that sort, but more sharply did Aristides Locrian (a very friend and companion of Plato's) answer Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse: who asked his goodwill to marry one of his daughters. I had rather see my daughter dead (said he) than married unto a tyrant. And within a certain time after, the tyrant put all his sons to death: and then he asked him in derision, to grieve him the more, if he were still of his former opinion for the marrying of his daughter. I am very sorry (said he), with all my heart for that which thou hast done: but yet I do not repent me of that I have said. That peradventure proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to return again unto Timoleon. Whether that inward sorrow struck him to the heart for the death of his brother Timophanes, or that shame did so abash him, as he durst not abide his mother, twenty years after, he never did any notable or famous act. And therefore, when he was named to be general of the aid that should be sent into Sicily, the people having willingly chosen and accepted of him: Teleclides, who was chief governor at that time in the city of Corinth, standing upon his feet before the people, spake unto Timoleon, and did exhort him to behave himself like an honest man, and valiant captain in his charge. For, said he, if that you handle your self well, we will think you have killed a tyrant: but if you do

order your self otherwise than well, we will judge you have killed your brother. Now Timoleon being busy in levying of men, and preparing himself: letters came to the Corinthians from Hicetes, whereby plainly appeared, that Hicetes had carried two faces in one hood, and that he was become a traitor. For he had no sooner despatched his ambassadors unto them, but he straight took the Carthaginians' part, and dealt openly for them, intending to drive out Dionysius, and to make himself King of Syracuse. But fearing lest the Corinthians would send aid before he had wrought his feat: he wrote again unto the Corinthians, sending them word, that they should not need now to put themselves to any charge or danger for coming into Sicily, and specially, because the Carthaginians were very angry, and did also lie in wait in the way as they should come, with a great fleet of ships to meet with their army: and that for himself, because he saw they tarried long, he had made league and amity with them, against the tyrant Dionysius. When they had read his letters, if any of the Corinthians were before but coldly affected to this journey, choler did then so warm them against Hicetes, that they frankly granted Timoleon what he would ask, and did help to furnish him to set him out. When the ships were ready rigged, and that the soldiers were furnished of all things necessary for their departure, the nuns of the goddess Proserpina, said they saw a vision in their dream, and that the goddesses Ceres and Proserpina did appear unto them, appavelled like travellers to take a journey: and told them that they would go with Timoleon into Sicily. Upon this speech

Hicetes a
traitor

A wonderful
sign that
befel

only, the Corinthians rigged a galley, they called the galley of Ceres and Proserpina: and Timoleon himself before he would take the seas, went into the city of Delphes, where he made sacrifice unto Apollo. And as he entred within the sanctuary where the answers of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderful sign unto him. For amongst the vows and offerings that are hung up upon the walls of the sanctuary, there fell a band directly upon Timoleon's head, embroidered all about with crowns of victory: so that it seemed Apollo sent him already crowned, before he had set out one foot towards the journey. He took ship, and sailed with seven galleys of Corinth, two of Corfu, and ten the Leucadians did set out. When he was launched out in the main sea, having a frank gale of wind and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the same there came a marvellous great bright light over his ship, and it was much like to a torch burning, when they shew the ceremonies of the holy mysteries. This torch did accompany and guide them all their voyage, and in the end it vanished away and seemed to fall down upon the coast of Italy, where the shipmasters had determined to arrive. The wise men's opinions being asked what this might signify: they answered. That this wonderful sight did betoken the dream, the nuns of the goddess Ceres dreamed, and that the goddesses favouring this journey, had shewed them the way, by sending of this light from heaven: because that the isle of Sicily is consecrated unto the goddess Proserpina, and specially for that they report her ravishment was in that isle, and that the whole realm was

assigned unto her for her jointer, at the day of her marriage. Thus did the celestial sign of the gods both encourage those that went this journey and deliver them also assured hope, who sailed with all possible speed they could: until such time, as having crossed the seas, they arrived upon the coast of Italy. But when they came thither, the news they understood from Sicily put Timoleon in great perplexity, and did marvellously discourage the soldiers he brought with him, for Hicetes having overthrown the battell of the tyrant Dionysius, and possessed the greatest part of the city of Syracuse: he did besiege him within the castle, and within that part of the city which is called the Isle, where he had pent him up, and enclosed him in with walls round about. And in the meantime he had prayed the Carthaginians, that they would be careful to keep Timoleon from landing in Sicily, to the end that by preventing that aid, they might easily divide Sicily between them, and no man to let them. The Carthaginians following his request, sent twenty of their galleys unto Rhegium, amongst which Hicetes' ambassadors were sent unto Timoleon, with testimony of his doings: for they were fair flattering words to cloak his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed Timoleon that he should go himself alone (if he thought good) unto Icetes, to counsel him, and to accompany him in all his doings, which were now so far onwards in good towardness, as he had almost ended them all. Furthermore, they also did persuade him, that he should send back his ships and soldiers to Corinth again, considering that the war was now brought to good pass, and that the Carthaginians would in no

Hicetes
besiegeth
Dionysius

Timoleon
craftier
than the
Cartha-
ginians

case that his men should pass into Sicily, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the Corinthians at their arrival into the city of Rhegium, finding there these ambassadors, and seeing the fleet of the Carthaginians' ships, which did ride at anchor not far off from them: it spited them on the one side to see they were thus mocked and abused by Hicetes. For every one of them were marvellous angry with him, and were greatly afraid also for the poor Sicilians, whom too plainly they saw left a prey unto Hicetes for reward of his treason, and to the Carthaginians for recompense of the tyranny, which they suffered him to establish. So, on the other side they thought it impossible to conquer the ships of the Carthaginians, which did lie in wait for them, and so near unto them: considering they were twice as many in number as they, and hard for them to subdue the army also that was in the hands of Hicetes in Sicily, considering that they were not come to him, but only for the maintenance of the wars. Notwithstanding, Timoleon spake very courteously unto those ambassadors, and captains of the Carthaginians' ships, letting them understand that he would do as much as they would have him: and to say truly, if he would have done otherwise, he could have won nothing by it. Nevertheless he desired for his discharge, they would say that openly, in the presence of the people of Rhegium, (being a city of Greece, friend and common to both parties) which they had spoken to him in secret: and that done he would depart incontinently, alleging that it stood him very much upon for the safety of his discharge, and that they themselves also should more

faithfully keep that they had promised unto him touching the Syracusans, when they had agreed upon it and promised it before all the people of Rhegium, who should be witness of it. Now all this was but a fetch and policy delivered by him, to shadow his departure, which the captains and governors of Rhegium did favour, and seem to help him in: because they wished Sicily should fall into the hands of the Corinthians, and feared much to have the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cause they commanded a general assembly of all the people, during which time, they caused the gates of the city to be shut: giving it out, that it was because the citizens should not go about any other matters in the meantime. Then when all the people were assembled, they began to make long orations without concluding any matter: the one leaving always to the other a like matter to talk of, to the end they might win time, until the galleys of the Corinthians were departed. And staying the Carthaginians also in this assembly they mistrusted nothing, because they saw Timoleon present: who made a countenance, as though he would rise to say something. But in the meantime, some one did secretly advertise Timoleon, that the other galleys were under sail, and gone away, and that there was but one galley left, which tarried for him in the haven. Thereupon he suddenly stole away through the prease, with the help of the Rhegians, being about the chair where the orations were made: and trudging quickly to the haven, he embarked incontinently, and hoised sail also. And when he had overtaken his fleet, they went all safe together to land at the city of Tauromenion, which is in Sicily:

**He
landeth at
Tauromenion**

The
Cartha-
ginians'
threat

there they were very well received by Andromachus, who long time before had sent for them, for he governed this city as if he had bin lord thereof. He was the father of Timæus the historiographer, the honestest man of all those that did bear rule at that time in all Sicily. For he did rule his citizens in all justice and equity, and did always shew himself an open enemy of tyrants. And following his affection therein, he lent his city at that time unto Timoleon, to gather people together, and persuaded his citizens to enter into league with the Corinthians, and to aid them, to deliver Sicily from bondage, and to restore it again to liberty. But the captains of the Carthaginians, that were at Rhegium, when they knew that Timoleon was under sail and gone, after that the assembly of the Council was broken up: they were ready to eat their fingers for spite to see themselves thus finely mocked and deceived. The Rhegians on the other side, were merry at the matter, to see how the Phœnicians stormed at it, that they had such a fine part played them. Howbeit in the end, they determined to send an ambassador unto Tauromenion, in one of their galleys. This ambassador spake very boldly and barbarously unto Andromachus, and in a choler: and last of all, he shewed him first the palm of his hand, then the back of his hand, and did threaten him that his city should be so turned over hand, if he did not quickly send away the Corinthians. Andromachus fell a-laughing at him, and did turn his hand up and down as the ambassador had done, and commanded him that he should get him going, and that with all speed out of his city, if he would not see the keel of his galley turned upward. Hicetes

now understanding of Timoleon's coming, and being afraid, sent for a great number of galleys unto the Carthaginians. Then the Syracusans began to despair utterly when they saw their haven full of the Carthaginians' galleys, the best part of their city kept by Hicetes, and the castle by the tyrant Dionysius. And on the other side, that Timoleon was not yet come but to a little corner of Sicily, having no more but the little city of Tauromenion, with a small power, and less hope: because there was not above a thousand footmen in all, to furnish these wars, neither provision of victuals, nor so much money as would serve to entertain and pay them. Besides also, that the other cities of Sicily did nothing trust him. But by reason of the violent extortions which they had of late suffered, they hated all captains and leaders of men of war to the death, and specially for the treachery of Callippus and Pharax, whereof the one was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedæmonian. Both of them said they came to set Sicily at liberty, and to drive out the tyrants: and yet nevertheless, they had done so much hurt unto the poor Sicilians, that the misery and calamity which they had suffered under the tyrants, seemed all to be gold unto them, in respect of that which these captains had made them to abide. And they did think them more happy, that had willingly submitted themselves unto the yoke of servitude: than those which they saw restored, and set at liberty. Therefore persuading themselves, that this Corinthian would be no better unto them, than the other had been before, but supposing they were the self same former crafts, and alluring baits of good hope and fair words, which they had tasted

The woes
of the
poor
Sicilians

Timoleon of before, to draw them to accept new tyrants: they **over-** did sore suspect it, and rejected all the Corinthians' **threw** persuasions. Saving the Adranitans only, whose **Hicetes'** little city being consecrated to the god Adranus **army** (and greatly honoured and revered through all Sicily) was then in dissension one against another: in so much as one part of them took part with Hicetes, and the Carthaginians, and the other sent unto Timoleon. So it fortun'd that both the one and the other, making all the possible speed they could, who should come first: arriv'd both in manner at one self time. Hicetes had about five thousand soldiers. Timoleon had not in all, above one thousand two hundred men, with which he departed to go towards the city of Adranus distant from Tauromenion about three hundred and forty furlongs. For the first day's journey he went no great way, but lodg'd betimes: but the next morning he march'd very hastily, and had marvellous ill way. When night was come, and daylight shut in, he had news that Hicetes did but newly arrive before Adranus, where he encamp'd. When the private captains understood this, they caus'd the vaward to stay, to eat and repose a little, that they might be the lustier, and the stronger to fight. But Timoleon did set still forwards, and pray'd them not to stay, but to go on with all the speed they could possible, that they might take their enemies out of order (as it was likely they should) being but newly arriv'd, and troubled with making their cabbons, and preparing for supper. Therewithal as he spake these words, he took his target on his arm, and march'd himself the foremost man, as bravely and courageously as if he had gone to a most assur'd victory. The

soldiers seeing him march with that life, they followed at his heels with like courage. So they had not passing thirty furlongs to go, which when they had overcome, they straight set upon their enemies, whom they found all out of order, and began to fly, so soon as they saw they were upon their backs before they were aware. By this means there were not above three hundred men slain, and twice as many more taken prisoners, and so their whole camp was possessed. Then the Adranitans opening their gates, yielded unto Timoleon, declaring unto him with great fear, and no less wonder, how at the very time when he gave charge upon the enemies, the doors of the temple of their god opened of themselves, and that the javelin which the image of their god did hold in his hand, did shake at the very end where the iron head was, and how all his face was seen to sweat. This (in my opinion) did not only signify the victory he had gotten at that time, but all the notable exploits he did afterwards, unto the which, this first encounter gave a happy beginning. For immediately after, many cities sent unto Timoleon, to join in league with him. And Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, a soldier, and very full of money, did also seek his friendship. Furthermore Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, being weary to follow hope any longer, and finding himself in manner forced unto it by long continuance of siege: made no more reckoning of Hicetes, when he knew that he was so shamefully overthrown. And contrariwise, much esteeming Timoleon's valiantness, he sent to advertise him, that he was contented to yield himself and the castell into the hands of the

and made
him fly
from
Adranus

Dionysius
yieldeth
himself
and the
castell

Corinthians. Timoleon being glad of this good hap unlooked for, sent Euclides and Telemachus, two captains of the Corinthians, to take possession of the castle, with four hundred men, not all at a time, nor openly (for it was impossible, the enemies lying in wait in the haven) but by small companies, and by stealth, he conveyed them all into the castle. So the soldiers possessed the castell, and the tyrant's palace, with all the movables and munition of wars within the same. There were a great number of horse of service, great store of staves and weapons offensive of all sorts, and engines of battery to shoot far off, and sundry other weapons of defence, that had been gathered together of long time, to arm threescore and ten thousand men. Moreover, besides all this, there were two thousand soldiers, whom with all the other things rehearsed, Dionysius delivered up into the hands of Timoleon: and he himself, with his money and a few of his friends, went his way by sea, Hicetes not knowing it, and so came to Timoleon's camp. This was the first time that ever they saw Dionysius a private man, in base and mean estate. And yet within few days after, Timoleon sent him from thence unto Corinth in a ship, with little store of money. Who was born and brought up in the greatest and most famous tyranny, and kingdom, conquered by force, that ever was in the world: and which himself had kept by the space of ten years after the death of his father. Since Dion drove him out, he had been marvellously turmoiled in wars, by the space of twelve years: in which time, although he had done much mischief, yet he had suffred also a great deal more. For he saw

the death of his sons when they were men grown, and able to serve and carry armour. He saw his daughters ravished by force, and deflowered of their virginity. He saw his own sister (who was also his wife) first of all shamed, and cruelly handled in her person, with the greatest villainies and most vile parts done unto her, that his enemies could devise: and afterwards horribly murdered with his children, and their bodies in the end thrown into the sea, as we have more amply declared in the life of Dion. Now when Dionysius was arrived in the city of Corinth, every Grecian was wonderful desirous to go see him, and to talk with him. And some went thither very glad of his overthrow, as if they had trodden him down with their feet, whom fortune had overthrown, so bitterly did they hate him. Other pitying him in their hearts, to see so great a change, did behold him as it were with a certain compassion, considering what great power, secret and divine causes have over men's weakness and frailty, and those things that daily passeth over our heads. For the world then, did never bring forth any work of nature or of man's hand, so wonderful as was this of fortune. Who made the world see a man, that before was in manner lord and king of all Sicily, sit then commonly in the city of Corinth, talking with a victualler, or sitting a whole day in a perfumer's shop, or commonly drinking in some cellar or tavern, or to brawl and scold in the midst of the streets, with common whores in face of the world, or else to teach common minstrels in every lane and alley, and to dispute with them with the best reason he had, about the harmony and music

The
miseries
and
calamities
of Dionysius the
tyrant

**Notable
sayings of
Dionysius**

of the songs they sang in the theatres. Now some say he did this, because he knew not else how he should drive the time away, for that indeed he was of a base mind, and an effeminate person, given over to all dishonest lusts and desires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the less regarded, for fear lest the Corinthians should have him in jealousy and suspicion, imagining that he did take the change and state of his life in grievous part, and that he should yet look back, hoping for a time to recover his state again: and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose feigned many things against his nature, seeming to be a stark idiot, to see him do those things he did. Some notwithstanding have gathered together certain of his answers, which do testify that he did not all these things of a base brutish mind, but to fit himself only to his present misery and misfortune. For when he came to Leucas, an ancient city built by the Corinthians, as was also the city of Syracuse: he told the inhabitants of the same, that he was like to young boys that had done a fault. For as they fly from their fathers being ashamed to come to their sight, and are gladder to be with their brethren: even so is it with me, said he: for it would please me better to dwell here with you, than to go to Corinth our head city. Another time, being at Corinth, a stranger was very busy with him, (knowing how familiar Dionysius was with learned men and philosophers, while he reigned in Syracuse) and asked him in the end in derision: what benefit he got by Plato's wisdom and knowledge? he answered him again: How thinkest thou, hath it done me no good, when thou seest me

bear so patiently this change of fortune? Aristoxenus a musician, and other, asking him what offence Plato had done unto him: he answered. That tyrants' state is ever unfortunate, and subject to many evils: but yet no evil in their state was comparable to this: That none of all those they take to be their most familiars, dare once tell them truly anything; and that through their fault, he left Plato's company. Another time there cometh a pleasant fellow to him, and thinking to mock him finely, as he entered into his chamber, he shook his gown, as the manner is when they come to tyrants, to shew that they have no weapons under their gowns. But Dionysius encountred him as pleasantly, saying to him: Do that when thou goest hence, to see if thou hast stolen nothing. And again, Philip King of Macedon, at his table one day descending into talk of songs, verse, and tragedies, which Dionysius his father had made, making as though he wondred at them, how possibly he could have leisure to do them: he answered him very trimly, and to good purpose. He did them even at such times (quoth he) as you and I, and other great lords whom they reckon happy, are disposed to be drunk, and play the fools. Now for Plato he never saw Dionysius at Corinth. But Diogenes Sinopian, the first time that ever he met with Dionysius, said unto him. Oh, how unworthy art thou of this state! Dionysius stayed sodainly, and replied: Truly I thank thee (Diogenes) that thou hast compassion of my misery. Why said Diogenes again: Dost thou think I pity thee? Nay it spiteth me rather to see such a slave as thou (worthy to die in the wicked state of a tyrant like thy father)

**Diogenes'
saying to
Dionysius**

**Timo-
leon's
prosperity**

to live in such security, and idle life, as thou ledest amongst us. When I came to compare these words of Diogenes, with Philistus' words the historiographer, bewailing the hard fortune of the daughters of Leptines, saying that they were brought from the top of all worldly felicity, honour, and goods, (whereof tyrannical state aboundeth) unto a base, private, and humble life: me thinks they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that sorroweth for the loss of her boxes of painting colours, or for her purple gowns, or for other such pretty fine trims of gold, as women use to wear. So, me thinks these things I have intermingled concerning Dionysius, are not impertinent to the description of our lives, neither are they troublesome nor unprofitable to the hearers, unless they have other hasty business to let or trouble them. But now if the tyrant Dionysius' wretched state seem strange, Timoleon's prosperity then was no less wonderful. For within fifty days after he had set foot in Sicily, he had the castle of Syracuse in his possession, and sent Dionysius as an exile to Corinth. This did set the Corinthians in such a jollity, that they sent him a supply of two thousand footmen, and two hundred horsemen, which were appointed to land in Italy, in the country of the Thurians. And perceiving that they could not possibly go from thence into Sicily, because the Carthaginians kept the seas with a great navy of ships, and that thereby they were compelled to stay for better opportunity: in the mean time they bestowed their leisure in doing a notable good act. For the Thurians, being in wars at that time with the Bruttians, they did put their city into their hands,

which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had been their own native country. Hicetes all this while did besiege the castle of Syracuse, preventing all he could possible, that there should come no corn by sea unto the Corinthians that kept within the castell: and he had hired two strange soldiers, which he sent unto the city of Adranus, to kill Timoleon by treason, who kept no guard about his person, and continued amongst the Adranitans, mistrusting nothing in the world, for the trust and confidence he had in the safeguard of the god of the Adranitans. These soldiers being sent to do this murder, were by chance informed that Timoleon should one day do sacrifice unto this god. So upon this, they came into the temple, having daggers under their gowns, and by little and little thrust in through the prease, that they got at the length hard to the altar. But at the present time as one encouraged another to despatch the matter, a third person they thought not of, gave one of the two a great cut in the head with his sword, that he fell to the ground. The man that had hurt him thus, fled straight upon it, with his sword drawn in his hand, and recovered the top of a high rock. The other soldier that came with him, and that was not hurt, got hold of a corner of the altar, and besought pardon of Timoleon, and told him he would discover the treason practised against him. Timoleon thereupon pardoned him. Then he told him how his companion that was slain, and himself, were both hired, and sent to kill him. In the meantime, they brought him also that had taken the rock, who cried out aloud, he had done no more than he should do: for he

**Hicetes
hired two
soldiers
to kill
Timoleon**

The
treason
dis-
covered

had killed him that had slain his own father before, in the city of the Leontines. And to justify this to be true, certain that stood by did affirm, it was so indeed. Whereat they wondred greatly to consider the marvellous working of fortune, how she doth bring one thing to pass by means of another, and gathereth all things together, how far asunder soever they be, and linketh them together, though they seem to be clean contrary one to another, with no manner of likeness or conjunction between them, making the end of the one, to be the beginning of another. The Corinthians examining this matter throughly, gave him that slew the soldier with his sword, a crown of the value of ten minas, because that by means of his just anger, he had done good service to the God that had preserved Timoleon. And furthermore, this good hap did not only serve the present turn, but was to good purpose ever after. For those that saw it, were put in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard unto Timoleon's person, because he was a holy man, one that loved the gods, and that was purposely sent to deliver Sicily from captivity. But Icetes having missed his first purpose, and seeing numbers daily drawn to Timoleon's devotion: he was mad with himself, that having so great an army of the Carthaginians at hand at his commandment, he took but a few of them to serve his turn, as if he had been ashamed of his fact, and had used their friendship by stealth. So he sent hereupon for Mago their general, with all his fleet. Mago at his request brought an huge army to see too, of a hundred and fifty sail, which occupied and covered all the haven: and afterwards landed

threescore thousand men, whom he lodged every man within the city of Syracuse. Then every man imagined the time was now come, which old men had threatned Sicily with many years before, and that continually: that one day it should be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the wars the Carthaginians ever had before in the country of Sicily, they could never come to take the city of Syracuse: and then through Hicetes' treason, who had received them, they were seen encamped there. On the other side, the Corinthians that were within the castle, found themselves in great distress, because their victuals waxed scant, and the haven was so straitly kept. Moreover, they were driven to be armed continually to defend the walls, which the enemies battered, and assaulted in sundry places, with all kinds of engines of battery, and sundry sorts of devised instruments and inventions to take cities: by reason whereof, they were compelled also to divide themselves into many companies. Nevertheless, Timoleon without, gave them all the aid he could possible: sending them corn from Catana, in little fisher-boats and small crayers, which got into the castle many times, but specially in stormy and foul weather, passing by the galleys of the barbarous people, that lay scatteringly one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billows of the sea. But Mago and Hicetes finding this, determined to go take the city of Catana, from whence those of the castle of Syracuse were victualled: and taking with them the best soldiers of all their army, they departed from Syracuse, and sailed towards Catana. Now in the mean space, Leon Corinthian, captain of all

Mago with a great army comes to Syracuse

Leon
captain of
the Corinthians
wan
Acradina

those that were within the castell, perceiving the enemies within the city kept but slender ward: made a sudden sally out upon them, and taking them unwares, slew a great number at the first charge, and drave away the other. So by this occasion he won a quarter of the city, which they call Acradina, and was the best part of the city, that had received least hurt. For the city of Syracuse seemeth to be built of many towns joined together. So having found there great plenty of corn, gold, and silver, he would not forsake that quarter no more, nor return again into the castle: but fortifying with all diligence the compass and precinct of the same, and joining it unto the castle with certain fortifications he built up in haste, he determined to keep both the one and the other. Now were Mago and Hicetes very near unto Catana, when a post overtook them, purposely sent from Syracuse unto them: who brought them news, that the Acradina was taken. Whereat they both wondered, and returned back again with all speed possible (having failed of their purpose they pretended) to keep that they had yet left in their hands. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute it unto wisdom and valiancy, or unto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be ascribed unto fortune. And this it is. The two thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen of the Corinthians, that remained in the city of the Thurians, partly for fear of the galleys of the Carthaginians that lay in wait for them as they should pass, Hanno being their admiral: and partly also for that the sea was very rough and high

many days together, and was always in storm and tempest: in the end, they ventured to go through the country of the Bruttians. And partly with their good-will (but rather by force) they got through, and recovered the city of Rhegium, the sea being yet marvellous high and rough. Hanno the admiral of the Carthaginians, looking no more than for their passage, thought with himself that he had devised a marvellous fine policy, to deceive the enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumph upon their heads, and therewithal also made them dress up, and set forth his galleys, with targets, corselets, and brigantines after the Grecians' fashion. So in this bravery he returned back again, sailing towards Syracuse, and came in with force of owers, rowing under the castle's side of Syracusa, with great laughing, and clapping of hands: crying out aloud to them that were in the castle, that he had overthrown their aid which came from Corinth, as they thought to pass by the coast of Italy into Sicily, flattering themselves, that this did much discourage those that were besieged. But whilst he sported thus with his fond device, the two thousand Corinthians being arrived through the country of the Bruttians in the city of Rhegium, perceiving the coast clear, and that the passage by sea was not kept, and that the raging seas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpose calm for them: they took sea forthwith in such fisher boats and passengers as they found ready, in the which they went into Sicily, in such good safety, as they drew their horse (holding them by the reins) amongst their boats with them. When they were all passed over, Timoleon

**The
strata-
gem of
Hanno**

The
Grecian
mercen-
aries talk
together

having received them, went immediately to take Messina, and marching thence in battel ray, took his way towards Syracuse, trusting better to his good fortune, than to his force he had: for his whole number in all, were not above four thousand fighting men. Notwithstanding Mago hearing of his coming, quaked for fear, and doubted the more upon this occasion. About Syracuse are certain marishes, that receive great quantity of sweet fresh water, as well of fountains and springs, as also of little running brooks, lakes and rivers, which run that ways towards the sea: and therefore there are great store of eels in that place, and the fishing is great there at all times, but specially for such as delight to take eels. Whereupon the Grecians that took pay on both sides, when they had leisure, and that all was quiet between them, they intended fishing. Now, they being all countrymen, and of one language, had no private quarrel one with another: but when time was to fight, they did their duties, and in time of peace also frequented familiarly together, and one spake with another, and specially when they were busy fishing for eels: saying, that they marvelled at the situation of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they stood so pleasantly and commodious upon the sea-side. So one of the soldiers that served under the Corinthians, chanced to say unto them. Is it possible that you that be Grecians born, and have so goodly a city of your own, and full of so many goodly commodities: that ye will give it up unto these barbarous people, the Carthaginians, and most cruel murderers of the world? where you should rather wish that there were many Sicilies betwixt them and Greece.

Have ye so little consideration or judgement to think, that they have assembled an army out of all Africk, unto Hercules' pillars, and to the sea Atlantic, to come hither to fight to stablish Hicetes' tyranny? who, if he had been a wise and skilful captain, would not have cast out his ancestors and founders, to bring into his country the ancient enemies of the same: but might have received such honour and authority of the Corinthians and Timoleon, as he could reasonably have desired, and that with all their favour and good-will. The soldiers that heard this tale, reported it again in their camp: insomuch they made Mago suspect there was treason in hand, and so sought some colour to be gone. But hereupon, notwithstanding that Hicetes prayed him all he could to tarry, declaring unto him how much they were stronger than their enemies, and that Timoleon did rather prevail by his hardiness and good fortune, than exceed him in number of men: yet he hoised sail, and returned with shame enough into Africk, letting slip the conquest of all Sicily out of his hands, without any sight of reason or cause at all. The next day after he was gone, Timoleon presented battell before the city, when the Grecians and he understood that the Carthaginians were fled, and that they saw the haven rid of all the ships: and then began to jest at Mago's cowardliness, and in derision proclaimed in the city, that they would give him a good reward that could bring them news, whither the army of the Carthaginians were fled. But for all this, Hicetes was bent to fight, and would not leave the spoil he had gotten, but defend the quarters of the city he had possessed, at the sword's point, trusting to the

**Mago
forsaketh
Sicily
upon
suspect of
treason**

Timoleon
winneth
the city of
Syracusa

strength and situation of the places, which were hardly to be approached. Timoleon perceiving that, divided his army, and he with one part thereof did set upon that side which was the hardest to approach, and did stand upon the river of Anapus: then he appointed another part of his army to assault all at one time, the side of Acradina, whereof Isias Corinthian had the leading. The third part of his army that came last from Corinth, which Dinarchus and Demaretus led: he appointed to assault the quarter called Epipolæ. Thus, assault being given on all sides at one time, Hicetes' bands of men were broken, and ran their way. Now that the city was thus won by assault, and come so suddenly to the hands of Timoleon, and the enemies being fled: it is good reason we ascribe it to the valiantness of the soldiers, and the captain's great wisdom. But where there was not one Corinthian slain, nor hurt in this assault: sure methinks herein, it was only the work and deed of fortune, that did favour and protect Timoleon, to contend against his valiantness. To the end that those which should hereafter hear of his doings, should have more occasion to wonder at his good hap, than to praise and commend his valiantness. For the fame of this great exploit, did in few days not only run through all Italy, but also through all Greece. Insomuch as the Corinthians, (who could scant believe their men were passed with safety into Sicily) understood withal that they were safely arrived there, and had gotten the victory of their enemies: so prosperous was their journey, and fortune so speedily did favour his noble acts. Timoleon having now the castell of Syracuse in his hands, did not follow Dion. For he spared

not the castle for the beauty and stately building thereof: but avoiding the suspicion that caused Dion first to be accused, and lastly to be slain, he caused it to be proclaimed by trumpet, that any Syracusan whatsoever, should come with crows of iron and mattocks, to help to dig down and overthrow the fort of the tyrants. There was not a man in all the city of Syracuse, but went thither straight, and thought that proclamation and day to be a most happy beginning of the recovery of their liberty. So they did not only overthrow the castle, but the palace also, and the tombs: and generally all that served in any respect for the memory of any of the tyrants. And having cleared the place in few days, and made all plain, Timoleon at the suit of the citizens, made council-halls, and places of justice to be built there: and did by this means stablish a free state and popular government, and did suppress all tyrannical power. Now, when he saw he had won a city that had no inhabitants, which wars before had consumed, and fear of tyranny had emptied, so as grass grew so high and rank in the great market-place of Syracuse, as they grazed their horses there, and the horsekeepers lay down by them on the grass as they fed: and that all the cities, a few excepted, were full of red deer and wild boars, so that men given to delight in hunting, having leisure, might find game many times within the suburbs and town ditches, hard by the walls: and that such as dwelt in castles and strongholds in the country, would not leave them to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all grown so stout, and did so hate and detest assemblies of council, orations, and order of government, where so many tyrants had reigned.

**He over-
throweth
the castell**

The Corinthians replenished the city of Syracuse

Timoleon thereupon seeing this desolation, and also so few Syracusans born that had escaped, thought good, and all his captains, to write to the Corinthians, to send people out of Greece to inhabit the city of Syracuse again. For otherwise the country would grow barren and unprofitable, if the ground were not plowed. Besides, that they looked also for great wars out of Africk : being advertised that the Carthaginians had hung up the body of Mago their general upon a cross (who had slain himself for that he could not answer the dishonour laid to his charge) and that they did levy another great mighty army, to return again the next year following, to make wars in Sicily. These letters of Timoleon being brought unto Corinth, and the ambassadors of Syracuse being arrived with them also, who besought the people to take care and protection over their poor city, and that they would once again be founders of the same: the Corinthians did not greedily desire to be lords of so goodly and great a city, but first proclaimed by the trumpet in all the assemblies, solemn feasts, and common plays of Greece, that the Corinthians having destroyed the tyranny that was in the city of Syracuse, and driven out the tyrants, did call the Syracusans that were fugitives out of their country, home again, and all other Sicilians that liked to come and dwell there, to enjoy all freedom and liberty, with promise to make just and equal division of the lands among them, the one to have as much as the other. Moreover they sent out posts and messengers into Asia, and into all the islands where they understood the banished Syracusans remained: to persuade and entreat them to come to Corinth, and that the

Corinthians would give them ships, captains, and means to conduct them safely unto Syracuse, at their own proper costs and charges. In recompense whereof, the city of Corinth received every man's most noble praise and blessing, as well for delivering Sicily in that sort from the bondage of tyrants : as also for keeping it out of the hands of the barbarous people, and restored the natural Syracusans and Sicilians to their home and country again. Nevertheless, such Sicilians as repaired to Corinth upon this proclamation (themselves being but a small number to inhabit the country) besought the Corinthians to join to them some other inhabitants, as well of Corinth itself, as out of the rest of Greece : the which was performed. For they gathered together about ten thousand persons, whom they shipped, and sent to Syracuse. Where there were already a great number of other come unto Timoleon, as well out of Sicily itself, as out of all Italy besides : so that the whole number (as Athanis writeth) came to threescore thousand persons. Amongst them he divided the whole country, and sold them houses of the city, unto the value of a thousand talents. And because he would leave the old Syracusans able to recover their own, and make the poor people by this means to have money in common, to defray the common charge of the city, as also their expenses in time of wars : the statues or images were sold, and the people by most voices did condemn them. For they were solemnly indited, accused, and arraigned, as if they had been men alive to be condemned. And it is reported that the Syracusans did reserve the statue of Gelo, an ancient tyrant of their city, honouring his

with
three-
score
thousand
inhabit-
ants

Timoleon
sets other
cities at
liberty

memory because of a great victory he had won of the Carthaginians, near the city of Himera: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of every corner of the city, and to be sold. Thus began the city of Syracuse to replenish again, and by little and little to recover itself, many people coming thither from all parts to dwell there. Thereupon Timoleon thought to set all other cities at liberty also, and utterly to root out all the tyrants of Sicily, and to obtain his purpose, he went to make wars with them at their own doors. The first he went against was Hicetes, whom he compelled to forsake the league of the Carthaginians, and to promise also that he would raze all the fortresses he kept, and to live like a private man within the city of the Leontines. Leptines in like manner, that was tyrant of the city of Apollonia, and of many other little villages thereabouts: when he saw himself in danger to be taken by force, did yield himself. Whereupon Timoleon saved his life, and sent him unto Corinth: thinking it honourable for his country, that the other Grecians should see the tyrants of Sicily in their chief city of fame, living meanly and poorly like banished people. When he had brought this to pass, he returned forthwith to Syracuse about the stablishment of the common-weal, assisting Cephalus and Dionysius, two notable men sent from Corinth to reform the laws, and to help them to stablish the goodliest ordinances for their common-weal. And now in the meantime, because the soldiers had a mind to get something of their enemies, and to avoid idleness: he sent them out abroad to a country subject to the Carthaginians, under the charge of Dinarchus and Demaretus.

Where they made many little towns rebel against the barbarous people, and did not only live in all abundance of wealth, but they gathered money together also to maintain the wars. The Carthaginians on the other side, while they were busy about the matters, came down into Lilybæum, with an army of threescore and ten thousand men, two hundred galleys, and a thousand other ships and vessels that carried engines of battery, carts, victuals, munition, and other necessary provision for a camp, intending to make sporting wars no more, but at once to drive all the Grecians again quite out of Sicily. For indeed it was an able army to overcome all the Sicilians, if they had been whole of themselves, and not divided. Now they being advertised that the Sicilians had invaded their country, they went towards them in great fury led by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, generals of the army. This news was straight brought to Syracuse, and the inhabitants were so stricken with fear of the report of their army : that being a marvellous great number of them within the city, scant three thousand of them had the hearts to arm themselves, and to go to the field with Timoleon. Now the strangers that took pay, were not above four thousand in all : and of them, a thousand of their hearts failed, and left him in midway, and returned home again. Saying, that Timoleon was out of his wits, and more rash than his years required, to undertake with five thousand footmen, and a thousand horse, to go against threescore and ten thousand men : and besides, to carry that small force he had to defend himself withal, eight great days' journey from Syracuse. So that if it chanced

The army
and ships
of the
Cartha-
ginians

The omen of smallage they were compelled to fly, they had no place whither they might retire themselves unto with safety, nor man that would take care to bury them, when they were slain. Nevertheless, Timoleon was glad he had that proof of them before he came to battell. Moreover, having encouraged those that remained with him, he made them march with speed towards the river of Crimesus, where he understood he should meet with the Carthaginians. So getting up upon a little hill, from whence he might see the camp of the enemies on the other side : by chance certain moyles fell upon his army, laden with smallage. The soldiers took a conceit at the first upon sight of it, and thought it was a token of ill luck : because it is a manner we use, to hang garlands of this herb, about the tombs of the dead. Hereof came the common proverb they use to speak, when one lieth a-passing in his bed : He lacketh but smallage. As much to say, he is but a dead man. But Timoleon to draw them from this foolish superstition and discourage they took, stayed the army. And when he had used certain persuasions unto them, according to the time, his leisure, and occasion : he told them that the garland of it self came to offer them victory beforehand. For, said he, the Corinthians do crown them that win the Isthmian games (which are celebrated in their country) with garlands of smallage. And at that time also even in the solemn Isthmian games, they used the garland of smallage for reward and token of victory : and at this present it is also used in the games of Nemea. And it is but lately taken up, that they have used branches of pine-apple trees in the Isthmian games. Now Timoleon had thus

encouraged his men, as you have heard before : he first of all took of this smallage, and made himself a garland, and put it on his head. When they saw that, the captains and all the soldiers also took of the same, and made themselves the like. The soothsayers in like manner at the very same time, perceived two eagles flying towards them : the one of them holding a snake in her talons, which she pierced through and through, and the other as she flew, gave a terrible cry. So they shewed them both unto the soldiers, who did then all together with one voice call upon the gods for help. Now this fortun'd about the beginning of the summer, and towards the latter end of May, the sun drawing towards the solstice of the summer : when there rose a great mist out of the river, that covered all the fields over, so as they could not see the enemy's camp, but only heard a marvellous confused noise of men's voices, as it had come from a great army, and rising up to the top of the hill, they laid their targets down on the ground to take a little breath : and the sun having drawn and sucked up all the moist vapours of the mist unto the top of the hills, the air began to be so thick, that the tops of the mountains were all covered over with clouds, and contrarily, the valley underneath was all clear and fair, that they might easily see the river of Crimesus, and the enemies also, how they passed it over in this sort. First they had put their carts of war foremost, which were very hotly armed and well appointed. Next unto them there followed ten thousand footmen, armed with white targets upon their arms : whom they seeing afar off so well appointed, they conjectured by their stately march and goodly order,

**The
order
of the
Cartha-
ginians'
army**

Timoleon that they were the Carthaginians themselves. After
giveth them, divers other nations followed confusedly one
charge with another, and so they thronged over with great
upon the disorder. There Timoleon considering the river
Cartha- gave him opportunity to take them before they were
ginians half passed over, and to set upon what number he
would: after he had shewed his men with his
finger, how the battell of their enemies was divided
in two parts by means of the river, some of
them being already passed over, and the other to
pass: He commanded Demaretus with his horse-
men to give a charge on the voward, to keep them
from putting themselves in order of battell. And
himself coming down the hill also with all his foot-
men into the valley, he gave to the Sicilians the
two wings of his battell, mingling with them some
strangers that served under him: and placed with
himself in the midst, the Syracusans, with all the
choice and best liked strangers. So he tarried not
long to join, when he saw the small good his horse-
men did. For he perceived they could not come to
give a lusty charge upon the battell of the Cartha-
ginians, because they were paled in with these armed
carts, that ran here and there before them: where-
upon they were compelled to wheel about con-
tinually, (unless they would have put themselves in
danger to have bin utterly overthrown) and in
their returns to give venture of charge, by turns on
their enemies. Wherefore Timoleon taking his
target on his arm, cried out aloud to his footmen,
to follow him courageously, and to fear nothing.
Those that heard his voice, thought it more than
the voice of a man, whether the fury of his desire to
fight did so strain it beyond ordinary course, or that

some god (as many thought it then) did stretch his voice to cry out so loud and sensibly. His soldiers answered him again with the like voice: and prayed him to lead them without longer delay. Then he made his horsemen understand, that they should draw on the one side from the carts, and that they should charge the Carthaginians on the flanks: and after he did set the foremost rank of his battell, target to target against the enemies, commanding the trumpets withal to sound. Thus, with great fury he went to give a charge upon them, who valiantly received the first charge, their bodies being armed with good iron corselets, and their heads with fair murrions of copper, besides the great targets they had also, which did easily receive the force of their darts, and the thrust of the pike. But when they came to handle their swords, where agility was more requisite than force: a fearful tempest of thunder, and flashing lightning withal, came from the mountains. After that came dark thick clouds also (gathered together from the top of the hills) and fell upon the valley, where the battell was fought, with a marvellous extreme shower of rain, fierce violent winds, and hail withal. All this tempest was upon the Grecians' backs, and full before the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindfold their eyes, and continually tormented them with the rain that came full upon them with the wind, and the lightnings so oft flashing amongst them, that one understood not another of them. Which did marvellously trouble them, and specially those that were but fresh-water soldiers, by reason of the terrible thunderclaps, and the noise, the boistrous wind and hail made upon

A marvellous tempest

**Timo-
leon's
victory
of the
Cartha-
ginians**

their harness: for that made them they could not hear the order of their captains. Moreover, the dirt did as much annoy the Carthaginians, because they were not nimble in their armour, but heavily armed as we have told you: and besides that also, when the plates of their coats were through wet with water, they did load and hinder them so much the more, that they could not fight with any ease. This stood the Grecians to great purpose, to throw them down the easier. Thus when they were tumbling in the dirt with their heavy armour, up they could rise no more. Furthermore, the river of Crimesus being risen high through the great rage of waters, and also for the multitude of people that passed over it, did overflow the valley all about: which being full of ditches, many caves, and hollow places, it was straight all drowned over, and filled with many running streams, that ran overthwart the field, without any certain channel. The Carthaginians being compassed all about with these waters, they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being overcome with the storm that still did beat upon them, and the Grecians having slain of their men at the first onset, to the number of four hundred of their choicest men, who made the first front of their battell: all the rest of the army turned their backs immediately, and fled for life. Insomuch, some of them being followed very near, were put to the sword in the midst of the valley: other, holding one another hard by the arms together, in the midst of the river as they passed over, were carried down the stream and drowned, with the swiftness and violence of the river. But the greatest number

did think by footmanship to recover the hills thereabouts, who were overtaken by them that were light armed, and put to the sword every man. They say that of ten thousand which were slain in this battell, three thousand of them were natural citizens of Carthage, which was a very sorrowful and grievous loss to the city. For they were of the noblest, the richest, the lustiest, and valiantest men of all Carthage. For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former wars at any time before, where there died so many of Carthage at one field and battell, as were slain at that present time. For before that time, they did always entertain the Libyans, the Spaniards, and the Nomads, in all their wars: so as when they lost any battell, the loss lighted not on them, but the strangers paid for it. The men of accompt also that were slain, were easily known by their spoils. For they that spoiled them, stood not trifling about getting of copper and iron together, because they found gold and silver enough. For the battell being won, the Grecians passed over the river, and took the camp of the barbarous people, with all their carriages and baggage. And as for the prisoners, the soldiers stole many of them away, and sent them going: but of them that came to light in the common division of the spoil, they were about five thousand men, and two hundred carts of war that were taken besides. Oh, it was a noble fight to behold the tent of Timoleon their general, how they environed it all about with heaps of spoils of every sort: among which there were a thousand brave corselets gilt, and graven, with marvellous curious works, and they brought thither with them also ten thousand targets. So the

The
spoil

Timoleon banisheth the thousand traiterous soldiers conquerors being but a small number, to take the spoil of a multitude that were slain, they filled their purses even to the top. Yet were they three days about it, and in the end, the third day after the battell, they set up a mark or token of their victory. Then Timoleon sent unto Corinth, with the news of this overthrow, the fairest armours that were gotten in the spoil: because he would make his country and native city spoken of and commended through the world, above all the other cities of Greece. For that at Corinth only, their chief temples were set forth and adorned, not with spoils of the Grecians, nor offerings gotten by spilling the blood of their own nation and country: (which to say truly, are unpleasant memories) but with the spoils taken from the barbarous people their enemies, with inscriptions witnessing the valiancy and justice of those also, who by victory had obtained them. That is to wit, that the Corinthians and their captain Timoleon, (having delivered the Grecians dwelling in Sicily, from the bondage of the Carthaginians) had given those offerings unto the gods, to give thanks for their victory. That done, Timoleon leaving the strangers he had in pay, in the country subject to the Carthaginians, to spoil and destroy it: he returned with the rest of his army unto Syracuse. Where at his first coming home, he banished the thousand soldiers that had forsaken him in his journey, with express charge that they should depart the city before sunset. So these thousand cowardly and mutinous soldiers passed over into Italy, where, under promise of the country, they were all unfortunately slain by the Bruttians: such was the justice of the gods to pay their just

reward of their treason. Afterwards, Mamercus the tyrant of Catana, and Hicetes (whether it was for the envy they did bear to Timoleon's famous deeds, or for that they were afraid of him) perceiving tyrants could look for no peace at his hands: they made league with the Carthaginians, and wrote unto them that they should send another army and captain suddenly, if they would not utterly be driven out of Sicily. The Carthaginians sent Gisco thither with threescore and ten sail, who at his first coming took a certain number of Grecian soldiers into pay, which were the first the Carthaginians ever retained in their service: for they never gave them pay until that present time, when they thought them to be men invincible, and the best soldiers of the world. Moreover, the inhabitants of the territory of Messina, having made a secret conspiracy amongst themselves, did slay four hundred men that Timoleon had sent unto them: and in the territories subject unto the Carthaginians, near unto a place they call Hierœ, there was another ambush laid for Euthymus Leucadian, so as himself and all his soldiers were cut in pieces. Howbeit the loss of them made Timoleon's doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were even those that had forcibly entred the temple of Apollo in the city of Delphes, with Philodemus the Phocian, and with Onomarchus, who were partakers of their sacrilege. Moreover, they were loose people and abjects, that were abhorred of everybody, who vagabond-like wandered up and down the country of Peloponnesus, when Timoleon for lack of other was glad to take them up. And when they came into Sicily, they always overcame in all battels they fought, whilst

Gisco
sent from
Carthage
with
seventy
sail

**Mamer-
cus and
Hicetes** they were in his company. But in the end, when the fury of wars was pacified, Timoleon sending them about some special service to the aid of some of his, they were cast away every man of them: and not all together, but at divers times. So as it seemed that God's justice, in favour of Timoleon, did separate them from the rest, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deserts, fearing lest good men should suffer hurt by punishing of the evil. And so was the grace and goodwill of the gods wonderful towards Timoleon, not only in matters against him, but in those things that prospered well with him. Notwithstanding, the common people of Syracuse took the jesting words and writings of the tyrants against them, in marvellous evil part. For Mamercus amongst other, thinking well of himself, because he could make verses and tragedies, having in certain battels gotten the better hand of the strangers, which the Syracusans gave pay unto, he gloried very much. And when he offered up the targets he had gotten of them, in the temples of the gods: he set up also these cutting verses, in derision of them that were vanquished.

With bucklers pot-lid like, which of no value were,
 We have these goodly targets won. so richly trimméd
 here
 All gorgeously with gold, and eke with ivory,
 With purple colours finely wrought, and deckt with
 ebony.

These things done, Timoleon led his army before the city of Calauria, and Hicetes therewhile entred the confines of the Syracusans with a main army, and carried away a marvellous great spoil. And after he had done great hurt, and spoiled the country,

he returned back again, and came by Calauria, to despite Timoleon, knowing well enough he had at that time but few men about him. Timoleon suffered him to pass by, but followed him afterwards with his horsemen and lightest armed footmen. Icetes understanding that, passed over the river called Damyras, and so stayed on the other side as though he would fight, trusting to the swift running of the river, and the height of the banks on either side of the same. Now the captains of Timoleon's bands fell out marvellously amongst themselves, striving for honour of this service, which was cause of delaying the battell. For none would willingly come behind, but every man desired to lead the voward, for honour to begin the charge: so as they could not agree for their going over, one thrusting another to get before his companion. Wherefore Timoleon fell to drawing of lots, which of them should pass over first, and took a ring of every one of them, and cast them all within the lap of his cloke: so rolling them together, by chance he plucked one at the first, whereon was graven the marks and tokens of a triumph. The young captains seeing that, gave a shout of joy, and without tarrying drawing of other lots, they began every man to pass the river as quickly as they could, and to set upon the enemies as suddenly. But they being not able to abide their force, ran their ways, and were fain to cast their armour away to make more haste: howbeit there were a thousand of them lay dead in the field. And within few days after, Timoleon leading his army to the city of the Leontines, took Hicetes alive there, with his son Eupolemus, and the general of his horsemen, who were delivered into

**Timoleon
taketh
Hicetes**

**Hicetes
his wives
and chil-
dren put
to death**

his hands by his own soldiers. So Hicetes and his son were put to death, like traitors and tyrants: and so was Euthydemus also, who though he was a valiant soldier, had no better mercy shewed him, than the father and the son, because they did burthen him with certain injurious words he spake against the Corinthians. For they say, that when the Corinthians came first out of their country into Sicily, to make wars against the tyrants: that he making an oration before the Leontines, said amongst other things, that they should not need to be afraid, if

The women of Corinth were come out of their country.

Thus we see, that men do rather suffer hurt, than put up injurious words: and do pardon their enemies, though they revenge by deeds, because they can do no less. But as for injurious words they seem to proceed of a deadly hate, and of a cankered malice. Furthermore, when Timoleon was returned again to Syracuse, the Syracusans arraigned the wives of Hicetes, and his son, and their daughters: who being arraigned, were also condemned to die by the judgement of the people. Of all the acts Timoleon did, this of all other (in my opinion) was the foulest deed: for if he had listed, he might have saved the poor women from death. But he passed not for them, and so left them to the wrath of the citizens, who would be revenged of them, for the injuries that were done to Dion, after he had driven out the tyrant Dionysius. For it was Hicetes that caused Arete, the wife of Dion, to be cast into the sea, his sister Aristomache, and his son that was yet a sucking

child, as we have written in another place in the life of Dion. That done, he went to Catana against Mamercus, who tarried him by the river of Abolus, where Mamercus was overthrown in battell, and above two thousand men slain, the greatest part whereof were the Carthaginians, whom Gisco had sent for his relief. Afterwards he granted peace to the Carthaginians, upon earnest suit made to him, with condition, that they should keep on the other side of the river of Lycus, and that it should be lawful for any of the inhabitants there that would, to come and dwell in the territory of the Syracusans, and to bring away with them their gods, their wives and their children: and furthermore, that from thenceforth the Carthaginians should renounce all league, confederacy, and alliance with the tyrants. Whereupon Mamercus having no hope of good success in his doings, he would go into Italy, to stir up the Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracusans. But they that were in his company, returned back again with their galleys in the midway: and when they were returned into Sicily, they delivered up the city of Catana into the hands of Timoleon, so as Mamercus was constrained to save himself, and to fly unto Messina, to Hippo the tyrant thereof. But Timoleon followed him, and besieged the city both by sea and land. Whereat Hippo quaked for fear, and thought to fly by taking ship, but he was taken starting. And the Messinians having him in their hands, made all the children come from the school to the theatre, to see one of the goodliest sights that they could devise: to wit, to see the tyrant punished, who was openly whipped,

Catana
yielded
up to
Timoleon

**Timoleon
quieteth
all Sicily**

and afterwards put to death. Now for Mamercus, he did yield himself unto Timoleon, to be judged by the Syracusans, so that Timoleon might not be his accuser. So that he was brought unto Syracuse, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But seeing that the people cried out, and made a great noise, because they would not hear him, and that there was no likelihood they would pardon him: he ran overthwart the theatre, and knocked his head as hard as he could drive, upon one of the degrees whereon they sate there to see their sports, thinking to have dashed out his brains, and have rid himself suddenly out of his pain. But he was not happy to die so, for he was taken straight being yet alive, and put to death as thieves and murderers are. Thus did Timoleon root all tyrants out of Sicily, and made an end of all wars there. And whereas he found the whole isle, wild, savage, and hated of the natural countrymen and inhabitants of the same, for the extreme calamities and miseries they suffered, he brought it to be so civil, and so much desired of strangers, that they came far and near to dwell there, where the natural inhabitants of the country self before, were glad to fly and forsake it. For Agrigentum, and Gela, two great cities, did witness this, which after the wars of the Athenians, had been utterly forsaken and destroyed by the Carthaginians, and were then inhabited again. The one, by Megellus and Pheristus, two captains that came from Elea: and the other by Gorgos, who came from the isle of Ceos. And as near as they could, they gathered again together the first ancient citizens and inhabitants of the same:

whom Timoleon did not only assure of peace and safety to live there, to settle them quietly together : but willingly did help them besides, with all other things necessary, to his uttermost mean and ability, for which they loved and honoured him as their father and founder. And this his good love and favour was common also to all other people of Sicily whatsoever. So that in all Sicily there was no truce taken in wars, nor laws established, nor lands divided, nor institution of any policy or government thought good or available, if Timoleon's device had not been in it, as chief director of such matters : which gave him a singular grace to be acceptable to the gods, and generally to be beloved of all men. For in those days, there were other famous men in Greece, that did marvellous great things : amongst whom were these, Timotheus, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, which Epaminondas Timoleon sought to follow in all things, as near as he could, above any of them all. But in all the actions of these other great captains, their glory was always mingled with violence, pain, and labour : so as some of them have been touched with reproach, and other with repentance. Whereas contrariwise, in all Timoleon's doings (that only excepted which he was forced to do to his brother) there was nothing but they might with troth (as Timæus said) proclaim the saying of Sophocles :

**Timoleon
compared
with the
famous
men of
Greece**

O mighty gods of heaven what Venus stately dame,
Or Cupid (god) have thus yput their hands unto this
same ?

And like as Antimachus' verses, and Dionysius'

Timoleon
attribu-
teth his
good suc-
cess unto
fortune

painting, both Colophonians, are full of sinews and strength, and yet at this present we see they are things greatly laboured, and travelled with much pain: and that contrariwise in Nicomachus' tables, and Homer's verses, besides the passing workmanship and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight, that they were easily made, and without great pain. Even so in like manner, who-soever will compare the painful bloody wars and battells of Epaminondas, and Agesilaus, with the wars of Timoleon, in the which, besides equity and justice, there is also great ease and quietness: he shall find, weighing things indifferently, that they have not been fortune's doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himself doth wisely impute it unto his good hap, and favourable fortune. For in his letters he wrote unto his familiar friends at Corinth, and in some other orations he made to the people of Syracuse: he spake it many times, that he thanked the almighty gods, that it had pleased them to save and deliver Sicily from bondage, by his means and service, and to give him the honour and dignity of the name. And having builded a temple in his house, he dedicated it unto Fortune, and furthermore did consecrate his whole house unto her. For he dwelt in a house the Syracusans kept for him, and gave him in recompense of the good service he had done them in the wars, with a marvellous fair pleasant house in the country also, where he kept most when he was at leisure. For he never after returned unto Corinth again, but sent for his wife and children to come thither, and never dealt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongst the

Grecians, neither did make himself to be envied of the citizens: (a mischief that most governors and captains do fall into, through their unsatiable desire of honour and authority) but lived all the rest of his life after in Sicily, rejoicing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many cities and thousands of people happy by his means. But because it is an ordinary matter, and of necessity, (as Simonides' saith) that not only all larks have a tuft upon their heads, but also that in all cities there be accusers, where the people rule: there were two of those at Syracuse, that continually made orations to the people, who did accuse Timoleon, the one called Laphystius, and the other Demænetus. So this Laphystius appointing Timoleon a certain day to come and answer to his accusation before the people, thinking to convince him: the citizens began to mutine, and would not in any case suffer the day of adjournment to take place. But Timoleon did pacify them, declaring unto them, that he had taken all the extreme pains and labour he had done, and had passed so many dangers, because every citizen and inhabitant of Syracuse, might frankly use the liberty of their laws. And another time Demænetus, in open assembly of the people, reproving many things Timoleon did when he was general: Timoleon answered never a word, but only said unto the people, that he thanked the gods they had granted him the thing he had so oft requested of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once see the Syracusans have full power and liberty to say what they would. Now Timoleon in all men's opinion, had done the noblest acts that ever Grecian captain did in his time, and had above

Timoleon's
accusers

Timoleon's great praise deserved the fame and glory of all the noble exploits, which the rhetoricians with all their eloquent orations persuaded the Grecians unto, in the open assemblies, and common feasts and plays of Greece, out of the which fortune delivered him safe and sound before the trouble of the civil wars that followed soon after: and moreover he made a great proof of his valiancy and knowledge in wars, against the barbarous people and tyrants, and had shewed himself also a just and merciful man unto all his friends, and generally to all the Grecians. And furthermore, seeing he won the most part of all his victories and triumphs, without the shedding of any one tear of his men, or that any of them mourned by his means, and also rid all Sicily of all the miseries and calamities reigning at that time, in less than eight years' space: he being now grown old, his sight first beginning a little to fail him, shortly after he lost it altogether. This happened, not through any cause or occasion of sickness that came unto him, nor that fortune had casually done him that injury: but it was in my opinion, a disease inheritable to him by his parents, which by time came to lay hold on him also. For the voice went, that many of his kin in like case had also lost their sight, which by little and little with age, was clean taken from them. Howbeit Athanis the historiographer writeth, that during the wars he had against Mamerus and Hippon, as he was in his camp at Mylæ, there came a white spot in his eyes, that dimmed his sight somewhat: so that every man perceived that he should lose his sight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his siege, but continued his enterprise, until he took both the

tyrants at last : and so soon as he returned to Syracuse again, he did put himself out of his office of general, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather because things were brought to so good pass, as they themselves could desire. Now, that he patiently took this misfortune to be blind altogether, peradventure men may somewhat marvel at it : but this much more is to be wondred at, that the Syracusans after he was blind, did so much honour him, and acknowledge the good he had done them, that they went themselves to visit him oft, and brought strangers (that were travellers) to his house in the city, and also in the country, to make them see their benefactor, rejoicing and thinking themselves happy, that he had chosen to end his life with them, and that for this cause he had despised the glorious return that was prepared for him in Greece, for the great and happy victories he had won in Sicily. But amongst many other things the Syracusans did, and ordained to honour him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefest : that they made a perpetual law, so oft as they should have wars against foreign people, and not against their own countrymen, that they should ever choose a Corinthian for their general. It was a goodly thing also to see how they did honour him in the assemblies of their Council. For if any trifling matter fell in question among them, they despatched it of themselves : but if it were a thing that required great counsel and advice, they caused Timoleon to be sent for. So he was brought through the market-place in his litter, into the theatre, where all the assembly of the people was, and carried in even so in his litter as he sate : and then the people did all

**A law
made to
honour
Timoleon**

**Timo-
leon's
funerals**

salute him with one voice, and he them in like case. And after he had paused a while to hear the praises and blessings the whole assembly gave him, they did propound the matter doubtful to him, and he delivered his opinion upon the same: which being passed by the voices of the people, his servants carried him back again in his litter through the theatre, and the citizens did wait on him a little way with cries of joy, and clapping of hands, and that done, they did repair to despatch common causes by themselves, as they did before. So his old age being thus entertained with such honour, and with the love and good-will of every man, as of a common father to them all: in the end a sickness took him by the back, whereof he died. So the Syracusans had a certain time appointed them to prepare for his funerals, and their neighbours also thereabouts to come unto it. By reason whereof his funeral was so much more honourably performed in all things, and specially for that the people appointed the noblest young gentlemen of the city to carry his coffin upon their shoulders, richly furnished and set forth, whereon his body lay, and so did convey him through the place, where the palace and castle of the tyrant Dionysius had been, which then was razed to the ground. There accompanied his body also, many thousands of people, all crowned with garlands of flowers, and apparelled in their best apparel: so as it seemed it had been the procession of some solemn feast, and all their words were praisings and blessings of the dead, with tears running down their cheeks, which was a good testimony of the entire good-will and love they did bear him, and that they did not this as men that

were glad to be discharged of the honour they did him, neither for that it was so ordained: but for the just sorrow and grief they took for his death, and for very hearty good love they did bear him. And lastly, the coffin being put upon the stack of wood where it should be burnt, Demetrius one of the heralds that had the loudest voice, proclaimed the decree that was ordained by the people, the effect whereof was this. The people of Syracuse hath ordained, that this present body of Timoleon Corinthian, the son of Timodemus, should be buried at the charges of the common-weal, unto the sum of two hundred minas, and hath honoured his memory with plays and games of music, with running of horses, and with other exercises of the body, which shall be celebrated yearly on the day of his death for evermore: and this, because he did drive the tyrants out of Sicily, for that he overcame the barbarous people, and because he replenished many great cities with inhabitants again, which the wars had left desolate and uninhabited: and lastly, for that he had restored the Sicilians again to their liberty, and to live after their own laws. And afterwards, his tomb was built in the market-place, about the which a certain time after, they built certain cloisters and galleries to exercise the youth in, with exercise of their bodies, and the places so walled in, was called Timoleonteum:

and so long as they did observe the laws, and civil policy he established amongst them, they lived long time in great continual prosperity.

An honourable decree for the memory of Timoleon

THE COMPARISON OF
PAULUS ÆMILIUS WITH
TIMOLEON

The com-
parison of
Timoleon

SITH these two men were such as the historio-
graphers have described them to be: it is certain,
that comparing the one with the other, we shall find
no great odds or difference between them. For
first of all, the wars they made, have been against
great and famous enemies: the one against the
Macedonians, and the other against the Cartha-
ginians, and both their victories very notable. For
the one of them conquered the realm of Macedon,
which he took from the seventh king that reigned
by succession from the father to the son, since the
time of the great Antigonus: and the other drove
all the tyrants out of Sicily, and restored the whole
isle and cities therein, unto their former liberty.
Unless some will allege perhaps that there was
this difference between them, that Æmilius fought
against King Perseus, when he had all his power
whole and entire, and had fought with the Romans
many times before, and had the better of them in
all conflicts: where Timoleon set upon Dionysius,
when he was in greatest despair, and in manner
utterly cast away. On the contrary side, it may
be objected for Timoleon, that he overcame many
tyrants, and a mighty great army of the Cartha-
ginians, with a very small number of men, and yet

men of all sorts: not as Æmilius with a great army of well-trained and expert soldiers in wars, but with men gathered together at adventure of all sorts, being mercenary hirelings, and men fighting for pay, loose people, and unruly in wars, that would do but what they listed. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the means unequal: there we must confess that the praise is due unto the general. Both the one and the other kept their hands clean from corruption, in the charge which they took upon them. But it seemeth that Æmilius came so fashioned and prepared, by the good civil law, and moral discipline of his country: and that Timoleon came rawly thither, and afterwards fashioned himself to be that he was. And this is to be proved: for that all the Romans in that time were so civilly brought up, and exceeded all other in strait keeping the laws of their country. Where to the contrary, there was not one of the captains of the Grecians that came then, or were sent into Sicily, but fell straight to corruption, when he had put his foot in Sicily, Dion only excepted: and yet they had a certain suspicion of him, that he aspired to the kingdom, and imagined in his head to stablish a certain empire at Syracuse, like unto that of Lacedæmon. Timeus the historiographer writeth, that the Syracusans sent Gylippus with shame back again into his country, for his unsatiable greedy covetousness, and for his great thefts, and bribes taken in his charge. Divers other have also written the great treasons and falsehoods Pharax Spartan, and Callippus Athenian did commit, both of them seeking to make themselves lords of Syracuse, and yet what men are they, and

and
Paulus
Æmilius
for the
wars

**The wonderful contin-
ency of
Æmilius
from
bribes** what means had they to have such a foolish vain hope and fancy in their heads? Considering that the one did follow and serve Dionysius, after that he was driven out of Syracuse: and the other also was but a private captain of a band of footmen, of those that came with Dion. Timoleon in contrary manner was sent, to be general of the Syracusans, upon their great instance and suit. And he having no need to seek or hunt after it, but only to keep the power and authority they did willingly put into his hands: so soon as he had destroyed and overthrown all such as would unjustly usurp the government, he did immediately of his own good-will, frankly resign up his office and charge. And sure, so is this a notable thing to be commended, and esteemed in Paulus Æmilius: who having conquered so great and rich a realm, he never increased his goods the value of one farthing, neither did see nor handle any money at all, although he was very liberal, and gave largely unto others. I mean not in speaking this to upbraid or detect Timoleon, for that he accepted a fair house the Syracusans gave him in the city, and a goodly manor also in the country: for in such cases there is no dishonesty in receiving, but yet it is greater honesty to refuse, than to take. But that vertue is most rare and singular, where we see they will receive nor take nothing, though they have justly deserved it. And if it be so, that the body is stronger and better compounded, which best abideth change of parching heat, and nipping cold: and that the mind is much more stronger and stable, that swelleth not up with pride of prosperity, nor droopeth for sorrow in adversity. Then

it appeareth, that Æmilius' vertue was so much more perfect, in that he shewed himself of no less grave and constant a mind, in the patience he endured for his loss and sorrow happened unto him, (losing at one time in manner, both his children), than he had done before, in all his triumph and greatest felicity. Where Timoleon to the contrary, having done a worthy act against his brother, could with no reason suppress the grief and sorrow he felt: but overcome with bitter grief and repentance, continued the space of twenty years together, and never durst once only shew his face again in the market-place, nor deal any more in matters of the commonweal. Truly, for a man to beware to do evil, and to

Æmilius'
constancy
far ex-
ceeded
Timoleon

shun from evil, it is a very good and comely thing: so also to be sorry, and afeard of every reproach, and ill opinion of the world, it sheweth a simpleness of nature, and a good and well-disposed mind, but no manly courage.

THE END OF TIMOLEON'S LIFE.

THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS

The answer of a soldier to King Antigonus

CATO the elder, answered certain on a time, that marvellously commended a bold, a venturous, and desperate man for the wars: that there was great odds, to esteem manhood so much, and life so little. And surely it was wisely spoken of him. The report goeth, that King Antigonus gave pay to a soldier among other, that was very hardy and venturous, but he had a naughty sickly body. The king asked him one day, what he ailed to be so pale, and evil-coloured? The soldier told him, he had a secret disease upon him, that he might not tell him with reverence. The king hearing him say so, commanded his physicians and surgeons to look to him, and if he were curable, that they should heal him with all possible speed: and so they did. After the soldier had his health again, he would venter no more so desperately in the wars, as he did before. Insomuch, King Antigonus self perceiving his slackness and drawing back, rebuked him, and said unto him: that he wondred to see so great a change and alteration in him. The soldier never shrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainly. Your self, and it please your Majesty, is cause of my cowardliness now, by healing my disease, that made my life loathsome to me. Much like were a Sybaritan's words, touching the

life and manner of the Lacedæmonians. That it was no marvel they had such a desire to die in the wars, seeing they did it to rid themselves of their troubles, and most miserable and strait life. But we must not wonder though the Sybaritans, being womanish men, and altogether given to pleasure, did so think : that those men hated their lives, who feared not death, for the desire they had to do good, and good-will they had to do their duty. Which was contrary in the Lacedæmonians. For they were of opinion, that to live and die willingly, was a vertue : as these funeral verses do witness.

**Divers
opinions
of life and
death**

The dead which here do rest did not in life esteem
That life or death were (of themselves) or good or
bad to deem.

But even as life did end, or death was brought to pass,
So life or death was good or bad : this their opinion
was.

And indeed to fly death is no shame, so it proceed not of a cowardly heart : neither to desire death is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reason why Homer saith, the valiantest men are ever best armed, when they come to battell. The law-makers among the Grecians, do ever punish him that casts away his target, but never him that casteth away his sword or lance. For every man must first think to defend himself, before he seek to hurt his enemy, and specially such as have the whole state of a realm in their hands, and be generals of the field. For if the comparison be true, that Iphicrates the Athenian captain made, that in an army of men, the light horsemen resemble the hands, the men of arms the feet, the battell of footmen the stomach and

A lieutenant of an army

breast, the captain the head of a man's body: it seemeth then that the venturous captain putting himself in danger without cause, is not only careless of his own life, but also of all theirs whose lives depend upon his safety. As contrarily, he being careful of his own person, cannot but be careful of his soldiers that serve under him. Therefore Callicratidas a Lacedæmonian captain, and a worthy man otherwise, did unwisely answer a soothsayer that bade him take heed to himself: for the signs and tokens of the sacrifices did threaten his death. Sparta, said he, standeth not upon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by sea or by land man for man, Callicratidas was but one man of himself: but as captain or lieutenant-general, he had the whole power and force of the army in his person. For he was not a man alone, when so many men's lives were lost with his. Now old Antigonus was of a contrary mind. For he being ready to give battell by sea, about the isle of Andros, made a better answer to one that said unto him: his enemies had more ships than himself. For how many ships then doest thou reckon my self? said he. Therein he did wisely to make great account of the worthiness of a general, specially when it is joined with hardiness and experience. For the chiefest point of service, is to save him, that saveth all other. For when Chares on a time shewed the Athenians openly, the sundry wounds and cuts he had received upon his body, and his target also thrust through with many pikes: Timotheus straight said unto him, Chares, I am not of thy mind. For when I did besiege the city of Samos, I was ashamed to see a dart thrown from the walls, light hard by me,

for that I shewed myself a rash young man, and more venturous than became a general of so great an army. For when it standeth much upon the whole army, and that it is necessary the general thereof do put himself in danger: then he should put himself forward, and occupy both hands and body without respect, not regarding their words that say, a good wise captain should die for age, or at the least old. But where there is small honour to be won by very good success, and contrariwise much loss and destruction by great misfortune: no man of wisdom or judgement would wish a general to fight as a private soldier, to hazard the loss of a general. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the lives of Pelopidas and of Marcellus, both which were worthy men, and died otherwise than they should. For they both were valiant soldiers in the field, and did both of them honour their country with famous victories, and specially against great and dreadful enemies. For the one was the first (as they say) that overthrew Hannibal, who was never overcome by any before. And the other also overcame the Lacedæmonians in battell, that ruled all Greece at that time both by sea and by land. Yet they both carelessly lost their lives, by venturing too boldly: when their country stood in greatest need of such men and captains as they were. This is the cause why we following the resemblance that was between them, have compared their lives together. Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, came of one of the noblest houses of the city of Thebes, as Epaminondas did. He being brought up in great wealth, his father left him heir of all his lands and

must be careful to save himself

Aris-
totle's
saying of
rich men

goods, being but a young man. So he straight shewed himself willing to do good with his money, to those that needed help, and were worthy: to let the world see, that his money was not his maister. For as Aristotle saith, of these rich men, the most part of them do not use their goods, for extreme covetousness: other again do abuse them, as being given to overmuch pleasures. So rich men became slaves all their lifetime, some to pleasure, other to profit. Now, all Pelopidas' other friends would be beholding to him, and take very thankfully his courtesy and liberality towards them. But Epaminondas could never be brought to take anything at his hands. Howbeit Pelopidas self followed Epaminondas' manner: for he took a pride and pleasure to go simply apparelled, to fare meanly, to labour willingly, and to make wars openly as he did. He was even such another, as Euripides the poet described Capaneus to be, when he said of him:

He rich and wealthy was, yet was he therewithal
No wight that purchast worldly hate, nor insolent
at all.

For he would have been ashamed, that the poorest man of the city of Thebes, should have worn meaner apparel upon his back, than himself. As for Epaminondas, his poverty was not dainty to him, because his parents were ever poor, and yet for all that he passed it over more easily by study of philosophy, which he gave himself unto, and for that from his youth he liked to lead a spare life without excess. Where Pelopidas matched in a noble house, and married highly,

and had two children by his wife : nevertheless he had no mind to keep or increase his goods the more for that, but gave himself altogether to serve the common-weal as long as he lived. By reason whereof his wealth decayed, and his best friends grew angry with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was so necessary, as to have goods. And he answered them : Indeed they are necessary I do confess it, but yet for such a one as this poor, lame, and blind man that standeth by. They both were alike born to all vertue, saving that Pelopidas took most pleasure in exercise of his body and strength, and Epaminondas in the exercise of his wit and learning. So as the pastime each of them took when they were at leisure was, that the one delighted to wrestle and to hunt, and liked any kind of exercise of his body : and the other to hear, to study, and always to learn something of philosophy. But among all the excellent gifts and good parts in either of them, and that most won them honour and estimation in the world, they were only commended, and singularly noted of wise men, for the perfect love and friendship that was ever inviolably kept between them until their deaths : having been joined together in so many battels, wars, charges of armies, and otherwise in matters of state and government. For if a man will consider, and look into the doings of Aristides, Themistocles, and Cimon, of Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades, how full of dissensions, envies, and suspicions they were one against another in governing the common-weal : and again will consider the love, honour, and kindness, that continued always

Pelopidas' saying for the necessity of money

The true
cause of
friendship

betwixt Pelopidas and Epaminondas: no doubt they will say these two are more worthy to be called brethren in war, (as they say) and companions in government, than any of them we have named before, whose care and study was always rather to overcome one another, than to overcome their enemies, and the only cause thereof was their vertue. For their acts shewed they did not seek glory, nor riches for themselves (the covetousness whereof doth always breed quarrels and envy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in love with another, with a great kindness and estimation of themselves, to see their country flourish, and grow to great honour through their service, and in their time: and so they reckoned all the good exploits both of the one and the other, that tended to that end, as their own. The most part of writers think, this great and earnest love the one did bear to another, did grow first between them in a journey they made together unto Mantinea, to aid the Lacedæmonians, that were at that time confederates of the Thebans. For they being both set in battell ray, one hard by another among the footmen, against the Arcadians that stood before them: it fortun'd that the point of the battell of the Lacedæmonians in the which they were, gave back, and many of them ran away. But they determining to die rather than to fly, stood close together, and fought with the enemies that came upon them: until such time as Pelopidas being hurt in seven places before, fell down at the last upon a heap of dead bodies, as well of their own soldiers as of their enemies, even one upon another. Then Epaminondas thinking he had been slain,

stepped notwithstanding before him to defend his body and armour, and he alone fought against many, being willing to die rather than to forsake Pelopidas lying amongst the dead bodies: until himself being thrust into the breast with a pike, and sore cut on his arm with a sword, was even ready to give over, when Agesipolis (King of the Lacedæmonians) came with the other point of the battell in happy hour, who saved both their lives past all hope. Now after this battell, the Lacedæmonians both in words and deeds did courteously entreat the Thebans as their friends and confederates. Notwithstanding, in truth they began to fear the power and great courage of that city, and specially the faction and associates Ismenias and Androclidas had set up, whereof Pelopidas also was a companion: because they thought it was popular, and inclined much to desire liberty. Whereupon Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, all three great wealthy men of the city of Thebes, and misliking to be equal with other citizens, did perswade Phoebidas, a captain of the Lacedæmonians, that going and coming through the country of Bœotia with an army, he would one day assay to take the castle of Thebes called Cadmea, and driving those out of the city that would resist him, he would put the government of the state into the hands of a few of the noblest persons, who would be at the devotion of the Lacedæmonians, and obey them in all things. Phoebidas brought it to pass, and did work his feat before the Thebans mistrusted anything upon a holy day called Thesmophoria. After he had won the castle, he apprehended Ismenias, and sent

Cadmea,
the
castle of
Thebes,
taken by
Phoebi-
das

Thebes
under the
Lacedæ-
monians

him to Lacedæmon, where shortly after they put him to death. Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclidas, with many other, saved themselves by flying, and were banished Thebes by sound of trumpet. Epaminondas tarried still in Thebes, and no man touched him, for they made small account of him, because he was altogether given to his book: and though his good-will had served him to have done some feat, his poverty made him unable to do anything. The Lacedæmonians understanding of the taking of the castle, did straight put Phoebidas out of his charge, and set a fine of a hundred thousand drachms upon his head: but yet they kept still the castle of Cadmea in their hands with a great garrison. All the other cities and people of Greece did wonder much at it, that they should allow the fact, and punish notwithstanding the doer. So the Thebans having lost their ancient liberty, and being made subject by both these, Archias and Leontidas, so as all hope was taken from them ever to wind out of this tyranny, or at any time to overthrow it, seeing it was maintained and defended by the Lacedæmonians, and that they could not possibly take from them all the seigniority and dominion they had throughout Greece, as well by sea as by land: Leontidas and his followers notwithstanding, when they understood that they who were banished from Thebes, were very well received and entertained of the people at Athens, and much made of also of the nobility, they sought secretly by treason to have them killed. To do this feat, they sent certain men unknown unto Athens, who by treason slew Androclidas, howbeit they missed the killing

of the other. Furthermore, the Lacedæmonians wrote to the Athenians, that they should not receive such as were banished from Thebes, nor that they should favour them, but drive them out of their city, as those which by their allies were justly proclaimed common enemies. The Athenians notwithstanding, being men always civilly given, and inclined in nature to humanity, as being born and bred up withal, and very desirous besides to requite the Thebans' courtesy, who had been the chiefest means and doers in restoring again the popular state and government at Athens: they would by no means offer the Thebans any such injury, seeing they had stablished a law and decree, that if any Athenian passing to and fro through the country of Bœotia, did bear armour against the thirty tyrants, that were governors and oppressors of the liberty of Athens, there should no Bœotian seem to see, or know anything thereof. In the meantime Pelopidas, though he were of the younger sort, did procure still every one that was banished, to seek the liberty of his country, and openly made an oration to them all, declaring that it were not only a cowardly part, but also a wicked offence to the gods, if they would suffer their country to remain so in continual bondage, and strangers to inhabit it with a garrison, to make them subject to the yoke: and they in the meantime to be contented to save themselves, to live delicately and idly at Athens, to study to do what shall please the Athenians to command them, and to be afraid of the orators, and those which through eloquence can persuade the common people to do what they lust. Therefore he persuaded

Pelopidas' counsel for the liberty of the Thebans

Con-
spiring
against
the Lacedæ-
mō-
nians

them that they should hazard all, being a matter of so great weight, and take example of Thrasybulus' noble courage and hardiness: who departing from Thebes, did drive out the tyrants that did oppress Athens: and even so, we departing from Athens, should seek to deliver Thebes also from bondage. When he had by these persuasions drawn them to his opinion, they secretly sent unto their friends that remained still in Thebes, to let them understand their mind and determination: who all liked very well of their purpose. Insomuch Charon that was the chieftest man among them, promised to lend them his house to assemble in. Philidas also found means to be secretary to Philip and Archias, who were governors and captains of the city at that time for the Lacedæmonians. Epaminondas on the other side making no shew of anything, had of long time practised to stir up the courage of the young men of Thebes. For when they were at any games or exercises of body, he would ever procure them to wrastle with the Lacedæmonians. And after he saw them rejoice when they had cast them, and that they were the stronger: he would chide them, and tell them they might be ashamed, for lack of courage to suffer the Lacedæmonians to hold their noses to the grindstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now the confederates appointed a day certain, to break the ice of their pretended enterprise, and agreed that Pherenicus, with other that were banished, should tarry at the village of Thriasium, and that they should send the valiantest and lustiest young men before, to give the venture to enter the city: adding this therewithal, that if the enemies fortun'd to surprise them, all

the other of the conspiracy jointly together, should be ready to give order, that their fathers, mothers, and children, should lack nothing necessary for them. Pelopidas was the first man that offered himself to undertake the enterprise: and after him Melon, Damoclidas, and Theopompus, all three men of the greatest houses of Thebes, who loved marvellously together, and for no respect would ever offend one another, although from the beginning there was ever emulation among them for honour and glory, by striving who should exceed other in vertue and valiantness. Now they were twelve of them, who taking leave of the rest, sent a foot post before to Charon, to advertise him of their coming: and they themselves went on their journey casting little short cloaks upon them, and taking hounds with them, and hunters' staves in their hands, because their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should think them hunters up and down the fields for their pleasure. So, when their messenger they sent came to the city, and had told Charon that they were coming: he never shrunk from his word, though the danger toward was great, but like a stout and honest man did abide by his promise he made, and told him they should be most heartily welcome to his house. But another man called Hipposthenidas, very honest otherwise, and one that loved his country and the preservation thereof, and a good friend of those also that were banished: fainting straight upon the sudden report of these news, his mind was troubled, and his heart failed him so, as his nose fell a-bleeding, to think upon the greatness of the instant danger he was like to fall

for the
liberty of
Thebes

Pelopidas into, having never cast before with himself, how
cometh by this enterprize they should put all the empire of
into the Lacedæmonians in hazard of utter destruction,
Thebes and lay a plot besides to overthrow all their own
 common-weal and state, by laying all their hope upon
 a few banished men, hardly able to wade through
 with their enterprize. Whereupon so soon as he was
 come home, he secretly despatched a messenger one
 of his familiar friends, unto Melon and Pelopidas,
 to will them they should defer their enterprize for
 better opportunity, and so to return back again to
 Athens. Chlidon was the man he sent of this
 message, who presently went home to his house :
 and taking his horse out of the stable, bade his wife
 fetch him the bridle quickly. The bridle not being
 readily to be found, she told him she had lent it
 out to one of their neighbours. Then they fell
 a-chiding together about it, and at length brake out
 to foul words, and lastly his wife fell a-cursing of him,
 and prayed the gods he might have ill luck in his
 journey, and those that sent him. Chlidon having
 spent the most part of the day chiding and brawling
 with his wife about the bridle, and furthermore mis-
 liking the tokens of his wife's cursing and banning
 of him : he determined not to go afoot out of the
 doors of that arrant, and so went about some other
 business. Thus had this noble enterprize in manner
 been altogether dashed, before it was fully begun.
 Now those that were in Pelopidas' company, changed
 apparel with the countrymen, because they would
 not be known, and did divide themselves, for that
 they would not come into the city all together, but
 at divers gates, being daylight. At that time it
 was a marvellous wind and great snow, and the

weather was so boisterous, that every man got him within doors: which fell out happily for the conspirators, that they were not known when they came into the city. So their friends and confederates within the city received them as they came, and brought them to Charon's house: where were assembled together, with those that were banished, eight-and-forty persons only. Now for the tyrants, thus stood the matter with them. Philidas their secretary was of the conspiracy, as we have told you before, and he knew all the practice. Wherefore he had long before solemnly bidden Archias and his company, to supper to his house that very night, to be merry together, and had promised to entertain them with women to welcome them withal: of purpose, that when they had in their full cups, and were in the midst of all their pleasure, the conspirators might then use them as they would. So they being set at table, before they were sped of their cups, one came to them, and told them truly of the treason (not the particularities, neither as a thing certain, but of a rumour only that ran abroad in the town) how the banished men were hidden in Charon's house. Philidas would have passed the matter over. Howbeit Archias would needs send one of his guard straight for Charon, to command him to come to him presently. It was within night, and Pelopidas and his company prepared themselves to work their feat, being armed every man, and their swords in their hands, when upon a sudden they heard one knock at the gate. And one of the house running straight to the gate, came back again afraid to tell them that it was one of Archias' guard that came for Charon, to come immediately **disguised in clown's apparel**

Pelopidas' anger to the governors. Then were they in doubt that their practice was discovered, and that they were all cast away, before they could make any proof of their valiantness: notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that Charon should obey the message, and that he should present himself before the governors, to take away all suspicion from them. Charon of himself was a stout man, very constant, and resolute in danger for his own person: yet it grieved him much at that time, for fear the confederates should suspect him he had bewrayed them, if so many honest citizens whom he had lent his house unto, should unfortunately miscarry. Therefore before he went out of his house, he went into his wive's chamber to fetch his son, that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to Pelopidas, and prayed him, if he understood he had betrayed them any way, or otherwise had sought their hurt, they should then use his son as an enemy, without any compassion towards him. When the confederates saw the good zeal and true noble mind of Charon, they all fell a-weeping, and were angry with him, that he should think any of them so faint-hearted, or timorous, for any danger could come to them, that they should suspect or accuse him for anything: and therewith all they prayed him, not to leave the boy with them, but rather to convey him into some place out of the tyrants' danger, where he might be brought up, that one day he might be revenged of the wrong and injury they had done to them, and to their country. Charon answered them, he would not take him away, and that he saw no life nor health more happy for him, than to die with

his father without infamy, and with so many honest men his friends. So after he had besought the gods to prosper them, and had encouraged and embraced every one of the confederators one after another: he went to the governors, and studied by the way so to frame his words and countenance, as though he should seem to think of any thing else, than of that he purposed to do. When he came to Philidas' door that made the feast, Archias and Philidas himself came unto him, and asked him: Charon, what are they (said they) that are come into the city, and hidden in some house, with certain citizens, that do accompany them? Charon was somewhat abashed at the first, and asked them again: What men be they? who are they that hides them in the city? But when he perceived that Archias could tell nothing of certainty, then he thought straight that some man had informed them that was not privy to the practice, but had heard something of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heed it was no false alarm, to make them afraid: nevertheless (said he) I will inquire further of it: for at all adventure it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure. Philidas answered him, he said truly: and so he brought Archias back again into the hall, where he made him drink deeper than before, still entertaining the company with hope of the women's coming. Charon returning home again, found all the confederates ready to attempt their enterprise, not as men that reckoned of their lives, nor that had any hope to prevail: but as those that were determined to die valiantly, and to sell their lives dearly. Now he truly told unto Pelopidas only, what was said unto him: and the rest,

Charon's
presence
of mind

**Weighty
matters
to-mor-
row**

he told that Archias had sent for him to speak with him, of other matters. The storm of the former danger was scant blown over, but fortune sent them another. For immediately upon talk had with Charon at the first, came a messenger from Athens, that brought a letter to the same Archias, written by the Bishop of Athens at that time, called Archias also as himself, and was his old host and friend: wherein he wrote not of simple conjecture, nor surmised suspicion, but the plain conspiracy in every degree, as afterwards it fell out. So the messenger was brought to Archias that was drunk, and delivering him the letter, he said unto him. Sir, he that sendeth you this letter, straightly charged me to tell you, that you should presently read the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. Archias laughing said unto him: Weighty matters to-morrow. So he took the letter and put it up, and then fell again to his tale he had begun with Philidas. But ever after, the Grecians made this a common proverb among them, Weighty matters to-morrow. Now when the conspirators spied their time to go about their business, they divided themselves in two companies. Pelopidas and Damoclidas went with one company, to set upon Leontidas and Hypates, because they dwelt near together: Charon and Melon with the rest, went against Archias and Philip, being disguised in women's apparel they had put upon their privy coats, and wearing garlands of pine-apple and fir trees on their heads, they covered all their faces. So when they came to shew themselves at the hall door where the banquet was made, they that were in the hall at the first

sight, thinking they had been the women they looked for, began to shout, and made great noise for joy. But when the conspirators cast their eyes round about the hall to know those which were at the table, they drew out their swords, and set upon Archias and Philip overthwart the table: then they shewed themselves what they were. Then Philadas bad his guests he had bidden to the banquet with them, that they should not stir, for they should have no hurt: so some of them sat still. But the greatest number of them would needs from the board, to defend their governors. Howbeit because they were drunk that they knew not what they did, they were soon slain with them. Now Pelopidas' enterprise was not so easy. For they went against Leontidas, that was a sober discreet man, and withal hardy of his hands: and they found he was gone to bed, his doors were shut up, and they knocked long before any man came to the door. At the length, one of his men that heard them rap so hard, with much ado came to open the door, but he had no sooner thrust back the bolt of the door, and began to open it, but they pushed it from them with such a force upon him altogether, that they laid him on the ground, and went straight to his master's chamber. Leontidas hearing the noise of them that ran up to him in such haste, presently mistrusted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, took his sword in his hand, but did forget to put out the lamps that burned in his chamber all night, for if they had been out, they might easily have hurt one another in the dark. But the lamps giving clear light in the chamber, he went to the chamber door, and gave Cephisodorus the first man that

**Pelopidas
killeth the
tyrants**

The
liberty
of the
Thebans
restored

pressed to enter upon him, such a blow with his sword, that he dropped down dead at his feet. Having slain the first man, he dealt with the second that came after him, and that was Pelopidas. The fight went hard between them two, both for that the chamber door was very straight, as also for that Cephisodorus' body lying on the ground, did choke the coming in at the chamber. Notwithstanding, Pelopidas overcame him in the end, and slew him: and went from thence with his company, straight to Hypates' house, where they got in, as they did unto Leontidas' house before. But Hypates knew presently what it was, and thought to save himself in his neighbours' houses. Howbeit the conspirators followed him so hard, they they cut him off before he could recover their houses. Then they gathered together, and joined with Melon's company, and sent immediately with all possible speed to Athens, to the banished Thebans there, and cried through the city, Liberty, liberty, arming those citizens that came to them, with the armour and spoils of their enemies, that were hanged up in common vaults, and armourers shops about Charon's house, which they broke open, or caused to be opened by force. On the other side, Epaminondas and Gorgidas came to join with them, with a company of young men and honest old men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole city was straight in an uproar and tumult, and every house was full of lights, one running to another to know what the matter was. Nevertheless the people did not yet assemble together, but every one being amazed, musing at this stir, not understanding the troth, stayed till

day came on, that they might call a counsel. But truly herein, me thinks the captains of the garrison of the Lacedæmonians were greatly in fault, that they did not stir betimes, and set upon them incontinently: considering there were fifteen hundred soldiers, besides a great number of citizens that would have come, one after another to take their parts. But the great noise they heard, made them afeard, and to see lights in every man's house, and the people running up and down the streets in great multitudes to and fro: whereupon they stirred not, but only kept them within the castle of Cadmea. The next morning by break of day, came the other banished Thebans from Athens very well armed, and all the people of Thebes drew together in counsel. Thither did Epaminondas and Gorgidas bring Pelopidas, and his consorts, and presented them before the people, compassed about with priests and the professed of the city, offering them crowns to put upon their heads, and they prayed the assembly of the citizens, that they would help their gods, and their country. All the people that were present, when they saw them, rose up, and stood on their feet, and with great shouts and clapping of hands received them, as their saviours, that had delivered their country from bondage, and restored them again to liberty: and thereupon, before them all, even in the market-place, by the whole voice and consent of the people, they chose Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, governors and captains of Bœotia. Pelopidas then immediately made them besiege the castell of Cadmea about, with trenches, and force of wood, doing all he could possible to win it, and to

The
people's
rejoicing

Pelopidas receiveth the castle by composition expulse the Lacedæmonians, before any supply and aid came to them from Sparta. So he did, and prevented it so suddenly, that the garrison being departed out of the castle by composition, as they returned towards Lacedæmonia, they found Cleombrotus king of Sparta in the country of Megara, coming towards them with a great army to help them. Afterwards, of the three captains which had charge of their garrison that lay at Thebes, the Spartans condemned two of them to death: Hermippidas and Arcissus were presently executed: and the third captain, Dysaoridas, they set so grievous a fine on his head, that he went out of Peloponnesus. This enterprize being attempted, and executed with the like valiantness, and the same danger and trouble, that Thrasybulus' practice was, when he delivered Athens from the slavery of the thirty governors and tyrants, and having the like fortune and happy end: the Grecians termed it cousin-germane to Thrasybulus' act. And indeed it were a hard matter to find two other such, besides them two, that with so few men overcame their enemies, being many mo in number than themselves, or that with so small help did overcome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprize with their only valiance and wisdom, and were cause besides of so great blessing and benefit to their country, as Pelopidas' and Thrasybulus' attempt was. But the great change and alteration of the state afterwards, did make their acts far more noble and famous. For the war that overthrew the majesty of Sparta, and that took away all the seigniory and rule of the Lacedæmonians both by sea and by land, began

the very same night, when Pelopidas himself making the twelfth person, and entring into a private house, (taking neither city, nor castle, nor stronghold) to tell truly by figurative speech, did break and cut in sunder the links and chains that linked straight together, and strengthened the Lacedæmonians' whole empire and monarchy over all Greece: who until that present time were thought so strong, as no possibility could break or sunder them. Now the Lacedæmonians fortunuing afterwards to invade the country of Bœotia with a mighty army: the Athenians trembling for fear of their great power, did utterly leave to protect them, and renounced the league and alliance they had made before with them. And moreover, they did straightly prosecute law against those, that were accused to take part with the Bœotians: whereof some of them were put to death, other were banished from Athens, and the rest condemned in great sums of money. To be short, every man said the Thebans were but undone, considering they had no help, and were beloved besides of none. At that present time it fell out Pelopidas and Gorgidas were generals over all Bœotia for that year, who devising to throw a bone betwixt the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians again, to make them square, they used this policy. There was a captain of the Lacedæmonians called Sphodrias, a valiant man, but else of small capacity, and vainly given, having a certain fond ambition and humour, persuading himself he had done some notable good service in his time. This Sphodrias was left in the city of Thespiæ, with a great band of soldiers, to receive and favour all the Bœotians that had a

He over-
threw the
signiory
of the
Lacedæ-
monians

Pelopidas' policy to make the Athenians

mind to revolt from the Thebans. Pelopidas of himself sent a merchant, (a very friend of his) unto Sphodrias, with a great sum of money from him, and certain persuasions withal, which prevailed more than the money, wishing him to attempt some greater matter, and to seek to win the haven of Piræus: a thing soon won, if he came to assault it on the sudden, and the rather, for that the Athenians mistrust nothing, neither keep watch nor ward there. Moreover, that he might assure himself, nothing could be better welcome to the lords of Lacedæmonia, than to make them lords of the city of Athens also. And again, that the Thebans, being at deadly fode with the Athenians, for that they had betrayed and forsaken them in their need, would not aid nor succour them in any respect. Sphodrias giving too light ear to this vain persuasion, took the soldiers he had with him, and marching away by night entered the realm of Attica, and went on to the city of Eleusis: but when he came thither, his soldiers were afeard, and would go no further. So his purpose being discovered, he was forced to return back to Thespiæ, having raised such a war to the Lacedæmonians, as fell out to be of no small importance to them, nor easy to be pacified. For after that time, the Athenians sought league and amity again with the Thebans, and did aid them very lovingly: and moreover, putting themselves to sea, they sailed up and down, procuring and drawing to their league all such as were willing to rebel against the Lacedæmonians: and the Thebans besides, had many pretty skirmishes with the Lacedæmonians in the meantime, in their own country of Bœotia. It is true they came to no

great battels, but yet it was such a great learning and continual training of them in martial discipline, as the Thebans still increased in courage and valiantness, and waxed stronger and better soldiers: for by those skirmishes they grew not only expert soldiers, but waxed more skilful in using their weapons, than before. As we read, that Antalcidas a Spartan said one day to King Agesilaus, coming home for hurt from Bœotia: Surely the Thebans have given you a worthy reward, for teaching them to be soldiers against their wills. But to say truly, Agesilaus was not their maister to teach them to make wars, but they were the good and wise leaders of the Thebans, who like good wood-men in choosing their game, could skilfully choose both time and place to give their enemies battell, and make them retire again with safety, after they had bin fleshed, giving them a little taste of the fruits and commodity of victory: but among them, Pelopidas was he that deserved most honour. For, since the first time they gave him charge of men of war, they never failed, but chose him continually every year, either captain of the holy band, or governor of Bœotia so long as he lived: so that Pelopidas only did the most things in this war. The Lacedæmonians were overthrown in sundry journeys, that they were distressed by the cities of Platæa and of Thespiæ, where Phœbidas himself (that had before taken the castle of Cadmea) was slain amongst other. Another great power of theirs also was overthrown near to the city of Tanagra, where Panthoidas governor of the same, was also slain. Now all these victories, though they much encouraged the hearts of the conquerors, and made them hardy: yet did they

fall out
with the
Lacedæ-
monians

Pelopidas' victory of the Lacedæmonians

not thereby altogether conquer the minds of the vanquished. For the Lacedæmonians were not overcome in any pitched field, nor set battel, where they had their whole army together : but they were light roads, and skirmishes properly laid of purpose, where sometime flying, sometime driving them again, they bickered very oft, and put them to the worst. But the battell of Tegyra, which was but a flourish and proof to the journey of Leuctra, wan Pelopidas great honour. For he had no companion to challenge any part of his glory and victory, neither did he leave his enemies any lawful excuse, to shadow or cover their overthrow. For he spied all occasion he might possible, how to take the city of Orchomene, that took part with the Lacedæmonians, and had received two ensigns of footmen of theirs to keep it. Pelopidas being advertised one day, that the garrison of Orchomene was gone abroad to make a road into the country of the Locrians hoping he should find Orchomene without garrison : he marched thither with his holy band, and certain number of horsemen. But when he drew near the city, he had intelligence there was another garrison coming from Sparta, to supply the place of the garrison that was abroad : whereupon he returned back again by the city of Tegyra, for he could have passed no other way, but to have turned down by the foot of the mountain. For all the valley that lay between both, was drowned with the overflowing of the river of Melas, which even from his very head carrieth ever such breadth with it, as it maketh the marishes navigable, so as it is unpassable for any shallow it hath. Nor far from these marishes, standeth the temple of Apollo

Tegyrian, where was an oracle in old time, but left off at this day, and had never long continuance, but only until the time of the wars of the Medes, when Echeocrates was maister and chief priest there. And some hold opinion, that Apollo was born there: for they call the next mountain to it, Delos, at the foot whereof the marishes of the river of Melas do end, and behind the temple are two goodly springs, from whence cometh great abundance of good sweet water: whereof the one of them is called to this day the Palm, and the other the Olive. And some say also, that the goddess Latona was not brought to bed between two trees, but between these two springs. For Mount Ptoum is hard by it also, from whence the wild boar came of a sodain that flighted her. And the tale that is told of the serpent Pytho, and of the giant Tityus, do both confirm it, that Apollo was born in the same place. I pass over many other conjectures confirming the same, for that we do not believe in our country that Apollo is among the number of those, who from mortal men have been translated to immortal gods, as are Hercules and Bacchus, that through the excellency of their vertue, did put off mortality, and took immortality upon them: but we rather take him for one of those that never had beginning nor generation, at the least if those things be to be credited, which so many grave and ancient writers have left in writing to us, touching so great and holy things. The Thebans returning back from Orchomeno, and the Lacedæmonians on the other side returning also from Locris, both at one time, they fortun'd both armies to meet about the city of Tegyra. Now, so soon as the Thebans had dis-

at the
battell of
Tegyra

Pelopidas' victory

covered the Lacedæmonians passing the strait, one of them ran suddenly to Pelopidas, and told him : Sir, we are fallen into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours ? answered Pelopidas again. With these words, he commanded his horsemen that were in the rearward, to come before, and set upon them : and himself in the meantime put his footmen immediately into a pretty squadron close together, being in all, not above three hundred men, hoping when he should come to give charge with his battell, he should make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater number. For the Lacedæmonians divided themselves in two companies, and every company, as Ephorus writeth, had five hundred men : and as Callisthenes said, seven hundred. Polybius, and divers other authors say, they were nine hundred men. So Theopompus and Gorgoleon, the captains of the Lacedæmonians, lustily marched against the Thebans : and it fell out so, that the first charge was given, where the chieftains or generals were of either side, with great fury on either part, so as both the generals of the Lacedæmonians which set upon Pelopidas together, were slain. They being slain, and all that were about them, being either hurt or killed in the field : the rest of the army were so amazed, that they divided in two, and made a lane on either side, for the Thebans to pass through them if they would. But when they saw Pelopidas meant not to take the passage they offered him, and that he came on still with his men to set upon those that were yet in battell ray, and slew all them that stood before him : then they turned tail, and took them to their legs. Howbeit the Thebans did not

chase them far, fearing the Orchomenians who were not far from them, and the new garrison besides, that were come from Lacedæmon not long before. And this was the cause they were content that they had overcome them by force, and had passed through their army in despite of them, and broken and overthrown them. So when he had set up marks of triumph, and spoiled their slain enemies, they returned home again, glad men for their obtained victory. For in all the wars the Lacedæmonians ever made, as well with the Grecians as with the barbarous people also, there was never chronicle mentioned at any time, that their enemies being so few, did overcome them that were so many, nor that they were overcome also by any number equal in battell. Whereupon they grew so courageous and terrible, that no man durst once abide them: for their only fame did so terrify their enemies that came to fight against them, that they thought with no equal force to be able to perform as much as they had done. But this battell of Tegyra was the first that made both them and the other Grecians know, that it was not the river of Eurotas alone, nor the valley that lieth between the rivers of Cnacion, and of Babyca, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places else, where they learn young men to be ashamed of dishonest and vile things, and to venter their lives for honest causes, fearing more dishonourable reproach, than honourable danger. These are the people most to be feared, and are most terrible also to their enemies. And for the holy band we mentioned before, it is said, Gorgidas was the first erector of the same.

What
enemies
are most
to be
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The first institution They were three hundred chosen men entertained by the state, and they always kept within the castle of Cadmea, and the band was called the town's band: for at that time, and specially in that part of Greece, they called the castles and great holds in cities, the towns. Other say it was a band of footmen that were in love one with another. And therefore Pammenes' pleasant words are noted, saying, that Nestor could no skill to set an army in battell array, seeing he gave the Græcians counsel, in the *Iliads* of Homer, that they should set them in battell ray, every country and tribe by themselves:

That by affection's force, and links of kindly love,
That one might always help at hand, that other to
behove.

For, said he, one friend should rather be set by another that loves together: because in danger, men commonly do little regard their countrymen, or such as are of their tribe. But men that do love one another, can never be broken nor overcome: for the passion of love that entertaineth each other's affection, for affection sake, doth keep them from forsaking one another. And those that are beloved, being ashamed to do any vile or dishonest thing before those that love them, for very love will stick one by another to the death. And sure the reason is good, if it be true that lovers do indeed more regard them they love, though they be absent, than other that be present. As appeareth by the example of him, that being stricken down to the ground, his enemy lifting up his sword to kill him, he prayed him he would

give him his death's wound before, least his friend that loved him, seeing a wound on his back, should be ashamed of him. It is reported also, that Iolaus being beloved of Hercules, did help and accompany him in all his labours and quarrels. Whereupon Aristotle writeth, that unto his time, such as loved heartily together, became sworn brethren one to another, upon Iolaus' tomb. And therefore methinks it is likely, that this band was first called the holy band, by the self same reason that Plato calleth a lover, a divine friend by God's appointment. It is written also, that this band was never broken, nor overthrown before the battel of Chæronea: After that battell, Philip taking view of the slain bodies, he stayed in that place where the four hundred men of that band lay all dead on the ground, one hard by another, and all of them slain and thrust through with pikes on their breasts, whereat he wondered much: and being told him that it was the lovers' band, he fell a-weeping for pity, saying, Woe be to them that think these men did or suffered any evil or dishonest thing. And to be short, the misfortune of Laius, that was slain by his own brother Œdipus, was not the first original cause of this custom, that the Thebans began to be in love one with another as the poets write: but they were their first law-makers, who perceiving them to be a stout and fierce nation of nature, they sought even from their youth to make them gentle and civil, and therefore in all their actions both of sport and earnest, they continually acquainted them with playing of the flute, being highly esteemed of them in those days. They brought in the use also to make love, in the

of the
holy band

The
Sacred
Band

middest of all their youthful sports and exercises of their bodies, to frame the young men's manners, and to bring them to a civil life. And therefore they had reason that gave the goddess Harmonia to the Thebans, for defender and patroness of their city, who was begotten (as they say) between Mars and Venus. For that giveth us to understand, that where force and warlike courage is joined with grace, to win and persuade: all things by this union and accord are brought to a goodly, profitable, and most perfect government. Now, to return again to the matter of this holy band of the Thebans. Gorgidas dividing it in the former ranks, and placing it all amongst the front of the battell of the footmen, it did not appear what they were able to do of themselves, for that he brought them not all into one body: so as thereby they might see what service the whole company could do being together, considering that it was divided and mingled amongst many other, that were a great deal of less value than themselves. But Pelopidas that had made good proof of their valiantness before, when they fought about him of themselves, without others by them, at Tegyra: would never after divide nor separate them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entire body that had all his members, he would always begin with them to give a charge in his most dangerous battels. For, as we see in running of coaches at games, that horses being tied all together in a front, do run faster and stronger than they do when they are loose, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many together do break through the air better, but for that the

contention and envy between them to outrun one another doth indeed set their hearts and stomacks on fire. Even so he thought, that valiant men giving one another a desire and envy to do well, should have the more courage, and would be of greater force, when they fought one in another's sight. But the Lacedæmonians afterwards being at peace and league with all the other Grecians, proclaimed open wars against the Thebans only: and King Cleombrotus went to invade them with an army of ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. Whereupon the Thebans were not only in the like danger they stood in before to lose their liberty, but the Lacedæmonians did openly threaten they would utterly destroy them for ever: so that all the country of Bœotia stood in greater fear, than ever they did before. And one day as Pelopidas went out of his house to go to the wars, his wife bringing him out of the doors to take her leave of him, weeping, she prayed him heartily to look well to himself. But he answered her again: My good wife, it is for private soldiers to be careful of themselves, but not for captains, for they must have an eye to save others' lives. And when he came to the camp, he found the captains and the lieutenants of the army, in sundry opinions: and he was the first that agreed with Epaminondas' opinion, who thought it best they should give battell to the enemies. Pelopidas at that time was neither governor of Bœotia, nor general of the army, but only captain of the holy band: notwithstanding they had great affiance in him, and gave him great authority in council concerning their affairs: such as became a man that

**Pelo-
pidas'
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answer**

See what plagues follow when justice is denied had made so good testimony of his natural love and affection to his country, as he had done. Now, being determined in council that they should give the enemy battell, they all mustered together in the valley of Leuctra, where he had a vision in his dream, that troubled him very much. In that valley there are the tombs of the daughters of one Scedasus, which by reason of the place, they call the Leuctrides, for that they were buried there, after they had been defiled and ravished, by certain guests of the Spartans that lay in their house, travelling that way. This act being so horrible and wicked, the poor father of these defiled virgins, could neither have justice, nor revenge of the Lacedæmonians, and therefore after he had banned and cursed the Lacedæmonians with most horrible and execrable railings and curses as might be possible, he killed himself upon the graves of his daughters. The Lacedæmonians had many sundry oracles, prophecies and signs of the gods to warn them, to take heed of the wrath of the Leuctrides: howbeit every man understood not the signification of this prophecy, but were deceived by the equivocation of the name. For there was a little town in the country of Laconia, standing upon the sea, called Leuctrum: and in Arcadia also by the city of Megalépolis, there was another town called by the same name. This misfortune chanced long before the battell of Leuctra: but then Pelopidas dreaming in his tent, thought he saw in a vision the daughters of Scedasus weeping about their graves, and cursing the Lacedæmonians: and that he saw their father also, commanding him to sacrifice a red maiden to his daughters, if they

would obtain the victory. This commandment at the first, seemed very cruel and wicked: whereupon when he rose, he went to the prognosticators and generals of the army, and told them his dream. So, some of them said, this was no matter to be lightly passed over, but to be considered of, alleging many examples in the like cases. As of Menœceus the son of Creon in old time, and of Macaria the daughter of Hercules. And yet of latter memory, the wise Pherecydes, whom the Lacedæmonians slew, and whose skin their kings do keep at this day, by commandment of an oracle. And Leonidas, who following a prophecy of the gods, did as it were sacrifice himself, for the safety of Greece. And furthermore, the young boys which Themistocles did sacrifice to Bacchus Omestes (to say, eating raw flesh) before the battell of Salamis. And all these sacrifices were acceptable to the gods, as the victories following did plainly shew it. In contrary manner also King Agesilaus, coming from those very places, from whence King Agamemnon came in the time of the wars of Troia, and going also against the same enemies: dreamed one night in the city of Aulis, he saw the goddess Diana, asking him his daughter for sacrifice. But he tenderly loving her, would by no means perform it: and thereupon was compelled to break off his journey before he had executed his enterprise, and departed with small honour. Other to the contrary stood to it stoutly, and said it was not to be done. For, so cruel, abominable, and brutish a sacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the gods, nor to any god, better or mightier than ours: considering

Godly sayings concerning God

God's
provi-
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that they be no impressions in the air, nor giants that rule the world, but the one only mighty and eternal God, father of gods and men. And to believe that either gods or demi-gods do delight in murder, or shedding of man's blood, it is a mere mockery and folly. But admit it were so, they were no more to be regarded therein, than those that have no power at all: for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirit, when they have such damnable and horrible desires in them, and specially if they abide still with them. Now the generals and heads of the army of the Thebans being of sundry opinions, and Pelopidas being more afraid than before, by reason of their disagreement: a young mare colt, or filly, breaking by chance from other mares running and flinging through the camp, came to stay right against them. Then every man began to look upon her, and to mark what a fair filly it was, and red-coloured everywhere, and what a pride she took with her self to hear her own neighing. Theocritus then the soothsayer being amongst them, did behold her, and knew straight what the filly meant, and so cried out forthwith: O happy Pelopidas, lo here is the sacrifice thou lookest for, seek no other virgin for thy sacrifice, but take this that God himself doth send thee. When Theocritus had said so, they took the filly, and laid her upon the tomb of Scedasus' daughters, and put garlands of flowers about her, as they handled other sacrifices: and then after their prayers made to the gods, they did sacrifice her with great joy, and told Pelopidas' vision in his dream the night before through all the camp, and the sacrifice they had made also according to the signification thereof. Moreover, when

they came to join battell, Epaminondas being general, drew all his army on the left hand, because he would bring the right wing of the enemies' army (where they had placed the natural Spartans) further from the other Grecians their friends and allies, that were set in the other wing of their battell: that he coming with his whole power together to give a charge upon Cleombrotus their king (being in a corner by himself) might be distressed or overthrown. The enemies finding Pelopidas' intent, began to change their order, and having men enough, meant to thrust out their right wing at length to compass in Epaminondas. But Pelopidas in the meantime sodainly prevented them, and running with great fury with his squadron of three hundred men, he set upon Cleombrotus before he could disorder his men to put forth the right wing, and join them together again. And so he found the Lacedæmonians not yet settled in their ranks, and brake them in this disorder, thrusting one in another's place to put themselves again in order: notwithstanding the Lacedæmonians of all other men were the only captains and most expert soldiers in martial discipline, as men so trained and practised, that no sudden altering, of form or order in their ranks, could either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turn head or side upon any sodain occasion offered, and could fight and order themselves in battell every way alike. So Epaminondas going to give the onset upon them alone, with the whole force of his battell together, not tarrying for others: and Pelopidas also with an incredible courage and readiness, presenting himself in battell before them, did put

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**Pelopidas
and Epami-
nondas**

them into such a terrible fear, that they clean forgot their skill in fighting, and their wonted courage failed them. For they cowardly turned their backs, and there were more Lacedæmonians slain that day, than ever were before in any former battell. Pelopidas therefore, being neither governor of Bœotia, nor general of all the army, but only captain of the holy band: did notwithstanding win as much honour and glory of this victory, as Epaminondas that was governor of Bœotia, and general of all the army. Indeed afterwards they were both governors of Bœotia together, when they invaded the country of Peloponnesus, where they made most part of the cities and people rebel against the Lacedæmonians, and take their part. As the Eleans, the Argives, and all Arcadia, and the best part of Laconia self, notwithstanding it was in the heart of winter, and in the shortest days of the year, and towards the latter end also of the last moneth of their year's authority and rule, having not many days to continue in office, being forced to leave their authority, upon pain of death if they did refuse, unto other officers new chosen, the beginning of the next month following. Whereupon their other companions, and governors also of the country of Bœotia, what for fear to incur the danger of the law, as also to avoid the trouble to lie in camp in the sharpest of winter: they did urge and persuade them to bring the army back again into their country. But Pelopidas was the first that yielded to Epaminondas' opinion, and won the other Thebans also to consent unto it, to be contented to be led by them, to give assault to the city self of Sparta. So, through their persuasion they passed over the river of Eurotas,

and took many little towns of the Lacedæmonians, and wasted and destroyed all the country to the seaside, leading under their ensigns an army of three-score and ten thousand fighting men, and all Grecians, the Thebans not making up the twelfth part of them. Now, the honour and great reputation of these two persons, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, brought their friends and confederates, that they followed them, without any resolution of council or public order, and never opened their mouths against them, but willingly marched under their conduction. And in my opinion, truly me thinks it is the first and chiefest point in the law of nature, that he that is weak, not able to defend himself, should lean to one that is strong, and able to defend both. Even much like to fresh-water soldiers, and raw seamen, that lying at sea in calm weather, and in safe harbour, are as lusty and brag with the maisters and boatswains as may be: and let a little storm of weather come upon them sodainly, and that they be in any danger, then they look on the maisters, hoping for no life but at their hands. And even in like manner the Eleans and Argives, who though in all assemblies of council they would ever jar and strive with the Thebans, for honour and superiority in the army: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherein they saw there was danger, then their peacocks' bravery was gone, and they were glad to obey their general's commandment. In this journey they brought all the cities of the province of Arcadia to be in league with them, and took all the country of Messenia from the Lacedæmonians, which they peaceably enjoyed: and called home again all the ancient

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over the
river of
Eurotas

The in-
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inhabitants of the same, and restored them to their country, and replenished the city of Ithome: Then returning afterwards into their country by the city of Cenchrea, they overthrew the Athenians that came to trouble them, in entering into the strait of Peloponnesus, supposing to have stopped their passage. Thus was the valiantness of these two worthy men greatly commended and honoured of everybody, for so many notable exploits and victories as they had won, and their marvellous good success greatly wondred at. But as their glory and renown increased abroad, so did their countrymen's malice and envy increase against them at home: who had prepared such a welcome home for them, as was too bad and vile for so honourable service as they had done. For Epaminondas and Pelopidas both at their return, were accused of treason. For there was a special law at Thebes, that commanded all such as should happen to be governors of Bœotia, to resign their office immediately to the new officers elect, at the beginning of the first moneth of the year, which in Bœotia they call Boucatios: and they had kept it four whole moneths above their term appointed, in which time they had done all that we have spoken of before, as well in the province of Messenia and of Arcadia, as also in the country of Laconia. Pelopidas was the first of the two that was called in by process, therefore he stood in the greater danger: howbeit in the end, they were both discharged again. As for Epaminondas, he took his accusation and the attempt of his enemies (whereby they sought to have cast them both away) quietly enough: Judging, that patience to those that deal in state and government, is a great shew of force and mag-

nanimity. But Pelopidas being of a hotter nature, and more cholerick, and set on besides by some of his friends, did take this occasion to be revenged. Meneclidas the orator was one of those that came into Charon's house with Pelopidas, and Melon, but notwithstanding the Thebans did nothing honour him, as they did the rest. He taking this ill at their hands, being marvellous eloquent of speech, but viciously given otherways, and a man of a vile and mischievous nature: did fondly abuse his eloquence, falsely accusing those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not being contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put Epaminondas one year from being governor of Bœotia, which he sued for: and moreover he was ever against him in all matters of state he took in hand. But he could never bring Pelopidas out of favour with the people: and therefore he sought to make bate betwixt him and Charon. For it is the common trick of all spiteful persons, when they cannot be thought so honest men as those whom they envy: to go about to prove that they are not so honest and meet men, as those whom they prefer and commend. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended Charon's noble acts and victories, and specially that victory above other, which the Thebans won before the journey of Leuctra, in a skirmish of horsemen, that was before the city of Platæa, he having charge of the same: of the which he would leave this memory. Androcydes a Cyzicenean and painter, was at a price with the Thebans to paint them some other battell in a table, and he did draw this work in the city

The
practise
of spite-
ful men

Meneclidas and Pelopidas

self of Thebes : but as he was in hand withal, the rebellion of the Thebans fell out against the Lacedæmonians, and war followed on the neck of that, whereupon the painter forsook Thebes, leaving his work in a manner done and perfect. The Thebans kept this table by them, and this Meneclidas moved the people they would hang it up in some temple or public place with an inscription upon it, saying thus: This was Charon's victory, of purpose to deface and obscure the glory of Pelopidas and of Epaminondas. Too vain and fond was his ambition, to set before so many noble battells and victories, one simple overthrow of Charon, in the which Gerandas, one of the meanest gentlemen of all Sparta was slain, and forty other with him : and this was all he did. Pelopidas misliked Meneclidas' motion, maintaining that it was directly against the laws of Thebes, which did expressly forbid that no private person should be honoured with the title of common victory, but willed the glory thereof should be attributed to all the people generally. Indeed Pelopidas in all his orations did greatly praise and commend Charon, notwithstanding he made open proof, how Meneclidas was an envious and spiteful detractor, and a naughty wicked man, oftentimes asking the Thebans, if they themselves were worthy of no honour? so as in the end he caused Meneclidas to be condemned in a great sum of money. But he finding himself unable to pay it, being so great a sum, practised afterwards to alter the whole state and government. I thought good to dilate thus at large because me thinks it doth somewhat declare Pelopidas' nature, and manners, what they were. Now about that time Alexander, the tyrant

of Pheræ, was at open wars with many people of Thessaly, and did use all policy he could, to bring them all to his obedience. Whereupon the free cities sent their ambassadors unto Thebes, to pray them to send them a captain with an army to aid them. Then Pelopidas seeing Epaminondas occupied about the wars of Peloponnesus, did offer himself to the Thessalian ambassadors, being loth to drown his experience and sufficiency in wars, with unprofitable and tedious idleness, knowing that in those parts where Epaminondas lay, there needeth no other captain. Now when he came with his army into Thessaly, the city of Larissa yielded presently unto him: where the tyrant Alexander came to meet with him, and to pray him to treat a peace betwixt him and the Thessalians. Pelopidas attempted to bring it to pass, seeking in stead of a tyrant to make him a gentle, just, and lawful governor of Thessaly. But when he saw no persuasions could take place with the tyrant, and that he grew more stubborn and untractable, and would not hear reason: and moreover that he heard many grievous complaints of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a marvellous dissolute and unruly person in all his doings, and extremely covetous besides: then he began to speak roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyrant thereupon stole away secretly from him, and fled with his guard and soldiers about him. So Pelopidas leaving the Thessalians out of all fear and danger of the tyrant, and furthermore in good peace and amity one with the other, he went into Macedon: where Ptolemy made war at that time with Alexander, being king of Macedon, they both having

Alex-
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tyrant of
Pheræ

**Philip of
Macedon
delivered
for hos-
tage to
Pelopidas**

sent for him to hear and determine the quarrel betwixt them, and also to help him that had the right, against him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them both, and restored the banished men of either side, to their lands and goods again. For assurance of the peace, he took the king's brother in hostage, whose name was Philip, and thirty other children of the noblest men's sons of Macedon, whom he brought away with him to Thebes, to let the Grecians see, that the reputation of the Thebans' power stretched far, and the renown also of their manner of government and justice. It is the same Philip, that made war afterwards with the Grecians, to take their liberty from them: howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought up at Thebes in Pammenes' house. And this is the cause, why some thought Philip did follow Epaminondas' manner: and it might be peradventure, he did learn of him to be quick and ready in the wars, which indeed was but a piece of Epaminondas' vertue. But as to the continency, justice, magnanimity, and clemency, which were the special points, that made Epaminondas of great fame: Philip could neither by nature, education, nor study ever attain unto. The Thessalians having sent afterwards to Thebes, to complain of Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, that did again molest and trouble the free cities of Thessaly: Pelopidas was sent thither ambassador with Ismenias, carrying no power with him from Thebes, little thinking he should have needed to have made wars: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the country self, upon the instant necessity offered. At the very same time also, all Macedon was up

in arms. For Ptolemy had slain the king, and usurped the kingdom, and the servants and friends of the dead king called upon Pelopidas for aid: who desiring to come even upon the fact, and having brought no men of war out of his own country with him, did presently levy certain men where he was, and so marched forward with them against Ptolemy. Now Ptolemy when both their powers met, did corrupt the soldiers Pelopidas had brought with money, to take his part. But notwithstanding this policy he had practised, yet he was afraid of the name only, and greatness of Pelopidas' reputation: wherefore he went unto Pelopidas, as to a better man than himself, and making marvellous much of him, and entreating of him, he made promise, and bound it by oath, that he would keep the realm for the brethren of the dead king, and that he would take all those for his friends or enemies, whom the Thebans did either love or hate. And for assurance of his promise, he gave him his son Philoxenus in hostage, and fifty other of his friends, all the which Pelopidas sent unto Thebes. But in the meantime, being marvelously offended with the treason of the soldiers against him, understanding that the most part of their goods, their wives and children, were in the city of Pharsalus, he thought if he could win that, it were a marvellous good way for him to be revenged of the treachery of the soldiers against him: whereupon he levied certain Thessalians, and went to that city. Pelopidas was no sooner come thither, but Alexander the tyrant arrived also with his army. Pelopidas supposing he had come to justify himself, clearing the complaints of the

**Pelopidas
in Thes-
saly**

**Pelopidas
taken
prisoner**

Thessalians made against him : went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delighted in murder and shedding of blood. Nevertheless, he hoped he durst not have attempted anything against him, for the authority and seignior's sake of Thebes, by whom he was sent thither, as also for his own reputation. But the tyrant seeing him slenderly accompanied, and without train of soldiers : took him prisoner, and won the city of Pharsalus at that present time. But this act of his put his subjects in a great fear, who seeing him commit so shameful a deed against all equity, did think straight he meant to spare no man, but would use men, and all things else that came in his hands, like a desperate man, and one that reckoned himself cast away. But when the Thebans understood this news, they were marvellous sorry, and straight sent an army thither, appointing other captains than Epaminondas, because then they had some misliking of him. Alexander the tyrant having brought Pelopidas in the meantime to Pheræ, did suffer any man that would at the first to come and see him, and speak with him : supposing his imprisonment had killed his heart, and had made him very humble. But when he was told the contrary, how Pelopidas did comfort the citizens of Pheræ, and willed them to be of good cheer, telling them the hour was now come that the tyrant should smart for all the mischiefs he had done : and that he sent him word to his face, he had no reason to hang and put his poor citizens daily to death as he did, with sundry kinds of cruel torments, who had in nothing offended him, and did let him alone, knowing that if ever he got

out of his hands, he would be revenged of him. The tyrant wondring at this great stomach of his, and at his marvellous constancy fearing nothing: asked what he meant, to long for hasty death? Pelopidas being told what he said, answered him again: Marry, said he, because thou shouldst die the sooner, being more odious to the gods and men, than yet thou art. After this answer, the tyrant would never suffer any man to come and speak with him again. But Thebé, that was the daughter of the tyrant Jason deceased, and wife at that time of Alexander the tyrant, hearing report of Pelopidas' noble mind and courage by his keepers: she had a marvellous desire to see him, and to speak with him. But when she came to see him, like a woman she could not at the first discern the greatness of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, finding him in such misery: yet conjecturing by exterior shew, noting his simple apparel, his hairs and beard grown very long, and how poorly he was served, and worse entertained: she thought with her self his case was to be pitied, and that he was in no state meet for the glory of his name, wherewith she fell a-weeping for compassion. Pelopidas that knew not what she was, began to muse at the first: but when it was told him she was Jason's daughter, then he courteously saluted her for her father Jason's sake, who while he lived was his very good friend. So Thebé said unto him: My lord Pelopidas, I pity thy poor lady and wife. Truly so do I pity thee, quoth Pelopidas again to her: that thou being no prisoner, canst abide such a wicked Alexander. This answer tickled Thebé at the heart, who with great impatience did bear

**Pelo-
pidas'
stoutness**

Epaminondas sent into Thessaly with an army the cruelty, violence, and villany of the tyrant her husband: that besides all other infamous acts of his detestable life, committed sodomy with her youngest brother. So she oft visiting Pelopidas, and boldly making her moan to him, telling him closely all the injuries her husband offered her: through Pelopidas' talk with her, by little and little she grew to abhor him, and to conceive a hate in heart against him, desiring revenge on him. But now the captains of the Thebans that were sent to deliver Pelopidas, being entred into Thessaly with their army: (whether it was through default of ignorance, or their mishap) they returned home with shame, and did nothing. Whereupon the Thebans at their return home condemned them every man in the sum of ten thousand drachms, and sent Epaminondas thither again with another army: at whose coming, all Thessaly rose incontinently, for the reputation of so great a captain. And his fortune was so good, that he had in a manner utterly overthrown all the whole state of the tyrant: his friends and captains were so much afraid, and his subjects on the other side so well disposed to rebel, and marvellous glad for the hope they had, quickly to see the tyrant have his deserved hire, for all his former wicked deeds he had committed. Notwithstanding, Epaminondas preferring the delivery and safety of Pelopidas, before the consideration of his own honour and glory, and fearing lest Alexander seeing himself in danger to be turned out of all he had, falling into despair like a bedlam beast, would bend all his desperation and fury against Pelopidas: he drew these wars out in length, compassing him round about, but not

fiercely setting upon him, with colour to prepare his way the better by delaying still, thereby to soften the cruel mind of this tyrant, going on in this gentle sort, and partly to cut his comb and extreme pride, but specially to preserve Pelopidas, from the danger and cruelty of his beastly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruel man, and one that neither regarded reason, nor justice in any sort, considering how he made some men to be buried alive, and others to be put in the skins of bears and wild boars, and then to set hounds upon them to tear them in pieces, or else himself for his pastime would kill them, with shooting or throwing of darts at them. And in the cities of Melibœa and of Scotusa, both of them being in league and friendship with him, he spying a time one day when the citizens were assembled in council together, suddenly compassed them in with his guard and soldiers, and put them every one to the sword, even to the little children. And he consecrated the dart also wherewith he had slain his own uncle Polyphron, and having put garlands upon it, he did sacrifice to it, as to a god, and called it Tychon, as one would say, happy killer. And another time being in a theatre, where the tragedy of *Troades* of Euripides was played, he went out of the theatre, and sent word to the players notwithstanding, that they should go on with their play, as if he had been still among them: saying that he came not away for any misliking he had of them or of the play, but because he was ashamed his people should see him weep, to see the miseries of Hecuba and Andromaché played, and that they never saw him pity the death of any one man, of so many of his citizens as he had caused to

**The
brutish
cruelty
of Alex-
ander the
tyrant**

Epami-
nondas
delivered
Pelopidas
out of
prison

be slain. The guilty conscience therefore of this cruel and heathen tyrant, did make him tremble at the only name and reputation of Epaminondas : and as the common proverb saith :

He let his wings downfall, not much unlike the cock,
Which doth refuse the pit prepared and list not bide
the shock.

So he sent straight unto Epaminondas to excuse himself. But Epaminondas would in no wise suffer the Thebans, through his means, to make league with such an hell-hound : only he yielded to abstinence of arms for thirty days, upon delivery of Pelopidas and Ismenias into his hands, with whom he straight returned unto Thebes. Now the Thebans being advertised that the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, did send ambassadors to Artaxerxes the mighty King of Persia, to make league with him : they sent to him Pelopidas for them also, being wisely considered of them to send a man of such fame and reputation. For Pelopidas passing first through countries subject to the King of Persia, his fame was such where he came, that the people's talk was only of him. For the report of the famous battells he had won of the Lacedæmonians, was not only carried into the next regions and countries of Asia : but since the first news of the journey of Leuctra was brought thither, Pelopidas having after that won victory upon victory, his estimation grew so great, as it was blown abroad through the world, even to the highest and farthest parts of the east countries. And when he came to the King of Persia's court, the princes, great lords, and captains of Persia that saw him, had him

in great admiration, saying : Lo this is he that conquered the Lacedæmonians, and took all their seigniory and authority from them, both by sea and by land, and drave the Spartans beyond the river of Eurotas, and from Mount Taygetus, who not long before made wars with the great King of Persia, being led under their king Agesilaus, even in the midst of Asia, for the realms of Susa, and of Ecbatana. So King Artaxerxes self was very glad of his coming, and praised him above them all, and made his estimation greater than it was before, by his great and honourable entertaining of him, meaning thereby to return the honour to himself again : because men should think that the most famous men of the world came to honour him, and to see his court, as esteeming both him, and his greatness, the only happiness of the world. But when he had seen his face, and heard him speak, and perceived that his words were much graver than the Athenians, and plainer than the Lacedæmonians : he then was further in love with him than before, and without disguising, he did honour and favour him above all the other ambassadors, who found that he made more estimation of him, than of them all. Notwithstanding, he seemed to bear greater good-will unto Antalcidas Lacedæmonian, than to any other of the Grecians : for that one day being at the table, he took a garland of flowers from his own head, and washed it in perfuming water, and sent it unto him. Indeed he did not use Pelopidas with that open familiarity, yet did he send him the goodliest and richest presents he could devise, and granted him besides all his requests he made unto him : which were, that all the people of

**Pelopidas
greatly
honoured
of the
King of
Persia**

Pelopidas
refused
the great
gifts of
the King
Arta-
xerxes

Greece should be free: that the city and country of Messen^e, should be inhabited again: and that the citizens of Thebes by their successors should be taken, as ancient friends and allies of the Kings of Persia. So when he had received these answers, he returned home again, and would by no means accept any of the great presents the king had offered him: which caused the other ambassadors of the Grecians to be so ill welcome home to their cities. For among other, Timagoras was accused to the Athenians, and condemned to die, and was executed: which if they did in respect of the great presents he had taken of the king, truly they had reason, and it was worthily done of them. For he took not only gold and silver enough, as much as they would give him: but received a very rich bed also, and Persian chamberlains to make and dress it up, as if no Grecian servants of his could have served that turn. Moreover he received four-score milch kine to the pail, and neat herds to keep them, having need of cows' milk belike, to heal a disease that fell upon him: and would needs be carried in a litter upon men's arms from the king's court, unto the Mediterranean Sea, the king rewarding them for their pains that carried him, with four talents. Yet it seemeth the gifts he took did not offend the Athenians so much, considering that Epicrates (a drudge or tankard-bearer) did not only confess before the people, how he had taken gifts of the King of Persia: but said furthermore, that he would have a law made, that as they did yearly choose nine officers to rule the whole city, so that they would choose nine of the poorest and meanest citizens, and send them ambassadors

unto the King of Persia, that they might return home rich men with gifts. The people laughed to hear him, but yet were they very angry the Thebans had obtained all that they had demanded: not considering that Pelopidas' estimation and worthiness did more prevail, and take better effect, than all the orations the other could make, and specially to a prince that sought always to entertain those Grecians, which were of greatest force and power in the wars. This ambassage did greatly increase every man's love and good-will unto Pelopidas, because of the replenishing again of Messené with inhabitants, and enfranchising and setting at liberty of all the other Grecians. But the tyrant Alexander of Pheræ, returning again to his old accustomed cruelty, and having destroyed many cities of Thessaly, and placed his garrisons through all the country of the Phthiotes, Achaïans, and Magnesians: the cities being advertised of Pelopidas' return again to Thebes, they sent ambassadors immediately to Thebes, to pray them to send them an army, and namely Pelopidas for captain, to deliver them from the miserable bondage of the tyrant. The Thebans willingly granted them, and put all things in readiness very sodainly. But Pelopidas being ready to set forward in his journey, there fell a sudden eclipse of the sun, so as at noonday it was very dark in Thebes. Pelopidas seeing every man afraid of this eclipse above, he would not compel the people to depart with this fear, nor with so ill hope to hazard the loss of seven thousand Thebans, being all billed to go this journey: but notwithstanding, he put himself alone into the Thessalian hands, with three hundred horse-

**His
second
journey
against
the tyrant
Alex-
ander**

Battell
given
by the
temple of
Thetis

men of strangers, that were glad to serve with him, with whom he took his journey against the sooth-sayers' minds, and against the good-will of all his citizens, who thought this eclipse did threaten the death of some great person like himself. But Pelopidas though he needed no spur to be revenged upon the tyrant Alexander, being by nature hot, and desirous of himself to revenge the spite and villany he had offered him: yet he had a further hope to find the tyrant's house divided against himself, by the former talk he had with his wife Thebé, in time of his imprisonment there. Nevertheless, the fame and reputation of the journey undertaken, did wonderfully increase his noble courage, and the rather, because he was desirous (all he could) the Grecians should see, that at the very same time when the Lacedæmonians did send governors and captains to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, to serve and aid him, and that the Athenians as hirelings took pay of the tyrant Alexander of Pheræ, in whose honour they had set up a statue of brass in their city, as unto their saviour: the Thebans only at the self same time took arms against them, to deliver those whom the tyrants oppressed, and sought to root out all tyrannical government over the Grecians. So when he came to the city of Pharsalus, and had gathered his army together, he went presently into the field to meet with the tyrant, Alexander, perceiving Pelopidas had very few Thebans about him, and that he had twice as many more Thessalians with him, than the other had: he went into the temple of Thetis, to meet with Pelopidas. There one telling Pelopidas, that Alexander was coming

against him with a great power, Pelopidas answered him straight, All the better, we shall kill the more. Now, in the midst of the valley, there are certain round hills of a good pretty height, which they commonly call the dogs' heads: they both strived which of their footmen should first get those hills. Pelopidas having a great number of horsemen, and good men-at-arms in the field, sent them before to give charge upon the enemies, that pressed to win the vantage of the place: and having overthrown them, they followed the chase all the valley over. But in the meantime, Alexander having his footmen by, marched forwards and got the hills, because the Thessalians that were farther off came too late: notwithstanding, when they came to the hills, they sought forcibly to climb them up, being very high and steep. But Alexander coming down the hill, gave charge upon them to their disadvantage, and slew the first that gave the attempt to get up against the hill: and the residue being sore hurt, retired again without their purpose. Pelopidas seeing that, sounded the retrait for the horsemen that followed the chase, to repair to the standard, and commanded them they should set upon the footmen of the enemies that were in battell ray: and he himself ran to help those that fought to win the hills. So he took his target on his arm, and passing through the rearward, he got to the foremost ranks: to whom, the sight of his person did so redouble their force and courage, that the enemies themselves thought it had been a fresh supply of new men's hearts and other bodies, than theirs with whom they had fought before, that came thus lustily to set again upon them. And yet

unto the
tyrant
Alex-
ander

Pelopidas they did abide two or three onsets. Howbeit in
slain the end, perceiving those men did still more fiercely
force to get up the hill, and moreover how their
horsemen were come in from the chase: they gave
way, and left them the place, retiring back by little
and little. Then Pelopidas having won the hills,
stayed on the top of them, viewing the army of his
enemies, which were not yet returned from their
flying, but waved up and down in great disorder.
And there he looked all about, to see if he could
spy out Alexander: and at the length he found
him out amongst others, in the right wing of his
battell, setting his men again in order and en-
couraging of them. After he had set eye on him,
it was no holding of him back, his heart so rose
against him upon sight of him, that giving place
to wrath, he neither regarded his person, nor the
intent of his journey, but running far before his
men, he cried with a loud voice to the tyrant, and
challenged the combat of him. The tyrant would
not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but
fled, and hid himself amongst his soldiers. But
for his soldiers, the first that thought to set upon
Pelopidas, were slain by him, and many left dead
in the field. The residue standing stoutly to it,
and close together, did pass his curaces through
with their long pikes, and thrust him into the
breast. The Thessalians seeing him thus fore-
handled and distressed, for pity sake came running
from the top of those hills, to the place where
Pelopidas was, to help him. But even as they
came, he fell down dead before them. Then did
they together with their horsemen so fiercely set
upon them, that they made the whole battell of the

enemies to fly : and following them in chase a great way from that place, they covered the valley with dead bodies, for they slew above three thousand men. It is no marvel, if the Thebans that were at Pelopidas' death, took it very heavily, and lamented bitterly : calling him their father, their saviour, and maister, as one that had taught them the worthiest things that might be learned of any. But the Thessalians, and other friends and confederates also of the city of Thebes, besides their exceeding in setting out their common proclamations and edicts in praise of his memory, and doing him all the honour that could be due to the most rare and excellent person that ever was : they did yet more shew their love and affection towards him by their passing great sorrow and mourning they made for him. For it is said, that they that were at the battell, did not put off their armour, nor unbridle their horses, nor would dress their wounds, hearing tell of his death : before they went first and saw his body, not yet cold with fighting, laying great heaps of the enemies spoils about it, as if he could have told what they had done, nor before they had clipped off their own hairs, and the hair of their horses, in token of sorrow. And many of them also, when they were come into their tents and pavilions, would neither have fire, eat, nor drink : and all in the camp were full of sorrow and mourning, as if they had not won a notable victory, but had been overthrown and made subject by the tyrant. Afterwards when the news of his death was spread through all the country, the magistrates of every city through which Pelopidas' body was conveyed, went to receive it very

**The
great
lamenta-
tion and
mourning
for his
death**

The oration of the Thes-salians to the Thebans honourably, accompanied with all the young men, the priests and children, carrying tokens, and crowns of triumph, and other ornaments of gold, and when his funeral day was come, and that his body should be carried to be buried, the oldest and the noblest persons of the Thes-salians went unto the Thebans, and prayed them that they might have the burying of him: and one among them being the mouth of the rest, spake in this manner to the Thebans. "My Lords of Thebes, our good beloved friends and confederates, we only crave this good turn at your hands, wherein you shall much honour us, and in our great calamity somewhat also comfort us. For we shall never more accompany Pelopidas alive, nor requite his honourable deserts to us, that he shall ever know them. But if it please you to let us handle his body with our hands, and that we may bury him, and set forth his obsequies: we will imagine then at the least that you do think that, which we our selves do certainly believe: that we Thessalians, not you Thebans, have received the greatest loss of both. For you have lost indeed a worthy captain, and we have not only received that like loss with you, but the hope also of recovering of our liberty. For how dare we again send to you for another captain, when we cannot redeliver you Pelopidas?" The Thebans hearing their petition, granted their desire: and in mine opinion, no funerals could be done with greater pomp and honour, than the Thessalians performed his: being men that reckon not dignity, magnificence and pomp, to consist in ornaments of ivory, nor of purple. As Philistus doth set it out, who

praiseth to the moon the burying of Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, which was the end of his tyranny, as a sumptuous conclusion of a stately tragedy. And Alexander the Great, at the death of Hephæstion, did not only clip his horse hairs and mules, but plucked down also the battlements of the walls of the city: because it should appear, that the very walls themselves did mourn for his death, shewing that deformity instead of their former beauty. But all such things are done only by force and compulsion, upon the lords' commandments, which do but raise up envy against their memory for whom they are done, and hatred of them that are against their wills constrained to do the thing they misliked: and are no just proofs of honour nor good-will, but rather vain shews of barbarous pomp, and pride in him, that disposeth his authority and plenty of goods, in trifling toys not to be desired. Where contrariwise it plainly appeareth, that a private man dying in a foreign country, by reason should be accounted most happy of all other creatures, that having neither his wife, kin, nor his children by him, he should be conveyed to his funerals, accompanied with such multitudes of crowned people and number of cities, envying one another, who should most honour the funerals, as being unrequested, and least of all compelled. For saith Æsop, the death of a happy man is not grievous, but most blessed, seeing it bringeth all good men's doings to happiness, and leaveth fortune to her fickle change, and sporting pleasure. But in my judgement a Lacedæmonian spake better, when he said to Diagoras an old man, that had himself in old time gotten victory in the games

**Pelo-
pidas'
funerals**

**The
Thebans
revenged
Pelo-
pidas'
death** Olympical, and had seen besides, his own children, and his children's children (both sons and daughters) crowned with victories also in the self same games: O Diagoras, die presently, else thou shalt never come to heaven. But these victories of the Olympical and Pythian games, whosoever should put them all together, are not to be compared with one of the battels only, that Pelopidas hath fought and won: having spent the most part of his time in great calling and dignity, and lastly ended the same, being Governor of Bœotia the third time (which was the highest office of state in all his country) when he had destroyed the tyrants that kept the Thebans in bondage, and was also slain himself, valiantly fighting for the recovery of the Thessalians' liberty. But as Pelopidas' death was grievous to the Thebans' friends and confederates: so fell it out very profitable for them. For the Thebans hearing of Pelopidas' death, did not delay revenge, but sent an army forthwith of seven thousand footmen, and seven hundred horsemen, under the conduct of Malcitas and of Diogiton. They finding Alexander's army overthrown, and that he had lost the most part of his strength, did compel him to give up the Thessalians' towns he kept by force against them, and to set the Magnesians, the Phthiotes, and the Achaians at liberty, withdrawing his garrisons he had placed in their strongholds: and therewithal to swear, that from thenceforth he would march under the Thebans, against any enemy they should lead him, or command him to go against. So, the Thebans were pacified upon these conditions. Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him soon after for

Pelopidas' death, who (as we have told you before) had prettily instructed Thebé his wife, that she should not fear the outward appearance nor power of his tyranny, although she were environed with soldiers of banished men, whom the tyrant entertained to guard his person. Her self on the other side, fearing his falsehood, as also hating his cruelty, conspired her husband's death with her three brethren, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, and executed her conspiracy after this sort. The tyrant's place where he lay, was straitly guarded everywhere with soldiers, who nightly watched his person: but their bedchamber which they commonly used to lie in, was in the top of all his palace, where they kept a dog tied at the chamber door to give warning, which was a terrible dog, and knew none but the tyrant and his wife, and his keeper that gave him meat. Now when Thebé purposed to work her feat, she locked up her three brethren a whole day near unto their bedchamber. So when night was come, and being bed-time, she went her self alone according to her manner, into Alexander's chamber: and finding him asleep, she stole out straight again, and bad the keeper of the dog to carry the dog away, for her husband was disposed to take rest, and would have no noise. There was no way to get up to this chamber but by a ladder, which she let down: and fearing lest her brethren should make a noise, she had covered the ladder staves with wool before she let it fall down. When she had gotten them up with their swords, and had set them before the door, she went first her self into the chamber, and took away the tyrant's sword that hung at his bed's head, and

**Alex-
ander,
tyrant of
Pheræ,
slain by
his wife**

**Alex-
ander's
body
fouly
used** shewed it them, as a token given them that he was asleep. When it came to the pinch to do the deed, these young men were afraid, and their hearts began to fail them. But she took on with them and called them cowardly boys, that would not stand to it when it came to the point, and withal, sware in her rage, that she would go wake the tyrant, and open all the treason to him. So partly for shame, and partly for fear, she compelled them to come in, and to step to the bed, her self holding a lamp to light them. Then one of them took him by the feet, and bound them hard: another caught him by the hair of his head, and pulled him backwards: and the third thrust him through with his sword. So by chance he died sooner than he should have done, and otherwise than his wicked life deserved, for the manner of his death. So Alexander was the first tyrant that was ever slain by the treason of his wife, whose body was most villainously and despitefully used after his death. For
when the townsmen of Pheræ had
drawn him through the city in
mire and dirt, they cast
him out at length
to the dogs to
devour.

THE END OF PELOPIDAS' LIFE

THE LIFE OF MARCELLUS

MARCUS CLAUDIUS that was five times Consul at Rome, was the son (as they say) of another Marcus: and as Posidonius writeth, he was the first of his house surnamed Marcellus, as who would say, a martial and warlike man by nature. For he was cunning at weapons, skilful in wars, strong and lusty of body, hardy, and naturally given to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor shewed his great courage, but in wars against the enemy: otherwise he was ever gentle, and fair conditioned. He loved learning, and delighted in the Greek tongue, and much esteemed them that could speak it. For, he himself was so troubled in matters of state, that he could not study and follow it, as he desired to have done. For if God (as Homer saith) did ever make men

Marcellus' kindred

To use their youth in wars and battels fierce and fell,
Till crooked age came creeping on, such feats for to expel:

they were the noblest and chiefest men of Rome at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the Carthaginians in Sicily: in their middle age, against the Gauls, to keep them from the winning of all Italy: and again in their old age, against Hannibal and the Carthaginians. For their age

Mar- was no privilege for them to be dispensed with, in
cellus the service of their wars, as it was else for common
chosen citizens: but they were both for their nobility, as
Ædilis also for their valiantness and experience in wars,
and driven to take charge of the armies delivered them
Augur by the senate and people. Now for Marcellus,
 there was no battell could make him give ground,
 being practised in all fights: but yet he was more
 valiant in private combat man for man, than in any
 other fight. Therefore he never refused enemy
 that did challenge him, but slew all those in the
 field that called him to the combat. In Sicily he
 saved his brother Octacilius' life, being overthrown
 in a skirmish: for with his shield he covered his
 brother's body, and slew them that came to kill
 him. These valiant parts of him, being but a young
 man, were rewarded by the generals under whom
 he served, with many crowns, and warlike honours,
 usually bestowed upon valiant soldiers. Marcellus
 increasing still his valiantness and good service, was
 by the people chosen Ædilis, as of the number of
 those that were the worthiest men, and most honour-
 able: and the priests did create him Augur, which
 is a kind of priesthood at Rome, having authority
 by law, to consider and observe the flying of birds,
 to divine and prognosticate things thereupon. But
 in the year of his office of Ædile, he was forced
 against his will to accuse Capitolinus, his brother in
 office with him. For he being a rash and dissolute
 man of life, fell in dishonest love with his colleague's
 son Marcellus, that bare his own name: who being
 a goodly young gentleman, and newly come to
 man's state, was as well thought of, and taken of
 every man for his manhood and good qualities, as

any way for his beauty and personage. The first time Capitolinus moved this dishonesty to him, he did of himself repulse his shameless offer, without any other's privity: but when he saw he came again to tempt him the second time, he straight revealed it to his father. Marcellus his father being marvellously offended withal, (as he had good cause) went and accused Capitolinus before the Senate. Capitolinus at the first, laid in many exceptions and feigned excuses, to keep him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: but they declared plainly they would not receive his appeal, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to answer the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attempted ever any such thing, because there were no witnesses to prove it against him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to send for young Marcellus, who coming before them, both blushed, and wept together. The Senate seeing shamefastness in him, mingled with tears, and a malice that could not be pacified: without seeking other proof, they took it a clear case, and so condemned Capitolinus presently in a great sum of money, which Marcellus converted into silver vessel, to serve at sacrifices, and so did consecrate them to the service of the gods. Now when the Romans had ended their first war against the Carthaginians, which held them fully the space of two-and-twenty years: immediately after that, they began a new war against the Gauls. For the Insu-brians, being a people derived from the Gauls, and dwelling at the foot of the mountains of the Alps on Italy side, being able to make a good power of

**Marcellus
accuseth
Capitolinus**

**The war
of the
Gauls**

themselves, did notwithstanding pray aid of the other Gauls inhabiting on the other side of the mountains : and they caused the Gæsataë, a mercenary people and hirelings to them that would give pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truly me thinks it was a marvellous matter, and wonderful good hap for the Romans, that this war of the Gauls came not upon them, while they were at wars with the Carthaginians : and that the Gauls also had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purposely sworn to set upon the conquerors) expecting still an end between them, and then to set upon the conquerors, when they had nothing to say to any other. Yet the situation of their country did trouble the Romans much, because they were so near neighbours unto them and had wars as it were at their own doors. And so did the ancient reputation of the Gauls somewhat appal the Romans, who as it should seem they did fear more than any other nation whatsoever : because Rome had been taken before by the Gauls. Since which time a law was made, that priests and ecclesiastical persons should be dispensed with from going to the wars, unless the Gauls did rise against them. The preparation they made for this war at that time, did plainly shew the fear they had them of the Gauls. For it is thought, that never before nor since, there were so many natural Romans assembled together in field, as were then at that present. Moreover, the new come cruelty they used in their sacrifices, doth record this to be true. For before they never used any strange manner in their sacrifice, or barbarous fashion, but were favourable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion, and agree-

able to the Grecians touching the service of the gods. But then, they were compelled to obey certain oracles, and ancient prophecies they found written in Sibyl's books: and they buried two Grecians alive in the ox market, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, a man and a woman. Unto them they do yet continue certain secret anniversaries in November, that are not to be seen of everybody. The Romans in their first battells of this war, were often overcome, and did overcome: but these battells were to little purpose, for ending of the wars. In the year that C. Quintus Flaminius, and P. Furius Philo were Consuls, and sent with great armies to make wars upon the Insurbrians, people subject to the state of Milan: news were brought to Rome, that there was a river seen in the country of Roumania, red as blood, and three moons also at the very same time in the city of Rimini. Furthermore, the priests and soothsayers that had observed and considered the tokens, and significations of birds on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls: they told plainly there was error in their election, and that they were directly chosen against all signs and tokens of the birds. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediately to the camp to them, and willed them to come home to depose themselves of their Consulship, before they did attempt anything as Consuls against the enemies. The Consul Flaminius received the letters in time: but because he was ready to give battell, he would not open them, before he had first overthrown his enemies, and spoiled their country, as indeed he did. But when he was come back to Rome again, and had brought marvellous great spoils with him,

**Flaminius
overcame
the Gauls
in battell**

**The great
religious-
ness
of the
Romans**

the people for all that would not go out to meet him, because he did not presently obey the letters they wrote unto him, nor returned upon it as they commanded him, but contemptuously, without any regard of their displeasure, followed his own fantasy: whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honour of triumph. For his triumph was no sooner ended, but they compelled him to give over his Consulship, and made him a private man with his companion. The Romans therein were so religiously bent, as they would all things should be referred unto the gods' good grace and pleasure, and would suffer none to contemn the observations and prognosticating of the soothsayers, nor their ancient uses and customs, for any prosperity and felicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessary and profitable for benefit of the common weal, that the Senate and magistrates should reverence the ceremonies and service of the gods: than that they should overcome their enemies in battell. As for example Tiberius Sempronius, a man as much honoured and esteemed of the Romans for his justice and valiantness, as any other of his time: being one year Consul, did nominate and elect two other for Consuls the year following, Scipio Nasica, and Caius Marcus. These two being entered into their Consulship, and sent from Rome also to their several provinces appointed them by lot: Sempronius by chance took certain little books in his hand, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the ceremonies of public sacrifice, and reading in them, he found a certain ordinance he never heard before. And this it was. That if a magistrate were set in any tent or hired house without the city,

to behold and observe the prognostications of birds, and that upon any sodain occasion he were driven to come again into the city, before the birds had given any certain signs : the second time when he returned again to end his observations, there was no remedy, but he must leave his tent or first hired house, and take another, and begin new observations again. Tiberius utterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his observations twice in one self house, and had chosen there, Nasica and Marcius, Consuls to succeed him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it : who would not let slip so little a fault, but wrote to the new Consuls, and they straight left their provinces, and returned again to Rome, willingly resigning up their offices. That was a pretty while after. Again also, about the very present time we write of now, there were two priests of noble houses (and noble persons also) the one called Cornelius, and the other Cethegus, both which were degraded of their priesthood, because they had not given the entrails of the sacrificed beast in order as they should have done. Quintus Sulpicius in like manner, was degraded of his bishoprick, because his mitre which the Flamens do wear, fell off his head in his sacrificing. Minutius being Dictator also, and having chosen Caius Flaminius general of the horsemen : because they heard the noise of a rat at the election of Flaminius, they were both put out of their authority, and other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise even in trifles, it was not by reason of any superstition mingled with their religion : but because they would not break any jot of the ancient institutions and cere-

An ordinance for public sacrifice

**Marcellus
and
Gnæus
Cornelius
Consuls**

monies of their country. But to our story again. Flaminius being deprived of his Consulship, Marcellus was created Consul in his place, by the regents at that time called Interreges. Marcellus being invested in his office, chose Gnæus Cornelius for his companion: and they say, that the Gauls being inclined to peace, and the Senate of Rome also willing to hearken to peace, Marcellus did stir up the people, and made them rather desire war. Notwithstanding, they concluded peace at that time: but the Gauls Gæsatae immediately after renewed the wars again. For there came over the mountains of the Alps, a thirty thousand of them, and they joined with the Insubrians, which were many more in number than themselves. Now, they being in a marvellous jollity, went incontinently to lay siege to the city of Acerræ, that standeth upon the river of Po: and during the siege, King Britomarus taking ten thousand Gessates with him, went and destroyed all the country about the Po. Marcellus hearing that, left with his companion Gnæus Cornelius, all the armed footmen, and the third part of the horsemen, in his camp by Acerræ: and he himself with the residue of the horsemen, and six hundred footmen light armed, marched towards the enemy, travelling night and day, until he met with the ten thousand Gæsatae, near unto a village of Gaul on this side the mountains, called Clastidium, which was subject not long before to the Romans. So he had no leisure to take rest nor to refresh his men a little: for the barbarous people knew straight he was come, and took him for no better than by-and-by overcome, because he had so few footmen. And

for his horsemen, the Gauls made no reckoning of them : for besides themselves are very good men at arms, and excel all other in that fight, yet were their number of horsemen far above Marcellus. Therefore they straight marched towards him in a marvellous fury, and with thundering shouts, as if they would have devoured them at their coming. Britomarus their king, advanced himself before all his company. Marcellus fearing to be compassed in behind, being so small a number : he put out the wings of his horsemen as much as he could, to have the country at large, so that his two wings were very slender, until he came near his enemies. And being ready to gallop towards the enemy, it fortun'd his horse being afraid with the noise of his enemies, turned about, and carried Marcellus back again in spite of his teeth. But he fearing the Romans' superstition, in taking this for an evil token, and that they would take a conceit upon the same : plucking the bridle with his left hand, turned his horse head again upon the enemy, and then he worshipp'd the sun, as though he had not turned his horse by chance, but purposely for that cause. For it is the Romans' manner to turn about so, when they do honour their gods. So when they began to join battell, he made a vow to Jupiter Feretrian, to offer him up the goodliest spoils of his enemies, if he did overcome. The King of the Gauls seeing him at that instant, imagin'd by the marks and tokens he saw, that he should be the general of his enemies : So he set spurs to his horse, and galloped towards him from all his company giving him defiance, and challenged him, shaking his staff in his hand. He was the goodliest person

**The
combat
on horse-
back
betwixt
Brito-
marus
and Mar-
cellus**

Marcellus and strongest man of all the Gauls, and his armour
slew was all gilt and silvered, and so set forth with
King sundry works and colours, that it shined as the sun.
Brito- Marcellus on the other side having viewed all the
marus army of his enemies throughout, and perceiving
none so richly armed as the king: thought straight
it was against him, that he had made his prayer and
vow to Jupiter. Then he put his horse in full
career against him, and came with such a force and
fury to him, that he pierced his armour with his
staff, and overthrew him, but yet he killed him not
dead: whereupon he suddenly redoubled two or
three strokes besides upon him, and so slew him
right out. Then he alighted from his horse, and
taking the dead king's armour in his hand, he lift up
his eyes to heaven, and said. O Jupiter Feretrian,
thou that doest from heaven behold and direct, all
marshall feats and captains' deeds: thy self I call
to witness, that I am the third Roman captain,
that being general of the army, have slain with my
own hands, the king and general of the enemies:
and I promise here to thee, to offer thee up the
richest spoils of mine enemies, so thy godhead will
vouchsafe to grant us the like good fortune in all
this war besides. His prayer ended, the men of
arms of the Romans ran in among the horsemen
and footmen of the Gauls, one being unparted from
another: and fortune did so favour them, that they
wan a passing victory, in such a strange and wonder-
ful manner, as was incredible. For it was never
seen before nor since, that so few horsemen did
overthrow so great a number of men of arms and
footmen ranged together. Now when Marcellus
had slain the greater number of them, and had

gotten their spoils and all their baggage: he returned again to his companion Gnæus Cornelius, whom he found making wars unfortunately with the Gauls, before the greatest and most populous city they had, called Milan, which the Gauls on this side the mountains take for their chief city, and from whence all other had their first original. Whereupon they did all their possible endeavour to defend it, and did as straitly besiege the Consul Cornelius, as he did them. Now when Marcellus was come to the camp again, the Gæsataë understanding that their king Britomarus was slain in battell, returned back again into their country, and the city of Milan was taken. After that, all the other cities thereabout yielded of themselves, without force of siege, and the Gauls wholly submitted themselves and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romans, who granted them peace upon easy conditions. For these famous victories, the Senate of Rome gave all the honour of triumph unto Marcellus only, and that was as wonderful and worthy a sight, as any that ever past before him: what for the infinite spoils, and the numbers of great men taken prisoners, and also for the exceeding sumptuousness and stately shew thereof. But the goodliest sight of all for the rareness, was to behold Marcellus' self, carrying on his shoulders the whole spoil of the barbarous king, to offer up to Jupiter Feretrian. For he had cut down a goodly young oak of the mountain, straight, and shut up very long, which he had trimmed up in form of triumph, hanging all the armed pieces he had won of the king, very orderly round about it. Then, when all the shew of his

Mar-
cellus'
triumph

The triumph was past, he himself took the oak upon his shoulders, and got up upon his triumphing charret, and so marched through the city, carrying these signs thereupon: which was the noblest sight, and honourablest shew, of the whole triumph. His army followed after the charret, singing verses and songs of victory, in praise of the gods and their captain: and when he had passed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of Jupiter called Feretrian, there he set up this young oak, and token of triumph. This Marcellus is the third and last Roman captain, to whom happened this honour in our age. For the first man that ever offered up to Jupiter the spoils of the general of their enemies, was King Romulus, who wan the like spoils of Acron, king of the Cæninians. The second was Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius, general of the Tuscans. And the third was Marcellus, who slew with his own hands Britomarus, king of the Gauls: and after him, no man ever since could obtain the like good fortune. The god to whom these manner of spoils are consecrated thus, is called Jupiter Feretrian, so termed as some write, because they do carry this token of triumph to him, following the derivation of this Greek word, *ferrein*,¹ which signifieth to carry: for in those former times, many Greek words were mingled with the Latin. Other affirm it is one of the surnames of Jupiter, signifying as much as lightning: for *ferire* in the Latin tongue, signifieth to strike. And some say also, in wars it is properly to hurt or kill with his own hands: for the Romans do

¹ Φέρειν.

use at this day when they give a charge upon their enemies in battell, or that they have them in chase flying, to cry, encouraging one another, *feri, feri*: which is as much as Kill, kill. And the spoils taken from the enemies also, are generally called *spolia*: but those which lieutenants-general, or generals, do take from the generals of their enemies, when they have slain them, they are called particularly *spolia opima*. Yet some hold opinion, that King Numa Pompilius mentioning the rich spoils, or *spolia opima*, in his commentaries, speaketh of the first, the second, and the third: and commandeth that the first spoils which are won, should be consecrated to Jupiter Feretrian; the second unto Mars: and the third unto Quirinus. And that they should give to him that had won the first spoils, three hundred asses, the second, two hundred: and the third a hundred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion and usual taking of *spolia opima*, referreth them to be the first spoils won in a foughten field, and those which the lieutenant of an army, or a general, doth take from the general of the enemies, after he hath slain him with his own hands. And thus much for declaration of this matter. Furthermore, the Romans were so joyful of this victory, and of their good success in this war, that they caused a massy cup of gold to be made of the spoil they had gotten, weighing a hundred pound weight, which they sent to offer up in the temple of Apollo Pythius: in the city of Delphes, in token of thanks: and they made liberal division besides of the spoils unto their friends and confederates, and sent a great part of it unto Hiero king of Syracusa, who was their confederate. Not long

**Spolia
opima
what
they be**

Posi-
donius'
words of
Fabius
and Mar-
cellus

after, Hannibal being entered Italy, Marcellus was sent with an army by sea, into Sicily. And after the great overthrow was given at the battel of Cannæ, wherein there died so many thousand Romans, and that very few of them saved themselves by flying, into the city of Canusium: they looked that Hannibal having overcome the flower of all the Romans' youth, and their greatest force, would not fail to come straight to Rome. Wherefore Marcellus first sent fifteen hundred of his men by sea, to help to defend Rome: and having afterwards received commandment from the Senate, he came to Canusium, where he took such as were fled thither for succour after the battell, and so brought them out to the field, to defend the country. Now the Romans having lost the most part of all their best captains, in divers sundry battels before: of all those that remained, Fabius Maximus was the only able and reputed man for commendation of his honesty and wisdom, yet they misliked of him notwithstanding, for a timorous man, and of no courage, as a man too full of doubts and considerations, and loth to put anything in hazard: saying, he was a good captain to defend, but not to offend the enemy. Whereupon they thought good to join Marcellus' lively youth and courage, with Fabius' feminine fear and wisdom: and therefore some years they chose them both Consuls together, or else they sent one of them as Consul, and the other as Proconsul, each in his turn, to the country where they had wars. And for proof hereof, Posidonius writeth, that the Romans at that time called Fabius Maximus their target, and Marcellus their sword. Therefore Hannibal himself said, He feared Fabius

Maximus as his governor, and Marcellus as his enemy: because the one kept him from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to himself. Immediately after this great victory at Cannæ, Hannibal's soldiers became so bold, so careless, and disordered, that they kept the field without fear of anything, and dispersed themselves far from their camp: wherefore Marcellus setting upon those stragglers, he slew them every man, and so by little and little did still lessen the power and strength of his enemy. Afterwards he aided the cities of Byzantium and of Nola, and stablished the true devotion and love of the Byzantines towards the Romans: from thence he went to Nola, and found great sedition there betwixt the Senate and people, because the Senate could not keep the people in obedience, but they would needs take Hannibal's part. The cause of the people's stubbornness grew, by occasion of a gentleman of the city called Bandius, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valiant man of his hands. This Bandius having fought valiantly at the battell of Cannæ, after he had slain many a Carthaginian, was himself in the end stricken down, and found lying among dead bodies, sore wounded and mangled: whereupon Hannibal greatly commending his valiantness, did not only let him go without ransom, but also gave him rich gifts, and made him his host and friend. Hereupon Bandius at his coming home, to requite Hannibal's honour and courtesy, became one of those that most favoured Hannibal, and most persuaded the people of Nola to take his part. Notwithstanding this, Marcellus thinking it too great a sin against the gods, to put a man to death

**Lucius
Bandius
of Nola,
a valiant
man**

Mar-
cellus'
gentle-
ness

that had made so great proof of his valiantness, and had served with the Romans in their greatest wars and extremest danger, and who besides the goodness of his nature, had a marvellous gift also, to win men's good-wills by his great courtesy: when this Bandius came one day to do his duty to him, Marcellus of purpose asked him what he was, though he had known him long before, only to take occasion to talk with him. The other answered him, his name was Lucius Bandius. Then Marcellus seeming to be marvellous glad, and to wonder at him, said: And art thou that Bandius they speak of so much at Rome, whom they say did so notable service in person at the battell of Cannæ, and never forsook Paulus Æmilius the Consul, but received so many wounds upon his body in defence of him? Bandius answered, That he was the man, and therewith shewed him many wounds he had upon his body. Marcellus then replied: Alas, thou that carriest such notable marks of thy unfeigned love towards us, what diddest thou mean, that thou camest not straight again unto us? art thou persuaded we are so miserable and unthankful, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valiantness of our friends, whom our enemies selves do honour? After Marcellus had used this courteous speech unto him, and had embraced him, he gave him a goodly horse for service in the wars, and five hundred drachms of silver besides. So after that time, Bandius did ever take Marcellus' part, and always followed him, being very faithful to him, and shewed himself very severe and earnest to accuse them, that took Hannibal's part in the city: which were many

in number, and had conspired among themselves, that the first time the Romans should go into the field to skirmish with the enemies, they would shut the gates after them, and take the spoil of all their carriages. Marcellus being informed of this treason, did set his men in battell ray within the city, hard by the gates, and behind them he placed all the sumpters and carriage in good order: besides that, he made proclamation by trumpet, that no citizen upon pain of death should approach the walls. This occasion drew Hannibal to come hard to the city seeing no watch upon the walls, and made him the bolder to come in disorder, imagining there had been some mutiny or sedition within, between the noblemen and the people. But in the meantime, Marcellus set open the gate being hard by, and sallying out upon the sudden with the best men of arms he had, he gave a charge upon Hannibal in the vaward. Immediately after came out his footmen at another gate, running straight upon Hannibal, with a wonderful cry and shout: so as Hannibal to withstand them, was driven to divide his men in two companies. But as he was dividing of them, suddenly a third gate opened upon them, from whence all the residue of the Romans issued out, who set upon the Carthaginians on every side, they being marvellously amazed to be so suddenly set on, which they looked not for: so having their hands full with those that came first upon them, being scant able to defend themselves against them, and seeing this new and last charge also, they were forced to retire. This was the first time, that ever Hannibal's soldiers began to give place to the Romans, who drave them back unto their camp,

Marcellus' victory of Hannibal at Nola

Marcellus and slew a great number of them, and did hurt divers
Pro- of them besides. For some write, there were slain
consul of the Carthaginians at that conflict, about five thousand: and of the Romans there died not past five hundred men. But Titus Livius doth not set out the overthrow so great, and yet confesseth that Marcellus wan great honour by it, and that it made the Romans marvellous valiant again, after so many and sundry battels as they had lost one after another: for then they were persuaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether invincible, but that he might sometime also, as well as themselves, receive both loss and hurt. Therefore, one of the Consuls dying about that time, the people caused Marcellus to be sent for, and placed him in his room: and in spite of the Senate they deferred all deputation until his return from the camp. Marcellus came no sooner to Rome, but he was chosen Consul in the dead man's room, by all the voices of the people. Notwithstanding, when they went to choose him, it thundered marvellously: which the priests and augurs took for an ill token, but yet they durst not openly speak against his election, because they feared the people. Howbeit Marcellus of himself did willingly give up his Consulship, and yet was it no exception to him for his service in the wars: for they created him Proconsul, and sent him again to the camp at Nola, where he did severely punish such as took Hannibal's part. Who being advertised thereof, came thither with all possible speed to help them: and even at his first coming, he offered Marcellus battell, which he refused at that time. Nevertheless he took his time, when Hannibal had sent the best part of his

army to forage, as meaning to fight no more battels: and then he set upon him, having given his footmen long pikes, such as they use in fight upon the sea, and taught them also, how to hurt the enemy afar off, keeping them still in their hands. But the Carthaginians having no skill of their pikes, and fighting with short javelins in their hands, did strike downright blows: which was the cause, that they being set upon by the Romans, were driven to turn their backs, and fly before them. So there were five thousand of the Carthaginians left dead in the field, four elephants slain, and two taken alive: and furthermore, three days after the battell, there came a three hundred horsemen, some of them Spaniards, and other Numidians, that submitted themselves to the Romans. Never came there such a misfortune before to Hannibal: who had of long time kept together in great love and amity, an army assembled of sundry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit these three hundred continued ever after faithful to the end, both to Marcellus, and to all other lieutenants and generals of the Romans. Shortly after, Marcellus being again chosen Consul the third time, went into Sicily. For Hannibal's prosperous success and victories had so encouraged the Carthaginians, as they fought again to conquer this island: and specially because that after the death of Hieronymus the tyrant, there rose some tumult at Syracuse. Upon which occasion, the Romans had sent an army thither before, and a Prætor called Appius: at whose hands Marcellus having received the army, a great number of the Romans became humble suitors to him, to pray him to aid them in

Marcellus the third time Consul sent into Sicily

The severity of the Romans to cowardly soldiers their calamity, which was this. Of those that scaped from the battell of Cannæ, some saved themselves by flying, other were taken prisoners, of which there were such a number, as it appeared that Rome had not people enough left only to keep the walls. Nevertheless, those few that remained, their hearts were so great, that they would never redeem the prisoners, which Hannibal was contented to deliver them upon small ransom, but made a decree they should not be redeemed: and so suffered some of them to be killed, others to be sold for slaves out of Italy. And moreover, those that saved themselves by flying, they sent straight into Sicily: commanding they should not once set foot again in Italy, whilst they had wars with Hannibal. These were the men that came altogether, and fell down at Marcellus' feet, so soon as he arrived in Sicily, and humbly besought him, to appoint them to serve under some ensign, that they might fight to do their country honour and service: promising him with tears running down their cheeks, that their faithful service then should witness for them, that the overthrow they had at Cannæ, fell upon them rather by misfortune, than through lack of courage. Whereupon Marcellus having compassion on them, wrote to the Senate in their favour, and prayed them that they would grant him license to supply the bands of his army, as they diminished, with those poor Romans his countrymen. Many reasons passed to and fro against this suit: nevertheless, it was concluded in the end by the Senate, that the commonwealth made no reckoning of the service of faint-hearted men like women: wherefore if Marcellus thought good of their service, yet

it should not be lawful for him to give them any crowns or rewards of honour, for any notable service soever they did, as all generals are wont to give to honest men that serve valiantly. This order of the Senate misliked Marcellus very much, who at his return home out of Sicily, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifest wrong, to deny him that favour, that having done his commonwealth such faithful service divers times, as he had done, he might not restore so many poor Romans to their honour again. Now, when Marcellus was in Sicily, he received great hurts and injuries by Hippocrates, general of the Syracusans: who, to pleasure the Carthaginians and by their means to make himself chief Lord of Syracuse, did put many Roman citizens to death. Whereupon Marcellus went and laid siege to the city of the Leontines, and when he had taken it by assault, he hurt never a townsman, nor natural citizen of the same: but such traitors as he found there, and had fled from his camp, and yielded to the enemies, them he caused to be whipped, and then hanged. But notwithstanding, Hippocrates had before caused it to be bruited at Syracuse, that Marcellus had put all the Leontines to the sword, not sparing little children: and afterwards Hippocrates coming thither on the sudden, in the fear and garboil of this false bruit, he easily took the city. Marcellus hearing Hippocrates had taken Syracuse, left forthwith the Leontines, and went with his whole army, and camped hard by Syracuse: and sent his ambassadors to tell the Syracusans truly, what he had done in the city of the Leontines, and quite contrary to that they were informed of.

Marcellus
wan the
city of
the Leontines

Mar-
cellus
besiegeth
Syracusa

Howbeit that prevailed not, for they believed not Marcellus, because Hippocrates being the stronger, had won the city. Whereupon he began then to approach the walls, and to assault in every quarter, as well by sea as by land. Appius took charge of them that gave assault by land. Marcellus himself, with threescore galleys of five owers at every bank, well armed, and full of all sorts of artillery and fireworks, did assault by sea, and rowed hard to the wall, having made a great engine and device of battery, upon eight galleys chained together, to batter the wall: trusting in the great multitude of his engines of battery, and to all such other necessary provision as he had for wars, as also in his own reputation. But Archimedes made light account of all his devices, as indeed they were nothing comparable to the engines himself had invented: and yet were not his own such, as himself did reckon of, to shew singularity of work and device. For those he had made, were but his recreations of geometry, and things done to pass the time with, at the request of King Hiero: who had prayed him to call to mind a little his geometrical speculation, and to apply it to things corporal and sensible, and to make the reason of it demonstrative, and plain, to the understanding of the common people by experiments, and to the benefit and commodity of use. For this inventive art to frame instruments and engines, (which are called mechanical, or organical, so highly commended and esteemed of all sorts of people) were first set forth by Architas, and by Eudoxus: partly to beautify a little the science of geometry by this fineness, and partly to prove and

confirm by material examples and sensible instruments, certain geometrical conclusions, whereof a man cannot find out the conceivable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and proofs. As that conclusion which instructeth one to search out two lines mean proportional, which cannot be proved by reason demonstrative, and yet notwithstanding is a principle and an accepted ground, for many things which are contained in the art of portraiture. Both of them have fashioned it to the workmanship of certain instruments, called Mesolabes or Mesographs, which serve to find these mean lines proportional, by drawing certain curve lines, and overthwart and oblique sections. But after that Plato was offended with them, and maintained against them, that they did utterly corrupt and disgrace, the worthiness and excellency of geometry, making it to descend from things not comprehensible and without body, unto things sensible and material, and to bring it to a palpable substance, where the vile and base handiwork of man is to be employed: since that time I say, handicraft, or the art of engines, came to be separated from geometry, and being long time despised by the philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike arts. But Archimedes having told King Hiero, his kinsman and very friend, that it was possible to remove as great a weight as he would, with as little strength as he listed to put to it: and boasting himself thus (as they report of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proved this conclusion, that if there were another globe of earth, he was able to remove this of ours, and pass it over to the other: King Hiero wondering to

Archimedes a notable mathematician

The wonderful force hear him, required him to put this device in execution, and to make him see by experience, some great or heavy weight removed, by little force. So Archimedes caught hold with a hook of one of the greatest carects, or hulks of the king (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, required a marvellous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done so) and put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinary burthen: and he himself sitting alone at his ease far off, without any straining at all, drawing the end of an engine with many wheels and pulleys, fair and softly with his hand, made it come as gently and smoothly to him, as it had floated in the sea. The king wondering to see the sight, and knowing by proof the greatness of his art: he prayed him to make him some engines, both to assault and defend, in all manner of sieges and assaults. So Archimedes made him many engines, but King Hiero never occupied any of them, because he reigned the most part of his time in peace, without any wars. But this provision and munition of engines, served the Syracusans' turn marvellously at that time: and not only the provision of the engines ready made, but also the engineer and work-master himself, that had invented them. Now, the Syracusans seeing themselves assaulted by the Romans, both by sea and by land, were marvellously perplexed, and could not tell what to say, they were so afraid: imagining it was impossible for them to withstand so great an army. But when Archimedes fell to handle his engines, and to set them at liberty, there flew in the air infinite kinds of shot, and marvellous great stones, with an incredible noise and force on the

sudden, upon the footmen that came to assault the city by land, bearing down, and tearing in pieces all those which came against them, or in what place soever they lighted, no earthly body being able to resist the violence of so heavy a weight: so that all their ranks were marvellously disordered. And as for the galleys that gave assault by sea, some were sunk with long pieces of timber like unto the yards of ships, whereto they fasten their sails, which were suddenly blown over the walls with force of their engines into their galleys, and so sunk them by their over great weight. Other being hoised up by the proes with hands of iron, and hooks made like cranes' bills, plunged their poops into the sea. Other being taken up with certain engines fastened within, one contrary to another, made them turn in the air like a whirligig, and so cast them upon the rocks by the town walls, and splitted them all to fitters, to the great spoil and murder of the persons that were within them. And sometimes the ships and galleys were lift clean out of the water, that it was a fearful thing to see them hang and turn in the air as they did: until that casting their men within them over the hatches, some here, some there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be empty, and to break against the walls, or else to fall into the sea again, when their engines left their hold. Now for Marcellus' engine, which he brought against the walls, upon a bridge made of galleys joined together: that was called Sambuca, by reason of the fashion it had like to an instrument of musick of the same name, which is a harp. The same being yet a good pretty way off from the walls, there fell a

of Archi-
medes'
engines

Mar- great stone upon it sent from the walls, weighing
cellus' ten talents. Then, a second after that, and a third
sambuca one after that, the which falling all into this engine
with such a thunder and terrible tempest, brake the
foundation of the engine, and tore all the bridge of
the galleys joined together in pieces, that sustained
it. So that Marcellus being amazed withal, not
knowing well what it meant: was glad to retire
quickly, and sent to make his trumpet sound the
retrait to those that gave assault by land. Here-
upon they sat in council to determine what was to
be done, and they resolved, that the next morning
before day they should approach the walls if it were
possible: because that Archimedes' engines, which
were very strong and hard wound up, should by
this means send all the force and fury of their stones
and shot over their heads, and that near hand also
he could do no good with them, for that they had
not the scope of their level and carriage they should
have. But Archimedes had prevented this device
by long preparation before, having made provision
of engines for far and near, the level and carriage
whereof was proportioned for all distances: their
shot short, the arrows not very long, many holes
and arches in the walls one hard by another, where
there were store of crossbows to kill near hand, set
in such places, as the enemies could not see them
without. Wherefore, when the Romans thought
to approach, thinking they had been safe and close,
that no man saw them: it amazed them all when
they were received again with infinite shot, and
stricken to the ground with stones that fell upon
their heads like lead: (for there was no part of all
the walls, from whence they had not the like shot.)

Whereupon they were forced again to retire from the walls. And yet when they were further off from them, the arrows, stones, and other kind of shot that flew in every place among them, killed a great number of them, scattered far from thence: so that many of them were slain and sore wounded, and divers of their ships splitted, and they not once able to be revenged, nor to hurt their enemies, because Archimedes had placed his engines very closely behind the walls, and not upon the walls in sight of the enemy. So that it appeared the gods fought against the Romans, they were so slain and wounded, and yet they could not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithstanding, Marcellus escaped with life, safe from hurt, and mocking his work-maisters and engines he had in his camp, he said unto them: What, shall we not leave to make wars with this Briarian enginer and geometrician here? who sitting still upon the wharf, in sporting manner hath with shame overthrown our navy, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred hands of the giants, discharging at one instant so many shot among us? For indeed, all the residue of the Syracusans, were as the body and members of Archimedes' preparation: and he himself was the only creature that moved and did all, all weapons else being quiet, and his engines only occupied, to assault and defend. At the length, Marcellus seeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but see the end of a rope, or any piece of timber upon the wall, they ran away, crying out, that Archimedes was letting loose some of his engines upon them: he would no more approach the walls, nor give assault, determining to see if he could win it by long siege.

Marcellus wondred at Archimedes' engines

Archimedes
profoundly
learned

Notwithstanding, Archimedes had such a great mind, and was so profoundly learned, having hidden in him the only treasure and secrets of geometrical inventions: as he would never set forth any book how to make all these warlike engines, which wan him at that time the fame and glory, not of man's knowledge, but rather of divine wisdom. But he esteeming all kind of handicraft and invention to make engines, and generally all manner of sciences bringing common commodity by the use of them, to be but vile, beggarly, and mercenary dross: employed his wit and study only to write things, the beauty and subtlety whereof, were not mingled anything at all with necessity. For all that he hath written, are geometrical propositions, which are without comparison of any other writings whatsoever: because the subject whereof they treat, doth appear by demonstration, the matter giving them the grace and the greatness, and the demonstration proving it so exquisitely, with wonderful reason and facility, as it is not repugnable. For in all geometry are not to be found more profound and difficult matters written, in more plain and simple terms, and by more easy principles, than those which he hath invented. Now some do impute this, to the sharpness of his wit and understanding, which was a natural gift in him: other do refer it to the extreme pains he took, which made these things come so easily from him, that they seemed as if they had been no trouble to him at all. For no man living of himself can devise the demonstration of his propositions, what pain soever he take to seek it: and yet straight so soon as he cometh to declare and

open it, every man then imagineth with himself he could have found it out well enough, he can then so plainly make demonstration of the thing he meaneth to shew. And therefore that me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was so ravished and drunk with the sweet enticements of this siren, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgot his meat and drink, and was careless otherwise of himself, that oftentimes his servants got him against his will to the baths, to wash and anoint him: and yet being there, he would ever be drawing out of the geometrical figures, even in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were anointing of him with oils and sweet savours, with his finger he did draw lines upon his naked body: so far was he taken from himself, and brought into an extasy or trance, with the delight he had in the study of geometry, and truly ravished with the love of the Muses. But amongst many notable things he devised, it appeareth, that he most esteemed the demonstration of the proportion between the cylinder (to wit, the round column) and the sphere or globe contained in the same: for he prayed his kinsmen and friends, that after his death they would put a cylinder upon his tomb, containing a massy sphere, with an inscription of the proportion, whereof the continent exceedeth the thing contained. So Archimedes being as you have heard, did as much as lay in him, both save himself and Syracuse, from taking. But now again to Marcellus. Marcellus during the siege at Syracuse, won the city of Megara in Sicily, one of the ancientest cities in all the island: and

Archi-
medes'
siren

Mar-
cellus
winneth
Syracusa

he took besides, the camp of Hippocrates, lying by Acillæ, where he slew about eight thousand men, surprising them upon the sudden, even as they were preparing to lodge, and to fortify their camp. Then he overcame a great part of the champion country of Sicily, and made the cities to rebel that took the Carthaginians' part: and in all the battels he fought, he ever overcame them that durst bid him battell. It chanced afterwards, that he took a Lacedæmonian captain prisoner, called Damippus: even as he came out of Syracuse by sea. The Syracusans desirous to redeem him, sent to him to pray he might be ransomed. They made many parleys about his ransom, and drew out this practice to divers meetings: until Marcellus had taken good marks of a certain tower, that had no great watch kept upon it, and into the which he might secretly convey a certain number of men, the wall of the city in that place being no very hard thing to scale. Therefore when he had given a good guess by estimation at the height of that tower, by often approaching to it, having parleyed many a time hard by it: he provided scaling ladders, and took the opportunity of a feast which the Syracusans solemnised in the honour of Diana, on which day they gave themselves to all feasting, sporting and plays. So he took not only the tower, but filled all the walls round about with armed men before day, and brake open the main gate and entry of the city called Hexapylé. And as the Syracusans began to stir, perceiving the Romans on the walls: Marcellus made his men sound their trumpets on every side. Whereupon

the Syracusans were so afraid and amazed, that they began to fly, thinking all the city besides had been taken, where indeed the greatest and strongest quarter of the city called Achradina, was not yet touched: because it is walled in round about, and separated from the rest of the city, which is divided into two other parts, the one called the New City, and the other Fortune. The twop arts whereof being won, Marcellus by the break of the day forced in by the gate or entry of the Hexapylé. And when his captains told him he was happy, to win so goodly a city, so easily: they say, that he looking about him, and considering the greatness and stateliness of the same, wept for very pity, foreseeing whereto it should come, thinking with himself what a sudden change it should have, when his army came to spoil and sack the same. For there was not a captain that durst deny the soldiers when they demanded the spoil, and yet were there many that would needs have it burnt and razed to the ground. But Marcellus would not agree to that in any case, and besides, it was sore against his mind to grant them the spoil of the goods and slaves: straitly commanding them notwithstanding, not to lay hands of any freeman, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any Syracusan slave. Wherein, though he shewed great favour and mercy, yet it grieved him to see so famous a city, brought to that miserable state: and in the midst of all the joy he had for his victory, he could not refrain from weeping for pity to see so rich and wealthy a city, in the turning of a hand, spoiled, and brought to nought. For it is said, that the riches and goods

**Mar-
cellus'**
gentle-
ness

Divers
opinions
of Archi-
medes'
death

taken away at the sack of Syracuse, were nothing inferior to the spoils of Carthage, which was also sacked not long after that: for the other part of the city of Syracuse called Achradina, was soon after also taken by treason, and spoiled against the captains' wills, saving the king's treasure, which was reserved to be carried to the common treasure of Rome. Syracuse being taken, nothing grieved Marcellus more, than the loss of Archimedes. Who being in his study when the city was taken, busily seeking out by himself the demonstration of some geometrical proposition which he had drawn in figure, and so earnestly occupied therein, as he neither saw nor heard any noise of enemies that ran up and down the city, and much less knew it was taken: he wondered when he saw a soldier by him, that bad him go with him to Marcellus. Notwithstanding, he spake to the soldier, and bad him tarry until he had done his conclusion, and brought it to demonstration: but the soldier being angry with his answer, drew out his sword, and killed him. Other say, that the Roman soldier when he came, offered the sword's point to him, to kill him: and that Archimedes when he saw him, prayed him to hold his hand a little, that he might not leave the matter he looked for unperfect, without demonstration. But the soldier making no reckoning of his speculation, killed him presently. It is reported a third way also, saying, that certain soldiers met him in the streets going to Marcellus, carrying certain mathematical instruments in a little pretty coffer, as dials for the sun, spheres and angles, wherewith they measure the greatness of the body

**Mar-
cellus'
clemency**

of the sun by view: and they supposing he had carried some gold or silver, or other precious jewels in that little coffer, slew him for it. But it is most true, that Marcellus was marvellous sorry for his death, and ever after hated the villain that slew him, as a cursed and execrable person: and how he made also marvellous much afterwards of Archimedes' kinsmen for his sake. The Romans were esteemed of at that time by all nations, for marvellous expert soldiers, and taken for very valiant and dangerous men to be dealt with: but they never shewed any example of their clemency and courtesy, and least of all of any civil manner to any strangers, until Marcellus taught the way, whose acts did shew the Grecians then, that the Romans were more gracious and merciful, than they. For he did so courteously entreat those that had to do with him, and shewed such favour to private persons, and also to whole cities: that if there were any cruelty shewed in the cities of Enna, or at Megara, or against the Syracusans, it was rather through their own fault and folly that were hurt, than theirs that did them the hurt. And for proof hereof, I will recite you one example only amongst many. There is a city in Sicily called Engyium, it is no great thing, but a very ancient city of name, by reason of the traffick thither, for that there are certain goddesses to be seen, whom they worship, called the mothers. Some say the Cretans were the first builders and founders of the temple there, where you shall see spears and helmets of copper, and upon them are graven the name of Meriones: and upon others, Ulysses name also, which are consecrated to

Nicias' these goddesses. This city stood altogether at
craft the devotion of the Carthaginians: and Nicias being the chiefest man of the same, was all he might against it, and persuaded them openly in all their councils to take part with the Romans, proving it by many reasons, that his enemies counselling the contrary, were unprofitable members of the commonwealth. Whereupon Nicias' enemies fearing his greatness and authority, they did conspire among themselves to apprehend him, and to deliver him to the Carthaginians. But Nicias hearing of such a matter, and finding that they lay in wait to take him: used this policy to prevent their treason. He gave out openly very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honour: and said the sight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but a device, and that there was no credit to be given to them. These words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mischief they pretended against him, to himself, as the only causer of his own hurt. So they having appointed a day to apprehend him, by chance a common council was kept that day they had determined of: where Nicias speaking to the people about matter of council, in the midst of his oration fell to the ground, to the great wonder of the whole assembly, as every man may conjecture. Howbeit never a man stirred, and a pretty while after he began to lift up his head a little, and to look ghastly about him, with a faint trembling voice, which he still gathered higher and louder by little and little, until he saw all the people wondrously afraid and amazed, that not one of them

durst speak. Then throwing his gown from him, and renting his coat, he got upon his feet half naked, and ran towards the gate of the theatre, crying out that the goddesses mothers did torment him: and not a man durst once come near him, nor offer to stop him, they were so superstitious and foolishly afraid of the goddesses, imagining it was some divine punishment. But by this means he easily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was never seen after that time, to do, or speak, like a mad man in anything. His wife that was made privy to his device, and furthered his intent, went first and fell down on her knees before the Goddesses Mothers in their temple, as she had heartily prayed unto them: and feigning afterwards she would go seek her husband, that ran up and down the fields like a mad man, she went out of the city with her little children, and nobody troubled her. Thus did they escape without danger, and went unto Marcellus to Syracuse. The Engyienians afterwards played such insolent parts, that Marcellus in the end went thither, and caused them all to be taken and bound, as though he would have put them to execution. But Nicias came to him with the tears in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kissing his hands, besought him to take pity of his poor citizens, beginning first with those that were his greatest enemies. This good nature of Nicias so pacified Marcellus' wrath, that he pardoned them all, and did no hurt to the city, and gave Nicias certain land besides many other rich gifts he bestowed upon him. Thus it is reported in the history of Posidonius the philosopher. Now Marcellus being sent for home by

Nicias'
craft

Marcellus the Romans, because they had wars in their own country, and even at Rome gates: he departed out of Sicily returning towards Rome, and carried the goodliest tables, pictures, and statues, and other brought in fineness such ornaments as were in Syracuse, meaning first to beautify his triumph with them, and to leave them afterwards for an ornament to Rome, which before that time never knew what such curious works meant. For, this fineness, and curious tables and imagery, never came into Rome before, but was throughly set out with armour and weapons of barbarous people, and with bloody spoils, and was also crowned with monuments of victories and triumphs of divers enemies, which were no pleasant but rather fearful sights to look upon, far unfit for feminine eyes. But even as Epaminondas did call the plain of Bœotia, Mars' scaffold, where he kept his games: and Xenophon also called the city of Ephesus, the armourers' shop: even so me thinks (as Pindarus said) they might rightly have termed Rome, the temple of Mars' fighting. And this was the people's goodwills much more to Marcellus, because he did so passingly set forth Rome with such excellent fine toys of Greece. But Fabius Maximus on the other side, was better beloved of the old men: because he brought no such toys with him from the city of Tarentum, when he wan it. Indeed he brought away gold and ready coin, and much other goods that were profitable: but for images and tables, he left them standing in their places, speaking a thing of great note. Let us leave the Tarentines their gods offended with them. And furthermore the noblemen were angry with Marcellus, saying that by this act he had purchased

Rome great malice and hate. First, because he did not only lead men prisoners in his triumph, but the gods also : and secondly, because he had filled the people full of prittle-prattle, and idle curiosity, spending all the whole day in gazing, and wondering at the excellency of the workmen, and of their works, where before they would fall to their labour, or else they went to the wars, not being acquainted with curiosity, nor idle life, as Euripides said, speaking of Hercules :

What the
Ovation
triumph is

In wicked practices he simple was to see,
But he excelled in vertuous deeds, and feats that
worthy be.

Notwithstanding, Marcellus did glory amongst the Grecians themselves, saying : That he had taught the Romans to esteem the wonderful works of Greece, which they knew not before. But at his return out of Sicily, his enemies procured, that his honour of triumph was denied him. So Marcellus knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in Sicily, and that the war was not altogether ended, and fearing besides lest a third triumph would make him too much envied : he was contented with goodwill to have the honour of the great triumph in the mountain of Alba only : and of the little triumph, in the city of Rome. This manner of little triumph is called in Greek *Euan*, and the Romans call it *Ovatio*. And this difference there is between them : that in the Ovation triumph, the party to whom it is granted, doth not enter into the city upon triumphing chariot drawn with four horses, nor doth carry any laurel upon his head in token of triumph, nor hath any trumpets or

Question
whereof
it is called

horns blown before him, but doth march on foot with a pair of slippers on his feet, having flutes and howboys playing before him, and wearing a garland of fir tree upon his head: so as this manner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasant than fearful sight. And that reason doth flatly draw me to believe, that these two kinds of entries they granted to the captains, returning from the wars with victory, were divided in the old time, rather by the manner, than by the greatness of the doings. For such as had overcome their enemies by great slaughter and bloody battels, they did make their entry with pomp of triumph, that was altogether marshall and terrible, followed with their soldiers armed, and crowned with laurel garlands, as their custom was in mustering their camp in the wars. But they on the contrary side, that without any exploit of arms returned home with victory, either by peaceable means, or by force of their eloquence: the law granted them the honour of Ovation triumph, which was quiet, and full of all joy and mirth. For the flute is an instrument of pleasure belonging to peace, and the fir tree is a tree consecrated to Venus, which goddess, above all gods and goddesses doth most detest wars. This second kind of entry was called *Ovatio*, not as many Grecians have taken it, coming of this word *Euan*, which is a voice and song of joy, although they did use also to accompany the captains making their entry in this sort, crying and singing *Euan*: but there were certain Grecians that would have fetched the derivation of this word, from an old common custom they had: and were of opinion besides, that part of this honour did

appertain to god Bacchus, whose surname we call Euius, and sometimes Thriambus. Howbeit this is not the true derivation of the name, but after this sort. At the great triumph and entry made, the captain or general that triumpheth as a conqueror, did offer and sacrifice (by the old orders and ancient customs of Rome) one, or divers oxen: where at the second triumph called the Ovation, he only sacrificed a mutton, which the Romans call in their tongue *Ovem*, and thereof was it called Ovation. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the law maker of the Roman laws and customs, and the lawmaker of the Lacedæmonians: how both of them were contrary to the other, in appointing their sacrifices for victory. For at Sparta, the captain or general that had done his feat by policy or friendship, the sacrifice he did offer up to the gods, was an ox: and he that by force, and bloody battell had obtained victory, only offered up a cock for sacrifice. For though they were very good soldiers, yet they thought better of his service, that by his wisdom and wise persuasions obtained victory: than of his, that won it by valiantness, and force of arms. Thus may you see which of these two law makers had best reason in his ordinances. But now to Marcellus again. He being chosen Consul the fourth time, his enemies and evil-willers did stir up the Syracusans against him, and persuaded them to complain to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly and uncourteously used them, contrary to the ancient league and alliances made long time before with the Romans. Marcellus being sacrificing one day in the Capitol, while the Senate were set in council: the Syracusan's deputies

The sacrifices of the quiet triumph

Marcellus answered the Syracusans

came before them, and kneeling down, besought them to give them audience, and that they would do them justice. The other Consul that was present rebuked them, being angry they had so maliciously spied the occasion of Marcellus' absence. But when Marcellus heard of it, he straight left of all, and came to the Senate, and first sat him down in his Consul's chair, where he gave audience as Consul and despatched divers causes: when he had done so, he rose out of his chair, and came down among them, standing as a private person to answer at the bar, as other offenders and men accused, suffering the Syracusans to allege and say against him what they would. Then were the Syracusans blank, when they saw the majesty of Marcellus, and his staid countenance in all things: so that having found him before a very valiant man in wars, and unconquerable, they found him then a man no less dreadful in his Consul's robe: so that they hung down their eyes, and durst not look him in the face. Notwithstanding, they being suborned by his enemies, began at the length boldly to accuse him, and yet with sorrow and lamentation, the effect whereof was this. That they being the Romans' friends and confederates, had abidden such injuries at Marcellus' hands, as all other generals never offered their very enemies. Whereto Marcellus straight answered again to the contrary. That for many injuries the Romans had received of them, they suffered nothing but that, which was impossible they should not suffer, that resisted until they were taken by force: and yet they might thank themselves for any thing they suffered, because they would not obey nor consent, to reasonable capitulations and articles of

peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And again, they could not allege for their excuse, that the tyrants had compelled them to make wars: when they to the contrary, because they would enter into wars, were contented to be subject to a tyrant. So, when both parties had spoken their minds, the Syracusans (as the manner is) went out of the Senate house, and Marcellus also leaving his fellow Consul in his place in the Senate, and tarried without the door, attending the sentence of the Senate, never altering his countenance nor wonted look, neither for fear of sentence, nor for malice or anger against the Syracusans, quietly looking for his judgement. Afterwards when the Senators' voices were gathered together, and that Marcellus was cleared by the most voices: then the Syracusans fell down at his feet weeping, and besought him not to wreak his anger upon them that were present, and moreover that he would have compassion of the residue of the citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and favour extended to them, and confessed themselves bound to him for ever. Marcellus moved with pity by their entreaty, he pardoned them, and ever after did all the Syracusans what pleasure he could possible. For through his entreaty and request, the Senate did confirm and ratify his grant unto them, which was: that they might use the liberty and benefit of their own laws, and quietly enjoy their goods also which were left them. To requite this special grace procured them by Marcellus, the Syracusans gave him many honours, and among others they made a law, that ever after, as oft as any of Marcellus' name or house came into Sicily, the Syracusans should keep a

His courtesy to the Syracusans

Marcellus fought a battell with Hannibal solemn feast, with garlands on their heads, and should also sacrifice unto the gods. After this, Marcellus went against Hannibal: and where all the other Consuls almost, and generals, after the overthrow at Cannæ, had used this only policy with him, not to come to battell: he took a contrary course to them all, thinking that tract of time, (whereby they thought to eat out Hannibal's force) was rather a direct consuming and destroying of all Italy: and that Fabius Maximus standing too much upon safety, took not the way to cure the disease and weakness of the commonweal of Rome, looking to end this war, consuming by little and little the strength and power of Rome, committing a fearful physician's fault and error, being afraid to heal their patient sodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth lessen the disease. So, first of all he went to besiege certain great cities of the Samnites, which were revolted from obedience of the Romans: and those he wan again with a great provision of corn and money he found in them, besides three thousand soldiers Hannibal left in garrison there, whom he took prisoners. Hannibal after that, having slain the Vice-Consul Gnæus Fulvius in Apulia, with eleven Tribuni militum (to wit, colonels, every one having charge of one thousand footmen) and overthrown the greatest part of his army: Marcellus wrote letters to Rome, hoping to comfort the Senate and people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he would drive Hannibal out of Apulia. When the Romans had read his letters, they were nothing the more comforted, but rather (as Livy writeth) more afraid and discouraged: because they doubted the danger to come would be

greater, than the loss past, taking Marcellus to be a far greater and better general, than ever was Fulvius. Nevertheless, Marcellus performing the contents of his letters written to Rome, drove Hannibal out of Apulia, and made him retire into Lucania. And Marcellus finding him in that country, by a city called Numistron, lodged upon hills, and in places of strength and advantage : he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morning he was the first that presented his enemy battell. Hannibal on the other side, came down into the valley, and they joined battell : which was so cruelly fought, and so long time, as it could not be discerned who had the better. For the battell being begun at nine of the clock in the morning, it was dark night ere they gave over. The next morning by peep of day, Marcellus set his men again in battell ray, in the midst of all the dead bodies that lay slain in the field, and challenged Hannibal, to prove who should have the field. But Hannibal refused, and marched his way thence : so as Marcellus thereby had good leisure left him to strip his slain enemies, and also to bury his own soldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his enemy by the foot, who laid many ambushes for him, but he could never trap him in any : and in every encounter or skirmish they had together, Marcellus had ever the better, which won him great fame and credit. Now time being come about to choose new Consuls, the Senate thought good to send rather for the other Consul that was in Sicily, than to remove Marcellus thence, who had fought with Hannibal. So when the other Consul was come to Rome, the Senate commanded him to name Quintus Fulvius Dictator,

at Numis-
tron in
Apulia

Marcellus because the Dictator was neither chosen by the
Pro- people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Consuls
consul or Prætors, in open assembly of the people, nameth
 such a one Dictator, as he liketh of. Wherefore
 it seemeth, that this word Dictator, came upon that
 word naming: for, *dicere* in the Roman tongue,
 signifieth to name. Howbeit other hold opinion,
 that he was called Dictator, because he commandeth
 of himself what he will, without the counsel of the
 Senate, and the voices of the people: and this
 seemeth to be true, because the commandments of
 the Senate of Rome are called *edicta*, which we
 Grecians call *diatagmata*. Now the other Consul
 and companion of Marcellus being come out of
 Sicily, he would needs name another Dictator, than
 him whom the Senate offered him: and because he
 would not be compelled to do that he was unwilling
 to do, he stole away one night, and returned again
 into Sicily. Hereupon the people did name and
 appoint Quintus Fulvius Dictator, and the Senate
 wrote their letters to Marcellus, to confirm him:
 which Marcellus did, and authorised the people's
 election. So he himself was chosen again Pro-
 consul, for the next year following: in the which
 he having conferred with Fabius Maximus about
 the wars, they were agreed, that Fabius should
 prove if he could win the city of Tarentum again:
 and that Marcellus in the meantime should keep
 Hannibal occupied, that he might not come to aid
 it. This resolution being taken between them,
 Marcellus went to meet Hannibal by the city of
 Canusium: who as he still changed and shifted
 lodging, because he would not come to the battell
 against his will, found Marcellus ever in his eye

before him. Insomuch as Hannibal removing thus his camp, Marcellus plied him so one day with continual alarms and skirmishes, that he brought him to a battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them both to leave off till the next morning: where Marcellus shewed again in field by break of the day, in battell ray. Whereat Hannibal being in a marvellous rage, he called his soldiers together, and made an oration to them, earnestly moving them once again to fight with Marcellus, if ever they had heretofore fought for his sake. You see, said he, that having fought so many battels, and gotten such victories as we have done, we cannot yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much so ever we win, if we drive not away yonder fellow Marcellus. When Hannibal had ended his oration to the Carthaginians, he led them on to the battell: where Marcellus, to no purpose, and out of time, would needs shew Hannibal a stratagem of war, that turned himself to the worst. For Marcellus perceiving the right wing of his army distressed, made one of his legions that was set in ray in the rearward of his host, to march to the front of his battell, to help those that needed aid. But this removing of the legion, troubled them that fought, and gave the enemies the victory: who slew that day two thousand seven hundred of the Romans. So, when Marcellus was come again into his camp, he straight called his soldiers before him, to whom he spake in this manner: That he saw a great deal of armour, and bodies of men, but he could see no Romans. The Romans hearing him say so, besought him to pardon the fault they had committed. Marcellus

Marcellus' stratagem

**Battell
betwixt
Hannibal
and Mar-
cellus**

answered, He would never pardon them, so long as they were overcome: but when they overcame again, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bring them again to fight with the enemy, that such as were at Rome should rather hear news of their victory, than of their running away. When he had said, he appointed they should give those bands that first turned their backs to Hannibal, barley for wheat. So, as there were many of them in great danger of their lives, for the sore wounds they had given them in the battell: yet was there not a man of them, but Marcellus' words did more grieve them than the grievous wounds they had. The next morning betimes was set out of the general's tent, the coat armour dyed in scarlet, which is the ordinary sign of battell: and the bands that had received dishonour the day before, were placed at their own request in the front of the battell. The other captains besides, that were not overthrown, did lead their bands also to the field, and did set them in battell ray. Hannibal hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that cannot be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the only odd man, that never giveth rest to his enemy, when he hath overcome him: nor taketh any for himself when he is overcome. We shall never have done with him, for anything that I see, sith shame, whether he win or lose, doth still provoke him to be bolder and valianter. After orations made of both sides, both armies marched forwards to join battell. The Romans being as strong as the Carthaginians, Hannibal put his elephants in the voward and front of his battell, and commanded his men to drive them upon the Romans: and so

they did. Which indeed did somewhat trouble and disorder the first ranks of the Romans: until such time as Flavius, Tribune of the soldiers, took an ensign in his hands, and marched before the beasts, and gave the first of them such a thrust with the point of his ensign, that he made her turn back. The first beast being turned back thus, ran upon the second that followed her, and the second made the third go back also, and so from one to another, until they all turned. Marcellus perceiving that, commanded his horsemen to set upon the enemies with all the fury they could, in that place where he saw them, somewhat troubled with these beasts, that turned back again upon them: and that they should drive them further in amongst them. Which they did, and gave so hot a charge upon the Carthaginians, that they made them turn their backs and run away, and they pursued them still, killing them downright, even to their camp side: where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their elephants that were wounded, fell down stark dead within the gate of their camp. And they say of the Carthaginians there were slain at this battell, above eight thousand, and of the Romans only three thousand: howbeit all the rest of them for the most part were very sore hurt. Which fell out very well for Hannibal, that he might march away at his pleasure, as he did that night, and got him away far off from Marcellus, as knowing he was not in state to follow him over suddenly, because of his great number of hurt men in his camp: and so by small journeys he went into Campania, where he lay in garrison all the summer, in the city of Sinuessa, to heal the wounds of his sore mangled soldiers.

The
worthy
act of
Flavius

P. Bibulus accuseth Marcellus

Hannibal having now gotten himself at the length out of Marcellus' hands, and having his army free to serve him as he thought good: he burned and destroyed all Italy where he went and stood no more in fear of anything. This made Marcellus ill spoken of at Rome, and caused his enemies to take hold of such a matter against him: for they straight raised Publius Bibulus Tribune, to accuse him, who was a hot harebrained man, but very eloquent, and could deliver his mind very well. So this Bibulus called the people oft to council, and told them there, that they must needs call home Marcellus, and appoint some other to take charge of the army: for as for him, said he, because he hath fought a little with Hannibal (and as a man might say, wrestled a little with him) he is now gotten to the baths to solace himself. But Marcellus hearing this, left his lieutenants in the camp, and went himself to Rome, to answer to the untrue accusations laid against him, and there he perceived at his coming, how they intended to prosecute the matter against him upon these informations. So a day of hearing was appointed for his matter, and the parties came before the people assembled in council, in the great lists or shew-place, called Circus Flaminius, to give judgement. There Publius Bibulus the Tribune, sitting in his chair, laid open his accusation with great circumstance: and Marcellus, when Bibulus had told his tale, answered him in few words, and very discreetly, only touching his purgation. But the noble and chiefest men of the city, rose up and spake on Marcellus' behalf, telling the people plainly, that they did Marcellus wrong, to reckon

worse of his valiantness, than their enemy did : and to judge of him as a coward, considering Hannibal only fled from him, of all other captains, and would by no means fight with him, never refusing to fight with any other whatsoever. These persuasions took such effect, as where Marcellus' accuser looked for his condemnation, Marcellus to the contrary, was not only cleared of his accusation, but furthermore they chose him Consul again the fifth time. So being entered into his office he went first into Tuscany : where visiting the good cities one after another, and quieting them, he pacified a great sedition in the country, when they were all ready to rise and rebel. Afterwards at his return, he thought to consecrate the temple of Honour and Vertue, which he had built with the spoils he got in the wars of Sicily. But the priests were against it, saying, two gods might not be in one church. Thereupon he built another temple, and joined it to the first, being very angry the priests denied so his consecration : and he did take it for an evil token, besides divers other signs in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were many temples set on fire with lightning at one time : and the rats and mice did gnaw the gold, that was in the chapel of Jupiter Capitoline. And it is reported also, that an ox did speak : and a child came out of the head of an elephant, and that the child was alive. Furthermore, the priests and soothsayers sacrificing to the gods, to withdraw this evil from them, these sinister tokens did threaten : they could never find any favourable signs in their sacrifices. Whereupon they sought to keep Marcellus still at Rome, who

Wonderful signs were seen in Rome

Marcellus
Consul
the fifth
time

had a marvellous earnest desire to be gone with speed to the wars: for never man longed for anything so much, as Marcellus did, to fight with Hannibal. Insomuch he never dreamed other thing in the night, nor spake of any matter else in the day to his friends and companions, nor prayed to the gods for any other thing, but that he might fight with Hannibal in the field: and I think he would willingliest have fought a private combat with him, in some walled city or enclosed lists for the combat. And had it not been that he had already won himself a great fame, and shewed himself to the world, (by sundry great proofs and experience of his doings) a grave, skilful, and a valiant captain as any man of his time: I would have said it had been a pang of youth, and a more ambitious desire, than became a man of his age, who was threescore year old at that time, when they made him Consul again the fifth time. Nevertheless, after he had ended all his propitiatory sacrifices and purifications, such as the soothsayers had appointed: he departed from Rome with his fellow Consul Quintus Crispinus to the wars. He found Hannibal lying between the cities of Bantia, and Venusia, and sought all the means he could to procure him to fight, but he could never get him to it. Howbeit Hannibal being advertised by spies, that the Consuls sent an army to besiege the city of the Locrians, surnamed Epizephyrians: (as ye would say, the occidentals, because the Grecians, in respect of the Italians, are called the orientals :) he laid an ambush for them that went, under the hill of Petelia, which was directly in their way, where he slew about two thousand five hundred

Romans. That overthrow did set Marcellus on fire, and made him more desirous of battell: whereupon he removed his camp from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemy. Between their two camps there was a pretty little hill, strong of situation, a wild thing overgrown with wood, and there were high hillocks, from whence they might discern a great way, both the one and the other's camp, and at the foot of the same ran pretty springs: Insomuch as the Romans wondered, that Hannibal coming thither first, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. Howbeit Hannibal was crafty enough, leaving it of purpose: for as it was commodious to lodge his camp in, so it served his turn better for an ambush. So he filled the wood, the hollow places, and the valleys there about, with store of shot and spearmen, assuring himself that the place would entice the Romans thither: and indeed he guessed rightly, for so fell it out. Straight there flew a rumour abroad in the Romans' camp, that there was a passing place to lodge in, and every man took upon him like a skilful soldier, to tell what vantage they should have upon their enemies by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort upon it. Whereupon Marcellus determined to go see the place himself, taking a few horsemen with him. Notwithstanding, before he would take horse, he called for his soothsayer to sacrifice to the gods. The first beast that was sacrificed, the soothsayer shewed Marcellus the liver of it without a head. The second beast sacrificed, had a fair great head of a liver, and all the other parts were also sound,

An
ambush
laid by
Hannibal

**Marcellus
slain in an
ambush**

and very new: that by them it appeared all the fear of the first signs and tokens were taken away. Yet the soothsayers on the other side said, it did make them worse afraid than before: for these so favourable and lucky tokens of the sacrifice, following immediately after the first foul and naughty signs, made them doubt them much by reason of so strange and sodain an alteration. But as the poet Pindarus saith:

Nor force of burning fire, nor wall of steel nor stone,
Nor whatsoever other thing is here this earth upon:
Can keep aback the course of fatal destiny,
Nor yet resist the due decrees which come from heaven
on high.

So Marcellus took his horse, with Quintus Crispinus his fellow Consul, and his son one of the Tribunes of the soldiers, having only two hundred and twenty horsemen with him, of the which there was not one Roman among them, but all were Tuscans, saving forty Fregellianians, who from the beginning of these wars had always shewed themselves very faithful and loving to Marcellus. The hill we spake of before, being thick covered with wood and bushes, the enemies had set a scout to watch on the top of it, to give warning if they saw any coming towards it. The Romans could not see him, and he on the other side might see even into their camp, and perceive what was done, as he did advertise those at that time that lay in ambush for Marcellus' coming: and they suffered him to pass on, until he came directly against them. Then they shewed upon the sodain, and compassing in Marcellus, they both shot and

struck at him, some following them that fled, and other fighting with the forty Fregellanians which only stuck to it: who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the Tuscans were fled) upon the first cry they heard, to defend the two Consuls, until such time as the Consul Crispinus having two wounds on his body with a dart, did turn his horse to fly. And with that, one of the enemies gave Marcellus such a sore blow with a spear having a broad iron head, that he ran him quite through. The Fregellanians that were left alive, being but a few in number, seeing Marcellus slain, left him lying on the ground, and took his son away with them that was very sore hurt, and by the swiftness of their horses recovered their camp, and saved themselves. At this overthrow, there were not slain above forty men, and five and twenty taken prisoners, of which, five of them were the Consuls' sergeants, and their officers that carried axes before them, and the other were all horsemen. Within few days after, the other Consul Crispinus died also of his hurts, which was such a misfortune, as never came before to the Romans, that both their Consuls were slain at one battell. Now Hannibal made no great reckoning of all that were slain, or taken at this field: but when he heard that Marcellus self was slain at this overthrow, he went himself straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and countenance, having taken full view of all the parts of him, he spake no proud word against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would have done, that had slain so valiant and dangerous

at the
hill of
Petely

Marcellus' funeral honoured by Hannibal

an enemy : but wondering how he came to be slain so strangely there, he took off his ring from one of his fingers that sealed his letters, and giving his body burial according to his estate, made it to be honourably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a silver pot, on which he himself put a crown of gold, and sent it unto Marcellus' son. It fortuned so, that certain light horsemen of the Numidians met with them that carried this silver pot, and would have taken it from them by force : but they stood to it, and would not part withal, and so fighting and striving together for it, the bones and ashes were scattered all about. Hannibal hearing this, said to them that were about him : See how nothing can be, which the gods will not. So he punished the Numidians, and cared no more to get Marcellus' bones together, but persuaded himself it was the will of the gods he should die so strangely, and that his body should have no burial. Cornelius Nepos, and Valerius Maximus write it thus : but Livy, and Augustus Cæsar say, that the pot was carried unto his son, and honourably buried. Marcellus did consecrate many monuments in divers places, besides those at Rome. As at Catana in Sicily : a place for young men to exercise themselves in. In the Isle of Samothrace, in the temples of the gods called Cabiri : many images and tables he brought from Syracuse. And in the Isle of Lindos, in the temple of Minerva, where among other, there is a statue of his, and this epigram graven under it, as Posidonius the philosopher writeth.

O thou my friend (I say) which passeth forth by me,
Of Claudius Marcellus here the image mayst thou see :

Whose family at Rome was of the noblest name.
 Seven times he Consul chosen was, in which he over-
 came

Great numbers infinite (in open field and fight)
 Of such as sought his country's spoil, and put them
 all to flight.

**Mar-
 cellus'
 posterity**

The author of this epigram reckoneth, the two
 times of his being Vice-Consul, for two whole
 Consulships: but his posterity continued always
 in great honour, unto Marcellus the son of Oc-
 tavia, (Augustus Cæsar's sister) and of Caius
 Marcellus. He died a young man, being Ædilis
 of Rome, and married unto Julia, Augustus'
 daughter, with whom he lived no long time.

But to honour the memory of him, Octa-
 via his mother built the library, and
 Augustus Cæsar the theatre,
 which are called to this
 day, Marcellus'
 theatre and
 library.

THE COMPARISON OF MARCELLUS WITH PELOPIDAS

Pelopidas' and Marcellus' acts in wars THESE are the greatest things and best worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all Pelopidas' and Marcellus' doings: and for their manners and natural conditions otherwise, they were all one, because they were both valiant, painful, and noble minded: saving that this difference only was between them. That Marcellus in many cities he took by assault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much blood: where Epaminondas and Pelopidas contrarily did never put any to the sword they overcame, neither did they take away the liberty from any city they took: and it is thought the Thebans would not have handled the Orchomenians so cruelly as they did, if one or both of them had been present. Now for their acts, it was a noble and wonderful piece of service that Marcellus did, with so small a company of horsemen as he took with him, to overthrow so great a company of horsemen and footmen both, of the Gauls: a thing that never general but himself did, and specially that slew with his own hands in the field, the general of his enemies. Which Pelopidas could never attain unto, for he seeking to kill Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, was slain first himself, and suffered that, which he desired to have done to another. And yet for that service

may be objected, the battels of Leuctra and of Tegyra, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambush or secret practice done by Marcellus, that was any thing like comparable to that Pelopidas did at his return from exile, when he slew the tyrants that kept Thebes in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and sodain an enterprise stolen upon, as none was ever greater, or more famous. It is true Marcellus was yoked with Hannibal, who was a dreadful and a violent enemy: so were the Thebans also at that very time with the Lacedæmonians, who notwithstanding were overcome of Pelopidas, at the battels of Tegyra, and of Leuctra. Whereas Marcellus did never so much as once overcome Hannibal, as Polybius writeth, but remained unconquered always, until that Scipio overcame him in battel. Notwithstanding, we do give best credit to the reports of Cæsar, Livy, Cornelius Nepos, and of King Juba among the Grecians: who write, that Marcellus otherwhile did overthrow certain of Hannibal's companies, howbeit they were never no great overthrows to speak of, and it seemeth rather, it was through some mockery or deceit of that African than otherwise. Yet sure it was a great matter, and worthy much commendation, that the Romans were brought to that courage, as they durst abide to fight with the Carthaginians, having lost so many great overthrows, and having so many generals of their armies slain in battell, and having the whole Empire of Rome in so great danger of utter destruction. For it was Marcellus only of all

The
manner
of their
deeds

**Marcellus
made the
Romans
courageous**

other generals, that put the Romans in heart again, after so great and long a fear thoroughly rooted in them: and encouraged the soldiers also to long to fight with their enemy, and not only to hope, but to assure themselves of victory. For, where by reason of their continual losses and fearful overthrows they had, they thought themselves happy men to escape Hannibal's hands by running away: he taught them to be ashamed to fly like cowards, to confess they were in distress, to retire, and leave the field, before they had overcome their enemies. And where Pelopidas was never overcome in battell being general, and Marcellus did overcome more than any general in his time: it might seem therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, should compare with the good hap of the other that was never overcome. It is true that Marcellus took the city of Syracuse, and Pelopidas failed of taking the city of Sparta: but yet do I think, that it was more valiantly done of Pelopidas to come so near Sparta as he did, and that he was the first that passed the river of Eurotas with an army, which never enemy did before him, than it was of Marcellus to win all Sicily. Unless some peradventure will say again, this was Epaminondas', not Pelopidas' act, as also in the victory of Leuctra: where no man living can pretend any part of glory to the doings of Marcellus. For he took Syracuse, being only general alone, and did overthrow the Gauls without his fellow Consul, and fought with Hannibal, without any man's help or encouragement: (for all other were against it, and persuaded the contrary) and he was the first that altered the

manner of wars the Romans used then, and that trained his soldiers, that they durst fight with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the strangeness of either of their deaths doth grieve me marvellously: as I do greatly wonder also, how Hannibal in so many battels as he fought (which are innumerable) could always scape unhurt. I cannot but greatly commend also the valiantness of one Chrysantas, whom Xenophon speaketh of in his book of the Institution of Cyrus, saying: That he having lift up his sword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trumpet sound the retreat, he softly retired, and would not strike him. Howbeit it seemeth Pelopidas is more to be excused: for beside he was very hot and desirous of battell, yet his anger was honourable and just, and moved him to seek revenge. For as the poet Euripides saith:

**Their
death**

The best that may betide, is when a captain lives,
And doth survive the victories which he with force
achieves:

But if he needs must fall, then let him valiantly
Even thrust amid the thickest throng, and there with
honour die.

For so becometh his death famous, and not dishonourable. But now, besides Pelopidas' just cause of anger, yet was there another respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he saw his victory ended, in the death of the tyrant. Otherwise he should hardly have found so noble an occasion to have shewed his valiantness, as in that. And Marcellus contrarily, without any

Rash- instant necessity, and having no cause of heat or
ness cholera, (which putteth all men valiant in fight
in a besides themselves, that they know not what they
captain do) did rashly and unadvisedly, thrust himself into
deserveth the midst of the danger, where he died not as
blame a general, but as a light horseman and scout,
 (forsaking his three triumphs, his five Consulships,
 and his spoils and tokens of triumph, which he had
 gotten of kings with his own hands) among venturous
 Spaniards and Numidians, that sold their blood
 and lives for pay unto the Carthaginians: so that
 I imagine they were angry with themselves (as
 a man would say) for so great and happy a vic-
 tory, to have slain amongst Fregellians' scouts,
 and light horsemen, the noblest and worthiest
 person of the Romans. I would no man should
 think I speak this in reproach of the memory of
 these two famous men, but as a grief only of them
 and their valiantness: which they employed so,
 as they blemished all their other vertues, by the
 indiscreet hazarding of their persons and lives
 without cause, as if they would and should have
 died for themselves, and not rather for their
 country and friends. And also when they were
 dead, Pelopidas was buried by the allies and con-
 federates of the city of Thebes, for whose cause
 he was slain: and Marcellus in like manner, by
 the enemies selves that had slain him. And sure
 the one is a happy thing, and to be wished for
 in such a case: but the other is far above it, and
 more to be wondered at. That the enemy him-
 self should honour his valiantness and worthiness
 that hurt him, more than the office of friendship per-

formed by a thankful friend. For nothing moveth **Their**
 the enemy more to honour his dead enemy, **funerals**
 than the admiration of his worthiness: and
 the friend sheweth friendship many
 times, rather for respect of the
 benefits he hath received,
 than for the love
 he beareth to
 his vertue.

THE END OF MARCELLUS' LIFE.

EPILOGUE

AMONG these Lives one has supreme interest for an Englishman—that of Coriolanus, from whence Shakespeare drew inspiration for a great drama. And he owed more than a first inspiration to North's *Plutarch*, as any may see who will compare the two, in the speeches of Coriolanus to Tullus Aufidius, and of Volumnia to her son. No better testimony could have been paid to the truth of Plutarch's conception, and the vigour of North's English, than Shakespeare paid when he borrowed both. There is, indeed, a wonderful reality about this character, as of a second Achilles grafted upon the rough Roman stock. Though he has none of Achilles' grace, or that charm which all find in Plutarch's pair for him, Alcibiades, there is a pathos about his life and his end which brings him close to all pitiful hearts. The tale is told by Plutarch with a strong reticence and complete simplicity, which recalls the English Bible.

This character is summed up by Plutarch mercilessly, though with strict justice; and we feel that his sympathies were not deeply stirred by Coriolanus. On the other hand, he found in Pelopidas and Timoleon two men after his own heart. In a day when no one could dream that Greece might yet be free, Plutarch burned with a love of freedom; and he loved to dwell on the deeds of those who freed a nation

from slavery. It seems odd that he should have compared Pelopidas with Marcellus, rather than with Timoleon: the more, that either of them both was driven to do or to wink at a deed of violence which might easily be taken in bad part. Each is a noble and unselfish patriot of that kind which is always rare, not least in ancient Greece. The local jealousies and personal vanities which were the weakness of Greek statesmen had no influence over these: the one spent his life in the service of those whom most Greeks would have called foreigners; the other loved first his native city, and second his friend. In describing the daring blow which made Thebes free, Plutarch is at his best: with a loving hand he draws that picture which the reader can never forget, of old blind Timoleon, like some prophet of the Hebrews, consulted in all grave matters by a fickle populace, and hailed with almost divine honour and acclaim.

If Coriolanus makes a grand drama, Timoleon would make a thrilling romance. The other Lives herein contained do not, perhaps, give themselves to artistic treatment other than the biography, but they are remarkable for fine episodes. In Coriolanus' life itself the meeting of mother and son stands out as a picture both pathetic and awful. Of another sort is the story of Archias' last supper, when the fate of Sparta hangs on a hair. Although the reader knows what the result will be, he is kept on the tiptoe of suspense to think how near the plot came to be discovered, and how different history might have been if the Spartan had not preferred business to-morrow. There might have been an end made of the noblest of all the Greeks—great as a statesman (for he conceived Greece united), greater as a

general (for he invented new tactics, and broke the army long deemed invincible), but greatest as a man. Most vivid of all is the episode of the siege of Syracuse. Like some legendary wizard sits Archimedes in the heart of the city, he himself the only creature that moved and did all, the army and the populace being but parts of the machine which his brain had created. Well might the Romans think the gods themselves fought against them, to see great galleys hooked up out of the water with a crane's-bill, and turning about in the air like a whirligig, while the seamen dropt out of them like maggots out of a cheese, till the hooks cast down the hulks on the rocks and splitted them all to fitters. The figure of Archimedes is sketched in with a few strong lines, but so that the man stands alive before us: and one last touch of the heroic is added, when we read that these engines, fearful to see, that played havoc with huge ships—these catapults, from which flew in the air infinite kind of shot and marvellous great stones, with an incredible noise and force on the sudden, tearing in pieces all those which came against them—were but his recreations of geometry, and things done to pass the time with.

In his own person the author has many things of great moment to tell us here. Now it is some acute maxim of statecraft or political foresight: as that corruption in public officials is a sure forerunner of ruin,¹ a truth abundantly proved by the after history of Rome, and not without example in modern history. Or again, he touches with a light hand on the vexed questions of fate and freewill,² miracles, the omnipotence of God.³ He stands out from the ancients,

¹ Page 21.

² Page 50.

³ Page 59.

too, almost alone in his humanity; condemning not only human sacrifice, but the ordinary customs of war. "To believe," says he,¹ "that either gods or demigods do delight in murder, or shedding of man's blood, it is a mere mockery and folly."

In another place² he brands it as the foulest of deeds to wreak the cruelty of war upon defenceless women. And in general,

no chance is lost of insisting upon high principles, such

¹ Page 228. as moral uprightness ² Page 180.
and continency
from bribes.

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 Langhorne's 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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1. Æmilius Paulus comes after Timoleon in Sintenis, and the preface is placed before Timoleon.
2. 'as a fat soil': a later edition (1595) reads 'like a fat soil bringeth,' etc., which, if not a misprint (and there are many in this edition), is the earliest instance I have met with of a modern vulgarity.
10. 'T. Lartius': so A.: Sintenis *Λαρκίω*, a conjecture for *Μαρκίω*. North writes 'Latius,' by error or misprint.
11. 'lock up': the text has 'look up,' clearly a misprint (*A. amener a seureté*).
16. 'Doson' means 'about to give,' not 'the Giver.' There is no point in Plutarch's explanation as N. puts it; but A. has correctly *qui donnera*. The following are the kings mentioned: Ptolemy I. Soter. II. Philadelphus, III. Euergetes, VII. Physcon. VIII. Lathyrus, Antigonus II. Doson, Battus II. Eudæmon.
The Greek text has *Λαθυρόν*, but A. writes *Lamyrus*.
18. 'levied out of all the rest': in ed. 1 'of' is wanting.
21. 'unsoiled': the text reads *unfoiled*, which must be a misprint for *unsoiled* or *unfiled*, i.e. 'undefiled': A. has *impollu*.
43. 'Vicanians': Sintenis reads by conjecture *Λαουικανούς*.
57. 'though he yielded': the meaning is, 'blamed for yielding.'
58. 'me thinks': in ed. 1 'me thinke' is a misprint, but later it is altered by error to 'we thinke.'
60. 'all their commandment': the commandment of them all.
76. 'wive's': the possessive singular, the voiced *s* making the *f* also voiced. This is common, and is not a misprint.

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81. 'Doson, the Giver': properly 'about to give,' *i.e.* he was always going to give something and did not.
93. 'son adopted': A. *gendre*, Gr. *γαμβρός*, *i.e.* 'son-in-law.'
96. 'naked men': light armed.
102. 'Terracinians': the Greek has *Μαρρονκινῶν*, an emendation for *Ῥακινῶν*. A. seems to have had a different reading.
107. 'Eudæus': so the vulgate. Sintenis accepts the emendation Eulæus.
108. 'Alepsus': no such town is known. Sintenis accepts an emendation Galepsus (a city in Macedonia).
138. 'Demareté': so A., but Sintenis reads Demaristé.
155. 'no weapons': N. adds a note (not translated from A.): 'This agreeth with Æsop's words to Solon, who wished him coming to princes, not to come near them. See Solon's Life, and his answer to Æsop.'
156. 'Leptines': the text reads 'the Leptines.'
158. 'huge army to see': A. *une armee effroyable à voir*.
159. 'Leon': the revised text has Neon.
176. 'under promise of the country': here N. has mistaken A.'s words *sous promesse de paix*, 'under promise of peace,' as though he had written *du pays*.
177. 'Hieræ': both N. and A. have 'Hietes'; the Greek text reads *Ἱεράς*, which has been emended into *Ἱετᾶς*.
180. 'Euthydemus': the Greek has Euthymus.
214. 'Hermippidas, Dysaoridas': emended to Herippidas and Lysanoridas.
223. 'brother Œdipus': this should be 'son' (A. has *filis*).
226. 'wrath of the Leuctrides': *τὸ Δευκτρικὸν μῆνιμα*, 'the Leuctran wrath' rather; for Leuctrides, the feminine form, would have suggested the women's wrong.
227. 'red maiden': A. *une vierge rousse*, Gr. *παρθένον ξανθήν*, *i.e.* a blonde.
228. 'impressions in the air': Gr. *Τυφῶνας*, which A. writes *Typhons*. The word is used of a whirlwind or hurricane, and also of a monster supposed to be manifested by these things.
244. 'by their successors': *i.e.* by hereditary succession.
 'drudge or tankard-bearer': Epicrates was nicknamed *σακεσφόρος*, 'shield-bearer,' because of his

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- immense beard. A. translates the word *porte-faix* 'porter,' hence N.'s mistake.
249. 'not yet cold': refers to the soldiers, not to Pelopidas.
259. 'Roumania': the Greek has Picenum.
261. 'given': A. *bailler*, Gr. *ἔπέδωκε*, 'offered.'
262. 'Britomarus': so both translators. The Greek has Britomartos.
264. 'unparted': the opposite is rather the meaning, 'pell-mell,' A. *pesle mesle*, Gr. *ὁμοῦ προσφερομένους*.
266. 'many Greek words,' etc.: of course the truth is that Greek and Latin are akin, e.g. *ferre* and *φέρειν*.

VOCABULARY

- ACERRÆ**, a town of Cisalpine Gaul.
- ACILLÆ**, in Sicily, called by Stephanus Acrillæ.
- ADJOURNMENT**, appointment, 185.
- ADRANUM**, a city at the foot of Ætna, in Sicily.
- ÆNEAS**, son of Venus and Anchises, escaped from the sack of Troy and founded the city of Lavinium.
- AFFIANCE**, trust, 225.
- AGESILAUS**, King of Sparta, a famous general, who warred against the Persians in Asia successfully, and defeated a Grecian league at Coronæa 394 B.C.
- AGRIGENTUM**, a city on the south coast of Sicily, destroyed by the Carthaginians 405 B.C.
- ALBA**, a city near Rome, where the inferior sort of triumph (called *ovatio*) was celebrated.
- AMPHIPOLIS**, on the Strymon, in Macedonia.
- ANCUS MARCIUS**, fourth King of Rome, 7th century B.C.
- ANDROS**, an island in the W. of the Ægean Sea.
- ANTIATES**, people of Antium, in Latium.
- ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT**, third Seleucid King of Syria, reigned 223-187 B.C. He came in contact with the Romans in Greece, where he was defeated by them at Thermopylæ 191 B.C.; and he was again defeated by Scipio in 190.
- ANTIUM**, a city in S. Latium.
- APOLLO**, god of wisdom and prophecy, later of the sun also. *See* DELPHI.
- ARCADIA**, a mountainous region in the north of the Peloponnese.
- ARCHIMEDES**, 287-212 B.C., greatest of ancient mathematicians and engineers. The "screw of Archimedes" was his invention; he also made the first orrery.
- ARGOS**, a plain and city to the north-east of the Peloponnese.
- ARISTOTLE OF STAGIRA**, the great philosopher, 384-322 B.C.
- ARRANT**, errand, 206.
- AS**, originally a pound weight of copper, afterwards a coin or sum of varying value.
- BACCHUS**, god of wine.
- BAN**, curse, 206.
- BATE**, debate, quarrel, 233.
- BATTÆ**: "These were the princes that built the city of Cyrene." *North*, after *Amiot*.
- BATTLE**, army, 248.
- BECAUSE**, in order that, 126.
- BEDLAM**, mad, 240.
- BICKER**, skirmish, fight, 218.
- BILL**, to ticket, order, 245.
- BOLÆ**, in Latium.
- BOUCATIOS**, the Boeotian name for January.
- BRAG**, boastful, 231.
- BRAVERY**: challenge, contumaciousness, 28; "set on a bravery" means put on their metal, excited as by a challenge, 19.
- BRIGANTINE**, **BRIGANDINE**, **BRIGANTAIL**, flexible armour made of plates of iron sewed upon linen or leather, 123.
- BRINDES**, **BRINDISI**, in the south-east corner of Italy.
- BRIAREAN**, having like the giant Briareus an hundred hands, 281.
- BURGANET**, a kind of helmet, 123.
- BYZANTIUM**, Constantinople.
- CABRON**, cabin, hut, 150.
- CABIRI**, mysterious gods worshipped at Samothrace and in Boeotia.
- CALAURIA**, 178, seems to be a city of Sicily, but is otherwise unknown.
- CANNÆ**, a city in Apulia, where Hannibal utterly defeated the Romans 216 B.C.

- CANUSIUM, a town in Apulia.
- CARECT, CARRACK, a galleon or big ship.
- CASTOR AND POLLUX, twin sons of Zeus (Jupiter) and Leda, hence called Dioscuri, were worshipped as gods, especially by seafaring men. They helped the Romans at the battle of Lake Regillus.
- CATANA, a city on the east coast of Sicily.
- CENCHREA, a port on the Isthmus of Corinth, easterly, near the mouth of the present canal.
- CERES, Roman goddess of agriculture.
- CHERONEA, a city in Bœotia, where Philip won a victory 348 B.C.
- CHAMPION, CHAMPAIGN, plain, 96.
- CHARRET, chariot, 124.
- CHEAP, price: hence "good cheap," at a moderate price, 24.
- CHOLERICK, passionate, 233.
- CIRCEII, a town of Latium.
- COAST, border, 183.
- COCKLE, a prolific weed, 24.
- CONFUNDED, founded firm, 141.
- CONVERSATION, association, 2.
- CONVINCE, convict, 185.
- CORINTH, on the isthmus between N. and S. Greece.
- CORIOLI, in Latium, capital of the Volsci.
- COULD, knew, 222.
- CRAVER, a kind of small ship or smack, 159.
- CURACES, cuirass, body armour, 100.
- CYZICUS, a city on the Propontis.
- DEFEND, beat off, 268.
- DEFER, prolong, linger, 55.
- DEGREE, step, 182.
- DELPHES, DELPHI, in Phocis, seat of the chief and most ancient oracle of Apollo, here called Pythian.
- DEPUTATION, election, 272.
- DIANA, Greek ARTEMIS, sister of Apollo, virgin goddess of the wild woodland, later of the moon also.
- DIAGENES OF SINOPÉ, a Cynic philosopher.
- DIONYSIUS, tyrant of Syracuse. (1) The Elder, born 430 B.C., died 367. (2) The Younger, reigned from 367 to 356 B.C. and again from 346 to 343, when Timoleon defeated him.
- DISCOURAGE, discouragement, 170.
- DISHONEST, dishonourable, 256.
- DRACHMA, a Greek silver coin about the size of a franc.
- ECBATANA, capital of Media, and summer residence of the Persian kings.
- ELEUSIS, a city near Athens, scene of the Mysteries of Demeter.
- ELIMIA, a district (not a city) in Macedonia.
- ELIS, a district to the north-west of the Peloponnese.
- EMBASE, abase, 25.
- ENFRANCHISE, set free, 245.
- ENSIGN, division, 218.
- EPAMINONDAS, a great soldier and statesman of Thebes, killed at Mantinea 362 B.C. The victory of Leuctra was gained in 371 over the Spartans.
- EPICRATES, a demagogue, who helped to overthrow the Thirty Tyrants at Athens. See note to p. 244.
- EURIPIDES, the third great tragedian of Athens, 480-406 B.C.
- EXCEPTION, exemption, 272.
- EXQUISITE, definite, distinct, 59.
- FITTERS, splinters, 279.
- FLAMEN, title of certain priests at Rome.
- FLAMINIUS, T. QUINTIUS, Consul 198 B.C.; defeated Philip of Macedonia at Cynoscephalæ, 197.
- FODE, feud, 216.
- FOIST, a barge or pinnace, 83.
- FOND, foolish, 234.
- FRESH-WATER SOLDIERS, amateurs, novices: on the analogy of fresh-water sailors, 173.
- GAIL-DELIVERY, *i.e.* gaol-delivery, a setting free (legal term), 55.
- GARBOIL, uproar, 275.
- GELA, a city on the south coast of Sicily.
- GELO, tyrant of Gela 491 B.C., of Syracuse 485, defeated and almost annihilated the Carthaginian host of 300,000 men at Himera, 430; died 478.

- GRATIS, 24.
GRUDGE, dislike, 118.
- HABERGION, HABERGEON, breast-plate, 123.
- HEPHÆSTION, a great friend of Alexander the Great, died at Ecbatana 325 B.C.
- HERACLITUS OF EPHEBUS, an early Greek philosopher.
- HIERO, name of several rulers of Syracuse. The one here named was King of Syracuse 270-216 B.C., where he died at the age of ninety-two.
- HIERONYMUS, King of Syracuse, succeeded in 216 B.C. at the age of fifteen years, and was murdered after thirteen months.
- HIMERA, a city of Sicily, in the N.
- HOLY ANCHOR, a Greek proverb for last hope, 48.
- HOLY HILL, the first secession to the Mons Sacer took place 494 B.C.
- HOWBOY, HAUTOBOY, a wind instrument, 292.
- HUNT, huntsman, 79.
- HUSBAND, protector, 81.
- HUSBANDRY, economy, 88.
- IMPOSTHUME, abscess, 23.
- INCONTINENTLY, immediately, 4.
- INSTITUTION, education, 313.
- INTERREGES, officials appointed at death of a king or official to elect another.
- ISTHMIAN GAMES, celebrated every two years on the Isthmus of Corinth. The victor's prize was a garland of parsley, afterwards of pine-leaves.
- ITHOME, a mountain, on which stood capital of Messenia.
- JOINTER, jointure, 145.
- JOURNEY, day, often used of battles, 110.
- JUPITER FERETRIAN, title of Jupiter, whether from *ferire*, the worshippers praying him to strike them if they swore falsely; or from *ferre*, "to offer" the spoils, or something else.
- KEEP, dwell, 184.
- LAIUS. See CŒDIPUS.
- LATONA, mother of Apollo and Artemis.
- LAVINIUM, in Latium.
- LEONIDAS, King of Sparta, sent with some 5000 men, of whom 300 were Spartans, to hold the Pass of Thermopylæ against Xerxes 480 B.C. He did so with success until a party got round by the rear, when, rather than retreat (which he could have done), he and all the Spartans fell "obedient to the laws."
- LEONTINI, a city to the E. of Sicily.
- LEPTINES, a warrior of Syracuse, and brother of Dionysius the elder, who offending Dionysius by giving one of his daughters to Philistas without leave, he with Philistas was banished.
- LEUCAS, an island off the west coast of Acarnania.
- LEUCTRA. See EPAMINONDAS.
- LILYBÆUM, a Carthaginian stronghold on the west of Sicily.
- LIMMER, translates Fr. *limon*, "thill of a waine" (*Cotgrave*), a beam, or rather pair of beams, fork, 38.
- LUST, desire, 203.
- MACARIA, daughter of Hercules and Deianira, sacrificed her life because an oracle foretold this would secure victory to the Athenians against Eurystheus.
- MÆDICA, a district in the west of Thrace.
- MANTINEA, in the Peloponnese. See EPAMINONDAS.
- MARISH, marsh, 162.
- MARS, Roman god of war.
- MENŒCEUS, son of Creon, killed himself because Tiresias foretold this would secure victory to Thebes over the Seven Argive Heroes who were besieging it.
- MERELY, purely, 64.
- MESSENE, capital of Messenia, built on Mount Ithome.
- MESSENIA, a plain in the south of the Peloponnese, separated from Sparta by Mount Taygetus.
- MESSINA, a town in Sicily, on the Strait.

- MINA**, a weight, or a sum of money equal in bullion to some £4 or £5.
- MISERABLE**, miserly, 82.
- MISERY**, miserliness, 86.
- MISTRUST**, suspect, 205.
- MO**, more in number, 214.
- MONETH**, month, 230.
- MOYLE**, mule, 170.
- MURED**, walled, 102.
- MURRION**, **MORION**, a kind of helmet, 173.
- MUTINE**, mutiny, 185.
- MEGALOPOLIS**, or **MEGALEPOLIS**, a city in Arcadia founded by Epaminondas.
- MYCALE**, a promontory of Asia Minor opposite Samos, where the Persian fleet was defeated by the Greeks 479 B.C.
- NATURAL**, true-born, 229.
- NAUGHTY**, good for naught, worthless, 122.
- NEMEA**, near Corinth; biennial games were celebrated here in honour of Zeus.
- NOLA**, a city in Campania.
- NUNDINÆ**, "ninth's," market-day at Rome, falling, according to the Roman inclusive method, every ninth day, but in our reckoning every eighth, 30.
- OCCUPY**, use, 278.
- ŒDIPUS**, son of Laius. King of Thebes, was exposed to die because of a prophecy that he should kill his father. He was saved, however, and grew up to fulfil the prophecy.
- OFFEND**, attack, 268.
- OLYMPIA**, a city in Elis, where the great games were celebrated. There was a great temple of Zeus there, with a statue by Phidias (see his name).
- OLYMPUS**, the highest mountain of Greece, on the borders of Thessal and Macedonia.
- ON HEAD**, headlong, 26.
- ONLY**, alone, 9.
- ORCHOMENOS**, a city on the Lake Copais, in Bœotia.
- OREUS**, a town in N. Eubœa.
- ORGANICAL**, mechanical, 276.
- ORICUM**, a city in Illyria.
- ORIGINAL**, origin, 265.
- OUGHT**, owed, 61.
- OWER**, oar, 79.
- PAINFUL**, painstaking, 310.
- PARCEL**, small part, 75.
- PASSING**, surpassing, 305.
- PASSINGLY**, surpassingly, 15.
- PELLA**, a town of Macedonia.
- PELOPIDAS**, a Theban patriot and general, friend of Epaminondas.
- PERRHÆBIA**, a district in Thessaly.
- PHERÆ**, a city in Thessaly.
- PHIDIAS**, the great sculptor of Athens. 490-432 B.C. He superintended or executed the sculptures of the Parthenon, and made a gold-ivory statue of Athena for that temple, a gold-ivory statue of Zeus for Olympia, and many other works.
- PINE-APPLE**, fir-cone; pines are called pine-apple trees, 170.
- PLATO**, the great Athenian philosopher, 429-347 B.C.
- POLICY**, trick, 118.
- POLL**, head, 24.
- POLLUX**. See **CASTOR**.
- POWER**, force, army, 236.
- PRACTISE**, intrigue, 137.
- PREASE**, press, 106.
- PRESENTLY**, at once, 128.
- PREST**, make ready (*prest* is properly the participle of press, and means "ready"), 19.
- PRICE**, prize, 14.
- PRITTLÉ-PRATTLE**, tittle-tattle, 291.
- PROE**, prow, 279.
- PROFESSED**, religious people, priests, (*A. gens de religion*), 213.
- PROSERPINA**, daughter of Ceres, worshipped with her. She was carried off to the under-world by Plato, while gathering flowers at Henna, in Sicily.
- PROVE**, try, 102.
- PTOUM**, an offshoot of Helicon.
- PYDNA**, a city in Macedonia.
- PYTHAGORAS** of Samos and Rhegium, an early Greek philosopher.
- QUIRINUS**, the deified Romulus.
- RECOVER**, get back to, 212.

REQUIRE, seek, 1.

RHEGIUM, a Greek city in S. Italy.

ROAD, inroad, raid, 218.

SAGRA, a river in Bruttium

SALAMIS, scene of the defeat of Xerxes fleet 480 B.C.

SAMOS, an island off Cape Mycale, in Asia Minor

SAMOTHRACE, an island in the north of the Ægean Sea.

SCIPIO. (1) Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal at Zama 202 B.C. (2) Nasica, son-in-law (not adopted son) of (1). (3) Called Africanus Minor and Numantius, who took Carthage 146 B.C., and Numantia 133

SCOTUSA, in Thessaly, near Cynoscephalæ, where Philip was defeated 197 B.C.

SEIGNIORY, rule, empire, 238.

SENSIBLY, perceptibly, 173.

SIBYL, an ancient prophetess of Cumæ, who was fabled to have sold books of prophecy to King Tarquin.

SILLY, simple, 4.

SMALLAGE, water-parsley, 170. (It was regarded as a bad omen. See the place.)

STOMACH, STOMACK, to be angry at a thing, 26; passion, spirit, 239.

STRAIT, isthmus, 232.

STRAITS, pass, 95

SUMPTER, beast of burden, 271.

SUSA, on the Choaspes, winter residence of the Persian kings.

SWAGE, assuage, 30.

SYRACUSE, chief city of Sicily, on the east.

TABLE, picture, 233.

TANAGRA, a city of Bœotia.

TANKARD-BEARER, water-carrier (*see* Halliwell). Read the note to p. 244.

TARGET, shield, 12.

TASSES, flaps attached to the bottom of the breastplate to protect the thighs, 99.

THESPIÆ, a city of Bœotia.

THETIS, a sea-nymph, wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles.

THUCYDIDES, the great Athenian historian of the Peloponnesian War.

TIMOTHEUS, son of Conon, a distinguished Athenian general of the fourth century B.C.

TOLD, counted, 116.

TOY, joy, merriment, trifle, 126.

TUITION, care, 19.

UNREBATED, unblunted, 17

VAWARD, vanguard, 33.

VELITRÆ, a Volscian town in Latium.

VENUS, goddess of love and beauty.

VERY, true, 142.

VOWARD, vanguard, 99.

WRECK, WREAK, avenge, 36.