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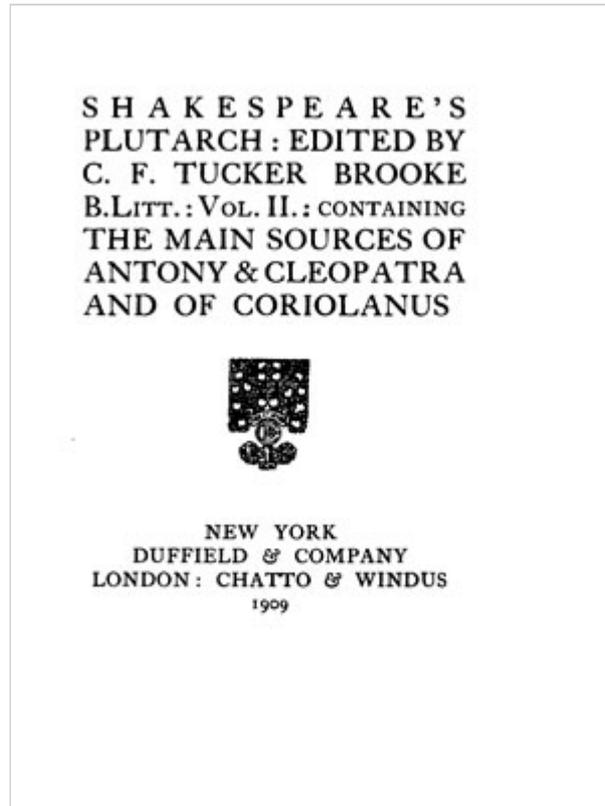
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Author: [Plutarch](#)
Editor: [C.F. Tucker Brooke](#)
Translator: [Sir Thomas North](#)

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Vol. 2 of a 2 volume selection of the works of Plutarch which Shakespeare used in the writing of Julius Caesar, Anthony and Cleopatra, and Coriolanus. Vol. 2 contains the main sources of Anthony and Cleopatra and of Coriolanus.

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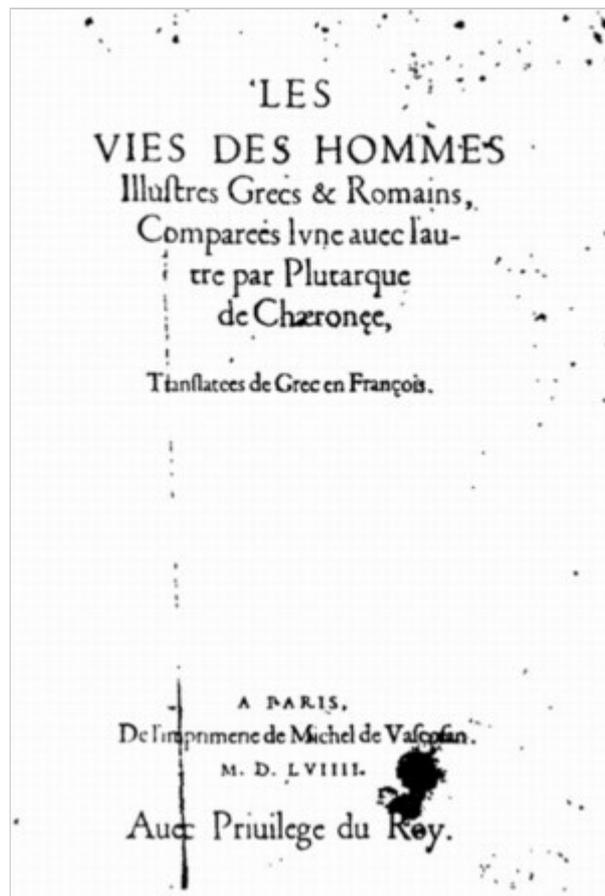


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INTRODUCTION

A general discussion of North's translation of Plutarch and its relation to Shakespeare's play of *Julius Caesar* will be found in the introduction to the first volume.

The scope of North's influence on Shakespeare. The extent and precise nature of Shakespeare's debt to North is not easily calculated. Besides the four lives here printed, it has been asserted that he drew upon the Life of Theseus for some five lines in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, that he used the Life of Alcibiades for *Timon of Athens*, that he got a hint for *Julius Caesar*; namely, Caesar's fear of sleepless men, from the Life of Cato Censor. It has been suggested that he derived from the comparisons or συγκρίσεις attached to the Lives of Coriolanus, Caesar, Brutus, and Antonius a few general ideas as to the character of these personages. Professor Skeat, furthermore, has printed in his book, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, the spurious life of Augustus Caesar, which found its way into the 1603 and later editions of North.

It is difficult to set limits to Shakespeare's possible erudition. It is highly probable that he had read much more of Plutarch than he ever openly used; and he may have known all the passages which an unpleasantly microscopic criticism has pointed out; but if so, the matter seems entirely devoid of interest or importance. Only as regards the four lives which are reprinted in this book can there be any true question of debit and credit between North and Shakespeare, and even here the different plays show very different sorts of borrowing.

The relation between *Julius Caesar* and the *Lives* has been already discussed, if the connexion had ended with that play there would be no great reason for crediting North with a much higher sort of influence over Shakespeare than that exerted by Holinshed, Painter, Whetstone, Harsnet, and the many other authors whose matter the poet appropriated without reserve and whose manner, save for a phrase here and there, he seems utterly to have repudiated. But the indebtedness of Shakespeare to North is most striking in the latest of his Roman plays, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*. A comparison of the many passages in the lives of Antonius and of Coriolanus here marked by daggers with the corresponding lines in Shakespeare shows that the dramatist was satisfied in no small number of cases to incorporate whole speeches from North with the least change consistent with the production of blank verse. The description of Cleopatra's first visit to Antony, the dying speech of Antony, and the few noble lines that glorify the passing of Cleopatra, the address of Coriolanus to Tullus Aufidius when he throws himself upon the latter's hospitality, and the last all-decisive speech of Volumnia to her son—these passages, all of which rank among the special treasures of Shakespearean poetry, come straight and essentially unaltered out of North.

Nowhere else in Shakespeare is there an instance of verbal borrowing at the height of dramatic intensity which is comparable to these. Even the speech of Portia to Brutus in *Julius Caesar* offers no parallel, for there we can see plainly the deliberate poetic

handling which North's words suffered, fine though they are, before they were allowed a place in the drama. In the passages I have cited there is little evidence of any attempt at improvement; indeed, it may be held in regard to several of them that the palm belongs rather to North's prose than to Shakespeare's poetry. That this should be so is a fact worthy of all wonder and attention, for the like can be said of no other of Shakespeare's rivals or assistants.

Yet it is easy to misinterpret woefully the meaning of the phenomenon. The criticism that blatantly advertises North as the writer who has surpassed Shakespeare in his own art is illogical as well as foolish. It rests on a wrong conception of the nature of Shakespeare's latest work. The probable date of *Antony and Cleopatra* is 1607, and *Coriolanus* is somewhat later. During this his last period, the poet's manner is characterized, it need not be said, by qualities of unapproachable grandeur; it is not, however, marked by minute attention to details. In structure as in versification we find a certain looseness; the carelessness of conscious mastery overrides trifling rules before which immaturity had bent. After all, North's style, as we see it in these four lives, is pretty much of a piece, and what Shakespeare had been able to improve on in 1601, when he wrote *Julius Caesar*, was assuredly not beyond him in 1607. The truth is that Shakespeare's interest in the last two Roman plays is centred nearly exclusively in character, in Antony and Cleopatra, Volumnia and Coriolanus. He has earned the right to ignore rules of syntax and of scansion. He may at this time appropriate without scruple whatever North has written that will serve his purpose and would cost him pains to write better. It is no more than the assertion of genius's privilege of indifference to non-essentials—the natural corollary of the 'infinite capacity for taking pains,' where the pains are worth the taking.

The borrowing is a deservedly high compliment to North; it is far from being a reproach to Shakespeare. It is as Archbishop Trench has said in his lectures on Plutarch: 'shakespeare does not abdicate his royal preëminence, but resumes it at any moment that he pleases.' To take the dying speech of Charmion and fit it indistinguishably into a setting worthy of it, to borrow nearly unchanged the words of Coriolanus to Aufidius and then to give them their needed consummation in the answer of Aufidius—this surely is a greater achievement than to have new-written the two scenes.

Plutarch and the structure of the Roman Plays. The indebtedness of Shakespeare to Plutarch's *Lives* has not been fully stated, when we have pointed out that the four lives under consideration presented the dramatist with a graphic picture of nearly every incident and every important character out of which he built up his Roman plays, nor even when we have added to this that the magnificent version of North clothed Plutarch's narrative in an English dress so gorgeous, and at the same time so appropriate, that Shakespeare has justly rendered it the last praise of imitation. Besides thus furnishing the constituent material, and to no small extent the outward form of these plays, North's Plutarch was able to contribute also the innate tragic spirit. The work which Shakespeare had been obliged to do for himself in investing English history with a continuous purpose and a philosophic import, he found done for him when he came to Plutarch. The lives are pervaded by a note of grave fatalism, which constitutes the very essence of tragedy. Particularly is this true of the lives

dealing with those last days of the Roman Republic which Plutarch realized so vividly and has so fully and wisely portrayed. It is no mere succession of battles, plots, and murders, such as we know in Holinshed's *Chronicle* or the *Mirror for Magistrates*, that meets us in the lives of Brutus or Antonius, or even Coriolanus. The narration of historical incident goes everywhere hand in hand with the true spirit of humanism and the deepest sense of resistless destiny.

Brutus and Antonius are distinctly represented as the victims of Fate, against which their struggles, however heroic, can avail them nothing. 'Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion),' says Plutarch, 'being now brought to that pass, that it could no more abide to be governed by many Lords, but required one only absolute Governor, God, to prevent Brutus that it should not come to his government, kept this victory from his knowledge' (Vol. I. p. 182). And Antony's love for Cleopatra is throughout made to appear no mere human frailty, but a 'pestilent plague and mischief' sent upon him by that Providence by whom 'it was predestined that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Caesar's hands.'

We find Shakespeare's broad sane humanity to a very striking degree in Plutarch, who never allows us to lose the sense of the infinite pity of Coriolanus's ruin, or Antony's, even while laying bare with a hand as unsparing as Shakespeare's own the ruinous faults of each. Again, Shakespeare's political views—his feeling of the necessity of one strong head in the state, and his distrust of the commonalty—are closely paralleled by those of Plutarch, who almost welcomes Caesar's assumption of tyrannical power, and looks on the triumph of Octavius as a desirable pledge of peace, though individually neither of the Caesars is a favourite with him. His attitude towards the mob is hardly more friendly than Shakespeare's; and the marginal note to the Life of Coriolanus which North adds, 'see the fickle minds of common people' (Vol. II. p. 161), not only sums up the opinion of Plutarch and of Chaucer, but might serve as text for a large number of Shakespeare's scenes.

The Roman plays, of course, contain much that will not be found in Plutarch, or will be found there only in germ. This is more the case with the two later tragedies, which in parts approach North most closely, than in the case of *Julius Caesar*, where by drawing on three lives at once the dramatist found all the material and variety he could desire. In *Antony and Cleopatra* and in *Coriolanus* the kernel of the plot, that is, the conception of the two principal figures of each play, is taken from North practically unchanged. But a Shakespearean play must have breadth as well as depth; two or three characters, however striking, will not serve. The minor *dramatis personae* therefore, who provide the perspective and fill up the background, are for the most part elaborated by Shakespeare out of very scanty suggestions. This is true of Enobarbus, who, though mentioned two or three times by Plutarch, is entirely re-created by the dramatist and given a quite unhistorical career. It is equally true of Menenius, who appears in Plutarch but once, and then simply as narrator of his well-known fable. Altogether there are in *Antony and Cleopatra* no less than eight scenes, and in *Coriolanus* seven at least, which show only the very barest traces, if any, of Plutarchan influence. Conversely, there are, of course, many fine passages in Plutarch, of which the dramatist makes no use, the most striking instance being perhaps the wonderfully vivid and eloquent description of Antony's Parthian expedition. Papers

seeking to point out in detail the connexion between Plutarch and the Roman plays will be found in the *fahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Bd. xvii.* 67–81: xviii. 156–82: xxi. 262–317.

North's influence outside the Roman plays. In one other Shakespearean tragedy we find credible traces of borrowing from North. It is at least possible that the first suggestion for *Timon of Athens* came from the brief account of the misanthrope, which Plutarch interpolates into the Life of Antonius (p. 111–113). Certainly, at two points in the last act of the play there is verbal reminiscence of this passage: first, in lines 210–217 of Scene I., and more strikingly in Timon's epitaph (V. iv. 70–73), which Shakespeare quotes from North with the change of only a single word. All visible connexion, however, stops here. The play, as a whole, is based on Paynter's *Palace of Pleasure* (Novel xxviii.), and there is no evidence that Plutarch's further account of Timon in the Life of Alcibiades influenced Shakespeare in any degree.

The non-Shakespearean drama of the Elizabethan age owes a large debt to Plutarch. He furnished the French writer Robert Garnier with the material for his tragedy *Marc Antoine*, and this play, as translated into English verse by the Countess of Pembroke in 1590, became the progenitor of a school, Senecan in form, Plutarchan largely in subject matter. Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra* (1594) was written confessedly with the object of providing a companion piece to the *Antonie* of his patroness. It deals with the period of Cleopatra's life subsequent to the death of Antony, and is based wholly upon Plutarch. Despite its impossible rhyme scheme and antediluvian machinery, there are lines in *Cleopatra* which show how the passages that were afterwards to impress themselves on Shakespeare's memory had already touched the imagination of at least one true, if misguided poet. In the fifth act we find a retrospective allusion to the splendour of Cleopatra's progress up the 'river of Cydnus' (cf. Life of Antonius, p. 38, 39):—

‘Clear Cydnos she did shew what earth could shew,
When *Asia* all amaz'd in wonder, deems
Venus from heaven was come on earth below.’

And later Charmion's death is described in words which, in spite of the distortion caused by the necessity of finding rhymes, are not a great deal farther from North's prose than are Shakespeare's own—

‘And as she stood, setting it (*i. e.* the crown) fitly on,
Loe, in rush *Caesar's* messengers in haste,
Thinking to have prevented what was done,
But yet they came too late, for all was past.
For there they found stretcht on a bed of gold,
Dead *Cleopatra*, and that proudly dead,
In all the rich attire procure she could,
And dying *Charmion* trimming of her head,
And *Eras* at her feet, dead in like case.
“*Charmion*, is this well done?” said one of them.
“Yea, well,” said she, “and her that from the race

Of so great Kings descends, doth best become.”

In 1605 Daniel published his *Philotas*, founded on Plutarch's Life of Alexander, which was also the source of another play belonging to the same Senecan school and printed in the same year, the *Alexandrian* of Sir William Alexander, Lord Stirling. In 1607 appeared another of Alexander's "Monarchic tragedies," *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*, which owes no less than its predecessor to Plutarch. These last works belong all to a class doomed to speedy extinction. A more vital Plutarchan influence is that we find in Beaumont and Fletcher's play *The False One*. The plot concerns itself with the stay of Julius Caesar in Egypt, the outline of which comes from the Life of Caesar; in several passages, moreover, reminiscences of the language of North are, in my opinion, to be detected.

Lex hujus editionis. The principles on which the text has been prepared are stated fully in the introduction to the first volume. The present volume contains the Lives of Antonius and Coriolanus, and thus gives the main sources of the last two Roman plays, as well as the source in part of *Timon of Athens*. The text is that of North's translation as first published in 1579, except that the spelling has been modernized wherever the change involved is a mere matter of typography. Legitimate old forms, like the comparative *lenger* and the preterite *wan* for *won*, have been scrupulously preserved. The punctuation has been normalized, but in doing so I have attempted to make it conform to Elizabethan rather than Victorian ideals. All passages which Shakespeare can be shown to have used are indicated by marginal signs. Where the debt is one of subject matter only, asterisks are employed, but where North's wording also has been borrowed, a row of daggers will be found opposite the lines in question. Foot-notes give references to act, scene, and line, in the Oxford Shakespeare.

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THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

Antonius' grandfather was that famous Orator whom Marius slew, because he took Sylla's part. His

father was another Antonius surnamed Cretan,^a who was not so famous nor bare any great sway in the commonwealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberal in giving, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his wife would not let him use his liberality and frank nature. One day a friend of his coming

Antonius' parentage.

^a Because that by his death he ended the war which he unfortunately made against those of Creta.

to him to pray him to help him to some money, having great need, Antonius by chance had no money to give him, but he commanded one of his men to bring him some water in a silver basin, and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an errand for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the silver basin, and bade him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great stir in the house among the servants, seeking out this silver basin. Insomuch as Antonius seeing his wife marvellously offended for it, and that she would examine all her servants, one after another, about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His

The liberality of Antonius' father.

wife was Julia, of the noble house and family of Julius Caesar, who, for her virtue and chastity, was to be compared with the noblest Lady of her time. M. Antonius was brought up under her, being married after her first husband's death unto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus and others, for that he was of Catiline's conspiracy against the commonwealth. And this seemeth to be the original cause and beginning of the cruel and mortal hate Antonius bare unto Cicero. For Antonius self saith, that he would never give him the body of his father-in-law to bury him, before his mother went first to entreat Cicero's wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied burial to none of them whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a fair young man, and in the prime of his youth, he

Julia, the mother of M. Antonius.

fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given over to all lust and insolency, who, to have Antonius

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

the better at his commandment, trained him on into great follies, and vain expenses upon women, in rioting and banqueting. So that in short time he brought Antonius into a marvellous great debt, and too great for one of his years, to wit, of two hundred and fifty talents, for all which sum Curio was his surety. His father hearing of it did put his son from him, and forbade him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperate and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stir and mischief in Rome: but at length he forsook him, being weary of his rashness and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Greece,

and there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in wars, and otherwhile in the study of eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his speech, called Asiatic, “ which carried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and “life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish bravery, and vain ambition.¹ After he had remained there some time, Gabinius Proconsul, going into Syria, persuaded him to go with him. Antonius told him he would not go as a private man: wherefore Gabinius gave him charge of his horsemen, and so took him with him. So first of all he sent him against Aristobulus who had made the Jews to rebel, and was the first man himself that got up to the wall of a castle of his, and so drave Aristobulus out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him he overcame all the Jews in set battle, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, took Aristobulus himself prisoner with his son. Afterwards, Ptolemy king of Egypt, that had been driven out of his country, went unto Gabinius to entreat him to go with his army with him into Egypt, to put him again into his kingdom: and promised him, if he would go with him, ten thousand talents. The most part of the Captains thought it not best to go thither, and Gabinius himself made it dainty to enter into this war: although the covetousness of these ten thousand talents stuck sorely with him. But Antonius, that sought but for opportunity and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratify Ptolemy's request: he went about to persuade Gabinius to go this voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go, to come to the city of Pelusium, than they feared any danger of the war besides: because they were to pass through deep sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marishes through, which are called the marishes Serbonides, which the Egyptians call the exhalations or fume by the which the Giant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the Red Sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place, where it is divided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius was sent before into Egypt with his horsemen, who did not only win that passage, but also took the city of Pelusium (which is a great city) with all the soldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the army, and the hope of the victory also certain for his Captain. Now did the enemies themselves feel the fruits of Antonius' courtesy, and the desire he had to win honour. For, when Ptolemy (after he had entered into the city of Pelusium) for the malice he bare unto the city, would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword, Antonius withstood him, and by no means would suffer him to do it. And in all other great battles and skirmishes which they fought, and were many in number, Antonius did many noble acts of a valiant and wise Captain: but specially in one battle, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victory that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honourable reward as his valiantness deserved. So was his great courtesy also much commended of all, the which he shewed unto Archelaus. For having been his very friend, he made war with him against his will while he lived: but after his death he sought for his body, and gave it honourable burial. For these respects he wan himself great fame of them of

Antonius used in his pleading the Asiatic phrase.

Antonius had charge of horsemen under Gabinius Proconsul going into Syria. Antonius' acts against Aristobulus

Antonius took Aristobulus prisoner.

Antonius Acts in Egypt under Gabinius.

Antonius courtesy unto Archelaus being dead.

Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the soldiers in the Romans' camp. But besides all this, he had

a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thick beard, a broad forehead, crook-nosed, and there appeared such a manly look in his countenance, as is commonly seen in Hercules' pictures, stamped or graven in metal. Now

Antonius' shape and presence.

it had been a speech of old time, that the family of the Antonii were descended from one Anton, the son of Hercules, whereof the family took name. This opinion did Antonius seek to confirm in all his doings: not only resembling him in the likeness of his

The house of the Antonii descended from Hercules.

body, as we have said before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shew himself abroad before many people, he would always wear his cassock girt down low upon his hips, with a great sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some ill-favoured cloak. Furthermore, things that seem intolerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jest with one or other, to drink like a good fellow with everybody, to sit with the soldiers when they dine, and to eat and drink with them soldier like: it is incredible what wonderful love it wan him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love, that made him the more desired, and by that means he brought many to love him. For he would further every man's love, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured

his rising and advancement was his liberality, who gave all to the soldiers and kept nothing for himself: and when he was grown to great credit, then was his authority and power also very great, the which

Antonius' liberality.

notwithstanding himself did overthrow by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example only of his wonderful liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer that kept his money to give a friend of his 25 Myriads: which the Romans call in their tongue, Decies. His cofferer marvelling at it, and being angry withal in his mind, brought him all this money in a heap together, to shew him what a marvellous mass of money it was, Antonius, seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his cofferer answered him, it was the money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the spite of his man, 'I thought,' said he, 'that Decies had been a greater sum of money than it is, for this is but a trifle': and therefore he gave his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the Romans maintaining two factions at Rome at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that took part with the Senate did join with Pompey being then in Rome: and the contrary side taking part with the people sent for Caesar to aid them, who made wars in Gaul: then Curio, Antonius' friend, that had changed his garments and at that time took part with Caesar, whose enemy he had been before: he wan Antonius, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and sway he bare amongst the people by reason of his eloquent tongue, and partly also by his exceeding expense of money he made

which Caesar gave him, that Antonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augur. But this was a great help and furtherance to Caesar's practices. For so soon as Antonius

Antoniu, Tribune of the people and Augur.

became Tribune he did oppose himself against those things which the Consul Marcellus preferred (who ordained that certain legions which had been already levied and billed should be given unto Cneius Pompey, with further commission and

authority to levy others unto them) and set down an order, that the soldiers which were already levied and assembled should be sent into Syria, for a new supply unto Marcus Bibulus, who made war at that time against the Parthians. And furthermore, prohibition that Pompey should levy no more men, and also that the soldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompey's friends and followers would not suffer Caesar's letters to be received and openly read in the Senate: Antonius, having power and warrant by his person,

through the holiness of his tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men change their minds: for it appeared to them that Caesar by his letters required no unreasonable matters. At

Antonius' acts for Caesar.

length, when they preferred two matters of consideration unto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey, or Caesar, should leave their army: there were few of the Senators that thought it meet Pompey should leave his army, but they all in manner commanded Caesar to do it. Then Antonius, rising up, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Caesar both should leave their armies. Thereunto all the Senators jointly together gave their whole consent, and with a great cry commending Antonius, they prayed him to refer it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allow of that. Therefore Caesar's friends preferred other reasonable demands and requests again, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls, drave Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grievous curses against him. After that, he took a slave's gown, and speedily fled to Caesar, with

Quintus Cassius, in a hired coach. When they came to Caesar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand over head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not speak their

Antonius flieth from Rome unto Caesar.

minds, and were driven away in great danger of their lives, as many as stood with law and justice. Hereupon Caesar incontinently went into Italy with his army, which made Cicero say in his *Philippics* that as Helen was cause of the war of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the civil wars, which

indeed was a stark lie. For Caesar was not so fickle headed, nor so easily carried away with anger, that he would so suddenly have gone and made war with his country, upon the sight only of

Cicero reproved for lying.

Antonius and Cassius being fled unto him in miserable apparel and in a hired coach: had he not long before determined it with himself. But sith indeed Caesar looked of long time but for some colour, this came as he wished, and gave him just occasion of war. But to say truly, nothing else moved him to make war with all the world as he did, but one self cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to reign, with a senseless covetousness to be the best man in the world, the which he

could not come unto, before he had first put clown Pompey, and utterly overthrown him. Now, after that Caesar had gotten Rome at his commandment, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, he purposed first to go into Spain, against the legions Pompey had there: and in the meantime to make provision for ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Praetor, governor of Rome: and Antonius that

Alexander, Cyrus, and Caesar and all contended to reign. Caesar's ambition the only cause of the civil war.

was Tribune, he gave him charge of all the soldiers and of Italy. Then was Antonius straight marvellously commended and beloved of the soldiers, because he commonly exercised himself among them, and would oftentimes eat and drink with them, and also be liberal unto them according to his

Caesar gave the charge of Italy unto Antonius.

ability. But then in contrary manner he purchased divers other men's evil wills, because that through negligence he would not do them justice that were injured, and dealt very churlishly with them that had any suit unto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to entice men's wives. To conclude, Caesar's friends that governed under him were cause why they hated Caesar's government (which indeed in respect of himself was no less than a tyranny), by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Caesar notwithstanding, when he returned from the wars of Spain, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valiant Captain, he employed him in his chiefest affairs, and was no whir deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the Ionian Sea unto Brundusium, being but slenderly accompanied: and sent unto Antonius and Gabinius, that they should embark their men as soon as they could, and pass them over into Macedon. Gabinius was afraid to take the sea, because it was very rough, and in the winter time: and therefore fetched a great compass about by land. But Antonius fearing some danger might come unto Caesar, because he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he drave away Libo, who rode at anchor with a great army before the haven of Brundusium. For he manned out such a number of pinnaces, barks, and other small boats about every one of his galleys, that he drave him thence. After that, he embarked into

Antonius' vices.

ships twenty thousand footmen and eight hundred horsemen, and with this army he hoised sail. When the enemies saw him, they made out to follow him: but the sea rose so high, that the billows put back their galleys that they could not come near him, and so he scaped that danger. But withal he fell upon the rocks with his whole fleet, where the sea wrought very high: so that he was out of all hope to save himself. Yet by good fortune, suddenly the wind turned South-west, and blew from the gulf, driving the waves of the river into the main sea. Thus Antonius loosing from the land, and sailing with safety at his pleasure, soon after he saw all the coasts full of shipwracks. For the force and boisterousness of the wind did cast away the galleys that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and divers also cast away, and Antonius took a great number of them prisoners, with a great sum of money also. Besides all these, he took the city of Lyssus, and brought Caesar a great supply of men, and made him courageous, coming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Now there were divers hot skirmishes and encounters,

Antonius taketh sea with his army at Brundusium, and goeth unto Caesar.

in the which Antonius fought so valiantly, that he carried the praise from them all: but specially at two several times, when Caesar's men turned their backs and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to return again to fight: so that the victory fell on Caesar's side. For this cause he had the second place in the camp among the soldiers, and

Antonius' manhood in wars.

they spake of no other man unto Caesar, but of him: who shewed plainly what opinion he had of him, when at the last battle of Pharsalia (which indeed was the last trial of all, to give the Conqueror the whole Empire of the world) he himself did lead the right wing of his army, and gave Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest soldier of all those he had about him. After Caesar had won the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey step by step: howbeit before he named Antonius general of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The general of the horsemen is the second office of dignity, when the Dictator is in the city: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the only man that remaineth, and all the other officers and Magistrates are put down, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that time Tribune, and a young man desirous of change and innovation: he preferred a law which the Romans call *Novas tabulas* (as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and specialties, and were called the new tables, because they were driven then to make books of daily receipt and expense), and persuaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratify the common people) to aid him to pass this law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, and took such a conceit of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house, being his Cousin german, and the daughter of C. Antonius, who was Consul with Cicero: and joining with Asinius, he resisted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolabella had gotten the market place where the people do assemble in council, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this law of the new tables to pass by force. Antonius by commandment of the Senate, who had given him authority to levy men, to use force against Dolabella: he went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slain on both sides. But by this means he got the ill will of the common people, and on the other side, the noblemen (as Cicero saith) did not only dislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at unseasonable times, and his extreme wasteful expenses upon vain light huswives: and then in the day time he would sleep or walk out his drunkenness, thinking to wear away the fume of the abundance of wine which he had taken over night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and mask: and himself passed away the time in hearing of foolish plays, or in marrying these players, tumblers, jesters, and such sort of people. As for proof hereof it is reported, that at Hippias' marriage, one of his jesters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next morning, when he came to plead before the people assembled in council, who had sent for him, he being queasy-stomached with his surfeit he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gown instead of a basin. He had another pleasant player called Sergius, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called Cytheris, of the same profession, whom he loved

Antonius led the left wing of Caesar's battle at Pharsalia, where Pompey lost the field.

The dignity of the general of the horsemen.

Dissension betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.

Antonius' abominable life.

Antonius laid up his stomach before the whole assembly.

dearly: he carried her up and down in a litter unto all the towns he went, and had as many men waiting upon her litter, she being but a player, as were attending upon his own mother. It grieved honest men also very much to see that, when he went into the country, he carried with him a great number of cupboards full of silver and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had been the pomp or shew of some triumph: and that eftsoons in the midst of his journey he would set up his halls and tents hard by some green grove or pleasant river, and there his cooks should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lions were harnessed in traces to draw his carts: and besides also, in honest men's houses in the cities where he came, he would have common harlots, courtesans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieved men much to see, that Caesar should be out of Italy following of his enemies, to end this great war, with such great peril and danger: and that others in the meantime, abusing his name and authority, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts unto their Citizens. This methinks was the cause that made the conspiracy against Caesar increase more and more, and laid the reins of the bridle upon the soldiers' necks, whereby they durst boldlier commit many extortions, cruelties, and robberies. And therefore Caesar after his return pardoned Dolabella, and, being created Consul the third time, he took not Antonius, but chose Lepidus his colleague and fellow Consul. Afterwards when Pompey's house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very strange, and was offended with them, and writeth himself that he would not go with Caesar into the wars of Africk, because he was not well recompensed for the service he had done him before. Yet Caesar did somewhat bridle his madness and insolency, not suffering him to pass his faults so lightly away, making as though he saw them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married Fulvia, that was Clodius' widow, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewifery, and was, not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and command him, that commanded legions and great armies: so that Cleopatra was to give Fulvia thanks for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commandment. Now, because Fulvia was somewhat sour and crooked of condition, Antonius devised to make her pleasanter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would play her many pretty youthful parts to make her merry. As he did once, when Caesar returned the last time of all Conqueror out of Spain: every man went out to meet him, and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the sudden there ran a rumour through Italy, that Caesar was dead, and that his enemies came again with a great army. Thereupon he returned with speed to Rome, and took one of his men's gowns, and so apparelled came home to his house in a dark night, saying that he had brought Fulvia letters from Antonius. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was for being known: but she, taking the matter heavily, asked him if Antonius were well. Antonius gave her the letters, and said never a word. So when she had opened the letters, and began to read them, Antonius ramped of her neck, and kissed her. We have told you this tale for example's sake only, and so could we also tell you of many suchlike as these.

Antonius' insolency.

Caesar and Lepidus
Consuls.

Antonius buyeth
Pompey's house.

Antonius married
Fulvia, Clodius'
widow.

Fulvia ruled Antonius
at home and abroad.

Now, when Caesar was returned from his last war in Spain, all the chieftest nobility of the city rode many days' journey from Rome to meet him, where Caesar made marvellous much of Antonius, above all the men that came unto him. For he always took him into his coach with him, throughout all Italy: and behind him, Brutus Albinus and Octavius, the son of his Niece, who afterwards was called Caesar, and became Emperor of Rome long time after. So, Caesar being afterwards chosen Consul the fifth time, he immediately chose Antonius his colleague and companion: and desired, by deposing himself of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his room, and had already moved it to the Senate. But Antonius did stoutly withstand it, and openly reviled Dolabella in the Senate: and Dolabella also spared him as little. Thereupon Caesar being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also, when Caesar attempted again to substitute Dolabella Consul in his place, Antonius cried out, that the signs of the birds were against it: so that at length Caesar was compelled to give him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvellously offended with him. Now in truth, Caesar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Caesar answered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for some matter of conspiracy: 'Tush,' said he, 'they be not those fat fellows and fine combed men that I fear, but I mistrust rather these pale and lean men,' ¹ meaning by Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death, and slew him. Antonius unwares afterwards gave Caesar's enemies just occasion and colour to do as they did: as you shall hear. The Romans by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and Caesar, being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chief Officers for that year: who, running naked up and down the city anointed with the oil of olive, for pleasure do strike them they meet in their way with white leather thongs they have in their hands. Antonius being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies and old customs of that solemnity, he ran to the Tribune where Caesar was set, and carried a laurel crown in his hand, having a royal band or diadem wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient mark and token of a king. When he was come to Caesar, he made his fellow-runners with him lift him up, and so he did put this laurel crown upon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But Caesar, making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head: Caesar again refused it, and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as Caesar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. ¹ And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things subjects should do by commandment of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. Caesar in a rage rose out of his seat, and plucking down the collar of his gown from his neck, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. ² This laurel crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of Caesar's statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes plucked off. The people liked his doing

Caesar and Antonius
Consuls.

Antonius unwittingly
Gave Caesar's
enemies occasion to
conspire against him.

Antonius Lupercian
putteth the diadem
upon Caesar's head.

therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Caesar did turn them out of their offices for it.¹ This was a good encouragement for Brutus and Cassius to conspire his death, who fell into a consort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make Antonius privy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, saving Trebonius only. He told them that, when they rode to meet Caesar at his return out of Spain, Antonius and he always keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind afar off: but Antonius, finding his meaning, would hearken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding never made Caesar acquainted with this talk, but had faithfully kept it to himself. After that they consulted whether they should kill Antonius with Caesar. But Brutus would in no wise consent to it, saying, that venturing on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and justice, it ought to be clear from all villainy.² Yet they, fearing Antonius' power and the authority of his office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that, when Caesar were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keep Antonius in a talk out of the Senate house.¹ Even as they had devised these matters, so were they executed: and Caesar was slain in the midst of the Senate. Antonius, being put in a fear withal, cast a slave's gown upon him, and hid himself. But afterwards, when it was told him that the murtherers slew no man else, and that they went only into the Capitol, he sent his son unto them for a pledge, and bade them boldly come down upon his word. The self same day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bade Brutus. The next morning the Senate was assembled, and Antonius himself preferred a law that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint provinces unto Cassius and Brutus: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordained that they should cancel none of Caesar's laws. Thus went Antonius out of the Senate more praised, and better esteemed, than ever man was: because it seemed to every man that he had cut off all occasion of civil wars, and that he had shewed himself a marvellous wise governor of the commonwealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great weight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceived of himself after he had a little felt the goodwill of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himself the chiefest man if he might overcome Brutus, did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore, when Caesar's body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in commendation of Caesar, according to the ancient custom of praising noblemen at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to hear Caesar spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his oration with lamentable words, and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine, to conclude his oration, he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors cruel and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently took Caesar's body, and burnt it in the market-place with such tables and forms as they could get together. Then, when the fire was kindled, they took firebrands, and ran to the murtherers' houses to set them afire, and

Brutus and Cassius conspire Caesar's death

Consultation about the murther of Antonius with Caesar

Antonius maketh uproar among the people for the murther of Caesar.

to make them come out to fight.¹ Brutus therefore, and his accomplices, for safety of their

persons, were driven to fly the city.² Then came all Caesar's friends unto Antonius, and specially his wife Calpurnia, putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her money into his house, which amounted to the sum of four thousand talents, and furthermore brought him all Caesar's books and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done and ordained. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were prisoners: and then he said that all those things were so appointed and ordained by Caesar. Therefore the Romans mocking them that were so moved, they called them Charonites: because that when they were overcome, they had no other help but to say that thus

Calpurnia, Caesar's wife

they were found in Caesar's memorials, who had sailed in Charon's boat, and was departed. Thus, Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consul, and Caius, one of his brethren, Praetor, and Lucius, the other, Tribune. Now things remaining in this state at Rome, Octavius

M. Antonius Consul, Caius Antonius Praetor, Lucius Antonius Tribune all there brethren.

Caesar the younger came to Rome, who was the son of Julius Caesar's Niece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawful heir by will, remaining, at the time of the death of his great Uncle that was slain, in the city of Apollonia. This young man at his first arrival went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father Caesar's friends, who by his last will and testament had made him his heir: and withal, he was presently in hand with him for money and other things which were left of trust in his hands, because Caesar had by will bequeathed unto the people of Rome three score and fifteen silver Drachmas to be given to every man, the which he as heir stood charged withal. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very young: and said he lacked wit, and good friends to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand as to undertake to be Caesar's heir.

But when Antonius saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in and with him for his father's goods, but specially for the ready money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keep him from being Tribune of the people: and also, when

Variance betwixt Antonius and Caesar, heir unto Julius Caesar.

Octavius Caesar began to meddle with the dedicating of the chair of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honour Caesar with, he threatened to send him to prison, and moreover desisted not to put the people in

an uproar. This young Caesar, seeing his doings, went unto Cicero and others, which were Antonius' enemies, and by them crept into favour with the Senate: and he himself sought the people's good will every manner of way, gathering together the old soldiers

Octavius Caesar joined in friendship with Cicero-

of the late deceased Caesar, which were dispersed in divers cities and colonies. Antonius being afraid of it talked with Octavius in the Capitol, and became his friend. But the very same night

Antonius and Octavius became friends.

Antonius had a strange dream, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Caesar lay in wait to kill him. Caesar cleared himself unto him, and told

him there was no such matter: but he could not make Antonius believe the contrary. Whereupon they became further enemies than ever they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old soldiers through Italy, that were dispersed in divers towns, and made them large promises, and sought also to win the legions of their side, which were already in arms. Cicero on the other side being at that time the chiefest man of authority and estimation in the city, he stirred up all men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed young Caesar Sergeants to carry axes before him, and such other signs as were incident to the dignity of a Consul or *Praetor: and moreover sent Hirtius and Pansa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls together with Caesar, who also had an army, went against Antonius that besieged the city of Modena, and there overthrew him in battle:

Antonius'dream.

Antonius judged an enemy by the Senate

Hirtius and Pansa Consuls.

but both the Consuls were slain there. Antonius, flying upon this overthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine.¹ Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would overcome any adversity, and, the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he himself. Every man that feeleth want or

Antonius overthrown in battle by the city of Modena.

adversity knoweth by virtue and discretion what he should do: but when indeed they are overlaid with extremity, and be sore

Antonius patient in adversity

oppressed, few have the hearts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much less to avoid that they reprove and dislike. But rather, to the contrary, they yield to their accustomed easy life: and through faint heart, and lack of

courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderful example to the soldiers to see Antonius, that was brought up in all fineness and superfluity, so easily to drink pudder bringing water, and to eat wild fruits and roots: and' moreover it is reported that, even as they passed the Alps, they

Antonius' hardness in adversity, notwithstanding his fine bringing up.

did eat the barks of trees, and such beasts as never man tasted of their flesh before,¹ Now their intentt was to join with the legions that were on the other side of the Mountains, under Lepidus' charge: whom Antonius took to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at Caesar's hand through his means. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venture himself, and to go unto Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at Modena, he suffered his beard to grow at length and never clipped it, that it was marvellous long, and the hair of his head also without combing: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gown, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of Lepidus' camp. Then he began to speak unto the soldiers, and many of them their hearts yearned for pity to see him so poorly arrayed, and some also through his words began to pity him: insomuch that Lepidus began to be afraid, and therefore commanded all the trumpets to sound together to stop the soldiers' ears, that they should not hearken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the soldiers took the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius' and Laelius' means, whom they sent unto him disguised in women's apparel, and gave him counsel that he should not be afraid to enter into their camp, for there were a great

number of soldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would say the word. Antonius would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a little river that ran between them: and himself was the foremost man that took the river to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus' camp that gave him their hands, plucked up the stakes, and laid flat the bank of their trench to let him into their camp. When he was come into their camp, and that he had all the army at his commandment, he used Lepidus very courteously, embraced him, and called him father: and though indeed Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gave Lepidus the name and honour of the Captain.

Antonius wan all Lepidus' army from him

Munatius Plancus, lying also in camp hard by with an army, understanding the report of Antonius' courtesy, he also came and joined with him. Thus Antonius being afoot again, and grown of great power, repassed over the Alps, leading into Italy with him seventeen legions and ten thousand horsemen, besides six legions he left in garrison among the Gauls under the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would drink lustily with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed Cotylon: to wit, a bibber. So Octavius Caesar would not lean to Cicero, when he saw that his whole travail and endeavour was only to restore the commonwealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certain of his friends to

Varius surnamed Cotylon

Antonius, to make them friends again: and thereupon all three met together, (to wit, Caesar, Antonius, and Lepidus), in an Island environed round about with a little river, and there remained three days together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did divide all the Empire of Rome between them, as if it had been their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of blood and holiness of friendship at their feet. For Caesar left Cicero to Antonius' will, Antonius also forsook Lucius Caesar, who was his Uncle by his mother, and both of them

The conspiracy and meeting of Caesar, Antonius and Lepidus

together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirm, that Caesar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepidus was contented with it.¹ In my opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change than this was. For, thus changing murder for murder, they did as well kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kill: but so much more was their wickedness and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed upon between them, the soldiers that were thereabouts would have this friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by marriage, and that Caesar should marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, and Antonius' wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, they condemned three hundred of the chiefest citizens of Rome to be put to death by proscription. And Antonius also commanded

The proscription of the Triumviri.

them to whom he had given commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective Orations (called *Philippics*) against Antonius. So, when the murderers brought him Cicero's head and hand cut off, he

Antonius' cruelty unto Cicero.

beheld them a long time with great joy, and laughed heartily, and that oftentimes, for the great joy he felt. Then, when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, over the pulpit for Orations (where when he was alive he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his own fortune, shewing himself (to his great shame and infamy) a cruel man, and unworthy the office and authority he bare. His uncle Lucius Caesar also, as they sought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fled unto his sister. The murderers coming thither, forcing to break into her chamber, she stood at her chamber

door with her arms abroad, crying out still: 'You shall not kill Lucius Caesar, before you first kill me, that bare your Captain in my womb. By this means she saved her brother's life. Now the government of these Triumviri grew odious and hateful to the Romans, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius,

Lucius Caesar's life saved by his sister.

because he being elder than Caesar, and of more power and force than Lepidus, gave himself again to his former riot and excess,

Antonius' riot in his Triumvirate.

when he left to deal in the affairs of the commonwealth. But, setting aside the ill name he had for his insolency, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house

of Pompey the great: a man as famous for his temperance, modesty, and civil life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the Captains,

The praise of Pompey the great

Magistrates of the city, and also Ambassadors of strange nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tumblers, antic dancers, jugglers, players, jesters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzzling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most part of his money he got by all kind of possible extortions, bribery and policy. For they did not only sell by the crier the goods of those whom they had outlawed and appointed to murder, slanderously deceived the poor widows and young orphans, and also raised all kind of imposts, subsidies, and taxes: but understanding also that the holy vestal Nuns had certain goods and money put in their custody to keep, both of men's in the city, and those also that were abroad, they went thither, and took them away by force. Octavius Caesar perceiving that no money would serve Antonius' turn, he prayed that they might divide the money between them, and so did they also divide the army, for them both to go into Macedon to make war against Brutus and Cassius: and in the meantime they left the government of the city of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the seas, and that they began to make war, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Caesar against Brutus: Caesar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battle Caesar was overthrown by Brutus, and lost his camp, and very hardly saved himself by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth himself in his *Commentaries*, that he fled before the charge was given, because of a dream one of his friends had.

Antonius on the other side overthrew Cassius in battle, though some write that he was not there himself at the battle, but that he came after the overthrow whilst his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slain by a faithful servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had

The valiantness of Antonius against Brutus.

enfranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Caesar. Shortly after they fought another battle again, in the which Brutus was overthrown

The death of Cassius.

who afterwards also slew himself. Thus Antonius had the chieftest glory of all this victory, specially because Caesar was sick at that time. Antonius having found Brutus' body after this battle, blaming him much for the murther of his brother Caius, whom he had put to death in Macedon for revenge of Cicero's cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortensius than in him, he made Hortensius to be slain on his brother's tomb.

Brutus slew himself

Furthermore, he cast his coat armour (which was wonderful rich and sumptuous) upon Brutus' body, and gave commandment to one of his slaves enfranchised, to defray the charge of his burial.

Antonius gave honourable burial unto Brutus.

But afterwards, Antonius hearing that his enfranchised bondman had not burnt his coat armour with his body, because it was very rich, and worth a great sum of money, and that he had also kept back much of the ready money appointed for his funeral and tomb, he also put him to death. After that Caesar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor scape the sickness he had. Antonius on th'other side went towards the East provinces and regions, to levy money: and first of all he went into Greece, and carried an infinite number of soldiers with him. Now, because every soldier was promised five thousand silver Drachmas, he was driven of necessity to impose extreme tallages and taxations. At his first coming into Greece, he was not hard nor bitter unto the Grecians, but gave himself only to hear wise men dispute, to see plays, and also to note the ceremonies and sacrifices of Greece, ministering justice to every man, and it pleased him marvellously to hear them call him Philhellene, (as much to say, a lover of the Grecians), and specially the

Athenians, to whom he did many great pleasures, Wherefore the Megarians, to exceed the Athenians, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly sight, they prayed him to come and see their Senate house

Antonius' great courtesy in Greece

and council hall. Antonius went thither to see it: so when he had seen it at his pleasure, they asked him, 'My Lord, how like you our hall?' 'Methinks' (quoth he) 'it is little, old, and ready to fall down.' Furthermore, he took measure of the temple of Apollo Pythius, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into Asia, having left Lucius Censorinus Governor in Greece, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East parts, and that Princes, great Lords, and Kings came to wait at his gate for his coming out, and that Queens and Princesses to excel one another gave him very rich presents, and came to see him, curiously setting forth themselves, and using all art that might be to shew their beauty, to win his favour the more, (Caesar in the mean space turmoiling his wits and body in civil wars at home, Antonius living merrily and quietly abroad), he easily fell again to his old licentious life. For straight one Anaxenor a player of the cithern, Xouthus a player of the flutes, Metrodorus a tumbler, and such a rabble of minstrels and fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia, (who in fineness

and flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of Italy) all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway:

The plagues of Italy in riot

and, after that, all went awry. For every one gave themselves to riot and excess, when they saw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the city Sophocles speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

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

For in the city of Ephesus, women attired as they go in the feasts and sacrifice of Bacchus came out to meet him with such solemnities and ceremonies as are then used, with men and children disguised like Fauns and Satyrs. More-over, the city was full of Ivy, and darts wreathed about with Ivy, psalterions, flutes, and hautboys, and in their songs they called him Bacchus, father of mirth, courteous, and gentle: and so was he unto some, but, to the most part of men, cruel and extreme. For he robbed noblemen and

gentlemen of their goods, to give it unto vile cruelty flatterers, who oftentimes begged men's goods living, as though they had been dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a

Antonius' cruelty in Asia

citizen's house of Magnesia unto a cook, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and imposed a second upon Asia. But then Hybreas the Orator, sent from the estates of Asia to tell him the state of their country, boldly said unto him: 'If thou wilt have power

to lay two tributes in one year upon us, thou shouldst also have power to give us two summers, two autumns, and two harvests.

Hybreas' words unto Antonius touching their great payments of money unto him.

'This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken unto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him well to hear it: but afterwards, amplifying his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better

purpose: 'Asia hath paid the two hundred thousand talents. If all this money be not come to thy coffers, then ask accompt of them that levied it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone.' Hybreas' words nettled Antonius roundly. For he understood not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authority in his treasure and affairs: not so much because he was careless, as for that he over simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plain man without subtilty, and therefore over late found out the foul faults they committed against him: but when he

heard of them he was much offended, and would plainly confess it unto them whom his officers had done injury unto by

Antonius' simplicity.

countenance of his authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well-doers: and yet he did exceed more in giving, than in punishing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he

commonly used, mocking and flouting of every man, that was remedied by itself. For a man might as boldly exchange a mock

Antonius' manners.

with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly and truly in mirth, would never flatter him in good earnest in any matter of weight. But thus he was easily abused by the praises they gave him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flattery, under this familiar and plain manner of speech unto him, as a fine device to make difference of meats with sharp and tart sauce, and also to keep him by this frank jesting and bourding with him at the table, that their common flattery should not be troublesome unto him as men do easily mislike to have too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would give him place in any matter of weight and follow his counsel, that it might not appear to him they did it so much to please him, but because they were ignorant, and

understood not so much as he did. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extremest mischief of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stir up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seen to any: and if any spark of goodness or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight, and made it worse than before. The manner how he fell in love with her was this. Antonius, going to make war with the Parthians,

sent to command Cleopatra to appear personally before him, when he came into Cilicia, to answer unto such accusations as were laid against her, being this: that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their war against him. The messenger sent unto

Antonius' love to Cleopatra whom he sent for into Cilicia.

Cleopatra to make this summons unto her was called Dellius: who when he had throughly considered her beauty, the excellent grace and sweetness of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would do any hurt to so noble a Lady, but rather assured himself that within few days she should be in great favour with him. Thereupon he did her great honour, and persuaded her to come into Cilicia as honourably furnished, as she could possible, and bade her not to be afraid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous Lord than any that she had ever seen. Cleopatra, on th' other side, believing Dellius' words, and guessing by the former access and credit she had with Julius Caesar and Cneius Pompey (the son of Pompey the great) only for her beauty: 1 she began to have good hope that she might more easily win Antonius. For Caesar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the world meant: but now she went to Antonius at the age when a woman's beauty is at the prime, and she also of best judgement. 1 So, she furnished herself with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthy and rich a realm as Egypt was. But yet she carried nothing with her wherein she trusted more than in herself, and in the charms and enchantment of her passing beauty and grace.

Therefore when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius himself, and also from his friends, she made so light of it and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poop whereof was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, hautboys, citherns, viols, and such other instruments as they played

The wonderful sumptuousness of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, going unto Antonius.

upon in the barge. And now for the person of herself: she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and

Cydnus fl.

attired like the goddess Venus commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphs Nereides (which are the mermaids of the waters) and like the Graces, some steering the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderful passing sweet savour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharf's side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge tall alongst the river's side: others also ran out of the city to see her coming in. So that in th' end, there ran such multitudes of people one after another to see her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market place in his Imperial seat to give audience: 1 and there went a

rumour in the people's mouths, that the goddess Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus, for the general good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to him. But she sent him word again, he should do better rather to come and sup with her. Antonius therefore, to shew himself courteous unto her at her arrival, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her:² where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can express it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lights and torches hanged on the top. of the house, giving light in every place, so artificially set and ordered by devices, some round, some square, that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever books could mention. The next night, Antonius feasting her contended to pass her in magnificence and fineness: but she overcame him in both. So that he himself began to scorn the gross service of his house, in respect of Cleopatra's sumptuousness and fineness. And, when Cleopatra found Antonius' jests and slents to be but gross and soldier like in plain manner, she gave it him Cleopatra's finely, and without fear taunted him throughly. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatchable of other women, nor yet such as upon present view did enamour men with her: but so sweet was her company and conversation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talk and discourse, her courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvellous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of music to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easily turned to any language that pleased her. She spake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them answer herself, or at least the most part of them: as the Ethiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of Egypt, could scarce learn the Egyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speak the Macedonian. Now Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great wars, and much ado with Caesar for his affairs, and that the army of the Parthians (the which the king's Lieutenants had given to the only leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia ready to invade Syria: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yielded himself to go with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle pastimes the most precious thing a man can spend, as Antiphon saith: and that is, time. For they made an order between them, which they called *Amimetobion* (as much to say, no life comparable and matchable with it) one feasting each other by turns, and in cost exceeding all measure and reason. And for proof hereof, I have heard my grandfather Lamprias report, that one Philotas a Physician, born in the city of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied Physic: and that, having acquaintance with one of Antonius' cooks, he took him with him to Antonius' house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderful sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diversities of meats, and amongst others, eight wild

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatra's beauty

An order set up by Antonius and Cleopatra

The excessive expenses of Antonius and Cleopatra in Egypt.

boars roasted whole: he began to wonder at it, and said, ' Sure you have a great number of guests to supper.'

The cook fell a-laughing, and answered him, ' No '(quoth he) 'not many guests, nor above him, twelve in all:¹ but yet all that is boiled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For Antonius peradventure will sup presently, or it may be a pretty while hence, or likely enough he will defer it longer, for that he hath drunk well to-day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we do not dress one supper only, but many suppers, because we are uncertain of the hour he will sup in.' Philotas the Physician told my grandfather this tale, and said moreover, that it was his chance shortly after to serve the eldest son of the said Antonius, whom he had by his wife Fulvia: and that he sat commonly at his table with his other friends, when he did not dine nor sup with his father. It chanced one day there came a Physician that was so full of words that he made every man weary of him at the board:

Eight wild boars roasted whole.

Philotas, a Physician born in Amphissa, reporter of this feast.

Philotas, Physician to the younger Antonius

but Philotas, to stop his mouth, put out a subtle proposition to him: 'It is good in some sort to let a man drink cold water that hath an ague: every man that hath an ague hath it in some sort: ergo, it is good for a man that hath an ague to drink cold water.' The Physician was so gravelled and amated withal, that he had not a word more to say. Young Antonius burst out in such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said unto him: 'Philotas, take all that, I give it thee:' shewing him his cupboard full of plate, with great pots of gold and silver. Philotas thanked him, and told him he thought himself greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have given so many things, and of so great value. But much more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius' men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his mark and stamp upon them, and to lock them up. Philotas returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reprov'd if he took them. Then the young gentleman Antonius said unto him: 'Alas, poor man, why dost thou make it nice to take them? Knowest thou not that it is the son of Antonius that gives them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not believe me, take rather the ready money they come to: because my father peradventure may ask for some of the plate, for the antique and excellent workmanship of them.' This I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now again to Cleopatra.

Philotas' subtle proposition.

Plato writeth that there are four kinds of flattery: but Cleopatra divided it into many kinds. For she, were it in sport or in matter of earnest, still devised sundry new delights to have Antonius at commandment,

Plato writeth of four kind of flattery.

never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dice with him, drink with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And sometime also, when he would go up and down the city disguised like a slave in the night, and would peer into poor men's windows and their shops, and scold and brawl with them within the house: Cleopatra would be also in a chambermaid's array, and amble up and down the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mocks and blows.¹ Now, though most

Cleopatra Queen of all flatterers.

men misliked this manner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this jollity, and liked it well, saying very gallantly and wisely, that Antonius shewed them a comical face, to wit, a merry countenance: and the Romans a tragical face, to say, a grim look. But to reckon up all the foolish sports they made, revelling in this sort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none he was as angry as could be, because Cleopatra stood by. Wherefore he secretly commanded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fish on his hook which they had taken before: and so snatched up his angling rod, and brought up fish twice or thrice. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondered at his excellent fishing: but, when she was alone by herself among her own people, she told them how it was, and bade them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher-boats to see this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line, and Cleopatra straight commanded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius' men, and to put some old salt fish upon his bait, like unto those that are brought out of the country of Pont. When he had hung the fish on his hook, Antonius, thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fell a-laughing.¹ Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him: 'Leave us (my Lord) Egyptians (which dwell in the country of Pharus and Canobus) your angling rod: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realms and countries.' Now Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill news were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius and Fulvia his wife fell out first between themselves, and afterwards fell to open war with Caesar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to fly out of Italy.² The second news, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all Asia with the army of the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syria, unto the countries of Lydia and Ionia.³ Then began Antonius with much ado, a little to rouse himself, as if he had been wakened out of a deep sleep, and as a man may say, coming out of a great drunkenness.¹ So, first of all he bent himself against the Parthians, and went as far as the country of Phoenicia: but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. Whereupon he straight returned towards Italy with two hundred sail: and as he went, took up his friends by the way that fled out of Italy to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this war: who, being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uproar in Italy, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune his wife Fulvia, going to meet with Antonius, sickened by the way, and died in the city of Sicyon:² and therefore Octavius Caesar and he were the easilier made friends together. For when Antonius landed in Italy, and that men saw Caesar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side laid all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia: the friends of both parties would not suffer them to unrip any old matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this war, fearing to make matters Empire of worse between them:³ but they made them divided friends together, and divided the Empire of Rome between them, making

Antonius' fishing in Egypt

The wars of Lucius Antonius and Fulvia against Octavius Caesar.

The death of Fulvia, Antonius' wife.

All the Empire of Rome divided between the Triumviri

the sea Ionlium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces Eastward unto Antonius: and the countries Westward unto Caesar: and left Africk unto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three one after another should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be them-selves. This seemed to be a sound counsel, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straiter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia the eldest

sister of Caesar, not by one mother, for she came of Aneharia, and Caesar himself afterwards of Accia. It is reported that he dearly loved his sister Octavia, for indeed she was a noble Lady, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who died not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had been

Octavia, the half sister of Octavius Caesar, and daughter of Ancharia which was not Caesar's mother

widower ever since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confess that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this Egyptian Cleopatra. Thereupon every man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this Lady Octavia, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honesty, joined unto so rare a beauty, that when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a Lady deserveth) she should be a good mean to keep good love and amity betwixt her brother and him.¹ So,

when Caesar and he had made the match between them, they both went to Rome about this marriage, although it was against the law that a widow should be married within ten months after her husband's death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the marriage

A law at Rome for marrying of widows.

proceeded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inroad into Italy with a great number of pinnaces and other pirates' ships, of the which were

Antonius married Octavia, Octavius Caesar's half-sister.

Captains two notable pirates, Menus and Menecrates, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peep out with a sail.¹ Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with Antonius, for he had courteously received his mother, when she fled out of Italy with Fulvia:² and therefore they

thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misenum,³ upon a hill that runneth far into the sea: Pompey having his ships riding hard by at anchor, and Antonius and Caesar their armies upon the shore side,

Antonius and Octavius Caesar do make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicile and Sardinia, with this condition, that he should rid the sea of all thieves and pirates, and make it safe for passengers, and withal that he should send a certain of wheat to Rome:⁴ one of them did feast another, and drew cuts

who should begin.⁵ It was Pompeius' chance to invite them first,⁶ Whereupon Antonius asked him: 'And where shall we sup?' 'There,' said Pompey, and shewed him his admiral galley which had six banks of oars: 'That' (said he) 'is my father's house they have left me.' He spake it to taunt

Sextus Pompeius' taunt to Antonius.

Antonius, because he had his father's house, that was Pompey the great.¹ So he cast anchors enow into the sea to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to convey them to his galley from the head of

mount Misenum: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheer. Now in the

midst of the feast, when they fell to be merry with Antonius' love unto Cleopatra, Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and, whispering in his ear, said unto him: 'Shall I cut the cables of the anchors, and make thee lord not only of Sicile and Sardinia, but of the whole Empire of Rome besides?'. Pompey, having paused awhile upon it, at length answered him: 'Thou shouldst have

sextus Pompeius being offered wonderful great fortune, for his honesty and faith's sake refused it.

done it, and never have told it me, but now we must content us with that we have. As for myself, I was never taught to break my faith, nor to be counted a traitor.'² The other two also did likewise feast him in their camp, and then he returned into Sicile. Antonius, after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keep them they should come no further: and he himself in the meantime, to gratify Caesar, was contented to be chosen Julius Caesar's priest and sacrificer, and so they jointly together dispatched all great matters concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other manner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other, Antonius was ever inferior unto Caesar, and always lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Egypt, that could cast a figure, and judge of men's nativities, to tell them what should happen to them.

He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of itself was excellent good, and very great,) was altogether blemished and obscured by Caesar's fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. 'For thy Demon,' said he, '(that is to say, the good angel and spirit that keepeth thee) 'is afraid of his: and being courageous and high when he is alone, becometh fearful and timorous when he cometh near unto the other.'¹ Howsoever it was, the events

Antonius told by a Soothsayer that his fortune was inferior unto Octavius Caesar.

ensuing proved the Egyptian's words true. For it is said that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have anything, or whether they played at dice, Antonius always lost. Often-times, when they were disposed to see cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another, Caesar's cocks

Antonius unfortunate in sport and earnest against Octavius Caesar.

or quails did ever overcome,¹ The which spited Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therefore he believed the Egyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affairs of his house unto Caesar, and went out of Italy with Octavia his wife, whom he carried into Greece, after he had had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens, news came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battle, in the which also were slain Labienus and Pharnabates, the chiefest Captain king Orodes had. For these good news he feasted all

Athens, and kept open house for all the Grecians, and many games of price were played at Athens, of the which he himself would be judge. Wherefore, leaving his guard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the show place (or lists) where these games were played, in a long gown and slippers after the Grecian fashion, and they carried tip-staves before him, as marshals' men do carry before the Judges to make place: and he himself in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing

Orodes, king of Parthia.

to go to the wars, he made him a garland of the holy Olive, and carried a vessel with him of the water of the fountain Clepsydra, because of an Oracle he had received that so commanded him. In the meantime, Ventidius once again overcame Pacorus (Orodes' son king of Parthia) in a battle fought in the

Ventidius notable victory of the Parthians.

country of Cyrrestica, he being come again with a great army to invade Syria: at which battle was slain a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus the king's own son slain.

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son.

This noble exploit, as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romans of the shame and loss they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians fly, and glad to keep themselves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia and Media, after they had thrice together been overcome in several battles. Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any further, fearing lest he should have gotten Antonius' displeasure by it.¹ Notwithstanding, he led his army against them that had rebelled, and conquered them again: amongst whom he besieged Antiochus, king of Commagena, who offered him to give a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at Antonius' commandment. But Ventidius made him answer, that he should send unto Antonius, who was not far off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this little exploit should pass in his name, and that they should not think he did anything but by his Lieutenant Ventidius. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the town, seeing they could not be received upon no reasonable composition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he took not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus, after he had set order for the state and affairs of Syria, he returned again to Athens: and having given Ventidius such honours as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumph for the Parthians.

Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians until this present day, a mean man born, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained unto through Antonius' friendship, the which delivered him happy occasion to achieve to great matters. And yet, to say truly, he did so well quit himself in all his enterprises that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Caesar: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made war by their Lieutenants, than by themselves. For Sossius, one of Antonius' Lieutenants in Syria, did notable good service:¹ and Canidius, whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kings of the Iberians

Ventidius the only man of the Romans that triumphed for the Parthuni.

and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto mount Caucasus. By these conquests the fame of Antonius' power increased more and more, and grew dreadful unto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius, notwithstanding, grew to be marvellously offended with

Canidius' conquests.

Caesar, upon certain reports that had been brought unto him:¹ and so took sea to go towards Italy with three hundred sail. And, because those of Brundisium would not receive his army into their haven, he went further unto Tarentum. There his wife

New dis. pleasures betwixt Antonius and Octavius.

Octavia, that came out of Greece with him, besought him to send her unto her brother: the which he did. ² Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put herself in journey, and met with her brother Octavius Caesar by the way, who brought his two chief friends, Maecenas and Agrippa, with him. ³ She

took them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, entreated them they would not suffer her, that was the happiest woman of the world, to become now the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. 'For now,' said she, 'every man's eyes do gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperors and wife of the other. And if the worst counsel take place (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to wars: for yourselves, it is uncertain to which of them two the gods have assigned the victory, or overthrow. But for me, on which side soever victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still.' These words of Octavia so softened Caesar's heart, that he went quickly unto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were

The words of Octavia unto Maecenas and Agrippa.

present, to see so great an army by land not to stir, and so many ships afloat in the road quietly and safe: and, furthermore, the meeting and kindness of friends, lovingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Caesar, which he granted unto for his sister's sake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Caesar should give Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians: and that Antonius should let Caesar have a hundred galleys armed with brazen spurs at the prows. Besides all this, Octavia obtained of her husband twenty brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husband, a thousand armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, Caesar went immediately to make war with Sextus Pompeius, to get Sicilia into his hands. Antonius also, leaving his wife Octavia and little children begotten of her with Caesar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia, he went directly into Asia. Then began this pestilent plague and mischief of Cleopatra's love (which had slept a long time, and seemed to have been utterly forgotten, and that Antonius had given place to better counsel) again to kindle, and to be in force,

Octavia pacifieth the quarrel betwixt Antonius and her brother, Octavius Caesar.

so soon as Antonius came near unto Syria. And in the end, the horse of the mind, as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rein (I mean the unreined lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius head all honest and commendable thoughts: for he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Unto whom, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that she

Plato calleth concupiscence the horse of the mind.

had already he added the provinces of Phoenicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the Isle of Cyprus, and a great part of Cilicia, and that country of

Antonius sent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Jewry where the true balm is, and that part of Arabia where the Nabathaeans do dwell, which stretcheth out towards the Ocean. These great gifts much misliked the Romans. But now, though Antonius did easily give away great seigniories, realms, and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he took from other

Antonius gave great provinces unto Cleopatra.

kings their lawful realms, (as from Antigonus king Of the Jews, whom he openly beheaded, where never king before had suffered like death) yet all this did not so much offend the Romans, as the

Antigonus, king of Jewry, the first king;

unmeasurable honours which he did unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill will towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought him two twins, a son and a daughter, he named his son Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra, and gave them to their surnames, the Sun to the one, and the Moon to the other. This notwithstanding, he, that could finely cloak his shameful deeds with fine words, said that the greatness and magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romans took, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongst men by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seed in divers places: and that by this means his first ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity in the womb of one only woman, fearing Solon's laws, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the foundation of many noble races and families in divers places. Now, when Phraates had slain his father Orodes and possessed the kingdom, many gentlemen of Parthia forsook him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Monaeses, a nobleman, and of great authority among his countrymen, who came unto Antonius, that received him, and compared his fortune unto Themistocles, and his own riches and magnificence unto the kings of Persia. For he gave Monaeses three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which was called before Bombyce. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home again, upon his faith and word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steal upon Phraates unprovided. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remain good friends, and have peace together, so he would but only redeliver the standards and ensigns of the Romans, which the Parthians had won in the battle where Marcus Crassus was slain, and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this overthrow. In the meantime he sent Cleopatra back into Egypt, and took his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there took a general muster of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandment to aid him, being a marvellous number: of the which the chiefest was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who did furnish him with six thousand horsemen and seven thousand footmen. There were also of the Romans about three-score thousand footmen, and of horsemen (Spaniards and Gauls reckoned for Romans) to the number of ten thousand, and of other nations thirty thousand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light-armed footmen. This so great and puissant army, which made the Indians quake for fear, dwelling about the country of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble, served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had to lie all winter with her made him begin his war out of due time, and for haste to put all in hazard, being so ravished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly return again, more than how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having come eight thousand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and invade Media, before the Parthians should stir out of their houses and garrisons: he could tarry no lenger, but led them forthwith unto the

beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius' twins by Cleopatra, and their names.

Phraates slew his father Orodes, king of Parthia.

Antonius' great and puissant army.

Antonius drunk with the love of Cleopatra.

province of Atropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and foraged all the country. Furthermore, making all the haste he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were carried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ram four-score foot long) being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high provinces of Asia have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough, to make suchlike engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as a hindrance to bring his matters and intent speedily to pass: and left a certain number of men to keep them, and gave them in charge unto one Tatianus. Then he went

to besiege the city of Phraata, being the chiefest and greatest city the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was fain, for

Antonius besiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.

lack of a breach (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the wall) to force a mount of earth hard to the walls of the city, the which by little and little with great labour rose to some height. In the meantime, King Phraates came down with a great army: who understanding that Antonius had left his engines of battery behind him, he sent a great number of horsemen before, which environed Tatianus with all his carriage, and slew him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people took these engines of

battery, and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they took also King Polemon. This discomfiture marvellously troubled all Antonius' army, to receive so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their journey:

The Parthians took Antonius' engines of battery.

insomuch that Artabazus, king of the Armenians, despairing of the good success of the Romans, departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himself the first procurer of this war and journey. On the other side the Parthians came courageously unto Antonius' camp, who lay at the siege of their chiefest city, and cruelly reviled and threatened him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing his men's hearts would fail them: he took ten legions, with three cohorts or ensigns of the Praetors (which are companies appointed for the guard of the General) and all his horsemen, and carried them out to forage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the Parthians to fight a battle. But when he had marched about a day's journey from his camp, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to give him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would think to march his way. Therefore he set out his signal of battle, and yet caused his tents and fardels to be trussed up, as though he meant not to fight, but only to lead his men back again. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshalled like a crescent or half moon: and commanded his horsemen, that as soon as they thought the legions were near enough unto their enemies to set upon the vaward, that then they should set spurs to their horses, and begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battle ray, beholding the countenance of the Romans as they marched, they, appeared to be soldiers indeed, to see them march in so good array as was possible.

Battle betwixt the Parthians and Antonius.

For in their march they kept the ranks a like space one from another, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking never a word. But so soon as the alarum was given, the

The Romans' good order in their march.

horsemen suddenly turned head upon the Parthians, and with great cries gave charge on them: who at the first received their charge courageously, for they were joined nearer than within an arrow's shoot. But when the legions also came to join with them, shouting out aloud, and rattling of their armours, the Parthians' horses and themselves were so afraid and amazed withal, that they all turned tail and fled, before the Romans could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to have brought to end all, or the most part, of this war. But after that his footmen had chased them fifty furlongs off, and the horsemen also thrice as far, they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about four score men only slain. But this did much discourage them, when they considered with themselves, that obtaining the victory they had slain so few of their enemies: and where they were overcome, they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when the carriage was taken. The next morning, Antonius' army trussed up their carriage, and marched back towards their camp: and by the way in their return they met at the first a few of the Parthians: then going further they met a few more. So at length, when they all came together, they reviled them and troubled them on every side, as freshly and courageously as if they had not been overthrown: so that the Romans very hardly got to their camp with safety. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chief city of Phraata, made a sally out upon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and drave them for fear from the mount they

kept. Antonius was so offended withal, that he executed the Decimation. For he divided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and, to the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them instead of wheat. Thus this war fell out troublesome unto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearful. For Antonius could look for no other of his side, but famine: because he could forage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loss of his men. Phraates on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the Parthians to anything else but to lie in camp abroad in the winter. Therefore he was afraid that if the Romans continued their siege all winter long, and made war with him still, that his men would forsake him, and specially because the time of the year went away apace, and the air waxed cloudy and cold, in the equinoctial autumn. There upon he called to mind this device. He gave the

Decimation, a martial punishment.

chiefeft of his gentlemen of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romans out of their camp, going to forage, or to water their horse, or for some other provision, that they should not distress them too much but should suffer them to carry somewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantness and hardiness, for the which their king did esteem them the more, and not without cause. After these first baits and allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer unto them, and to talk with them a-horseback, greatly blaming Antonius' self-will that did not give their King Phraates occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more than to save the lives of so goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadful enemies he could have, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they should hardly away withal, though the Parthians did the best they could to aid and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant, for the good hope he had of his return: but yet

The craft of the Parthians against the Romans

he would not send unto the king of Parthia, before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so courteously unto his men, whether they spake it of themselves, or that they were their master's words. When they told them the king himself said so, and did persuade them further not to fear or mistrust them: then Antonius sent some of his friends unto the king, to make demand for the delivery of the ensigns and prisoners he had of the Romans, since the overthrow of Crassus: to the end it should not appear that, if he asked nothing, they should think he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the danger he was in. The king of Parthia answered him: that for the ensigns and prisoners he demanded, he should not break his head about it: notwithstanding, that if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without danger.

Wherefore Antonius, after he had given his men some time to truss up their carriage, he raised his camp, and took his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertain his soldiers and men of war, and that he could passingly well do it, as well or better than any Captain in his time: yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speak unto them at his removing, but willed Domitius Ænobarbus to do it. Many of them took this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently understood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carry the like respect unto their Captain that their Captain did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him. So Antonius was minded to return the same way he came, being a plain barren country without wood. But there came a soldier to him born in the country of the Mardlans, who, by oft frequenting the Parthians of long time, know their fashions very well, and had also shewed himself very true and faithful to the Romans, in the battle where Antonius' engines of battery and carriage were taken away. This man came unto Antonius to counsel him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a prey, being heavily armed, unto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compass him round about: and that this was Phraates' fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions and courteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meet him as he would in the plains: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, another way on the right hand through woods and mountains, a far nearer way, and where he should find great plenty of all, things needful for his army. Antonius, hearing what he said, called his council together to consult upon it. For after he had made peace with the Parthians, he was loath to give them cause to think he mistrusted them: and on th' other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and pass by places well inhabited, where he might be provided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the Mardian what pledge he would put in to perform that he promised. The Mardian gave himself to be bound hand and foot, till he had brought his army into the country of Armenia. So he guided the army thus bound, two days together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, Antonius thinking the Parthians would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffered the soldiers to march in disorder as every man listed. The Mardian perceiving that the dams of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the river had overflown the banks and drowned all the way they should have gone: he guessed straight that the Parthians had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the Romans for getting too far before them. Thereupon he bade Antonius

Antonius returneth from the journey of the Parthians.

look to himself, and told him that his enemies were not far from thence. Antonius having set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and slingmen to resist the enemies, and to drive them back, they descried the Parthians that wheeled round about the army to compass them in on every side, and to break their ranks, and their light armed men gave charge upon them. So, after they had hurt many of the Romans with their arrows, and that they themselves were also hurt by them with their darts and plummets of lead: they, retired a little, and then came again and gave charge, until that the horsemen of the Gauls turned their horses and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rearward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darters and slingmen, and made his army march in a square battle: commanding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assail them, they should drive them back, but not follow them too far. Thus the Parthians four days after, seeing they did no more hurt to the Romans, than they also received of them, they were not so hot upon them as they were commanded, but excusing themselves by the winter that troubled them, they determined to return back again. The next day, Flavius

The Parthians do set upon Antonius in h, return.

Gallus, a valiant man of his hands, that had charge in the army, came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have some more of his light armed men than were already in the rearward, and some of the horsemen that were in the vaward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them unto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set upon the tail of the army, and to skirmish with them, Flavius courageously made them retire, but not, as they were wont to do before, to retire and join presently with their army, for he over-roughly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Captains that had the leading of the rearward, seeing Flavius stray too far from the army, they sent unto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himself the Treasurer took the ensigns, and did what he could to make the ensign bearers return back, reviling Flavius Gallus, because that through his folly and desperateness he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and slain to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to stay. Wherefore Titius returned again into the army, and Gallus still overthrowing and driving the enemies back whom he met in the vaward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then seeing himself environed of all sides, he sent unto the army, that they should come and aid him: but there the Captains that led the legions (among the which

The bold act of Flavius Gallus.

Canidius, a man of great estimation about Antonius, made one) committed many faults. For, where they should have made head with the whole army upon the Parthians, they sent him aid by small companies: and when they were slain, they sent him others also. So that by their beastliness and lack of consideration they, had like to have made all the army fly, if Antonius himself had not come from the front of the battle with the third legion, the which came through the midst of them that fled, until they came to front of the enemies, and that they stayed them from chasing any further. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slain no less

Canidius' fault, Antonius' Captain.

than three thousand men, and five thousand besides brought sore hurt into the camp, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in four places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the tents to visit and comfort the sick and wounded, and for pity's sake he could not refrain from weeping: and they also, shewing him the best countenance they could, took him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble himself for them, most reverently calling him their Emperor and Captain: and that, for themselves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed, to say truly, there was not at that time any Emperor or Captain that had so great and puissant an army as his together, both for lusty youths and courage of the soldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great pains and trouble. Further more, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto their captain, with a marvellous earnest love and good will, was so great, and all were indifferently (as well great as small, the noble men as mean men, the Captains and soldiers) so earnestly bent to esteem Antonius good will and favour above their own life and safety, that in this point of martial discipline, the ancient Romans could not have done any more. But divers things were cause thereof, as we have told

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

Flavius Gallus slain. Antonius' care of them that were wounded.

The love and reverence of the soldiers unto Antonius.

The rare and singular Riffs of Antonius.

The king of Parthm never came to fight in the field.

would now send him some bitter adversity: then that all might light on himself alone, and that they would give the victory to the rest of his army. The next morning they gave better order on every side of the army, and so marched forward: so that when the Parthians thought to return again to assail them, they came far short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight but to spoil and make havoc of all, when they came near them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other javelins as the Romans darted at them, and the Parthians found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had been fresh men they had dealt withal. Whereupon their hearts began again to fail them. But yet, when the Romans came to go down any steep hills or mountains, then they would set on them with their arrows, because the Romans could go down but fair and softly. But then again, the soldiers of the legion that carried great shields returned back, and enclosed them that were naked or light armed in the midst amongst them, and did kneel of one knee on the ground, and so set down their shields before them: and they, of the second rank also covered them of the first rank, and the third also covered the second, and so from rank to rank all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of covering and shading themselves with shields was devised after the fashion of laying tiles upon houses, and, to sight, was like the degrees of a Theatre, and is a most strong defence and bulwark against all arrows and shot that falleth upon it. When the Parthian, saw this countenance of the Roman soldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sort upon one knee, supposing that they had been wearied with travail they laid down their bows, and took their spears and lances, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romans suddenly rose upon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them they slew the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next days that followed. But by means of these dangers and lets Antonius' army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could have but little corn, and yet were they driven daily to right for it, and besides that, they had no instruments to grind it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had been left behind, because the beasts that carried them were either dead, or else employed to carry them that were sore and wounded, For the famine was so extreme great, that the eight part of a bushel of wheat was sold for fifty Drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the weight of silver. In the end, they were compelled to live off herbs and roots, but they found few of them that men do commonly eat of, and were enforced to taste of them that were never eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and he knew no manner of thing, but only busied himself in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had been a matter of great weight and to be done with all possible speed. All the camp over, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one place to another: but at the last they cast up a great deal of choler, and died suddenly, because they lacked wine, which was the only sovereign remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius seeing such a number of his men die daily, and that the Parthians left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cried out sighing, and said: 'O, ten thousand!' He had

Antonius' charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

The Romans' *testudo* and covering against shot.

Great famine in Antonius' army.

A deadly herb incurable without wine

the valiantness of ten thousand Grecians in such admiration, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus: because they had come a farther journey from Babylon, and had also fought against much more enemies many times told than themselves, and yet came home with safety. The Parthians therefore, seeing that they could not break the good order of the army of the Romans, and contrarily that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and wellfavouredly beaten, they fell again to their old crafty subtleties. For when they found any of the Romans scattered from the army to go forage, to seek some corn, or other

The valiantness of ten thousand Grecians, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus.

victuals, they would come to them as if they had been their friends, and showed them their bows unbent, saying that themselves also did return home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no further, howbeit that they should yet have cer

The Parthians very subtle and crafty people.

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft,
Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left.²

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

Here lie I Timon, who alive all living men did hate,
Pass by, and curse thy fill: but pass, and stay not here thy gate.¹

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but, this little shall suffice at this present. But now to return to Antonius again. Canidius himself came to bring him news, that he had lost all his army by land at Actium. On th' other side he was advertised also, that Herodes king of Jewry, who had also certain legions and bands with him, was revolted unto Caesar, and all the other kings in like manner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgo all his hope, and so to be rid of all his care and troubles.

Antonius rioting in Alexandria after his great loss and overthrow *Togavirilis*

Thereupon he left his solitary house he had built in the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra received him into her royal palace. He was no sooner come thither, but he straight set all the city of rioting and banqueting again, and himself to liberality and gifts. He caused the son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra to be enrolled (according to the manner of the Romans) amongst the number of young men: and gave Antyllus,

Antyllus the eldest son of Antonius by his wife Fulvia.

his eldest son he had by Fulvia, the man's gown, the which was a plain gown without guard or embroidery of purple. For these things there was kept great feasting, banqueting, and dancing in Alexandria many days together. Indeed they did break their first order they had set down,

which they called Amimetobion (as much to say, no life comparable), and did set up another, which Synapothanumenon (signifying the order and agreement of those that will die together), the which in exceeding sumptuousness and cost was

An ordered erected by Antonius and Cleopatra called Synapothancemenon

not inferior to the first. For their friends made themselves to be enrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great feasts one to another: for every man, when it came to his turn, feasted their whole company and fraternity. Cleopatra in the meantime was very careful in gathering all sorts of poisons together to destroy men. Now, to make proof of those poisons which made men die with least pain, 1 she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For,

revoking the former called Amimetobion.

when she saw the poisons that were sudden and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments, and, in contrary manner, that such as were more mild and gentle had not that quick speed and force to make one die suddenly: she afterwards went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sort and some in another. So, when she had daily made divers and sundry proofs, she found none of all them she had proved so fit as the biting of an Aspic, the which only causeth a heaviness of the head, without swoounding

Cleopatra very busy in proving the force of poison.

or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleep, with a little sweat in the face, and so by little and little taketh away the senses and vital powers, no living creature perceiving that the patients feel any pain. For they are so sorry when anybody waketh them, and taketh them up, as those that being taken out of a sound sleep are very heavy and desirous to sleep. This notwithstanding,

The property of the biting of an Aspic.

they sent Ambassadors unto Octavius Caesar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realm of Egypt for her children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at Athens like a private man, if Caesar would not let him remain in Egypt. 1 And, because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that

Antonius and Cleopatra send Ambassadors unto Octavius Caesar.

some were fled, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were enforced to send Euphronius the schoolmaster of their children. 2 For Alexas Laodicean, who was brought into Antonius'house and favour by means of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him than any other Grecian (for that he had always been one of Cleopatra's ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well) him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Jewry, hoping still to keep him his friend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he persuaded him to turn to Caesar: and trusting King Herodes, he presumed to come in Caesar's presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chains to his own country, and there by Caesar's commandment put to death. 1 Thus was Alexas in Antonius' lifetime put to

death for betraying of him. Furthermore, Caesar would not grant unto Antonius' requests: but for Cleopatra, he made her answer, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would

Alexas'th reason justly punished.

either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her country. 2 Therewithal he sent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a very wise and discreet man, who, bringing letters of credit from a young Lord unto a noble Lady, and that besides greatly liked her beauty, might easily by his eloquence have persuaded her. 3 He was longer in talk with her than any man else was, and the Queen herself also did him great honour:

insomuch as he made Antonius jealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well-favouredly whipped, [4](#) and so sent him unto Caesar: and bade him tell him that he made him angry with him, because he shewed himself proud and disdainful towards him, and now specially when he was easy to be angered, by reason of his present misery. 'To be short, if this mislike thee,' said he, 'thou hast Hipparchus one of my enfranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, whip him at thy pleasure, that we may cry quittance.' [1](#) From thenceforth Cleopatra, to clear herself of the suspicion he had of her, she made more of him than ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnize the day of her birth very meanly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune, she now in contrary manner did keep it with such solemnity, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousness and magnificence: so that the guests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poor, went away rich. [2](#) Now, things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after another unto Caesar, prayed him to return to Rome, because the affairs there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did defer the war till the next year following: but when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africk, to make wars against Antonius, and his other Captains. When the city of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumour in the city, that Seleucus, by Cleopatra's consent, had surrendered the same. But to clear herself that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus' wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombs and monuments, as well for excellency of workmanship as for height and greatness of building, joining hard to the temple of Isis. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and precious things she had of the ancient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, and besides all that, a marvellous number of torches, faggots, and flax. So Octavius Caesar being afraid to lose such a treasure and mass of riches, and that this woman for spite would set it afire, and burn it every whit: he always sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meantime drew near the city with his army. So Caesar came, and pitched his camp hard by the city, in the place where they run and manage their horses. Antonius made a sally upon him, and fought very valiantly, so that he drave Caesar's horsemen back, fighting with his men even into their camp. Then he came again to the palace, greatly boasting of this victory, and sweetly kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of arms unto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra to reward his manliness gave him an armour and head-piece of clean gold: [1](#) howbeit the man at arms, when he had received this rich gift, stole away by night, and went to Caesar. Antonius sent again to challenge Caesar to fight with him hand to hand. Caesar answered him, that he had many other ways to die than so. [1](#) Then Antonius, seeing there was no way more honourable for him to die than fighting valiantly, he determined to set up his rest, both by sea and land. [2](#) So, being at supper (as it is reported), he commanded his officers and household servants that waited on him at his board, that they should fill his cups full, and make as much of him as they could: [3](#) 'For,' said he, 'you know not whether you 'shall do so much for me tomorrow or not, or whether you 'shall serve another master: and it may be you shall see me 'o more, but a dead body.' [4](#) This notwithstanding, perceiving that his friends and men fell a-

Pelusium was yielded up to Octavius Caesar.

Cleopatra's monuments set up by the temple of Isis.

weeping to hear him say so: to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, that he would not lead them to battle, where he thought not rather safely to return with victory, than valiantly to die with honour. [5](#) Furthermore, the self same night within little of midnight, when all the city was quiet, full of fear and sorrow, thinking what would be the issue and end of this war: it is said that suddenly they heard a marvellous sweet harmony of sundry sorts of instruments of music, with the cry of a multitude of people, as they had been dancing, and had sung as they use in Bacchus' feasts, with movings and turnings after the manner of the Satyrs: and it seemed that this dance went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troop that made this noise they heard went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the God unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeit and resemble him, that did forsake them. [1](#) The next morning by break of day, he went to set those few footmen he had in order upon the hills adjoining unto the city: and there he stood to behold his galleys which departed from the haven, and rowed against the galleys of his enemies, and so stood still, looking what exploit his soldiers in them would do. But

Strange noises heard, and nothing seen.

when by force of rowing they were come near unto them, they first saluted Caesar's men, and then Caesar's men re-saluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the city. When Antonius saw that his men did forsake him, and yielded unto Caesar, and that his footmen were broken and overthrown:

Antonius navy do yield themselves unto Caesar.

Antonius over-thrown by Octavius Caesar.

he then fled into the city, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them, with whom he had made war for her sake. [2](#) Then she, being afraid of his fury, fled into the tomb which she had caused to be made, and there locked the doors unto her, and shut

Cleopatra flieth into her tomb or monument.

all the springs of the locks with great bolts, and in the meantime sent unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead. [1](#) Antonius, believing it, said unto himself: 'What dost thou look for further, Antonius, sith spiteful fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou hadst, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life?' When he had said these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed himself, and being naked said thus: 'O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy company, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry that, having been so great a Captain and Emperor, I am indeed condemned to be judged of less courage and noble mind than a woman.' [2](#) Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to swear unto him, that he should kill him when he did command

Eros, antonius' servant, slew himself.

him: and then he willed him to keep his promise. His man drawing his sword lift it up as though he had meant to have stricken his master: but turning his head at one side he thrust his sword into himself, and fell down dead at his master's foot. [3](#)

Then said Antonius, 'O noble Eros, I thank thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to myself, which thou couldst not do for me.' [4](#) Therewithal he took his sword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell down upon a little bed. The wound he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a little when he was laid: and when he came somewhat to himself again, he

Antonius did thrust his sword into himself, but died not presently.

prayed them that were about him to despatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting himself: [1](#) until at last there came a secretary unto him called Diomedes, who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was alive, he very earnestly prayed his men to carry his body thither, and so he was carried in his men's arms into the entry of the monument. [2](#) Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windows, and cast out certain chains and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed: and Cleopatra her own self, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, triced Antonius up. They that were present to behold it said they never saw so pitiful a sight. For they plucked up poor Antonius all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death, who holding up his hands to Cleopatra raised up himself as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but Cleopatra stooping down with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much ado, and never let go her hold, with the help of the women beneath that bade her be of good courage, and were as sorry to see her labour so, as she herself. [1](#) So when she had gotten him in after that sort, and laid him on a bed, she rent her garments upon him, clapping her breast, and scratching her face and stomach. Then she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperor, forgetting her own misery and calamity, for the pity and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was athirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. [2](#) When he had drunk, he earnestly prayed her, and persuaded her, that she would seek to save her life, if she could possible, without reproach and dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius above any man else about Caesar. And, as for himself, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his days: but rather that she should think him the more fortunate for the former triumphs and honours he had received, considering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, and that now he was overcome not cowardly, but valiantly, a Roman by another Roman. [3](#) As Antonius gave the last gasp, Proculeius came that was sent from Caesar. For after Antonius had thrust his sword in himself, as they carried him into the tombs and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his guard called Dercetaeus took his sword with the which he had stricken himself, and hid it: then he secretly stole away, and brought Octavius Caesar the first news of his death, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied, [1](#) Caesar hearing these news straight withdrew himself into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with tears, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune that had been his friend and brother-in-law, his equal in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battles. [2](#) Then he called for all his friends, and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his answers also sent him again, during their quarrel and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. [3](#) After this, he sent Proculeius,

Antonius carried unto Cleopatra's tomb.

A lamentable sight to see Antonius and Cleopatra.

The death of Antonius.

Octavius Caesar lamenteth Antonius' death.

and commanded him to do what he could possible to to get Cleopatra alive, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to Rome, she would marvellously beautify and set out his triumph.⁴ But Cleopatra would never put herself into Proculeius' hands, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were very thick and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranews through the which her voice might be heard, and so they without understood, that Cleopatra demanded the kingdom of Egypt for her sons: and that Proculeius answered her, that she should be of good cheer, and not be afraid to refer all unto Caesar.¹ After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer unto Caesar. Who immediately sent Gallus to speak once again with her, and bade him purposely hold her with talk, whilst Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high window by the which Antonius was triced up, and came down into the monument with two of his men, hard by the gate where Cleopatra stood to hear what Gallus said unto her. One of her women which was shut in her monuments with her saw Proculeius by chance as he came down, and shrieked out: 'O poor Cleopatra, thou art taken.' Then, when she saw Proculeius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed herself in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. But Proculeius came suddenly upon her, and taking her by both the hands said unto her: 'Cleopatra, first thou shalt do thyself great wrong, and secondly unto Caesar, to deprive him of the occasion and opportunity openly to shew his bounty and mercy, and to give his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble Prince that ever was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruel and merciless man that were not to be trusted.' So even as he spake the word, he took her dagger from her, and shook her clothes for fear of any poison hidden about her.¹ Afterwards Caesar sent one of his enfranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly charged to look well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not herself away: and, for the rest, to use her with all the courtesy possible. And for himself, he in the meantime entered the city of Alexandria, and as he went, talked with the Philosopher Arrius, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen should reverence him the more, because they saw Caesar so highly esteem and honour him. Then he went into the show place of exercises, and so up to his chair of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there, according to his commandment, all the people of Alexandria were assembled, who, quaking for fear, fell down on their knees before him, and craved mercy. Caesar bade them all stand up, and told them openly that he forgave the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this war: First, for the founder's sake of the same city, which was Alexander the Great: secondly, for the beauty of the city, which he much esteemed and wondered at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his very friend Arrius. Thus did Caesar honour Arrius, who craved pardon for himself and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the so-phisters and Orators of his time for present and sudden speech: howbeit he falsely named himself an Academic Philosopher. Therefore Caesar, that hated his nature and conditions, would not hear his

Proculeius sent by Octavius Caesar to bring Cleopatra alive.

Cleopatra taken.

Caesar took the city of Alexandria. Caesar greatly honoured Arrius the Philosopher.

Philostratus, the eloquentest Orator in his time for present speech upon a sudden.

suit. Thereupon he let his grey beard grow long, and followed Arrius step by step in a long mourning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek verse:

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

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

Antyllus, Antonius
eldest son by Fulvia
slain.

‘Too many Caesars is not good,’

The saying of Arnus
the Philosopher.

alluding unto a certain verse of Homer that saith:

Too many Lords doth not well.

Therefore Caesar did put Caesarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra. Many Princes, great kings, and Captains did crave Antonius' body of Octavius Caesar, to give him honourable burial:

Caesarion, Cleopatra's
son, put to death.

but Caesar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally bury him with her own hands, whom Caesar suffered to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funerals. Now was she altogether overcome with sorrow and passion of mind, for she had knocked her breast so pitifully, that she had martyred it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflammations, so that she fell into a fever withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to abstain

Cleopatra burieth
Antonius.

from meat, and that so she might have died easily without any trouble. She had a Physician called Olympus, whom she made privy of her intent, to th' end he should help her to rid her out of her life: [1](#) as Olympus writeth himself, who wrote a book of all these things. But Caesar mistrusted the matter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in fear, and threatened her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats Cleopatra for fear yielded straight, as she would have yielded unto strokes, and afterwards suffered herself to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, Caesar came himself in person to see her and to comfort her. Cleopatra

Olympus, Cleopatra's
Physician.

being laid upon a little low bed in poor estate, when she saw Caesar come into her chamber, she suddenly rose up, naked in her smock, and fell down at his feet marvellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her hair from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nails, and besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunk into her head with continual blubbling: and moreover they might see the most part of her stomach torn in sunder. To be short, her body was not much better than her mind: yet her good grace and comeliness and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ugly and pitiful state of hers, yet she showed herself within by her outward looks and countenance. When Caesar had made her lie down again, and sate by her bed's side, Cleopatra began to clear and excuse herself for that she had done, laying all to the fear she had of Antonius: Caesar, in contrary manner, reproved her in every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were afraid to die, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a brief and memorial of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood Seleucus by, one of her Treasurers, who to seem a good servant, came straight to Caesar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and took him by the hair of the head, and boxed him well-favouredly. Caesar fell a-laughing, and parted the fray. 'Alas,' said she, 'O Caesar, is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou having vouchsafed to take the pains to come unto me, and hast done me this honour, poor wretch and caitiff creature, brought into this pitiful and miserable estate, and that mine own servants should come now to accuse me: though it may be I have reserved some jewels and trifles meet for women, but not for me (poor soul) to set out myself withal, but meaning to give some pretty presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they, making means and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me?' ¹ Caesar was glad to hear her say so, persuading himself thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only give her that to dispose of at her pleasure which she had kept back, but further promised to use her more honourably and bountifully than she would think for: ¹ and so he took his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself. There was a young gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Caesar's very great familiars, and besides did bear no evil will unto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that Caesar determined to take his journey through Syria, and that within three days he would send her away before with her children. ² When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Caesar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead unto the soul of Antonius. This being granted her, she was carried to the place where his tomb was, and there falling down on her knees, embracing the tomb with her women, the tears running down her cheeks, she began to speak in this sort: 'O my dear Lord Antonius,

Caesar came to see Cleopatra.

Cleopatra a martyred creature through her own passion and fury.

Seleucus one of Cleopatra's Treasurers.

Cleopatra beat her treasurer before Octavius Caesar.

Cleopatra's words unto Caesar.

Cleopatra finely deceiveth Octavius Caesar, as though she desired to live.

not long sithence I buried thee here, being a freewoman: and now I offer unto thee the funeral sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blows, which they carefully guard and keep, only to triumph of thee: look therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, sith now they carry her away. Whilst we lived together, nothing could sever our companies: but now at our death I fear me they will make us change our countries. For as thou, being a Roman, hast been buried in Egypt: even so wretched creature I, an Egyptian, shall be buried in Italy, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authority, sith our gods here have forsaken us, suffer not thy true friend and lover to be carried away alive, that in me they triumph of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one self tomb with thee. For though my griefs and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could less bear withal, than this small time which I have been driven to live alone without thee.' Then, having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tomb with garlands and sundry nose-gays, and marvellous lovingly embraced the same, she commanded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed herself she fell to her meat, and was sumptuously served. Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a countryman, and brought her a basket. The soldiers that warded at the gates asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and took out the leaves that covered the figs, and shewed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figs. The countryman laughed to hear them, and bade them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bade him carry them in.¹ After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certain table written and sealed unto Caesar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombs where she was, but the two women: then she shut the doors to her. Caesar, when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himself: howbeit he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sudden.

Cleopatra's lamentation over Antonius' tomb.

For those whom Caesar sent unto her ran thither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors, they found Cleopatra stark dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet: and her other woman called Charmion half dead, and trembling, trimming the Diadem which Cleopatra wore upon her head.² One of the soldiers, seeing her, angrily said unto her: 'Is that well done, Charmion?' 'Very well,' said she again, 'and meet for a Princess descended from the race of so many noble kings.' She said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed.¹ Some report that this Aspic was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leaves, that when she should think to take out the figs, the Aspic should bite her before she should see her: howbeit that, when she would have taken away the leaves for the figs, she perceived it, and said, 'Art thou here then?' And so, her arm being naked, she put

The death of Cleopatra.

Cleopatra's two waiting women dead with her.

it to the Aspic to be bitten. Other say again, she kept it in a box, and that she did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the Aspic being angered withal, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arm. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report also that she had hidden poison in a hollow razor which she carried in the hair of her head: and yet was there no mark seen of her body, or any sign discerned that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this serpent in her tomb. But it was reported only, that there were seen certain fresh steps or tracks where it had gone, on the tomb side toward the sea, and specially by the door's side. Some say also, that they found two little pretty bitings in her arm, scant to be discerned, the which it seemeth Caesar himself gave credit unto,² because in his triumph he carried Cleopatra's image, with an Aspic biting of her arm. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Caesar, though he was marvellous sorry for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commanded she should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should have honourable burial.¹ Cleopatra died being eight-and-thirty year old, after she had reigned two-and-twenty years, and governed above fourteen of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three-and-fifty years: and others say, six-and-fifty. All his statues, images and metals were plucked down and overthrown, saving those of Cleopatra which stood still in their places, by means of Archibius one of her friends, who gave Caesar a thousand talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seven children by three wives, of the which Caesar did put Antyllus, the eldest son he had by Fulvia, to death. Octavia his wife took all the rest, and brought them up with hers, and married Cleopatra, Antonius' daughter, unto Juba, a marvellous courteous and goodly Prince. And Antonius, the son of Fulvia, came to be so great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Caesar, and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimation, he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a son also called Marcellus, Caesar married his daughter unto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his son. And Octavia also married one of her daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had been married a while, Octavia perceiving that her brother Caesar was very busy to choose some one among his friends, whom he trusted best to make his son-in-law: she persuaded him that Agrippa should marry his daughter (Marcellus' widow) and leave her own daughter. Caesar first was contented withal, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards took away her daughter and married her unto Antonius, and Agrippa married Julia, Caesar's daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octavia and Antonius. Domitius ænobarbus married the one: and the other, which was Antonia, so fair and virtuous a young Lady, was married unto Drusus, the son of Livla, and son-in-law of Caesar. Of this marriage came Germanicus and Claudius: of the which, Claudius afterwards came to be Emperor. And of the sons of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius came also to be Emperor: who, after he had licentiously reigned a time, was slain, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also, having a son by her first husband ænobarbus called Lucius Domitius, was afterwards married unto Claudius, who adopted her son, and called him Nero Germanicus. This

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aspic.

The image of Cleopatra carried in triumph at Rome with an Aspic biting of her arm.

The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Of Antonius' issue came Emperors.

Nero was Emperor in our time, and slew his own mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madness and wicked life, being the fift Emperor of Rome after Antonius.

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THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS

†The house of the Martians at Rome was of the number of the patricians, out of the which hath sprung

many noble personages: whereof Ancus Martius was one, King Numa's daughter's son, who was

The family of the Martius

King of Rome after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same house were Publius and Quintus, who brought Rome their best water they had by conducts. Censorinus also came of that family, that was so surnamed because the people had chosen him Censor twice,¹

Publius and Quintus, brought the water by conducts to Rome.

Through whose persuasion they made a law, that no man from thenceforth might require or enjoy the Censorship twice. Caius Martius, 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

Censorinus' law.

many discommodities to a child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excel in virtue above the common sort: as they are meanly born wrongfully do 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, like as a fat soil bringeth forth herbs and weeds

Coriolanus' wit.

that lieth unmanured. For this Martius' 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 choleric 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 men unto

The benefit of learning.

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 virtues: which they called *Virtus*, by the name of virtue self, as including in that general name all other special virtues besides.

What this word *Virtus* signifieth.

So that *Virtus* in the Latin was as much as valiantness. But Martius 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 outward he esteemed 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 gripping, so that no man could ever cast him. Insomuch as those that 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 battles to come in again, wherein he

Coriolanus' first going to the wars.

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 battle 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 battle, wherein were many hot and sharp encounters of either party, Martius valiantly fought in the sight of the Dictator: and a Roman soldier being thrown to the ground even hard by him, Martius straight bestrid him, and slew the enemy with his own hands that had

before overthrown the Roman. Hereupon, after the battle was won, the Dictator did not forget so noble an act, and therefore first of all he crowned Martius with a garland of oaken boughs.¹

Coriolanus crowned with a garlands 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 very 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 bird-lime to catch silly birds. They say that Castor and Pollux appeared in this

The goodness of the oak.

battle and how, incontinently after the battle, men saw them in the marketplace 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 no 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.

Too sudden honour in youth killeth further desire of fame.

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 Martius, he strained still to pass himself in manliness, and being desirous to show 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. Inso much the Romans having many wars and battles in those days, Coriolanus was at them all: and there was not a battle fought, from whence he returned not without some reward of honour. And as for other, the only respect that made them valiant was they hoped to have honour: but touching Martius, 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.¹ Which desire they say Epaminondas did avow and confess to 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 Martius 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:¹ who offered their goods to be sold to them that would give most. And such as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold of, and they were made their bond men, notwithstanding all the wounds and cuts they shewed, which they had received in many battles, 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 behalf of the rich, said they should perform that they had promised, But after that they had faithfully served in this last battle 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 ear 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,

Corilanus noble endeavour to continue well-deserving.

coriolanus and Epaminod as did both place their desire of honour alike.

The obedience of Coriolaneus to his mother.

Extremity of usurers complained of at Rome by the people.

Counsellors' promises make men valiant in hope of just performance.

lugartitude and good service unrewarded provoketh rebellion.

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 Martius for one. For he alleged, that the creditors losing their money they had lent was

Martius Coriolanus against the people.

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 commonalty 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 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 this day the holy hill, alongst the river of Tiber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or

The people leave the city and do go the holy bill.

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 should 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 afeared 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, com-plaining 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,

An excellent tale told by Menenius Agrippa to pacify the people.

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 masters, and citizens of Rome: the reason is a like between the Senate and you. For matters being well digested, and their counsels throughly examined, touching the benefit of the common wealth, the Senators are cause of the common commodity that cometh unto every one of you.' ¹ 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 Vellutus were the first Tribunes of the people that were chosen, who had only been the causers and procurers of this

The first beginning of *Tribuni plebis*.

sedition.² 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. Martius also, though it liked him nothing to see the greatness of the people thus increased, considering it was to the prejudice and embasing 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 Volsces, 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

Junius Brutus Sicinius Vellutus the 2 first tribunes.

Volsces fearing lest that city should be taken by assault, they came from all parts of the country to save it, intending to give the Romans battle before the city, and to give an onset on them in two several places. The Consul Cominius, understanding this, divided his army also in 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

The, city of Corioli besieged by the Consul Cominius.

resist those that would make any sally out of the city upon them.¹ 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.¹ But Martius 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 a sudden, 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

Titus Lartius a valian Roman

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 afear'd with the sound of his voice and grimness of his

The property of a soldier

countenance.² Then there flocked about him immediately a great number of Romans: whereat the enemies were so afear'd, that they gave back presently. But Martius, 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 venture 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,³ But all this notwithstanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit Martius, being in the throng among the enemies, thrust himself into the gates of the city, and entered the same among them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turn their face upon him, or else offer to stay him. But he looking about him, and seeing he was entered 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 then, 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 Lartius 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 Martius was marvellous angry with them, and

The city of Corioli taken.

cried out on them, that it was no time now to look after spoil, and to run straggling here and 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: [1](#) exhorting and entreating them by the way that followed him not to be fainthearted, and oft holding up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to be so gracious and favourable unto him, that he might come in time to the battle, and in good hour to hazard his life in defence of his countrymen. Now the Romans when they were put in battle 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. Martius came just to that reckoning, whilst the soldiers were a doing after that sort, and that the enemies were

Soldiers' testaments.

approached so near, as one stood in view of the other. When they saw him at his first coming, all bloody, [2](#) and in a sweat, and but with a few men following him: some thereupon began to be afeared. 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 he 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 lenger, but to give charge upon the enemy. Martius asked him how the order of their enemies' battle 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 voward of their battle 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. [1](#) Then prayed Martius to be set directly against them. [2](#) The Consul granted him, greatly praising his courage. Then Martius, when both armies came almost

to join, advanced himself a good space before his company, and went so fiercely to give charge on the voward that came right against him, that they could stand no lenger in his hands: he made such a lane through them, and opened a passage into the

By Coriolanus' means the Volsci were overcome in battle.

battle 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 battle was marvellous bloody

about Martius, 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 Martius that he would retire to the camp, because they saw he was able to do no more, he was already so wearied with the great pain he had taken, and so faint with the great wounds he had upon him. But Martius 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.¹ The next morning betimes, Martius 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 Martius, whose valiantness he commended beyond the moon, both for that he himself saw him do with his eyes, as also that Martius had reported unto him. So in the end he willed Martius that he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all the goods they had won (whereof there was great store) ten of every sort which he liked best, before any distribution should be made other.² 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:¹

The tenth part of the enemies' goods offered Martius for reward of his service by Cominius the Consul. Valiancy rewarded with honour in the field. Martius noble answer and refusal.

which the whole army beholding did marvellously praise and commend. But Martius, 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 none of it, but was contented to have his equal part with other soldiers.² 'Only this grace' (said he) 'I crave and beseech you to grant me. Among the Volsces 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.'³ The soldiers, hearing Martius' words, made a marvellous great shout among them: and they were moe that wondered 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 him for his profit:¹ and they esteemed more the virtue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, than that which made them to be offered 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 Martius 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 decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, unless his valiant acts have won him that name before our nomination.'² And so ever since he still bare the third name of Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the Romans

Martius surnamed Coriolanus by the Consul.

have, as Caius, was our Christian name now. The second, as Martius, 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 virtue they had. Even

How the Romans came to have three names.

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 for some notable apparent mark on one's face, or on his body, they have called him Physcon, and Grypos, as ye would say, gorbelly, and hook-nosed: or else for some virtue, as Euergetes, and Philadelphos: to wit, a benefactor, and lover of his brethren. Or otherwise for one's great felicity, as Eudaemon: as much to say as fortunate. For so was the second of the Batti^a

why the Grecians gave Kings surnames.

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,

^a These were the princess that built the city of Cyrene.

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 fly: because, a few days

Names of mockery among the Romans.

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 Proculius, that is born, his father being in some far voyage: and him Posthumius, that is born after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and th' other survlveth: they call the survivor Vopiscus. Sometimes also they give surnames derived of some mark or misfortune of the body. As Sylla, to say, crooked-nosed: Niger, black: Rufus, red: Caecus, 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

Sedition at Rome by reason of famine.

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 earable land within the territory of Rome was become heathy and barren for lack of ploughing, 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 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 Velitrae, 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 pricked out all those by a

bill, whom they intended to send to Velitrae, 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

velitrac made a colony to Rome.

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.

Two practices to remove the sedition in Rome.

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 un-natural 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

Sicinius and Brutus Tribunes of the people against both those devices.

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. Marti us 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 Velitrae, he did compel those that were chosen, to go thither, and

Coriolanus' offendeth the people.

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 Martius, 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 cattle 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 home-tarriers 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 Martius, they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accompted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, Martius 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 noble-man of blood, and most worthy person of

Coriolanus invadeth the Antiates and bringeth rich spoils home.

Rome, and specially him that had done so great service and good to the commonwealth.¹ 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

The manner of suing for office at Rome.

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.¹ 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

Where upon this manner of suing was so devised.

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 offaces, 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 common-

Offices given then by desert, without favour or corruption.

wealths into Kingdoms, by making arms subject to money. Therefore methinks he had reason that said: He that first made banquets and gave money to the common people was the first that took away authority and destroyed commonwealth. But this

Banquets and money given only destroyers of common wealth.

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 man that fee'd 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 unfoiled age remained yet whole in judgement at Rome. Now Martius, 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 battles, being

Anytus' the Athenian, the first that with money corrupted the sentence of the judge and voices of the people.

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 Martius 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 good will of the common people turned straight to an 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,¹ Whereupon, for these considerations, they refused Martius in the end, and made two other that were suitors, Consuls. The Senate, being marvellously offended with the people, did accompt the shame of this refusal rather to redound to themselves, than to Martius: but Martius 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 remembered 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 Martius, 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 flocked 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 martial 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 Sicile, as given by Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse: so that many stood in great hope that, the dearth of victuals being holpen, the civil dissension would also cease. The Senate sate 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 themselves 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 Martius, standing

see the fickle minds of common people.

The fruits of self-will and obstinacy.

Great store of corn brought to Rome.

up on 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.¹ 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:² 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, 'acknowledging no superior to command him, saving the 'only heads and authors of their faction, whom he called 'his magistrates.³ Therefore,' said he, 'they that gave 'council and Persuaded that the corn should be given out to 'the common people *gratis*, as they used to do in cities of 'Greece, where the people had more absolute power, did 'but only nourish their disobedience, 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 for 'saken 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.¹ 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.'² Martius, dilating the matter with many such like reasons, wan 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 Senate, when they saw that the opinion of Martius 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 Martius 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 burden wholly upon Martius, 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. Martius stoutly withstood these officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their own persons, accompanied with the Aediles, 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

coriolanus oration
against the insolency
of the people.

Sedition at Rome for
Coriolanus.

back, and laid it sore upon the Aediles:¹ 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 commonalty, 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 Martius should come in person to answer to the articles they had devised. First, whether he

had 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 hands¹ 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 Aediles 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.² All this was spoken to one of these two ends, either that Martius against 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 Martius' nature and disposition. So Martius 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

Articles against Coriolanus.

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 innocency) 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 lenger, bear, nor endure his bravery and careless bold-ness. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruellest and

Coriolanus' stoutness in defence of himself.

stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a little with his companions, did openly pronounce, in the face of all the people, Martius as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then presently he commanded the Aediles to apprehend him, and carry him straight to the rock Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong down the same¹ When the Aediles came to lay hands upon Martius 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 Martius': so those that laid hands of 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 Martius 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 Martius 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 Martius 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 Martius, '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 gotten Martius 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, *Nundinae*, 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 suaged, 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 Martius, 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 an heavy enemy to the people) did avow and protest that they would utterly abase the authority of the Senate, and destroy the commonweal, if they would suffer the common people to have authority by voices to give judgement against the nobility. On th' 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 pre-eminence and prerogative of honour: but because they feared that themselves should be contemned and hated of the nobility. So as they

Sicinius and Tribune pronounceth sentence of death upon Martius

Corolanus bath day given him to answer the people.

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. Martius, seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolve, partly for the love and good will 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 shew how he did aspire to be King, and would prove that all his actions tended to usurp tyrannical power over Rome.¹ Martius 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,² 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 numbered by the poll)³ 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 words that Martius 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 Tribune:ship 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.¹ But this matter was most strange of all to Martius, looking least to have been burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sudden, and having no ready excuse to make even at that instant, he began to fail 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,

Coriolanus accused that he sought to be King.

when they came to tell the voices of the Tribes, there were three voices odd, which condemned him to be banished for life.² After declaration of the sentence, the people made such joy, as they never rejoiced more for any battle they had won upon their enemies, they were so brave and lively, and went home so jocosly from the assembly, for triumph of this sentence,³ 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

Coriolanus banished for life.

side. Saving Martius 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 shew no manner of passion, nor care at all of himself. Not that he did patiently bear and temper his good 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 afire, 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 afire with a burning ague: for, when a man's heart is troubled within, his pulse will beat marvellous strongly. Now that Martius 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 him, nor requesting anything of any man.¹ So he remained a few days in the country at his houses, turmoiled with sundry sorts and kind 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 Volsces 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 Volsces as a King. Martius knew very well that Tullus did more malice and envy him, than he did all the Romans besides: because that many times in battles where they met, they were ever at the encounter one against another, like lusty courageous youths, striving in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together.¹ Insomuch as, besides the common quarrel between them, there was bred a marvellous

Coriolanus' : constant mind in adversity.

The force of anger.

Tullus Aufidius a great person among the Volsces.

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.

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:² and as Homer said of Ulysses,

So did he enter into the enemy's town.

It was even twilight when he entered 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, wondered what he should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For ill-favourably 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.¹ Then Martius 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 in' deed, I must of necessity bewray my self to be 'that I am. I am Caius Martius, who hath done to thy 'self particularly, and to all the Volsces 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 shouldst 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 'saferance of the dastardly nobility and magimateb 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 pricked 'forward with spite and desire I have to be revenged of them 'that thus have banished me, whom now I begin to be 'avenged on, patting my person between my enemies. 'Wherefore, if thou hast any heart to be wreaked 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 Volsces: promising thee, that I will fight with better good-will for all you, than ever I did 'when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiantly, who know the force of their 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 lenger. 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.'¹ Tullus, hearing what he said, was a marvellous glad man, and, taking him by the hand, he said unto him. 'Stand up, O Martius, 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 Volsces 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 th' other side, the city of Rome was in marvellous uproar and discord, the nobility against the commonalty, and chiefly for Martius' condemnation and banishment. Moreover the priests, the soothsayers, and private men also, came and dechred to the Senate certain sights and wonders in the air, which they had seen, and were to be considered of: amongst

Coriolanus, disguised, goeth to Antium, a city of the Volsces.

Coriolanus oration to Tullus Aufidius.

Great dissension at Rome about Martius' banishment.

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 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

The Roman's manner of punishing their slaves.

Latins call the wood that runneth into the axletree of the coach *Furca*, as much to say as a fork. 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 remembered 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 advice: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slave. So they caused the

Whereof *Furcifer* came.

slave's master to be punished, and began again a new procession, and all other shows and sights in honour of Jupiter. But hereby appeareth plainly, how king Numa did wisely ordain all other

A ceremony instituted by king Numa touching religion.

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, 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 shows 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 relics upon open

The superstition of the Romans.

hallowed coaches or charrets, called in Latin *Tensae*: one of the coach hones that drew them stood still, and would draw no more:

Tensae.

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 Martius 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 Volsces should avoid out of Rome before sunset. Some think this was a craft and deceit of Martius, who sent one to Rome to the Consuls, to accuse the Volsces 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 afire.

The Romans gave the Volsces occasion of wars.

This open proclamation made all the Volsces more offended with the Romans, than ever they were before: and Tullus, aggravating the matter, did so inflame the Volsces against them, that in the

Martius Coriolanus' crafty accusation of the Volsces.

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 Volsces be the first that begin war, the Romans will be the last that will end it. Incontinently upon return of the Volsces' ambassadors, and delivery of the Romans' answer, Tullus caused an assembly general to be made of the Volsces, and concluded to make war upon the Romans. This done, Tullus did counsel them to take Martius 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 Martius 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 show: and declared himself both expert in wars, and wise with valiantness. Thus he was

joined in commission with Tullus as Volsces, having absolute authority between them general of the to follow and pursue the wars. But Martius, fearing lest tract of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the Volsces would rob 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 the Volsces 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 commonalty:

Coriolanus chosen general of the Volsces, with Tullus Aufidius, against the Romans.

Coriolanus invedeth the territories of the Romans.

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

A fine device to make the commonalty suspect the nobility.

between the nobility and 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 th' other side accused the nobility,

how they had procured Martius 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

Great heart-burning betwixt the nobility and people.

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 Martius having done this first exploit (which made the Volsces the army again, without loss of anyman. 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 Martius bade Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him answer, he knew by experience that Martius was no less valiant than himself, and how he ever had better fortune and good hap in all battles, 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 Martius, 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 entered 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 their 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 Martius did besiege their cities, and having taken by force the towns of the Tolerinians, Vicanians,

Pedanians, and the 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 Bolae 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 Volsces that were appointed to remain in garrison for defence of their country, hearing this good news, would tarry no lenger at home, but armed themselves, and ran to Martins' 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 Aeneas 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 Martins. [1](#) The Senate, assembled upon it, would in no case yield to that. Who either did it of a self will to be

The Romans send ambassadors to Coriolanus to treat of peace

contrary to the people's desire: or because Martius should not return through the grace and favour of the people. Or else, because they were throughly angry and offended with him, that besides unto his country: notwithstanding the most part selves. Report being made of the Senate's resolution, the people found themselves in a strait: for they" could authorize and confirm nothing by their voices, unless it had been first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But Martius, 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 Cluiliae. 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 Martius. 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 Martius again 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 sadors unto him, to let him understand how his countrymen did call him home again, and restored to him all his goods, and besought him to deliver them from this war. The ambassadors that were sent were Martius' 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. [1](#) 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 Volsces 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 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 Martius forthwith departed with his army out of the territories of the Romans. This was the first matter wherewith the Volsces (that of the most envied Martius' glory and authority) did charge Martius with. Among those, Tullus was chief: who though he had received no private injury or displeasure of Martius, yet the common fault and imperfection of man's nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to see his own reputation blemished through Martius' great fame and honour, and so himself to be less esteemed of the Volsces, than he was before. ¹ This fell out the more, because every man honoured Martius, 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 Martius. 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 reason might both loose and bind all, and preserve the whole. Now Martius having given the Romans thirty days' respite for their answer, and specially because the wars have not accustomed to make any great changes the lands of the enemies' allies, and took seven cities as those which through the palsy have lost all their sense and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, Martius 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 Volsces out of their country: that afterwards together, as should be thought most meet and necessary. For the Romans were no men that would ever yield 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. Martius to that answered: that as general of the Volsces 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 Martius' 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 saith) their holy anchor. For then they appointed all the bishops, priests, ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and all the augurs or soothsayers, which foreshow things to come by observation of the flying of birds (which is an old ancient kind of prophesying

The first occasion of the Volsces' envy to Coriolanus.

Another ambassade sent to Coriolanus.

The priests and soothsayers sent to Coriolanus

and divination amongst the Romans) to go to Martius apparelled 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 Volsces. Martius 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 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 goddess Pallas she, with her fair glistering eye.
Did put into his mind such thoughts, and made him so devise.

And in another place:

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 impossible, 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 freewill 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 virtuous 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 ¹ So she suddenly 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 th' other Ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of Volumnia, Martius' mother: and coming in to her, found her and Martius' wife her daughter-in-law set together, and having her husband Martius' young children in her lap. Now all the train of these Ladies sitting in a ring round about her, Valeria first began to speak in this sort unto her:

Valeria, Publicola's sister

Volumnia, Martius' mother.

'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 (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 heateful war, between their fathers and their husbands. Come on good ladies, and let us go all together unto Martius, 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 ye safe into his hands, though thereby they look for no better grace or clemency from him.' When Valeria had spoken this unto them, all th' other ladies together with one voice confirmed that she had said.

The words of Valeria unto Volumnia and Virgilia.

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 Martius' former valiancy and glory, and to see his person environed now with our

The answer of Volumnia to the Roman ladies.

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 hope of the safety and preservation 'thereof is now unfortunately cast upon us simple women: 'because we know not what accompt he will make of us, since 'he hath cast from him all care of his natural country and 'commonweal, which heretofore he hath holden more dear 'and precious than either his mother, wife, or children. Not 'withstanding, 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 'suits for the safety of our country.' Her answer ended, she took her daughter-in-law and Martius' children with her, and being accompanied with all the other Roman ladies, they went in troop together unto the Volsces' 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 Martius 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 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. [1](#) 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 Volsces to hear what she would say. [2](#) 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 th' 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 wrapped up in our prayers. For the bitter sop of 'most hard choice is offered thy wife and children, to forgo 'the 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

The oration of
Volumania unto her
son Coriolanus.

triumph of them, and of his natural country [1](#) For if it 'were so, that my request tended to save thy country in 'destroying the Volsces, 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 gaol-delivery of all evils, which delivereth equal benefit and safety both to the one and the other, but most honourable for the Volsces. 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 th' only author, and 'so hast thou th' only honour. But if it fail, and fall out 'contrary, thy self alone deservedly shall carry the shameful 'reproach and burden 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 benefit shalt thou 'reap of thy goodly conquest, to be chronicled the plague and 'destroyer of thy country. [1](#) 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.' Martius 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 dost thou not answer me? Dost '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 dost not in like caset '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 show himself 'thankful in all parts and respects, than thy self: who so 'unnaturally sheweth all ingratitude. [1](#) 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. [2](#) Martius, seeing that, could refrain no tenger, 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: [3](#) for I see myself 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

Coriolanus'
compassion of his
mother

night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homewards into the Volsces' country again, [4](#) 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 he was not to be blamed, though he yielded to such a forcible all

Coriolanus with
draweth his army
from Rome.

obeyed his commandment, more for respect of his worthe citizens of Rome plainly shewed in what fear and danger so soon as the watch upon the walls of the city perceived the city but was presently set open, and full of men wearing as they were wont to do upon the news of some great manifestly shewed by the honourable courtesies the whole Senate and people did bestow on their ladies. ¹ For they 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, ² 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 good will 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,

The temple of Fortune built for the woman.

The image of fortune to spoke to the ladies at Rome

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, we think, 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 itself, 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 upon 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 likeliness 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 without 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

Of the sweating and voice of image

Of the omnipotency of God.

operations he far passeth all the rest: but the most part of God's doings, as Heraclitus saith, for lack of faith are hidden and unknown unto us. Now when Martius was returned again into the city of Antium from his voyage, Tullus, that hated and could no longer abide him for the fear he had of his authority, sought divers means to make him out of the way, thinking that if he let slip that present time, he should never recover the like and fit occasion again. Wherefore Tullus, having procured many other of his confederacy, required Martius might be deposed from his estate, to render up accompt to the Volsces of his charge and government. Martius, fearing to become a private man again under Tullus being general (whose authority was greater otherwise, than any other among all the Volsces) answered: he was willing to give up his charge, and would resign it into the hands of the lords of the Volsces, if they did all command him, as by all their commandment he received it. And moreover, that he would not refuse even at that present to give up an accompt unto the people, if they would tarry the hearing of it. The people hereupon 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, Martius 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 valiantness, they quieted themselves, and gave still audience to allege with leisure what he could for his purgation. 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 Volsces 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 good will 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 Volsces,¹ who would not yield up his estate 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

Tullus Aufidus seeketh to kill Coriolanus.

consented unto of the most part of the Volsces: for men came out of all parts to honour his body, city 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.² The Romans, understanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, saving that they granted the ladies the request they made, that they might mourn ten months for him: and that was the full time they used to wear blacks for the death of their fathers, brethren, or husbands, according to Numa Pompilius' order, who stablished the same, as we have enlarged more amply in the description of his life. Now Martius being dead, the whole state of the Volsces heartily wished him alive again. For first of all they fell

Coriolanus murdered in the city of Antium Coriolanus' funerals.

The time of mourning appointed by Numa.

out with the Aeques (who were their friends and confederates) touching pre-eminence 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 battle, 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 promising to be obedient at their commandment.

Tullus Aufidius slain in battle.

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NOTES

THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

P. I, 11. 4–9. *marginal note*. This note is borrowed from Amyot, who writes: 'Pourautââ qu'il acheua & termina par sa mort la guerre qu'il auoit peu heureusement conduite cōtre ceux de Crete, 'est à dire, Candie. Florus en l' épitome du liure 97. 'Amyot's reference, omitted by North, is to the work of a Latin historian of the age of Trajan, *L. Attnæi Flori Rerum Romanarum Epitome*. The passage alluded to is probably the seventh chapter of the third book (ed. 1827, Paris, pp. 230, 231), which is headed 'Bellum Creticum,' and mentions with dispraise the father of Antony: 'Primus invasit insulam Marcus Antonius, cum ingenti quidem victoriæ spe atque fiducia, adeo ut plures catenas in navibus quam arma portaret, etc.'

1. 16. *errand*. The early editions have the old spelling 'arrant,' which survives in pronunciation in many dialects.

P. 3, 1. 22. *and was*. The subject of the verb is, of course, 'Antonius.'

1. 24. *a castle of his*. Not a very exact rendering of the French, 'la plus forte place qu'ilz eussent.' The passage, from 'and was' in 1. 22, runs in the Greek: ἀντὸς μὲν Ἐπέβη τοῦ μεγίσου τὸν Τζυμῶτων ππῶτος.

P. 4, 1. 9. *made it dainty*: 'hesitated,' a not uncommon idiom; cf. *N.E.D.* s. v. *Dainty*, sb. 7. The French has 'faisoit quelque difficulté.'

1. 18. *deep sands*. Amyot has 'des profondes sablonnières,' but adds the marginal note, 'Autres lisent ὠδοῦς βαθῶιας, qui seroit à dire, chemin creux: mais le premier est meilleur.' The accepted Greek reading, ψῶμμου βαθεῶιας, bears out his statement.

1. 20. *Serbonides*. This is the form of the adjective in the old editions, and in the French. Several modern editors substitute 'Serbonian,' doubtless with Miltonic reminiscence; cf. *Paradise Lost*, II. 593. The Greek uses the genitive of the noun, τῶς Σερβωνῶδος.

1. 25. *the sea on this side* is, of course, the Mediterranean, as the Latin version explicitly states.

P. 5, II. 10, 11. *and were many in number*. A parenthetical clause referring to 'battles and skirmishes.' Amyot's wording is 'battailies ... grosses & en grand nombre.' The 1603 version of North substituted 'being' for 'and were.'

P. 7, 1. 18. *that had changed his garments*: i.e. 'who had changed sides.' An overliteral translation of 'qui auoit tourné sa robbe.' The Greek has merely Ἐκ μεταβολῶς.

P. 9, 1. 14. *Philippics*: i.e. the fourteen orations against Antony delivered after Caesar's assassination, so called from their analogy to Demosthenes's speeches against Philip of Macedon. The passage to which Plutarch alludes occurs in the second Philippic, chapter 22 (Delphin ed., London, 1830, *Orationes*, Vol. V. p. 2679) 'Ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic reipublicae causa belli, causa pestis atque exitii fuit.' The old editions of North print 'Philippides,' though Amyot has correctly 'Phlippiques.'

P. 10, 1. 20. *injured*. This is the spelling of the early editions of North. The verbs 'injure' and 'injury' were used quite interchangeably by Elizabethan writers.

P. 13, 1. 3. *before*. An adverb.

P. 14, I. 27. *Cytheris*. North, following Amyot, spells 'Cytheride.'

P. 15, I. 15. *gillots*. Probably the same word as 'jilt.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Gillot, fillet*, and *filt*.

11. 22, 23. *laid the reins of the bridle upon the soldiers' necks*. A heightening of Amyot's 'lascha la bride aux gens de guerre.'

P. 16, 1. 9. *faults*. The first and second editions of North have 'fault,' but this is a misprint. Amyot uses the plural, which is required by the sense, and is supplied in the editions of 1603, etc.

P. 17, I. 6. 'for being known.' The preposition is used in the very common Middle English sense of 'for fear of,' 'to avoid.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. 23, c, d.

11. 9, 10. *ramped of her neck, and kissed her*: περιβαλν κατεφ?λκσε. 'Ramped of' means 'leaped on.' Ed. 1603 substitutes 'on' for 'of,' which in this sense was then rather archaic.

1. 21. *fiſt*. So the old editions, preserving the etymologically correct form (O.E. 'fifth'). The modern 'fifth' follows the analogy of 'fourth' (O.E. 'féorða'). So modern 'sixth' from O.E. 'sixta.'

P. 18, II. 11, 12. *menning by*: 'entendant de.'

P. 20, I. 6. *consort*. Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Consort* sb², 1.

P. 28, 1. 17. *Island*. The first two editions preserve the etymological spelling 'Iland' (O.E. *igland*). These editions generally omit the 'ç' in 'Isle' also, where, however, it is etymologically correct as the latter word is derived through the French from Latin *insulam*.

P. 29, 11. 18, 19. *three hundred*. 'Two hundred' in the *Life of Brutus* (cf. Vol. I. p. 149, 1. 12). The inconsistency is Plutarch's. Shakespeare (*Julius Caesar*, IV. iii. 174–6) makes the number slain one hundred.

1. 24.. *Philippides*. Here again the early editions write 'Philippides.' Cf. note to p. 9, 1. 14. Amyot calls the orations 'Antoniennes.' The Greek uses no adjective, Plutarch's phrase being simply τῶν κοῦντων (i. e. Antonius) λόγους.

P. 31, 1. 7. *policy*: 'trickery.' For Shakespearean instances of the use of the word in this sense cf. Schmidt, *Sh.-Lex.* s.v. 4.

P. 34, 11. 18, 19. These are the fourth and fifth lines of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The Greek is:

πῶς δ' ἔμογε θυμῶν γῆμι
ἔμογε δεπαύωγ τε ἀστεναγῶν,

which Amyot translated,

'Pleine de chants, parfums, encensemens,
De pleurs aussi & de gemissemens.'

Plutarch quotes only the last verse; the other is added by Amyot.

P. 35, 1. 6. *A citizen's house of Magnesia*: a frequent construction in early writers. Cf. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 469.

P. 36, 1. 20. *bourding*: 'jesting.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v.

P. 39, 1. 12. *post alone*: 'entirely alone.' For a number of instances of this formerly not uncommon phrase, number cf. *N.K.D.* s.v. *Post alone*.

P. 40, 1. 8. *slents*: 'jokes.' Nares appears to be the first lexicographer to notice this word. He quotes the present passage and another in North where 'slent' is used as a verb. Cf. also *Century Dictionary*.v.

P. 44, 11. 11–13. *Antonius shewed them a comical face ... a grim look*. The Greek has: τῶν τραγικῶν πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμαίου χροῖαι προσπῆ, τὸ δὲ κωμικῶν πρὸς ἀπὸς.

P. 47, 1. 9. *Accia*. The received spelling is 'Atia.'

P. 48, 1. 13. *Misenum*. North writes 'Misena,' here and elsewhere.

1. 21. *a certain*. The word 'quantity,' found in Amyot, is omitted, perhaps by mistake, but 'certain' is not infrequently used as a noun by old writers. Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Certain* B. II. 4, and the instances there quoted.

P. 49, 1. 13. *gables*. An alternative form of 'cables.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Gable* sb.²

II. 23, 24. *to keep them they should come no further*. The conjunction 'that' is, of course, to be supplied before 'they.'

P. 51, 1. 20. *stickler*: a referee or judge. This is the original meaning of the word. It is spelled 'stiteler' in M.E. and seems certainly to be derived from M.E. *stightlen*, 'to arrange.' Cf. Nares' *Glossary*, Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*, etc.

P. 52 1. 1, *Orodes' son king of Parthia*: i.e. 'son of Orodes king of Parthia.' Cf. note to p. 35, 1. 6, and reference there cited.

11. 22–24. *that they should not think he did anything but by his Lieutenant Ventidius*. A mistranslation; 'that they should not think he did everything by means of his lieutenant V.' would be nearer the sense. The Greek is: Βουλ?μενος ? ρν γε το?το τ?ν ?ργων ?π?νυμον α?το? γεν?σθαι κγ? μ? π?ντα δι? Ο?εντιδ?ου κατορθο?σθαι.

P. 57, 1. 9. *Phraates*. Amyot and North adhere throughout to the incorrect spelling 'Phraortes.'

1. 12, marginal note. *Orodes, king of Parthia*. Instead of 'Parthia,' the old editions have 'Persia.' The marginal notes, first found in North's translation, were obviously compiled very carelessly, but Parthia and Persia were not infrequently confused by Latin writers.

P. 59 1. 26. *carriage*. Cf. note to Vol. 1. p. 55, 1.2, and p. 62, 11. 3, 4 of this volume.

P. 60, 1. 23. *fardels*: 'bundles,' cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Fardel* sb.¹ 1.

P. 61, 11. 6, 7. *they appeared to be soldiers indeed, to see them march in so good array as was possible*. The meaning is clear enough, but the syntax of the sentence defies explanation. North has translated a little too closely Amyot's 'leur semblent bien gens de guerre à les ueoir marcher en si bonne ordonnance qu'il n'estoit pas possible de mieulx.' The editor of 1631, troubled by the grammatical difficulty, changed the words above to 'took them for soldiers indeed, for that they marched in as good array as was possible.'

P. 64, 11. 6–9. *to the end it should not appear ... danger he was in*. A very involved way of expressing Plutarch's idea, ?ς δ? μ? παντ?πασιν ?γαπ?ν τ? σωθ?ναι κα? διαφυγε?ν νομισθε?η.

P. 65, 1. 13. *fetch*: 'trick.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Fetch* sb.¹ 2.

P. 71, 1. 13. *javelins*. The spelling of the original edition is 'javelings,' as very commonly in early English.

P. 72, 1. 22. *eight*. The ordinal. Cf. Vol. 1. p. 106, 1. 17, and note.

P. 73, 1. 19. *Cyrus*. The second edition prints by mistake 'Cyprus' in the text, though the marginal note has 'Cyrus' correctly.

I. 20. *farther*. Ed. 1579 prints 'farder.'

P. 75, 1. 4. *champaign*. The old editions use the common Elizabethan form of the word, 'champion.'

11. 10, 11. *the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did*. The standard account of the destruction of Crassus and his army by the Parthians (b.c. 53) is found in Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*.

1.25. *sallets*: 'light helmets.' Cf. Vol. 1. p. 188, 1. 10.

P. 79, 1. 1. *defended*: 'warded off.' The primary sense of the word.

11. 2, 3. *hand strokes*: 'handy strokes' in ed. 1595, etc.

1. 15. *sixt*. The etymological form, answering to O.E. 'sixta.' Cf. note on 'rift,' p. 17, 1. 21.

P. 80, 1. 17. *Artabazus*. The proper spelling is 'Artavasdes.'

11. 17, 18. *had reserved Antonius to end this war*: mistranslated. The correct rendering would be, 'had prevented A. from ending.' Amyot has 'auoit gardé Antonius de mener a chef ceste guerre,' where 'gardé' means 'hindered.' Plutarch's words are: κατὰδίκλος ἦν ῥταουῖσδκς? ῥμῆνιος ῥντῥνμον τσ τέλος ῥφελῥμενος.

P. 81, 1. 3 *egg*: 'urge.'

1. 20. *mew*. Cf. Vol. I. p. 145, 1. 22, and note.

1. 22. *Blancbourg*. Αευκ? κῥμκ in Plutarch. 'Blancbourg' is Amyot's translation, which North accepted apparently as a Greek proper name.

P. 83, il. 24, 25. *knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her*. 'Would' means 'wished to'; French 'uouloit.'

P. 84, 11. 2–13. The means by which Cleopatra retains Antony's affection are quite different in Shakespeare. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. iii. 2–5.

'See where he i's, who's with him, what he does;
I did not send you: if you find him sad,
Say I am dancing; if in mirth, report
That I am sudden sick.'

P. 85, 1. 7. *made peace with him*. 'Formed a league with him' would be a better translation of ἐῥςφιλῥαν προσκῥῥγειο: 'him' refers to the king of the Medes.

P. 87, 11. 2, 3. *a high copped-tank hat on his head, narrow in the top*. Amyot has 'un hault chapeau pointu sur la teste, dont la pointe estoit droite,' translating Plutarch's κῥταριν ῥρθῥν (c *Liddell and Scott*, s.v. κῥδαρις). 'Copped-tank' is a word of very uncertain etymology; the little that is known of it will be found in *N.E.D.s.v. Copin-tank*.

1. 26. *triumvirate*. Used apparently in the sense of 'fellow-triumvir.' The Greek phrase is τῶν συνῶρχοντα Ἀέτιδον

P. 91, 1. 2. *hits father*. The 1579 edition reads 'her father,' an evident mistake, which ed. 1595 corrects. The French is ambiguous, 'excepté l'aisné de ceulx de Fulvia, qui estoit avec son pere.'

P. 92, 1. 7. *perfectly*. The first two editions spell 'perfidy,' which is historically preferable to the newer Latinized form of the word. Cf. the Chaucerian 'parfit.' modern French 'parfait.'

11. 26, 27. *in the which she had above two hundred thousand books*. Ed. 1595 adds 'several' before 'books,' possibly as a translation of the adjective in Amyot's 'esquelles il y auoit deux cets mille volumes simples.' Neither in the French nor in the Greek is there anything corresponding to North's 'above.'

P. 93, 1. 13, *was pleading*: 'was a-pleading,' ed. 1595, etc.

1. 27. *made him be set*: 'made him to be set,' ed. 1595, etc.

P. 94, 1. 22. *Falernus*. 'Falerna' in the old editions.

I. 25. *jays*. A translation of Amyot's 'delices.' The word is, of course, the well-known Latin 'deliciae,' which Plutarch takes over as δλιμία.

P. 96, 1. 6. *they did hurt*. The number is wrong, as the 'blustering storm' is the subject of the verb. Amyot has the singular.

1. 23. *Adallas*. The Greek form of the name is Σαδάλας.

1. 26. *Malchus*. I have adopted this the correct form (Gk. Μάλχος), but North wrote 'Manchus' and was followed by Shakespeare. The 'Manchus' of the 1623 folio has been changed to 'Malchus' by all modern editors of Shakespeare.

P. 97, 11 12, 3. *Mare Siculum*. Plutarch has, τὸ Τυρῆνικὸν καὶ Σικεῖν πῆλαγος. The Sicilian Sea is, of course, the Mediterranean.

I. 20. *Press*. The 1595 edition prints 'prest,' an alternative form. Cf. p. 158, 1. 19. 'Prest,' from Old French *brest*, 'ready,' is etymologically the preferable form.

P. 98, 1. 3. *light of yarage*: 'easily propelled and managed.' Cf. 'heavy of yarage,' p. 104, 1. 4. 'Yarage' is formed from the adjective 'yare' (cf *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 38), which represents O.E. *genru*, 'ready.'

P. 99, ll. 2–18. *marginal note*. Translated from Amyot.

1. 7. *element*. Cf. Vol. I. p. 67, 1. 17, and note.

P. 100, 1. 13. *Getae*: 'Getes' old editions and Amyot.

P.101, 1. 6. *often used*: 'used often' ed. 1595, etc.

I. 8. *an*: ed. 1595 substitutes 'if.'

P. 105, 1. 25. *had already begun*. For 'had' ed. 1595 substitutes 'was.'

P. 106, 1. 2. *this galley*: 'his galley' ed. 1595.

P. 107, 1. 13. *carracks*: 'carects,' old editions.

P. 108, 1. 11. *hardly*: 'very hardly,' ed. 1595.

P. 109, 1. 26, 27. *because Brutus in the meantime might have liberty to save himself*. 'Because' is here a conjunction of purpose = 'in order that.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. B, 2.

P. 110, 1. 15. *where the two seas are narrowest*. 'Narrowest' must be taken in the sense of 'closest together.' Plutarch wrote π σφίγγεται μ?λιστα το?ς πελ?γεσι κα? βραχ?τερος ε?ρ?ς ἔστι, the subject being the isthmus.

P. 111, 11. 13, 14. *as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes' comedies*. 'Plato' is in the possessive case as well as 'Aristophanes,' as the Greek shows: ?κ τ?ν ?ριστοφ?νους κα? πλ??τωνος δραμ?των. This Plato, so-called the Comic, was a younger contemporary of Aristophanes. He appears to have been the last writer of the 'old comedy.' Aristophanes himself mentions Timon in *The Birds*, 1. 1549, and again at greater length in *Lysistrata*, 809–15.

11. 25, 26. *like to his nature and conditions*. So the first edition; the second edition substitutes 'of' for 'to' Amyot's reading is, 'semblable de nature & de meurs à luy.'

P. 112, 1. 19. *Halae*: 'Hales' in the old editions and in Amyot.

11. 24, 25. Shakespeare incorporates this epitaph with the single change of 'wicked wretches' in the second line to 'wicked caitiffs.' North has departed considerably from Amyot's version, which runs:

'Aiant finy ma uie malheureuse
En ce lieu cy, on m'y a inhumé:
Mourez, meschans, de mort malencontreuse,
Sans demander comme ie fus nommé.'

P. 113, 11. 4, 5. Shakespeare appends this second epitaph to the first, without making any change in the wording. It is thus given by Amyot:

'Ici ie fais pour tousiours ma demeure
Timon encor les hommes haissant,
Passe, lecteur, en me dormant male heure,
Seulement passe, & me ua maudissant.'

1. 18. *in the sea*. So the first edition, translating Amyot's 'dedans la mer.' The second edition reads 'by the sea.' Plutarch uses the adjective ἕναλον.

1. 21. *of rioting and banfueing*. Ed. 1595 changes 'of' to 'on.'

P. 114, 11. 19–21. *For when she saw the poisons that were sudden and vehement, and brought speedy death*. This is inaccurate and hardly grammatical. To get Plutarch's idea we should insert the conjunction 'that' after 'saw,' and delete 'and' before 'brought.' The Greek runs, πῆ δὲ ἴρα τῶν μὲν κνίμους τῶν ἕξτεκτὸς θαντὸν δι' ἕδνκς περιφεροσας.

P. 115, 1. 2. *all them*: 'them all,' ed. 1595.

1. 3, 4, *only causeth*: 'causeth only,' ed. 1595.

1. 14. *for her children*. So ed. 1579: the later editions print 'for their children.' There is no doubt that the former is correct, though without the context both Amyot's 'pour ses enfans' and Plutarch's τοῶς παισῶν would be ambiguous.

P. 116, 1. 16. *Thyreus*. So North, followed by Shakespeare, but the name in Plutarch is Θῆρσος.

11. 18, 19. *unto a noble Lady, and that besides greatly liked her beauty*. Very clumsily translated; it would seem that North understood the relative to refer to the 'young Lord,' but Amyot's language is quite clear: 'à une femme haultaine, & qui se contentoit grandem^t & se fioit de sa beauté' — where 'qui,' of course, means Cleopatra.

P. 117, 11. 11, 12. *she now in contrary manner did keep it with such solemnity*. This is an incorrect translation of Amyot's 'au contraire elle celebroit le iour de la siene de telle sorte,' where 'la siene' refers to Antony, not Cleopatra. Plutarch has τῶν κενου(γεν)θλιον.

P. 119, 11. 2, 3. *Caesar answered him, that he had many other ways to die than so*. The antecedent of 'he' is doubtful in North as in Amyot. Shakespeare takes it as referring to Caesar and so North probably intended; but from the Greek it is evident that it should allude to Antony: πολλῶς ἕδος ἕντων?? παρεῖναι θαντῶν.

1. 5. *to set up his rest*: 'to put everything at stake.' A common Elizabethan idiom; cf. p. 139, 1. 24, and Nares' *Glossary*, s.v. 'Rest, to set up.'

P. 123, 1. 7. *berayed*: 'soiled.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Beray*.

P. 126, 1. 23. *for the founder's sake of the same city*. Cf. p. 35, 1. 6, and note.

P. 127, 11. II, 12.

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

North has missed the point of the epigram and with it the reason why it affected Caesar. The clause 'if that he be wise indeed' should apply to Arrius, not to Philostratus himself. Plutarch wrote: Σοφοῦ σοφοῦς σώξουσιν, ἢ ἴσιν σοφοῦ, which Amyot translates freely but accurately enough:

'Gens de sçavoir les sçauans uont sauuans,
Ou ilz ne sont eulx mesmes pas sçauans.'

The anecdote is used by Samuel Daniel in his *Tragedie of Cleopatra* (III. i.).

P. 128, l. 7. *Too many Caesars is not good*: οἷκ ἡγαθῶν πολυκαισαρῆη.

ll. 8, 9. *Alluding unto a certain verse of Homer that saith: Too many Lords doth not well*. This explanation is not found in Plutarch; it was added by Amyot. The verse of Homer to which he refers is *Iliad*, II. 204, which begins: οἷκ ἡγαθῶν πολυκοιρανῆη. P. 129, l. 18, 19. *torn in sunder*. Rather strong for Amyot's 'deschiré & meurtry,' which in its turn heightens the Greek: δὲ πολλῶ καὶ τῶς περὶ τῶ στῆριον ἀκῶας καταφανῶ.

ll. 22, 23. *yet she showed herself within by her outward looks and countenance*: 'elle apparoissoit du dedans, & se demonstroit aux mouuemens de son uisage.'

P. 133, l. 21. *trimming*: 'adjusting,' the original sense of the word. Greek, κατεκῶσμαι.

P. 134, l. 14. *razor*. The correct translation is probably 'pin.' Amyot and North have apparently blundered in mistaking Plutarch's κνηστῶδι from the rare κνηστῶς, translated in the Latin version by 'fistula,' for a form of the commoner κνηστῆς, which means 'knife.'

P. 135, l. 12. *a thousand talents*. In Plutarch δισχῶλις τῶλαντα.

l. 18. *yuba*. 'King Juba,' ed. 1595, etc.

P. 136, l. 17. *the one whose name was Caius*: the Emperor Caligula, A.D. 12–41.

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THE LIFE OF MARTIUS CORIOLANUS

P. 137, l. 8, 9. *Censorinus also came of that family, that was so surnamed.* These words suggested the emendation of Delius (*Coriolanus*, II. iii. 251): 'And Censorinus, that was so surnam'd.' The line is not found in the folio of 1623, our only source for the text of *Coriolanus*, but it or something similar is required by the sense, and it is not at all improbable that North here helps us to the identical words which Shakespeare wrote and his printer by mistake omitted. The folio version of ll. 250–253 is obviously defective:

'That our best Water, brought by Conduits hither,
And Nobly nam'd, so twice being Censor,
Was his great Ancestor.'

The printer was no doubt confused by two successive lines beginning with 'And,' and accidentally omitted the first.

l. 16. *who taught us by experience*: 'who' refers to Caius Martius. 'Experience' must be understood as meaning 'our actual observation.' There is no corresponding word in the Greek, but the Latin version has 'suo exemplo docuit.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Experience* sb. 3.

l. 19. *they are*. We should say 'they who are.' For another instance of this very common omission of the relative see the next page, l. 4, 'that were meet.'

P. 138, l. 7, 8. *like as a fat soil bringeth forth herbs and weeds that lieth unmanured.* The editors of 1603, ff. had grown more squeamish about the position of relative clauses; so we read in their texts: 'as a fat soile that lyeth vnmanured bringeth foorth both hearbes and weedes.'

l. 24. *bringeth men unto*: bringeth unto men, 1595, etc.

P. 139, l. 2. *called*: 'call,' 1595, etc. *self*: 'it selfe,' 1595, etc.

l. 23. *with all the aid of the Latins*. Cf. Vol. I. p. 165, l. 24, 25, and note. The Greek has here simply $\pi\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\iota \alpha\tau\eta\upsilon\omega\nu$.

l. 24. *set up his whole rest*. Cf. p. 119, l. 5, and note.

P. 140, l. 15. *in very old time*. For 'very' ed. 1595 substitutes 'the,' while ed. 1603, etc., omit both.

P. 141, ll. 9–13, *marginal note*. It will be observed that the note here fails, as is often the case, to represent accurately the substance of the text.

l. 12. *no great courage*. The 1603 edition relieves the ears of modern readers by substituting 'any' in place of 'no.'

P. 142, l. 7. *from whence he returned not without somereward*. The 1603 edition changes 'without' to 'with,' which is, of course, what we should say. But it is probable that North wrote 'without'; he has no prejudice against double negatives.

l. 21. *Leuctra*. North, following Amyot, spells the word 'Leuctres.'

P. 143, ll. 1, 2. *two children*. The numeral is North's contribution. Plutarch and Amyot use the plural only.

l. 20. *Marcus*. The name is 'Manius' in Plutarch.

P. 144, l. 1. *made*. So ed. 1595, etc. The first edition prints 'make'—probably a typographical error.

P. 145, l. 27. *were*: 'was' in the first edition.

P. 147, l. 7. *Volsces*. This is the spelling of North and Shakespeare, due to Amyot's 'Volsques.' The Latin form of the word is *Volsci*, which Plutarch transliterates Ο?ολ-ο?σκοι. Similarly *Corioli* is spelled by Amyot and North 'Corioles' (e.g. l. 9), but in the case of this word Shakespeare restores the Latin form.

P. 149, l. 13. *Lartius*. The edition of 1595 prints 'Martius,' a mere blunder which, however, some modern editors retain.

l. 18. *to lock up*. The early editions print 'to looke up.'

P. 150, l. 5. *to be so gracious*. Ed. 1595 omits 'so.'

l. 9. *to gird them upon*. For another instance of this common transposition of preposition and pronoun see p. 167, l. 3.

P. 151, l. 24. *distressed*. Cf. Vol. 1. p. 28, l. 20.

P. 152, ll. 13–18, marginal note. *The tenth part of the enemies' goods offered Martius for reward, etc.* Observe that this is not at all equivalent to the 'ten of every sort' mentioned in the text; the English writer who appended the notes was frequently careless.

l. 24. *price*. Used here in the sense of 'prize.' The two words were formerly not distinguished. Cf. 'games of price,' p. 51, l. 13.

P. 153, l. 18. *they were moe*: 'there were more,' ed. 1595, etc. In Elizabethan usage little difference was made between the use of the adverbial 'moe' (O.E. m?) and the adjectival 'more' (O.E. m?ra).

l. 19. *contentation*: 'contentment.'

- P. 154, l. 17. *our Christian name*. The adjective is, of course, not in Plutarch, whose phrase is τῷ ἑνομασίῳ ἰδίῳ.
- ll. 17–20, marginal note. *How the Romans came to have three names*. The first edition omits 'have,' which is supplied by ed. 1595.
- P. 155, l. 7. *the second of the Batti*. For some account of Battus II. and his family cf. Harper's *Dict. Classical Literature and Antiquities*, s.v. 'Battiadae.' The marginal note, added by Amyot, is substantially correct.
- ll. 17, 18. *Celer, the quick fly*. The definition is North's own.
- ll. 19, 20. *the cruel fight of fencers at unrebated swords*. North's imaginative rendering of Plutarch's μὲν οὖν ἄσπετος ἄσπετος. Amyot had been satisfied with 'escrimeurs ? oultrance.'
- P. 156, l. 1. *As Sylla, to say, crooked-nosed*. North omits Amyot's note to this passage: 'Toutefois Sex. Pompeius escrit que les homes bruns s'appelloient Sullae.'
- l. 16. *earabie*. The native English adjective from O.E. *erian*, 'to plough.' The edition of 1595 substitutes the more common 'arable,' derived from Latin *arabilis*.
- P. 158, l. 7. *tuition*. Used in the sense of Latin *tuitio*, 'protection.'
- P. 159, ll. 12, 13. *the home-tarriers and house-doves, that kept Rome still*. There is no suggestion of this picturesqueness of epithet either in Plutarch or in Amyot. For *keep* in the sense of 'remain in,' cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Keep*, v. 33.
- P. 161, ll. 6, 7. *the first that fee'd the judges with money*: 'celuy qui premier donna de l'argent aux iuges pour les corrompre.' Instead of 'fee'd' the early editions print 'fedde.'
- l. 9. *Pylos*. North retains the French form 'Pyle.' l. 10. *unfoiled*: 'undefiled.' For this meaning of 'foil' cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Foil* v.¹, 6.
- P. 163, l. 25. *good cheap*. Cf. Vol. I. p. 7, l. 19, and note.
- P. 167, ll. 2, 3. *how it stood them upon*: 'how it behoved them.' A very common Elizabethan idiom. For Shakespearean examples cf. Schmidt, *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, s.v. *Stand*, e. 4.
- P. 170, l. 24. *Nundinae*: originally the name applied to the market days, which occurred at the end of each eight day week. It was only relatively late that courts were held on the Nundinae. Cf. Harper's *Dict. Class. Lit. and Antiq.* s.v.
- P. 171, ll. 8, 9. *Appius Claudius, the founder of the Gens Claudia*. By birth a Sabine, he attached himself with a number of his followers to the Roman state and became Consul B.C. 495. The Decemvir of the same name was either his son or his grandson.

P. 174, l. 16. *good hap*. The edition of 1603 substitutes 'evil hap,' but North probably wrote 'good hap' as we use the similar word 'fortune,' without any favourable or unfavourable connotation.

P. 175, l. 1. *in that taking*: 'in that condition.'

ll. 12, 13. *sundry sorts and kind of thoughts*. The second edition substitutes 'kinds,' but 'kind' in such cases is almost an indeclinable. For an account of the stages by which it became so, cf. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, §§ 167–169.

l. 25. *called Tullus Aufidius*. The proper form of the name is Amfidius ('Αμφιδιος).

P. 176, l. 13, *the true words of an ancient poet*. The 'ancient poet' is Amyot's fabrication. Plutarch refers to the author of the saying merely as τ? ε?πόντι; he was in fact the philosopher Heraclitus, the first of the Greek prose writers. The maxim which North has expanded into four lines of verse is thus quoted by Plutarch: Θυμ? μ?Χεσθαι Χαλεπόν ? γὰρ ?ν θ?λη ΨυΧ?ς ?νε?ται. The accepted version differs somewhat. It runs as follows: Θυμ? μ?Χεσθαι Χαλεπόν ? τι γ?ρ ?ν Χρη?ξ? γιν?σθαι, ΨυΧ?ς ?ν?εται. (CY. *Heracliti Ephesii Reliquiae*, ed. I. Bywater. Oxon, 1877, p. 41, frag. CV.)

l. 22. *So did he enter into the enemy's town*: 'Ανδρ?ν δυσμεν?ων κατ?δύ πόλιν (*Odyssey*, IV. 246).

P. 178, l. 10. *between my enemies*. The earliest editions have the misprint 'thy' for 'my.'

P. 181, l. 4. *limmer*: 'a shaft.' Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Limber*, sb.¹ 1.

P. 182, l. 16. *hollowed coaches or charrets*. Charrets or charets, from Fr. 'charette,' were ordinarily carriages with two wheels, whereas chariots had four. Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *Charet*.

P. 184, l. 13. *tract of time*. A very common phrase answering to the Latin *tractus temporis*. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, V. 498.

P. 185, ll. 18, 19. *that had the enemy abroad, to keep that they had in safety*: 'qu'ilz auoient au dehors l'ennemy mesme qui leur gardoit leurs biens.'

P. 186, l. 21. *Vicanians*. By some accident the word has lost its first syllable in Amyot and North. Plutarch's form is ?αουικ?νους, corresponding to Latin 'Lavicos.'

P. 190, l. 26. *in reason*. So ed. 1603, etc., but the first two editions read 'in treason'—apparently a misprint. Amyot's equivalent of lines 25, 26 runs: 'qui estoit perte de plus grande consequence, pource que c'estoit ordinairement ce qui faisoit ou perdre ou cōseruer cela & toute autre chose.'

P. 191, ll. 6, 7. *seven cities of theirs well inhabited*. So ed. 1579; the second edition, however, inserts 'great' before 'cities,' which is supported by Amyot's 'sept uilles grandes & bien peuples.'

P. 192, ll. 26, 27. *all this goodly rabble of superstition and priests*: 'ces gens de religion.' The difference between the point of view of the French and that of the English translator could hardly be brought out more strikingly.

P. 193, ll. 11, 12. Τ? δ'ρ' ?π? Φρεσ? θ?κε θε? γλαυκ?πις Αθ?νη. The line occurs in the *Odyssey*, V. 427, with the substitution of ?ι μ? for Τ? δ' ?ρ'.

ll. 14–17. 'Αλλ? τις αθαν?των Φρ?νας, ?ς γ' ?ν? θυμ? δ?μου θ?κε Φ?τιν. Cf. *Iliad*, IX. 459, 460, where the modern editors read πα?σεν Χόλον ?ς ?' ?ν? θυμ?.

ll. 19, 20. *Ητοι ?ϊσσ?μενος ? κα? θε?ς ?ς ?κ?λευε.. The modern texts of Homer (*Od.* IX. 339) vary in one or two small details from Plutarch's version as given above.

P. 194, l. 3. Α?τ?ρ ?γ? βόυλευσα κατ? μεγαλ?τορα θυμόν (*Od.* IX. 299).

ll. 5, 6. "Ως Φ?το Πηλε?ωνι δ' ?Χος γ?νετ', ?ν δ? ο? ?τορ στ?θεσσιν λασ?οισι δι?νδιΧα μερμ?ριξεν (*Iliad*, I. 188, 189).

ll. 8, 9.

?λλ? τ?ν ?? τι

τε?θ' ?γαθ? Φρον?οντα δα?Φρονα ΒελλεροΦόντνην (*Iliad*, VI. 161, 162).

P. 196, l. 25–27. *rather to see him forthcoming and safe kept, than of any love to defend his person*: 'plus tost pour s'asseurer de luy que pour le garder.'

P. 197, l. 20. *knowing his wife*. On the last word Amyot has a note, omitted by North: 'Aucuns uieux exēplaires lisēt, μητ?ρα, sa mere.' However, the modern texts of Plutarch give neither the one nor the other, but instead τ?ς γυνα?κας, 'the women.' The phrase *which came foremost* (l. 21) is represented in the Greek by προσιο?σας, 'advancing.'

P. 198, l. 16. *most pleasant to all other*. Doubtless we ought to read 'of all other.'

l. 26-p. 199, l. 3. *For the bitter sop of most hard choice is offered thy wife and children, to forgo the one of the two: either to lose the person of thy self, or the nurse of their native country*. Much improved by North. Amyot wrote: 'pource qu'il est force ? ta femme & ? tes enfans qu'ilz soient priuez de l'un des deux, ou de toy, ou de leur païs.' *The nurse of their native country* is a case of apposition like 'the city of Rome.'

P. 202, ll. 24, 25. *a temple of Fortune of the women*: a sufficiently accurate translation of Amyot's 'temple de Fortune feminine,' which answers to the Τ?Χης Τυναικε?ας ?ερ?ν of Plutarch. The compiler of the marginal notes in North seems, however, to

have misunderstood the text, and it is worthy of remark that in this case, as on p. 152, Shakespeare adopts the less authentic statement.

P. 206, l. 7. *ought*: used in its original sense as preterite of 'owe.'

P. 207, l. 12. *that fray s and murders fell out*. 'That' is the reading of the second and all subsequent editions; the *editio princeps* has 'and,' which is probably a printer's error. Amyot's expression is 'iusques à.'

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[1]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, V. i. 34–8.

[1]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 191–200; *Life of Caesar*, Vol. I. p. 95; *Life of Brutus*, Vol. I. p. 119.

[1]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 219–246; *Life of Caesar*, Vol. I. p. 93.

[2]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 268, 9; *Life of Caesar*, Vol. I. p. 91.

[1]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 289–91; *Life of Caesar*, Vol. I. p. 93.

[2]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 155–166; *Life of Brutus*, Vol. I. pp. 133, 4.

[1]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. i. 25,6; *Life of Brutus*, Vol. I. p.132; *Life of Caesar*, Vol. I. p. 100.

[1]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. ii. 45–210, 258–64; *Life of Caesar*, Vol. I. p. 104; *Life of Brutus*, Vol. I. p. 138.

[2]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. ii. 273, 4; *Life of Brutus*, Vol. I. p. 139.

[1]Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. iv. 56–9.

[1]Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. iv. 59–68.

[1]Cf. *Julius Caesar*, IV. i. 2, 3.

[1]Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. v. 29–34; III xi. 116–8.

[1]Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. v. 29–31, 73, 74.

[1]Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 195, 199–266.

[2]*Ibid.* II. ii. 227–232.

[1]Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 186–8.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. i. 52–4; iv. 19–21.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. v. 15–19.

[2] *Ibid.* I. ii. 96–102.

[3] *Ibid.* I. ii. 107–11.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. ii. 125–6.

[2] *Ibid.* I. ii. 127, 8.

[3] *Ibid.* II. ii. 98–106.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 124–59.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. iv. 47–55.

[2] *Ibid.* II. ii. 160–2; vi. 44–6.

[3] *Ibid.* II. ii. 166, 7

[4] *Ibid.* II. vi. 34–7.

[5] *Ibid.* II. vi. 60, 1.

[6] *Ibid.* II. vi. 80.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II vi. 26–9; vii. 134, 5.

[2] *Ibid.* II. vii. 42–5, 60–87.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. iii. 15–23, 25–30.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. iii. 32–8.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. i. 1–27.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. i. 16–20.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. iv. 1–10.

[2] *Ibid.* III. iv. 24, 5.

[3] *Ibid.* III. vi. 39–62.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III vi. 1–16.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vi. 16–19.

[2] *Ibid.* III. vi. 19–22.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vi. 22–30.

[2] *Ibid.* III. vi. 32–7.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 1–12.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 12–15.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. viii. 12.

[2] *Ibid.* IV. x. 16, 17.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* III vi. 68–76.

[2] *Ibid.* III. vii. 27–53.

[3] *Ibid.* III. vii. 34–6.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 38.

[2] *Ibid.* III. vii. 30–2.

[3] *Ibid.* III. vii. 20–3, 54–7.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. v. 4–17.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. vi. 20–39; ix. 5–24.

[2] *Ibid.* III. viii. 43, 4.

[3] *Ibid.* III. vii. 36, 7.

[4] *Ibid.* III vii. 41–8

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 50.

[2] *Ibid.* III. vii. 49.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 60–6.

[2] *Ibid.* III. vii. 72, 3.

[3] *Ibid.* III. vii. 77, 8.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. viii. 12, 13, 21–5.

[2] *Ibid.* III. viii. 40.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. viii. 27–33.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. ix. 25, ff.

[2] *Ibid.* III. ix. 2–24.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 58–9

[2] *Ibid.* III viii. 42–3.

[1] Cf. *Timon of Athens*, V. i. 210–1,7.

[2] *Ibid.* V. iv. 70–1.

[1] Cf. *Timon of Athens*, V. iv. 72, 3.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 356, 7.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. X. 7–19.

[2] *Ibid.* III. ix. 71, 2; x. 2–6.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. v. 12–16.

[2] *Ibid.* III. x. 19–24.

[3] *Ibid.* III x. 26–31.

[4] *Ibid.* III. xi. 46–93.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. xi. 1 31–152.

[2] *Ibid.* III. xi. 184–6.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. viii. 1–27.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. i. 3–6.

[2] *Ibid.* IV. ii. 4–6.

[3] *Ibid.* IV. ii. 9, 10, 20–3.

[4] *Ibid.* IV. ii. 26–8.

[5] *Ibid.* IV. ii. 41–4.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. iii. 12–22.

[2] *Ibid.* IV. x. 4–9, 14–16, 22–42.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xi.

[2] *Ibid.* IV. xii. 44, 57–60.

[3] *Ibid.* IV. xii. 62–95.

[4] *Ibid.* IV. xii. 95 7.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xii. 101–10.

[2] *Ibid.* IV. xii. 113–40.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xiii. 21–37.

[2] *Ibid.* IV. xiii. 41, 2.

[3] *Ibid.* IV. xiii. 45–58; V. ii. 12, 13.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xii. III–15; V. i. 4–26.

[2] *Ibid.* V. i. 40–8.

[3] *Ibid.* V. i. 73–7.

[4] *Ibid.* V. i. 61–6.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 9–28.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V, ii. 34–46.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 355–7.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 137–174.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 178–88.

[2] *Ibid.* V. ii. 197–203.

[1] Cf. *'Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 232–5.

[2] *Ibid.* V. ii. 320–6, 341–4.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 327–9.

[2] *Ibid.* V. ii. 346–55.

[1] Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 357–67.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. iii. 246–53.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. ii. 92–103.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, I. i. 38–41; III ii. 107, 8.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, I. i. 83–91.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, I. i. 101–60.

[2]*Ibid.* I i. 221–3.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus* I. iii. 107–11.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, I. iv. 23; S. D. after I. 29.

[2]*Ibid.* I. iv. 56–61.

[3]*Ibid.* I. iv. 44–5.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus* I. v. 1–14.

[2]*Ibid.* I. vi. 28, 29.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, I. vi. 51–4.

[2]*Ibid.* I. vi. 55–9.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. ii. 120–27.

[2]*Ibid.* I. ix. 31–6.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, I. ix. 58–62.

[2]*Ibid.* I. ix. 36–40.

[3]*Ibid.* I. ix. 79–89.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. ii. 129–30.

[2]*Ibid.* I. ix. 62–6.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. ii. 1–41.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, II ii. 1 39–46.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. iii.

[1]Cf. *Coriolanus*, III. i. 41–4.

[2]*Ibid.* III. i. 67–71.

[3] *Ibid.* III. i. 90–111.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, III i. 112–17, 119–38.

[2] *Ibid.* III. i. 141–8, 164–70.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, III. i. 223–8.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, III. iii. 1, 2, 62–4.

[2] *Ibid.* III. iii. 77–9.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, III. i. 206–13.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, III. iii. 57–65.

[2] *Ibid.* III. iii. 11.

[3] *Ibid.* III. iii. 8–10.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, III. iii. 2–5.

[2] *Ibid.* III iii. 97–105.

[3] *Ibid.* III. iii. 134, 5.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, IV. i.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, I. viii. x. 7–10; III. i. 13–15.

[2] *Ibid.* IV. iv. stage direction.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, IV. v. 5–58. VOL. II.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, IV. v. 60–3, 71–107.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, IV. vi. 140–162; vii. 31–3.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. i.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, IV, vii.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. iii. 64–7

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. iii. 19–52.

[2] *Ibid.* V. iii. 92, 3.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. iii. 94–125.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. ill. 132–48.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. iii. 154–60.

[2] *Ibid.* V. iii. 160–82.

[3] *Ibid.* V. iii. 182, 3, 185–9.

[4] *Ibid.* V. iv. 45

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. iv. 68–73.

[2] *Ibid.* V. iii. 206, 7.

[1] Cf. *Coriolanus*, V. v. 84–6.

[2] *Ibid.* V. v. 143–5.