

A

0
0
0
2
1
6
9
2
7
4

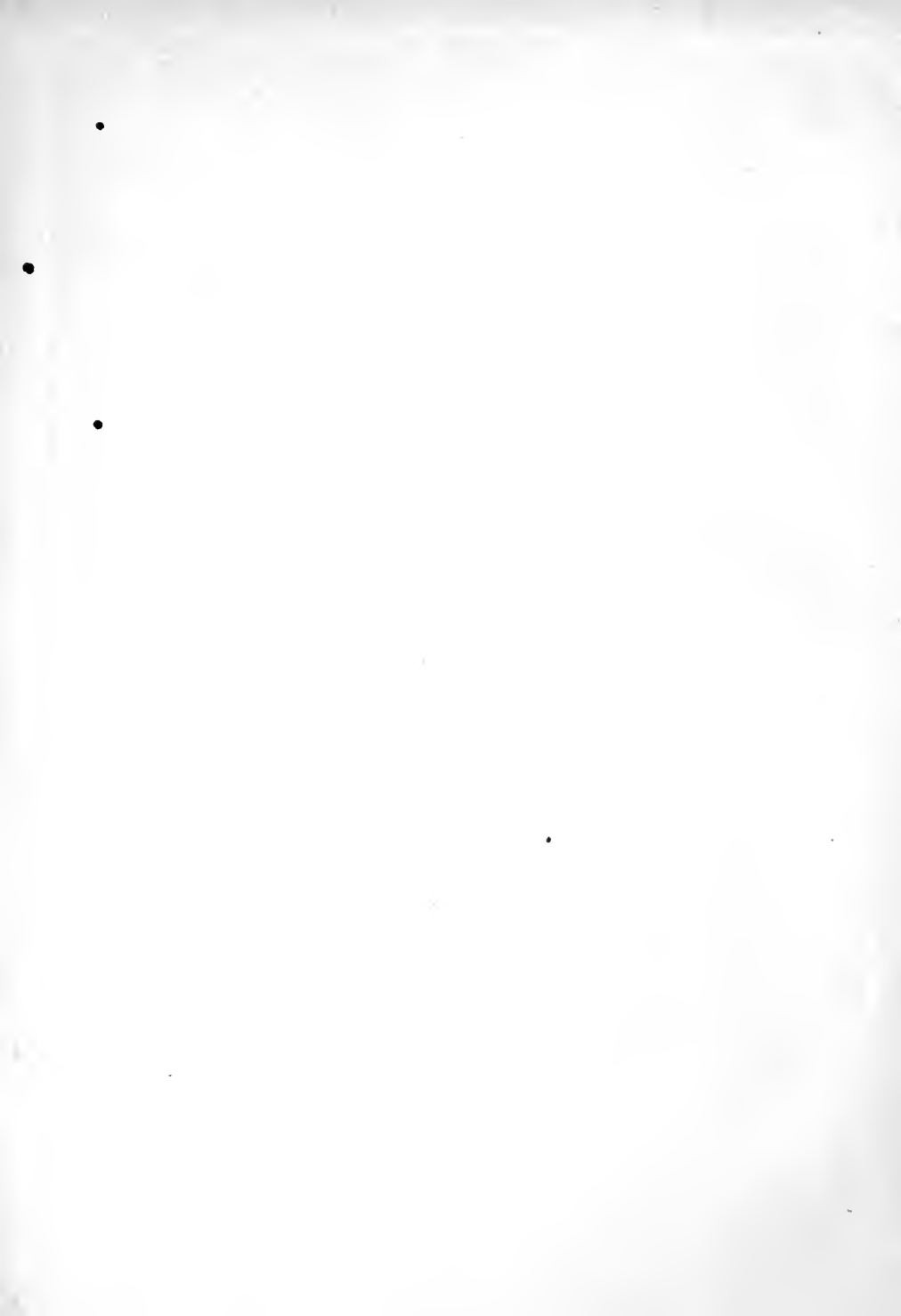


00002169274





THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



**THE TUDOR
TRANSLATIONS**

EDITED BY

W. E. HENLEY

IX



PLUTARCH'S

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

GRECIANS AND ROMANS

ENGLISHED BY

SIR THOMAS NORTH

ANNO 1579

With an Introduction by

GEORGE WYNDHAM

THIRD VOLUME



LONDON

Published by DAVID NUTT

IN THE STRAND

1895

Edinburgh: T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to Her Majesty

DE7
P7En
1895
v. 3

THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE
GRECIANS AND ROMANES
compared by PLUTARKE of CHÆRONEA

VOLUME III

ARISTIDES	<i>see</i> VOL. II.	} <i>compared</i> PAGE 40
MARCUS CATO	PAGE 1	
PHILOPŒMEN	„ 47	} <i>compared</i> „ 107
T. Q. FLAMINIUS	„ 76	
PYRRUS	„ 110	
CAIUS MARIUS	„ 163	
LYSANDER	„ 224	} <i>compared</i> „ 320
SYLLA	„ 265	
CIMON	„ 326	} <i>compared</i> „ 426
LUCULLUS	„ 357	

730264



THE LIFE OF MARCUS CATO THE CENSOR



MARCUS CATO and his auncesters, were (as they say) of the city of Thusculum : but before he went unto the warres, and delt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and lived in the contry of the Sabynes, upon certeine land his father left him. And though to many, his auncesters were known to have bene obscure : yet he him

self did highly commende his father Marcus, by bearing his name, and saying he was a souldier, and had served valliantly in the fieelde. And he telleth also of an other Cato that was his great grandfather, who for his valliant service had bene oft rewarded of the generals, with such honorable giftes, as the Romaines did use to geve unto them, that had done some famous act in any battell : and how that he havinge lost five horses of service in the warres, the value of the same were restored to him againe in money of the common treasure, bicause he had shewed himselfe trusty and valliant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speeche at Rome to call them upstartes, that were no gentlemen borne, but did rise by vertue : it fortunéd Cato to be called one of them. And for his parte, he did confesse it, that he was of the first of the house that ever had honor, and office of state : but by reason of the noble actes and good service of his auncestors, he maintained he was very auncient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, Priscus : but afterwarde by reason of his great wisdom and experience,

Cato called
an upstart.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS CATO he was surnamed Cato, because the Romaines call a wise man, and him that hath seene much, Cato. He was somewhat geven to be redde faced, and had a payer of staring eyes in his heade, as this man telleth us, that for ill will wrote these verses of him after his death :

Pluto (the god) which rules the furies infernall,
will not receive the damned ghost, of Porcius in his hall :
his saucy coppered nose, and fiery staring eyes,
his common slaunderous tales, which he did in this world devise,
made Pluto stande in dread that he would brawle in hell,
although his bones were drie and dead, on earth he was so fell.

Catoesmaners and life. Furthermore, touchinge the disposition of his body, he was marvelous stronge and lusty, and all bicause he did use to labor and toyle even from his youth, and to live sparingly, as one that was ever brought up in the warres from his youth : so that he was of a very good constitucion, both for strength of body, as for health also. As for utterance, he esteemed it as a seconde body, and most necessarie gift, not onely to make men honest, but also as a thinge very requisite for a man that should beare sway and authoritie in the common wealth. He practised to speake well in litle villages neere home, whether he went many times to plead mennes causes in courtes judiciall, that would retaine him of counsell : so as in shorte time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in processe of time became an excellent orator.

Cato an excellent orator.

After he was thus well knowen, they that were familiar with him, began to perceive a grave manner and behaviour in his life, and a certaine noble minde in him, worthie to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not onely refuse to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he mainteined : but furthermore made no reckening of the estimacion he wanne by that manner and practise, as though that was not the only marke he shot at. But his desire reached further, rather to winne him selfe fame by service in the warres, and by valliant fightinge with his enemy : then with such a quiet and pleasing manner of life. Insomuch as when he was but a younge striplinge in maner, he had many cuttes upon his brest, which he had received in diverse

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

battells and encounters against the enemies. For he him selfe wryteth, that he was but seventeene yeare old, when he went first unto the warres, which was about the time of Hanniballs chiefe prosperitie, when he spoyled and destroyed all Italie. So when he came to fight, he would strike lustely, and never sturre foote nor geve backe, and woulde looke cruelly uppon his enemie, and threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voyce, which he used him selfe, and wisely taught other also to use the like: For such countenaunces, sayed he, many times doe feare the enemies more, then the sworde ye offer them. When he went any journey, he ever marched a foote, and caried his armour apon his backe, and had a man waytinge on him that caried his vittells with him, with whom he was never angry (as they say) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or supper, but did helpe to dresse it him selfe for the most parte, if he had any leasure, when he had done the duety of a private souldier in fortifying the campe, or such other nedefull businesse. All the while he was abroade in service in the warres, he never drancke other then cleane water, unlesse it were when he founde he was not well, and then he woulde take a litle vineger: but if he saw he were weake, he woulde then drinke a litle wine. Now it fortunated, that Manius Curius the Romaine, who had triumphed thrise, hadde a prety house and lande hard by Cato, where he kept in times past, which Cato for a walke would visite oft. And he considering how litle lande he had to his house, and what a litle house he had withall, and how poorely it was built, wondered with him selfe what maner of man Curius had bene, that having bene the greatest man of Rome in his time, and having subdued the mightiest nations and people of all Italie, and driven kinge Pyrrus also out of the same: yet him selfe with his owne handes did manure that litle patche of grounde, and dwel in so poore and small a farme. Whether notwithstanding, after his three triumphes, the Samnytes sent their Ambassadors to visite him, who founde him by the fyers side seething of perseneapes, and presented him a marvelous deale of golde from their state and communalty. But Curius returned them againe with their gold, and told them, that such as

MARCUS
CATO

Cato a souldier
at 17 yeares
of age.

A grimme
looke, geveth
terror to the
enemy.

This Manius
Curius over-
threw kinge
Pyrrus being
generall of the
Tarentines.
Cato the elder,
wondered at
the thriftines
of Manius
Curius.

The modera-
cion of Manius
Curius.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

were contented with that supper, had no nede of gold nor silver: and that for his parte, he thought it greater honor to commaunde them that had gold, then to have it him selfe. Cato remembring these thinges to him selfe, went home againe, and beganne to thinke upon his house, of his livinge, of his family and servauntes, and also of his expences: and to cut of all superfluous charges, and fell him selfe to labor with his owne handes, more then ever he hadde done before. Furthermore, when Fabius Maximus tooke the city of Tarentum againe, Cato served under him being very younge, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with Nearchus the Pythagorian philosopher, in whom he tooke marvelous delight to heare him talke of Philosophy. Which Nearchus held the same opinion of pleasure, that Plato did, by callinge it the sweete pyouson and chiefest bayte to allure men to ill: and saying that the body was the first plague unto the soule, and that her onely health, remedy, and purgation stode upon rules of reason, good examples and contemplations, that drive sinful thoughts and carnall pleasures of the body, farre of from her. Cato moreover gave him selfe much to sobriety and temperaunce, and framed him selfe to be contented with litle. They say he fell in his very olde age to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited somewhat by Thucydides, but much more by Demosthenes, to frame his matter, and also to be eloquent. Which plainly appeareth, in all his bookes and writings, full of authorities, examples, and stories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his sentences and moralls, his adages and quicke answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a noble man of Rome at that time, one of great authoritie, and a deepe wise man besides, who coulde easily discerne buddes of vertue sproutinge out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honorable disposition to helpe forwarde, and to advaunce such. His name was Valerius Flaccus, a neere neighbour unto Cato, who was informed by his servauntes of Catoes straunge life, how he would be doing in his ground with his owne hands: and how he would be gone every day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleade mens

Nearchus the
Pythagorian
Philosopher,
Catoes schole-
maister.

Platoes
opinion of
pleasure.

Cato learned
the Greeke
tongue in his
olde age.

Cato profited
most by
Demosthenes
eloquence.

Valerius Flac-
cus a grave
wise man.

Catoes
straunge life.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

causes that prayed his counsaill, and that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but cast a litle coate on his shoulders, and being sommer he would go out bare, naked to the wast, to worke in his ground among his servaunts and other worke-men: and would besides, sit and eate with them together at one borde, and drinke as they did. Moreover, they told him also a world of such maners and facions which he used, that shewed [him] to be a marvelous plaine man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they tolde him what notable wise sayings and grave sentences they heard him speake. Valerius Flaccus hearing this reporte of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with Cato, and perceiving he was of a very good nature, and wel given, and that he was a good griffe to be set in a better ground: he perswaded him to come to Rome, and to practise there in the assembly of the people, in the common causes and affayres of the common weale. Cato followed his counsaill, who having bene no long practiser among them, did grow straight into great estimacion, and wanne him many frends, by reason of the causes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken also, by meanes of the speciall favour and countenance Valerius Flaccus gave him. For first of all, by voyce of the people he was chosen Tribune of the souldiers, (to say, colonell of a thousand footemen) and afterwards was made treasurer: and so went forwards, and grew to so great credit and authority, as he became Valerius Flaccus companion in the chiefest offices of state, being chosen Consul with him, and then Censor. But to begin withal, Cato made choise of Quintus Fabius Maximus, above all the Senators of Rome, and gave him selfe to follow him altogether: and not so much for the credit and estimacion Fabius Maximus was of, (who therein exceded all the Romanes of that time) as for the modesty and discrete government he sawe in him, whome he determined to followe, as a worthy myrror and example. At which time Cato passed not for the malice and evil will of Scipio the great, who did strive at that present being but a young man, with the authoritie and great-

MARCUS
CATO

Cato goeth
to Rome by
Valerius
Flaccus
perswasion.

Cato chosen
*Tribunus
militum.*

Catoes offices
in the Senate.

Cato followed
Fabius
Maximus.

Catoes emu-
lacion with
Scipio the
great.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

Cato beinge
treasurer
under Scipio
Afrikan, re-
proved him
for his wast-
full expences.

Cato accuseth
Scipio of riot.

Catoes elo-
quence, his
continent life,
and extreme
paynes.

nesse of Fabius Maximus, as one that seemed to envy his risinge and greatnesse. For Cato beinge sent treasurer with Scipio, when he undertooke the jorney into Afrike, and perceivinge Scipioes bountifull nature and disposition to large gifts without meane to the souldiers: he tolde him plainly one day, that he did not so much hurt the common wealth in wasting their treasure, as he did great harme in chaunging the auncient maner of their auncesters: who used their souldiers to be contented with litle, but he taught them to spende their superfluous money (all necessaries provided for) in vaine toyes and trifles, to serve their pleasure. Scipio made him aunswere, he woulde have no treasurer shoulde controll him in that sorte, nor that should looke so narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the wars, with full sayles as it were, and that he woulde (and did also determine to) make the state privie to all his doinges, but not to the money he spent. Cato hearing this aunswer, returned with spede out of Sicile unto Rome, crying out with Fabius Maximus in open Senate, that Scipio spent infinitely, and that he tended playes, commedies, and wrestlinges, as if he had not bene sent to make warres, invasions, and attemptes upon their enemies. Upon this complaint the Senate appointed certeine Tribunes of the people, to goe and see if their informations were true: and finding them so, that they should bring him backe againe to Rome. But Scipio shewed farre otherwise to the commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparaunt victorie, through the necessary preparacion and provision he had made for the warres: and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great businesse, and was at any leasure, he would be privately mery with his frends: and though he was liberall to his souldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duety and charge in any matter of importance. So Scipio tooke shippinge, and sayled towards Afrike, whether he was sent to make warre. Now to returne to Cato. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, so that diverse called him the Demosthenes of Rome: howbeit the maner of his life was in more estimacion, then his eloquence. For all the youth of Rome did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

commendacion of wordes, and one envied an other which of them should come nearest: but few of them woulde fyle their handes with any labor as their forefathers did, and make a light supper and dinner, without fire or provision, or woulde be content with a meane gowne, and a poore lodging, and finally woulde thinke it more honorable to defye fantasies and pleasures, then to have and enjoy them. Bicause the state was waxen now of such power and wealth, as it could no more retaine the auncient discipline, and former austeritie and straitnes of life it used: but by reason of the largenes of their dominion and seigniory, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their subjects, it was even forced to receive a medley of sundry contry facions, examples, and maners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at Catoes vertue, when they sawe other straight wearyed with paines and labor, tenderly brought up like pulers: and Cato on the other side never overcommen, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coveted honor, nor in his age also when he was gray headed and balde, after his Consullship and triumphe, but like a conqueror that had gotten the maistry, he would never geve over labor even unto his dying day. For he writeth him selfe, that there never came gowne on his backe that cost him above a hundred pence, and that his hyndes and worke men alwayes dronke no worse wine, when he was Consull and generall of the armie, then he did him selfe: and that his cater never bestowed in meate for his supper, above thirty Asses of Romaine money, and yet he sayed it was, bicause he might be the stronger, and apter to do service in the warres for his contry and the common wealth. He sayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his frends that dyed, he had a peece of tapestry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the babilonian border, and he caused it straight to be solde: and that of all his houses he had abroade in the contry, he had not one wall plastered, nor rough cast. Moreover he would say, he never bought bondeman or slave dearer, then a thowsande five hundred pence, as one that sought not for fine made men, and goodly personages, but strong fellowes

MARCUS
CATO

Catoes wonderfull thrift.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

that could away with paynes, as carters, horsekeepers, neat-herdes, and such like: and againe he woulde sell them when they were olde, because he would not keepe them when they coulde do no service. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a manne bought any thinge deere, that was for litle purpose: yea, though he gave but a farthing for it, he thought it to much to bestow so litle, for that which needed not. He would have men purchase houses, that hadde more store of errable lande and pasture, then of fine orteyardes or gardeins. Some saye, he didde thus, for very miserie and covetousnesse: other thinke, and tooke it that he lived so sparingely, to move others by his example to cutte of all superfluitie and wast. Neverthelesse, to sell slaves in that sorte, or to turne them out of dores when you have hadde the service of all their youth, and that they are growen olde, as you use brute beastes that have served whilst they may for age: me thinkes that must needes proceede of to seveare and greedie nature, that hath no lenger regarde or consideracion of humanitie, then whilst one is able to doe an other good. For we see, gentlenesse goeth further then justice. For nature teacheth us to use justice onely unto menne, but gentlenesse sometimes is shewed unto brute beastes: and that commeth from the very fountaine and springe of all curtesie and humanitie, which shoulde never drye up in any manne livinge. For to saye truely, to keepe cast horses spoyled in our service, and dogges also not onely when they are whelpes, but when they be olde: be even tokens of love and kindnesse. As the Athenians made a lawe, when they builded their temple called Hecatompodon: that they shoulde suffer the moyles and mulettes that did service in their cariages about the buildinge of the same, to graze everie where, without lette or trouble of any manne. And they say, there was one of those moyles thus turned at libertie, that came of her selfe to the place to labour, goinge before all the other draught beastes, that drewe uppe cartes loden towards the castell, and kept them companie, as though she seemed to encorage the rest to drawe: which the people liked so well in the poore beast, that they appointed she shoulde be kept whilst she lived, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this

Catoes
sharpnes.

Gentlenesse
goeth further
then justice.

Gentlenesse
to be used
unto brute
beastes.

A gentle lawe
made by the
Athenians in
favor of their
laboringe
moyles.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

present are the graves of Cimons mares to be seene, that wanne him thrise together the game of the horse race at the games Olympian, and they are harde by the grave of Cimon him selfe. We heare of diverse also that hadde buried their dogges they brought uppe in their house, or that wayted on them: as amonge other olde Xanthippus buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit till this day. For when the people of Athens did forsake their citie at the comminge downe of Xerxes the kinge, this dogge followed his master, swimminge in the sea by his gallyes side, from the firme lande, unto the Ile of Salamina. And there is no reason, to use livinge and sencible thinges, as we woulde use an olde shooe or a ragge: to cast it out upon the dongehill when we have worne it, and can serve us no longer. For if it were for no respect els, but to use us alwayes to humanitie: we must ever showe our selves kinde and gentle, even in such small poyntes of pitie. And as for me, I coulde never finde in my hart to sell my drawght Oxe that hadde plowed my lande a longe time, bicause he coulde plowe no longer for age: and much lesse my slave to sell him for a litle money, out of the contrie where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his olde trade of life wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shalbe as unprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller. But Cato on the other side gloried, that he left his horse in Spayne he had served on in the warres duringe his Consulship, bicause he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing of him home by sea into Italic. Now a question might be made of this, and probable reason of either side, whether this was noblenes, or a niggardlines in him: but otherwise to say truely, he was a man of a wonderful abstinence. For when he was general of the army, he never tooke allowance but after three bushells wheat a moneth of the common wealth, for him selfe and his whole family: and but a bushel and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horse and other beastes for his cariage. On a time when he was Prætor, the government of the Ile of Sardinia fell to his lot. And where the other Prætors before him hadde put the contry to exceeding great charge, to

MARCUS
CATO

Xanthippus buried his dogge, that swame by his gallyes side from Athens to Salamina, and dyed when he landed.

Catoes
straight life.

Cato, Prætor
in Sardinia.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

furnish them with tents, bedding, clothes, and such like stuffe, and burdened them also with a marvelous traine of servaunts and their frends that waited on them, putting them to great expence of feasting and bancketing of them: Cato in contrary maner brought downe all that excesse and superfluitie, unto a marvelous neere and uncredible savinge. For when he went to visite the cities, he came a foote to them, and did not put them to a penny charge for him selfe: and had onely one officer or bailife of the state, that waited on him, and caried his gowne and a cuppe with him, to offer up wine to the goddes in his sacrifices. But though he came thus simply to the subjects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed him selfe severe and bitter to them in matters concerning justice: and spared no man, in any commaundement or service for the state and common wealth. For he was therein so precise, that he woulde not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the Sardinians under his government, both to love and feare the Empire of Rome, more then ever they did before. For his grace both in speakinge and wrytinge did rightly shewe him selfe: bicause it was pleasaunt, and yet grave: sweete and fearfull: mery and seveare: sententious, and yet familiar: such as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared, as Plato sayed, unto Socrates: who at the first sight seemed a plaine simple manne to them that knew him not outwardly, or else a pleasant tawnter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him throughly, they sawe he was full of grave sentences, goodly examples, and wise perswasions, that he coulde make men water their plantes that hearde him, and leade them as he would by the care. Therefore I can not see any reason that moves men to saye, Cato hadde Lysias grace and utteraunce. Notwithstandinge, lette us referre it to their judgements that make profession to discerne orators graces and styles: for my parte I shall content my selfe to write at this present, onely certaine of his notable sayinges and sentences, perswadinge my selfe that mennes manners are better discerned by their wordes, then by their lookes, and so doe many thinke. On a time he seeking to disswade the people of Rome, which woulde

Catoes neere-
nes in his
circuite.

Catoes
severity.

Catoes speech
and writing.

The praise
of Socrates.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

needs make a thankfull distribution of corne unto everie citizen, to no purpose: beganne to make an oration with this preface: It is a harde thinge (my Lordes of Rome) to bringe the bellie by perswasion to reason, that hath no cares. And an other time, reprovinge the ill government of the citie of Rome, he sayed: it was a hard thinge to keepe uppe that state, where a litle fishe was solde dearer then an Oxe. He sayed also that the Romaines were like a flocke of sheepe. For sayeth he, as every weather when he is alone, doth not obey the sheepeheard, but when they are all together they one followe an other for love of the foremost: even so are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be ledde by the noses by such, whose counsell not a man alone of you woulde use in any private cause of your owne. And talkinge an other time of the authoritie the women of Rome had over their husbandes. He sayed: Other men commaunde their wives, and we commaunde men, and our wives commaund us. But this last of all, he borrowed of Themistocles pleasaunt sayings. For his sonne making him do many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day: The Athenians commaund al Greece, I commaunde the Athenians, you commaunde me, and your sonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him use the libertie he hath with some better discretion, foole and asse as he is, sithence he can doe more by that power and authority, then all the Greecians besides. He sayed also that the people of Rome did not onely delight in diverse sortes of purple, but likewise in diverse sortes of exercises. For sayd he, as diverse commonly dye that cullour they see best esteemed, and is most pleasaunt to the eye: even so the lusty youthes of Rome doe frame them selves to such exercise, as they see your selves most like, and best esteme. He continually advised the Romaines, that if their power and greatnes came by their vertue and temperance, they should take hede they became no chaungelings, nor waxe worse: and if they came to that greatnes by vice and violence, that then they should change to better, for by that meanes he knew very wel they had attained to great honor and dignity. Again he told them, that such as sued ambitiously to beare office in the common

MARCUS

CATO

Catoes
sayinges.

Themistocles
sayng.

Honor
nourisheth
arte.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

Cato, against
offices of
perpetuity.

wealth, and were common suters for them: did seme to be afraid to lose their way, and therefore would be sure to have ushers and sergeants before them, to show them the way, least they should lose themselves in the city. He did reprove them also, that often chose one man, to continew one office still: for it seemeth, saith he, either that you passe not much for your officers, or that you have not many choisemen you thinke worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that ledde a marvelous wicked and an abominable life, of whome he was wont to say, that when his mother prayed unto the goddes that she might leave her sonne behinde her, she did not thinke to pray, but to curse: meaninge to have him live for a plague to the world. And to an other also that had unthriftely solde his lands which his father had left him, lying upon the sea side: he pointed unto them with his finger, and made as though he wondered how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger then the sea. For that which the sea hardly consumeth, and eateth into, by litle and litle a long time: he had consumed it all at a clappe. An other time when kinge Eumenes was come to Rome, the Senate entertained him marvelous honorably, and the noblest citizens did strive, envying one an other, who shoulde welcome him best. But Cato in contrary maner shewed plainly, that he did suspect all this feastinge and entertainment, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar frendes tolde him, I marvell why you flie from king Eumenes companie, that is so good a Prince, and loves the Romaines so well. Yea, sayed he, let it be so, but for all that, a king is no better then a ravening beast that lives of the pray: neither was there ever any kinge so happie, that deserved to be compared to Epaminondas, to Pericles, to Themistocles, nor to Manius Curius, or to Hamylcar, surnamed Barca. They say his enemies did malice him, bicause he used commonly to rise before day, and did forget his owne busines to folow matters of state. And he affirmed, that he had rather loose the rewarde of his well doing, then not to be punished for doing of evill: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorauntly, but not with him selfe. The Romaines having chosen on a time

Cato woulde
punish him
selfe for
offending.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

three Ambassadors to send into the realme of Bithynia, one of them having the gowte in his feete, the other his heade full of cuttes and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: Cato laughinge, sayd the Romaines sent an Ambassade that had neither feete, heade, nor hart. Scipio sued once to Cato at Polybius request, about those that were banished from Achaia. The matter was argued afterwardes in the Senate, and there fell out divers opinions about it. Some would have had them restored to their contrie and goodes againe: other were wholly against it. So Cato risinge up at the last, sayed unto them: It seemes we have litle else to do, when we stand beating of our braines all day, disputing about these olde Greecians, whether the Romaines, or the Achaians, shall bury them. In the end, the Senate tooke order, they shoulde be restored unto their contrie againe. Whereuppon Polybius thought to make petition againe unto the Senate, that the banished men whom they hadde restored by their order, might enjoy their former estates and honors in Achaia, they had at the time of their banishment: but before he would move the sute unto the Senate, he woulde feele Catoes opinion first, what he thought of it. Who aunswered him, smyling: Me thinkes Polybius thou art like Ulysses, that when he had scaped out of Cyclops cave the gyant, he would nedes go thither againe, to fetch his hatte and girdell he had left behinde him there. He sayd also, that wise men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wise men. For wise men sayd he, do see the faults fooles commit, and can wisely avoide them: but fooles never study to follow the example of wise mens doings. He sayd also that he ever liked young men better that blushed, then those that looked ever whitely: and that he woulde not have him for a souldier, that wagges his hande as he goeth, removes his feete when he fighteth, and rowteth and snorteth lowder in his sleepe, then when he crieth out to his enemy. An other time when he woulde taunt a marvelous fatte man: See, sayed he, what good can such a body do to the common wealth, that from his chinne to his coddepeece is nothing but belly? And to an other man that was geven to pleasure, and desired to be great with him: My

MARCUS
CATO

That is to say understand ing. For they judged that the seate of reason was placed in the hart, following Aristotles opinion.

Blushinge in youngemen is a better token then palenes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

A lover liveth
in an other
body.

frende, sayed Cato, as refusinge his acquaintance : I can not live with him that hath better judgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his hart. This was also his sayinge, that the soule of a lover, lived in an others body : and that in all his life time he repented him of three thinges. The first was, if that he ever tolde secret to any woman : the seconde, that ever he went by water, when he might have gone by lande : the thirde, that he had bene Idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious olde man, he would say, to reprove him : O gray bearde, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not besides with your vice. And to a seditious Tribune of the people that was suspected to be a poysoner, and would needes passe some wicked law by voyce of the people, he woulde say : O young man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drinke the drugges thou gevest, or to receive the lawes thou offerest. An other time, being reviled by one that ledde a lewde, and naughty life : Go thy way, sayd he, I am no man to scolde with thee. For thou art so used to revile, and to be reviled, that it is not daynty to thee : But for my selfe, I never use to heare scolding, and much lesse delite to scolde. These be his wise sayinges we finde written of him, whereby we may the easilier conjecture his maners and nature. Now, when he was chosen Consull with his frend Valerius Flaccus, the government of Spayne fell to his lott, that is on this side of the river of Bætis. So, Cato havinge subdued many people by force of armes, and wonne others also by frendly meanes : sodainly there came a marvelous great army of the barbarous people against him, and had environned him so, as he was in marvelous daunger, either shamefully to be taken prisoner, or to be slaine in the fielde. Wherefore, he sent presently unto the Celtiberians, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours unto the marches where he was. These Celtiberians did aske him two hundred talentes to come and help him : but the Romaines that were about him, coulde not abide to hyer the barbarous people to defende them. Then Cato tolde them straight, there was no hurt in it, nor any dishonor unto them. For sayed he, if the fielde be ours, then we shall pay their wages we promised, with the

Cato, and
Valerius Flac-
cus Consuls.

Catoes doings
in Spayne.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

spoyle and money of our enemies : and if we loose it, then our selves and they lye by it, beinge left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the ende he wanne the battel, after a sore conflict, and after that time he hadde marvelous good fortune. For Polybius wryteth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this side the river of Bætis, were by his commaundement rased all in one day, which were many, and full of good souldiers. Him selfe wryteth, that he tooke moe cities in Spayne, then he remained there dayes : and it is no vaine boast, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of them. Now, though the souldiers under him had gotten well in this journey, and were riche, yet he caused a pounce weight of silver to be given to every souldier besides : sayinge, he liked it better that many should returne home with silver in their purses, then a few of them with golde only. But for him selfe, he affirmed : that of all the spoyle gotten of the enemies, he never had any thinge, savinge that which he tooke in meate and drinke. And yet, sayth he, I speake it not to reprove them that grow riche by such spoiles : but because I woulde contende in vertue rather with the best, then in money with the richest, or in covetousnes with the most vertuous. For, not only he him selfe was cleare from bribes and extorcion, but his officers also under him kept the same course. In this Spanish journey, he had five of his servauntes with him, whereof one of them called Pauus, bought three younge boyes that were taken in the warres, when the spoile was solde to them that would geve most. So Cato knew it. But Pauus beinge afrayed to come neere his maister, hong him selfe : and then Cato solde the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treasury chestes of savinge at Rome. Now while Cato was in Spayne, Scipio the great that was his enemy, and sought to hinder the course of his prosperitie, and to have the honor of conqueringe all the rest of Spayne : he made all the frendes he coulde to the people, to be chosen in Catoes place. He was no sooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible spede he coulde to be gone, that he might make Catoes authority cease the sooner. Cato hearinge of his hasty comminge, tooke only

MARCUS
CATO

Catoes abstinence, from spoyle and bribery.

Discorde betwext Cato and Scipio.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

Cato over-
came the
Lacetanians.

five ensignes of footemen, and five hundred horsemen to attende upon him home: with the which, in his jorney homeward, he overcame a people in Spayne called the Lacetanians, and tooke sixe hundred traytors also that were fled from the Romaines campe to their enemies, and did put to death every mothers childe of them. Scipio storming at that, sayd Cato did him wrong. But Cato to mocke him finely, sayed: it was the right way to bringe Rome to flourish, when noble borne citizens would not suffer meane borne men, and upstarts as him selfe was, to go before them in honor: and on the other side when meane borne men would contende in vertue, with those that were of noblest race, and farre above them in calling. For all that, when Cato came to Rome, the Senate commaunded that nothing shoulde be chaunged nor altered otherwise, then Cato had appointed it, whilst he was in his office. So that the government for which Scipio made such earnest sute in Spayne, was a greater disgrace unto him, then it was unto Cato: bicause he passed al his time and office in peace, having no occasion offered him to doe any notable service worthy memory. Furthermore, Cato after he had bene Consul, and hadde graunted to him the honor to triumphe: did not as many others doe, that seeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honor and dignity. Who, when they have bene called to the highest offices of state, as to be Consulls, and have also graunted them the honor to triumphe: do then leave to deale any more in matters of state, and dispose them selves to live merely and quietly at home, and not to trouble them selves any more. Now Cato, farre otherwise behaved him selfe. For he would never leave to exercise vertue, but beganne a freshe, as if he had bene but a young novesse in the world, and as one greedy of honor and reputacion, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleasure his frends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their causes for them that required his counsell, and go with his frendes also into the warres. As he went with Tiberius Sempronius the Consul, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conquest of the contry of Thrace, and unto the provinces adjoyning to the river of Danubye

Catoes actes
after his Con-
sullshippe and
triumphe.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

apon those marches. After that, he was in Greece also, Collonell of a thowsande footemen, under Manius Aquilius, against king Antiochus surnamed the great, who made the Romaines as much afrayed of him, as ever they were of enemy but Hanniball. For, when he had conquered all the regions and provinces of Asia, which Seleucus Nicanor enjoyed before, and had subdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was so proude harted, as he would nedes have wars with the Romaines, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some honest show and pretence of warres, saying: it was to set the Grecians at liberty, who had no cause thereof, considering they lived after their owne lawes, and were but lately delivered from the bondage of kinge Philip, and of the Macedonians, through the goodnessse of the Romaines. Notwithstandinge, he came out of Asia into Greece with a marvelous great army, and all Greece was straight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, bicause of the great promises and large hopes the governours of diverse cities (whome the kinge had wonne and corrupted with money) did make unto them. Whereupon Manius dispatched Ambassadors unto the cities, and sent Titus Quintius Flaminius amonge others, who kept the greatest parte of the people from rebellinge (that were easily drawn to geve eare to this innovation) as we have expressed more amply in his life: and Cato beinge sent Ambassador also, perswaded the Corinthians, those of Patras, and the Ægians, and made them sticke still to the Romaines, and continued a long time at Athens. Some say they finde an oration of his wrytten in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the Athenians, in commendacion of their auncesters: wherein he sayd, he tooke great pleasure to see Athens, for the beauty and statelinesse of the city. But this is false. For he spake unto the Athenians by an interpreter, though he coulde have uttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had bene disposed: but he did like the lawes and customes of his owne contrie, and the Romaine tongue so well, that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mocke Posthumius Albinus, who wrote an history in the Greeke tongue, praying the

MARCUS
CATO

The power of
Antiochus
the great.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS

CATO

Cato mocked
Posthumius
Albinus a
Romaine,
for writing
a story in
the Greeke
tongue.

Kinge Antio-
chus army.

Catoes doings
against king
Antiochus.

readers in his preface to beare with him, if they founde any imperfection in the tongue: Mary, sayd Cato, he had deserved pardon in deede, if he hadde bene forced to have wrytten his story in the Greeke tonge, by order of the states of Greece, called the counsel of the Amphictyons. They say the Athenians wondered to heare his redy tongue. For what he had uttered quickly in few words unto the interpreter: the interpreter was driven to deliver them againe with great circumstances, and many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the Grecians words lay all in their lippes, and the Romaines wordes in their heades. Now kinge Antiochus kept all the straightes and narrow passages of the mountaines called Thermopyles, (beinge the ordinary way and entry into Greece) and had fortified them as well with his army that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as also with walles and trenches he had made by hande, besides the naturall strength and fortification of the mount it selfe in sundry places: and so he determined to remaine there, trusting to his owne strength and fortifications aforesayed, and to turne the force of the warres some other way. The Romaines also, they dispayred utterly they should be able any way to charge him before. But Cato remembringe with him selfe the compasse the Persians hadde fetched about before time likewise to enter into Greece: he departed one night from the campe with parte of the army: to prove if he could finde the very compasse about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed up the mountaine, their guide that was one of the prisoners taken in the contrie, lost his way, and made them wander up and downe in marvelous steepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore souldiers were in marvelous ill taking. Cato seeing the daunger they were brought into by this lewde guide, commaunded all his souldiers not to sturre a foote from thence, and to tary him there: and in the meane time he went him selfe alone, and Lucius Manlius with him (a lustie man, and nimble to climbe upon the rockes) and so went forwarde at adventure, takinge extream and incredible paine, and in as much daunger of his life, grubbing all night in the darke without moone light, through wilde Olyve trees, and high

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

rockes (that let them they could not see before them, neither could tell whether they went) untill they stumbled at the length uppon a litle pathe way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they set uppe certeine markes and tokens, uppon the highest toppes of the rockes they could choose, by view of eye to be discerned furthest of uppon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe againe to fetch the souldiers, whom they led towardes their markes they had set up: untill at the length they founde their pathe waye againe, where they putte their souldiers in order to marche. Now they went not farre in this pathe they founde, but the way failed them straight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worse case then before, and in greater feare, not knowinge they were so neere their enemies, as in deede they were. The day began to breake a litle, and one of them that marched forrest, thought he hearde a noyse, and that he saw the Greekes campe at the foote of the rockes, and certeine souldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon Cato made them stay, and willed only the Firmanians to come unto him, and none but them, because he had founde them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commaundement. They were with him at a trise to know his pleasure: so Cato said unto them: My fellowes, I must have some of our enemies taken prisoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that passage, what number they be, what order they keepe, howe they are camped and armed, and after what sorte they determine to fight with us. The waye to worke this feate, standeth upon swiftnes, and hardines to runne upon them sodainely, as Lyons doe, which beinge naked feare not to runne into the midst of any hearde of fearfull beastes. He had no sooner spoken these wordes, but the Firmanian souldiers beganne to runne downe the mountaine, as they were, upon those that kept the watch: and so setting upon them, they beinge out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man prisoner. When they had him, they straight brought him unto Cato, who by othe of the prisoner was advertised, howe that the strength

MARCUS
CATO

Mount Calli-
dromus.

Catoes ora-
tion to his
souldiers.

The boldenes
and valliant
attempt of
Catoes
souldiers.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS

CATO

Cato advertised of the strength of king Antiochus campe.

Cato tooke the straight of Thermopyles.

King Antiochus hurt in the face with a stone.

Catoes victory of king Antiochus.

Cato would praise his owne doings.

of their enemies armie was lodged about the persone of the kinge, within the straight and valley of the said mountaine: and that the souldiers they saw, were sixe hundred Ætoliens, all brave souldiers, whome they had chosen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes over king Antiochus campe. When Cato had heard him, making small accompt of the matter, as well for their small number, as also for the ill order they kept: he made the trompets sounde straight, and his souldiers to marche in battell with great cries, him selfe being the foremost man of all his troupe, with a sworde drawn in his hand. But when the Ætoliens saw them coming downe the rockes towards them, they beganne to flie for life unto their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all disorder. Now Manlius at the same present also, gave an assault unto the walles and fortifications the king had made, overthwart the vallies and straightes of the mountaines: at which assault, king Antiochus selfe had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake some of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for very paine and anguish he felt, he turned his horse backe, and got him behinde the prease. And then there were none of his armie that made any more resistance, or that coulede abide the fiercenesse of the Romaines. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, bicause it was impossible for them to scatter and straggle, beinge holden in with high rockes on the one side of them, and with bogges and deepe marisses on the other side, which they must needes fall into if their feete slipped, or were thrust forward by any: yet they fell one upon an other in the straightes, and ranne so in heapes together, that they cast themselves away, for feare of the Romaines swordes that lighted upon them in every corner. And there Marcus Cato, that never made ceremony or nisenes to praise him selfe openly, nor reckened it any shame to do it: did take a present occasion for it, as falleth out upon all victory and famous exploytes. And so did set it out with all the ostentacion and brave wordes he could geve. For he wrote with his owne handes, that such as saw him chase and lay upon his flying enemies that day, were driven to say, that Cato was not bound to the Romaines, but the Romaines bound unto Cato. And then Manius the Consull

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

selfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced Cato a great while, that was also hotte with chasinge of the enemy: and spake alowde with great joy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of Rome could recompence Cato for his valliant service that day. After this battell, the Consul Manius sent Cato to Rome, to be the messenger him selfe to reporte the newes of the victory. So he embarked incontinently, and had such a fayer winde, that he passed over the sea to Brindes without any daunger, and went from thence unto Tarentum in one day, and from Tarentum in foure dayes more to Rome. And so he came to Rome in five dayes after his landing in Italie, and made such speede, that him selfe was in deede the first messenger that brought newes of the victorie. Whereupon he filled all Rome with joy and sacrifices, and made the Romaines so proude, that ever after they thought them selves able men to conquer the worlde both by sea and lande. And these be all the martiall deedes and noble actes Cato did. But for his doings in civill policie and state, he semed to be of this opinion. That to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thinge an honest man and good governour of the common wealth coulde employ him selfe unto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be shorte, he did alwayes stirre up some accuser, as he did Petilius against Scipio. But Scipio, by reason of his nobility, the greatnes of his house, and the magnanimity of his minde, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all feare, they shoulde be able to condemne him. And so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he joyned with other that accused Lucius Scipio, his owne brother, and followed the matter so sore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the common wealth: who being unable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people revoked his condemnation. It is sayd that Cato comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a younge manne by the way that had overthrowen his adversary in sute, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame and foyle before the people: he imbraced him

MARCUS
CATO

Manius send
eth Cato to
Rome to cary
newes of the
victory.

Cato an ac-
cuser of men.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

Cato fifty
times accused.

The dignity
and office of
the Censor.

with a good countenance, and sayd unto him: Oh my sonne, sacrifices that good children should offer to their fathers soule, be not lammes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free him selfe from daunger, in administration of the common wealth. For if they could katch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost a fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of foure score yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thinge to geve up an accompt of his life before men in any other world, then in this among whom he lived. And yet was not this the last sute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was foure score and tenne yeares of age, he accused Servius Galba. And thus he lived as Nestor, in maner three ages of man, alwayes in continuall sute and action. For when he wrestled with the first Scipio the African about matters of state and common wealth: he went on unto the time of the seconde, that was adopted by the first Scipioes sonne, the naturall sonne of Paulus Æmylius, who overcame Perseus, king of Macedon. Furthermore, Marcus Cato, tenne yeares after his Consulship, sued to be Censor, which was in Rome the greatest office of dignity that any citizen of Rome could attaine unto: and as a man may say, the roome of all glory and honor of their common wealth. For among other authorities the Censor had power to examine mens lives and maners, and to punish every offendor. For the Romaines were of that minde, that they woulde not have men mary, gette children, live privately by them selves, and make feastes and banckettes at their pleasure, but that they should stande in feare to be reproved and inquiered of by the magistrate: and that it was not good to geve every body liberty, to doe what they would, following his owne lust and fansie. And they judging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other things that are openly done at none dayes, and in the sight of the worlde: used to choose two Censors, that were two Surveyors of maners, to see that every man behaved him selfe vertuously, and gave not them

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

selves to pleasure, nor to breake the lawes and customes of the common wealth. These officers were called in their tongue, *Censores*, and alwayes of custome one of them was a Patrician, and the other a commoner. These two had power and authority to disgrace a knight by taking away his horse, and to put any of the Senate, whom they saw live dissolutely and disorderly. It was their office also, to ceasse and rate every citizen accordinge to the estimacion of their goodes, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of every man, and to kepe bookes of them, besides many other prerogatives they had belonging to their office. Therefore when Cato came to sue for this office among other, the chiefest Senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very envy, thinkinge it shame and dishonor to the nobility, to suffer menne that were meanelly borne, and upstartes (the first of their house and name, that ever came to beare office in the state) to be called and preferred unto the highest offices of state in all their common wealth. Other also that were ill livers, and knowing that they had offended the lawes of their contry: they feared his cruelty to much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, having the law in his owne hands. So when they had consulted together about it, they did set up seven competitors against him, who flattered the people with many fayer wordes and promises, as though they had neede of magistrates to use them gently, and to doe things for to please them. But Cato contrariwise, shewing no countenance that he would use them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning those that had lived naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they must reforme their citie, and perswaded the people not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpest phisitions: and that him selfe was such a one as they needed, and among the Patricians Valerius Flaccus an other, in whose company he hoped (they two beinge chosen Censors) to do great good unto the common wealth, by burninge and cutting of (like Hydras heades) all vanity and voluptuous pleasures, that were crept in amongst them: and that he sawe well enough, how all the other suters sought the office by dishonest meanes, fearing such officers as they knew would deale justly and

MARCUS
CATO
How the
Censors were
chosen.

The Senators
and nobility
bent all
against Catoes
sute.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

uprightly. Then did the people of Rome shew them selves nobly minded, and worthy of noble governours. For they refused not the sowernesse or severity of Cato, but rejected these meale mouthed men, that seemed ready to please the people in all thinges: and thereupon chose Marcus Cato Censor, and Valerius Flaccus to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he hadde bene present officer, and no suter for the office, being in themselves to give it to whom they thought good. The first thing he did after he was stalled in his Censorship, was: that he named Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his frend and fellow Censor with him, prince of the Senate: and among many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate, he put Lucius Quintius Flaminius of the Senate, that had bene Consull seven yeares before, and was brother also unto Titus Quintius Flaminius that overcame Philip king of Macedon in battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Consull. But the cause why he put him of the Senate, was this: This Lucius Quintius caried ever with him a younge boy to the warres, whom he gave as good countenance and credit unto, as to any of his best familiar frendes he had about him. It fortunod on a time whilist Lucius Quintius was Consull and governour of a province, that he made a feast, and this boy being set at his table hard by him, as his maner was, he beganne to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was pretily mery: and soothing him, told him he loved him so dearely, that upon his departing from Rome, when the Swordeplaiers were ready to fight for life and death with unrebated swords to shew the people pastime, he came his way, and left the sight of that he never saw, that was very desirous to have seene a man killed. Then this Lucius Quintius, to make him see the like, sayed: Care not for the sight thou hast lost, boy, for I will let thee see as much. And when he had spoken these wordes, he commaunded a prisoner condemned to dye, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith done according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if he would straight see the man killed: Yea, sir, sayd the boy: and with that he bad the hangman strike of his head.

Cato chosen
Censor.

Catoes acts
in his censor-
ship.

Cato put
Lucius Quin-
tius Flaminius
of the Senate.

The cause
why Cato put
Quintius of
the Senate.

Lucius Quin-
tius Flaminius
wickednes
and cruelty.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Most wryters reporte this matter thus. And Cicero to confirme it also, wrote in his booke *de Senectute* that the same was wrytten in an oration Cato made before the people of Rome. Now Lucius Quintius beinge thus shamefully put of the Senate by Cato, his brother Titus beinge offended withall, coulde not tell what to doe, but besought the people they woulde commaunde Cato to declare the cause, why he brought such shame unto his house. Whereuppon Cato openly before the people, made recitall of all this feast. And when Lucius denied it, affirminge it was not so: Cato would have had him sworne before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But Lucius prayed them to pardon him, who sayed he woulde not sweare: Whereuppon the people judged straight that he deserved well that shame. So not longe after, certaine games beinge shewed in the Theater, Lucius came thither, and passinge beyonde the ordinary place that was appointed for those that had bene Consuls, he went to sit aloofe of amongst the multitude. The people tooke pity on him, and made such a do about him, as they forced him to rise, and to go sit among the other Senators that had bene Consuls: salving the best they could, the shame and dishonor happened unto so noble a house. Cato put out of the Senate also, one Manilius, who was in great towardnes to have bene made Consull the next yere following, only because he kissed his wife to lovingly in the day time, and before his daughter: and reproving him for it, he tolde him, his wife never kissed him, but when it thundered. So when he was disposed to be mery, he would say it was happy with him when Iupiter thundered. He tooke away Lucius Scipioes horse from him, that had triumphed for the victories he had won against the great king Antiochus: which wan him much ill wil, because it appeared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did beare Scipio the African, that was dead. But the most thing that greeved the people of all other extreamities he used, was his putting downe of all feastes and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly seene in it, it was impossible, because it was so common a thing, and every man was given so to it. Therefore Cato

MARCUS
CATO

Manilius put
of the Senate
for kissing his
wife before his
daughter.

Mery with
married men
when Iupiter
thundereth.

Banketing
and feastes
put downe
by Cato.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

to fetch it about indirectly, did praise every citizens goodes, and rated their apparell, their coches, their litters, their wives chaines and juells, and all other moveables and household stufte, that had cost above a thousand five hundred Drachmes a peece, at tenne times as much as they were worth: to the end that such as had bestowed their money in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were over valued at. Moreover he ordained for every thousand Asses that those trifling things were praised at, the owners of them should pay three thousand Asses to the common treasury: to the end that they who were greeved with this tax, and sawe other pay lesse subsidy (that were as much worth as them selves, by living without such toyes) might call home them selves againe, and lay a side such foolish bravery and finesse. Notwithstandinge, Cato was envied every way. First, of them that were contented to pay the tax imposed, rather then they would leave their vanity: and next, of them also, that would rather reforme them selves, then pay the tax. And some thinke that this law was devised rather to take away their goodes, then to let them to make shew of them: and they have a fonde opinion besides, that their riches is better scene in superfluous things, then in necessary. Whereat they say Aristotle the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his familiar frends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, and to make him graunt it the sooner, told him it was a thinge he might well spare, and did him no good: mary sayeth he, all the goodes I have, are in such toyes as do me no good. So this covetous desire we have to be rich, commeth of no necessary desire in nature, but is bred in us by a false opinion from the common sorte. Now, Cato caringe least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grewe to be more straight and severe. For he cut of the pipes and quilles private men had made to convey water into their houses and gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their common conduite heades,

Catoes coun-
sel for re-
forminge
excesse at
Rome.

Superfluous
things
reckened for
riches.

Scopas goodes
were all in
toyes, that
did him no
good.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and did plucke downe also mens porches that were made before their doores into the strete, and brought downe the prises of common workes in the city, and moreover raised the common farmes and customes of the city, as high as he could: all which things together made him greatly hated and envied of most men. Wherefore, Titus Flaminius, and certaine other beinge bent against him in open Senate, caused all Catoes covenantes and bargaines made, with the master worke man for repaying and mending of the common buildings and holy places, to be made voide, as things greatly prejudiciall to the common wealth. And they did also stirre up the boldest and rashest of the Tribunes of the people against him, because they shoulde accuse him unto the people, and make request he might be condemned in the summe of two talentes. They did marvelously hinder also the buildinge of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place under the Senate house: which pallace was finished notwithstanding, and called after his name, Basilica Porcia: as who would say, the pallace Porcius the Censor built. Howebeit it seemed the people of Rome did greatly like and commend his government in the Censorshippe. For they set up a statue of him in the temple of the goddesse of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumphe, but only ingraued this inscription word for worde, to this effect by translation: For the honor of Marcus Cato the Censor: because he reformed the discipline of the common wealth of Rome (that was farre out of order, and given to licentious life) by his wise preceptes, good maners, and holy institutions. In deede, before this image was set up for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were desirous of such thinges: saying, they did not consider how they bragged in founders, painters, and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for him selfe, the people did alwayes cary lively images of him in their hartes, meaninge the memory of his life and doings. When some wondered why diverse meane men and unknowen persones had images set up of them, and there were none of him: he gave them this aunswer: I had rather men should aske why

MARCUS
CATO

Basilica
Porcia built
by Cato.

Catoes image
set up in the
temple of the
goddesse of
health.

Honor
chaungeth
conditions.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS

CATO

No man should abide to be praised but for the common wealth.

Cato had no Image set up for him, then why he had any. In the ende, he would have no honest man abide to be praised, onles his praise turned to the benefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would most praise him selfe. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awry, and that men had gone about to reprove them: he woulde say they were not to be blamed, for they were no Catoes that did offende. And such as counterfeated to follow any of his doinges, and came shorte of his maner, he called them left handed Catoes. He would say, that in most daungerous times the Senate used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers on the sea do looke upon the master of the shippe in a storme: and that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put over matters of importance, untill he might come amonge them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other, as by him selfe. His authority was great in matters of state, for his wisdom, his eloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendacion, they praised him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, and a good saver for his profit: for he was never careles of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore me thinks I must nedes tell you by the way, some parte of his well doinge, to followe our declaration of him. First of all, he married a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both should make her proude and stoute enough: but yet he ever thought the nobler borne, would be the more ashamed of dishonesty, then the meaner borne: and therefore that they would be more obedient to their husbandes, in all honest maner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he sayd: that he that bet his wife or his child, did commit as great a sacriledge, as if he polluted or spoiled the holiest thinges of the world: and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good husband, then a good Senator. And therefore he thought nothinge more commendable in the life of olde Socrates, then his pacience, in using his wife well, that was such a shrewe, and his children that were so harebraine. After Catoes wife had brought him a sonne, he could not have so earnest busines in hande, if it had not touched the common wealth, but he would let

What Cato was at home in his house, and towardes his wife and children.

Cato judgeth the noble borne gentlewomen the best wives.

Socrates pacience commended bearinge with the shrewdnes of his wife.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

all alone, to go home to his house, about the time his wife did unswadell the younge boy to washe and shift him: for she gave it sucke with her owne brestes, and many times woulde let the slaves children sucke of her also, bicause they might have a naturall love towards her sonne, havinge sucked one milke, and bene brought up together. When his sonne was come to age of discretion, and that he was able to learne any thinge, Cato him selfe did teache him, notwithstanding he had a slave in his house called Chilo (a very honest man, and a good grammarian) who did also teach many other: but as he sayed him selfe, he did not like, a slave should rebuke his sonne, nor pull him by the eares, when paradventure he was not apt to take very sodainely that was taught him: neither would he have his sonne bounde to a slave for so great a matter as that, as to have his learning of him. Wherefore he him selfe taught him his grammer, the law, and to exercise his body, not only to throw a dart, to play at the sword, to vawt, to ride a horse, and to handle all sortes of weapons, but also to fight with fistes, to abide colde and heate, and to swimme over a swift runninge river. He sayed moreover, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with his owne hande, bicause his sonne might learne in his fathers house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doinges, should frame his life to excell them. He sayed also, that he tooke as great heede of speaking any fowle or uncomely wordes before his sonne, as he would have done if he had bene before the Vestall Nunnes. He never was in the whotte house with his sonne: for it was a common use with the Romaines at that time, that the sonnes in law did not bathe them selves with their fathers in law, but were ashamed to see one an other naked. But afterwardes they havinge learned of the Greekes to wash them selves naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe even with their wives. There lacked no towardlines, nor good disposition in Catoes sonne, to frame him selfe vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed him selfe willing to followe whatsoever his father had taught him. Howebeit he was such a weake pulinge, that he coulde not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his father was contented not to

MARCUS
CATO

Catoes wife
was nource
to her owne
childe.

Cato taught
his sonnes.

Chilo a
grammarian.

What exer-
cises Cato
brought up
his sonne in.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO
Catoes sonne
was valiant.

binde him to that straight and painfull life, which him selfe had kept. Yet he became valliant in the warres. For he fought marvelous stowtely in the battell, in which Perseus the kinge of Macedon was overthrown by Paulus Æmylius : where his sword being striken out of his hand with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweaty besides, he fell into a great fury, and prayed of his frendes about him to recover it. So they all together ranne upon the enemies in that place where his sword fell out of his hande, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being under such a heape of dead bodies and other weapons, as well Romaines as Macedonians, one lying on an other. Paulus Æmylius the Generall hearing of this act of his, did highly commende the younge man. And at this day there is a letter extant from Cato to his sonne, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the recoveringe of his sworde againe. Afterwardes, this Cato the younger married Tertia, one of Paulus Æmylius daughters, and sister unto Scipio the seconde, and so was matched in this noble house, not onely for his owne vertues sake, but for respect of his fathers dignity and authority : wherby the great care, paines, and study that Cato the father tooke in bringing up his sonne in vertue and learninge, was honorably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his sonne. He ever had a great number of young litle slaves which he bought, when any would sell their prisoners in the warres. He did choose them thus young, bicause they were apt yet to learne any thinge he would traine them unto, and that a man might breake them, like young coltes, or litle whelpes. But none of them all, how many soever he had, did ever goe to any mans house, but when him selfe or his wife did sende them. If any man asked them what Cato did : they aunswered, they coulde not tell. And when they were within, either they must needes be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleepe : for he loved them well that were sleepey, holdinge opinion that slaves that loved sleepe were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would set them to, then those that were

Cato the
younger
married Tertia
Paulus Æmy-
lius daughter.

Scipio the
second was
Æmylius
naturall
sonne.

Catoes dis-
cipline to
his slaves.

Catoes
opinion for
sleepey men.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

waking. And bicause he thought that nothing more did pro-
voke slaves to mischiefe and naughtines, then lust and desire
of women: he was contented that his slaves might company
with his bondewomen in his house, for a peece of money he
appointed them to pay, but with straight commaundement
besides, that none of them should deale with any other
woman abroade. At the first when he gave him selfe to
follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he never was
angry for any fault his servauntes did about his persone:
saying it was a fowle thing for a gentleman or noble man,
to fall out with his servauntes for his belly. Afterwardes, as
he rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had
made a dinner or supper for any of his frendes and familiars,
they were no sooner gone, but he woulde scourge them with
whippes and leather thonges, that had not waited as they
should have done at the borde, or had forgotten any thing
he would have had done. He would ever craftily make one
of them fall out with an other: for he could not abide
they should be frendes, beinge ever jealous of that. If
any of them had done a fault that deserved death, he
would declare his offence before them all: and then if
they condemned him to dye, he would put him to death
before them all. Howebeit in his latter time he grewe
greedy, and gave up his tillage, sayinge it was rather
pleasaunt, then profitable. Therefore bicause he would
lay out his money surely, and bring a certaine revenue
to his purse, he bestowed it upon pondes, naturall hotte
bathes, places fit for fullers craft, upon meadowes and
pastures, upon copises and young wodde: and of all these
he made a great and a more quiet revenue yearely, which he
would say, Iupiter him selfe could not diminische. Further-
more, he was a great userer, both by land and by sea: and
the usery he tooke by sea was most extreame of all other, for
he used it in this sorte. He would have them to whome he
lent his money unto, that traffiked by sea, to have many
parteners, and to the number of fifty: and that they should
have so many shippes. Then he would venter among them
for a parte onely, whereof Quintius his slave whom he had
manumised, was made his factor, and used to sayle, and

MARCUS
CATO

Note how
Cato altered
his maner and
opinion by
wealth.

Catoes good
husbandry for
increasing his
wealth.

Cato a great
userer.
He tooke ex-
treame usery
by sea.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

traffiked with the marchaunts, to whom he had lent his money out to usery. And thus he did not venter all the money he lent, but a litle peece only for his parte, and gotte marvelous riches by his usery. Moreover he lent money to any of his slaves, that would therwith buy other young slaves, whom they taught and brought up to do service, at Catoes charge and cost: and then they solde them againe at the yeares ende, and some of them Cato kept for his owne service, and gave his slaves as much for them, as any other offered. Therefore to allure his sonne in like manner to make profite of his money: he tolde him it was no wise mans parte to diminishe his substance, but rather the parte of a widowe. Yet this was a token of a most greedy covetous minde, that he durst affirme him to be divine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his wealth and patrimony more, then his father left him. Furthermore, when Cato was grown very olde, Carneades the Academicke, and Diogenes the Stoicke, were sent from Athens as Ambassadors to Rome, to sue for a release of a fyne of five hundred talentes which they had imposed on the Athenians upon a condemnation passed against them, for a contempt of appearaunce, by the sentence of the Sicyonians, at the sute of the Oropians. Immediatly when these two Philosophers were arrived in the citie of Rome, the younge gentlemen that were geven to their bookes, did visite and welcome them, and gave great reverence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to Carneades: whose grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse, then the fame ranne upon him, and specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppress his praise. Rome straight was full, as if a winde had blowen this rumor into every mans eare: that there was a Grecian arrived, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence woulde leade a man as he lust. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had so inflamed the younge gentlemens mindes with love and desire to be learned: that all other pleasures and delightes were set a side, and they disposed them selves to no other exercise, but to the study of Philosophy, as if some secrete and divine inspiration from

Carneades,
and Diogenes
Philosophers
sent Ambassadors
to
Rome.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

above had procured them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of Rome were glad, and rejoyced much to see their youth so well geuen to knowledge, and to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to delite in the company of these two great and excellent learned men. But Marcus Cato, even from the beginning that young men beganne to study the Greeke tongue, and that it grewe in estimacion in Rome, did dislike of it: fearing least the youth of Rome that were desirous of learninge and eloquence, woulde utterly give over the honor and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he sawe the estimacion and fame of these two personages did increase more and more, and in such sorte that Caius Aquilius, one of the chiefest of the Senate, made sute to be their interpreter: he determined then to convey them out of the citie by some honest meane and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambassadors were long there, and had no dispatche: considering also they were cunninge men, and coulde easily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this onely might perswade them to determine some aunswere for them, and so to send them home againe to their schooles, to teach their children of Greece, and to let alone the children of Rome, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any private ill will or malice he bare to Carneades, as some men thought: but bicause he generally hated Philosophy, and of an ambition despised the muses, and knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more suspected, bicause he had sayd, the auncient Socrates was but a busie man, and a sturrer up of sedition, and sought by all meanes possible to usurpe tyranny, and rule in his contrie: by perverting and chaunging the manners and customes of the same, and alluringe the subjectes thereof to a dislikinge of their lawes and auncient customes. And he laughed at Socrates schoole, that taught the arte of eloquence: saying, his schollers waxed old, and were still so long a learning, that they ment to use their eloquence and pleade causes in an other worlde, before Minos, when they were dead. Therefore, to plucke his sonne from the study of the Greeke

MARCUS
CATO

Cato misliked
the Greeke
tongue.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

tongue, he sayd to him with a strayned voyce, and in a bigger sound then he was wont to doe: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecy or inspiration) that so longe as the Romaines disposed them selves to study the Greeke tongue, so longe woulde they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proved his vaine wordes false and untrue. For the citie of Rome did never florische so much, nor the Romaine Empire was ever so great, as at that time, when learninge and the Greeke tongue most florished. Howebeit Cato did not onely hate the Philosophers of Greece, but did dislike them also, that professed phisicke in Rome. For he had either hearde or red the aunswere Hippocrates made, when the king of Persia sent for him, and offered him a great summe of golde and silver, if he woulde come and serve him: who sware he would never serve the barbarous people, that were naturall enemies to the Greecians. So Cato affirmed, it was an othe that al other phisitions sware ever after: wherefore he commaunded his sonne to flie from them all alike, and sayed he hadde wrytten a litle booke of phisicke, with the which he did heale those of his house when they were sicke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He never forbad them to eate, but did alwayes bringe them uppe with erbes, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringedoves, and hares: for such meates, sayd he, are good for the sicke, and light of disgestion, saving that they make them dreame and snorte that eate them. He boasted also how with this maner of phisicke, he did alwayes keepe him selfe in health, and his family from sickenes. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife, and his sonne also. But he him selfe was of a stronge nature, and a lusty body, full of strength, and health, and lived long without sickenesse: so that when he was a very olde man and past mariage, he loved women well, and married a younge maiden for that cause onely. After his first wife was dead, he married his sonne unto Paulus Æmylius daughter, the sister of Scipio, the seconde African. Cato him selfe beinge a widower, tooke paines with a prety younge maide that waited in his house, and came by stelth to his chamber: howebeit this haunt coulde

Catoes Phisicall booke.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

not long continue secret in his house, and specially where there was a younge gentlewoman married, but needes must be spied. So, one day when this young maide went somewhat boldly by the chamber of young Cato, to go into his father, the young man sayd never a word at it: yet his father perceived that he was somewhat ashamed, and gave the maide no good countenance. Wherefore findinge that his sonne and daughter in lawe were angry with the matter, sayinge nothinge to them of it, nor shewinge them any ill countenance: he went one morninge to the market place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongst whome was one Salonius, that had bene his clearke, and wayted upon him as the rest did. Cato calling him out alowde by his name, asked him if he hadde not yet bestowed his daughter. Salonius aunswered him, he had not yet bestowed her, nor woulde not, before he made him privie to it. Then Cato tolde him againe: I have founde out a husbände for her, and a sonne in lawe for thee, and it will be no ill matche for her, unlesse she mislike the age of the man, for in deede he is very olde, but otherwise there is no faulte in him. Salonius tolde him againe, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter also, prayinge him even to make what matche he thought good for her: for she was his humble servaunt, and relyed wholly upon him, standinge in neede of his favor and furtheraunce. Then Cato beganne to discover, and tolde him plainely he woulde willingly mary her him selfe. Salonius therewith was abashed, because he thought Cato was too olde to mary then, and him selfe was no fitte manne to matche in any honorable house, speciallie with a Consull and one that hadde triumphed: howbeit in the ende, when he sawe Cato ment good earnest, he was very glad of the matche, and so with this talke they went on together to the markette place, and agreed then upon the mariage. Now while they went about this matter, Cato the sonne takinge some of his kinne and frendes with him, went unto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thinge, that for spight he shoulde bringe him a steppe mother into his house. Then his father cried out, and sayd: O my sonne, I pray

MARCUS
CATO

Cato talketh
with Salonius
his clarke,
about the
mariage of his
daughter.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

Catoes
answere to
his sonne, of
his seconde
marriage.

Cato married
Salonius
daughter,
being a very
old man, and
had a sonne
by her.

How Cato
passed his
age.

Catoes wryt-
inges and
monuments.

Catoes
revenue.

thee say not so, I like well all thou doest, and I finde no cause to complaine of thee: but I do it, because I desire to have many children, and to leave many such like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some say that Pisistratus the tyran of Athens, made such a like aunswere unto the children of his first wife, which were men growen, when he married his seconde wife Timonassa, of the towne of Argos, of whom he had (as it is reported) Iophon, and Thessalus. But to returne againe to Cato, he had a sonne by his second wife, whom he named after her name, Cato Salonian: and his eldest sonne died in his office beinge Prætor, of whome he often speaketh in diverse of his bookes, commendinge him for a very honest man. And they say, he tooke the death of him very patiently, and like a grave wise man, not leaving therefore to do any service or businesse for the state, otherwise then he did before. And therein he did not, as Lucius Lucullus, and Metellus surnamed Pius, did afterwards: who gave up meddling any more with matters of government and state, after they were waxen olde. For he thought it a charge and duty, whereunto every honest man whilest he lived, was bounde in all piety. Nor as Scipio African hadde done before him, who perceiving that the glory and fame of his doings did purchase him the ill will of the citizens, he chaunged the rest of his life into quietnes, and forsooke the citie and all dealings in common wealth, and went and dwelt in the contry. But as there was one that told Dionysius, the tyran of Syracusa, as it is wrytten, that he could not die more honorably, then to be buried in the tyranny: even so did Cato thinke, that he could not waxe more honestlie, olde, then in serving of the common wealth, unto his dying day. So at vacant times, when Cato was desirous a litle to recreate and refresh him selfe, he passed his time away in makinge of bookes, and lookinge upon his husbandry in the contry. This is the cause why he wrote so many kindes of bookes and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the contry, he did tende and followe all in his youth, for his profit. For he sayed he had but two sortes of revenue, tillage, and speringe: but in age, whatsoever he did in the contry, it was all for pleasure, and to learne some thinge ever

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

of nature. For he hath wrytten a booke of the contry life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth howe to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe frutes. He woulde needes shew such singularity and skill in all thinges: when he was in his house in the contry, he fared a litle better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and such as had lande lying about him, to come and suppe with him, and he would be mery with them: so that his company was not onely pleasaunt, and likinge to olde folkes as him selfe, but also to the younger sorte. For he had seene much, and had experience in many thinges, and used much pleasaunt talke, profitable for the hearers. He thought the bord one of the chiefest meanes to breede love amongst men, and at his owne table woulde alwayes praise good men and vertuous citizens, but would suffer no talke of evill men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable acte and service he did in the common wealth, was the overthrow of Carthage: for in deede he that wanne it, and rased it utterly, was Scipio the seconde, but it was chiefly through Catoes counsell and advise, that the last warre was taken in hand against the Carthaginians, and it chanced upon this occasion. Cato was sent into Africke to understande the cause and controversie that was betwene the Carthaginians and Massinissa, kinge of Numidia, which were at great warres together. And he was sent thither, bicause king Massinissa had ever bene a frend unto the Romaines, and for that the Carthaginians were become their confederates since the last warres, in the which they were overthrowen by Scipio the first, who tooke for a fyne of them, a great parte of their Empire, and imposed upon them besides, a great yearely tribute. Now when he was come into that contrie, he founde not the cite of Carthage in miserie, beggerie, and out of harte, as the Romaines supposed: but full of lusty youthes very riche and wealthie, and great store of armour and munition in it for the warres, so that by reason of the wealth thereof, Carthage caried a high sayle, and stowped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the Romaines to leave to understande the controversies betwext the Cartha-

MARCUS
CATO

Catoes company pleasaunt both to old and young.

The table a good meane to procure love, and how table talke should be used.

Cato author of the last warres against the Carthaginians.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

MARCUS
CATO

ginians and Massinissa, and rather to provide betimes to destroye Carthage, that hadde beene ever an auncient ennemie to the Romaines, and ever sought to be revenged of that they hadde suffered at their handes before, and that they were now growen to that greatnes and corage in so shorte time, as in manner it was incredible: so as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the Romaines, as they ever did before. Therefore so soone as he returned to Rome, he plainly tolde the Senate, that the losses and harmes the Carthaginians had received by the last warres they had with them, had not so much diminished their power and strength, as the same had shewed their owne folly and lacke of wisdom: for it was to be feared much, least their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them for the warres. And that they made warres nowe with the Numidians, to exercise them onely, meaninge afterwarde to warre with them selves: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission and stay of warres, only expecting time and opportunity to breake with them againe. They say moreover, that besides the perswasions he used, he brought with him of purpose, Africke figges in his long sleeves, which he shooke out amongst them in the Senate. When the Senators marvelled to see so goodly fayer greene figges, he sayed: The contry that beareth them, is not above three dayes sailinge from Rome. But yet this is more straunge which they reporte of him besides: that he never declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was ever the one ende of his tale: Me thinketh still Carthage would be utterly destroyed. Publius Scipio Nasica, used ever in like manner the contrary speech: that he thought it meete Carthage should stand. This Publius Scipio saw, in my opinion, that the Romaines through their pride and insolency were full of absurdities, and caried them selves very high, by reason of their happy successe and victories, and were so lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reason of their great authoritie, they imagined they might bringe their citie to what height they would. Therefore he spake it, that the feare of Carthage might alwayes continue as a bridle, to raigne in the

Scipio Nasica,
against Cato,
for the
destroying
of Carthage.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

insolency of the people of Rome, who knew well enough, that the Carthaginians were of no sufficient power to make warres with the Romaines, nor yet to overcome them: and even so were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be feared at all. Cato still replied to the contrary, that therein consisted the greatest daunger of all: that a citie which was ever of great force and power, and had bene punished by former warres and misery, would alwayes have an eye of revenge to their enemies, and be much like a horse that had broken his halter, that being unbridled, woulde runne upon his rider. And therefore he thought it not good, nor sounde advise, so to suffer the Carthaginians to recover their strength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward daunger, and the feare they stode in to loose their conquest: and specially, when they left meanes within the city selfe to fall still againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose Cato was the occasion, of the thirde and last warre the Romaines had against the Carthaginians. But now when the warre was begonne, Cato died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would say, who it should be that should ende those warres. And it was Scipio the second, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a Colonell over a thousand footemen: but in all battells, and wheresoever there was warres, he shewed him selfe ever valliant and wise. Insomuch as newes being brought thereof continually unto Rome, and Cato hearinge them, spake as they say, these two verses of Homer:

This only man right wise, reputed is to be,
all other seeme but shadowes set, by such wise men as he.

Which prophecy, Scipio soone after confirmed true by his doinges. Moreover, the issue Cato left behinde him, was a sonne he had by his seconde wife: who was called (as we sayd before) Cato Salonian, by reason of his mother, and a litle boy of his eldest sonne that died before him. This Cato

Salonian died being Prætor, but he left a sonne behinde him that came to be Consull, and was grandfather unto Cato the Philosopher, one of the most vertuous men of his time.

MARCUS
CATO

Catoes death.

Catoes
posterity.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES WITH MARCUS CATO

Aristides and
Catoes accesse
to the com-
mon wealth.



NOW that we have sette downe in wryt-
inge, these notable and worthie things of
memory: if we will conferre the life of the
one, with the life of the other, perhappes
the difference betwene the one and the
other will not easily be discerned, seeinge
there be so many similitudes and resem-
blances one of an other. But if we come
to compare them in every particularity, as we would doe
Poets workes, or pictures drawn in tables: first, in this we
shall finde them much a like, that having had nothing else
to preferre and commende them, but their onely vertue and
wisdom, they have bene both governors in their common
wealth, and have thereby atchieved to great honor and esti-
macion. But me thinkes when Aristides came to deale in
matters of state, the common wealth and seigniory of Athens
was then of no great power, and therefore it was easie for
him to set him selfe in prease. Besides, the other governors
and captaines that were of his time, and competitors with
him, were not very rich, nor of great authority. For the
taxe of the richest persones then at Athens in revenue, was
but at five hundred bushells of corne, and upwards, and
therefore were such called Pentacosimedimni. The second
taxe was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called
knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushells,
and they called them Zeugitæ. Where Marcus Cato com-
minge out of a litle village, from a rude contry life, went
at the first dashe (as it were) to plunge him selfe into a
bottomles sea of government in the common wealth of Rome:
which was not ruled then by such governors and captaines,
as Curius, Fabricius, and Ostilius were in old time. For
the people of Rome did no more bestow their offices upon

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

such meane laboring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke : but they woulde looke now upon the nobility of their houses, and upon their riches, that gave them most money, or sued earnestly to them for the offices. And by reason of their great power and authority, they woulde be waited upon, and sued unto, by those that sought to beare the honorable offices of the state and common wealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to have Themistocles an adversary and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goodes his father left him, were not worth above foure or five hundred talentes, when he beganne to deale in state) in respect as to contende for the chiefest place of honor and authority against Scipio African, Servilius Galba, or Quintius Flaminius, having no other maintenance, nor helpe to trust unto, but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all uprightnes. Moreover, Aristides at the battells of Marathon, and of Plataees, was but one of the tenne captaines of the Athenians : where Cato was chosen one of the two Consuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Censors, before seven other that made sute for it, which were all men of great reputacion in the citie, and yet was Cato preferred before them all. Furthermore, Aristides was never the chiefest in any victory. For at the battell of Marathon, Miltiades was the generall : and at the battell of Salamina, Themistocles : and at the journey of Plataees, king Pausanias, as Herodotus sayeth, who wryteth that he had a marvelous victory there. And there were that strived with Aristides for the second place, as Sophanes, Amynias, Callimachus, and Cynegirus, every one of the which did notable valliant service at those battells. Now Cato was generall him selfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthines and counsell, during the warre he made in Spayne, while he was Consull. Afterwards also in the journey where king Antiochus was overthrowen in the contry of Thermopyles, Cato being but a Colonell of a thousande footemen, and servinge under an other that was Consull, wanne the honor of the victory, when he did sodainely set upon Antiochus behinde, whereas he looked only to defend him

ARISTIDES
AND
CATO

Cato in mar-
shall affaires
excelled
Aristides.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARISTIDES
AND
CATO

Aristides and
Catoes dis-
pleasures in
the common
wealth.

The power of
innocency and
eloquence.

Oeconomia,
houserule.

selfe before. And that victory, without all doubt was one of the chiefest actes that ever Cato did, who drave Asia out of Greece, and opened the way unto Lucius Scipio to passe afterwarde into Asia. So then for the warres, neither the one nor the other of them was ever overcome in battell: but in peace and civill government, Aristides was supplanted by Themistocles, who by practise got him to be banished Athens for a time. Whereas Cato had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of Rome that were in his time, sworne enemies unto him: and having alwayes contended with them even to his last hower, he ever kept him selfe on sounde grounde, like a stoute champion, and never tooke fall nor foyle. For he having accused many before the people, and many also accusing him: him selfe was never once condemned, but alwayes his tongue was the buckeler and defence of his life and innocency. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could help himselfe so in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cause why he never received dishonor, nor was unjustly condemned: rather then for any thing else he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truly, eloquence is a singular gift, as Antipater witnesseth, in that he wrote of Aristotle the Philosopher after his death: saying, that amongst many other singular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he coulde perswade what he listed. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to governe a multitude of men, or a city: a parte wherof is *Oeconomia*, commonly called houserule, considering that a city is no other, then an assembly of many householdes and houses together, and then is the city commonly strong and of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wise and wealthy. Therefore Lycurgus that banished golde and silver from Lacedæmon, and coyned them money of iron, that woulde be marred with fyre and vinegre when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands: but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that ever went before him, he did not onely cut of all superfluous expences that commonly wayte uppon riches, but did also provide that his

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARISTIDES
AND
CATO

people should lacke nothing necessary to live withall, fearing more to see a begger and nedy persone dwellinge in his citie, and enjoy the privilegedes of the same, then a proude man by reason of his riches. So me thinkes, Cato was as good a father to his householde, as he was a good governor to the common wealthe: for he did honestly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by saving, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof, in his booke he wrote sundry good rules and precepts. Aristides contrariwise, made justice odious and slaunderous by his poverty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans selfe that used justice. And yet Hesiodus the Poet, that commendeth justice so much, doth wishe us withall to be good husbandes, reproving sloth and idlenes, as the roote and originall of all injustice. And therefore me thinkes Homer spake wisely when he sayed:

In times past, neither did I labor, carecke nor care
for busines, for family, for foode, nor yet for fare:
but rather did delight, with shippes the seas to saile,
to draw a bow, to fling a dart in warres, and to prevaile.

As giving us to understand, that justice and husbandry are two relatives, and necessarily lincked one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his owne thinges, nor house, doth live unjustly, and taketh from other men. For justice is not like oyle, which Phisitions say is very holsome for mannes body, if it be applied outwardly: and in contrary maner very ill, if a man drinke it: neither ought a just man to profite straungers, and in the ende not to care for him selfe nor his. Therefore, me thinkes this governinge vertue of Aristides had a fault in this respect, if it be true that most authors wryte of him: that he had no care nor forecast with him to leave so much, as to mary his daughters withall, nor therewith to bury him selfe. Where those of the house of Cato, continued Prætors and Consulls of Rome, even unto the fourte discent. For his sonnes sonnes, and yet lower, his sonnes sonnes sonnes came to the greatest offices of dignity in all Rome. And Aristides, who was in his time the chiefest man of

The nature
of oyle.

No man wise,
that is not
wise to him
selfe.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARISTIDES AND CATO Greece, left his posterity in so great poverty, that some were compelled to become Soothsayers (that interpret dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their living, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might be sayd, poverty of it selfe is neither ill nor dishonest: but where it groweth by idlenes, carelesse life, vanity, and folly, it is to be reprov'd. For when it lighteth upon any man that is honest, and liveth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, just, valliant, wise, and governeth a common wealth well: then it is a great signe of a noble minde. For it is unpossible that man should doe any great things, that had such a base minde, as to thinke alwayes upon trifles: and that he shoulde relieve the poore greatly, that lacketh him selfe reliefe in many things. And sure, riches is not so necessary for an honest man that will deale truly in the common wealth, and government, as is sufficiency: which beinge a contentacion in it selfe, and desirous of no superfluous thing, it never withdraweth a man from following his businesse in the common wealth, that enjoyeth the same. For God is he alone, who simply and absolutely hath no neede of any thinge at all: wherefore the chiefest vertue that can be in man, and that commeth nearest unto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to have neede of least things. For like as a lusty body, and well complexioned, hath no neede of superfluous fare and curious apparell: even so a cleane life, and sounde house, is kept with a litle charge, and so shoulde the goodes also be proportioned, accordinge to use and necessity. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth litle, hath never enough. But admit he hath no desire to spend much, then he is a foole to travell to get more then he needeth: and if he do desire it, and dare not for niggardlines spende parte of that he laboreth for, then is he miserable. Now woulde I aske Cato with a goodwill, if riches be made but to use them, why do you boast then you have gotten much together, when a litle doth suffice you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in troth it is) to be contented with the breade you finde, to drinke of the same tappe workemen and laborers do, not to care for purple dyed gownes, nor for

Whether
poverty be an
ill thing.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ARISTIDES
AND
CATO

houses with plastered walles: it followeth then that neither Aristides, nor Epaminondas, nor Manius Curius, nor Caius Fabricius, have forgotten any parte of their dueties, when they cared not for gettinge of that which they would not use nor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man that esteemed rootes and parsnippes to be one of the best dishes in the worlde, and that did seeth them him selfe in his chimney, whilest his wife did bake his bread, to talke so much of an Asse, and to take paines to wryte by what arte and industry a man might quicklye enrich him selfe. For it is true, that sufficiency, and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thinge: but it is because it taketh from us all desire of unnecessary thinges, and maketh us not to passe for them. And therefore we finde that Aristides sayd, when riche Callias case was pleaded, that such as were poore against their willes, might wel be ashamed of their poverty: but such as were willingly poore, had good cause, and might justly rejoyce at it. For it were a mad parte to thinke that Aristides poverty proceeded of a base minde and slothfulnes, since he might quicklye have made him selfe rich without any dishonesty at all, by taking only the spoyle of some one of the barbarous people whome he had overcome, or any one of their tentes. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victories and battells Cato had wonne, they did in maner litle helpe to increase the Empire of Rome: for it was already so great, as it could almost be no greater. But Aristides victories are the greatest conquestes and noblest actes that the Greecians ever did in any warres: as the journey of Marathon, the battell of Salamina, and the battell of Platees. And yet there is no reason to compare king Antiochus with king Xerxes, nor the walles of the citie of Spayne which Cato overthrewe and rased, unto so many thousands of barbarous people, which were then overthrown and put to the sword by the Greecians, as well by lande, as by sea. In all which services, Aristides was the chiefest before all other, as touching his valliantnes in fighting: notwithstanding, he gave other the glory of it, that desired it more then him selfe, as he did easily also leave the gold and silver unto those, that had more neede of it then him

Whether
Aristides
factes or
Catoes did
most benefit
their contry.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

ARISTIDES
AND
CATO

selfe. Wherein he shewed him selfe of a nobler minde, then all they did. Furthermore, for my parte, I will not reprove Catoes manner, to commende and extoll him selfe so highly above all other, since he him selfe sayth in an oration he made, that to praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himselfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect, that desireth other should not praise him, then he that commonly doth use to praise him selfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great shew of humanity, and necessary for him that will live amongst men of government: and even so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great envy unto him, that is infected withall. Of the which Aristides was cleare, and Cato farre gone in it. For Aristides did help Themistocles his chieftest enemie, in all his noblest actes, and did serve him (as a man would say) like a private souldier that garded his persone, when Themistocles was generall, beinge the onely instrument and meane of his glory: which was in deede the onely cause that the city of Athens was saved, and restored againe to her former good state. Cato contrariwise, crossing Scipio in all his enterprises, thought to hinder his voyage and journey unto Carthage, in the which he overcame Hanniball, who untill that time was ever invincible: and so in the ende, continuing him still in jealousy with the state, and ever accusinge of him, he never left him, till he had driven him out of the city, and caused his brother Lucius Scipio to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behaviour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperaunce and modesty, which Cato did ever commende so highly: Aristides truely kept them most sincerely. But Catoes seconde wife, who married a maide, (that was neither fit for his dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he can not be excused with honesty, that beinge a man past mariage, brought his sonne that was married, and his fayer daughter in lawe, a steppe mother into his house, and but a clearkes daughter, whose father did wryte for money, for any man that woulde hyer him. Take it Cato married her to satisfie his lust, or else for spite to be revenged of his sonne, bicause his sonne coulde not abide his younge filth he had before:

Ambition, a
hatefull thing
in the com-
mon wealth.

Cato reprov'd
for his second
wife.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

either of these turneth still to his shame, as wel the effect, as also the cause. Againe, the excuse he made to his sonne why he married, was also a lye. For if he had grounded his desire in deede, to have gotten other children, as he sayd, that might be as honest men as his eldest sonne: then surely he had done well after the death of his first wife, if he had sought him an other wife soone after, that had bene of an honest house, and not to have lien with a young harlatry filth, til his sonne had spied him, and then when he saw it was known, to goe and mary her, and to make alliance with him, not bicause it was honorable for him to do it, but was easiest to be obtained.

ARISTIDES
AND
CATO

THE ENDE OF MARCUS CATOES LIFE THE CENSOR

THE LIFE OF PHILOPŒMEN



IN the city of Mantinea, there was a citizen in old time called Cassander, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in government there, as any man of his time whatsoever. Notwithstanding, fortune frowned on him in the ende, inso-much as he was driven out of his contry, and went to lye in the city of Megalopolis,

only for the love he bare unto Crausis, Philopœmenes father, a rare man, and nobly geven in all thinges, and one that loved him also very well. Now so longe as Crausis lived, Cassander was so well used at his handes, that he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this worlde, Cassander, to requite the love Crausis bare him in his life time, tooke his sonne into his charge, being an orphan, and taught him, as Homer sayd Achilles was brought up by the olde Phœnix. So this childe Philopœmen grewe to have noble conditions, and increased alwayes from good to better. Afterwardes, when he came to grow to mans state, Ecdemus and Demophanes, both Megalipolitans, tooke him into their

Crausis, Philo-
pœmenes
father.

Cassander
Philopœ-
menes
schoole-
maister.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PŒMEN
Ecdemus and
Demophanes
red Philo-
sophy to
Philopœmen.

Philopœmen
the last
famous man
of Greece.

Philopœmen
taken for
a serving
man.

government. They were two Philosophers that had bene hearers of Arcesilaus, in the schoole of Academia, and afterwardes employed all the Philosophy they had learned, upon the governing of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of state, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they delivered their city from the tyranny of Aristodemus, who kept it in subjection, by corruptinge those that killed him. And they did helpe Aratus also to drive the tyran Niocles, out of Sicyone. At the request of the Cyrenians, that were troubled with civil dissention and factions among them, they went unto Cyrena, where they did reforme the state of the common wealth, and stablished good lawes for them. But for them selves, they reckened the education and bringing up of Philopœmen, the chiefest acte that ever they did: Iudging that they had procured an universall good unto all Greece, to bring up a man of so noble a nature, in the rules and precepts of Philosophy. And to say truely, Grece did love him passingly well, as the last valliant man she brought forth in her age, after so many great and famous auncient Captaines: and did alwayes increase his power and authority, as his glory did also rise. Whereuppon there was a Romaine, who to praise him the more, called him the last of the Greecians: meaninge, that after him, Greece never brought forth any worthy persone, deservinge the name of a Greecian. And now concerninge his persone, he had no ill face, as many suppose he had: for his whole image is yet to be seene in the city of Delphes, excellently well done, as if he were alive. And for that they reporte of his hostesse in the city of Megara, who tooke him for a serving man: that was by reason of his curtesie, not standing upon his reputacion, and bicause he went plainly besides. For she understanding that the Generall of the Achaians came to Inne there all night, she besturred her, and was very busie preparinge for his supper, her husband par-adventure being from home at that time: and in the meane season came Philopœmen into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The simple woman seeinge him no better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to provide his lodging, and so prayed him to lende her his

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

hande in the kitchin. He straight cast of his cloke, and beganne to fall to hewe wodde. So, as Philopœmen was busie about it, in commeth her husbände, and findinge him rivinge of wodde: Ha ha ha, sayd he, my Lorde Philopœmen, why what meaneth this? Truely nothing else, sayd he in his Dorican tongue, but that I am punished, bicause I am neither fayer boy, nor goodly man. It is true that Titus Quintius Flaminius sayed one day unto him, seeminge to mocke him for his personage: O Philopœmen, thou hast fayer handes, and good legges, but thou hast no belly, for he was fine in the waste, and small bodied. Notwithstandinge, I take it this jeastinge tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his body: bicause he had both good horsemen, and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. These geastes, schollers have taken uppe in schooles, of Philopœmen. But now to discend to his nature and conditions: it seemeth that the ambition and desire he had to winne honor in his doinges, was not without some heate and wilfullnes. For, bicause he would altogether follow Epaminondas steppes, he shewed his hardines to enterprise any thing, his wisdome to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt him: but in civill matters and controversies, he coule hardly otherwhiles keepe him selfe within the bondes of modesty, pacience, and curtesie, but woulde often burst out into choller, and wilfulness. Wherefore it seemeth, that he was a better Captaine for warres, then a wise governor for peace. And in deede, even from his youth he ever loved souldiers, and armes, and delited marvelously in all martiall exercises: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of horses gallantly, and in vawting nimby. And bicause he seemed to have a naturall gift in wrestlinge, certaine of his frendes, and such as were carefull of him, did wishe him to geve him selfe most unto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made such profession, would be no hinderaunce to their martiall exercises. Aunswere was made him againe, that the disposition of the persone, and manner of life that wrestlers used, and such as followed like exercises, was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a souldier, and specially

PHILO-
PŒMEN

Philopœmen,
hasty and
wilfull.

Philopœmen
delighted in
warre and
martiall
exercises.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PŒMEN

Philopœmen
did reprove
wrestling.

touching life and limme. For wrestlers studied altogether to keepe them selves in good plight, by much sleeping, eating, and drinking, by laboring, and taking their ease at certaine howers, by not missinge a jotte of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to loose the force and strength of their body, if they did surfit never so litle, or passed their ordinary course and rule of diet. Where souldiers contrariwise are used to all chaunge, and diversitie of life, and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardnesse, and scarsity, and to watche in the night without sleepe. Philopœmen hearing this, did not onely forsake those exercises, and scorned them, but afterwarde beinge Generall of an army, he sought by all infamous meanes he coulde to put downe all wrestling, and such kinde of exercise, which made mennes bodies unmeete to take paines, and to become souldiers for to fight in defence of their contry, that otherwise would have bene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his booke and schoolemasters, and beganne to weare armor in invasions the Mantineians used to make uppon the Lacedæmonians, to get some spoyle on a sodaine, or to destroy a parte of their contry: Philopœmen then would ever be the formost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leasure, he used much hunting in time of peace, all to acquainte his body with toyle and travell, or else he would be digging of his groundes. For he had a fayre mannor, not passinge twenty furlonges out of the city, whether he would walke commonly after dinner or supper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lye upon some ill favored mattresse, as the meanest laborer he had, and in the morninge by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine men to labor in his vineyard, or else with his plough men to follow the plough, and somtimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his frendes and other officers of the same. Whatsoever he could spare and get in the warres, he spent it in buying of goodly horses, in makinge of fayer armors, or payinge his poore contry mens ransome, that were taken prisoners in the warres: but for his goodes

Philopœ-
menes gaines
how they were
employed.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and revenue, he sought onely to increase them, by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed the justest and best way of getting of goodes. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and study upon it, as one that thought it fit for every noble man and gentleman so to travaill, governe, and increase his owne, that he should have no occasion to covet or usurpe an other mannes. He tooke no pleasure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to read all sortes of bookes of Philosophy: but those onely that would teache him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to read Homers workes, savinge those places onely that stirred up mens hartes most unto valliantnes. But of all other stories, he specially delited to read Evangelus bookes, which treated of the discipline of warres, how to set battells, and declared the actes and geastes of Alexander the great, sayinge: that men shoulde ever bringe his wordes unto deedes, onlesse men would take them for vaine stories, and thinges spoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes of the feates of warre, and how battells shoulde be ordered, he was not onely contented to see them drawn and set out, in cartes and mappes: but would also put them in execution, in the places them selves as they were set out. And therefore, when the army marched in order of battell in the felde, he woulde consider and study with him selfe, the sodaine eventes and approches of the enemies, that might light upon them, when they comming downe to the valley, or going out of a plaine, were to passe a river or a ditche, or through some straight: also when he should spread out his army, or else gather it narrow: and this he did not only forecast by him selfe, but woulde also argue the same with the Captaines that were about him. For Philopœmen doubtlesse was one of the odde men of the worlde, that most esteemed the discipline of warre, (and sometime peradventure more then he needed) as the most large field and most frutefull ground that valliantnes could be exercised in: so that he despised and contemned all that were no souldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, Cleomenes kinge of Lacedæmon, came one night upon the sodaine, and gave an assault to the city

PHILO-
PÆMEN

Philopœ-
menes study
and care in
tillage.

Philopœ-
menes delite
to read Evan-
gelus bookes
of the disci-
pline of
warres.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**PHILO-
PŒMEN** of Megalipolis, so lustely, that he drave backe the watche and got into the market place, and wanne it. Philopœmen hearinge of it, ranne immediatly to the rescue. Neverthelesse, though he fought very valliantly, and did like a noble souldier, yet he coude not repulse the enemies, nor drive them out of the city. But by this meanes he got his citizens leasure, and some time to get them out of the towne to save them selves, staying those that followed them: and made Cleomenes still waite upon him, so that in the end he had much a do to save him selfe being the last man, and very sore hurt, and his horse also slaine under him. Shortely after, Cleomenes being advertised that the Megalopolitans were gotten into the city of Messina, sent unto them to let them understand, that he was ready to deliver them their city, lands, and goods againe. But Philopœmen seeing his contrymen very glad of these newes, and that every man prepared to returne againe in hast: he stayd them with these perswasions, shewing them that Cleomenes devise was not to redeliver them their city, but rather to take them together with their city: foreseeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked walles and empty houses, and that him selfe in the ende should be compelled to goe his way. This perswasion stayed the Megalopolitans, but withall it gave Cleomenes occasion to burne and plucke downe a great parte of the city, and to cary away a great summe of money, and a great spoyle. Afterwardes, when kinge Antigonus was come to aide the Achaians against Cleomenes, and that Cleomenes kept on the toppe of the mountaines of Sellasia, and kept all the passages and wayes unto them out of all those quarters: king Antigonus set his army in battel hard by him, determining to set upon him, and to drive him thence if he could possibly. Philopœmen was at that time amongst the horsemen with his citizens, who had the Illyrians on the side of them, being a great number of footemen and excellent good souldiers, which did shut in the taile of all the army. So they were commaunded to stand stil, and to keepe their place, untill such time as they did shew them a redde coate of armes on the toppe of a pyke, from the other wing of the battell, where the king

Philopœmen saved the Megalopolitans from Cleomenes king of Sparta.

Philopœmen very sore hurt.

King Antigonus came to aide the Achaians against Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon.

Philopœmenes noble fact in the battell against kinge Cleomenes.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him selfe stode in persone. Notwithstanding this straight commaundement, the Captaines of the Illyrians would abide no lenger, but went to see if they could force the Lacedæmonians that kept on the top of the mountaines. The Achaians contrariwise, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded. Euclidas, Cleomenes brother, perceiving thus their enemies footemen were severed from their horsemen, sodainly sent the lightest armed souldiers and lustiest fellowes he had in his bands, to geve a charge upon the Illyrians behinde, to prove if they coulde make them turne their faces on them, bicause they had no horsemen for their garde. This was done, and these light armed men did marvelously trouble and disorder the Illyrians. Philopœmen perceivinge, that, and considering howe these light armed men would be easily broken and driven backe, since occasion selfe inforced them to it: he went to tell the kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes. But when he saw he could not make them understand it, and that they made no reckening of his reasons, but tooke him of no skill, bicause he had not yet attained any credit or estimacion to be judged a man, that could invent or execute any strata-game of warre: he went thither him selfe, and tooke his citizens with him. And at his first comming, he so troubled these light armed men, that he made them flie, and slue a number of them. Moreover, to encorage the better king Antigonus men, and to make them geve a lusty charge uppon the enemies, whilst they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horse, and marched a foote up hill and downe hill, in rough and stony wayes, full of springs and quavemyres, being heavely armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fightinge in this sorte very painefully and uneasily, he had both his thighes past through with a dart, havinge a leather thonge on the midst of it. And though the blow did not take much holde of the fleshe, yet was it a stronge blow, for it pearced both thighes through and through, that the iron was seene on thother side. Then was he so combered with this blow, as if he had bene shackled with irons on his feete, and knew not what to doe: for the leather fastened in the midst of the darte, did greve him marvelously,

PHILO-
PŒMEN

Philopœmen
hurt in fight.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PŒMEN

when they thought to have pulled the darte out of the place where it entred in, so as never a man about him durst set his handes to it. Philopœmen on the other side, seeing the fight terrible on either side, and would soone be ended: it spited him to the guttes, he would so faine have bene among them. So at the length he made such struggling, putting backe one thigh, and setting forward an other, that he knapped the staffe of the darte a sunder, and made them pull out the two troncheons, the one on this side, and the other on the other side. Then when he saw he was at liberty againe, he tooke his sword in his hande, and ranne through the midst of them that fought, unto the foremost ranckes, to meete with the enemy: so that he gave his men a newe corage, and did set them on fyre with envy, to followe his valliantnesse. After the battell was wonne, Antigonus asked the Macedonian Captaines, to prove them: who moved the horsemen to devide them selves, and give the charge, before the signe that was commaunded. They answered him, that they were forced to doe it against their willes, bicause a young Megalopolitan gentleman gave a charge with his company, before the signe was given. Then Antigonus laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the parte of a wise and valliant Captaine. This exploitte, together with Antigonus testimony, gave great reputacion unto Philopœmen, as we may easily imagine. So king Antigonus marvelously intreated him he would serve with him, and offered him a bande of men at armes, and great entertainment, if he would go with him. But Philopœmen refused his offer, and chiefly, bicause he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commaunded by any. Notwithstandinge, bicause he could not be idle, he tooke sea, and went into Creta, where he knewe there were warres, onely to continue him selfe in exercise thereof. So when he had served a longe time with the Cretans, which were valliant souldiers, and very expert in all policie and feates of warre, and moreover were men of a moderate and spare dyet: he returned home againe to Achaia, with so great credit and reputacion of every one, that he was presently chosen Generall of all the horsemen. So when he

Antigonus
saying of
Philopœ-
menes skill
of a souldier.

Philopœmen
chosen Gene-
rall of the
horsemen of
the Achaians.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

entred into his charge, he founde many horsemen very ill horsed, upon litle Iades, such as might be gotten cheapest, and how they used not to goe them selves in persone to the warres, but did sende other in their steade: and to be shorte, how they neither had hartes, nor experience of the warres, and all bicause the Generalls and Captaines of the people of the Achaians that served before him, did take no heede to those matters, as fearinge to offende any, bicause they had the greatest authority in their handes, to punish or reward whom they thought good. Philopœmen fearinge none of all these things, would leave no parte of his charge and duety undone, but went him selfe in persone to all the cities, to perswade and encorage the young gentlemen, to be well horsed, and well armed, that they might winne honor in the felde, be able to defende them selves, and overthrow their enemies. And where perswasion could doe no good, there he would set fynes upon their heades that so refused, and did use to muster them oft, and did acquainte them with tilting, turning, and barriers, and one to fight with an other, and at such times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to give them the lookinge on: that in shorte space he made them very forwarde, proper, and ready horsemen, whose chiefest property is, to keepe their order and ranckes in the battell. So as when necessitie served for the whole company of horsemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or else every man by him selfe: they were so throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe set in battell ray, did seeme as it were to be but one body, they removed so together, and withall so easily, and at all times, and so oft, as turne they woulde on the one side, or on the other. Now in a great battell the Achaians had with the Ætolians and the Elians, by the river of Larissus: Demophantus, Generall of the horsemen of the Ætolians, came from his company to fight with Philopœmen, who also made towardes him, and gave him first such a blow with his speare, that he strake him starke deade. When Demophantus fell to the grounde, his souldiers fled by and by upon it. This wanne Philopœmen great honor, who gave no place to the youngest men in fighting most valliantly

PHILO-
PŒMEN

Philopœmen
slue Demophantus,
Generall of
the horse-
men of the
Ætolians.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PÆMEN
The praise of
Philopœmen.
Aratus raised
Achaia to
greatnes.

with his owne handes: nor to the oldest men in wisdom, for the wise leading of his army. In deede the first man that made the people of Achaia grow in power and greatnes, that was Aratus: for before his time Achaia was of small reckninge, because the cities of the same stode devided betwene them selves, and Aratus was the first manne that made them joyne together, and stablished amonge them an honest civill government. Whereby it happened, that as we see in brookes and rivers where any litle thinge stoppeth and falleth to the bottome, which the course of the water bringeth downe the streame, there the rest that followeth doth use to stay, and goe no further: even so in the cities of Greece that were in harde state, and sore weakened, by faction one against another, the Achaians were the first that stayed themselves, and grewe in amity one with the other, and afterwarde drewe on the rest of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederats. Some by helpinge and deliveringe them from the oppression of tyrans, and winninge other also by their peaceable government and good concorde: they had a meaninge in this wise, to bringe all the contrie of Peloponnesus into one body and league. Neverthelesse, while Aratus lived, they depended most upon the strength and power of the Macedonians: first with stickinge unto kinge Ptolomie, and then unto Antigonus, and last to Philip, who ruled in manner all the state of Greece. But when Philopœmen came to governe, and to be the chiefest man, the Achaians beinge stronge enough to resist the strongest, would marche then no more under any other bodies ensigne, nor would suffer any more straunge governors or Captaines over them. For Aratus (as it seemed) was somewhat to soft and colde for the warres, and therefore the most things he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the kinges frendshippes with whome he was great, as we have at large declared in his life. But Philopœmen beinge a manne of execution, hardy and valliant of persone, and of very good fortune, in the first battell that he ever made, did marvelously encrease the corage and hartes of the Achaians: because under his charge they ever foiled their enemies, and always hadde the upper hande over them. The first thinge

Philopœmen
and Aratus
compared.

Aratus a
soft man in
warres.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Philopœmen beganne withall at his comming, he chaunged the manner of settinge of their tables, and their facion of arminge them selves. For before they caried litle light targettes, which because they were thinne and narrowe, did not cover halfe their bodies, and used speares farre shorter then pykes, by reason whereof they were very light, and good to skirmishe and fight a farre of: but when they came to joyne battell, their enemies then hadde great vantage of them. As for the order of their battelles, they knewe not what it ment, nor to cast them selves into a snaille or ringe, but onely used the square battell, nor yet gave it any such fronte where the pykes of many ranckes might pushe together, and where the souldiers might stande so close, that their targettes should touch one another, as they do in the squadron of the battell of the Macedonians: by reason whereof, they were soone broken, and overthrowen. Philopœmen reformed all this, perswading them to use the pyke and shielde, in steade of their litle target, speare, or borestaffe, and to put good morryans or burganettes on their heades, corselettes on their bodies, and good tasses and greaves to cover their thighes and legges, that they might fight it out manfully, not gevinge a foote of grounde, as light armed men that runne to and fro in a skirmishe. And thus havinge perswaded and taught the younge men to arme them selves throughlie, first he made them the bolder and more coragious to fight, as if they had bene menne that coulde not have bene overcome: then he turned all their vaine superfluous charge, into necessarie and honest expences. But he could not possibly bring them altogether from their vaine and riche apparell, they had of long time taken up, the one to exceede another: nor from their sumptuous furniture of houses, as in beddes, hanginges, curious service at the table, and delicate kinde of dishes. But to beginne to withdrawe this desire in them which they hadde, to be fine and delicate, in all superfluous and unnecessary things, and to like of thinges necessarie, and profitable: he wished them to looke more nerely to their ordinarie charge about them selves, takinge order as well for their apparell, as also for their diet, and to spare in them, to come honorablie armed to the felde, for defence of their

PHILO- PŒMEN

Philopœmen
chaungeth
the Achaians
order and
discipline
of wars.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PŒMEN
Philopœmen
turned all
curiosity and
dainty fare,
into brave and
riche armors.

Brave armor
incorageth
mens mindes
to serve nobly.

contrie. Thereuppon, if you had looked into the golde-smithes shoppes, ye should have seene nothinge else in their handes, but breakinge and batteringe of pottes of golde and silver, to be cast and molton downe againe, and then gildinge of armors and targettes, and silvering of bittes. In the showe places for the runninge of horses, there was mannedging and breakinge of younge horses, and younge men exercisinge armes. Womens handes also were full of morryans and heade peeces, whereto they tyed goodly brave plumes of feathers of sundry colours, and were also full of imbrodered arminge coates and cassockes, with curious and very riche workes. The sight of which braverie did heave uppe their hartes, and made them gallant and lively: so as envy bred straight in them who shoulde doe best service, and no way spare for the warres. In deede, sumptuousnesse and braverie in other sightes, doth secretely cary mens mindes away, and allure them to seeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womanishe persones: bicause this sweete ticklinge, and intisinge of the outwarde sence that is delighted therewith, doth straight melt and soften the strength and corage of the minde. But againe, the sumptuous cost bestowed upon warlike furniture, doth incorage and make great a noble harte. Even as Homer sayeth it did Achilles, when his mother brought him newe armor and weapons, she hadde caused Vulcan to make for him, and layed them at his feete: who seeinge them, coule not tarie, but was straight sette on fyre with desire to occupie them. So when Philopœmen hadde brought the youth of Achaia to this good passe, to come thus bravely armed and furnished into the fielde, he beganne then to exercise them continuallie in armes: wherein they did not onely shewe them selves obedient to him, but did moreover strive one to excell an other, and to doe better then their fellowes. For they liked marvelous well the orderinge of the battell he hadde taught them, bicause that standinge so close together as they did, they thought surely they coule hardly be overthrowen. Thus by continuance of time, beinge muche used to weare their armor, they founde them a great deale easier and lighter then before, besides the pleasure they tooke to see their armor so brave, and so riche:

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

insomuch as they longed for some occasion to trye them straight upon their enemies. Now the Achaians at that time were at warres with Machanidas, the tyranne of Lacedæmon, who sought by all devise he coulde with a great armie, to become chiefe Lorde of all the Peloponnesians. When newes was brought that Machanidas was come into the contrie of the Mantinians, Philopœmen straight marched towardses him with his army: so they mett bothe not farre from the citie of Mantinea, where by and by they put them selves in order of battell. They both hadde entertayned in paye a great number of straungers to serve them, besides the whole force of their contrie: and when they came to joyne battell, Machanidas with his straungers gave such a lustie charge upon certaine slinges and archers being the forlorne hope whome Philopœmen had cast of before the battell of the Achaians to beginne the skirmishe, that he overthrew them, and made them flie withal. But where he should have gone on directly against the Achaians that were ranged in battell ray, to have proved if he could have broken them: he was very busie, and earnest still, to follow the chase of them that first fled, and so came hard by the Achaians that stode still in their battell, and kept their ranckes. This great overthrow fortunung at the beginning, many men thought the Achaians were but cast away. But Philopœmen made as though it had bene nothinge, and that he set light by it, and spying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the spurre, whom they had overthrowen, and straying so farre from the battell of their footemen, whome they had left naked, and the field open upon them: he did not make towardses them to stay them, nor did strive to stop them that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered them to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his men marche upon the Lacedæmonians, whose sides were naked, having no horsemen to gard them: and so did set upon them on the one side, and ranne so hastely on them to winne one of their flancks, that he made them flie, and slue withall a great number of them. For it is said, there were foure thousand Lacedæmonians.

PHILO- PŒMEN

Philopœmen made warres with Machanidas tyran of Lacedæmon.

Battell fought betwene Philopœmen and Machanidas.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**PHILO-
PŒMEN**
Philopœmen
overcame
Machanidas
army, tyran of
the Lacedæ-
monians.

dæmonians slaine in the field, bicause they had no man to leade them : and moreover, they say they did not looke to fight, but supposed rather they had wonne the fieldes, when they saw Machanidas chasing stil those upon the spurre, whom he had overthrown. After this, Philopœmen retired to mete Machanidas, who came backe from the chase with his straungers. But by chaunce there was a great broad ditch betwene them, so as both of them rode upon the banckes sides of the same, a great while together, one against an other of them : thone side seking some convenient place to get over and flie, and the other side seking meanes to kepe them from starting away. So, to see the one before the other in this sorte, it appeared as they had bene wild beastes brought to an extreimity, to defend them selves by force, from so fierce a hunter as Philopœmen was. But whilst they were striving thus, the tyrans horse that was lusty and coragious, and felt the force of his masters spurs prickin in his sides, that the blood followed after, did venter to leape the ditche, comminge to the banckes side, stode apon his hindmost legges, and advanched forward with his foremost feete, to reach to the other side. Then Simmias and Polyænus, who were about Philopœmen when he fought, ran thither straight to kepe him in with their bore staves that he should not leape the ditche. But Philopœmen who was there before them, perceiving that the tyrans horse by lifting up his head so high, did cover all his maisters body : forsooke by and by his horse, and tooke his speare in both his hands, and thrust at the tyran with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the Achaians that did highly esteeme this valliant acte of his, and his wisdome also in leadinge of the battell: did set up his image in brasse, in the temple of Apollo in Delphe, in the forme he slue the tyran. They say, that at the assembly of the common games called Nemea, (which they solemnise in honor of Hercules, not farre from the citie of Argos) and not long after he had wonne this battell of Mantinea, being made Generall the seconde time of the tribe of the Achaians, and beinge at good leasure also by reason of the feast: he first shewed all the Grecians that were come thither to see

Philopœmen
slue Macha-
nidas.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

PHILO-
POEMEN

the games and pastimes, his army raunging in order of battell, and made them see how easily they removed their places every way, as necessity and occasion of fight required, without troublinge or confoundinge their ranckes, and that with a marvelous force and redines. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the musitians play, and sing to their instrumentes, who should winne the best game, being accompanied with lusty young gentlemen apparrelled in purple clokes, and in skarlet coates and cassockes they ware upon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well given and disposed: who did greatly honor and reverence their Captaine, and besides that, shewed themselves inwardly of noble hartes, being incouraged by many notable battells they had fought, in which they had ever attained the victory, and gotten the upper hand of their enemies. And by chaunce, as they were entred into the Theater, Pylades the musitian, singinge certaine poemes of Timotheus, called the Perses, fell into these verses:

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

When he had sweetely song out alowde these noble verses, passingly well made: the whole assembly of the Grecians in the Theater, that were gathered thither to see the games, cast all their eyes straight upon Philopœmen, and clapped their handes one to an other for joy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they shoulde soone recover their auncient reputacion, and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy mindes of their auncesters. And as younge horse that doe alwayes looke to be ridden by their ordinarie riders, if any straunger get up on their backes, do straight waxe straunge to be handeled, and make great a do: even so, when the Achaïans came to any dangerous battell, their hartes were even done, if they had any other Generall or leader then Philopœmen, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they sawe him ever, the whole army rejoyced, and desired straight to be at it, they had such confidence in his valliantnesse and good fortune: and truely not without cause. For of all

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**PHILO-
PŒMEN**

men, their enemies did feare him most, and durst not stande before him: bicause they were afrayed to heare his name only, as it seemed by their doings. For Philip kinge of Macedon, imagining that if he could finde meanes to dispatche Philopœmen out of the way, howsoever it were, the Achaians would straight take parte againe with him: sent men secretly into the city of Argos, to kill him by treason. Howbeit the practise was discovered, and the king ever after was mortally hated of all the Greecians generally, and taken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortunued one day when the Bœotians layed siege to the city of Megara, and thought certainly to have wonne it at the first assault: there rose a rumor sodainely amongst them, that Philopœmen came to aide the city, and was not farre from it with his army. But it was a false reporte. Notwithstandinge, the Bœotians were so scared, that for feare they left their scaling ladders behinde them, which they had set against the walls to have scaled the towne, and fled straight to save them selves. An other time, when Nabis the tyran of Lacedæmon, that succeeded Machanidas, had taken the city of Messina upon the sodaine: Philopœmen being then a private man, and havinge no charge of souldiers, went unto Lysippus, General of the Achaians that yere, to perswade him that he would send present aide unto them of Messina. Lysippus told him, it was to late now to goe thither, and that it was but a lost towne, not to be holpen: considering the enemies were in it already. Philopœmen perceiving he could not procure him to go, went thither him selfe with the force of Messina only, not staying for the assembly of the Megalopolitans, that were in counsell about it, to give him commission by voyces of the people to take them with him: but they all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthiest of all other to commaunde them. Now when he came neere unto Messina, Nabis hearinge of his comminge, durst not tary him, though he had his army within the city, but stale out at an other gate, and marched away in all the hast he could, thinking him selfe a happy man and he could so escape his handes, and retyre with safety, as in dede he

The onely name of Philopœmen made the Bœotians flee for feare.

Nabis tyran of Lacedæmon, wanne the city of Messina.

Nabis fleeth Philopœmen.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

did. And thus was Messina, by his meanes, delivered from captivity. All that we have written hitherto concerning Philopœmen, falleth out doutlesse to his great honor and glory: but afterwarde he was greatly dispraised for a journey he made into Creta, at the request of the Gortynians, who sent to pray him to be their Captaine, being sore troubled with warres at that time. Bicause Philopœmen went then to serve the Gortynians, when the tyranne Nabis had greatest warres with the Megalopolitans, in their owne contry: they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flie the warres, or else that he sought honor out of season with foreine nations, when his poore citzens the Megalopolitans were in such distresse, that their contry being lost and destroyed, they were driven to keepe them within their city, and to sow all their voide groundes and streetes in the same with corne, to susteine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almost hard at their towne gates. And the rather, bicause him selfe making warres with the Cretans, and serving straungers beyonde the sea in the meane time, gave his enemyes occasion to slaunder him that he fled, that he would not tary to fight for defence of his contry. Againe, there were that sayd, bicause the Achaians did choose other for their Generall, that he being a private man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the Gortynians, who had marvelously intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that coulde not abide to live idly, and that desired specially above all things to serve continually in the warres, and to put in practise his skil and discipline in the leading of an army. The wordes he spake one day of king Ptolomie doth wisse as much. For when there were some that praised king Ptolomie highly, saying that he trained his army well, and that he still continued his persone in exercise of armes: It is not commendable for a king (sayd he) of his yeares, to delite in traininge his men to exercise armes, but to doe some acte him selfe in persone. Well, in the ende, the Megalopolitans tooke his absence in such evill parte, that they thought it a peece of treason, and would needes have banished him, and put him from the freedome

PHILO-
PŒMEN
Philopœmen
delivered
the city of
Messina from
Nabis the
tyran of Lace-
dæmon.
Philopœ-
menes
seconde
journey into
Creta discom-
mended.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
POEMEN

Philopœmen
made diverse
cities to rebell
against the
Achaians.

The Cretans,
politicke men
of warre.

Philopœmen
made Gener-
all of the
Achaians
against Nabis.

of the cite : had not the Achaians sent their Generall Aristænetus unto them, who would not suffer the sentence of banishment to passe against him, although otherwise there was ever contention betwene them about matters of the common wealth. Afterwards, Philopœmen perceiving his contrymen made no more accompt of him, to spight them withall, he made diverse small villages and cities rebell against them, and taught them to say, and to give it out, that they were not their subjects, neither payed them tribute from the beginning: and he made them stande to it openly, and maintaine their sedition against the city of Megalipolis, before the councill of the Achaians. These things happened shortly after. But whilest he made warres in Creta for the Gortynians, he shewed not himself a Peloponnesian, nor like a man borne in Arcadia, to make plaine and open warres: but he had learned the maner of the Cretans, to use their owne policies, fine devises, and ambushes against them selves. And made them know also, that all their crafts, were but childish sportes as it were: in respect of those that were devised, and put in execution, by a wise experienced Captaine, and skilfull to fight a battell. So, Philopœmen having wonne great fame by his actes done in Creta, returned againe to Peloponnesus, where he founde, that Philip kinge of Macedon had bene overcome in battell, by Titus Quintius Flaminius: and that the Achaians joyning with the Romaines, did make warre against the tyran Nabis, against whome he was made Generall immediatly upon his returne, and gave him battell by sea. In the which it seemed he fell into like misfortune, as Epaminondas did: the event of this battell fallinge out much worse with him, then was looked for, in respect of his former corage and valliantnesse. But as for Epaminondas, some say he returned willingly out of Asia, and the Iles, without any employte done, because he would not have his contrymen fleshed with spoyle by sea, as fearing least of valliant souldiers by lande, they would by litle and litle (as Plato sayd) become dissolute mariners by sea. But Philopœmen contrariwise, presuming upon the skill he had to set the battell in good order by lande, woulde needes take upon him to do the same by sea. But he was taught to

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his cost to knowe what exercise and experience ment, and howe stronge it maketh them that are practised in thinges. For he lost not onely the battell by sea, beinge unskilfull of that service: but he committed besides a fowler error. For that he caused an old shippe to be rigged, which had bene very good of service before, but not occupied in forty yeares together, and imbarked his contrymen into the same, which were all likely to perish, bicause the shippe had diverse leakes, by fault of good calking. This overthrow made his enemies despise him utterly, who perswaded them selves he was fled for altogether, and had given them sea roome: whereupon they layed siege to the cite of Gythium. Philopœmen beinge advertised thereof, imbarked his men sodainely, and set upon his enemies ere they wist it, or had any thought of his comming: and founde them straggling up and downe, without watch or garde, by reason of the victory they had lately wonne. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set fyre uppon his enemies campe, and burnt it every whitte: and in this feare and hurly burly, slue a great number of them. Shortely after this stealing apon them, the tyran Nabis also stole apon him againe unwares, as he was to goe through a marvelous ill and daungerous way. Which made the Achaians amazed at the first, thinkinge it impossible for them that they could ever scape that daunger, considering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But Philopœmen bethinking him selfe, and considering the nature and scituacion of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainly then, that the chiefest point of a good souldier, and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, accordinge to the time and scituacion of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and sorted it according to the scituacion of the place, wherein he was compassed: and by doinge this without trouble or busines, he tooke away all feare of daunger, and gave a charge upon his enemies in such fierce wise, that in a shorte time he put them all to flight. And when he perceived that they did not flie all in troupes together towards the city, but scatteringwise, abroad in the fieldes in every place: he caused the trompet to sound the retreat. Then

PHILO-
PÆMEN
Philopœmen
overcome by
sea.

Nabis besieg-
eth the city
of Gythium.

Philopœmen
overcame
Nabis, tyran of
Lacedæmon,
in battell.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PŒMEN

he commaunded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the contry thereabout was full of thicke woddess and groves, very ill for horsemen: and also because there were many brookes, vallies, and quavemyres which they should passe over, he encamped him selfe presently, being yet broad day. And so, fearinge least his enemies would in the night time draw unto the city, one after an other, and by couples: he sent a great number of Achaians, and laid them in ambush amongst the brookes and hilles neere about it, which made great slaughter of Nabis souldiers, because they came not altogether in troupes, but scatteringly one after an other as they fled, one here, an other there, and so fell into their enemies handes, as birdes into the fowlers net. These acts made Philopœmen singularly beloved of the Grecians, and they did him great honor in all their Theaters and common assemblies. Whereat Titus Quintius Flaminius, of nature very ambitious, and covetous of honor: did much repine, and was envious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of Rome should have place and honor amongst the Achaians, before a meane gentleman of Arcadia. And he imagined he had deserved better of all Greece, then Philopœmen had: considering, howe by the onely proclamation of an heraulde, he had restored Greece againe to her auncient liberty, which before his comming was subject unto kinge Philip, and unto the Macedonians. Afterwardes, Titus Quintius made peace with the tyran Nabis. Nabis was shortly after very traiterously slaine by the Ætolians. Whereuppon the citie of Sparta grew to a tumult, and Philopœmen straight taking the occasion, went thither with his army, and handeled the matter so wisely: that partely for love, and partely by force, he wanne the city, and joyned it unto the tribe of the Achaians. So was he marvelously commended and esteemed of the Achaians for this notable victory, to have wonne their tribe and communalty so famous a city, and of so great estimacion. For the city of Sparta was no smale encrease of their power, and being joyned as a member of Achaia. Moreover he wan by this meanes, the love and good will of all the honest men of Lacedæmon, of the hope they had to finde him a protector and defender of their liberty. Where-

Titus Quin-
tius envieth
Philopœmen.

Nabis slaine
by the
Ætolians.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

fore, when the tyran Nabis house and goodes were solde, as forfeitted to the state: they resolved in their counsell to make him a present of the money therof, which amounted to the summe of sixe score talents, and sent Ambassadors purposely unto him, to offer it him. Then Philopœmen shewed himselve plainely to be no counterfeate honest man, but a good man in deede. For first of all, there was not one of all the Lacedæmonians that durst presume to offer him this money, but every man was afrayed to tell him of it: and every body that was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for them selves. Notwithstandinge, in the ende they made one Timolaus to take the matter upon him, who was his familiar friend, and also his hoste. And yet the same Timolaus when he came unto Megalipolis, and was lodged and entertained in Philopœmenes house, did so much reverence him for his wise talke and conversation, for his moderate diet, and just dealing with all men: that he sawe there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, but founde some other occasion to excuse the cause of his comminge unto him. And beinge sent unto him againe the second time, he did even as much as at the first time. And making a third prooffe, he ventured at the last to open the matter unto him, and told him the good will the city of Sparta did beare him. Philopœmen became a glad man to heare it: and when he had heard all he had to say to him, he went him selve unto the citie of Sparta. There he declared unto the counsell, that it was not honest men, and their good friends, they should seeke to winne and corrupt with money, considering they might commaund their vertue upon any occasion, without cost unto them: but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by seditious orations in counsell did mutine, and put a whole citie in uprore: to the ende that having their mouthes stopped with giftes, they should trouble them the lesse in the common wealth. For, said he, it is more necessarie to stoppe your enemies mouthes, and to sowe up their lippes from libertie of speaking: then it is to keepe your frendes from it. So

PHILO-
POEMEN

Philopœmen
free from
covetousnes.

Philopœ-
menes wise
counsell to
the Lacedæ-
monians,
howe they
should be-
stowe their
giftes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
CEMEN

noble a man was Philopœmen against all covetousnesse of money. Shortely after, the Lacedæmonians beginning to stirre againe, Diophanes (who was then General of the Achaians) beinge advertised of it, beganne to prepare to punish them. The Lacedæmonians on the other side preparinge for the warres, did set all the contry of Peloponnesus in armes. Hereupon Philopœmen sought to pacifie Diophanes anger, declaring unto him, that king Antiochus, and the Romaines, beinge at warres together at that present time, and they both havinge puisant armies one against an other in the midst of Greece: it was meete for a good Generall and wise governor, to have an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thinge within his contry at that instant, but then rather to dissemble it, and not to seeme to heare any fault whatsoever they did. Diophanes would not be perswaded, but entred the territories of Lacedæmon with a great army, and Titus Quintius Flaminius with him: and they together marched directly towardes the city of Sparta. Philopœmen was so madde with their doings, that he tooke upon him an enterprise not very lawfull, nor altogether just: neverthelesse, his attempt proceeded of a noble minde, and great corage. For he got into the citie of Sparta, and beinge but a private persone, kept out the General of the Achaians, and the Consull of the Romaines for entring the city: and when he had pacified all troubles and seditions in the same, he delivered it up againe as it was before, into the handes of the communitie of the Achaians. Neverthelesse, him selfe beinge afterwarde Generall of the Achaians, did compell the Lacedæmonians to receive those home againe whom they had banished for certaine faultes, and did put foure score naturall borne citizens of Sparta unto death, as Polybius wryteth. Or three hundred and fifty, as Aristocrates an other historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and rased them to the grounde, and tooke away the most parte of their territories, and gave them to the Megalopolitans. All those whome the tyrannes had made free denizens of Sparta, he compelled them to departe the contry of Lacedæmon, and forced them to

Diophanes
and T. Quintus
Flaminius
do invade
Lacedæ-
monia.
Philopœ-
menes noble
act.

Philopœ-
menes cruelty
to the
Spartans.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

dwell in Achaia, three thousand only excepted, who would not obey his commaundement: all those he solde for slaves, and with the money he made of them (to spight them the more) he built a goodly fayer walke within the citie of Megalipolis. Yet furthermore, to do the Lacedæmonians all the mischiefe he coulde, and as it were, to treade them under the feete in their most grievous misery: he did a most cruell and unjust acte towarde them. For he compelled them to leave the discipline and maner of education of their children, which Lycurgus had of olde time instituted: and made them to follow the maner the Achaians used, in lieu of their olde grounded contry custome, bicause he sawe they would never be humble minded, so long as they kept Lycurgus order and institucion. Thus were they driven to put the heades in the choller, by the miserable mishappe that befell them: and in all despight, to suffer Philopœmen in this maner to cut a sunder (as it were) the sinewes of their common wealth. But afterwardes they made sute to the Romaines, that they might be suffered to enjoy their auncient discipline againe, which being graunted them, they straight left the maner of the Achaians, and did set up againe as much as was possible (after so great miserie and corruption of their maners) their olde auncient customes and orders of their contry. Now about the time the warres beganne in Greece, betwene the Romaines and king Antiochus, Philopœmen was then a private man, and without any authority. He seeinge that kinge Antiochus lay still in the citie of Chalcis, and did nothing but feast and love, and had married a younge maide farre unmeete for his yeres: and perceiving that his Syrian souldiers wandered up and downe the townes in great disorder, playing many lewde partes without guide of Captaines: he was very sory he was not at that time Generall of the Achaians, and tolde the Romaines, that he envied their victory, having warres with enemies that were so easily to be overcome. For (sayd he) if fortune favored me that I were Generall of the Achaians at this present, I woulde have killed them every man in the cellers and tippling houses. Now when the Romaines had overcome Antiochus, they beganne to have surer footing in Greece:

PHILO-
PŒMEN

Philopœmen made the Spartans forsake Lycurgus law.

Antiochus solace and marriage at Chalcis.

Philopœmenes counsell against the Romaines.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PCEMEN

and to compasse in the Achaians of all sides, and specially, by reason the heades and governors of the cities about them did yeele to the Romaines, to winne their favor. And now their greatnesse grewe in hast, by the favor of the goddess, so as they were become the monarche of the whole worlde, who brought them nowe to the ende that fortune had determined. Philopœmen in the meane time did like a good pylot, bare hard against the billowes and roughnesse of their waves : and though for the time he was forced to give place, and to let things passe, yet for all that he was against the Romaines, and did withstande them in the most parte of their proceedinges, by seeking ever to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquence and well doing caried great authority among the Achaians. And when Aristænetus Megalopolitan, (a man of great authority among the Achaians, and one that ever bare great devotion to the Romaines) sayd in open Senate among the Achaians, that they should deny the Romaines nothings, nor shew them selves unthankfull to them : Philopœmen hearing what he sayd, held his peace a while, and suffered him to speake (though it boyled in his hart, he was so angry with him) and in the ende, breaking all pacience, and as one overcome with choller, he sayd : O Aristænetus, why have you such hast to see the unfortunate ende of Greece ? An other time, when Manius, Consull of Rome (after he had conquered king Antiochus) did make request to the counsell of the Achaians, that such as were banished from Lacedæmon, might returne home into their contry againe, and that Titus Quintus Flaminius also did earnestly intreate them : Philopœmen was against it, not from any hatred he bare unto the banished men, but bicause he would have done it by his owne meane, and the only grace of the Achaians, to the ende they shuld not be beholding for so good a turne, neither unto Titus, nor yet to the Romaines. Afterwardes he him selfe, being Generall of the Achaians, did restore them wholly to their owne againe. Thus was Philopœmen sometime, a litle to bolde and quarrellous, by reason of his great stomake : and specially when any man of authority sought for to have thinges. Lastely, beinge three score and

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

tenne yeares of age, he was the eight time chosen General of the Achaians, and hoped well, not only to passe the yeare of his charge in peace and quietnes, but also all the rest of his life without any sturre of new warres, he saw the affaires of Greece take so good successe. For like as the force and strength of sickenes declineth, as the natural strength of the sickely body empaireth: so through all the cities and people of Greece, envy of quarrell and warres surceased, as their power diminished. Neverthesse, in the end of his yeares government, the goddes divine (who justly punish all insolent wordes and deedes) threw him to the ground, as they suffer a ryder unfortunately to take a fall of his horse, beinge come almost to the ende of his cariere. For they wryte, that he beinge in a place on a time amongst good companie, where one was marvelously praised for a good Captaine, sayed unto them: Why, masters, can ye commend him that was contented to be taken prisoner alive of his enemies? Shortely after came newes that Dinocrates Mes-senian (a private enemy of Philopœmenes for certaine contro-versies past betwene them, and a man generally hated besides, of all honorable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawen the city of Messina from the devotion of the Achaians: and moreover that he came with an army to take a towne called Colonide. Philopœmen was at that time in the city of Argos, sicke of an agew, and yet hearing these newes, tooke his jorney toward Megalipolis, making al the hast he could possible, so that he came above foure hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence toward Messina, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at armes of the lustiest and wealthiest Megalopolitans: who were all young noble men of the city, and willingly offered them selves to goe with him for the goodwill they bare him, and for the desire they had to follow his valliantnes. Thus went they on their way towards the city of Messina, and marched so longe, that they came nere unto the hill of Evander, where they met with Dinocrates and his company, and gave so fierce an onset on them, that they made them all turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a reliefe of five hundred men to Dinocrates,

PHILO-
PŒMEN

Philopœmen
chosen the
eight time
General of
the Achaians
being 70 yere
olde.

Philopœ-
menes jorney
against Dino-
crates.

Mons
Evander.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PÆMEN

which he had left to keepe the contry of Messina. The fly-
ing men that were scattered here and there, seeing this
supply, gathered them selves againe together, and shewed
upon the hills. Philopœmen fearinge to be environned, and
being desirous to bring his men safe home againe, who most
of love had followed him: beganne to marche away through
narrow bushy places, him selfe being in the rereward, and
turned oftentimes upon his enemies, and skirmished with
them, onely to drive them away from followinge of the rest of
his company, and not a man that durst once set apon him: for
they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him.
Howbeit Philopœmen sundry times venturinge farre from
his company, to geve these young noble men leasure to save
them selves one after an other: tooke no heede to him selfe
that he was alone, environned on every side with a great
number of ennemies. Notwithstandinge, of all his enemies
there was not a man that durst come to hande strokes with
him, but still slinging and shooting at him a farre of, they
drave him in the end amongst stony places betwene hewen
rockes, where he had much a doe to guide his horse, although
he had spurred him that he was all of a gore blood. And as
for his age, that did not lette him but he might have saved
him selfe, for he was strong and lusty by the continuall
exercise he tooke: but by cursed hatte, his body being
weake with sickenes, and weary with the long jorney he had
made that day, he founde him selfe very heavy and ill dis-
posed, that his horse stumbling with him, threwe him to the
grounde. His fall was very great, and brused all his head,
that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and never
sturred nor spake: so that his enemies thinkinge he had bene
dead, came to turne his body to strippe him. But when
they saw him lift up his head and open his eyes, then many
of them fell all at once apon him, and tooke him, and bounde
both his hands behinde him, and did all the villany and
mischiefe they could unto him, and such, as one would litle
have thought Dinocrates would have used in that sorte, or
that he could have had such an ill thought towards him.
So, they that taried behinde in the city of Messina, were
marvelous glad when they heard these newes, and ranne all

Philopœ-
menes mis-
fortune.

Philopœmen
taken.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

PHILO-
POEMEN

to the gates of the city to see him brought in. When they saw him thus shamefully bounde, and pinnioned, against the dignity of so many honors as he had received, and of so many triumphes and victories as he had passed: the most parte of them wept for pitie, to consider the mishappe and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is so litle certaintye, as in maner it is nothing. Then beganne there some curteous speeche to runne in the mouthes of the people by litle and litle, that they should remember the great good he had done unto them in times past, and the liberty he had restored them unto, when he expulsed the tyran Nabis out of Messina. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to please Dinocrates, sayed they should hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a daungerous enemy, and that would never forgive man that had once offended him: and the rather, bicause he would be more terrible to Dinocrates, then ever he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiving such open shame by him. Nevertheles, in the end they caried him into a certen dungeon under the ground, called the treasury, (which had neither light nor ayer at all into it, nor dore, nor half dore, but a great stone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and so they did let him downe the same, and stopped the hole againe with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when these younge noble Achaian horsemen had fled uppon the spurre a great way from the enemy, they remembered them selves, and looked round about for Philopœmen: and finding him not in sight, they supposed straight he had bene slaine. Thereuppon they stayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiving he aunswered not, they beganne to say among them selves, they were beastes and cowardes to flie in that sorte: and how they were dishonored for ever to have forsaken their Captaine, to save themselves, who had not spared his owne life, to deliver them from daunger. Here-upon ryding on their way, and enquiring still for him: they were in the end advertised how he was taken. And then they went and caried those newes through all the townes and cities of Achaia, which were very sory for him, and tooke it as a signe of great ill fortune toward them. Wheruppon they

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

**PHILO-
PŒMEN**

agreed to send Ambassadors forthwith to the Messenians, to demaunde him: and in the meane time every man should prepare to arme them selves, to go thither, and get him either by force or love. When the Achaïans had thus sent, Dinocrates feared nothing so much, as that delay of time might save Philopœmenes life: wherefore to prevent it, as soone as night came, and that the people were at rest, he straight caused the stone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to Philopœmen with a cuppe of poison to offer him, who was commaunded also not to goe from him, untill he had dronke it.

Philopœmen
poysoned by
Dinocrates.

When the hangman was come downe, he found Philopœmen layed on the grounde apon a litle cloke, havinge no list to sleepe, he was so grievously troubled in his minde. Who when he sawe light, and the man standing by him, holding a cuppe in his hande with this poison, he sate upright upon his cowch, howbeit with great paine he was so weake: and taking the cuppe in his hande, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horsemen that came with him, and specially of Lycortas. The hangman made him answer, that the most of them were saved. Then he cast his handes

Philopœ-
menes last
words.

a litle over his head, and looking merely on him he said: It is well, seeing we are not all unfortunate. Therewith speaking no moe wordes, nor makinge other a doe, he droncke up all the poison, and layed him downe as before. So nature strave not much withall, his body being brought so lowe,

Philopœ-
menes death.

and thereupon the poison wrought his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The newes of his death ran presently through all Achaïa, which generally from high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the Achaïan youth and counsellors of their cities and townes, assembled them selves in the city of Megalipolis, where they all agreed without delay to revenge his death. They made Lycortas their Generall,

The Achaïans
did revenge
Philopœ-
menes death.

under whose conduct they invaded the Messenians, with force and violence, puttinge all to the fire and sword: so as the Messenians were so feared with this merciless fury, that they yelded them selves, and wholly consented to receive the Achaïans into their city. But Dinocrates would not give

Dinocrates
slue him selfe.

them leasure to execute him by justice, for he killed him

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

selfe: and so did all the rest make themselves away, who gave advise that Philopœmen should be put to death. But those that would have had Philopœmen hanged on a gibbet, Lycortas caused them to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kind of torments. That done, they burnt Philopœmenes body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from Messina, not in disorder, one upon an others necke as every man listed: but in such an order and ray, that in the midst of these funerall they did make a triumphe of victorie. For the souldiers were all crowned with garlandes of lawrell in token of victory, notwithstanding, the teares ranne downe their cheekes in token of sorowe, and they led their enemies prisoners, shackled and chained. The funerall pot in the which were Philopœmenes ashes, was so covered with garlandes of flowers, nosegaics, and laces, that it could scant be seene or discerned, and was caried by one Polybius a young man, the sonne of Lycortas, that was Generall at that time to the Achaiaens: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefest of the Achaiaens, and after them also followed all the souldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not so sorowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which have great cause of sorow: nor yet so joyful, as those that came conquerers from so great a victory. Those of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they past, came and presented them selves unto them, to touche the funerall pot of his ashes, even as they were wont to take him by the hande, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany his convoy unto the city of Megalipolis. At the gates whereof, were olde men, women, and children, which thrustinge them selves amongst the souldiers, did renewe the teares, sorowes, and lamentacions of all the miserable and unfortunate city: who tooke it that they had lost with their citizen, the first and chiefest place of honor among the Achaiaens. So he was buried very honorably as appertained unto him: and the other prisoners of Messina, were all stoned to death, about his sepulchre. All the other cities of Achaia, besides many other honors they did unto him, did set up statues, and as like to him, as could be

PHILO-
PÆMEN

Philopœ-
menes
funerall.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PHILO-
PŒMEN

counterfeated. Afterwards in the unfortunate time of Greece, when the city of Corinthe was burnt and destroyed by the Romaines, there was a malicious Romaine that did what he could to have the same pulled downe againe, by burdening and accusing Philopœmen (as if he had bene alive) that he was alwaies enemy to the Romaines, and envied much their prosperity and victories. But after Polybius had answered him: neither the Consul Mummius, nor his counsellors, nor lieutenants, would suffer them to deface and take away the honors done in memory of so famous and worthy a man, although he had many waies done much hurt unto Titus Quintius Flaminius, and unto Manius. So, these good men then made a difference betwene duety and profit: and did thinke honesty and profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason and justice. Moreover they were perswaded, that like as men receive curtesie and goodnes of any, so are they bound to requite them againe, with kindenes and duety.

And as men use to acknowledge the same: even so ought men to honor and reverence vertue. And thus much for the life of Philopœmen.

THE ENDE OF PHILOPŒMENES LIFE

THE LIFE OF TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS



T is easie to see Titus Quintius Flaminius forme, and stature, by Philopœmenes statue of brasse, to whome we compare him: the which is now set uppe at Rome, neere to great Apollo that was brought from Carthage, and is placed right against the comming in to the show place, under which there is an inscription in Greeke letters.

But for his nature and conditions, they say of him thus: he

Note the
humanity of
the Romaines,
keepinge
their enemies
monuments
from defacing.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men againe. For, if he did punish any man that hath angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good also to many, and ever loved them whom he had once pleased, as if they had done him some pleasure: and was ready to do for them still whom he founde thankfull, bicause he would ever make them behold-ing to him, and thought that as honorable a thinge, as he could purchase to him selfe. Bicause he greatly sought honor above all thinges, when any notable service was to be done, he would do it him selfe, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would ever be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with those that could helpe him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to exercise his vertue with: the other, he tooke them as his fellowes and followers of honor with him. He came to mans state, when the citie of Rome had greatest warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of Rome, which were of age to cary weapon, were sent to the warres to learne to traile the pyke, and how to become good Captaines. Thus was he entred into marshall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against Hanniball of Carthage, where he was made Colonell of a thousande footemen, under Marcellus the consull: who being slaine by an ambush Hanniball had layed for him betwene the cities of Bancia, and Venusa, then they did choose Titus Quintius Flaminius governor of the province and city of Tarentum, which was now taken againe the seconde time. In this government of his, he wanne the reputacion as much of a good and just man, as he did of an expert and skilfull Captaine. By reason whereof, when the Romaines were requested to send men to inhabite the cities of Narnia and Cossa, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them, which chiefly gave him hart and corage to aspire at the first to the Consulshippe, passenge over all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other younge men were wont to attaine the Consulshippe. Therefore when the time came that the Consulls should be elected, he did present him selfe amonge other, accompanied with a great number of those he hadde brought

FLAMINIUS

Titus Quintius first charge in warre.

Degrees of offices before one came to be Consull.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS with him, to inhabite the two newe townes, who did make earnest sute for him. But the two Tribunes Fulvius, and Manlius, spake against him, and sayed: it was out of all reason, that so younge a man should in such manner prease to have the office of the highest dignitie, against the use and custome of Rome, before he hadde passed through the inferior offices of the common wealth. Neverthesse, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voyces of the people: who presently pronounced him Consull openly, with Sextius Ælius, although he was not yet thirtie yeare olde. Afterwardes, Ælius and he devidinge the offices of the state by lotte: it fell apon T. Quintius to make warre with Philip kinge of Macedon. In the which me thinkes fortune greatly favored the Romaines affaires, that made such a man Generall of these warres: for, to have pointed a Generall that by force and violence woulde have sought all thinges at the Macedonians handes, that were a people to be wonne rather by gentlenesse and perswasions, then by force and compulsion: it was all against them selves. Philip, to maintaine the bront of a battell against the Romaines, had power enough of his owne in his realme of Macedon: but to make warre any long time, to furnish him selfe with money and vittailles, to have a place and cities to retyre unto, and lastly, to have all other necessaries for his men and army: it stooode him apon to get the force of Greece. And had not the force of Greece bene politickely cut from him, the warres against him had not bene ended with one battell. Moreover, Greece (which never before bare the Romaines any great good will) would not have delt then so inwardly in friendshippe with them, had not their Generall bene (as he was) a gentle persone, lowly, and tractable, that wanne them more by his wisdome, then by his force, and could both eloquently utter his minde to them, and curteously also heare them speake, that had to doe with him, and chiefly, ministred justice and equity to every man a like. For it is not to be thought that Greece would otherwise so soone have withdrawn them selves from the rule of those, with whome they were acquainted, and governed: and have put them selves under the rule of strangers, but that they saw great justice

T. Q. Flaminus, Sextius Ælius Consulls.

T. Q. Flaminus maketh warre with Philip king of Macedon.

Titus curtesie wanne the Greecians more then his force.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appear, by declaring of his actes. Titus was informed, that the Generalls before him sent to the warre in Macedon (as Sulpitius, and Publius Iulius) used to come thither about the later end of the yeare, and made but cold warres, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in an other against Philip, and all to take some strait, or to cut of vittells: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarying at home, consumed the most of their Consulshippe at Rome, in matters of government, and so enjoyed the honor of their office. Afterwardes in the end of their yeare, they would set out to the warres, of intent to get an other yeare over their heades in their office, that spending one yere in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the warres abroad. But Titus not minding to trifle out the halfe of his Consulshippe at Rome, and the other abroad in the warres: did willingly leave all his honors and dignities he might have enjoyed by his office at Rome, and besought the Senate that they would appoint his brother Lucius Quintus Lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he tooke with him selfe about three thousande olde souldiers of those that had first overthrowen Asdrubal in Spayne, and Hannibal afterwardes in Africke, under the conduct of Scipio, which yet were able to serve, and were very willinge to goe with him in this journey, to be the strength of his army. With this companie he passed the seaes without daunger, and landed in Epirus, where he found Publius Iulius encamped with his army before kinge Philip, who of long time had lien in campe about the mouth of the river of Apsus, to kepe the straight and passage which is the entry into Epirus. So that Publius Iulius had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the naturall force and hardnes of the place. Then Titus tooke the army of him, and sent him to Rome. Afterwardes, him selfe went in persone to view and consider the nature of the contry, which was in this sorte. It is a long valley walled on either side with great high mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe in Thessalie. Howbeit it had no such goodly woods, nor grene forrests, nor fayer

FLAMINIUS

T. Q. landed
in Epirus.

Apsus flu.

The descrip-
tion of the
contry of
Epirus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS meadowes, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had: but it was a great deepe marrishe or quavemyre, through the middest whereof the river called Apsus did runne, being in greatnes and swiftnes of streame, very like to the river of Peneus. The river did occupie all the ground at the feete of the mountaines, saving a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow straight pathe by the waters side, very unhandesome for an army to passe that way, though they found not a man to keepe the passage. There were some in the army that counselled Titus to fetch a great compasse about by the contry of Dassaretide, and by the city of Lyncus, where the contry is very plaine, and the way marvelous easie. Howebeit he stode in great feare he should lacke vittells, if he stayed farre from the sea, and happely if he fell into any barren or leane contry, (Philip refusing the battel, and purposing to flie) he should be constrained in the end to returne againe towards the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the mountaines to set upon his enemy, and to prove if he could winne the passage by force. Now Philip kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the Romaines forced to get up the hilles, they were received with dartes, slings, and shot, that lighted amongst them here and there: insomuch as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slayne and hurt on either side. But this was not the ende of the warre. For in the meane time there came certaine neateherdes of the contry unto Titus (who did use to keepe bestes on these mountaines) and tolde him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not: by the which they promised to guide his army so, that in three dayes at the furthest, they would bringe them on the top of the mountaine. And bicause they might be assured that their wordes were true, they sayed they were sent to him by Charopus, the sonne of Machatas. This Caropus was the chiefe man of the Epirots, who loved the Romaines very well, yet he favored them but under hand, for feare of Philip. Titus gave credit unto them, and so sent one of his Captaines with them, with foure thousand

Charopus
(Machatas
sonne) the
chiefe man of
the Epirots.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

footemen, and three hundred horsemen. The heard men that were their guides, went before still, fast bounde: and the Romaines followed after. All the day time the army rested in thicke woddes, and marched all night by moone light, which was then by good happe at the ful. Titus having sent these men away, rested all the rest of his campe: saving that some daies he entertayned them with some light skirmishes to occupy the enemy withall. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compasse about, shoulde come unto the top of the mountaine above the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, and devided them into three troupes, with the one of them he himselfe went on that side of the river where the way is straightest, making his hands to march directly against the side of the hil. The Macedonians againe, they shot lustely at them from the height of the hill, and in certen places amongst the rockes they came to the sworde. At the selfe same time, the two other troupes on either hande of him did their endeavor likewise to get up the hill, and as it were envying one an other, they climed up with great corage against the sharpe and steepe hanginge of the mountaine. When the sunne was up, they might see a farre of as it were, a certen smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mistes we see commonly rise from the tops of the mountaines. The enemies could see nothing, bicause it was behinde them, and that the top of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The Romaines, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the midst of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they saw it increased stil more, and more, and in such sorte, that it darkened all the ayer: then they did assure them selves it was certainlye the token their men did give them that they were come. Then they beganne to crie out, clyminge up the hills with such a lusty corage, that they drave their enemies up the hill still, even unto the very rough and hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellowes also that were behind the enemies, did aunswer them with like lowde cries from the top of the mountaine: wherwith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled presently upon it.

FLAMINIUS

T. Q. possessed the straightes of the mountaine.

The Macedonians flee.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS Notwithstanding, there were not slaine above two thousand of them, because the hardnes and straightnes of the place did so gard them, that they could not be chased. But the Romaines spoiled their campe, tooke all that they found in their tents, tooke also their slaves, and wan the passage into the mountaines, by the which they entred the contry of Epirus: and did passe through it so quietly, and with so great abstinence, that though they were farre from their ships and the sea, and lacked their ordinary portion of corne which they were wont to have monthely, and that vittells were very scant with them at that time, yet they never tooke any thing of the contry, though they founde great store and plenty of all riches in it. For Titus was advertised, that Philip passing by Thessalie, and flying for feare, had caused the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the mountaines, and then to set fire on their houses, and to leave those goodes they could not cary away, by reason of the weight and unhandsome cariage therof, to the spoyle of his souldiers: and so (as it seemed) he left the whole contry to the conquest of the Romaines. Whereuppon Titus looking considerably to his doings, gave his men great charge to passe through the contry without doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their enemies had now left to them as their owne. So they taried not long to enjoy the benefit of their orderly and wise forbearing of the contry. For, so soone as they were entred Thessalie, the cities willingly yeilded them selves unto them: and the Grecians inhabiting beyond the contry of Thermopyles, did marvelously desire to see Titus, asking no other thing, but to put them selves into his hands. The Achaians also on the other side, did renounce the league and alliance they had made with Philip: and furthermore did determine in their counsell, to make warre with him on the Romaines side. And although the Ætolians were at that time frendes and confederates with the Romaines, and that they did shew them selves very loving to take their parte in these warres: nevertheles when they desired the Opuntians that they would put their city into their hands, and were offred that it should be kept and defended from Philip: they would not harken therto, but sent for Titus, and put them selves and their

Philip flying
king of Macedon.

T. Q. Flaminus modesty,
forbearing spoyle: wanne
him many frendes.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

goods wholly into his protection. They say, that when king Pyrrus first saw the Romaines army range in order of battell from the top of a hill, he said: This order of the barbarous people, setting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous maner. And those also that never had seene Titus before, and came for to speake with him: were compelled in a manner to say as much. For where they had hearde the Macedonians say, that there came a Captaine of the barbarous people that destroyed all before him by force of armes, and subdued whole contries by violence: they sayd to the contrary, that they found him a man, in dede young of yeres, howbeit gentle, and curteous to looke on, and that spake the Greeke tongue excellently wel, and was a lover only of true glory. By reason wherof they returned home marvelous glad, and filled all the cities and townes of Greece with goodwill towards him, and sayd: they had seene Titus the Captaine, that would restore them to their auncient libertie againe. Then it much more appeared, when Philip shewed him selfe willing to have peace, and that Titus also did offer it him, and the frendshippe of the people of Rome, with these conditions: that he would leave the Greecians their whole liberties, and remove his garrisons out of their cities and strong holdes: which Philip refused to do. And thereupon all Greece, and even those which favored Philip, sayed with one voyce: that the Romaines were not come to make warres with them, but rather with the Macedonians in favor of the Greecians. Wherupon all Greece came in, and offred them selves unto Titus without compulsion. And as he passed through the contry of Bœotia, without any shew at al of warres, the chiefest men of the city of Thebes went to mete him: who though they tooke part with the king of Macedon, bicause of a private man called Brachylelis, yet they would honor Titus, as those which were contented to keepe league and frendship with either side. Titus embraced them, and spake very curteously unto them, going on his way stil fayer and softly, entertaining them somtime with one matter, and somtime with an other, and kept them talke of purpose, to the end his souldiers being wearied with jorneying, might in the meane

FLAMINIUS

Pyrrus saying of the Romaines army.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS time take good breath: and so marching on, by litle and litle, he entred into the city with them. Wherewith the Lords of Thebes were not greatly pleased, but yet they durst not refuse him, thogh he had not at that time any number of souldiers about him. When he was within Thebes, he praied audience, and began to perswade the people (as carefully as if he had not had the city already) that they woulde rather take parte with the Romaines, then with the king of Macedon. And to further Titus purpose, king Attalus being by chaunce at that time in the assembly, did help to exhort the Thebans very earnestly, that they would doe as Titus perswaded them. But Attalus was more earnest then became a man of his yeares, for the desire he had (as was imagined) to shewe Titus his eloquence: who did so straine and move him selfe withall, that he sounded sodaynely in the middest of his oration, whereby the rewme fell downe so fast upon him, that it tooke away his senses, so as he fell in a traunse before them all, and few dayes after was conveyed againe by sea into Asia, where he lived not long after. In the meane time, the Bœotians came into the Romaines, and tooke their parte. And Philip having sent Ambassadors to Rome, Titus also sent thither of his men to sollicite for him, in two respects. The one, if the warres continued against Philip, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they would do him the honor, as to make and conclude it with Philip. For Titus of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare least they would send a successor to continew those warres, who should take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his frends made such earnest sute for him, that neither king Philip attained that he prayed: neither was there sent any other generall in Titus place, but he still continued his charge in these warres. Wherefore, so soone as he had received his commission and authority from the Senate, he went straight towards Thessalie, with great hope to overcome Philip. For he had in his army above six and twenty thousand fighting men, whereof the Ætoliens made six thousand footemen, and three thousande horsemen. King Philips

King Attalus
death.

The Bœotians
yeld unto the
Romaines.

Quintius
army.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

army on thother side was no lesse in number, and they began to march one towards the other, untill at the length they both drew neere the city of Scotusa, where they determined to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were afraid, to see them selves one so neere an other: but rather to the contrary, the Romaines on the one side tooke greater hart and corage unto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with themselves what great honor they should win to overcome the Macedonians, who were so highly esteemed for their valliantnes, by reason of the famous acts that Alexander the great did by them. And the Macedonians on the other side also, taking the Romaines for other maner of souldiers then the Persians, began to have good hope if they might winne the field, to make king Philip more famous in the world, then ever was Alexander his father. Titus then calling his men together, spake, and exhorted them to stand to it like men, and to show themselves valliant souldiers in this battel, as those which were to shew the prooffe of their valliantnesse in the hart of Greece: the goodliest Theater of the world, and against their enemies of most noble fame. Philip then by chauce, or forced to it by the speede he made, because they were both ready to joyne: did get up unwares upon a charnell house, (where they had buried many bodies, being a litle hill raised up above the rest, and neere the trenches of his campe) and there began to encorage his souldiers, as all generals do before they give battel. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they tooke it for an il signe that he was gotten up on the top of a grave to speake unto them: he of a conceite at the matter, did of himselfe deferre to give battell that day. The next morning, because the night was very wet by reason the sowthe windes had blowen, the clowds were turned to a miste, and filled all the valley with a darke grosse thicke ayer, comming from the mountaines thereabouts, which covered the field betwene both campes with a mist all the morning: by reason wherof the skowtes on both sides that were sent to discover what the enemies did, in very shorte time met together, and one gave charge upon an other in a place they call the dogges heads, which are pointes of rockes

FLAMINIUS

King Philip
and Quintius
met with their
armies neere
Scotusa

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS placed upon litle hills one before an other, and very nere one unto an other, which have bene called so, bicause they have had some likenes of it. In this skirmish there were many chaunges, as commonly falleth out when they fight in such ill favored stony places. For sometime the Romaines fled, and the Macedonians chased them: an other time the Macedonians that followed the chase, were glad to fly themselves, and the Romaines who fled before, nowe had them in chase. This chaunge and alteracion came, by sending new supplies stil from both campes, to relieve them that were distressed and driven to flie. Now began the miste to breake up, and the ayer to clere, so that both generals might see about them what was done in either campe: by reason wherof both of them drew on their army to the field and battell. So Philip had the vantage on the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, from which they came so a maine to set upon the Romaines, and with such a fury, that the strongest and valliantest that could be, had never bene able to abide the front of their battell, so closely were they joined together, and their wall of pykes was so strong. But on his left wing it was not so, bicause the rancks of his battell could not joine so nere, nor close target to target, the place being betwixt the hills and the rocks where the battell was comming, so as they were compelled by reason of the straightnes and unevennes of the ground, to leave it open, and unfurnished in many places. Titus finding that disadvantage, went from the left wing of his battell which he saw overlaid by the right wing of his enemies, and going sodainly toward the left wing of king Philips battell, he set upon the Macedonians on that side, where he saw they could not close their ranckes in the front, nor joyne them together in the midst of the battell (which is the whole strength and order of the Macedonian fight) bicause the field was up hill and downe hill: and to fight hand to hand they were so pestered behind, that one thronged and overlaid an other. For the battell of the Macedonians hath this property, that so long as the order is kept close and joyned together, it semeth as it were but the body of a beast of a force invincible. But also after that it is once open,

Battell betwene Quintus and Philip kinge of Macedon.

The proprietie of the Macedonian battell.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and that they are sundered and not joyned together, it doth **FLAMINIUS** not only loose the force and power of the whole body, but also of every private souldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diversity of the weapons wherewith they fight, and partely for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing and joyning together of their ranckes and orders which doth stay up one an other, more then doth every private souldiers strength. So when this left wing of the Macedonians was broken, and that they ran their way: one parte of the Romaines followed the chase, and the other ranne to give a charge uppon the flanckes of the right winge which fought yet, and they made great slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, beganne to stagger and breake, and in the ende ranne away as fast as the other did, throwing downe their weapons: insomuch as there were slaine of them eight thousande in the fieelde, and five thousande taken prisoners in the chase. And had not the fault bene in the Ætoliens, Philip had not saved him selfe by flynge as he did. For whilest the Romaines had their enemies in chase, the Ætoliens taried, and rifled all kinge Philips campe, so as they had left the Romaines nothings to spoyle at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell, and hot words betwene them, and one with an other. But afterwardes they angered Titus worse, chalenginge the honor of this victory to them selves, because they gave it out through Greece, that they alone had overthrown king Philip in the battell. So that in the songs and ballets the Poets made in praise of this victory, which every contry and townes man had in his mouth: they alwaies put the Ætoliens before the Romaines, as in this that followeth, which was currantly song in every place:

Quintius
overcame
Philippes
army.

Mutinie be-
twixt the
Ætoliens and
the Romaines.

Oh frend, which passeth by: here lye we wretched pheares,
 Withouten honor of the grave, without lamenting teares.
 We thirty thousande were, which ended have our dayes:
 In cruell coasts of Thessalie, which caused our decayes.
 We have bene overthrown by th'Ætoliens men of warre:
 And by the Latine crewes likewise, whom Titus led from farre.
 Even out of Italie, to Macedonie lande,
 Us to destroy, he (captaine like) did come with mighty bande.
 And Philip stowte, therewhiles for all his prowde fierce face:
 Is fled more swift, then hartes doe runne, which are pursued in chace.

Alcæus verses
in disgrace
of kinge
Philip.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS The Poet was Alcæus that made these verses for to singe, who did them in disgrace of kinge Philip, falsly increaseinge the number of his men which died in the battell, only to shame and spite him the more: howbeit he spited Titus thereby, more then Philip, because it was song in every place. For Philip laughed at it, and to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a song to counterfeate his, as followeth :

Philips verses
against
Alcæus.

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

Privy grudge
betwixt Quintus
and the
Ætolians.

But Titus tooke it greuously, who chiefly desired to be honored amongst the Greecians, by reason wherof from that time forwards he delt in the rest of his matters alone, without making accompt of the Ætolians: wherwith they were marvelous angry, and specially when he received an Ambassador from Philip, and gave eare unto a treaty of peace which he offred. For then they were so netled against him, that they gave it out through all Greece, that Titus had solde peace unto Philip, when he might altogether have ended the warre, and utterly have destroyed Philips whole power and Empire, who had first brought Greece into bondage. These slaunderous reports and false tales which the Ætolians spred thus abroade, did much trouble the Romaines frendes and confederates: but Philip selfe pulled this suspicion out of their heades, when he came in person to require peace, and did submit him selfe wholly to the discretion of Titus and the Romaines. Titus then graunted him peace, and delivered to him his realme of Macedon, and commaunded him he shoulde give over all that he helde in Greece, and besides, that he should pay one thousande talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by sea, saving only tenne shippes: and for assurance of this peace, he tooke one of his sonnes for hostage, whome he sent to Rome. Wherein Titus certainly did very well, and wisely did foresee the time to come. For then Hanniball of Carthage, (the great enemy of the Romaines) was banished out of his contry, and commen to kinge Antiochus, whome he put in the head, and earnestly moved, to follow his good

T. Quintus
graunted
Philip peace.

Hannibal was
with kinge
Antiochus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

fortune, and the increase of his Empire. Whom Hannibal so followed with these perswasions, that kinge Antiochus at length was come to it. And trusting to his former good successe, and notable acts, whereby in the warres before he had attained the surname of great: he began now to aspire to the monarchy of the whole world, and sought how to finde occasion to make warres with the Romaines. So that if Titus (foreseeing that a far of) had not wisely inclined to peace, but that the wars of Antiochus had fallen out together with the warres of king Philip, and that these two the mightiest Princes of the worlde had joyned together against the city of Rome: then it had bene in as great trouble and daunger, as ever it was before, in the time of their warres against Hannibal. Howbeit Titus havinge happely thrust in this peace betwene both warres, he cut of the warre that was present, before the other that was comminge: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kinges his last, and from the other his first hope. In the meane time, the tenne commissioners that were sent by the Senate from Rome to Titus, to aide and assist him in the order of the affaiers of Greece: did counsell him to set all the rest of Greece at liberty, and onely to kepe in their handes with good garrison, the cities of Chalcide, of Corinthe, and of Demetriade, to make sure that by practise they should not enter into league and alliance with Antiochus. Then the Ætolians (that were the common slaundersers of Titus proceedings) beganne openly to make these cities to rebell, and did summone Titus to loose the chaines of Greece: for so did kinge Philip call these three cities. Then they asked the Grecians in mockery, whether they were willing now to have heavier fetters on their legges, then before, being somewhat brighter and fayrer then those they had bene shackled with: and also whether they were not greatly beholding to Titus for taking of the fetters from the Grecians legs, and tyinge them about their neckes. Titus beinge marvelously troubled and vexed with this, moved the tenne counsellers so earnestly, that he made them graunt his request in the ende, that those three cities also should be delivered from garrison: bicause the Grecians thenceforth

Chalcide,
Corinthe,
Demetriade,
called by
Philip of
Macedon, the
Chaines of
Greece.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS might no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not thoroughly performed, and accomplished in every respect on them all. Wherefore, when the feast called Isthmia was come, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to see the sporte of the games played there: for Greece having bene long time troubled with warres, they seeing them selves now in sure peace, and in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, but delited only to see games, and to make mery. Proclamation was then made by sounde of trompet in the assembly, that every man shoulde keepe silence. That done, the heraulde went forward, and thrust into the middest of the multitude, and proclaimed out alowde: That the Senate of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius, Consul of the people of Rome (now that they had overthrown kinge Philip and the Macedonians in battell) did thenceforth discharge from all garrisons, and set at liberty from all taxes, subsidies, and impositions for ever, to live after their olde auncient lawes, and in full liberty: the Corinthians, the Locrians, those of Phocide, those of the Ile of Eubœa, the Achaians, the Phthiotes, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhœbeians. At the first time of the proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the heraulde, and the most parte of those that hearde him, coulde not tell distinctly what he sayed: for there ranne up and downe the shewe place where the games were played, a confused brute and tumult of the people that wondered, and asked what the matter ment, so as the heraulde was driven againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after silence made, the herauld puttinge out his voice farre lower then before, did proclaime it in such audible wise, that the whole assembly heard him: and then rose there such a lowde showte and crie of joy through the whole people, that the sound of it was heard to the sea. Then all the people that had taken their places, and were set to see the Sword-players play, rose up all on their feete, letttinge the games alone, and went together with great joy to salute, to embrace, and to thanke Titus the recoverer, protector, and patrone of all their liberties of Greece. Then was seene (which is much spoken of) the power of mens voyces: for crowes fel downe at

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that present time among the people, which by chaunce flew over the show place at that time that they made the same out showte. This came to passe, by reason the ayer was broken and cut a sunder, with the vehemency and strength of the voyces, so as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe up the flying of the birdes: which were driven of necessity to fall to the grounde, as flyinge through a voide place where they lacked ayer. Unlesse we will rather say, that it was the violence of the crie, which strooke the birdes passinge through the ayer, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and so made them fall downe dead to the earth. It may be also, that there was some hurlinge winde in the ayer, as we doe see sometime in the sea, when it riseth high, and many times turneth about the waves, by violence of the storme. So it is, that if Titus hadde not prevented the whole multitude of people which came to see him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hardly scaped from being stifled amongst them, the people came so thicke about him from every place. But after that they were weary of crying, and singing about his pavillion untill night, in the ende they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kinne, frendes or citzens, they did kisse and embrace one an other for joy, and so supped, and made mery together. In their more rejoycinge yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table, but of the warres of Greece, discoursing amongst them what sundry great warres they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recover their liberty. And yet for all that, they coulde never so joyfully nor more assuredly obtaine it, then they did even at that present, receiving the honorablest reward, and that which deserved greatest fame through the worlde: that by the valliantnesse of straungers who fought for the same (without any spilt blood of their owne in comparison, or that they lost the life of any one man, whose death they had cause to lament) they were so restored to their auncient freedome and liberty. It is a very rare thinge amongst men, to finde a man very valliant, and wise withall: but yet of all sortes of valliant men, it is harder to finde a just man. For Agesilaus,

FLAMINIUS
Crowes flying,
fell downe by
the sounde of
mens voyces.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS Lysander, Nicias, Alcibiades, and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to lead an army, and to winne the battell, as well by sea as by lande: but to turne their victories to any honorable benefit, or true honor among men, they could never skill of it. And if you doe except the battell against the barbarous people, in the plaine of Marathon, the battell of Salamina, the journey of Platees, the battell of Thermopyles, the battell Cimon fought about Cyprus, and upon the river of Eurymedon: all the other warres and battells of Greece that were made, fell out against them selves, and did ever bringe them into bondage: and all the tokens of triumphe which ever were set up for the same, was to their shame and losse. So that in the end, Greece was utterly destroyed and overthrowen, and that chiefly through the wickednes and selfe will of her governors and captaines of the cities, one envying an others doing. Where a straunge nation, the which (as it should seeme) had very small occasion to move them to do it (for that they have had no great familiarity with auncient Greece, and through the counsel and good wisdom of the which it should seeme very straunge that Greece coule receive any benefit) have notwithstanding with daungerous battells and infinite troubles, delivered it from oppression, and servitude, of violent Lordes and tyrans. This, and such like talke, did at that time occupy the Greecians heades: and moreover, the deedes following did aunswer and performe the words of the proclamation. For at one selfe time, Titus sent Lentulus into Asia, to set the Bargylians at liberty, and Titillius into Thracia, to remove the garrisons out of the Iles and cities which Philip had kept there: and Publius Iulius was sent also into Asia, unto king Antiochus, to speake unto him to set the Greecians at liberty which he kept in subjection. And as for Titus, he went him selfe unto the city of Chalcide, where he tooke sea, and went into the province of Magnesia, out of the which he tooke all the garrisons of the cities, and redelivered the government of the common wealth unto the citizens of the same. Afterwards when time came, that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of Argos in the honor of Hercules, Titus was chosen judge, and rector of the

Quintius care
to stablish the
liberty of the
Greecians.

The feast
Nemea kept
at Argos.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

games that were plaied there: where, after he had set all things in very good order, pertaining unto the solemnity of the feast, he caused againe solempne proclamation to be made openly, for the generall liberty of all Greece. Furthermore, visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed justice, and did set the inhabitants and citizens of every one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with an other: and did call home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, and pacified all olde quarrells and dissentions amonge them. The which did no lesse please and content him, that by perswasions he could bring the Greecians to be reconciled one with the other: then if he had by force of armes overcome the Macedonians. Inso-much, as the recovery of the libertie which Titus had restored unto the Greecians, seemed unto them the least parte of the goodnesse they had received at his handes. They say, that Lycurgus the orator seeinge the collectors of taxes, cary Zenocrates the Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition, which the straungers inhabiting within the citie of Athens were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreover prosecuted law so hard against them, that he made them pay a fyne for the injury they had done unto so worthy a person. And they tell, how the same Philosopher afterwarde meeting Lycurgus children in the city, sayed unto them: I doe wel requite your fathers good turne he did me: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of every man, for the kinde-nesse he shewed on my behalfe. So the good deedes of the Romaines, and of Titus Quintius Flaminius unto the Greecians, did not only reape this benefit unto them, in recompence that they were praised and honored of all the worlde: but they were cause also of increasinge their dominions and Empire over all nations, and that the worlde afterwarde had great affiance and trust in them, and that most justly. So that the people and cities did not onely receive the Captaines and governors the Romaines sent them: but they also went to Rome unto them, and procured them to come, and did put them selves into their handes. And not only the cities and commualties, but kings and princes

FLAMINIUS

Lycurgus the orator, rescued Zenocrates the Philosopher, and saved him from prison

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS also (which were oppressed by other more mighty than them selves) had no other refuge, but to put them selves under their protection: by reason whereof in a very shorte time (with the favor and helpe of the goddes as I am perswaded) all the world came to submit them selves to their obedience, and under the protection of their Empire. Titus also did glory more, that he had restored Greece againe unto liberty, then in any other service or exployte he had ever done. For when he offered up unto the temple of Apollo in the citie of Delphes, the targets of silver with his owne shilde, he made these verses to be graven upon them, in effect as followeth:

O noble twynnes Tyndarides, Dan Iove his children deare:
Throw out lowde shoutes of joy, and mirth, rejoyce and make good cheare.
O noble kings of Spartan soyle, which take delight to ryde,
Your trampling steedes, with fomy byt, and trappings by their side:
Rejoyce you now, for Titus he, the valliant Romaine knight,
These giftes so great to you hath got, even by his force and might.
That having taken cleane away, from of the Greekishe neckes,
The heavy yoke of servitude, which held them thrall to checkes,
Unto their former liberty, he hath restorde them free,
Which altogether perisht was, as men might plainly see.

He gave a crowne of massie gold unto Apollo, uppon the which he made this inscription to be wrytten:

A valliant Romaine knight, even Titus by his name,
A captaine worthy by desert, of high renowne and fame:
To thee (Apollo god) this crowne of pure fine golde,
Hath geven thy godhead to adorne, with juells manifolde,
Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace)
With favor to requite this love, to him and to his race:
That his renowned fame, and vertue may be spred,
And blased through the worlde so wide, to shew what life he led.

So hath the city of Corinthe enjoyed this good happe, that the Grecians have bene twice proclaimed to be set at liberty: the first time by Titus Quintius Flaminius, and the second time, by Nero in our time, and at the selfe same instant when they solemnly kept the feast called Isthmia. Howebeit the first proclamation of their liberty (as we have tolde ye before) was done by the voyce of a herald: and the seconde time it was done by Nero him selfe, who proclaimed it in an oration he made unto the people in open assembly, in the market place of the city of Corinthe. But it was a

Nero did set
Greece at
liberty.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

longe time after. Furthermore, Titus beganne then a goodly and just warre against Nabis, the cursed and wicked tyran of Lacedæmon. Howebeit in the ende he deceived the expectation of Greece. For when he might have taken him, he would not doe it, but made peace with him, forsakinge poore Sparta unworthily oppressed under the yoke of bondage: either bicause he was afrayed that if the warre helde on, there shoulde come a successor unto him from Rome, that should cary the glory away to ende the same, or else he stooed Iealous and envious of the honor they did unto Philopœmen. Who having shewed him selfe in every place as excellent a Captaine as ever came in Greece, and havinge done notable actes and famous service, both of great wisdome, and also of valliantnesse, and specially in the Achaïans warre, he was as much honored and revered of the Achaïans, in the Theaters and common assemblies, even as Titus was. Whereat Titus was marvelously offended, for he thought it unreasonable, that an Arcadian who had never bene generall of an army, but in small litle warres against his neighbours, should be as much esteemed and honored, as a Consull of Rome, that was come to make warres for the recovery of the libertie of Greece. But Titus alleaged reasonable excuse for his doinges, saying that he saw very well he could not destroy this tyran Nabis, without the great losse and misery of the other Spartans. Furthermore, of all the honors the Achaïans ever did him (which were very great) he thinkes there was none that came neere any recompence of his honorable and well deserving, but one onely present they offered him, and which he above all the rest most esteemed: and this it was. Duringe the seconde warres of Africke, which the Romaines had against Hanniball, many Romaines were taken prisoners in the sundry battells they lost, and beinge solde here and there, remained slaves in many countries: and amongst other, there were dispersed in Greece to the number of twelve hundred, which from time to time did move men with pitie and compassion towardses them, that saw them in so miserable change and state of fortune. But then much more was their miserie to be pitied, when these captives found in the Romaines army, some of them their

FLAMINIUS

Why Quintius made peace with Nabis the tyran of Lacedæmon. The honor of Philopœmen.

Twelve hundred Romaines solde for slaves.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS sonnes, other their brethren, and the rest their fellowes and frendes, free, and conquerours, and them selves slaves and bondemen. It grieved Titus much to see these poore men in such miserable captivity, notwithstanding he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the Achaians redeemed and bought them for five hundred pence a man, and havinge gathered them together into a troupe, they presented all the Romaine captives unto Titus, even as he was ready to take ship to returne into Italie: which present made him returne home with greater joy and contentacion, having received for his noble deedes so honorable a recompence, and worthy of him selfe, that was so loving a man to his citizens and contry. And surely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did most beautifie his triumphe. For these poore redeemed captives did that, which the slaves are wont to doe on that day when they be set at liberty: to witte, they shave their heades, and doe weare litle hattes upon them. The Romaines that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and so followed Titus charret, on the day of his triumphe and entrie made into Rome in the triumphing manner. It was a goodly sight also, to see the spoyles of the enemies, which were caried in the show of this triumphe: as, store of helmets after the Greecians facion, heapes of targets, shieldes, and pykes after the Macedonian manner, with a wonderfull summe of gold and silver. For Itanus the historiographer writeth, that there was brought a marvelous great masse of treasure in niggots of golde, of three thousand seven hundred and thirteene pounce weight, and of silver, of forty three thousande, two hundred, three score and tenne pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called Philips foureteene thousand, five hundred, and foureteene, besides the thousand talents king Philip should pay for a raunsome. The which summe, the Romaines afterwarde forgave him, chiefly at Titus sute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a frend and confederate of the people of Rome, and his sonne Demetrius to be sent unto him againe, who remained before as an hostage at Rome. Shortely after, king Antiochus went out

The Achaians redeemed the Romaines that were solde for slaves in Greece.

The ceremony of slaves manumised.

T. Quintius triumphe.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

of Asia into Greece with a great fletee of shippes, and a very FLAMINIUS
puisant army, to stirre up the cities to forsake their league
and allyance with the Romaines, and to make a dissention
amongst them. To further this his desire and enterprise,
the Ætoliens did aide and backe him, which of long time
had borne great and secrete malice against the Romaines,
and desired much to have had warres with them. So
they taught king Antiochus to say, that the warre which he
tooke in hande, was to set the Grecians at liberty, whereof
they had no neede, because they did already enjoy their
liberty: but for that they had no just cause to make warre,
they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he coulede.
Wherefore the Romaines fearinge greatly the rising of the
people, and the rumor of the power of this great king, they
sent thither Manius Acilius their generall, and Titus, one of
his Lieutenants for the Grecians sakes. Which arrivall
did the more assure them that already bare good will to
the Romaines, after they had once seene Manius and Titus:
and the rest that beganne to flie out, and to shrinke
from them, those Titus kept in obedience from starting,
remembrance them of the frendship and good will they had
borne him, even like a good skilfull phisitian that coulede
geve his pacient phisicke to preserve him from a contageous
disease. In dedde there were some (but fewe of them) that
left him, which were won and corrupted before by the
Ætoliens: and though he had just cause of offence towards
them, yet he saved them after the battell. For king Antiochus
being overcome in the contry of Thermopyles, fled his
way, and in great hast tooke the sea to returne into Asia.
And the Consull Manius following his victory, entred into
the contry of the Ætoliens, where he tooke certaine townes
by force, and left the other for a pray unto kinge Philip.
So Philip kinge of Macedon on the one side, spoyled and
sacked the Dolopians, the Magnesians, the Athamanians,
and the Aperantines: and the Consull Manius on the other
side, destroyed the city of Heraclea, and layed siege to the
citie of Naupactum, which the Ætoliens kept. But Titus
takinge compassion of them, to see the poore people of
Greece thus spoiled and turned out of all: went out of

Manius Acilius Consul, and T. Quintus Lieutenant sent into Greece.

Antiochus overthrown in Thermopyles, by Manius the Consull.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS Peloponnesus (where he was then) unto Manius Acilius campe, and there reproved him for suffering king Philip to usurpe the benefit and reward of his honorable victory, still conquering many people, kings, and contries, whilst he continued siege before a city, and only to wreake his anger upon them. Afterwardes, when they that were besieged saw Titus from their walles, they called him by his name, and helde up their handes unto him, prayinge him he would take pitie upon them: but he gave them never a word at that time, and turning his backe unto them, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with Manius, and appeasing his anger, got him to graunt the *Ætolians* truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might sende Ambassadors to Rome, to see if they could obtaine grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreate for the *Chalcidians*, with whome the Consull Manius was more grievously offended, then with all the rest: bicause that kinge Antiochus after the warres was begonne, had married his wife in their citie, when he was past yeares of mariage, and out of all due time. For he was now very olde, and beinge in his extreame age, and in the middest of his warres, he fell in dotage with a young gentlewoman, the daughter of Cleoptolemus, the fayrest woman that was at that time in all Greece. Therefore the *Chalcidians* were much affected unto king Antiochus, and did put their city into his handes, to serve him in this warre, for a strong and safe retyring place. Wherupon, when Antiochus had lost the battel, he came thither with all possible speede, and takinge from thence with him his passenge fayer younge Queene which he had married, and his golde, his silver, and frendes, he tooke the seaes incontiently, and returned into Asia. For this cause the Consull Manius having wonne the battell, did marche straight with his army towards the citie of *Chalcide* in a great rage and fury. But Titus that followed him, did alwayes lye uppon him to pacifie his anger, and did so much intreate him, together with the other *Romaines* of state and authoritie in counsell: that in the ende, he gotte him to pardone them of *Chalcide* also. Who, bicause they were preserved from perill by his meanes, they, to recompence

Quintius intreateth for the *Ætolians*.

King Antiochus married Cleoptolemus daughter in the city of *Chalcide*.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

this fact of his, did consecrate unto him, all their most stately and sumptuous buildinges and common workes in their citie, as appeareth yet by the superscriptions remaininge to be seene at this day. As in the show place of exercises: The people of Chalchide did dedicate this show place of exercises, unto Titus and Hercules. And in the temple called Delphinium: The people of Chalchide did consecrate this temple, unto Titus, and unto Apollo. And furthermore, unto this present time, there is a priest chosen by the voyce of the people, purposely to do sacrifice unto Titus: in which sacrifice, after that the thing sacrificed is offered up, and wine powred apon it, the people standing by, do sing a song of triumphe made in praise of him. But bicause it were to long to wryte it all out, we have only drawen in brieft the latter end of the same: and this it is:

FLAMINIUS
Honors done
unto T. Quintus
for saving
the Chalchidians
and the
Greecians.

The cleare unspotted faith, of Romaines we adore,
And vow to be their faithfull frendes, both now and ever more.
Sing out you Muses nyne, to Ioves eternall fame,
Sing out the honor due to Rome, and Titus worthy name.
Sing out (I say) the praise, of Titus and his faith:
By whom you have preserved bene, from ruine, dole, and death.

Now the Chalchidians did not alone only honor and reverence Titus, but he was generally honored also by the Greecians as he deserved, and was marvelously beloved for his curtesie and good nature: which argueth plainly that they did not fainedly honor him, or through compulsion, but even from the hart. For though there was some jarre betwixt him and Philopœmen at the first about service, for emulation of honor, and after betwixt him and Diophanes also, both generalls of the Achaians: yet he never bare them any malice in his hart, neither did his anger move him at any time to hurt them any way, but he ever ended the heate of his wordes, in counsell and assemblies, where he uttered his minde franckely to them both. Therefore none thought him ever a cruell man, or eger of revenge: but many have thought him rashe, and hasty of nature. Otherwise, he was as good a companion in company as possibly could be, and would use as pleasaunt wise mirthe as any man. As when he sayed to the Achaians, on a time, who

Quintus
curtesie and
good nature.

Emulation
betwixt T.
Quintus and
Philopœmen.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS
T. Quintius
sayges.

would needes unjustly usurpe the Ile of the Zacynthians, to dissuade them from it: My Lordes of Achaia, if ye once goe out of Peloponnesus, you put your selves in daunger, as the torteyses doe, when they thrust their heades out of their shell. And the first time he parled with Philip to treat of peace: when Philip said unto him, you have brought many men with you, and I am come alone. In deede it is true you are alone, sayd he, bicause you made all your frendes and kinne to be slaine. An other time, Dinocrates Messenian being in Rome, after he had taken in his cuppes in a feast where he was, he disguised him selfe in womans apparell, and daunced in that manner: and the next day followinge he went unto Titus, to pray him to helpe him through with his sute, which was, to make the citie of Messina to rebell, and leave the tribe of the Achaians. Titus made him aunswer, that he would thinke upon it: but I can but wonder at you (sayd he) howe you can daunce in womans apparell, and singe at a feast, havinge such matters of weight in your head. In the counsell of the Achaians, king Antiochus ambassadors beinge come thither, to move them to breake their league with the Romaines, and to make alliance with the king their master, they made a marvelous large discourse of the great multitude of souldiers that were in their masters army, and did number them by many diverse names. Whereunto Titus aunswered, and tolde how a frend of his havinge bidden him one night to supper, and havinge served so many dishes of meate to his bord, as he was angry with him for bestowing so great cost upon him, as wonderinge howe he could so sodainely get so much store of meate, and of so diverse kindes. My frende sayed to me againe, that all was but porke dressed so many wayes, and with so sundry sawces. And even so (quod Titus) my Lords of Achaia, esteeme not king Antiochus army the more, to heare of so many men of armes, numbred with their launces, and of such a number of footemen with their pykes: for they are all but Syrians, diversely armed, only with ill favored litle weapons. Furthermore, after Titus had done these thinges, and that the warre with Antiochus was ended, he was chosen Censor at Rome, with the sonne of that same Marcellus,

Antiochus
Ambassadors
doe boast of
their kinges
great army.

Titus Quintius
witty
answere to
the Ambassadors
bragges.

T. Quintius
chosen
Censor with
Marcellus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

who had bene five times Consull. This office is of great FLAMINIUS dignitie, and as a man may say, the crowne of all the honors that a citizen of Rome can have in their common wealth. They put of the Senate, foure men only: but they were not famous. They did receive all into the number of citizens of Rome, that would present them selves to be enrolled in their common regester: with a proviso, that they were borne free by father and mother. They were compelled to doe it, by Terentius Culeo, Tribune of the people, who to despight the nobility, perswaded the people of Rome to commaunde it so. Nowe at that time, two of the noblest and most famous men of Rome were great enemies one against an other: Publius Scipio African, and Marcus Porcius Cato. Of these two, Titus named Publius Scipio African, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefest and worthiest persone in the citie: and got the displeasure of the other, which was Cato, by this mishappe. Titus had a brother called Lucius Quintius Flaminius, nothing like unto him in condition at all: for he was so dissolutely and licentiously given over to his pleasure, that he forgatte all comliness and honesty. This Lucius loved well a younge boy, and caried him alwayes with him when he went to the warres, or to the charge and government of any province. This boy flattering him, one day sayd unto Lucius Quintius, that he loved him so well, that he did leave the sight of the Swordplayers at the sharpe, which were making ready to the fight, although he had never seene man killed before: to waite upon him. Lucius being very glad of the boyes wordes, answered him straight, Thou shalt loose nothing for that my boy, for I will by and by please thee as well. So he commaunded a condemned man to be fetched out of prison, and withall called for the hangman, whome he willed to strike of his head in the middest of his supper, that the boy might see him killed. Valerius Antias the historiographer wryteth, that it was not for the love of the boy, but of a woman which he loved. But Titus Livius declareth, that in an oration which Cato him selfe made, it was wrytten, that it was one of the Gaules: who beinge a traitor to his contry men, was come to Flaminius gate with his wife and children,

P. Scipio, and
M. P. Cato
greatenemies.

Secret grudge
betwixt Titus
and Cato.

A cruell dede
of Lucius
Quintius.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS and that Flaminius making him come into his halle, killed him with his owne handes, to please a boy he loved, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howebeit it is very likely that Cato wrote in this sorte, to aggravate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many have wrytten it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offender condemned to dye: and amonge other, Cicero the orator doth recite it in a booke he made of age, where he made it to be tolde unto Catoes owne persone. Howsoever it was, Marcus Cato being chosen Censor, and censing the Senate of all unworthy persones, he put of the same Lucius Quintius Flaminius, although he had bene Consull: which disgrace did seeme to redowne to his brother Titus Quintius Flaminius also. Whereupon both the brethren came weping with all humility before the people, and made a petition that seemed very reasonable and civill: which was that they would commaunde Cato to come before them, to declare the cause openly why he had with such open shame defaced so noble a house as theirs was. Cato then without delay, or shrinking backe, came with his companion into the market place, where he asked Titus out alowde, if he knew nothing of the supper where such a fact was committed. Titus aunswered, he knewe not of it. Then Cato opened all the whole matter as it was, and in the ende of his tale, he had Lucius Quintius sweare openly, if he would deny that he had sayed was true. Lucius aunswered not a worde. Whereuppon the people judged the shame was justly layed upon him: and so to honor Cato, they did accompany him from the pulpit for orations, home unto his owne house. But Titus beinge much offended at the disgrace of his brother, became enemy to Cato, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by practise he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leases, and all deedes of sales made by Cato during his office, were called in, and made voyde: and caused many sutes also to be commenced against him. Wherein, I can not say he did wisely or civilly, to become mortall enemy to an honest man, a good citizen, and duetifull in his office, for his yeare, [for an] unworthy kinseman, who had justly deserved the shame layed upon him. Notwithstanding,

Cato beinge
Censor did
put Lucius
Quintius
Flaminius
of the Senate.

T. Quintius
unworthy acts
against Cato.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

shortely after when the people were assembled in the Theater to see games played, and the Senators were set according to their custome, in the most honorable places: Lucius Flaminius came in also, who in lowly and humble maner went to sit downe in the furthest seates of the Theater, without regard of his former honor: which when the people saw, they tooke pity of him, and could not abide to see him thus dishonored. So they cried out to have him come and sit among the other Senators and Consulls, who made him place, and received him accordingly. But to returne againe to Titus. The naturall ambition and covetous greedy minde he had of honor, was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the warres, which we have spoken of before. For, after he had bene Consull, of his owne seeking he became a Colonell of a thousand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So when he beganne to stoupe for age, and that he had given over as a man at the last cast, to beare office any longer in the state: they saw plainly he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himselfe in olde age to be overcome with such youthfull violence, beinge farre unmeete for any of his yeares. For me thinkes his ambition was the only cause that moved him to procure Hanniballs death, which bred him much disliking and ill opinion with many. For, after Hanniball had fled out of his owne contry, he went first unto king Antiochus: who, after he lost the battel in Phrygia, was glad the Romaines graunted him peace with such conditions as them selves would. Wherefore Hanniball fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered up and downe, at the length he came to the realme of Bithynia, and remained there about king Prusias, the Romaines knowinge it well enough: and because Hanniball was then an olde broken man, of no force nor power, and one whome fortune had spurned at her feete, they made no more reckening of him. But Titus being sent Ambassador by the Senate, unto Prusias kinge of Bithynia, and finding Hanniball there, it grieved him to see him alive. So that notwithstanding Prusias marvelously intreated him, to take pitie upon Hanniball, a poore olde man, and his frend who

FLAMINIUS

Lucius Quintius restored to his place by the people.

T. Quintius ambition.

T. Quintius cause of Hanniballs death.

Titus sent Ambassador unto Prusias king of Bithynia.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS came to him for succor: yet he coulde not perswade Titus to be content he should live. Hanniball long before had received aunswer of his death from an oracle, to this effect:

Hannibal
deceived by
an oracle con-
cerning his
death.

The lande of Lybia, shall cover under mowlde,
The valliant corps of Hanniball, when he is dead and colde.

Hanniball
kept at
Libyssa in
Bithynia.

So Hanniball understoode that of Lybia, as if he should have dyed in Africke, and bene buried in Carthage. There is a certaine sandy contry in Bithynia neere to the seases side, where there is a litle village called Libyssa, and where Hanniball remained continually. He mistrusting king Prusias faynte harte, and fearing the Romaines malice also, had made seven privy caves and vaultes under grounde longe before, that he might secretly go out at either of them which way he woulde, and every one of them came to the maine vault where him selfe did lye, and coulde not be discerned outwardly. When it was tolde him that Titus had willed Prusias to deliver him into his handes, he sought then to save him selfe by those mynes: but he found that all the ventes out, had watch and ward upon them by the kinges commaundement. So then he determined to kill him selfe. Now some say, that he wounde a linnen towell harde about his necke, and commaunded one of his men he should set his knee upon his buttocke, and waying hard upon him, holding the towell fast he should pull his necke backward with all the power and strength he could, and never linne pressing on him, till he had strangled him. Other say that he drancke bulles blood, as Midas and Themistocles had done before him. But Titus Livius wryteth, that he had poyson which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered it in a cuppe he helde in his handes, and before he dranke, he spake these wordes: Come on, let us deliver the Romaines of this great care, sith my life is so grievous to them, that they thinke it to long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate so much: and yet Titus by this shall winne no honorable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient Romaines, who advertised king Pyrrus their enemy, even when he made warres with them, and had wonne battels of them, that he should beware of poysoning which was intended towards him. And this was Hanniballs ende, as we

Hanniballs
death.

Midas and
Themistocles
poysoned
them selves.

Hanniballs
last wordes.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

finde it wrytten. The newes whereof being come to Rome unto the Senate, many of them thought Titus to violent and cruell, to have made Hanniball kill him selfe in that sorte, when extremity of age had overcome him already, and was as a birde left naked, her feathers fallinge from her for age: and so much the more, bicause there was no instant occasion offered him to urge him to doe it, but a covetous minde of honor, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause and author of Hanniballs death. And then in contrariwise they did much honor and commend the clemency and noble minde of Scipio African. Who having overcome Hanniball in battell, in Africke selfe, and being then in deede to be feared, and had bene never overcome before: yet he did not cause him to be driven out of his contry, neither did aske him of the Carthaginians, but both then, and before the battel, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke Hannibal curteously by the hand, and after the battell, in the condicions of peace he gave them, he never spake word of hurt to Hanniballs person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how afterwardes they met againe together in the city of Ephesus, and as they were walkinge, that Hanniball tooke the upper hand of Scipio: and that Scipio bare it paciently, and left not of walking for that, neither shewed any countenance of misliking. And in entring into discourse of many matters, they discended in the ende to talke of auncient Captaines: and Hanniball gave judgement, that Alexander the great was the famoset Captaine, Pyrrus the second, and him selfe the thirde. Then Scipio smilinge, gently asked him: What wouldest thou say then, if I had not overcome thee? Truly, quod Hanniball, I would not then put my selfe the third man, but the first, and above all the Captaines that ever were. So divers greatly commending the goodly sayings and deedes of Scipio, did marvelously mislike Titus, for that he had (as a man may say) layed his handes upon the death of an other man. Other to the contrary againe sayd, it was well done of him, sayinge, that Hanniball so longe as he lived, was a fire to the Empire of the Romaines, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in

FLAMINIUS
Looke in
Pyrrus life
for the story
at large.

Scipio African
clemency
commended.

Talke betwixt
Scipio African
and Hannibal.

Hannibals
judgement of
Captaines.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS his best force and lusty age, it was not his hande nor body that troubled the Romaines, so much, but his great wisdome and skill he had in the warres, and the mortall hate he bare in his hart towardses the Romaines, which neither yeares, neither age would diminishe or take away. For mens naturall condicions do remaine still, but fortune doth not alwayes keepe in a state, but chaungeth stil, and then quickeneth up our desires to set willingly uppon those that warre against us, bicause they hate us in their hartes. The thinges which fell out afterwards, did greatly prove the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of Titus. For one Aristonicus, sonne of a daughter of a player upon the citherne, under the fame and glory of Eumenes, whose bastard he was, filled all Asia with warre and rebellion, by reason the people rose in his favor. Againe Mithridates, after so many losses he had received against Sylla and Fimbria, and after so many armies overthrowen by battell and warres, and after so many famous Captaines lost and killed: did yet recover againe, and came to be of great power both by sea and land against Lucullus. Truely Hannibal was no lower brought then Caius Marius had bene. For he had a king to his frend, that gave him entertainment for him and his family, and made him Admirall of his shippes, and Generall of his horsemen and footemen in the field. Marius also went up and downe Africke a begging for his living, insomuch as his enemies at Rome mocked him to scorne: and soone after notwithstanding they fell downe at his feete before him, when they saw they were whipped, murthered, and slaine within Rome by his commaundement. Thus we see no man can say certainly he is meane or great, by reason of the uncertainty of thinges to come: consideringe there is but one death, and change of better life. Some say also, that Titus did not this act alone, and of his owne authority: but that he was sent Ambassador with Lucius Scipio to no other end, but to put Hannibal to death, by what meanes soever they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not finde any notable thing written of Titus worthy of memory, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he died quietly of naturall death at home in his contrie.

Aristonicus.

Mithridates.

Marius.

To be meane
or great in
this life is
nothing:
but death
bringeth the
estimacion.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

THE COMPARISON OF TITUS QUIN- TIUS FLAMINIUS WITH PHILOPÆMEN



Tis time nowe we come to compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefits that came to the Grecians, neither Philopœmen, nor all the other former Captaines are to be compared with Titus. For all the auncient Captaines almost being Grecians, made warres with other Grecians: but Titus beinge a Romaine, and no Grecian, made warres for the liberty of Greece. When Philopœmen was not able to helpe his poore citizens distressed sore, and vexed with warres, he sayled away into Creta. Titus having overcome Philip kinge of Macedon in battell, did restore againe to liberty all the people and cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any wil narrowly examine the battells of either partie: they shall finde, that Philopœmen being Generall of the Achaïans, made more Grecians to be slaine, then Titus did of the Macedonians, fightinge with them for the liberty of the Grecians. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quicke and sodainly angered, the other was very hard to be pacified. Titus left kinge Philip his realme and crowne after he had overcome him, and used great clemency towardses the Ætolians: where Philopœmen for spite, and malice, tooke townes and villages from his owne native contry, and city, wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, Titus continued a sounde frend to them, to whome he had once professed friendshippe, and done pleasure unto: and Philopœmen, in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had given, and to overthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For Philopœmen when he had done the Lacedæmonians great

T. Quintius
benefits unto
Greece.

Philopœ-
menes malice.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS
AND
PHILO-
PÆMEN

Titus Quin-
tius wiser then
Philopœmen.

Quintius
commaunded
good
souldiers :
Philopœmen
made good
souldiers.

pleasure, did afterwards rase the walls of their city, and spoyled and destroyed all their contry : and lastly, overthrew their whole government. It seemeth also by reason of his immoderate choller, he was him selfe cause of his owne death, for that he made more hast then good speede, to go out of time to set upon those of Messina: and not as Titus, who did all his affaires with wisdom, and ever considered what was best to be done. But if we looke into the number of battells, and victories: the warre which Titus made against Philip was ended with two battells. Whereas Philopœmen in infinite battells in which he had the better, never left it doutfull, but that his skill did ever helpe him the more to victory, then the good fortune he had. Moreover, Titus wanne honor by meanes of the power of Rome, when it florished most, and was in best prosperitie: Philopœmen made him selfe famous by his deedes, when Greece beganne to stoupe and fall all together. So that the deedes of the one, were common to all the Romaines: and the deedes of the other, were private to himselfe alone. For Titus was General over good and valliant souldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and Philopœmen being chosen Generall, did traine his men him selfe, and made them afterwards very expert and valliant, that were but meane and greene souldiers before. And whereas Philopœmen had continuall warres with the Greecians, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it made a certaine prooffe of his valliantnesse. For where all other thinges are aunswerable to his, there we must judge that such as overcome, have the most corage. Now Philopœmen making warres with the most warlike nations of all Greece, (as the Cretans, and the Lacedæmonians) did overcome the subtillest of them, by finenesse and policy: and the most valliant, by prowes and hardinesse. But Titus overcame, by putting that only in practise, which was already found and stablished: as the discipline of the warres, and order of battell, in the which his souldiers had longe before bene trained. Whereas Philopœmen brought into his contry, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accustomed unto. So that the chiefest point how to winne a battell, was found out a

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

new, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was never before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to use it, and had founde it out already before. Againe, touching the valliant actes done in the person of them selves, many notable actes may be told of Philopœmen, but none of Titus: but rather to the contrary. For there was one Archedemus an Ætolian, who flowtinge Titus one day, sayd in his reproche: that at a day of battell, when Philopœmen ranne with his sword in his hande, to that side where he saw the Macedonians fighting, and making hed against the enemy, Titus held up his hands unto heaven, and was busie at his prayers to the gods, not stirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the sword, and to fight of all handes. All the goodly deedes Titus ever did, were done alwaies as a Consul, or Lieutenant, or a Magistrate: whereas Philopœmen shewed him selfe unto the Achaians, a man no lesse valliant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a Generall. For when he was a Generall, he did drive Nabis the tyran of the Lacedæmonians out of Messina, and delivered the Messenians out of bondage: and being a private man, he shut the gates of the city of Sparta, in the face of Diophanes (Generall of the Achaians) and of Titus Quintius Flaminius, and kept them both from comminge in, and thereby saved the city from sacking. Thus being borne to commaunde, he knew not only how to commaunde according to the law, but could commaunde the law it selfe apon necessity, and when the common wealth required it. For at such a time he would not tary, while the Magistrates which should governe him, did geve him authority to commaunde, but he tooke it of him selfe, and used them when the time served: esteeming him in deede their Generall, that knew better then they what was to be done, then him whom they chose of them selves. And therefore they doe well, that doe commend Titus actes, for his clemency, and curtesie, used to the Greecians: but much more the noble and valliant actes of Philopœmen unto the Romaines. For it is much easier to pleasure and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and resist the strong. Therefore, sithence we have throughly

FLAMINIUS
AND
PHILO-
PÆMEN

A Generall
must not be at
his prayers,
when he
should occupy
his sword.

Quintius
clemency to
the Greecians:
Philopœ-
menes love to
the Romaines.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

FLAMINIUS examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very
AND harde to judge altogether the difference that is betwene
PHILO- them. Peradventure therefore the judgement woulde not
PŒMEN seeme very ill, if we doe geve the Grecian, for disci-
pline of warre, the preheminance and praise of a good
Captaine: and to the Romaine, for justice and
clemency, the name and dignity of a most
just and curteous gentleman.

THE ENDE OF TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS LIFE

THE LIFE OF PYRRUS

Pyrrus kin-
red, and be-
ginning of the
kingdome
of Epirus.



It is written, that since Noes floud, the first
king of the Thesprotians, and of the Molos-
sians, was Phaëton, one of those who came
with Pelasgus, into the realme of Epirus.
But some say otherwise, that Deucalion,
and his wife Pyrra remained there, after
they had built and founded the temple of
Dodone, in the contry of the Molossians.

But howsoever it was, a great while after that, Neoptolemus
the sonne of Achilles, bringing thither a great number of
people with him, conquered the contry, and after him left
a succession of kings, which were called after his name, the
Pyrrides: bicause that from his infancy he was surnamed
Pyrrus, as much to say, as redde: and one of his legitimate
sonnes whom he had by Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodes,
the sonne of Hillus, was also named by him Pyrrus. And
this is the cause why Achilles is honored as a god in Epirus,
beinge called in their language, Aspetos, that is to say,
mighty, or very great. But from the first kinges of that
race untill the time of Tharrytas, there is no memory nor
mencion made of them, nor of their power that raigned in
the meane time, bicause they all became very barbarous,
and utterly voyde of civility. Tharrytas was in deede the
first that beautified the cities of his contry with the Grecian

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

tongue, brought in civill lawes and customes, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This Tharrytas left a sonne called Alcetas, of Alcetas came Arymbas, of Arymbas and Troiade his wife, came Æacides, who married Phthia, the daughter of Menon Thessalian: A famous man in the time of the warres surnamed Lamiacus, and one that had farre greater authority then any other of the confederates, after Leosthenes. This Æacides had two daughters by his wife Phthia, to say, Deidamia and Troiade, and one sonne called Pyrrus. In his time the Molossians rebelled, drave him out of his kingdome, and put the crowne into the hands of the sonnes of Neoptolemus. Whereupon all the frends of Æacides that could be taken, were generally murdered, and slaine outright. Androclides, and Angelus in the meane time stale away Pyrrus, being yet but a suckling babe (whome his enemies neverthesse egerly sought for to have destroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few servauntes, his nurses and necessary women only to looke to the childe, and give it sucke: by reason whereof their flight was much hindered, so as they could go no great journeyes, but that they might easily be overtaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the childe into the handes of Androclion, Hippias, and Neander, three lusty young men, whome they trusted with him, and commaunded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of Macedon, called Megares: and they them selves in the meane time, partely by intreaty, and partely by force, made stay of those that followed them till night. So as with much a doe havinge driven them backe, they ranne after them that caried the childe Pyrrus, whom they overtooke at sunne set. And now, wening they had bene safe, and out of all daunger: they found it cleane contrary. For when they came to the river under the towne walles of Megares, they saw it so rough and swift, that it made them afrayed to beholde it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it impossible to wade through, it was so sore risen and troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darkenesse of the night made every thing seeme feareful unto them. So as they now that caried the child, thought it not good to venter the

PYRRUS

How Pyrrus being an infant was saved.

Megares a city of Macedon.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS passage over of themselves alone, with the women that tended the childe: but hearing certaine contrymen on the other side, they prayed and besought them in the name of the goddes, that they would helpe them to passe over the child, showing Pyrrus unto them a farre of. But the contrymen by reason of the roaringe of the river understoode them not. Thus they continued a longe space, the one crying, the other lystning, yet could they not understand one an other, til at the last one of the company bethought him selfe to pill of a peece of the barke of an oke, and upon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the childe. Which he tyed to a stone to geve it weight, and so threw it over to the other side of the river: other say that he did pricke the barke through with the point of a dart which he cast over. The contrymen on the other side of the river, havinge red what was wrytten, and understanding thereby the present daunger the childe was in: felled downe trees in all the hast they could possibly, bounde them together, and so passed over the river. And it fortunated that the first man of them that passed over, and tooke the child, was called Achilles: the residue of the contrymen passed over also, and tooke the other that came with the childe, and conveyed them over as they came first to hand. And thus havinge escaped their hands, by easie jorneyes they came at the length unto Glaucias king of Illyria, whom they found in his house sitting by his wife: and layed downe the childe in the midst of the flower before him. The king hereuppon stayed a long time without uttering any one word, waying with him selfe what was best to be done: because of the feare he had of Cassander, a mortall enemy of Æacides. In the meane time, the childe Pyrrus creeping of all foure, tooke hold of the kinges gowne, and scrawled up by that, and so got up on his feete against the kings knees. At the first, the king laughed to see the childe: but after it pitied him againe, because the child seemed like an humble suter that came to seeke sanctuary in his armes. Other say that Pyrrus came not to Glaucias, but unto the alter of the familiar gods, alongest the which he got up on his feete, and embraced it with both his hands.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods providence, presently delivered the childe to his wife, gave her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought up with his owne. Shortely after, his enemies sent to demaunde the childe of him: and moreover, Cassander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliver the childe Pyrrus into his handes. Howebeit Glaucias would never graunt thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrus was comen to twelve yeares olde, brought him into his contry of Epirus with an army, and stablished him king of the realme againe. Pyrrus had a great majesty in his countenance, but yet in deede more fearefull then frendly. He had also no teeth in his upper jawe that stooode distinctly one from an other, but one whole bone through out his gomme, marked a litle at the top only, with certaine riftes in the place where the teeth should be devided. Men helde opinion also, that he did heale them that were sicke of the splene, by sacrificing a white cocke, and touchinge the place of the splene on the left side of them that were sicke, softly with his right foote, they lying on their backs: and there was not so poore nor simple a man that craved this remedy of him, but he gave it him, and tooke the cocke he sacrificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also that the great toe of his right foote had some secrete vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had burnt all partes of his body, and consumed it to ashes: his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all. But of that, we will wryte more hereafter. Now, when he was seventeene yeares of age, thinking him selfe sure enough of his kingdome, it chaunced him to make a jorney into Illyria, where he married one of Glaucias daughters, with whom he had bene brought up. But his backe was no sooner turned, but the Molossians rebelled againe against him, and drave out his frends, and servaunts, and destroyed all his goods, and yelded themselves unto his adversary Neoptolemus. King Pyrrus having thus lost his kingdom, and seeing himself forsaken on all sides, went to Demetrius (Antigonus sonne) that had married his sister Deidamia, who in her young age was assured to Alexander, the sonne of Alexander the great, and of Roxane, and

PYRRUS

Pyrrus countenance and teeth.

Pyrrus healed them that were sicke of the splene.

The fier could not burne Pyrrus great toe.

Pyrrus realme taken from him in his absence.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS

Pyrrus valiantnes at the battell of Hipsus.

was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked ende, Demetrius then married her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was striken neere to the citie of Hipsus, where all the kinges fought together, Pyrrus being then but a young man, and with Demetrius, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthely reputed for the valliantest prince amongst them all. Furthermore, when Demetrius was overcome, and had lost the battell: Pyrrus never forsooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of Greece, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt Demetrius and Ptolomie, Pyrrus was sent an ostage for Demetrius into the realme of Ægipte: where he made Ptolomie know (both in huntinge, and in other exercises of his persone) that he was very strong, harde, and able to endure any labor. Furthermore perceiving that Berenice amongst all king Ptolomies wives, was best beloved and esteemed of her husbande, both for her vertue and wisdom: he beganne to entertaine and honor her above all the rest. For he was a man that could tell how to humble him selfe towardses the great (by whom he might winne benefit) and knewe also how to creepe into their credit: and in like manner was he a great scorne and despiser of such as were his inferiors. Moreover, for that he was found marvelous honorable and of fayer condicion, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the husbande of Antigona, the daughter of Queene Berenice, whom she had by Philip, before she was married unto Ptolomie. From thenceforth growing through the allyance of that marriage, more and more into estimacion and favor by meanes of his wife Antigona, who shewed her selfe very vertuous and loving towardses him: he found meanes in the ende, to get both men and money to returne againe into the realme of Epirus, and to conquer it: so was he then very well received of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to Neoptolemus, bicause he delt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstandinge, Pyrrus fearinge least Neoptolemus would repaire unto some of the other kings, to seeke ayde against him, thought good to make peace with

Pyrrus behavior.

Pyrrus married to Antigona the daughter of Philip king of Macedon, and of his wife Berenice.

Pyrrus restored to his kingdome againe.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him. Whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that they should both together be kinges of Epirus. But in processe of time, some of their men secretly made strife againe betwene them, and set them at defyance one with an other: and the chieftest cause as it is sayed, that angered Pyrrus most, grew apon this. The kinges of Epirus had an auncient custome of great antiquity, after they had made solemne sacrifice unto Iupiter Martiall, (in a certaine place in the province of Molosside, called Passaron) to take their othe, and to be sworne to the Epirotes, that they would raigne well and justly, accordinge to the lawes and ordinaunces of the contry: and to receive the subjectes othes interchaungeably also, that they would defend and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like maner. This ceremony was done in the presence of both the kinges, and they with their frendes did both geve and receive presentes eche of other. At this meetinge and solemnity, amonge other, one Gelon a most faithfull servaunt and assured frend unto Neoptolemus, who besides great showes of frendshippe and honor he did unto Pyrrus, gave him two payer of draught oxen, which one Myrtilus a cuppebearer of Pyrrus beinge present, and seeinge, did crave of his master. But Pyrrus denyed to geve them unto him whereat Myrtilus was very angry. Gelon perceivinge that Myrtilus was angry, prayed him to suppe with him that night. Now some say, he sought to abuse Myrtilus, bicause he was fayer and younge: and beganne to perswade him after supper to take parte with Neoptolemus, and to poyson Pyrrus. Myrtilus made as though he was willinge to geve eare to this perswasion, and to be well pleased withall. But in the meane time, he went and tolde his master of it, by whose commaundement he made Alexicrates, Pyrrus chiefe cuppebearer, to talke with Gelon about this practise, as though he had also geven his consent to it, and was willinge to be partaker of the enterprise. This did Pyrrus to have two witnesses, to prove the pretended poysoninge of him. Thus Gelon beinge finely deceived, and Neoptolemus also with him, both imagininge they had cunningly sponne the threde of their treason: Neoptolemus was so glad of

PYRRUS
Pyrrus devideth the realme of Epirus with Neoptolemus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS it, that he could not kepe it to him selfe, but told it to certaine of his frendes. And on a time going to be mery with his sister, he could not keepe it in, but must be prating of it to her, supposing no body had heard him but her selfe, bicause there was no living creature neere them, saving Phœnareta Samons wife, the kinges chiefe heardman of all his beastes, and yet she was layed apon a litle bed by, and turned towards the wall: so that she seemed as though she had slept. But having heard all their talke, and no body mistrusting her: the next morning she went to Antigona king Pyrrus wife, and told her every worde what she had heard Neoptolemus say to his sister. Pyrrus hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time. But havinge made sacrifice unto the goddes, he bad Neoptolemus to supper to his house, where he slue him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefest men of the realme did beare him, who wished him to dispatch Neoptolemus, and not to content him selfe with a peece of Epirus only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great thinges: and for this cause therefore, this suspition fallinge out in the meane while, he prevented Neoptolemus, and slue him first. And furthermore, remembringe the pleasures he had received of Ptolomie and Berenice, he named his first sonne by his wife Antigona, Ptolomie, and having built a city in the Prescque, an Ile of Epirus, did name it Berenicyda. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined with him selfe howe to winne that which lay neerest unto him: and so tooke occasion by this meanes, first to set foote into the Empire of Macedon. The eldest sonne of Cassander, called Antipater, put his owne mother Thessalonica to death, and drave his brother Alexander out of his owne contry, who sent to Demetrius for helpe, and called in Pyrrus also to his ayde. Demetrius being troubled with other matters, could not so quickly go thither. And Pyrrus being arrived there, demaunded for his charge sustained, the citie of Nymphæa, with all the sea coastes of Macedon: and besides all that, certaine landes also that were not belonginge to the auncient crowne and revenues of the kinges of Macedon,

Pyrrus slue
Neoptolemus.

Berenicyda, a
city of Epirus
in the Ile of
Prescque.

Pyrrus first
jorney into
Macedon.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

but were added unto it by force of armes, as Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. All these, the young king Alexander leauinge unto him, he tooke possession thereof, and put good garrisons into the same in his owne name: and conquering the rest of Macedon in the name of Alexander, put his brother Antipater to great distresse. In the meane time kinge Lysimachus lacked no good will to helpe Antipater with his force, but being busied in other matters, had not the meane to doe it. Howbeit knowinge very well that Pyrrus in acknowledginge the great pleasures he had received of Ptolomie, woulde deny him nothinge: he determined to wryte counterfeate letters to him in Ptolomies name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leaue of the warres begonne against Antipater, and to take of him towards the defrayinge of his charges, the summe of three hundred talentes. Pyrrus opening the letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch and devise of Lysimachus. For king Ptolomies common manner of greeting of him, which he used at the beginning of his letters, was not in them observed: To my sonne Pyrrus, health. But in those counterfeate was, king Ptolomie, unto king Pyrrus, health. Whereupon he presently pronounced Lysimachus for a naughty man: neverthesse, afterwardes he made peace with Antipater, and they met together at a day appointed, to be sworne upon the sacrifices unto the articles of peace. There were three beastes brought to be sacrificed, a goate, a bul, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downe dead of him selfe before he was touched, wherewith all the standers by fell a laughing. But there was a Soothsayer, one Theodotus, that perswaded Pyrrus not to sweare: saying, that this signe and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings with sodaine death. For which cause Pyrrus concluded no peace. Now Alexanders warres beinge ended, Demetrius notwithstanding came to him, knowing well enough at his comming that Alexander had no more neede of his aide, and that he did it only but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but thone beganne to mistrust thother, and to spie all the wayes they could to intrap eche other: but Demetrius embracing the first

PYRRUS

King Lysimachus craft to deceive Pyrrus.

Theodotus judgement, a Soothsayer.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS

Pyrrus
quarrell and
warre with
Demetrius.

Pantauchus,
Demetrius
Lieutenant in
Ætolia.

Pyrrus
fight, with
Pantauchus.

occasion offered, prevented Alexander, and slue him, being a young man, and proclaimed him selfe king of Macedon in his roome. Now Demetrius had certaine quarrells before against Pyrrus, bicause he had overrunne the contry of Thessalie: and furthermore, greedy covetousnes to have the more (which is a common vice with princes and noble men) made, that being so neere neighbours, the one stooode in feare and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the death of Deidamia. But now that they both occupied all Macedon betwene them, and were to make division of one selfe kingdome. Now I say began the matter and occasion of quarrell, to grow the greater betwene them. Whereupon Demetrius went with his army to set upon the Ætoliens, and havinge conquered the contry, left Pantauchus his Lieutenaunt there with a great army: and him selfe in person in the meane time, marched against Pyrrus, and Pyrrus on thother side against him. They both missed of meetinge, and Demetrius goinge on further on the one side, entred into the realme of Epirus, and brought a great spoyle away with him: Pyrrus on the other side marched on, till he came to the place where Pantauchus was. To whome he gave battell, and it was valliantly fought out betwene the souldiers of either party, but specially betwene the two Generalls. For doutlesse, Pantauchus was the valliantest Captaine, the stowtest man, and of the greatest experience in armes, of all the Captaines and souldiers Demetrius had. Whereupon, Pantauchus trusting in his strength and corage, advanched him selfe forwardes, and lustely challenged the combat of Pyrrus. Pyrrus on the other side being inferior to no king in valliantnes, nor in desire to winne honor, as he that would ascribe unto himselfe the glory of Achilles, more for the imitation of his valliancy, then for that he was discended of his blood: passed through the middest of the battell unto the first rancke, to buckle with Pantauchus. Thus they beganne to charge one an other, first with their dartes, and then comming nearer, fought with their swordes, not only artificially, but also with great force and fury: untill such time as Pyrrus was hurte in one place, and he hurte Pantauchus in two. The one neere unto his throte and

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the other in his legge: so as in the ende Pyrrus made him turne his backe, and threw him to the ground, but neverthelesse killed him not. For, so soone as he was downe, his men tooke him, and caried him away. But the Epirotes encouraged by the victory of their kinge, and the admiration of his valliantnesse, stucke to it so lustely, that in the end they brake the battell of the Macedonian footemen: and having put them to flight, followed them so lively, that they slewe a great number of them, and tooke five thousande prisoners. This overthrowe did not so much fill the hartes of the Macedonians with anger, for the losse they had received, nor with the hate conceived against Pyrrus: as it wanne Pyrrus great fame and honor, making his corage and valliantnes to be wondred at of all such as were present at the battell that saw him fight, and how he layed about him. For they thought that they saw in his face the very life and agility of Alexander the great, and the right shadow as it were, showinge the force and fury of Alexander him selfe in that fight. And where other kinges did but only counterfeate Alexander the great in his purple garments, and in numbers of souldiers and gardes about their persones, and in a certaine facion and bowing of their neckes a litle, and in uttering his speech with an high voyce: Pyrrus only was like unto him, and followed him in his marshall deedes and valliant actes. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlike discipline, the bookes he wrote him selfe thereof, do amply prove and make manifest. Furthermore, they reporte, that kinge Antigonus being asked, whome he thought to be the greatest Captaine: made aunswer, Pyrrus, so farre forth as he might live to be olde, speaking only of the Captaines of his time. But Hanniball generally sayd, Pyrrus was the greatest Captaine of experience and skil in warres of all other, Scipio the second, and him selfe the third: as we have wrytten in the life of Scipio. So it seemeth that Pyrrus gave his whole life and study to the discipline of warres, as that which in dede was princely and meete for a king, making no reckening of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they reporte that he being at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the

PYRRUS

Pyrrus
victory of
Pantauchus.

Pyrrus
likened to
Alexander
the great.

Pyrrus skil
in warlike
discipline.

Hanniballs
judgement of
Captaines.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS
Pyrrus wise
answer.

Pyrrus good-
nes and
curtesie.

Certaine
witty sayinges
of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus wives
and children.

best player of the flute, Python or Cephesias : whereunto he answered, that Polyperchon in his opinion was the best Captaine, as if he would have sayd, that was the only thing a prince should seeke for, and which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his frendes, easie to forgeve when any had offended him, and marvelous desirous to requite and acknowledge any curtesie or pleasure by him received. And that was the cause why he did very unpaciently take the death of Æropus, not so much for his death (which he knewe was a common thing to every living creature) as for that he was angry with himselfe he had deferred the time so long, that time it selfe had cut him of from all occasion and meanes to requite the curtesies he had received of him. True it is that money lent, may be repayed againe unto the heires of the lender: but yet it greveth an honest nature, when he can not recompence the good will of the lender, of whom he hath received the good turne. An other time Pyrrus being in the city of Ambracia, there were certaine of his frends that gave him counsel to put a naughty man out of the city that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he answered, it is better (quod he) to keepe him here still, speakinge ill of us but to a fewe: then driving him away, to make him speake ill of us every where. Certaine youtnes were brought before him on a time, who making mery together, drinking freely, were bolde with the king to speake their pleasure of him in very unduetifull sorte. So, Pyrrus askinge them whether it was true they sayed so or no: It is true, and it please your grace, sayed one of them, we sayed it in deede, and had not our wine failed us, we had spoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of Antigona, he married many wives to increase his power withall, and to gette moe frendes. For he married the daughter of Autoleon kinge of Pæonia, and Bircenna the daughter of Bardillis, king of Illyria, and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, tyran of Syracuse, that brought him for her dower the Ile of Corphue, which her father had taken. By Antigona his first wife, he had a sonne called Ptolomie: By Lanassa, an other called

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Alexander: and by Bircenna, an other (the youngest of all) called Helenus: all which though they were marshall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought up by him in warres, and therein trained as it were even from their cradell. They wryte, that one of his sonnes beinge but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leave his kingdome: Pyrrus answered the boy, To him that hath the sharpest sworde. That was much like the tragicall curse wherewith Oedipus cursed his children:

PYRRUS

Let them (for me) deuide, both goodes, yea rentes and lande:
With trenchaunt sword, and bloody blowes, by force of mighty hande.

So cruell, hatefull, and bestly is the nature of ambition and desire of rule. But after this battell, Pyrrus returned home againe to his contry, full of honor and glory, his hart highly exalted, and his minde throughly contented. And as at his returne the Epirotes his subjectes called him an Eagle, he answered them: If I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons are the winges that have raised me up. Shortely after, beinge advertised that Demetrius was fallen sicke, and in great daunger of death, he sodainely went into Macedon, only to invade it, and to make pray thereof: howbeit he had in deede almost taken the whole realme, and made him selfe Lord of all without stroke stricken. For he came as farre as the city of Edessa, and found no resistance: but rather to the contrary, many of the contry willingly came to his campe, and submitted them selves. The daunger Demetrius was in to loose his realme, did move him more: then the disease and sickenes of his body. And on the other side, his frendes, servauntes, and Captaines, having gathered a great number of men of warre together in marvelous shorte time, marched with great speede towards Pyrrus, being earnestly bent to do some exploite against him: who being come into Macedon but to make a roade only upon them, would not tary them, but fled, and flying, lost parte of his men, because the Macedonians followed him hard, and set upon him by the way. But now, though they had driven Pyrrus thus easily out of Macedon, Demetrius for all that did not make light accompt of him: but pretending greater

Pyrrus called
an Eagle.

Pyrrus
invadeth
Macedon.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS
Demetrius
army both by
land and sea.

things, (as to recover the landes and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of five hundred sayle which he put to the sea) would not stand to make warres against Pyrrus, neither yet leave the Macedonians (whilest he was absent) so daungerous a neighbour, and so ill to deale withall. But lacking leasure to make warres with Pyrrus, concluded a peace with him, to the ende he might with the more liberty set upon the other kinges. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt Demetrius and Pyrrus, the other kinges and princes beganne to finde out Demetrius intent, and why he had made so great preparation and being afrayed therof, wrote unto Pyrrus by their Ambassadors, that they wondred how he could let go such oportunitie and occasion, and to tary till Demetrius might with better leasure make warres upon him. And why he chose rather to tary and fight with him for the aulters, temples, and sepulchers of the Molossians, when he shoulde be of greater power, and have no warres elsewhere to trouble him: then now that he might easily drive him out of Macedon, having so many things in hand, and being troubled as he was in other places. And considering also that very lately he had taken one of his wives from him, with the city of Corphue. For Lanassa mislikinge, that Pyrrus loved his other wives better then her, (they being of a barbarous nation) got her unto Corphue: and desiring to mary some other king, sent for Demetrius, knowinge that he of all other kinges would soonest be wonne thereunto. Whereuppon Demetrius went thither, and married her, and left a garrison in his citie of Corphue. Nowe these other kinges that did advertise Pyrrus in this sorte, them selves did trouble Demetrius in the meane while: who tracted time, and yet went on with his preparation notwithstanding, for on the one side, Ptolomie entred Greece with a great army by sea, where he caused the cities to revolt against him. And Lysimachus on the other side also, entring into high Macedon by the contry of Thracia, burnt and spoyled all as he went. Pyrrus also arminge him selfe with them, went unto the city of Berroea, imagining (as afterwarde it fell out) that Demetrius goinge against Lysimachus, would leave all the lowe contry of Macedon

Demetrius
married
Lanassa
Pyrrus wife.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfe same night that Pyrrus departed, he imagined that king Alexander the great did call him, and that also he went unto him, and found him sicke in his bed, of whom he had very good wordes and entertainment: insomuch as he promised to helpe him throughly. And Pyrrus imagined also that he was so bolde to demaund of him againe: How (my Lord) can you helpe me, that lye sicke in your bed? and that Alexander made aunswer: With my name only. And that moreover he sodainely therewithall got up on his horse Nisea, and rode before Pyrrus to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dreame, which made him bolde, and furthermore encouraged him to goe on with his enterprise. By which occasion, marching forward with all speede, in few dayes he ended his intended journey to the city of Berrœa, which sodainely he tooke at his first comming to it: the most parte of his army he layed in garrison there, the residue he sent away under the conduct of his Captaines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. Demetrius having intelligence hereof, and hearing also an ill rumor that ranne in his campe amongst the Macedonians, durst not leade them any further, for feare least (when he should come nere to Lysimachus beinge a Macedonian king by nation, and a prince esteemed for a famous captaine) they would shrinke from him, and take Lysimachus parte: for this cause therefore he turned againe upon the sodaine against Pyrrus, as against a straunge prince, and ill beloved of the Macedonians. But when he came to incampe nere him, many comminge from Berrœa into his campe, blew abroad the praises of Pyrrus, saying, that he was a noble prince, invincible in warres, and one that curteously intreated all those he tooke to his party: and amongst those, there were other that were no natural Macedonians borne, but set on by Pyrrus, and fained them selves to be Macedonians, who gave out, that nowe occasion was offered to set them at liberty, from Demetrius prowde and stately rule, and to take kinge Pyrrus parte, that was a curteous prince, and one that loved souldiers and men of warre. These wordes made the most parte of Demetrius army very doutfull, insomuch as the Macedonians looked about, to see

PYRRUS

Pyrrus
dreame.

Pyrrus
seconde
journey into
Macedon.

Pyrrus
praises.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS

How Pyrrus
ware his head
peece.

if they could finde out Pyrrus to yelde them selves unto him. He had at that present left of his head peece: by meane whereof, perceiving he was not knowen, he put it on againe, and then they knew him a farre of, by the sight of his goodly fayer plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the toppe of his creast. Whereupon there came a great number of Macedonians to his parte, as unto their souveraine Lord and king, and required the watche word of him. Other put garlandes of oken bowes about their heades, because they saw his men crowned after that sorte. And some were so bolde also, as to go to Demetrius him selfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he should do very well and wisely to geve place to fortune, and referre all unto Pyrrus. Demetrius hereupon, seeing his campe in such uprore, was so amased, that he knewe not what way to take, but stale away secretly, disguised in a threde bare cloke, and a hooде on his head to kepe him from knowledge. Pyrrus forthwith seased upon his campe, tooke all that he founde, and was presently proclaimed in the fielde, king of Macedon. Lysimachus on thother side, came straight thither after him, and sayed that he had holpen to chase Demetrius out of his realme, and therefore claimed halfe the kingdome with him. Wherefore, Pyrrus not trustinge the Macedonians to farre as yet, but rather standing in doubt of their faith: graunted Lysimachus his desire, and thereupon devided all the cities and provinces of the realme of Macedon betwene them. This particion was profitable for them both at that present, and stode then to good purpose to pacifie the warre, that otherwise might sodainely have risen betwene them. But shortly after, they found that this particion was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and dissention betwene them. For they whose avarice and insatiabile greedy appetite, neither the sea, the mountaines, nor the uninhabitable desertes coulde containe, nor yet the confynes that separate Asia from Europe determine: howe should they be content with their owne, without usurping others, when their fronters joyne so neere together, that nothing devides them? Sure it is not possible. For to say

Pyrrus pro-
claimed kinge
of Macedon.

Macedon
devided
betwene
Pyrrus and
Lysimachus.

Covetousnes
hath no ende.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

truely, they are willingly together by the eares, having these two cursed thinges rooted in them: that they continually seeke occasion how to surprise eche other, and either of them envies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in apparaunce they use these two tearmes, of peace and warres, as they doe money: usinge it as they thinke good, not accordinge to right and justice, but for their private profit. And truely they are men of farre greater honesty, that make open warre, and avow it: then those that disguise and colour the delay of their wicked purpose, by the holy name of justice or frendship. Which Pyrrus did truely then verifie. For desiring to kepe Demetrius downe from rising an other time, and that he should not revive againe as escaped from a long daungerous disease: he went to aide the Grecians against him, and was at Athens, where they suffered him to come into the castell, and doe sacrifice there unto the goddesse Minerva. But comming out of the castle againe the same day, he tolde the Athenians he was greatly beholdinge unto them for their curtesie, and the great trust they had reposed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gave them counsell, never to suffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if they were wise, nor once open their gates unto them. So, after that he made peace with Demetrius, who within shorte time beinge gone to make warres in Asia, Pyrrus yet once againe (perswaded thereunto by Lysimachus) caused all Thessalie to rise against him, and went him selfe to set upon those garrisons which Demetrius had left in the cities of Greece, liking better to continue the Macedonians in warre, then to leave them in peace: besides that him selfe also was of such a nature, as could not long continue in peace. Demetrius thus in the ende being utterly overthrowen in Syria, Lysimachus seeing him selfe free from feare on that side, and being at good leasure, as having nothing to trouble him otherwayes: went straight to make warre upon Pyrrus, who then remained neere unto the city of Edessa, and meeting by the way with the convoy of vittells comming towards him, set upon the conducters, and rifled them wholly. By this meanes, first he distressed Pyrrus for want of vittells: then he corrupted the princes of Macedon with letters and

PYRRUS

Peace, and warre, used lyke money.

Pyrrus ayded the Græcians against Demetrius.

Lysimachus maketh warre with Pyrrus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS messengers, declaring unto them, what shame they sustained to have made a straunger their king (whose auncesters had ever bene their vassals and subjectes) and to have turned all those out of Macedon, that had bene familiar frendes of king Alexander the great. Many of the Macedonians were wonne by these perswasions, which fact so feared Pyrrus, that he departed out of Macedon with his men of warre, the Epirotes, and other his confederates: and so lost Macedon by the selfe same meanes he wanne it. Kinges and princes therefore must not blame private men, though they chaunge and alter sometime for their profit: for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teache them all disloyalty, treason, and infidelity, judging him most worthy of gaine, that least observeth justice and equity. So Pyrrus being come home againe to his kingdome of Epirus, forsakinge Macedon altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and in deede he had good meanes to live peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could have contented him selfe only with the sovereignty over his owne naturall subjectes. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to spend his time, and by peace he should pyne away for sorow, as Homer sayd of Achilles:

He languished and pynde by taking ease and rest:
And in the warres where travaile was, he liked ever best.

And thus seeking matter of newe trouble, fortune presented him this occasion. About this time, the Romaines by chaunce made warre with the Tarentines, who could nether beare their force, nor yet devise how to pacifie the same, by reason of the rashnesse, folly, and wickednes of their governors, who perswaded them to make Pyrrus their Generall, and to sende for him for to conduct these warres: bicause he was lesse troubled at that time, then any of the other kinges about them, and was esteemed of every man also to be a noble souldier, and famous Captaine. The elders, and wise men of the city, utterly misliked that counsell: but some of them were put to silence, through the noyse and fury of the people, who cried for warres. Some

The Tarentines havinge warre with the Romaines, determine to make king Pyrrus their Generall.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

other seeing them checked, and taken up by the multitude in this manner, woulde no more repayre to their common assemblies. Among the rest, there was one Meton, an honest worshipfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people shoulde conclude in counsel, the decree for the calling in of Pyrrus: all the people of Tarentum being assembled, and set in the Theater, this Meton put an olde withered garlande of flowers upon his head, and caryng a torch in his hande as though he had bene dronke, and having a woman minstrell before him playing on a pype, went daunsinge in this goodly aray through the midst of the whole assembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in every hurly burly of people that will be masters them selves, and where no good order is kept) some of them clapped their handes, other burst out in a laughter, and every man suffered him to doe what he lust: but they all cried out to the woman minstrell, to play on and spare not, and to Meton him selfe, that he should sing, and come forward. So Meton made shewe as though he prepared him selfe unto it: and when they had geven silence to heare him sing, he spake unto them with a lowd voice in this manner: My Lordes of Tarentum, ye doe well sure, not to forbid them to play and to be mery that are so disposed, whilist they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wise, every of you also (as many as you be) will take your liberty whilist you may enjoy it. For when king Pyrrus shalbe in this city, you shall live I warrant ye after an other sorte, and not as ye now do. These wordes of Meton moved many of the Tarentines, and sodainly there ran a rumor through all the assembly, that he had sayed truely. But they that had offended the Romaines, fearing if peace were made, that they shoulde be delivered into their handes, they checked the people, asking them if they were such fooles, as would abide to be mocked and played withall to their teeth: and with those wordes all ranne upon Meton, and drave him out of the Theater. The decree thus confirmed by voyces of the people, they sent Ambassadors into Epirus, to cary presents unto king Pyrrus, not only from the Tarentines, but from other Greecians also that dwelt in Italie, saying that they stode in neede of a

PYRRUS

Meton counterfeating the foole, wisely perswaded the Tarentines not to send for Pyrrus. Tarentum a city in Italie.

Metons counsell to the Tarentines.

The Tarentines sende Ambassadors to Pyrrus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS wise and skilful Captaine, that was reputed famous in marshall discipline. And as to the rest, for numbers of good souldiers, they had men enough in Italie, and were able to bring an army into the field, of the Lucanians, the Messapians, the Samnites, and Tarentines, of twenty thowsande horse, and three hundred thowsand footemen being all assembled together. These wordes of the Ambassadors did not only lift up Pyrrus harte, but made the Epirotes also marvelous desirous to go this jorney. There was in kinge Pyrrus courte one Cineas Thessalian, a man of great understanding, and that had bene Demosthenes the orators scholler, who seemed to be the onely man of all other in his time in common reputation, to be most eloquent, following the lively image and shadow of Demosthenes passing eloquence. This Cineas, Pyrrus ever entertained about him, and sent him Ambassador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he verified Euripides wordes:

Cineas the orator, a Thessalian borne, and attending in Pyrrus courte.

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

And therefore Pyrrus would often say, that Cineas had wonne him moe townes with his eloquence, then him selfe had done by the sword: for which he did greatly honor and imploy him in all his chiefe affaires. Cineas perceivinge that Pyrrus was marvelously bent to these warres of Italie, finding him one day at leasure, discoursed with him in this sorte: It is reported, and it please your majesty, that the Romaines are very good men of warre, and that they commaund many valliant and warlike nations: if it please the goddes we doe overcome them, what benefit shall we have of that victory? Pyrrus aunswered him againe: Thou doest aske me a question that is manifest of it selfe. For when we have once overcome the Romaines, there can neither Greecian nor barbarous city in all the contry withstande us, but we shall straight conquer all the rest of Italie with ease: whose greatnes, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then thy selfe. Cineas pawing a while, replied: And when we have taken Italie, what shal we do then? Pyrrus not finding his meaning yet, said unto him: Sicilia as thou knowest, is hard adjoining to

Cineas grave talke with Pyrrus, to moderate his ambitious minde.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

it, and doth as it were offer it selfe unto us, and is a marvelous populous and riche lande, and easie to be taken : for all the cities within the Ilande are one against an other, having no head that governes them, since Agathocles died, more then orators only that are their counsellors, who will soone be wonne. In dede it is likely which your grace speaketh, quod Cineas : but when we have wonne Sicilia, shall then our warres take ende ? If the goddes were pleased, sayed Pyrrus, that victory were atchieved : the way were then broade open for us to attaine great conquestes. For who would not afterwarde goe into Africke, and so to Carthage, which also will be an easie conquest, since Agathocles secretly flying from Syracuse, and having passed the seas with a fewe shippes, had almost taken it ? And that once conquered, it is most certaine there durst not one of all our enemies that now doe daily vexe and trouble us, lift up their heades or handes against us. No surely, sayd Cineas : for it is a cleare case, that with so great a power we may easily recover the realme of Macedon againe, and commaunde all Greece besides, without let of any. But when we have all in our handes : what shall we doe in the ende ? Then Pyrrus laughing, tolde him againe : We will then (good Cineas) be quiet, and take our ease, and make feasts every day, and be as mery one with an other as we can possible. Cineas having brought him to that poynt, sayd againe to him : My Lord, what letteth us now to be quiet, and mery together, sith we enjoy that presently without further travel and trouble, which we will now go seeke for abroad, with such sheading of blood, and so manifest daunger ? and yet we know not whether ever we shall attaine unto it, after we have both suffered, and caused other to suffer infinite sorowes and troubles. These last wordes of Cineas, did rather offende Pyrrus, then make him to alter his minde : for he was not ignorant of the happy state he shoulde thereby forgoe, yet could he not leave of the hope of that he did so much desire. So he sent Cineas before unto the Tarentines, with three thousand footemen : and afterwarde the Tarentines having sent him great store of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all sortes of passengers, he shipped into them twenty elephantes, three thousand

PYRRUS

Pyrrus
judgement
of orators
corruption.

A dangerous
thing to with-
stande the
Princes mind.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS
Pyrrus jorney
into Italy.

Pyrrus daun-
ger by tempest
on the sea.

Pyrrus cast
on shoare
apon the
contry of the
Messapians.

horsemen, and two and twenty thowsande footemen, with five hundred bowe men and slinges. All things thus ready, he wayed anckers, and hoyseed sayles, and was no sooner in the maine sea, but the north winde blew very roughly, out of season, and drave him to leeward. Notwithstandinge, the ship which he was in him selfe, by great toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windeward, and with much a do, and marvelous daunger recovered the coast of Italie. Howbeit the rest of his fleete were violently dispersed here and there, whereof some of them failinge their course into Italie, were cast into the seas of Libya, and Sicilia. The other not able to recover the pointe of Apulia, were benighted, and the sea being hie wrought, by violence cast them upon the shoare, and against the rockes, and made shipwrackes of them, the *Admirall* onely reserved, which through her strength, and the greatnes of her burden, resisted the force of the sea that most violently bet against her. But afterwards, the winde turning and comming from the lande, the sea cruelly raking over the height of her forecastell: in fyne brought her in manifest perill of openinge, and splitting, and in daunger to be driven from the coast, puttinge her out againe to the mercy of the windes, which chaunged every hower. Wherefore Pyrrus castinge the perill every way, thought best to leape into the sea. After him foorthwith lept his gard, his servauntes, and other his familiar frendes, venturing their lives to save him. But the darkenes of the night, and rage of the waves (which the shore breakinge, forced so to rebound backe upon them) with the great noyse also, did so hinder their swimming: that it was even day before they could recover any lande, and yet was it by meanes that the winde fell. As for Pyrrus, he was so sea beaten, and wearied with the waves, that he was able to do no more: though of himselfe he had so great a harte, and stowte a corage, as was able to overcome any perill. Moreover, the Messapians (upon whose coast the storme had cast him) ran out to helpe him, and diligently labored in all they coulde possible to save him, and received also certaine of his shippes that had scaped, in which were a few horsemen, about two thowsande footemen, and two elephantes. With this small

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

force, Pyrrus marched on his journey to goe by lande unto Tarentum: and Cineas being advertised of his comming, went with his men to meete him. Now when he was come to Tarentum, at the first he would doe nothing by force, nor against the goodwill of the inhabitantes: untill such time as his shippes that had escaped the daungers of the sea, were all arrived, and the greatest parte of his army comen together againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, seeing that the people of Tarentum could neither save them selves, nor be saved by any other, without straight order and compulsion, bicause they made their reckening that Pyrrus should fight for them, and in the meane time they would not stirre out of their houses from bathing them selves, from banketing, and making good chere: first of all he caused all the parkes and places of shew to be shut up, where they were wont to walke and disporte them selves, in any kind of exercise, and as they walked, to talke of warres as it were in pastime, and to fight with words, but not to come to the blowes. And further he forbad all feastinges, mommeries, and such other like pleasures, as at that time were out of season. He trained them out also to exercise their weapons, and shewed him selfe very severe in musters, not pardoning any whose names were billed to serve in the warres: inso-much as there were many (which unacquainted with such rough handling and government) forsooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to have liberty to live at their pleasure. Furthermore, Pyrrus having intelligence that Levinus the Romaine Consul came against him with a great puisant army, and that he was already entred into the lande of Lucania, where he destroyed and spoyled all the contry before him: albeit the Tarentines aide of their confederates was not as yet comen, he thought it a great shame to suffer his enemies approche so nere him, and therefore taking that small number he had, brought them into the felde against Levinus. Howbeit he sent a herauld before to the Romaines, to understand of them, if (before they entred into this warre) they coulde be content the controversies they had with all the Grecians dwellinge in Italie, might be decided by justice, and therein to referre them selves to his arbitrement,

PYRRUS

Pyrrus being received of the Tarentines reformed their vaine voluptuous life.

Marshall discipline.

Levinus Consul, sent against Pyrrus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS who of him selfe would undertake the pacification of them. Whereunto the Consull Levinus made aunswere, that the Romaines would never allow him for a judge, neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherefore Pyrrus going on stil, came to lodge in the plaine which is betwene the cities of Pandosia, and of Heraclea: and having newes brought him that the Romaines were encamped very nere unto him on the other side of the river of Siris, he tooke his horse, and rode to the rivers side to view their campe. So having throughly considered the forme, the scituacion, and the order of the same, the maner of charging their watche, and all their facions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And speaking to Megacles, one of his familiars about him, he sayd: This order Megacles (quod he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarously done, but we shall shortely prove their force. After he had thus taken this view, he beganne to be more carefull then he was before, and purposed to tary till the whole aide of their confederates were comen together, leaving men at the rivers side of Siris, to kepe the passage, if the enemies ventured to passe over as they did in dede. For they made hast to prevent the aide that Pyrrus looked for, and passed their footemen over upon a bridge, and their horsemen at diverse fordes of the river: insomuch as the Greecians fearinge least they shoulde be compassed in behinde, drew backe. Pyrrus advertised thereof, and being a litle troubled therewithall, commaunded the Captaines of his footemen presently to put their bandes in battell ray, and not to sturre till they knew his pleasure: and he him selfe in the meane time marched on with three thowsande horse, in hope to finde the Romaines by the river side, as yet out of order, and utterly unprovided. But when he saw a farre of a greater number of footemen with their targettes ranged in battell, on this side the river, and their horsemen marching towardses him in very good order: he caused his men to joyne close together, and him selfe first beganne the charge, being easie to be knowen from other, if it had bene no more but his passinge riche glisteringe armor and furniture, and withall, for that his valliant dedes gave manifest prooffe of his well deserved fame and renowne. For,

Pyrrus camped in the plaine, betwene Pandosia and Heraclea. Siris fl.

Pyrrus Battell.

Pyrrus first conflict with the Romaines.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

though he valliantly besturred his hands and body both, repulsing them he encountered withall in fight, yet he forgate not him selfe, nor neglected the judgement and foresight, which should never be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and discretly gave order for everie thinge, rydinge to and fro, to defende and encorage his men in those places, where he sawe them in most distresse. But even in the hottest of the battell, Leonatus Macedonian, spyed an Italian a man of armes, that followed Pyrrus uppe and downe where he went, and ever kept in manner of even hande with him, to set upon him. Wherefore he sayd to Pyrrus: My Lord doe you not see that barbarous man there uppon a baye horse with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he ment to doe some notable feate and mischief with his owne handes: for his eye is never of you, but wayteth only upon you, being sharpe set to deale with your selfe and none other, and therefore take hede of him. Pyrrus aunswered him, It is impossible Leonatus, for a man to avoyde his destinie: but neither he, nor any other Italian whatsoever, shall have any joy to deale with me. And as they were talkinge thus of the matter, the Italian taking his speare in the midst, and setting spurres to his horse, charged upon Pyrrus, and ranne his horse through and through with the same. Leonatus at the selfe same instant served the Italians horse in the like manner, so as both their horses fell dead to the ground. Howbeit Pyrrus men that were about him, saved him presently, and slew the Italian in the felde, although he fought it out right valliantly. The Italians name was Oplacus, borne in the city of Ferentum, and was Captaine of a bande of men of armes. This mischaunce made kinge Pyrrus looke the better to him selfe afterwarde, and seeinge his horsemen geve backe, sent presently to hasten his footemen forward, whom he straight set in order of battell: and delivering his armor and cloke to one of his familiars called Megacles, and being hidden as it were in Megacles armor, returned againe to the battell against the Romaines, who valiantly resisted him, so that the victory depended longe in doubt. For it is sayd, that both the one side and the other

PYRRUS

Pyrrus wisdom and foresight in battell.

Pyrrus changed his armor and cloke.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS

did chase, and was chased, above seven times in that conflict. The chaunginge of the kinges armor served very well for the safety of his owne persone, howbeit it was like to have marred all, and to have made him loose the felde. For many of his enemies set uppon Megacles, that ware the kings armor : and the partie that slue him dead, and threw him starke to the grounde, was one Dexius by name, who quicklyly snatched of his head peece, tooke away his cloke, and ranne to Levinus the Consul, crying out alowde, that he had slaine Pyrrus, and withall shewed fourth the spoyles he supposed to have taken from him. Which being caried about through all the bands, and openly shewed from hand to hand, made the Romaines marvelous joyfull, and the Greecians to the contrary, both afeard and right sorowfull: untill such time as Pyrrus hearing of it, went and passed alongest all his bandes bare headed, and bare faced, holdinge up his hande to his souldiers, and gevinge them to understande with his owne voyce, that it was him selfe. The elephantes in the ende were they in deede that wanne the battell, and did most distresse the Romaines : for, their horses seeing them a farre of, were sore afrayed, and durst not abide them, but caried their masters backe in despite of them. Pyrrus at the sight thereof, made his Thessalian horsemen to geve a charge upon them whilist they were in this disorder, and that so lustely, as they made the Romaines flie, and susteine great slaughter. For Dionysius wryteth, that there dyed few lesse, then fifteene thowsand Romaines at that battell. But Hieronymus speaketh onely of seven thowsande. And of Pyrrus side, Dionysius wryteth, there were slaine thirteene thowsande. But Hieronymus sayth lesse then foure thowsande: howbeit they were all of the best men of his army, and those whome most he trusted. King Pyrrus presently hereupon also tooke the Romaines campe, which they forsooke, and wan many of their cities from their allyance, spoyled, and overcame much of their contry. Insomuch as he came within six and thirty mile of Rome, whither came to his aide, as confederates of the Tarentines, the Lucanians, and the Samnites, whom he rebuked because they came to late to the battell. Howbeit a man might easily see in his

Megacles
slaine, taken
for Pyrrus.

Pyrrus
victory of
Levinus the
Consull.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

face, that he was not a litle glad and proude to have overthrown so great an army of the Romaines with his owne men, and the aide of the Tarentines onely. On thother side, the Romaines hartes were so great, that they would not depose Levinus from his Consullshippe, notwithstandinge the losse he had received: and Caius Fabricius sayed openly, that they were not the Epirotes that had overcome the Romaines, but Pyrrus had overcome Levinus: meaning thereby, that this overthrow chanced unto them, more through the subtilty and wise conduction of the Generall, then through the valliant feates and worthines of his army. And hereupon they speedily supplied their legyons againe that were minished, with other newe souldiers in the dead mens place, and leaved a fresh force besides, speaking bravely and fiercely of this warre, like men whose hartes were nothinge appawled. Whereat Pyrrus marvelinge much, thought good first to send to the Romaines, to prove if they would geve any eare to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the city of Rome was no easie matter to compasse, or attaine, with that strength he presently had: and also that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valliant victory. And hereupon he sent Cineas to Rome, who spake with the chiefest of the city, and offred presentes to them and their wives, in the behalfe of the king his master. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receive any at his handes, but aunswered all with one voyce: that if the peace might be general to all, they all privately would be at the kinges commaundement, and would be glad of his frendshippe. Moreover, when Cineas had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many curteous offers, and had delivered them profitable capitulacions of peace: they accepted none, nor shewed any affection to geve care unto them, although he offered to deliver them their prisoners home againe without raunsome, that had bene taken at the battell, and promised also to aide them in the conquest of Italie, requiring no other recompence at their handes, saving their goodwills only to his master, and assurance for the Tarentines, that they should not be annoyed for any thinge past, without demaunde of

PYRRUS

Cineas sent
Ambassador
to Rome.

The noble
minde of the
Romaines.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS other matter. Neverthelesse in the ende, when they had hearde these offers, many of the Senators yeelded, and were willinge to make peace: alleaginge that they had already lost a great battell, and howe they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of Italie should joyne together with king Pyrrus power. But Appius Claudius, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor delt in matters of state at all by reason of his age, and partely bicause he was blinde: when he understoode of king Pyrrus offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the city, howe the Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulacions of peace propounded by Cineas, he could not abide, but caused his servauntes to cary him in his chayer upon their armes unto the Senate dore, his sonnes, and sonnes in law taking him in their armes, caried him so into the Senate house. The Senate made silence to honor the comming in of so notable and worthy a personage: and he so soone as they had sette him in his seate, beganne to speake in this sorte: ‘Hitherunto with great impacience (my Lordes of ‘Rome) have I borne the losse of my sight, but now, I ‘would I were also as deafe as I am blinde, that I might ‘not (as I doe) heare the reporte of your dishonorable con- ‘sultacions determined upon in Senate, which tende to subvert ‘the glorious fame and reputacion of Rome. What is now ‘become of all your great and mighty bragges you blased ‘abroade, through the whole worlde? that if Alexander the ‘great him selfe had come into Italie, in the time that our ‘fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and we in the ‘prime of our youth, they would not have sayed every where ‘that he was altogether invincible, as now at this present ‘they doe: but either he should have left his body slaine ‘here in battell, or at the least wise have bene driven to ‘flie, and by his death or flyinge shoulde greatly have en- ‘larged the renowne and glory of Rome? you plainly show ‘it now, that all these words spoken then, were but vaine ‘and arrogant vaunts of foolish pride. Considering that you ‘tremble for feare of the Molossians and Chaonians, who ‘were ever a pray to the Macedonians: and that ye are ‘afrayed of Pyrrus also, who all his life time served and

Appius
Claudius
disswaded
the Romaines
from making
peace with
Pyrrus.

Appius
Claudius
oration to
the Senate.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

‘ followed one of the gard unto Alexander the great, and
‘ nowe is come to make warres in these partes, not to aide
‘ the Grecians inhabiting in Italie, but to flie from his
‘ enemies there about his owne contry, offering you to con-
‘ quer all the rest of Italie with an army, wherewith he was
‘ nothing able to kepe a small parte of Macedon only for
‘ him selfe. And therefore you must not perswade your
‘ selves, that in making peace with him, you shall thereby
‘ be rid of him: but rather shall you draw others to come
‘ and set upon you besides. For they will utterly despise
‘ you, when they shal heare ye are so easily overcome, and
‘ that you have suffered Pyrrus to escape your handes, before
‘ you made him feele the just reward of his bolde presump-
‘ tuous attempt upon you: carying with him for a further
‘ hier, this advantage over you, that he hath geven a great
‘ occasion both to the Samnites, and Tarentines, hereafter
‘ to mocke and deride you.’ After that Appius had tolde
this tale unto the Senate, every one through the whole
assembly, desired rather warre then peace. They dis-
patched Cineas away thereupon with this aunswere, that
if Pyrrus sought the Romaines frendshippe, he must first
departe out of Italie, and then sende unto them to treate
of peace: but so longe as he remained there with his army,
the Romaines would make warres upon him, with all the
force and power they could make, yea although he had
overthrowen and slaine tenne thowsand such Captaines as
Levinus was. They say that Cineas, during the time of his
abode at Rome, intreating for this peace, did curiously labor
to consider and understande, the manners, order, and life of
the Romaines, and their common weale, discoursing thereof
with the chieftest men of the city: and how afterwards he
made ample reporte of the same unto Pyrrus, and tolde him
amongst other things, that the Senate appeared to him, a
counsell house of many kinges. And furthermore (for the
number of people) that he feared greatly they should fight
against such a serpent, as that which was in olde time in the
marises of Lerne, of which, when they had cut of one heade,
seven other came up in the place: bicause the Consull
Levinus had nowe leaved an other army, twice as great as

PYRRUS

The majestie
of the Senate
at Rome.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS the first was, and had left at Rome also, many times as many good able men to cary armor. After this, there were sent Ambassadors from Rome unto Pyrrus, and amongst

Caius Fabricius, Ambassador to Pyrrus.

Caius Fabricius a noble Captaine, but very poore.

Fabricius refused king Pyrrus giftes.

The opinion of the Epicurians touching felicity.

other, Caius Fabricius touching the state of the prisoners. Cineas tolde the kinge his master, that this Fabricius was one of the greatest menne of accompt in all Rome, a right honest man, a good Captaine, and a very valliant man of his handes, yet poore in deede he was notwithstanding. Pyrrus taking him secretly a side, made very much of him, and amongst other thinges, offered him bothe golde and silver, prayinge him to take it, not for any dishonest respect he ment towards him, but only for a pledge of the goodwill and frendshippe that should be betwene them. Fabricius would none of his gift: so Pyrrus left him for that time. Notwithstanding, the next morninge thinkinge to feare him, because he had never seene elephant before, Pyrrus commaunded his men, that when they sawe Fabricius and him talkinge together, they shoulde bringe one of his greatest elephantes, and set him harde by them, behinde a hanging: which being done at a certaine signe by Pyrrus geven, sodainly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his troncke was over Fabricius heade, and gave a terrible and fearefull crie. Fabricius softely gevinge backe, nothinge afrayed, laughed and sayd to Pyrrus smiling: Neither did your golde (oh king) yesterday move me, nor your elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whilst they were at supper, fallinge in talke of diverse matters, specially touchinge the state of Greece, and the Philosophers there: Cineas by chauce spake of Epicurus, and rehearsed the opinions of the Epicurians touching the goddes and government of the common wealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleasure, how they fled from all office and publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: howe they maintained that the goddes were immortall, neither moved with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of all pleasures and delighes, without taking any regarde of mens doinges. But as he still continued this discourse, Fabricius cried out alowde, and sayd: The goddes graunt that Pyrrus and the Samnites were of such opinions, as long

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

as they had warres against us. Pyrrus marveling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more desirous a great deale to have peace with the Romaines, then before. And privately prayed Fabricius very earnestly, that he would treat for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remaine with him, saying: that he would give him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongst all his frendes. Whereunto Fabricius answered him softly: That were not good (oh king) for your selfe, quod he: for your men that presently doe honor and esteeme you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather choose me for their kinge, then your selfe. Such was Fabricius talke, whose wordes Pyrrus tooke not in ill parte, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyran woulde have bene: but did him selfe reporte to his frendes and familiars the noble minde he founde in him, and delivered him upon his faith only, all the Romaine prisoners: to the ende that if the Senate would not agree unto peace, they might yet see their frendes, and kepe the feast of Saturne with them, and then to send them backe againe unto him. Which the Senate established by decree, upon paine of death to all such as should not performe the same accordingly. Afterwardes Fabricius was chosen Consull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought him a letter from kinge Pyrrus Phisitian, wrytten with his owne handes: in which the Phisitian offered to poyson his maister, so he would promise him a good reward, for ending the warres without further danger. Fabricius detestinge the wickednesse of the Phisitian, and having made Q. Æmilius his colleague, and fellowe Consull also, to abhorre the same: wrote a letter unto Pyrrus, and bad him take heede, for there were that ment to poyson him. The contentes of his letter were these: Caius Fabricius, and Quintus Æmylius Consuls of Rome, unto king Pyrrus greeting. You have (oh king) made unfortunate choise, both of your frendes and of your enemies, as shall appeare unto you by reading of this letter, which one of yours hath wrytten unto us: for you make warres with just and honest men, and do your selfe trust altogether the wicked and unfaithfull. Hereof therefore

PYRRUS

King Pyrrus
Phisitian
wryteth to
Fabricius,
and offereth
to poyson
his master.

Fabricius
letter to
Pyrrus, adver-
tising him of
his Phisitians
treason.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS

we have thought good to advertise you, not in respect to pleasure you, but for feare least the misfortune of your death might make us unjustly to be accused: imagining that by trechery of treason, we have sought to end this warre, as though by valliantnesse we coulde not otherwise atchieve it. Pyrrus having red this letter, and proved the contentes thereof true, executed the Phisitian as he had deserved: and to requite the advertisement of the Consulls, he sent Fabricius and the Romaines their prisoners, without payinge of ransome, and sent Cineas againe unto them, to prove if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit, the Romaines, because they would neither receive pleasure of their enemies, and least of all reward, for that they consented not unto so wicked a deede: did not only refuse to take their prisoners of free gift, but they sent him againe so many Samnites, and Tarentines. And furthermore, for peace, and his friendship, they would geve no eare to it, before the warres were ended, and that he had sent away his army againe by sea, into his kingdome of Epirus. Wherefore Pyrrus seing no remedy, but that he must needes fight an other battell, after he had somewhat refreshed his army, drewe towards the citie of Asculum, where he fought the seconde time with the Romaines: and was brought into a marvelous ill grounde for horsemen, by a very swift running river, from whence came many brookes and deepe marishes, insomuch as his elephantes could have no space nor ground to joine with the battell of the footemen, by reason wherof there was a great number of men hurt and slaine on both sides. And in the ende, the battell being fought out all day long, the darke night did sever them: but the next morninge, Pyrrus to winne the advantage to fight in the plaine field, where he might prevaile with the force of his elephantes, sent first certaine of his bandes to sease upon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy having brought the Romaines into the plaine field, he thrust in amongst his elephants, store of shot, and slingmen, and then made his army marche (being very well set in order) with great furie against his enemies. They missinge thother dayes turninges and places of retyre, were now compelled to

Pyrrus sendeth the Romaines their prisoners without ransome.

Pyrrus second battell with the Romaines, by the city of Asculum.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

fight all on a fronte in the plaine felde: and striving to breake into the battell of Pyrrus; footemen before the elephants came, they desperately preaced in apon their enemies pykes with their swordes, not caring for their owne persones what became of them, but only looked to kill and destroy their enemies. In the ende notwithstandinge, after the battell had holden out very long, the Romaines lost it, and they first beganne to breake and flie on that side where Pyrrus was, by reason of the great force and furie of his charge, and much more through the violence of the elephants: against which, the Romaines valliantnes nor corage coulde ought prevaile, but that they were driven to geve them place (much like the rage of surging waves, or terrible tremblinge of the earth) rather then tary to be troden under feete, and overthrowen by them, whome they were not able to hurte againe, but be by them most greuously martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothinge eased. The chase was not long, bicause they fled but into their campe: and Hieronymus the historiographer writeth, that there died six thowsande men of the Romaines, and of Pyrrus parte about three thowsande five hundred and five, as the kinges owne Chronicles doe witnessse. Neverthelesse, Dionysius makes no mencion of two battells geven neere unto the city of Asculum, nor that the Romaines were certainly overthrowen: howbeit he confirmeth that there was one battell only that continued until sunne set, and that they scarcely severed also when night was come on, Pyrrus being hurte on the arme with a speare, and his cariage robbed and spoiled by the Samnites besides. And further, that there died in this battell, above fifteene thowsande men, as well of Pyrrus side, as of the Romaines parte: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retyre. And some say, that it was at that time Pyrrus answered one, who rejoiced with him for the victory they had wonne: If we winne an other of the price, quod he, we are utterly undone. For in dede then had he lost the most parte of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his frendes and Captaines in manner every one, or at the least there lacked litle of it: and besides that, he had no meanes to supplie them with other

PYRRUS

Pyrrus victory of the Romaines.

The wryters agree not about Pyrrus battell.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS from thence, and perceived also that the confederates he had in Italie, beganne to waxe colde. Where the Romaines to the contrary, did easily renue their army with freshe souldiers, which they caused to come from Rome as neede required, (much like unto a lively spring, the head whereof they had at home in their contry) and they fainted not at all for any losses they received, but rather were they so much the more hotly bent, stowtely determining to abide out the warres, what ever betyde. And thus whilest Pyrrus was troubled in this sorte, newe hopes, and newe enterprises were offred unto him, that made him doubtful what to do. For even at a clap came Ambassadors to him out of Sicilia, offering to put into his handes, the cities of Syracusa, of Agrigentum, and of the Leontines, and beseeching him to aide them to drive the Carthaginians out of the Ile, thereby to deliver them from all the tyrannes. And on the other side also, newes was brought him from Greece, howe Ptolomie surnamed the lightning, was slaine, and all his army overthrowen in battell against the Gaules, and that now he shoulde come in good hower for the Macedonians, who lacked but a king. Then he cursed his hard fortune that presented him all at once, such sundry occasions to doe great thinges: and as if both enterprises had bene already in his hande, he made his accompt that of necessitie he must loose one of them. So, long debating the matter with him selfe, which of the two wayes he should conclude uppon: in the ende he resolved, that by the warres of Sicilia, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, considering that Africke was not farre from them. Wherefore, disposinge him selfe that way, he sent Cineas thither immediatly to make his way, and to speake to the townes and cities of the contry as he was wont to doe: and in the meane time left a strong garrison in the city of Tarentum, to kepe it at his devotion, wherewith the Tarentines were very angry. For they made request unto him, either to remaine in their contry to maintaine warres with them against the Romaines, (which was their meaning why they sent for him) or else if he would needes go, at the least wise to leave their city in as good state as he founde it. But he aunswered them againe very roughly, that they

Ambassadors
out of Sicilia,
to pray aide
of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus jorney
into Sicilia.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

shoulde speake no more to him in it, and that they should not choose but tary his occasion. And with this aunswere tooke shippe, and sailed towardes Sicilia: where so soone as he was arrived, he founde all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingly put them selves into his handes. And where necessity of battell was offered him to employ his army, nothing at the beginning could stande before him. For, with thirty thowsande footemen, two thowsande five hundred horsemen, and two hundred sayle which he brought with him, he drave the Carthaginians before him, and conquered all the contry under their obedience. Nowe at that time, the city of Erix was the strongest place they had: and there were a great number of good souldiers within it to defende it. Pyrrus determind to prove the assault of it, and when his army was ready to geve the charge, he armed him selfe at all peeces from toppe to toe, and approching the walls, vowed unto Hercules to geve him a solemne sacrifice, with a feast of common playes, so that he would graunt him grace to shew him selfe unto the Grecians inhabiting in Sicilia, worthy of the noble auncesters from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his handes. This vowe ended, he straight made the trompettes sound to the assault, and caused the barbarous people that were on the walles, to retyre with force of his shot. Then when the scaling ladders were set up, him selfe was the first that mounted on the walle, where he found diverse of the barbarous people that resisted him. But some he threw over the walles on either side of him, and with his sword slew many dead about him, himselfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the harte to looke him in the face, his countenance was so terrible. And this doth prove that Homer spake wisely, and like a man of experience, when he sayd: that valliantnesse onely amongst all other morall vertues is that, which hath somtimes, certaine furious motions and divine provocations, which make a man besides him selfe. So the city being taken, he honorably performed his vowed sacrifice to Hercules, and kept a feast of all kindes and sortes of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that time about Messina, called the Mamertines, who did

PYRRUS

Pyrrus wanne the city of Erix in Sicilia.

Homer of valliantnes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS much hurt to the Greecians therabouts, making many of them pay tax and tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good souldiers, and had their name also of Mars, because they were marshall men, and geven to armes. Pyrrus led his army against them, and overthrew them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did leavy and exact the taxe, and rased many of their fortresses. And when the Carthaginians required peace and his frendship, offering him shippes and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a shorte aunswere, that there was but one way to make peace and love betwene them, to forsake Sicilia altogether, and to be contented to make Mare Libycum the border betwixt Greece and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his handes, did set him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into Sicilia, aspiring first of all unto the conquest of Libya. Now, to passe him over thither, he had ships enough, but he lacked owers and mariners: wherefore when he would presse them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of Sicilia, and in anger compelled, and severely punished them, that would not obey his commaundement. This he did not at his first comminge, but contrarily had wonne all their good wills, speaking more curteously to them then any other did, and shewing that he trusted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But sodainly being altered from a populer prince, unto a violent tyran, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worst of all is, unfaithfull and ingratefull: neverthesse, though they received great hurt by him, yet they suffered it, and graunted him any needefull thing he did demaund. But when they saw he began to mistrust Thænon and Sostratus, the two chiefe Captaines of Syracuse, and they who first caused him to come into Sicilia, who also at his first arrivall delivered the city of Syracuse into his hands, and had bene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compasse that he had done in Sicilia: when I say they saw he would no more cary them with him, nor leave them behinde him for the mistrust he had of them, and that Sostratus fled from him, and absented him selfe, fearing least Pyrrus would doe him some mischiefe:

The Mamer-
tines why so
called.

Pyrrus
cruelty in
Sicilia.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and that Pyrrus moreover, had put Thænon to death, mistrusting that he would also have done him some harme. Then all things fell out against Pyrrus, not one after an other, nor by litle and litle, but all together at one instant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe some of them confederate with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, to set upon him. But when all Sicilia was thus bent against him, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, by which they advertised him, how they had much a doe to defende them selves within their cities and strong holdes, and that they were wholly driven out of the field: wherefore they earnestly besought him speedily to come to their aide. This newes came happily to him, to cloke his flying, that he might say it was not for dispaire of good successe in Sicilia that he went his way: but true it was in dede, that when he saw he could no longer keepe it, then a shippe could stand still among the waves, he sought some honest shadow to colour his departing. And that surely was the cause why he returned againe into Italie. Neverthelesse, at his departure out of Sicile, they say that looking backe upon the Ile, he said to those that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my frendes, doe we leave to the Romaines and Carthaginians, to fight thone with thother? And verily so it fell out shortely after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous people conspiringe together against Pyrrus, the Carthaginians on the one side watching his passage, gave him battel on the sea, in the very straight it selfe of Messina, where he lost many of his ships, and fled with the rest, and tooke the coast of Italie. And there the Mamertines on the other side, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteene thowsande fighting men: durst not present him battell in open fielde, but taried for him in certaine straites of the mountaines, and in very hard places, and so set upon his rereward, and disordered all his army. They slew two of his elephants, and cut of a great number of his rereward, so as he was compelled him selfe in persone to come from his vangard, to helpe them against the barbarous people, which were lusty valliant men, and olde trained souldiers. And there Pyrrus caught a

PYRRUS

The Samnites and Tarentines sent for Pyrrus to returne into Italie.

Pyrrus returne into Italy out of Sicile.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS
Pyrrus hurt
on his head
with a sworde.

blow on his head with a sworde, and was in great daunger : insomuch as he was forced to retyre out of the prease and fight, which did so much the more encorage his enemies. Among which there was one more adventurous then the rest, a goodly man of personage, fayer armed in white armor, who advauncing him selfe farre before his company, cried out to the king with a bolde and fierce voyce, and chalenged him to fight with him if he were alive. Pyrrus beinge mad as it were with this bravery, turned againe with his garde, in spight of his men, hurt as he was. And besides that he was all on a fire with choller, and his face all bloody and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous villen that had chalenged him : and gave him such a blow on his head with all his force and power, that what by the strength of his arme, and through the goodnes of the temper and mettle of the sword, the blow clave his head right in the midst, downe to the shoulders : so that his heade beinge thus devided, the one parte fell on the one shoulder, and the other parte on the other. This matter sodainly stayed the barbarous people, and kept them from goinge any further, they were so afrayed and amased both to see so great a blowe with ones hande, and it made them thinke in dede that Pyrrus was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. Pyrrus holding on his jorney, arrived at the length in the city of Tarentum, with twenty thowsand footemen, and three thowsand horse. And with these (joyning thereto the choycest pyked men of the Tarentines) he went incontinently into the field to seeke out the Romaines, who had their campe within the territories of the Samnites, which were then in very hard state. For their hartes were killed, bicause that in many battells and encounters with the Romaines, they were ever overthrowen. They were very angry besides with Pyrrus, for that he had forsaken them, to goe his voyage unto Sicilia, by reason whereof there came no great number of souldiers into his campe. But notwithstanding, he devided all his strength into two partes, whereof he sent the one parte into Lucania, to occupy one of the Romaine Consulls that was there, to the end he should not

Pyrrus with
a blow of his
sword clove
his enemies
head in the
middest, and
layed it on
his shoulders.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

come to aide his companion: and with the other parte he went him selfe against Manius Curius, who lay in a very straunge place of advantage nere to the citie of Benevento, attending the aide that should come to him out of Lucania, besides also that the Soothsayers (by the signes and tokens of the birdes and sacrifices) did counsell him not to sturre from thence. Pyrrus to the contrary, desiring to fight with Manius before his aide came unto him, which he looked for out of Lucania, tooke with him the best souldiers he had in all his army, and the warlikest elephantes, and marched away in the night, supposing to steale upon Manius on the sodaine, and geve an assault unto his campe. Now Pyrrus having a long way to go, and through a woddy contry, his lightes and torches failed him, by reason whereof many of his souldiers lost their way, and they lost a great deale of time also, before they could againe be gathered together: so as in this space the night was spent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceived plainly how he came downe the hills. This at the first sight made them muse a while, and put them in a litle feare: neverthelesse Manius having had the signes of the sacrifices favorable, and seeing that occasion did presse him to it, went out into the field, and set upon the vowarde of his enemies, and made them turne their backs. The which feared all the rest in such wise, that there were slaine a great number of them in the fieelde, and certaine elephantes also taken. This victory made Manius Curius leave his strength, and come into the plaine field, where he set his men in battell ray, and overthrew his enemies by plaine force on the one side: but on the other he was repulsed by violence of the elephantes, and compelled to drawe backe into his owne campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to garde it. So when he saw them upon the rampers of his campe all armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they comming fresh out of places of advantage to charge upon the elephantes, compelled them in a very shorte time to turne their backs, and flie through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble, and disorder: so as in the ende, the whole victory fell upon the Romaines side, and consequently by meanes of that victory, followed

PYRRUS

Manius
Curius
Consull.

Pyrrus thirde
battell with
the Romaines.

Pyrrus over-
thrown by
Manius
Curius in
battell.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS the greatnes and power of their Empire. For the Romaines being growen more coragious by this battell, and having increased their force, and wonne the reputacion of men unconquerable: immediatly after conquered all Italie besides, and soone after that, all Sicilia. To this ende as you see, came king Pyrrus vaine hope he had to conquer Italie and Sicilia, after he had spent sixe yeares continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, and his army consumed. Notwithstanding, his noble corage remained alwayes invincible, what losses soever he had susteined: and moreover whilest he lived, he was ever esteemed the chiefest of all the kings and princes in his time, as well for his experience and sufficiency in warres, as also for the valliantnes and hardines of his person. But what he wanne by famous deedes, he lost by vaine hopes: desiring so earnestly that which he had not, as he forgate to kepe that which he had. Wherefore Antigonus compared him unto a dice player that casteth well, but can not use his lucke. Now having brought backe againe with him into Epirus, eight thowsande foote-men, and five hundred horsemen, and being without money to pay them, he devised with him selfe to seeke out some new warre to entertaine those souldiers, and kepe them together. Wherefore uppon a newe aide of certaine of the Gaules beinge comen unto him, he entered into the realme of Macedon (which Antigonus, Demetrius sonne held at that time) with intent only to make a forrey, and to get some spoyle in the contry. But when he saw that he had taken diverse holdes, and moreover, that two thowsand men of warre of the contry came and yelded them selves unto him: he beganne to hope of better successe, then at the first he looked for. For upon that hope he marched against king Antigonus selfe, whom he met in a very straight valley, and at his first comming, gave such a lusty charge upon his rereward, that he put all Antigonus army in great disorder. For Antigonus had placed the Gaules in the rereward of his army to close it in, which were a convenient number, and did valliantly defend the first charge: and the skirmishe was so hotte, that the most of them were slaine. After them, the leaders of the elephantes perceiving they were environned

Pyrrus compared to a dyce player.

Pyrrus returne into Epirus out of Italie.

Pyrrus victory of Antigonus king of Macedon.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

on every side, yelded them selves and their beastes. Pyrrus seeing his power to be now increased with such a supply, trusting more to his good fortune, then any good reason might move him: thrust further into the battel of the Macedonians, who were all afrayed, and troubled for the overthrowe of their rereward, so as they would not once base their pykes, nor fight against him. He for his parte holdinge up his hande, and callinge the Captaines of the bandes by their names, straight wayes made all the foote-men of Antigonus turne wholly to his side: who flying, saved him selfe with a few horsemen, and kept certaine of the cities in his realme apou the sea coast. But Pyrrus in all his prosperity, judging nothing more to redownde to his honor and glory, then the overthrow of the Gaules, layed aside their goodliest and richest spoyles, and offred up the same in the temple of Minerva Itonida, with this inscription:

PYRRUS

Antigonus
flieth from
kinge Pyrrus.

When Pyrrus had subdude, the puisant Gaules in fields,
He caused of their spoiles to make, these targets, armes, and
shields:

The which he hanged up, in temple all on high,
Before Minerva (goddesse here) in signe of victory.
When he had overcome, the whole and hugie hoast:
The which Antigonus did bring, into his contries coast.
Ne marvell should it seeme, though victory he wonne,
Since valliantnes bringes victory, and evermore hath done:
And valliantnes alwayes, hath constantly kept place,
From age to age, and time to time, in Æacus his race.

Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of Macedon yelded unto him: but when he had the citie of Æges in his power, he used the inhabitantes thereof very hardly, and specially bicause he left a great garrison of the Gaules there which he had in pay. This nation is extreame covetous, as then they shewed them selves: for they spared not to breake up the tombes wherein the kinges of Macedon lay buried there, tooke away all the gold and silver they could finde, and afterwards with great insolency cast out their bones into the open winde. Pyrrus was tolde of it, but he lightly passed it over, and made no reckening of it: either bicause he deferred it till an other time, by reason of

The covetous-
nesse of the
Gaules.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS the warres he had then in hande: or else for that he durst not meddle with punishing of these barbarous people at that time. But whatsoever the matter was, the Macedonians were very angry with Pyrrus, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, having not yet made all things sure in Macedon, nor being fully possesst of the same: new toyes and hope came into his head, and mocking Antigonus, sayd, he was a mad man to goe apparrelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloke might become him like a private man. Now, Cleonymus king of Sparta being come to procure him to bring his army into the contry of Lacedæmon, Pyrrus was very willing to it. This Cleonymus was of the blood royall of Sparta, but bicause he was a cruell man, and would do all things by authority, they loved him not at Sparta, nor trusted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, and made Areus king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell Cleonymus had against the common wealth of Sparta: but besides that, he had an other private quarrel, which grewe uppon this cause. In his olde yeares, Cleonymus had married a fayer younge Lady called Chelidonida, which was also of the blood royall, and the daughter of Leotychides. This Lady being fallen extreemely in love with Acrotatus, king Areus sonne, a goodly young gentleman, and in his lusty youth, she greatly vexed and dishonored her husbände Cleonymus, who was over heade and eares in love and jealousy with her: for there was not one in all Sparta, but plainly knewe that his wife made none accompt of him. And thus his home sorowes, being joyned with his outwarde common greves, even for spight, desiring a revenge, in choller he went to procure Pyrrus to come unto Sparta, to restore him againe to his kingdome. Hereuppon he brought him into Lacedæmonia forthwith, with five and twenty thowsand footemen, two thowsand horse, and foure and twenty elephantes: by which preparacion, though by nothing else, the worlde might plainly see, that Pyrrus came with a minde not to restore Cleonymus againe unto Sparta, but of intent to conquer for him selfe (if he could) all the contrie of Peloponnesus. For in wordes he denied it to the Lacedæmonians them selves, who sent Ambassadors unto him when he was in the city of

Areus made king of Sparta, and Cleonymus put downe.

The cause of Pyrrus invading Peloponnesus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Megalipolis, where he tolde them that he was come into Peloponnesus, to sette the townes and cities at libertie which Antigonus kept in bondage: and that his true intent and meaning was to send his young sonnes into Sparta (so they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the Laconian manner, and from their youth have this advantage above all other kinges, to have bene well brought up. But faining these thinges, and abusing those that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the coast of Laconia, into the which he was no sooner entred, but he beganne to spoyle and wast the whole contry. And when the Ambassadors of Sparta reproved and founde fault with him, for that he made warres upon them in such sorte, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them aunswer: No more have you your selves used to proclaime that, which you purposed to do to others. Then one of the Ambassadors called Mandricidas, replied againe unto him in the Laconian tongue: If thou be a god, thou wilt doe us no hurt, because we have not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou shalt meete with an other that shalbe better then thy selfe. Then he marched directly to Sparta, where Cleonymus gave him counsell even at the first, to assault it. But he would not so do, fearing (as they sayd) that if he did it by night, his souldiers would sacke the city: and sayd it should be time enough to assault it the next day at broad day light, because there were but few men within the towne, and beside they were very ill provided. And furthermore, king Areus him selfe was not there, but gone into Creta to aide the Gortynians, who had warres in their owne contry. And doutlesse, that only was the saving of Sparta from taking, that they made no reckening to assault it hotly: because they thought it was not able to make resistance. For Pyrrus camped before the towne, throughly perswaded with him selfe, that he should finde none to fight with him: and Cleonymus frends and servauntes also did prepare his lodging there, as if Pyrrus should have come to supper to him, and lodged with him. When night was come, the Lacedæmonians counselled together, and secretly determined to send away their wives, and litle children into

PYRRUS
Pyrrus strata-
geame to the
Spartans.

Mandricidas
stowtaunswer
to king
Pyrrus.

Pyrrus be-
siegeth Lacedæmon.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS Creta. But the women them selves were against it, and there was one amonge them called Archidamia, who went into the Senate house with a sword in her hand, to speake unto them in the name of all the rest, and sayd : That they did their wives great wronge, if they thought them so fainte harted, as to live after Sparta were destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in counsell, that they should cast a trenche before the enemies campe, and that at both the endes of the same they should bury cartes in the ground unto the middest of the wheelles, to the end that being fast set in the ground, they should stay the elephantes, and kepe them from passing further. And when they beganne to go in hand withall, there came wives and maides unto them, some of them their clothes girte up round about them, and others all in their smockes, to worke at this trenche with the old men, advising the young men that should fight the next morning, to rest them selves in the meane while. So the women tooke the third parte of the trenche to taske, which was six cubittes broade, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundred foote long as Philarchus sayth : or litle lesse as Hieronymus wryteth. Then when the breake of day appeared, and the enemies removed to come to the assault : the women them selves fetched the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, and delivered them the taske of the trenche ready made, which they before had undertaken, praying them valliantly to keepe and defend it, tellinge them withall, howe great a pleasure it is to overcome the enemies, fighting in view and sight of their native contry, and what great felicity and honor it is to dye in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valliantly like an honest man, and worthy of the magnanimity of Sparta. But Chelidonida being gone a side, had tyed a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to strangle and hang her selfe, rather then to fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if by chaunce the city should come to be taken. Now Pyrrus marched in person with his battell of footemen, against the fronte of the Spartans, who being a great number also, did tary his comming on the other side of the trenche : the which, besides that it was very ill to passe over, did let the souldiers

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

also to fight steadily in order of battell, bicause the earth being newly cast up, did yeld under their feete. Wherefore, Ptolomie king Pyrrus sonne, passing all alongest the trench side with two thowsand Gaules, and all the choyce men of the Chaonians, assayed if he could get over to the other side at one of the endes of the trenche where the cartes were: which being set very deepe into the ground, and one joyned unto an other, they did not only hinder thassaylants, but the defendants also. Howbeit: in the end, the Gaules began to plucke of the wheeles of these cartes, and to draw them into the river. But Acrotatus, king Areus sonne, a young man, seeing the daunger, ranne through the city with a troupe of three hundred lusty youthes besides, and went to inclose Ptolomie behinde before he espied him, for that he passed a secret hollow way till he came even to geve the charge upon them: whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towardes him, one runninge in an others necke, and so in great disorder were thrust into the trenches, and under the cartes: insomuch as at the last, with much a doe, and great bloodshed, Acrotatus and his company drave them backe, and repulsed them. Now the women and old men, that were on thother side of the trenche, saw plainly before their face, howe valliantly Acrotatus had repulsed the Gaules. Wherefore, after Acrotatus had done this exployte, he returned againe through the city unto the place from whence he came, all on a goare blood, coragious and lively, for the victory he came newly from. The women of Sparta thought Acrotatus farre more noble and fayrer to beholde, then ever he was: so that they all thought Chelidonida happy to have such a frend and lover. And there were certaine olde men that followed him, crying after him, Goe thy way Acrotatus, and enjoy thy love Chelidonida: beget noble children of her unto Sparta. The fight was cruell on that side where Pyrrus was, and many of the Spartans fought very valliantly. Howbeit amongst other, there was one named Phillius, who after he had fought long, and slaine many of his enemies with his owne handes, that forced to passe over the trenche: perceiving that his hart fainted for the great number of woundes he had upon him, called one of them that were in the rancke

PYRRUS

Acrotatus
valliantnes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS next behinde him, and geving him his place, fell downe deade in the armes of his frendes, bicause his enemies shoulde not have his body. In the ende, the battell havinge continued all the day longe, the night did separate them: and Pyrrus being layed in his bed, had this vision in his sleepe. He thought he strake the city of Lacedæmon with lightning, and that he utterly consumed it: whereat he was so passing glad, that even with the very joy he awaked. And there-uppon forthwith commaunded his Captaines to make their men ready to the assault: and told his dreame unto his familiers, supposing that out of dout it did betoken he should in that approache take the citie. All that heard it, beleved it was so, saving one Lysimachus: who to the contrary, sayed that this vision liked him not, bicause the places smitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also affraied, that the goddes did signifie unto him, that he should not enter into the citie of Sparta. Pyrrus aunswered him: That saied he, is a matter disputable to and fro in an open assembly of people, for there is no maner of certainty in it. But furthermore, every man must take his weapon in his hand, and set this sentence before his eyes:

A right good signe it is, that he would hazard life
In just defence of masters cause with speare and bloody knife.

Alluding unto Homers verses, which he wrote for the defence of his contry. And saying thus, he rose, and at the breake of day led his army unto the assault. On thother side also, the Lacedæmonians with a marvelous corage and magnanimity, farre greater then their force bestirred them selves wonderfully to make resistaunce, having their wives by them that gave them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to geve meate and drinke to them that needed, and did also withdrawe those that were hurt to cure them. The Macedonians likewise for their parte, endeavored them selves with all their might to fill uppe the trenche with wodde and other thinges, which they cast upon the dead bodies and armors, lying in the bottome of the ditche: and the Lacedæmonians againe, labored all that they

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

could possible to let them. But in this great broyle, one perceived Pyrrus a horse backe to have leapt the trenche, past over the strength of the cartes, and make force to enter into the city. Wherefore those that were appointed to defende that parte of the trench, cried out straight: and the women fell a shreeking, and running, as if all had bene lost. And as Pyrrus passed further, striking downe with his owne handes all that stooede before him, a Cretan shot at him, and strake his horse through both sides: who leapinge out of the prease for paine of his wounde, dying, caried Pyrrus away, and threw him uppon the hanging of a steepe hill, where he was in great daunger to fall from the toppes. This put all his servauntes and frendes about him in a marvelous feare, and therewithall the Lacedæmonians seeing them in this feare and trouble ran immediatly unto that place, and with force of shotte drave them all out of the trenche. After this retyre, Pyrrus caused all assault to cease, hoping the Lacedæmonians in the end would yeelde, consideringe there were many of them slaine in the two dayes past, and all the rest in maner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the citie (whether it were to prove the valliantnes of the inhabitants them selves, or at the least to shew what power they were of even in their greatest nede and distresse, when the Lacedæmonians had small hope left) brought one Aminias Phocian from Corinthe, one of king Antigonus Captaines with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and straight after him, as soone as he had entred, king Areus arrived also on thother side from Creta, and two thowsand souldiers with him. So the women went home to their houses, makinge their reckening that they should not neede any more to trouble them selves with warres. They gave the olde men liberty also to goe and rest them selves, who being past all age to fight, for necessities sake yet were driven to arme them selves, and take weapon in hande: and in order of battell placed the newe come souldiers in their roomes. Pyrrus understanding that newe supplies were come, grewe to greater stomake then before, and inforced all that he could, to winne the towne by assault. But in the end, when to his cost he founde that he wanne nothing but

PYRRUS

Pyrrus in daunger of his life, at the siege of Sparta.

King Areus arrived in Sparta with newe aide.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS

Sedition in
the city of
Argos.

Pyrrus re-
pulsed from
Sparta goeth
to Argos.

Ptolomie
kinge Pyrrus
sonne, slaine
by Oræsus
Cretan.

blowes, he gave over the siege, and went to spoyle all the contry about, determining to lye there in garrison all the winter. He coulede not for all this avoide his destenie. For there rose a sedition in the city of Argos betwene two of the chiefest citizens, Aristeas and Aristippus: and bicause Aristeas thought that kinge Antigonus did favor his enemy Aristippus, he made hast to sende first unto Pyrrus, whose nature and disposition was such, that he did continually heape hope upon hope, ever taking the present prosperity, for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loser, then he sought to recover him selfe, and to restore his losse, by some other newe attempts. So that neither for being conqueror, nor overcomen, he would ever be quiet, but alwayes troubled some, and him selfe also: by reason wherof, he sodainly departed towards Argos. But king Areus having layed ambushes for him in diverse places, and occupied also the straightest and hardest passages, by the which he was to passe: gave a charge upon the Gaules and Molossians, which were in the tayle of his army. Now, the selfe same day Pyrrus was warned by a Soothsayer, who sacrificing had founde the liver of the sacrificed beast infected: that it betokened the losse of some most neere unto him. But when he heard the noyse of the charge geven, he thought not of the forwarning of his Soothsayer, but commaunded his sonne to take his household servauntes with him, and to go thither: as he him selfe in the meane time with as great hast as he could, made the rest of his army marche, to get them quickly out of this daungerous way. The fraye was very hotte about Ptolomie Pyrrus sonne, for they were all the chiefe men of the Lacedæmonians with whome he had to doc, led by a valliant Captaine called Evalcus. But as he fought valliantly against those that stode before him, there was a souldier of Creta called Oræsus, borne in the cite of Aptera, a man very ready of his hande, and light of foote, who running alongest by him, strake him such a blowe on his side, that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince Ptolomie being slaine, his company began straight to flie: and the Lacedæmonians followed the chase so hottely, that they tooke no heede of them selves,

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

untill they sawe they were in the plaine field farre from their footemen. Wherefore, Pyrrus unto whom the death of his sonne was newly reported, being a fire with sorow and passion, turned sodainly upon them with the men of armes of the Molossians, and being the first that came unto them, made a marvelous slaughter among them. For, notwithstanding that every where before that time he was terrible and invincible, having his sword in his hande: yet then he did shewe more prooffe of his valliantnes, strength, and corage, then he had ever done before. And when he had sette spurres to his horse against Evalcus to close with him, Evalcus turned on the toe side, and gave Pyrrus such a blowe with his sword, that he missed litle the cutting of his bridle hande: for he cut in deede all the raines of the bridle a sunder. But Pyrrus straight ranne him through the body with his speare, and lighting of from his horse, he put all the troupe of the Lacedæmonians to the sword that were about the body of Evalcus, being all chosen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaines was cause of that losse unto their contry for nothing, considering that the warres against them were ended. But Pyrrus having now as it were made sacrifice of these poore bodies of the Lacedæmonians, for the soule of his dead sonne, and fought thus wonderfully also to honor his funeralls, converting a great parte of his sorow for his death, into anger and wrath against the enemies: he afterwardes held on his way directly towards Argos. And understanding that king Antigonus had already seased the hills that were over the valley, he lodged neere unto the city of Nauplia: and the next morning following sent a heraulde unto Antigonus, and gave him defyanee, calling him wicked man, and chalenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to trye which of them two should be king. Antigonus made him aunswer, that he made warres as much with time, as with weapon: and furthermore, that if Pyrrus were weary of his life, he had wayes open enough to put him selfe to death. The citizens of Argos also sent Ambassadors unto them both, to pray them to departe, sith they knew that there was nothing for them to see in the city of Argos, and that they would let it be a newter, and frend unto them

PYRRUS

Pyrrus slue
Evalcus.

Antigonus
aunswe
re to Pyrrus
chalenge.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS both. King Antigonus agreed unto it, and gave them his sonne for hostage. Pyrrus also made them fayer promise to do so too, but bicause he gave no caution nor sufficient pledge to performe it, they mistrusted him the more. Then there fel out many great and wonderful tokens, as wel unto Pyrrus, as unto the Argives. For Pyrrus having sacrificed oxen, their heades being striken of from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and licked up their owne blood. And within the city of Argos, a sister of the temple of Apollo Lycias, called Apollonide, ranne through the streetes, crying out that she saw the city full of murder, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came unto the fraye, howbeit she vanished away sodainly, and no body knewe what became of her. Pyrrus then comminge hard to the walles of Argos in the night, and finding one of the gates called Diamperes, opened by Aristeades, he put in his Gaules: who possessed the market place, before the citizens knew any thing of it. But bicause the gate was too low to passe the elephantes through with their towers upon their backes, they were driven to take them of, and afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke, and in tumulte: by reason whereof they lost much time, so that the citizens in the ende perceived it, and ran incontinently unto the castell of Aspides, and into other strong places of the city. And therewithall, they sent with present speede unto Antigonus, to pray him to come and helpe them, and so he did: and after he was come hard to the walles, he remained without with the skowtes, and in the meane time sent his sonne with his chiefest Captaines into the towne, who brought a great number of good souldiers and men of warre with them. At the same time also arrived Areus, king of Sparta, with a thowsand of the Cretans, and most lusty Spartans: all which joyning together, came to geve a charge upon the Gaules that were in the market place, who put them in a marvelous feare and hazard. Pyrrus entring on that side also of the city called Cylarabis, with terrible noyse and cries: when he understoode that the Gaules aunswered him not lustely and coragiously, he doubted straight that it was the voyce of men distressed, and that had their handes full. Wherefore, he came on with speede

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

to relieve them, thrusting the horsemen forwards that marched before him, with great daunger and paine, by reason of holes, and sinckes, and water conduites, whereof the city was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confusion amongst them, as may be thought fightinge by night, where no man saw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commaunded, by reason of the great noyse they made, straying here and there up and downe the streetes, thone scattered from the other: neither could the Captaines set their men in order, as wel for the darkenes of the night, as also for the confused tumult that was all the city over, and for that the streetes also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both sides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning wherof, Pyrrus perceived the castel of Aspides, ful of his armed enemies. And furthermore, sodainly as he was come into the market place, amongst many other goodly common workes sette out to beautifie the same, he spied the images of a bull and a woulfe in copper, the which fought one with an other. This sight made him afrayed, bicause at that present he remembered a prophecy that had bene tolde him, that his end and death should be, when he sawe a woulfe and a bull fight together. The Argives reporte, that these images were set up in the market place, for the remembrance of a certaine chaunce that had happened in their contrie. For when Danaus came thither first, by the way called Pyramia (as one would say, land sowen with corne) in the contry of Thyreatide, he saw as he went, a woulfe fight with a bull: whereupon he stayed to see what the end of their fight would come to, supposing the case in him selfe, that the woulfe was of his side, bicause that being a straunger as he was, he came to set upon the naturall inhabitantes of the contry. The woulfe in the ende obtained the victory: wherefore Danaus making his prayer unto Apollo Lycias, followed on his enterprise, and had so good successe, that he drave Gelanor out of Argos, who at that time was king of the Argives. And thus you heare the cause why they say these images of the woulfe and bull were set up in the market place of Argos. Pyrrus being halfe

PYRRUS

A bull and woulfe in copper, set up in the city of Argos fighting together.

Danaus wan the city of Argos from king Gelanor.

Apollo Lycias. Gelanor king of the Argives.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS discouraged with the sight of them, and also because nothinge fell out well according to his expectacion, thought best to retyre : but fearing the straitnesse of the gates of the city, he sent unto his sonne Helenus, whome he had left without the city with the greatest parte of his force and army, commaunding him to overthrow a peece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receive them, if their enemies by chaunce did hinder their comming out. But the messenger whom he sent, was so hasty and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well understand what Pyrrus sayd unto him, but reported his message quite contrary. Whereuppon the young prince Helenus taking the best souldiers he had with him, and the rest of his elephantes, entred into the city to helpe his father, who was now geving backe : and so long as he had roome to fight at ease, retyring still, he valliantly repulsed those that set upon him, turning his face oft unto them. But when he was driven unto the streete that went from the market place to the gate of the city, he was kept in with his owne men that entered at the same gate to helpe him. But they coulde not heare when Pyrrus cried out, and bad them go backe, the noyse was so great : and though the first had heard him, and would have gone backe, yet they that were behinde, and did stil thrust forward into the prease, did not permit them. Besides this moreover, the biggest of all the elephantes by misfortune fell downe overthwart the gate, where he grindinge his teeth did hinder those also, that would have comen out and geven backe. Furthermore, an other of the elephantes that were entred before into the city, called Nicon (as much to say, as conquering) seeking his governor that was striken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes : ran upon them that came backe upon him, overthrowing frendes and foes one in an others necke, til at the length having founde the body of his master slaine, he lift him up from the ground with his tronecke, and carying him upon his two tushes, returned backe with great fury, treading all under feete he found in his way. Thus every man being thronged and crowded up together in this sorte, there was not one that could helpe him selfe : for it

Helenus
Pyrrus sonne.

The straunge
love of an
Elephant to
his keeper.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

seemed to be a masse and heape of a multitude, and one whole body shut together, which sometime thrust forward, and somtime gave backe, as the sway went. They fought not so much against their enemies, who set upon them behinde: but they did them selves more hurt, then their enemies did. For if any drew out his sword, or based his pyke, he could neither scabard thone againe, nor lift up thother, but thrust it full upon his owne fellowes that came in to helpe them, and so killed them selves one thrusting upon an other. Wherefore Pyrrus seeing his people thus troubled and harried to and fro, tooke his crowne from his heade which he ware upon his helmet, that made him knowen of his men a farre of, and gave it unto one of his familiars that was next unto him: and trusting then to the goodnes of his horse, flewe upon his enemies that followed him. It fortunated that one hurt him with a pyke, but the wound was neither daungerous nor great: wherfore Pyrrus set upon him that had hurt him, who was an Argian borne, a man of meane condition, and a poore olde womans sonne, whose mother at that present time was gotten up to the toppe of the tyles of a house, as all other women of the city were, to see the fight. And she perceiving that it was her sonne whome Pyrrus came upon, was so afrighted to see him in that daunger, that she tooke a tyle, and with both her handes cast it upon Pyrrus. The tyle falling of from his head by reason of his head peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, and brake his necke bone a sunder: wherewith he was sodainly so benumbed, that he lost his sight with the blow, the raines of his bridle fell out of his hande, and him selfe fell from his horse to the ground, by Licymmias tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the least the common people. Untill at the last there came one Zopyrus, that was in pay with Antigonus, and two or three other souldiers also that ran straight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, even as he was comming againe to him selfe out of this traunse. This Zopyrus drewe out a Slavon sword he wore by his side, to strike of his head. But Pyrrus cast such a grimme countenance on him betwene his eyes, that made him so afrayed, and his hand so to shake

PYRRUS

Kinge Pyrrus
slaine with a
tyle thrown
by a woman.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

PYRRUS therewith : that being thus amazed, he did not strike him right in the place where he should have cut of his head, but killed him under his mouth about his chinne, so that he was a great while ere he could strike of his head. The matter was straight blowen abroade amongst diverse : whereupon Alcyoneus running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he ranne presently unto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar frends, and cast Pyrrus head before him. Antigonus looking upon it, when he knew it, layed apon his sonne with his staffe, and called him cruell murderer, and unnaturall barbarous beast : and so hyding his eyes with his cloke, wept for pity, (remembring the fortune of his grandfather Antigonus, and of his father Demetrius) and then caused Pyrrus head and body to be honorably burnt and buried. Afterwards Alcyoneus meeting Helenus (king Pyrrus sonne) in very poore state, muffed up with a poore shorte cloke : used him very curteously with gentle wordes, and brought him to his father. Antigonus seeing his sonne bringing of him, sayd unto him : This parte now (my sonne) is better then the first, and pleaseth me a great deale more. But yet thou hast not done all thou shouldest : for thou shouldest have taken from him his beggerly cloke he weareth, which doth more shame us that are the gainers, then him that is the loser. After he had spoken these wordes, Antigonus embraced Helenus, and having apparelled him in good sorte, sent him home with honorable convoy into his realme of Epirus. Furthermore, seasing all Pyrrus campe and army, he curteously received all his frendes and servauntes.

Alcyoneus
king Anti-
gonus sonne.

Antigonus
curtesie to-
wards Pyrrus
body and
frendes.

THE END OF PYRRUS LIFE

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARIUS



It is not known what was the third name of Caius Marius, no more then of Quintius Sertorius, who had all Spayne in his handes at one time: nor of Lucius Mummius, he that destroyed the cite of Corinthe. For this name of Achaicus, that was geven unto Mummius, of Africanus unto Scipio: and of Numidicus unto Metellus: were all

Of the names
of the
Romaines.

surnames geven them, by reason of the conquestes they wan. By this reason Posidonius thinketh to overcome them that say, that the third name the Romaines have, is their proper name: as Camillus, Marcellus, Cato. For if it fell out so, sayd he, then it must needes follow that they which have two names, should have no proper name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women have no names: for there is not a woman in Rome that is called by her first name, which Posidonius judgeth to be the proper name of the Romaines. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the Pompeians, of the Manlians, and of the Cornelians, like as the Heraclides and the Pelopides are amongst the Grecians: and the other is a surname taken of the deedes, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these surnames, Macrinus, Torquatus, and Sylla. Even as amongst the Grecians likewise; Mnemon, which signifieth having good memory: Grypos, having a crooked nose: Callinicos, conquering. But as for that, the diversitie of custome would deliver objection sufficient to the contrary, to him that listed. And furthermore, as touching the favor of Marius face, we have seene an image of his in marbell at Ravenna, a city of the Gaules, which doth lively represent that rough severity of nature and maner which they say was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature, and geven to the

Marius favor.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius could
no skill of the
Greeke tonge.

Platoes say-
ing to Xeno-
crates.

Marius
parents,
maners, and
contry.

Marius first
journey unto
the warres.

warres, and having followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the civill life: when he came to authority, he could not bridle his anger and chollericke nature. And they say furthermore, that he never learned the Greeke tongue, nor used it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockery to study to learne the tongue, the masters whereof lived in bondage under others. After his second triumphe, in the dedication of a certaine temple, he made Greeke playes to shewe the Romaines pastime: and came into the Theater, howbeit he did but sit downe only, and went his way straight. Wherefore me thinkes, that as Plato was wont to say oft unto Xenocrates the Philosopher, who was of a currish nature, had his head ever occupied, and to severe: Xenocrates, my frend: I pray thee doe sacrifice to the Graces. So if any man could have perswaded Marius to have sacrificed to the Muses, and to the Greecian Graces: (that is to say, that he had knowen the Greeke tongue) to so many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not joyned so unfortunate and miserable an end as he made, through his choller and extreame ambition, at such yeares, and through an unsatiabie covetousnes, which like boysterous windes made him to make shipwracke of all, in a most cruell, bloody, and unnaturall age. The which is easily knowen in reading the discourse of his doinges. First of all he was of a meane house, borne of poore parents by father and mother, that got their livings by sweate of their browes. His father as him selfe, was called Caius: Fulcinia was his mother. And this was the cause why he beganne so late to haunt the city, and to learne the civility and manners of Rome, having bene brought up alwayes before in a litle poore village called Cirræaton, within the territory of the city of Arpos: where he led a hard contry life, in respect of those that lived pleasauntly and finely in the cities, but otherwise well reformed, and nearest unto the manners of the auncient Romaines. The first journey he made unto the warres, was against the Celtiberians in Spayne, under Scipio African, when he went to besiege the city of Numantia: where his Captaines in shorte time found that he was a better souldier, then any other of

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his companions. For he did marvelous easily receive the reformation of manners, and the discipline of warres, which Scipio advanced amongst his souldiers that were ill trained before, and given over to all pleasure. And they say, that in the sight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and slew him: upon which occasion, Scipio to make him love him, did offer him many curtesies and pleasures. But specially one day above the rest, having made him suppe with him at his table, some one after supper falling in talke of Captaines that were in Rome at that time: one that stode by Scipio, asked him (either bicause in deede he stode in doubt, or else for that he would curry favor with Scipio) what other Captaine the Romaines should have after his death, like unto him. Scipio having Marius by him, gently clapped him upon his shoulder, and said: Peradventure this shalbe he. Thus happely were they both borne, the one to shew from his youth that one day he should come to be a great man, and the other also for wisely conjecturing the end, by seeing of the beginning. Well, it fortun'd so, that these words of Scipio (by reporte) above all things else put Marius in a good hope, as if they had bene spoken by the oracle of some god, and made him bold to deale in matters of state and common wealth: where, by meanes of the favor and countenance Cæcilius Metellus gave him (whose house his father and he had alwayes followed and honored) he obtained the office of Tribuneshippe. In this office he preferred a law touching the manner howe to geve the voyces in election of the Magistrates, which did seeme to take from the nobility the authority they had in judgement. And therefore the Consull Cotta stepped up against it, and perswaded the Senate to resist that lawe, and not suffer it to be authorised, and therewithall presently to call Marius before them to yeld a reason of his doing. So was it agreed upon in the Senate. Now Marius comming into the Senate, was not abashed at any thing, as some other young man would have bene, that had but newly begonne to enter into the world as he did, and having no other notable calling or quality in him, saving his vertue only to commend him: but taking boldenes

CAIUS
MARIUS

Scipio Afri-
cans judge-
ment of
Marius.

Marius
Tribune of
the people.

Cotta Consull.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

of him selfe (as the noble actes he afterwards did, gave show of his valor) he openly threatned the Consull Cotta to sende him to prison, if he did not presently withdrawe the conclusion he had caused to be resolved apon. The Consull then turning him selfe unto Cæcilius Metellus, asked him how he liked it? Metellus standing up, spake in the behalfe of the Consull: and then Marius calling a sergeaunt out, commaunded him to take Metellus selfe, and to cary him to prison. Metellus appealed to the other Tribunes, but never a one would take his matter in hand: so that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the conclusion that before was taken. Then Marius returning with great honor into the market place among the assembly of the people, caused this law to passe and be authorised: and every man held opinion of him that he would prove a stowt man, and such a one, as would not stoupe for any feare, nor shrinke for bashfullnes, but would beard the Senate in favor of the people. Notwithstanding, he shortly after chaunged opinion, and altered the first, by an other act he made. For when an other went about to have a law made, to distribute corne unto every citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently against it, and overthrew it: so that thereby he came to be a like honored and esteemed of either party, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the prejudice of the common wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he sued for the chiefest office of *Ædilis*. Of the

Two sortes of
Ædiles.

Ædilitas
Curulis.

Ædilitas
popularis.

Marius
denied to
be *Ædilis*.

Ædiles there are two sortes: the first is called *Ædilitas Curulis*, so named because of certaine chayes that have crooked feete, upon which they sit when they geve audience. The other is of lesse dignity, and that is called *Ædilitas popularis*: and when they have chosen the first and greater *Ædilis* at Rome, they presently proceede the same day also in the market place unto election of the lesser. Marius seeing plainly that he was put by the chiefest of the *Ædiles*, turned againe straight yet to demaund the second: but this was misliked in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too shameles, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one selfe day he had two denyalles and repulses, which never

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

man but him selfe before had. And neverthesse, all this could not cut his combe, but shortely after he sued also for the Prætorshippe, and he lacked but litle of the deniall of that: yet in the ende, being last of all chosen, he was accused to have bribed the people, and bought their voyces for money. And surely amongst many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of Cassius Sabacon within the barres where the election is made, running to and fro amonge them that gave their voyces, bicause this Sabacon was Marius very great frend. The matter came before the judges, and Sabacon was examined upon it. Whereunto he aunswered, that for the great extreame heate he felt, he was very dry, and asked for colde water to drinke, and that this man had brought him some in a potte where he was, howbeit that he went his way as soone as ever he had dronke. This Sabacon was afterwarde put out of the Senate by the next Censors, and many judge that he was worthy of this infamy, for that he was perjured in judgement, or bicause he was so subject and geven to his pleasure. Caius Herennius was also called for a witnessse against Marius: but he did alleage for his excuse, that the law and custome did dispense with the Patrone, to be a witnessse against his follower and client, and he was quit by the judges. For the Romaines alwayes call those Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then them selves into their handes: saying, that Marius predecessors, and Marius him selfe, had ever bene followers of the house of the Herennians. The judges received his aunswere, and allowed thereof. But Marius spake against it, alleaging, that since he had received this honor to beare office in the common wealth, he was now growen from this base condicion, to be any more a follower of any man: the which was not true in all. For every office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his posterity, to be under the patronage of an other, nor doth discharge him from the duty of honoring them: but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which the law doth permit to sit in the crooked chayer called *Curulis*, that is to say, caried uppon a charet through the city. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this cause, Marius had

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius chosen
Prætor.

Sabacon put
out of the Senate.

Caius Herennius
pleaded in Marius
behalf, touching
the patron
and client.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS MARIUS but ill successe, and that the judges were against him all they could : yet in the ende for all that, at the last hearing of his matter, Marius, contrary to all mens opinions, was discharged, because the judges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He used him selfe very orderly in his office of Prætorshippe, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the provinces by lot, Spaine fell unto him, which is beyond the river of Bætis : where it is reported that he skowred all the contrie thereabouts of theeves and robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very cruell and savage, for the rude, barbarous, and uncivill manner and facion of life of the inhabitantes there. For the Spanyards were of opinion even at that time, that it was a goodly thinge to live upon thefte and robbery. At his returne to Rome out of Spayne, desiring to deale in matters of the common wealth, he saw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which those that were at that time in credit and authority, did cary the people even as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great accompt of his constancy and noble minde they found in him, of his great paynes and travell he tooke continually, and of the simplicity of his life : which were causes to bring him to honor and preferment, insomuch as he married very highly. For he married Iulia, that was of the noble house of the Cæsars, and aunte unto Iulius Cæsar : who afterwarde came to be the chiefest man of all the Romaines, and who by reason of that allyance betwene them, seemed in some thinges to followe Marius, as we have wrytten in his life. Marius was a man of great temperaunce and pacience, as may be judged by an acte he did, puttinge him selfe into the handes of surgeons. For his shanckes and legges were full of great swollen veynes, and being angrie because it was no pleasaunt thinge to beholde : he determined to put him selfe into the handes of surgeons to be cured. And first, laying out one of his legges to the surgeon to worke upon, he would not be bound as others are in the like case : but patiently abode all the extreame paines a man must of necessity feele being cut, without sturring, groning, or sighing, still keeping his countenance, and sayed never a word.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

But when the surgeon had done with his first legge, and would have gone to the other, he would not geve it him: Nay said he, I see the cure is not worth the paine I must abide. Afterwardes, Cæcilius Metellus the Consull, being appointed to go into Africke to make warre with king Iugurthe, tooke Marius with him for one of his Lieutenautes. Marius being there, seeing notable good service to be done, and good occasion to shew his manhoode, was not of minde in this voyage to increase Metellus honor and reputacion, as other Lieutenautes did: and thought that it was not Metellus that called him forth for his Lieutenaunt, but fortune her selfe that presented him a fit occasion to raise him to greatnes, and (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the prooffe of that he coulde doe. And for this cause therefore, he endeavored him selfe to shew all the possible proofes of valliantnesse and honor he could. For, the warres being great continually there, he never for feare refused any attempt or service, how daungerous or painfull soever it were, neither disdained to take any service in hand, were it never so litle: but exceeding all other his fellows and companions in wisdom and foresight, in that which was to be done, and striving with the meanest souldiers in living hardly and painfully, wanne the goodwill and favor of every man. For to say truely, it is a great comforte and refreshing to souldiers that labor, to have companions that labor willingly with them. For they thinke, that their company laboring with them, doth in manner take away the compulsion and necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the Romaine souldier marvelously to see the Generall eat openly of the same bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that him selfe is the first man to set his hande to any worke when a trenche is to be cast, or their campe to be fortified. For they doe not so much esteeme the Captaines, that honor and reward them: as they doe those that in daungerous attempts labor, and venture their lives with them. And further, they do farre better love them that take paines with them, then those that suffer them to live idly by them. Marius performing all this, and winning thereby the love and goodwills of his souldiers: he

CAIUS
MARIUS

Cæcilius
Metellus
Consull.

Marius,
Metellus
Lieutenaunt
in the warre
against
Iugurthe.

The labour
and presence
of the Generall
maketh
the souldiers
worke wil-
lingly.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

straight filled all Libya and the city of Rome with his glory, so that he was in every manns mouth. For they that were in the campe in Africke, wrote unto them that were at Rome, that they should never see the ende of these warres against this barbarous king, if they gave not the charge unto Marius, and chose him Consull. These thinges misliked Metellus very much, but specially the misfortune that came upon Turpilius, did marvelously trouble him : which fell out in this sorte. Turpilius was Metellus frende, yea he and all his parentes had followed Metellus in this warre, being master of the workes in his campe. Metellus made him governor over the city of Vacca, a goodly great city : and he using the inhabitantes of the same very gently and curteously, mistrusted nothing, till he was fallen into the handes of his enemies through their treason. For they had brought king Iugurthe into their city unknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the king, and let him goe his way safe. And this was the cause why they accused Turpilius of treason. Marius being one of his judges in the counsell, was not contented to be bitter to him him selfe, but moved many of the counsell besides to be against him. So that Metellus by the voyces of the people, was driven against his will to condemne him, to suffer as a traitor : and shortly after it was founde, and proved, that Turpilius was wrongfully condemned, and put to death. To say truely, there was not one of the counsel but were very sory with Metellus, who marvelous impatiently tooke the death of the poore innocent. But Marius contrarily rejoyced, and tooke it upon him that he pursued his death, and was not ashamed to make open vauntes, that he had hanged a fury about Metellus necke, to revenge his frendes blood, whom he giltlesse had caused to be put to death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they say, that one day Metellus to mocke him withall, sayd unto him : O good man, thou wilt leave us then, and returne to Rome to sue for the Consulshippe, and canst thou not be contented to tary to be Consull with my sonne? Now his sonne at that time was but a boy. But whatsoever the matter ment, Marius left him not so, but labored for leave

Marius the
author of
Turpilius
false accusa-
tion and
death.

Vacca, a
great city.

The cause of
the supposed
treason
against
Turpilius.

Turpilius
wrongfully
put to death.

Displeasure
betwixt
Metellus and
Marius.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

all he could possible. And Metellus after he had used many delays and excuses, at the length gave him leave, twelve dayes only before the day of election of the Consulls. Wherefore Marius made hast, and in two dayes and a night came from the campe to Utica upon the sea side, which is a marvelous way from it: and there before he tooke shippe, did sacrifice unto the goddes, and the Soothsayer tolde him, that the goddes by the signes of his sacrifices, did promise him incredible prosperity, and so great, as he himselfe durst not hope after. These wordes made Marius hart greater. Whereupon he hoysed sayle, and having a passing good gale of winde in the poepe of the shippe, passed the seaes in foure dayes, and being landed, rode poste to Rome. When he was arrived, he went to shewe him selfe unto the people: who were marvelous desirous to see him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people unto the pulpit for orations, after many accusations which he objected against Metellus, in the end he besought the people to choose him Consull, promising that within few dayes he would either kill, or take king Iugurthe prisoner. Whereupon he was chosen Consull without any contradiction. And so soone as he was proclaimed, he beganne immediatly to leavie men of warre, causing many poore men that had nothing, and many slaves also, to be enrolled against the order of auncient custome: where other Captaines before him did receive no such maner of men, and did no more suffer unworthy men to be souldiers, then they did allow of unworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which every one of them that were enrolled, left their goodes behinde them, as a pledge of their good service abroade in the warres. Yet this was not the matter that made Marius to be most hated, but they were his stowte prowde wordes, full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offende the noble men in the city. For he proclaimed it every where abroade as it were, that his Consullshippe was a spoyle he had gotten of the effeminate riche noble men through his valliantnes, and that the wounds which he had upon his body for service of the common wealth, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images and statues of others, were those that recommended him to

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius first
time of being
Consull.

Marius
offended the
nobility.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

the people, nor weare his strength. And oftentimes naming Albinus, and otherwhile Bestia, both noble men, and of great houses, who having bene Generalls of the Romaine army, had very ill fortune in the contry of Libya: he called them cowardes, and simple souldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their auncesters would rather have wished to have left their children that came of them like unto him selfe, then such as they had bene: considering that they them selves had wonne honor and glory, not for that they were discended of noble blood, but through their deserved vertue and valliant deedes. Now Marius spake not these wordes in a foolishe bravery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchase the ill will of the nobility for nothing: but the common people being very glad to see him shame and despite the Senate, and measuring alwayes the greatnes of his corage with his hawty fierce wordes, they egged him forward still not to spare the nobility, and to reprove the great men, so that he ever held with the communalty. And furthermore, when he was passed over againe into Africke, it spited Metellus to the hart, bicause that he having ended all the warre, that there remained almost no more to take or winne, Marius should come in that sorte to take away the glory and triumphe out of his handes, having sought to rise and increase by unthankfullnes towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went an other way, and left the army with Rutilius one of his Lieutenautes, to deliver the same unto him. Howbeit the revenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the ende upon Marius owne necke. For Sylla tooke out of Marius hands, the honor of ending this warre: even as Marius had taken it from Metellus. But how, and after what sorte, I will repeate it in few words, bicause we have written the particularities more at large in the life of Sylla. Bocchus king of high Numidia, was father in law unto king Iugurthe, unto whom he gave no great aide, whilst he made warres with the Romaines, bicause he hated his unfaithfullnes, and feared least he would make him selfe greater then he was: but in the end, after Iugurthe had fled, and wandered up and downe in every place, he was constrained of very necessity to cast his last hope and ancker

Marius
deprived
Metellus of
the honor of
conquering
of king
Iugurthe.

Bocchus
kinge of
Numidia,
delivereth
Iugurthe
unto Sylla.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

apon him, as his finall refuge, and so repayre unto him. King Bocchus received him rather for shame, bicause he durst not punish him, then for any love or goodwill he bare him: and having him in his hands, seemed openly to intreate Marius for him, and secretly to wryte the contrary unto him. But in the meane time, he practised treason under hande, and sent prively for Lucius Sylla, who then was Quæstor (to say, high treasurer) under Marius, and of whome he had received certaine pleasures in those warres. Sylla trusting to this barbarous king, went at his sending for to him. But when he was come, king Bocchus repented him of his promise, and altered his minde, standing many dayes in doubt with him selfe howe to resolve, whether he should deliver king Iugurthe, or keepe Sylla him selfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended treason, and delivered king Iugurthe alive into Syllaes hands. And this was the first originall cause of the pestilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwarde betwixt Marius and Sylla, and was like to have utterly overthrowen the citie of Rome, and to have raised the foundation of the empyre unto the grounde. For many envyinge the glorie of Marius, gave it out every where, that this acte of the taking of king Iugurthe, appertained only unto Sylla: and Sylla him selfe caused a ring to be made, which he ware commonly, and had graven upon the stone of the same, how Bocchus delivered Iugurthe into his handes. And afterwarde he made it allwayes his seale to dispite Marius with all, who was an ambitious and proude man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glorie of his doings: and Sylla did it specially at the procurement of enemies and ill willers, who gave the glory of the beginning and chiefe exployts of this warre, unto Metellus, and the last and finall conclusion unto Sylla, to the ende that the people should not have Marius in so great estimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this envy, detraction, and hatred against Marius, was soone after extinguished and troden under foote, by reason of the great daunger that fell apon all Italie out of the West: and they never spake of it afterwarde, knowing that the common wealth stode in neede of a good Captaine, and that they

CAIUS
MARIUS

Lucius Sylla
Quæstor
under Marius.

The originall
cause of the
civill warres
betwixt
Marius and
Sylla.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

beganne to looke about, and consider who should be that great wise Pylot, that might save and preserve it, from so exceeding daungerous storme of warres. For there was not a noble man of all the auncient houses of Rome, that durst undertake to offer him selfe to demaunde the Consullshippe: but Marius being absent, was chosen Consull the second time.

The comming
into Italie of
the Teutons
and Cimbres.

For Iugurthe was no sooner taken, but newes came to Rome of the comming downe of the Teutons, and of the Cimbres, the which would not be beleved at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was sayd to be in their company, and for the uncredible force and power of armies which was justified to come also: but afterwarde they knew plainely, that the rumor that ranne abroad was

The army of
the Teutons
and Cimbres
300000 men.

lesse, then the troth fell out in deede. For they were three hundred thowsand fighting men all armed, who brought with them also an other multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandered up and downe seeking contries and townes to dwell and live in, as they heard say the Gaules had done in olde time, who leaving their owne contry, came, and had possessed the best parte of Italie, which they had taken away from the Thuscans. Now to say truely, no man knewe of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no frendshippe with any other people, as also bicause they came out of a farre contry, as a clowde of people that was spred all over Gaule and Italie. It was doubted much that they came

Cimbri.

out of Germanye, dwelling about the north sea: and this they conjectured by viewe of the greatnes of their bodies, and also for that they had darke blew eyes and redde, besides that the Germanes in their tongue doe call theeves and robbers, Cimbri. Other say that Celtica, for the great length and largenes of the contry, stretching it selfe from the coast of the great Ocean sea and from the north partes, drawing towards the marisses Mœotides, and the East runneth into Scythia, or Tartaria Pontica: and that for neighbourhood these two nations joyned together, and went out of their contrie, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many sundry times, marching yearely in the spring further and further into the contry. And thus by

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

continuance of time, they passed by force of armes through all the firme lande of Europe: and that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the diversitie of their nations, yet all this masse and multitude of people gathered together, were called notwithstanding, the army of the Celtoscythes, as who would say, the Celtotartares. Other hold opinion that the nation of the Cimmerians, who were knowen in old time for auncient Greecians, the one parte of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driven out of their contrie for some civill dissention) were compelled by the Tartares to passe beyond the marisses Mœotides, into the contries of Asia, under the conduction of a Captaine called Ligdamis. But the residue of them which were a farre greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furdest partes of the earth, adjoyning unto the great Ocean sea, in a darke shadowed contrie, covered with wonderfull forrestes, of such length, and so great and thicke, and the trees so high, that the sunne can have no power upon the ground, and they joyne hard upon the great Forrest of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are under such a climate, where the pole is of such a height by the inclination of the circles equidistant, which they call Paralleles, that it is not farre from the poynte that aunswereth directly to the plummett upon the head of the inhabitantes: and where the dayes are equinoctiall, they doe devide all their time in two partes, the which geveth Homer occasion to fayne, that when Ulysses would call upon the dead, he went into the contry of the Cimmerians, as into the contry of hell. And this is the cause why they say these barbarous people left their owne contries to come into Italie, which from the beginning were called Cimmerians, and afterwarde they say (and not without great likelyhoode) that they were surnamed Cimbres: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely conjecture, then by any assured troth of history. And as for the multitude of men, the most parte of historiographers doe wryte, that they were rather moe, then lesse then we have spoken of: and that they were so hardy and valliant, that nothing coulede stande before them, they did so great things

CAIUS
MARIUS

Cimmerij.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

by the strength of their hands where they fought with any, so violently, and so suddenly, that they seemed to be like a lightning fire all about where they came. By means whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but scraped together and carried away, all that they found, hands over head: and there were many Romaine Captaines appointed governors to keepe that which the Romaines held in Gaule beyond the mountaines, who with great armies were shamefully overthrown by them. The cowardlines of those, whom they had overcome, was the chiefest cause that moved them to direct their journey to Rome. For when they had vanquished the first they fought withall, and gotten great riches also: they were so fleshed by this, that they determined to stay no where before they had first destroyed Rome, and sacked all Italie. The Romaines hearing of this out of all partes, sent for Marius to geve him the conduction and leading of these warres, and chose him Consul the seconde time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the lawe, that did expressly forbid any man to be chosen being absent, and untill also a certaine time appointed had past betwene the vacation and election, before they could choose him officer twice in one office. Some alleaged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulst them, objecting to the contrary: that this was not the first time the law had given place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that the occasion offered to abrogate the law at that present was no lesse, then former occasions by the which they chose Scipio Consul, against the course and time appointed by the law, not for any feare they stood in to lose their owne contrie, but for the desire they had to destroy the contrie of the Carthaginians, by reason whereof the people proceeded to election. And Marius bringing home his armie againe out of Libya into Italie, tooke possession of his Consulship the first day of Ianuary (on which day the Romaines beginne their yeare) and therewithall made his triumphe into the city of Rome, showing that to the Romaines, which they thought never to have seene: and that was, kinge Iugurthe prisoner, who was so subtil a man, and could so well frame him selfe unto his fortune, and with

Marius chosen
Consul the
second time
against the
law.

Law must give
place for com-
mon benefit.

Marius
triumphe
into Rome,
for king
Iugurthe.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his craft and subtiltie was of so great corage besides, that none of his enemies ever hoped to have had him alive. But it is sayd, that after he was led in this triumphe, he fell mad straight upon it. And the pompe of triumphe being ended, he was caried into prisone, where the sergeauntes for hast to have the spoyle of him, tare his apparell by force from of his backe: and bicause they would take away his rich golde eare ringes that hong at his eares, they pulled away with them the ttype of his eare, and then cast him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wittes being altogether troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he sayd: O Hercules, how colde are your stoves. He lived there yet six dayes, fighting with hunger, and desiring alwayes to prolong his miserable life unto the last hower: the which was a just deserved punishment for his wicked life. In this triumphe were caried (as they say) three thowsand and seven hundred pound weight in gold, and of silver nygots, five thowsand seven hundred and lxxv. pounce weight: and more in golde and ready coyne, eight and twenty thowsand and seven hundred crownes. After this triumphe, Marius caused the Senate to assemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the companie with his triumphinge robe, either bicause he forgot it, or else of too grosse and uncivill arrogancy: but perceiving that all the assemblie misliked of it, he rose sodainly, and tooke his long Consulls gowne, and then returned quicklye againe into his place. Furthermore Marius departing to goe to the warres, thought to traine his army by the way, and to harden his souldiers unto labor, causing them to runne every way, making great longe jorneyes, compelling ech souldier to cary his owne furniture, and to prepare him necessary vittells to finde him selfe withall: so that ever after they made a proverbe of it, and called such as were painefull and willing to do that which they were commaunded without grudging, Marius moyles. Other notwithstanding, do shew an other cause and beginning of this proverbe. For they say, that Scipio lying at the siege of the city of Numantia, would not only take view of the armor and horses of service that were in his armie, but also of the moyles and other beastes of burden,

CAIUS
MARIUS

How Marius
trained his
souldiers.

Marius
moyles.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

bicause he would see how they were kept and furnished. So Marius brought his horse and moyle to the muster which he kept him selfe, fatte, fayer, and very well drest, and his moyles heare so slike and smooth, and therewithall so lusty and trimme, as none of the rest were like unto them. Scipio tooke great pleasure to see these beastes so well kept, and in so good plyte: insomuch as he spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And upon his words, this manner of talke was taken up ever after, and became a common proverbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painefull, and geven to sore labor, makeinge as though they would praise him, they call him Marius moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for Marius (in mine opinion) that these barbarous people (like in force to the beating backe of the raging seases) turned their first fury towardses Spayne: and that he in the meane space had time and leasure to traine and exercise his souldiers, to make them bolde, and withall, him selfe to be thoroughly knowen amongst them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to offend, nor disobey: then they found his rough commaunding, and sharpe severity in punishing such as slacke their duety, both profitable and very necessarie, besides that it was also just and reasonable. Againe, his great fury, his sharpe words, and his fierce lookes, after they had a while bene used to them, by litle and litle they seemed nothinge so fearfull to them, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleased the souldiers more then all the rest, was his justice and upright dealinge: whereof they reporte such an example: Marius had a nephewe of his in his campe called Caius Lusius, who had charge of men in the army. This Lusius was taken for a marvelous honest man, saving that he had this fowle vice in him, that he would be sodainly in love with fayer young boyes: and as at that time he fell in love with a trimme younge striplinge, called Trebonius, that served under him, and having many times lewdly entised him, and never could obtaine his purpose, at the last sent for him one night by his servaunt. The young man might not disobay his Captaine being sent for, but presently went unto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his Captaine did strive with all

Marius com-
mended for
his justice.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

his force to doe him villanny: he drewe out his sworde, and killed him in the place. And this was done when Marius was out of his campe: who so soone as he returned, caused the marshall to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himselfe, and to name many witnesses, who had both seene and knowen how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him dishonor, and how that he had continually resisted his abhominable motion, and would never yeld him selfe unto him, for any gift or present he could offer him. Wherefore Marius commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those crownes to be brought unto him, which are used to be geven to them that in a day of battel have done some valliant deede, and he him selfe did crowne Trebonius withall, as one that had done a noble acte, and at such a time, as good and honest examples were requisite. This judgement of Marius beinge caried to Rome, stode him to great good purpose towardes the obtaining of his third Consulshippe: besides also that they looked for the comming backe of these barbarous people about the springe with whome the Romaine souldiers would not fight under any other Captaine, then Marius. Howbeit they came not so soone againe as they looked for them, but Marius passed over also the yeare of his third Consulshippe. So time comming about againe for the election of newe Consulls, and his companion also being dead: he was driven to goe him selfe unto Rome, leaving the charge of his campe in his absence, unto Manius Acilius. At that time there were many noble men that sued for the Consulshippe: but Lucius Saturninus one of the Tribunes, who had the communalty under his girdell as he would him selfe, more then any of thother Tribunes, and being wonne under hand by Marius, made many orations, in the which he perswaded the people to choose Marius Consul the fourth time. Marius to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying that he would none of it, though the people chose him. Whereupon Saturninus called him traitor, crying out, that his refusall in such a daunger and time of necessity, was an

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius third
Consulshippe.

Manius
Acilius Lieu-
tenant of the
army, under
Marius.

Lucius
Saturninus
Tribune.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

apparant parte to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a grosse packe betwixt Saturninus and Marius, by such as could see day at a litle hole. Nevertheless, the people considering that their present troubles required Marius skil and good fortune in the warres, they made him Consull the fourth time, and joyned Catulus Luctatius Consul with him, a man that was greatly honored of the nobility, and not misliked also of the common people. Marius having newes of the approaching of the barbarous people, passed over the Alpes with great speede, and fortifying his campe by the river of Rhone, he brought great provision of all kindes of vittels thither with him, least being straighted by lacke therof, he should be forced to come to battell at any other time, but even as he would him selfe, and as it should seeme good unto him. And where before that time the transporting of vittells unto his campe by sea was very long, and daungerous, and a marvelous great charge besides: he made it very shorte and easie by this meanes. The mouth of the river of Rhone had gathered together so much mudde, and such store of sande, which the waves of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was becomen very high and depe: so as the banckes made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and daungerous for great shippes of burden that came from the sea. Marius considering this matter, set his men a worke while they had nothing to do, and made them digge a large trench and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great parte of the river, and caried it to a convenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulfe, wherby he made it able to cary the greatest shippes that were: and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with windes nor waves. The channell carieth yet his name, and is called Marius Channell or trenche. These barbarous people devided them selves into two armies to passe into Italie, so that it fell out to the one parte which were the Cimbres, to goe through high Germanye, and to force that passage which Catulus kept: and unto the other parte, which were the Teutons and Ambrons, to passe through the contry of the Genouesians by the sea side against Marius.

Marius fourth
Consullshippe
with Catulus
Luctatius.

Rhodanus fl.

Marius
channell.

The Cimbres
went through
Germanie into
Italie.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Now the Cimbres having the greater compasse to fetch about, stayed lenger, and remained behinde: but the Teutons and the Ambrons going their way first, had in fewe dayes dispatched their jorney they had to go, to bring them to the campe where the Romaines lay, unto whom they presented themselves by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to beholde, and their cryes and voyces farre contrary unto other mens. They tooke in a marvelous deale of grounde in length to campe upon, and so came forth to defie Marius, and provoke him to battell in open field. Marius made no reckoning of all their bragging defiances, but kept his men together within his campe, taking on terribly with them that would rashely take upon them to move ought to the contrary, and which through impacience of choller would nedes go forth to fight, calling them traytors to their contry. For said he, we are not come to fight for our private glory, neither to winne two triumphes nor victories for our selves: but we must seeke by all meanes to divert and put by this great shower of warres from us, and this lightning and tempest, that it overcome not all Italie. These words he spake unto the private Captaines which were under him, as unto men of havior and quality. But as for the common souldiers, he made them stande upon the trenches of his campe, one after an other to behold the enemies, and to acquaint them selves with sight of their faces, their countenance, and marching, and not to be afrayed of their voyces to heare them speake, which were wonderful, both straunge and bestly: and also that they might know the facion of their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order and ordinary viewing of them, in time he made the things that semed fearefull unto his men at the first sight, to be afterwards very familiar: so that they made no more wondring at them. For he judged, the thing which in deede is true, that a rare and new matter never scene before, for lacke of judgement and understanding, maketh things unknowen to us, more horrible and fearefull then they are: and to the contrary, that custome taketh away a great deale of feare, and terror of those things, which by nature are in deede fearefull. The which was scene then

CAIUS
MARIUS
The Teutons
and Ambrons
fall upon
Marius to
passe into
Italie, through
the territory
of Genua.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

by experience. For they being dayly acquainted to looke upon these barbarous people, it did not only diminish some parte of the former feare of the Romaine souldiers: but furthermore their whetting their choller with the fierce untollerable threatens and bragges of these barbarous brutish people, did set their hartes a fire to fight with them, bicause they did not only wast and destroy all the contry about them, but besides that, came to geve assault even unto their campe with such a boldnes, that the Romaine souldiers could no lenger suffer them, and they letted not to speake wordes that came to Marius eares him selfe. What cowardlines hath Marius ever knowen in us, that he keepes us thus from fighting, and under locke and key as it were, in the gard of porters, as if we were women? Let us therefore shew our selves like men, and go aske him if he looke for any other souldiers beside our selves to defend Italie: and if he have determined to employ us as pioners onely, when he would cast a trenche to ridde away the mudde, or to turne a river contrary. For therein hath he onely hitherto employed us in great labor, and they are the notable workes he hath done in his two Consullshippes, whereof he maketh his boast unto them at Rome. Is he afrayed they should take him, as they did Carbo and Cæpio, whom the enemies have overthrowen? He must not be afrayed of that: for he is a Captaine of an other manner of valor and reputacion then they were, and his army much better then theirs was. But howsoever it be, yet were it much better in proving to loose something, then to be idle, and to suffer our frends and confederats to be destroyed and sacked before our eyes. Marius was marvelous glad to heare his men complaine thus, and did comfort them, and told them that he did nothing mistrust their corage and valiantnes: howbeit that through the counsell of certaine prophecies and oracles of the gods, he did expect time and place fit for victory. For he ever caried a Syrian woman in a litter about with him called Martha, with great reverence, whom they said had the spirit of prophecie in her: and that he did ever sacrifice unto the gods by her order, and at such time as she willed him to do it. This Syrian woman went

Martha, a
wise woman
or prophet-
esse.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

first to speake with the Senate about these matters, and did foretell and prognosticate what should follow. But the Senate would not heare her, and made her to be driven away. Wherupon she went unto the women, and made them see proofe of some things she vaunted of, and specially Marius wife, at whose feete she was set one day in an assembly of the common playes, to see swordplayers fight for life and death: for she told her certainly which of them should overcome. Whereupon this Lady sent her unto her husband Marius, who made great reckening of her, and caried her even in a litter with him whersoever he went. She was alwaies at Marius sacrifices, apparelled in a gown of purple in graine, clasped to her with claspes, and held a speare in her hand wound all about with nosegayes, and garlands of flowers tyed on with laces. This maner of jeast made many dout whether Marius shewed this woman openly, beleving in dede that she had the gift of prophecy: or els that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did beleve it, to helpe her fayning. But that which Alexander the Myndian wrote touching Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wondred at. For he said there were two of them followed Marius in his warres, and that they ever shewed them selves and missed not, when he should win any great battel, and that they did know them by latin collers they ware about their necks, which the souldiers had tyed about them, and afterwards let them go where they would: by reason wherof, they did know the souldiers againe, and it semed also that they did salute them, and were very glad when they saw them, and perswaded them selves, that it was a signe and token of good lucke to follow. Many signes and tokens were seene before the battell: howbeit all the rest were ordinary sightes, saving that which was reported to be seene at Tudertum, and Ameria, two cities of Italie. For they say there were seene speares and targets in the night, burning like fire in the element, which first were caried up and downe here and there, and then met together even as men move and sturre that fight one with an other: untill at the length, the one geving backe, and the other followinge after, they all vanished away, and consumed towards the

CAIUS
MARIUS

The attier
of Martha
in time of
sacrifice.

A wonder of
the Vultures
shewed to
Marius.

Wonders
seene.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS
Batabaces the
priest of the
mother of the
goddess.

Aulus
Pompeius
Tribune.

The enemies
campe were
removing
six dayes
together.

West. About the selfe same time also, there came from the citie of Pessinunta, Batabaces, the chiefe priest of the great mother of the goddess, who brought newes, that the goddess had spoken to him within her sanctuary, and told him that the victory of this warre should fall out on the Romaines side. The Senate beleved it, and ordained that they should build a temple unto that goddess, to geve her thanks for the victorie which she did promise them. Batabaces also would have presented him selfe unto the people in open assemblie, to tell them as much. But there was one Aulus Pompeius a Tribune that would not suffer him to do it, calling him tombler, or jugler, and violently thrust him behinde the pulpit for orations: but the mischaunce that fell upon Pompeius afterwards, made them the more to beleve Batabaces words. For Pompeius the Tribune no sooner came home unto his house, but a great vehement agew tooke him, wherof he dyed the seventh day after, as all the world could witnes. Now the Teutons perceiving that Marius stirred not at all out of his campe, they proved to assault him: howbeit they were so well received with shotte and slinges, that after they had lost certaine of their men, they gave it over, and determined to goe further, perswading them selves that they might easily passe the Alpes without daunger. Wherefore trussing up al their baggage, they passed by Marius campe: at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a marvelous great multitude of people, by the length of time which they tooke to passe their way. For it is sayd they were passing by his campe, sixe dayes continually together. And as they came raking by the Romaines campe, they asked them in mockery, if they would wryte or send home any thing to their wives, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and gone, and that they continued on their journey still, Marius also raised his campe, and went and followed them fayer and softly foote by foote, and ever kept hard at their taile as neere as he could, alwayes fortifying his campe very well, and ever choosing strong places of situation and advantage to lodge in, that they might be safe in the night time. Thus they marched on in this sorte,

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

untill they came unto the city of Aix, from whence they had not farre to goe, but they entered straight into the mountaines of the Alpes. Wherefore Marius prepared nowe to fight with them: and chose out a place that was very strong of scituacion to lodge his campe in, howbeit there lacked water. And they say he did it of purpose, to the ende to quicken his mens corage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and tolde him that they should stande in great daunger to abide marvelous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto he made aunswere: shewing them the river that ranne hard by the enemies campe, saying withall, that they must go thither and buy drinke with their blood. The souldiers replied againe: And why then doe ye not lead us thither, whilst our blood is yet moyste? he gently aunswered them againe: Bicause the first thing we doe, we must fortifie our campe. The souldiers, though they were angry with him, yet they obeyed him: but the slaves having neither drinke for them selves, nor for their cattell, gathered together a great troupe of them, and went towards the river: some of them carying axes, other hatchets, other swords and speares, with their pottes to cary water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwise they could not come by it. A fewe of the barbarous people at the first fought with them, bicause the most parte of their company were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were still in the bathe washinge them selves, finding in that place many springes of hotte naturall bathes. Thus the Romaines founde many of the barbarous people makinge mery, and taking their pleasure about these bathes, for the great delite they tooke to consider the pleasauntnes of the place: but when they heard the noyse of them that fought, they beganne to runne one after an other unto the place from whence the noyse came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for Marius any lenger to keepe the Romaine souldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their slaves should have bene slaine of the barbarous people: and moreover, bicause the valliantest souldiers of their enemies called the Ambrons (who before had overcome Manlius and Cæpio, two Romaine Captaines with their armies, and that made of them

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius bolde
wordes to his
souldiers, and
their aunswer.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

selves thirty thowsande fighting men) ranne to armes, being very heavy of their bodies, as having filled their bellies well, but otherwise valliant and coragious fellowes, and more lively then they were wont to be, by reason of the wine they had dronke. They ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither did they crie out confusedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noyse with their harnes all after one sorte, they oft rehearsed their owne name Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons: which was, either to call one an other of them, or else to feare the Romaines with their name only. The Italians also on thother side, being the first that came downe to fight with them, were the Ligurians, dwelling upon the coast of Genuoa, who hearing this noyse and crye of theirs, plainely understanding them: aunswered them againe with the like noyse and crye, Ligurians, Ligurians, Ligurians, saying that it was the true surname of all their nation. And so before they joyned together, this crye was redoubled many a time on either side: and the Captaines of both partes made their souldiers crye out all together, contendinge for envy one against an other, who should crye it out lowdest. This contention of crying, inflamed the souldiers corages the more. Now the Ambrons having the river to passe, were by this meanes put out of order, and before they could put them selves in battell ray againe, after they had passed the river, the Ligurians ranne with great fury to set upon the formest: and after them, (to aide the Ligurians that had begun the charge) the Romaines them selves fell also upon the Ambrons, comming downe from the places of advantage upon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes, and flie. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortunited upon the bancke of the river, whereinto they thrust one an other in such sorte, that all the river ran blood, being filled with dead bodies. And they that could get over the river againe, and were on thother side, durst not gather together any more to stand to defence: so as the Romaines slew them, and drave them into their campe, even unto their cariage. Then their women came out against them with swordes and axes in their handes, grinding their

Battell be-
twixt the
Ambrons and
Marius.

Marius over-
came the
Ambrons.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

teeth : and crying out for sorrow and anger, they charged as well upon their owne people that fled, as upon them that chased them : the one as traitors, and the other as enemies. Furthermore, they thrust them selves amongst them that fought, and strove by force to plucke the Romaines targets out of their handes, and tooke holde of their naked swordes bare handed, abiding with an invincible corage to be hacked and mangled with their swordes. And thus was the first battell geven (as they say) by the rivers side, rather by chance unlooked for, then by any set purpose, or through the generals counsel. Now the Romaines, after they had overcome the most parte of the Ambrons, retyring backe by reason the night had overtaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had geven such an overthrow) sing songes of victory and triumphe, nor make good chere in their tentes one with an other, and least of all sleepe : (which is the best and sweetest refreshing for men that have fought happely) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, because their campe was not trenched and fortified, and because they knewe also that there remained almost innumerable thowsandes of barbarous people, that had not yet fought : besides also, that the Ambrons that had fled and scaped from the overthrow, did howle out all night with lowd cries, which were nothing like mens lamentacions and sighes, but rather like wilde beastes bellowing and roaringe. So that the bellowing of such a great multitude of beastly people, mingled together with threates and waylinges, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running river to rebounde againe of the sounde and ecco of their cries marvelously : by reason whereof, all the valley that lay betwene both, thundered to heare the horrible and fearefull trembling. This made the Romaine souldiers afeard, and Marius him selfe in some doubt : because they looked to have bene fought withall the same night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not assault them that night, nor the next day following, but only prepared them selves unto battell. And in the meane time Marius knowing that there was above the place where they were camped, certaine caves and litle valleyes

CAIUS
MARIUS
The mannish-
nes of the
women.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

covered with wodde: he secretly sent Claudius Marcellus thither with three thowsand footemen well armed, and commaunded him to keepe close in ambushe, untill he saw that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set apon their rereward. The residue of his armie, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed them selves. The next morning at the breake of day, Marius brought his men into the fielde out of his forte: where he put them in order of battell, sending his horsemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmishe. The Teutons seeing them come, had not the pacience to tary till the Romaines were come downe into the plaine fielde to fight without advantage, but arming them selves in hast, and in a rage, ranne up the hill to the Romaines, where they stooed in battell ray. Marius taking good regard to that they did, sent here and there unto the private Captaines, charging them they should not stirre, and onely to temporise and forbear, untill the enemies came within a stoness cast of them: and that they should then throw their darts at them, and afterwarde drawe their swordes, and repulse the barbarous people with their shieldes. For he did foresee before, that when they should clime up against the hill (uppon the hanging whereof the Romaines had set their battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and ranckes could stand close together to any effect or purpose: bicause they could not have sure footing, nor march assuredly, but would easily be throwen backward if they were never so litle repulsed, by reason of the hanging of the hill. Marius gave this order unto his folke and therewithall was him selfe the first man that put it in execution: for he was as trymme a Warriour, and as valliant a souldier, as any man in all his army: besides, not one amongst them all would venter furdre, and be more bolde then him selfe. So when the Romaines had resisted them, and stayed them sodainely, going with fury to have wonne the hill, perceiving them selves to be repulsed, they gave backe by litle and litle, untill they came into the field: and then beganne the foremost of them to gather together, and to put them selves in battell ray uppon the plaine, when sodainly they heard the noyse and charging of them

Marius
seconde
battell with
the Teutons.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that were in the taylor of their army. For Claudius Marcellus failed not to take the occasion when it was offered him, because that the noyse of the first charge comming up against the hills thereabouts, under the which he lay in ambushe, gave him advertisement thereof: whereupon he caused his men presently to shew, and running with great cryes, came to geve a charge upon those which were in the taylor of the barbarous people, putting the hindemost to the sworde. They made their fellowes whose backes were next unto them, to turne their faces, and so from man to man, till at the length, in shorte time all their battell beganne to waver in disorder: and they made no great resistance, when they saw they were so charged before and behinde, but beganne straight to flie for life. The Romaines following them hard at the heeles, killed and tooke prisoners above a hundred thowsande of them, and tooke moreover their cartes, their tentes and all their cariage. Which the whole army by consent agreed to present unto Marius, excepting nothing, saving that which was imbeaceled and conveyed away under hande. Now, though this was a marvelous honorable and right noble present yet they thought it not a recompence sufficient for that he had deserved, for the valure he had shewed of a famous Captaine in leading of his army, and for the good order he kept in this warre: so happy thought they them selves to have escaped so great a daunger. Notwithstanding, some wryters doe not agree, that the spoyle of the barbarous people was geven unto Marius: nor that there were also so great a number of men slaine as we have spoken of. But they say, that after this battell the Marssilians did inclose their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that the bodies being rotten and consumed upon the fieldes through the great raine that fell upon them the winter following, the ground waxed so fatte, and did soke the grease so deepe in the same, that the sommer following they did beare an incredible quantity of all sortes of frutes. And by this meanes were Archilocus wordes proved true, that the errable land doth waxe fat with such rottennesse or putrifaction. And it is sayd also, that of ordinary after great battells, there falleth great store of

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius victory of the
Teutons and
Ambrons.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS
Much raine
followeth
after great
battells.

raine. Either it is by meane of some god that powring downe pure raine water doth purifie, wash, and cense the grounde, defiled and polluted with mans blood: or else it happeneth by naturall cause. For that the overthrow of so many dead bodies, and of the blood spilt, engendreth a moyst, grosse, and heavy vapoure, which doth thicken the ayer (that by nature is chaungeable, and easie to alter) from a very small or litle beginning, unto an exceeding great chaunge. After this battell, Marius caused the harnesses and spoyles of the barbarous people to be layed aside, that were left whole and fayer to sight, to beautifie and enrich the pompe of his triumphe. Then he caused the rest to be gathered together on a great heape, and layed upon a stake of wodde, to make a noble sacrifice unto the gods, all his army being armed about him, crowned with garlandes of triumphe, and him selfe apparelled in a long gowne of purple, according to the custome of the Romaines in such a case, and holding a torch burning in both his hands, which he first lifted up unto heaven. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the stake of wood, they saw some of his frends a good way of a horse backe, comming post unto him: then sodainly there was a great silence made of all the assembly, every man desirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted of their horses, they ranne straight to embrace Marius, and brought him newes that he was chosen Consull the fift time: and presented him the letters sent him from Rome confirming the same. And thus, this new joy falling out besides the victory, the private souldiers did shewe the great joy and pleasure they tooke in both, with great showtes and beating upon their harnesses: and the Captaines also, they crowned Marius againe with new garlandes of laurell which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire under the stake of wodde, and ended his sacrifice. But that which never suffereth men quietly to enjoy the good happe of any victory clearely, but in this mortall life doth ever mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortune or spight of fatall destenie, or else the necessitie of the naturall causes of earthly thinges: did shortly after this great joy bring newes unto Marius, of

Marius the
fift time
Consull.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

CAIUS
MARIUS

his companion Catulus Luctatius the other Consul, who was like a cloude in a fayer bright day, and brought the city of Rome againe into a new feare and trouble. For Catulus that went against the Cimbres, thought it was not for him to keepe the straights of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for passing: bicause that in so doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his army into many partes, and had weakened him selfe very much if he had taken that course. Wherefore comming a litle on this side the Alpes towards Italie, he planted him selfe uppon the river of Athesis, and built a bridge apou it, to passe and repasse over his men when he would, and sette up at either ende of the bridge two strong fortes well fortified, that he might more commodiously helpe the places on the other side of the river, if the barbarous people by chaunce would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the straights of the mountaines. Now, these barbarous people had such a glory in them selves, and disdained their enemies so much, that more to shew their force and boldnes, then of any necessity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they suffred it to snow apou them being starke naked, and did clime up to the toppe of the mountaines, throw great heapes of ise and snow. And when they were at the very toppe of all, they layed their long broad targets under their bodies, and lay all along apou them, sliding downe the steepe high rockes, that had certaine hanginges over of an infinite height. In the ende, they came to campe neere unto the Romaines by the river side, and considered howe they might passe it over: and beganne to fill it up, tearing downe (like gyants) great hilles of earth which they founde thereabouts, brought thither great trees which they pulled up whole by the rootes, threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake, and whole towers of earth after them, to stoppe and breake the course of the river. But besides all this, they threw great tymber into the river, which being caried downe the streame, came with such a force, and hit against the postes of the bridge so violently, that they shaked the Romaines bridge marvelously. Whereuppon many of the souldiers of the great campe were afrayed, and forsaking it, beganne to retyre. But then did

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS

MARIUS

Catulus
Luctatius the
Consull, flieth
from the
Cimbres.

Catulus, like a perfit good Captaine shoue, that he made lesse accompt of his owne private honor and estimacion, then he did of the generall honor of all his souldiers. For, seeing that he could not perswade his men by any reason to tary, and that in this feare they dislodged in disorder against his will: he him selfe commaunded the standerd bearer of the Eagle to marche on, and ranne to the foremost that went their way, and marched him selfe before them all, to the intent that the shame of this retyre should altogether light upon him, and not apon his contry, and that it might appeare the Romaines did follow their Captaine, and not flie away. The barbarous people therefore assaulting the forte at the end of the bridge of the river of Athesis, tooke it, and all the men that were in it. And bicause the Romaines defended it like valliant men, and had lustely ventured their lives to the death for defence of their contry: the barbarous people let them go upon composition, which they sware to kepe faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull afterwards was taken when they lost the battell, and caried (as they say) into Catulus Luctatius house, as the chiefest thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the contry open without any defence, scattered here and there, and destroyed all where they came. Whereuppon the Romaines sent for Marius to Rome to goe against them: and after he was arrived, every man thought he shoulde have entred in triumphe, bicause also the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not doe it, either bicause he would not deprive his souldiers and the Captaines that had fought under him, of any parte of the honor that was due unto them, they being absent: or bicause that he would warrant the people from the present daunger they were in, by layinge aside the glory of his former victories, into the handes of the good fortune of Rome, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwardes, by a more honorable and perfit confirmation of the second. Wherefore, after he had made an oration to the people, and Senate according to the time, he went his way immediatly towardes Catulus Luctatius, whose comming did comforte him much: and sent also for his army that was

Marius re-
fused to enter
in triumphe.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

yet in Gaule beyond the mountaines. And after his army was come, he passed the river of Po, to kepe the barbarous people from hurting Italie on this side the Po. Now, the Cimbres still deferred to geve battell because they looked for the Teutons, and sayd: that they marveled much what they ment to tary so long: either because they knewe not in dedde of their overthrowe, or else for that they would not seeme to knowe it, because they handeled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deathes. At the length, they sent unto Marius to aske him landes and townes sufficient, to kepe them and their brethren. Marius asked their Ambassadors what brethren they ment. They aunswered, that they were the Teutons. Whereat the standers by beganne to laugh: and Marius finely mocked them, saying: Care not for those brethren sayd he, for we have geven them ground enough, which they will kepe for ever. These Ambassadors found his mock straight, and beganne to revile and threaten him, that the Cimbres shoulde presently make him repent it, and the Teutons so soone as they arrived. Why, sayd Marius unto them againe, they are come already: and there were no honesty in you, if you could goe your way and not salute them, since they are your brethren. And as he spake these wordes, he commaunded his men to bring him the kinges of the Teutons bounde and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the Sequani. The Cimbres understanding this by reporte of their Ambassadors, presently marched towardes Marius, who stirred not at all, but only fortified and kept his campe. They say that it was for this battell that Marius first invented the newe devise he brought in for the darte which the Romaines were wont alwayes to throwe against the enemies at the first charge. For before, the staffe of the darte was fastned unto the iron, and the iron unto the staffe, with two litle iron pinnes that passed through the wodde: and then Marius left one of the iron pinnes as it was before, and taking away the other, put a litle thinne pinne of wodde, easie to be broken, in place of the same, making it craftely, to the end that when the darte was throwen, and stucke in the enemies target, it should not stand right forward, but bow downe-

CAIUS
MARIUS
Marius goeth
towardes
Catulus Luc-
tatius to helpe
him.

Po flu.

Marius
mocke to the
Cimbres.

The Cimbres
march against
Marius.

Marius devise
for alteringe
the darte in
fight.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

Bœorix king
of the
Cimbres.

Two and fiftie
thousand and
three hundred
men betwene
Marius and
Catulus.

The Romaines
battell.

The battell of
the Cimbres.

wards towards the iron, that the wodden pinne being broken, the staffe of the darte should hang downewardes, holding yet by the iron pinne running quite through at the poynte. So Bœorix king of the Cimbres, comming neere to Marius campe with a small number of horsemen, sent him defyaunce, and willed him to appoint a day and place for battell, that they might trye it out, who should be owners of the contry. Whereunto Marius made aunswer, that it was not the manner of the Romaines to counsell with their enemies, of the time and place when they should geve battell: but neverthesse, he would not sticke to pleasure the Cimbres so much. And thus they agreed betwene them, that it should be the thirde day following, in the plaine of Verselles, which was very commodious for the horsemen of the Romaines: and also for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. Catulus Luctatius the other Consull, had in his campe twenty thousand, and three hundred souldiers: and Marius had in his campe two and thirty thousand fighting men, which he placed in the two winges of the battell, shutting in Catulus with his men in the midst. As Sylla writeth it, who was present at the same: saying, that Marius did it of malice, for the hope he had to overthrow his enemies with the two winges of the battell, to the end that the whole victory should light upon his two winges, and that Catulus and his men in the midst should have no parte therof. For he could not so much as fronte the enemy, because that commonly when the fronte of a battell is of such a bredthe, the two winges are ever stretched out before, and is made like the cressant of a moone, where the midst is thickest and fardest in. And it is wrytten also in other stories, that Catulus him selfe accusing the malice of Marius, because he did so: spake it to excuse his owne dishonor. As for the Cimbres, the troupes of their footemen coming out of their fortes leasurely, did put them selves into a squadron, as broade as long, for in every side they occupied almost thirty furlong: but their horsemen which were fiftene thousande,

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

marched before in sumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heades, facioned like wilde beastes neckes, and straunge bevers or buffes to the same, and ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, as they had bene winges: which to sight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curases on their backes, and caried great white targets before them: and for weapons offensive, every man had two dartes in his hand to bestow a farre of, and when they came to hand strokes, they had great heavy swords which they fought withall neere hand. But at that time they did not marche directly in rancke against the army of the Romaines, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to inclose the Romaines betwene them and their footemen that were on the left hand. The Romaine Captaines founde their policy straight, but they coule not keepe their souldiers backe: for there was one that cried, the enemies fled, and immediatly all the rest beganne to runne after. In the meane time, the footemen of the barbarous people that were like to a sea before them, came forwards still: and then Marius having washed his handes, and lifting them up to heaven, promised, and vowed a solemne sacrifice unto the goddes of a hundred oxen. Catulus also made a vow, lifting up his handes to heaven in like maner, that he would build a temple unto fortune for that day: and it is reported, that Marius having sacrificed, when they shewed him the intralls of the beastes sacrificed: he cried out a lowde, The victory is mine. But when they came to geve the charge, Marius had a great misfortune happened him, powred apon him by Goddes justice, who turned his craft against him selfe, as Sylla wryteth: for there rose very credibly so great a dust, that both armies lost the sight one of an other. And here-upon Marius being the first that ranne to beginne the charge, and having placed his men about him, missed to meete with his enemies: and being passed beyonde their battell, wandred a great while up and downe the field, whilest the barbarous people fought against Catulus. So that the greatest fury of the battel was against Catulus and his army: in the which, Sylla wryteth he was him selfe, and sayeth, that the heate

CAIUS
MARIUS

A dust raised,
that neither
army could
see one an
other.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS

MARIUS

The sunne full
in the Cimbres
faces.

The fielde
fought the
27 of Iuly.

Horrible
cruelty of
women.

and the sunne which was full in the Cimbres faces, did the Romaines marvelous pleasure at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard brought up to away with cold (because they were borne and bred in a cold contry, shadowed altogether with woddess and trees as we have sayd) were to the contrary very tender against the heate, and did melt with sweating against the sunne, and gaped straight for breathe, putting their targets before their faces: for it was also in the hart of sommer, about the seven and twentie day of the moneth of Iulie, that this battell was geven, and this dust also made the Romaines the bolder, and kept them that they could not see the innumerable multitude of their enemies farre from them. And every man runninge to set upon them that came against them, they were joyned together in fight, before that the sight of their enemies could make them afrayed. And furthermore, they were so good souldiers, and so able to take paines, that how extreame soever the heate was, no man was sene sweate nor blow, though they ranne at the first to set upon them: and this hath Catulus Luctatius him selfe left in wryting unto the praise of his souldiers. So were the most parte of the barbarous people, and specially of the best souldiers, slaine in the field. And because they should not open nor breake their rancks, the foremost rancks were all tyed and bound together with girdells, leather thongs, and long chaynes of iron: and they that fled, were chased and followed into their campe by the Romaines, where they met with horrible and fearefull thinges to beholde. For, their wives being upon the toppe of their cartes, apparelled all in blacke, slue all those that fled, without regarde of persones: some their fathers, other their husbandes or their brethren, and strangling the litle young babes with their owne handes, they cast them under the carte wheelles, and betwene the horse legges, and afterwards slue them selves. And they say, that there was a woman hanged at the ende of a carte ladder, having hanged up two of her children by the neckes at her heeles. And that the men also, for lacke of a tree to hang them selves on, tyed slipping halters about their neckes, unto the hornes and fete of the oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwardes

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

with goades to make them fling and leape so long, that dragging them all about, and treading them under feete, at the length they killed them. Now, though numbers were slaine by this meanes, yet were there three score thowsand of them taken prisoners, and the number of them that were slaine, came to twice as many moe. In this manner Marius souldiers spoyled the campe of the Cimbres: but the spoyles of dead men that were slaine in the felde, with their ensignes and trompets, were all brought (as it is sayd) unto Catulus campe, which was a plaine testimonie to shewe that Catulus and his souldiers had wonne the field. Strife rising thus betwene the souldiers of both campos about it, that the matter might be tryed frendly betwene them: they made the Ambassadors of Parma their arbitrators, who were by chaunce at that time in the army. Catulus Luctatius souldiers led the Ambassadors to the place where the overthrow was geven, shewing them the enemies bodies pearsed through with their pykes, which were easie to be knowen, because Catulus had made them grave his name upon their pykes. For all this, Marius went away with the honor of this great victory, as well for the first battell he wanne alone, when he overthrew the Teutons and the Ambrons: as for his great calling, having bene Consul five times. And furthermore, the common people at Rome, called him the third founder of the city of Rome, thinking them selves now delivered from as great a daunger, as before time they had bene from the auncient Gaules. And every man feasting at home with his wife and children, offered the best dishes of meate they had to supper, unto the goddes, and unto Marius: and would needes have him alone to triumphe for both victories. But he would not in any case, but triumphed into the city with Catulus Luctatius, meaning to shew himselfe curteous and moderate in so great prosperity: and peradventure also fearing Catulus souldiers, who were in readinesse and prepared (if Marius would have deprived their Captaine of that honor) to let him also of his triumphe. And thus you see howe he passed his fift Consulshippe. After that, he made more earnest sute for the sixth Consulshippe, then ever any other did for his first: seeking the

CAIUS
MARIUS

Prisoners 60
thowsand.

Men slaine
six score
thowsand.

Might over-
commeth
right.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

peoples goodwilles by all the fayer meanes he could to please them, humbling him selfe unto them, not only more then became his estate and calling, but directly also against his owne nature, counterfeating a curteous populer manner, being cleane contrarie to his disposition. His ambition made him timerous to deale in matters of the state concerning the city. For that corage and boldenesse which he had in battell against the enemy, he lost it quite when he was in an assembly of people in the city: and was easily put out of his byase, with the first blame or praise he heard given him. And though they reporte, that on a time when he made a thowsande Camerines free of the city of Rome, bicause they had done valliant service in the warres, that there were some that did accuse him, saying, that it was a thing done against all law: he aunswered them, that for the noyse of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithstanding, it seemeth that in dede he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an assembly of the city. For in time of warres, he ever stode upon his reputacion and authority, knowing that they had neede of him: but in peace and civill government, bicause he would rather be the chiefest man then the honestest man, he would creepe into the peoples bosomes to get their favor and goodwil. And thus through his evill behavior, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. But he feared nor mistrusted none so much, as he did Metellus, for the great unthankfull parte he remembred he had played him: and the rather also, bicause he knew him to be a just and true dealing man, and one that was ever against these people pleasers and flatterers. Marius therefore practised all the wayes he could, to get Metellus to be banished Rome. Wherefore, to compasse his intent, he fell in frendship with Glaucia, and one Saturninus, two of the most boldest, most desperate, and most hardbraind young men, that were in all Rome: who had all the rablement of rogues and beggers, and such tumultuous people at their commaundement, by whose meanes he made new populer lawes, and caused the souldiers to be called home out of the warres, and mingled them with the people of the city in common assemblies, to trouble and

Metellus
against people
pleasers.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

vexe Metellus. Moreover Rutilius, an honest and true writer, (howbeit an enemy unto Marius) wryteth, that he obtained his sixt Consulshippe by corruption of money, which he caused to be distributed amongst the tribes of the people: and that he bought it for ready money to put by Metellus, and to have Valerius Flaccus not for his fellowe and companion in the Consulshippe, but rather for a minister of his will. There was never Romaine to whome the people graunted the Consulshippe six times, except it were unto Valerius Corvinus only. But for him, they say that there was five and forty yeares betwene his first Consulship and the last. Where Marius since the first yeare of his Consulshippe, continued five yeares together by good fortune one after an other. But in his last Consulship, he wanne him selfe great hate and malice, bicause he did many fowle faultes to please Saturninus withall: as amongst others, when he bare with Saturninus, who murdered Nonius his competitor in the Tribuneship. Afterwardes when Saturninus was chosen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for distribution of the landes among the common people, and unto that law he had specially added one article: that all the Lords of the Senate should come openly to sweare, that they should kepe and observe from pointe to pointe that which the people by their voyces should decree, and should not deny it in any jotte. But Marius in open Senate, made as though he would withstand this article, saying, that neither he nor any other wise man of judgement would take this othe: for said he, if the law be evill, then they should doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force to graunt it, and not of their owne goodwills. But he spake not that, meaning to do as he said: for it was but a bayte he had layed for Metellus only, which he could hardly escape. For, imagining that to tell a fine lye, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly resolved with him selfe, not to passe for any thing he had spoken in the Senate. And to the contrary also, knowinge well enough that Metellus was a grave wise man, who esteemed that to be just and true (as Pindarus sayd) is the beginning and foundation of great vertue: he thought he would outreach him,

CAIUS
MARIUS

Valerius
Flaccus Con-
sull with
Marius the
sixt time.

Valerius Cor-
vinus sixe
times Consull.

The law
Agraria.

An article for
the othes of
the Senate to
confirme what
the people
should passe
by voyce.

Marius duple
dealing

To lye cun-
ningly, Marius
taketh it for
a vertue.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

makinge him affirme before the Senate that he would not sweare, knowinge also that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwarde to sweare. And so in dede it happened. For Metellus having assured them then that he would not sweare, the Senate brake up upon it. And shortly after, Saturninus the Tribune calling the Senators unto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to sweare before the people: Marius went thither to offer him selfe to sweare. Whereupon the people makinge silence, listned attentively to heare what he would say. But Marius not regarding his large promise and bragges made before the Senate, sayed then, his necke was not so long, that he would perjure the common wealth in a matter of so great importance: but that he would sweare, and obey the lawe, if it were a law. This shifting subtilty he added to it, to cloke and cover his shame: and when he had sayd so, he tooke his othe. The people seeing him sweare, were marvelous glad, and praised him with clapping of their hands: but the nobility hanging downe their heads were ashamed of him, and were marvelous angry in their hartes with him, that he had so cowardly and shamefully gone from his word. Therupon all the Senate tooke their othes, one after an other against their wills, bicause they were afrayed of the people. Saving Metellus, whome, neither parentes nor frendes perswasion and intreaty could once move to sweare, for any punishment that Saturninus had imposed upon them, which refused to take the othe, but continued one man still according to his nature, and would never yelde unto it, offering to abide any payne, rather then to be brought to consent to a dishonest matter unbeseming his estate. And thereupon went out of the assembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to do evill, it was too easie a thing: and to doe good without daunger, it was also a common matter: but to do well with daunger, that was the parte of an honest and vertuous man. Saturninus then commaunded the Consulls by edict of the people, that they should banishe Metellus by sounde of trompet, with speciall commaundement, that no man should let him have fire nor water, nor lodge him privately nor openly. The common

Timorous
policy causeth
perjury.

Metellus
constant in
vertue.

Metellus wise
saying, touch-
ing well doing.

Metellus
banishment.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

CAIUS
MARIUS

people, they were ready to have fallen upon him, and to have killed him: but the noble men being offended for the injury they had offered him, gathered together about him to save him, if any would offer him violence. Metellus himself was so good a man, that he would not any civil dissension should rise for his sake: and therefore he absented himself from Rome, wherein he did like a wise man. For sayd he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting themselves of the wrong they have done me, will call me home againe: or else things standing as they do now, it shall be best for me to be furthest of. But for his travaill in his exile, howe much he was beloved and honored, and how sweetely he passed his time studying philosophie in the citie of Rhodes, shall be declared more at large in his life. Now on the other side, Marius to recompence the pleasure Saturninus had done him, being driven to let him have his will in all things: did not foresee what an intollerable plague he brought unto the common wealth, geving the brydle to a desperate man, who every way, by force, by sword and murder, plainly sought to usurpe tyrannicall power, with the utter destruction and subvertion of the whole common weale. And so bearing reverence of the one side unto the nobility, and desiring on the other side to gratifie the common people: he played a shamefull parte, and shewed himself a double dealing man. For one night the nobilitie and chiefest citizens comming to his house, to perswade him to brydle Saturninus insolencie and boldnes: at the selfe same time also Saturninus going thither to speake with him, he caused him to be let in at a backe dore, the noble men not being privy to his comming. And so Marius telling the nobility, and then Saturninus, that he was troubled with a losenes of his body, under this pretence whipped up and downe, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing else but set them further out one against an other, then they were before. Nevertheles, the Senate being marvelous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knightes taking parte with the Senate, Marius in the ende was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to suppress them that were up, and drave them into the Capitoll: where for lacke

Marius double dealing betwene the nobilitie and people.

Marius procureth sedition at Rome.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

No trust to
the faith of
the common
people.

Metellus re-
turne from
banishment.

Marius journey
into Cappa-
docia and
Galatia.

of water, they were compelled to yelde them selves at the length, because he had cut of the pypes and conduits by the which the water ran unto the Capitoll. By reason whereof, they being unable to continue any lenger, called Marius unto them, and yeilded them selves to him, under the assurance of the faith of the common people. But although Marius did what he could possible to his uttermost power to save them, he could not prevaile, nor doe them pleasure: for they were no sooner come downe into the market place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he having now purchased him selfe the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Censors shoulde be chosen, every man looked that he would have bene one of the suters: howbeit he sued not for it, for feare of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of farre lesse dignity and calling then him selfe. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, saying that he would not sue to be Censor, because he would not have the ill will of many, for examining too straghtly their lives and manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale Metellus banishment, Marius did what he could possible by word and deede to hinder it: howbeit, seeing in the end he could not have his will, he let it alone. The people having thus willingly revoked Metellus banishment, Marius hart would not serve him to see Metellus returne againe, for the malice he bare him: wherfore, he tooke the seas to goe into Cappadocia and Galatia, under colour to pay certaine sacrifices to the mother of the goddes, which he had vowed unto her. But this was not the very cause that made him to undertake this journey, for he had an other secret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to live in peace, and to governe civill matters, and having attained to his greatnes by armes, and supposing that his glorie and authority consumed and decreased altogether living idley in peace: he sought to devise new occasion of warres, hoping if he could stirre up the kinges of Asia, and specially Mithridates (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make warres against the Romaines) that he should then undoubtedly without let of any man be chosen Generall to make warres with him, and

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

withall also, that by that meanes he should have occasion to fill the cite of Rome with newe triumphes, and his house with the spoyles of the great kingdome of Ponte, and with the riches of the king. Now Mithridates disposing him selfe to entertaine Marius, with all the honor and curtesies he could possibly shew him: Marius in the ende notwithstanding would not once geve him a good looke, nor a curteous word againe, but churlishly sayd unto Mithridates at his departure from him: Thou must determine one of these two, king Mithridates: either to make thy selfe stronger then the Romaines, or else to looke to doe what they commaund thee, without resistance. These wordes amazed Mithridates, who had heard say before that the Romaines would speake their mindes freely: howbeit he never saw nor proved it before, untill that time. After Marius was returned unto Rome, he built a house neere unto the market place, bicause he would not (as he said himself) that such as came unto him should trouble them selves in going farre to bring him home to his house: or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that diverse would come to salute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit that was not the cause in deede, but the onely cause was, for that he had no naturall grace nor civility to entertaine men curteously that came unto him, and that he lacked behavior besides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, then they did of an old rusty harnessse or implement that was good for nothing, but for the warres only. And for all other that professed armes as him selfe did, no man grieved him so much to be called forward to office and state before him selfe, as Sylla did. For he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the noble men did all what they could to preferre Sylla, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that Syllaes first risinge and preferment grew, by the quarrells and contentions he had with him. And specially when Bocchus king of Numidia was proclaimed by the Senate, a frende and confederate of the Romaine people: he offred up statues of victories, carying tokens of triumphe, into the temple of the Capitoll: and placed neere unto them also, an image of gold of king

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius proud
wordes to
Mithridates.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

The cause of
the dissen-
tion betwixt
Marius and
Sylla.

The warre
of the con-
federates.

Siloes stowte
challenge and
Marius
answer.

Iugurthe, which he delivered by his owne handes unto Sylla. And this made Marius starke madde for spite and jelousie, and could not abide that an other should take upon him the glory of his doings: insomuch as he determined to plucke those images downe, and to cary them away by force. Sylla on the other side stomaked Marius, and would not suffer him to take them out of the place where they were: so that this civill sedition had taken present effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betwene, and restrained them for a time. For the best souldiers and most warlike people of all Italie, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the Romaines, and had well neere overthrowen their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force, and power, and well armed: but their Captaines also, for valliantnes and skill, did in maner equal the worthines of the Romaines. For this warre fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calamity and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne Sylla as much fame and reputacion, as it did Marius shame and dishonor. For he shewed him selfe very colde and slow in all his enterprises, still delayinge time, either bicause age had mortified his active heate, and killed that quicke ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then above three score and five yeare olde: or else as he sayd him selfe, bicause he was waxen gowty, and had ache in his vaines and sinewes, that he could not well stirre his body, and that for shame, bicause he would not tary behinde in this warre, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were slaine six thowsande of their enemies: and so long as the warres endured, he never gave them advantage of him, but patiently suffred them sometime to intrenche him, and to mocke him, and geve him vile words, chalenging him out to fight, and yet all this would not provoke him. It is sayd also, that Pompe dius Silo, who was the chieftest Captaine of reputacion and authority the enemies had, said unto Marius on a time: If thou be Marius, so great a Captaine as they say thou art, leave thy campe, and come out to battel. Nay, said Marius to him againe: If thou be a great Captaine, plucke me out

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

by the eares, and compell me to come to battell. An other time when the enemies gave them occasion to geve a great charge upon them with advantage: the Romaines were fainte harted, and durst not set upon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retyred, Marius caused his men to assemble, and spake unto them in this sorte: I can not tell which of the two I should reckon most cowardes: you your selves, or your enemies: for they durst not once see your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to resigne his charge, being able to serve no lenger for the weakenesse and debilitie of his body. Now, all the rebels of Italie being put downe, many at Rome (by the orators meanes) did sue to have the charge of the warres against Mithridates: and among them, a Tribune of the people called Sulpitius, (a very bold and rash man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred Marius, and perswaded them to geve him the charge of these warres, with title and authority of vice Consull. The people thereupon were devided into two partes: for the one side stooode for Marius, and thother would have Sylla take the charge, saying, that Marius was to thinke nowe upon the hotte bathes at Baies, to looke to cure his olde bodie, brought lowe with rewme and age, as him selfe sayd. For Marius had a goodly stately house in those partes neere unto the mount of Misene, which was farre more fine and curiously furnished, then became a Captaine that had bene in so many foughten battells and daungers. They say that Cornelia afterwarde bought that fine house for the summe of seven thowsande five hundred crownes, and shortly after also, Lucullus bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thousand crownes: to so great excesse was vanitie and curiositie growen in very shorte time at Rome. Notwithstanding all this, Marius too ambitiously striving like a passioned young man against the weakenes and debility of his age, never missed day but he would be in the field of Mars to exercise him selfe among the young men, shewing his body disposed and ready to handle all kinde of weapons, and to ryde horses: albeit that in his latter time, he had no great health of body, bicause he was very heavy and sad. There were that liked

CAIUS
MARIUS

Mons
Misenum.

Marius
ambition.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

that passing well in him, and went of purpose into the felde to see the paines he tooke, striving to excell the rest. Howbeit those of the better sorte were very sory to see his avarice and ambition, considering specially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane persone a great estate, that he coulde not now containe his prosperity within reasonable boundes, nor content him selfe to be esteemed and honored, quietlie enjoyinge all he had wonne, and which at that present he did possesse: but as if he had bene very poore and needy, after he had received such great honor and triumphes, would yet cary out his age so stowtly, even into Cappadocia, and unto the realme of Pont, to goe fight there against Archelaus and Neoptolemus, Lieutenants of king Mithridates. In deede he alleaged some reasons to excuse him selfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he sayd that he desired in persone to bring up his sonne in exercise of armes, and to teach him the discipline of warres. That discovered the secret hidden plague, which of long time hath lurked in Rome, Marius specially having now met with a fit instrument, and minister to destroy the common wealth, which was, the insolent and rash Sulpitius: who altogether followed Saturninus doinges, saving that he was found too cowardly and fainte harted in all his enterprises, and for that did Marius justly reprove him. But Sulpitius, because he would not dally nor delay time, had ever sixe hundred younge gentlemen of the order of knightes, whome he used as his gard about him, and called them the gard against the Senate. And one day as the Consulls kept their common assembly in the market place, Sulpitius comming in armed upon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Consulls sonnes being taken tardy, was slaine. Sylla being thother Consull, and perceiving that he was followed hard at hand unto Marius house, ranne into the same against the opinion of all the world: wherof they that ranne after him not being aware, passed by the house. And it is reported that Marius him selfe conveyed Sylla safelic out at a backe dore, and that he being scaped thus, went unto his campe. Notwithstanding, Sylla him selfe in his commentaries doth not say, that he

Sulpitius gard
of sixe hun-
dred knightes.
Sulpitius
boldnes.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

was saved in Marius house when he fled: but that he was brought thither to geve his consent unto a matter which Sulpitius woulde have forced him unto against his will, presenting him naked swordes on every side. And he wryteth also, that being thus forcibly brought unto Marius house, he was kept there in this feare, untill such time as returninge into the market place, he was compelled to revoke againe the adjournement of justice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done, Sulpitius then being the stronger, caused the commission and charge of this warre against Mithridates to be assigned unto Marius by the voyce of the people. Therefore Marius geving order for his departure, sent two of his Colonells before to take the army of Sylla: who having wonne his souldiers harts before, and stirred them up against Marius, brought them on with him directly towards Rome, being no lesse then five and thirty thowsand fighting men: who setting upon the Captaines Marius had sent unto them, slewe them in the field. In revenge whereof, Marius againe in Rome put many of Syllaes frendes and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by sound of trompet, to all slaves and bondmen that would take armes for him: but there were never but three only that offered them selves. Whereuppon, having made a litle resistaunce unto Sylla when he came into Rome, he was soone after compelled to runne his way. Marius was no sooner out of the citie, but they that were in his company forsaking him, dispersed them selves here and there being darke night: and Marius him selfe got to a house of his in the contrie, called Salonium, and sent his sonne to one of his father in law Mutius farmes not farre from thence, to make some provision for vittells. But Marius in the meane time, went before to Ostia, where one of his frendes Numerius had prepared him a shippe, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not taryng for his sonne, and hoised saile, having only Granius his wives sonne with him. In the meane time the younger Marius beinge at his father in law Mutius farme, stayed so long in getting of provision, in trussing of it up, and caryng it away, that broade day light had like to have discovered him: for the enemies had adver-

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius
sedition.

Marius flieth
from Rome.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius the
sonne fieth
into Africke.

tisement whether he was gone, whereupon certaine horsemen were sent thither supposing to have found him. But the keeper of the house having an inckling of their comminge, and preventing them also before they came, sodainely yoked his oxen to the carte which he loded with beanes, and hidde this younger Marius under the same. And prickinge the oxen forward with his goade, set out, and met them as he went towards the city, and delivered Marius in this sorte into his wives house: and there taking such thinges as he needed, when the night following came, went towards the sea, and tooke shippe, finding one crosse sayled, bound towards Africke. Marius the father saylinge on still, had a very good winde to poynte alongest the coast of Italie: notwithstanding, being afrayed of one Geminius, a chiefe man of Terracine, who hated him to the death, he gave the maryners warning thereof betimes, and willed them to take heede of landing at Terracine. The maryners were very willing to obey him, but the winde stooode full against them comming from the mayne, which raised a great storme, and they feared much that their vessell which was but a bote, would not brooke the seas, besides that he him selfe was very sicke in his stomake, and sore sea beaten: notwithstanding, at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recovered the coast over against the city of Circees. In the meane time, the storme increased still, and their vittells failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring up and downe not knowinge what to doe, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in such like cases of extremitie, they thought it alwayes the best safetie for them, to flie from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they saw not: for if the sea were their enemy, the lande was so likewise. To meete with men, they were afrayed: and not to meete with them on thother side lacking vittells, was in deede the greater daunger. Neverthelesse, in the end they met with heard men that could geve them nothing to eate, but knowing Marius, warned him to get him out of the way as soone as he could possible, because it was not longe since that there passed by a great troupe of horsemen that sought him all

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

about. And thus being brought unto such perplexity, that he knew not where to bestowe him selfe, and specially for that the poore men he had in his company were almost starved for hunger: he got out of the high way notwithstanding, and sought out a very thicke wodde where he passed all that night in great sorrow, and the next morninge beinge compelled by necessity, determined yet to employ his body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandered on alongest the sea coast, still comforting them that followed him the best he could, and praying them not to dispayre, but to referre them selves to him, even until the last hope, trusting in certaine prophecies which the Soothsayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in the contry, he gathered up in the lappe of his gowne, the ayrie of an Eagle, in the which were seven young Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the Soothsayers what that ment. They answered, That their sonne one day should be one of the greatest men in the world, and that out of doubt he should obtaine seven times in his life the chiefest office of dignity in his contry. And for that matter, it is sayd that so in dede it came to passe. Other hold opinion, that such as were about Marius at that time, in that present place, and else where, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, beleved it, and afterwardes put it downe in wrytinge, as a true thinge, although of trothe it is bothe false and fayned. For they say, that the Eagle never getteth but two younge ones: by reason whereof it is mayntayned also, that the Poet Musæus hathe lyed, in that which he hathe wrytten in these verses :

The Eagle layes three egges, and two she hatcheth forth :
But yet she bringeth up but one, that any thing is worth.

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius found
an ayrie of
Eagles.

How many
egges the
Eagle layeth.

Howsoever it was, it is certaine that Marius many times during the time of his flying sayd, that he was assured he should come unto the seventh Consulship. When they were comen neere now to the city of Minturnes, about a two myle and a halfe from it, they might perceive a troupe of horsemen comming by the sea side, and two shippes on the sea

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

that fell upon the coast by good happe. Wherefore they all beganne to runne (so long as they had breath and strength) towards the sea, into the which they threw them selves, and got by swymming unto one of the shippes where Granius was: and they crossed over unto the Ile that is right against it called Enaria. Now for Marius, who was heavy and sicke of body, two of his servauntes holpe to holde him up alwayes above water, with the greatest paine and difficultie in the worlde: and at the last they labored so throughly, that they put him into the other shippe at the selfe same present, when the horsemen came unto the sea side, who cried out alowde to the maryners, to lande againe, or else throw Marius over borde, and then to goe where they would. Marius on thother side humbly besought them with teares, not so to do: whereby the masters of the shippe in a shorte space were in many mindes whether to doe it, or not to doe it. In the ende notwithstanding, they aunswered the horsemen they would not throwe him over the borde: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soone as they were gone, the masters of the shippe chaunging minde, drewe towards lande, and cast ancker about the mouth of the river of Liris, where it leaveth her banckes, and maketh great marysses: and there they tolde Marius he should doe well to goe a land to eate somewhat, and refresh his sea sicke body, till the winde served them to make saile, which doubtlesse sayed they, will be at a certaine hower when the sea winde falles and becomes calme, and that there riseth a litle winde from the lande, ingendred by the vapours of the marysses, which will serve the turne very well to take seas againe. Marius following their counsell, and thinking they had ment good faith, was set a lande upon the rivers bancke: and there layed him downe upon the grasse, nothing suspecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners presently taking their shippe againe, and hoysing up their anckers, sailed straight away, and fled: judging it no honesty for them to have delivered Marius into the handes of his enemies, nor safetie for them selves to have saved him. Marius finding him selfe all alone, and forsaken of every man, lay on the ground a great while, and sayd never a

Liris fl.

Marius set a
land, and for-
saken of the
mariners.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

word : yet at the length taking harte a litle to him, got up once againe on his feete, and painefully wandred up and downe, where was neither way nor pathe at all, overthwart deepe marisses and great ditches, full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore olde mans cotage, dwelling there in these marisses, and fallinge at his feete, besought him to helpe to save and succour a poore afflicted man, with promise that one day he would geve him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present daunger wherein he was. The olde man whether for that he had knowen Marius aforetime, or that seeing him (by conjecture only) judged him to be some great personage : told him that if he ment but to lye downe and rest him selfe a litle, his poore cabyne would serve that turne reasonably well : but if he ment to wander thus, to flie his enemies that followed him, he would then bring him into a more secret place, and farder of from noyse. Marius prayed him that he would so much doe for him : and the good man brought him into the marishe, unto a low place by the rivers side, where he made him lye downe, and then covered him with a great deale of reede and bent, and other such light thinges as could not hurte him. He had not long bene there, but he heard a great noyse comming towards the cabin of the poore old man : for Geminus of Terracine had sent men all about to seeke for him, whereof some by chaunce came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatned him that he had received and hidden an enemie of the Romaines. Marius hearing that, rose out of the place where the old man had layed him, and stripping him selfe starke naked, went into a parte of the marishe where the water was full of myre and mudde, and there was founde of those that searched for him : who takinge him out of the slime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of Minturnes, and delivered him there into the governours handes. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all Italie, that they should apprehend Marius, and kill him wheresoever they founde him. Notwithstanding, the governors and magistrates of Minturnes thought good first to consult therupon amongst them selves, and in the meane time they delivered him into

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius
hidden in the
marisses.

Marius taken.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

the safe custody of a woman called Fannia, whom they thought to have bene a bitter enemy of his, for an old grudge she had to him, which was this: Fannia sometime had a husband called Tinnius, whom she was willing to leave for that they could not agree, and required her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husbande againe sayed, she had played the whore. The matter was brought before Marius in his sixt Consulshippe, who had given judgement upon it. Both parties being heard, and the law prosecuted on either side, it was found that this Fannia was a naughty woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it well enough before he married her, yet tooke her with her faultes, and long time lived with her. Wherefore Marius being angry with them both, gave sentence that the husband should repay backe her dower, and that for her naughty life, she should pay foure farthings. This notwithstanding, when Fannia saw Marius, she grudged him not for that, and least of all had any revenginge minde in her towards him, but contrarily did comforte and helpe him what she could with that she had. Marius thanked her marvelously for it, and bad her hope well: because he met with good lucke as he was comming to her house, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neere to Fanniaes house, her dore being open, there came an asse running out to go drinke at a conduit: not farre from thence: and meeting Marius by the way, looked upon him with a lively joyfull countenance, first of all stopping sodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out alowde, and to leape and skippe by him. Whereuppon Marius straight conjecturing with him selfe, said, that the goddess did signifie unto him, that he should save him selfe sooner by water then by lande: because that the asse leaving him, ranne to drinke, and cared not to eate. So when he had tolde Fannia this tale, he desired to rest, and prayed them to let him alone, and to shut the chamber dore to him. But the magistrates of the citie having consulted together about him, in the ende resolved they must deferre no lenger time, but dispatche him out of the way presently. Now when they were agreed upon it, they could not finde a man in the citie that durst take upon him to kill

Fanniaes
curtesie unto
Marius.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him: but a man of armes of the Gaules, or one of the Cimbres (for we finde both the one and the other in wryting) that went thither with his sword drawn in his hande. Now, that place of the chamber wherein Marius lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he sawe two burninge flames come out of Marius eyen, and heard a voyce out of that darke corner, saying unto him: O fellowe, thou, darest thou come to kill Caius Marius? The barbarous Gaule hearing these wordes, ranne out of the chamber presently, casting his sworde in the midst of the flower, and crying out these wordes onely: I can not kill Caius Marius. This made the Minturnians afraied in the city at the first, but afterwards it moved them to compassion. So they were angry with them selves, and did repent them that they converted their counsell to so cruell and unkinde a deede, against one that had preserved all Italie: and to deny him aide in so extreame necessity, it was too great a sinne. Therefore let us let him goe, sayed they to them selves, where he will, and suffer him take his fortune appointed him else where: and let us pray to the goddes to pardone this offence of ours, to have thrust Marius naked and beggerly out of our city. For these considerations, the Minturnians went all together to Marius where he was, and stode about him, determining to see him safely conducted unto the sea side. Now though every man was ready, and willing to pleasure him, some with one thing, some with an other, and that they did hasten him all they could possible, yet they were a good while a going thither: bicause there was a wodde called Marica, that laye right in their way betwene their city and the sea coast which they greatly reverence, and thinke it a sacriledge to cary any thing out of that wodde, that was once brought into it. On thother side, to leave to goe through this wodde, and to compasse it rounde about, it would aske a marvelous long time. So they standing all in doubt what they should doe, one of the auncientest men of the city, spake alowde unto them, and said: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to save Marius life. Then Marius him selfe being the foremost man, taking up some of the fardells which

CAIUS
MARIUS
One hiered to
kill Marius.

The Minturnians suffered
Marius to go
his way with
safety.

Marica Sylva.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

they caried with him, to pleasure him in the ship, went through the wodde. All other things necessary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwil, and specially the shippe which one Bellæus had ordained for him: he caused all this storie to be painted in a table at large, which he gave unto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke shippe. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune caried him into the Ile of Enaria, where he founde Granius and some other of his frendes, with whom he tooke sea againe, and pointed towards Africke. But lacking water, they were compelled to lande in Sicilia, in the territory of the city of Erix: where by chaunce there laye a Romaine Quæstor, who kept that coast. Marius being landed there, scaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he slue sixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So Marius getting him thence with all speede, crossed the seas, untill he arrived in the Ile of Menynge, where he first understoode that his sonne was saved with Cethegus, and that they were both together gone to Hiempsal king of the Numidians to beseeche him of ayde. This gave him a litle corage, and made him bold to passe out of that Ile, into the coast of Carthage. Nowe at that time, Sextilius a Romaine Prætor was governor of Africke, unto whom Marius had never done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that for pity only he might perhappes have helpe at his hande. Howbeit he was no sooner landed with a few of his men, but a sergeaunt came straight and sayd unto him: Sextilius, Prætor and governor of Libya, doth forbid thee to lande in all this province: otherwise he telleth thee, that he will obey the Senates commaundement, and pursue thee as an enemy of the Romaines. Marius hearing this commaundement, was so angry and sory both, that he coule not readily tell what aunswere to make him, and pawed a good while, and sayd never a word, still eyng the sergeaunt with a grimme looke: untill he asked him, what aunswer he would make, to the Prætors commaundement. Marius then fetching a deepe sigh from his harte, gave him this aunswer: Thou shalt tell Sextilius, that thou hast seene Caius Marius banished out of his contrie, sittinge

Marius the
elder flieth
into Africke.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

amongst the ruines of the city of Carthage. By this aunswere, he wisely layed the example of the ruine and destruction of that great city of Carthage, before Sextilius eyes, and the change of his fortune: to warne Sextilius that the like might fall upon him. In the meane time, Hiempsal king of the Numidians, not knowing how to resolve, did honorably intreate young Marius and his companie. But when they were willing to goe their way, he alwayes founde newe occasion to stay them, and was very glad to see that he started not for any oportunity or good occasion that was offered: notwithstanding, there fortun'd a happy meane unto them, whereby they saved them selves. And this it was. This Marius the younger being a fayer complexioned young man, it pitied one of the kinges concubines to see him so hardly delt withall. This pity of hers was a shadow to cloke the love she bare him: but Marius would not hearken at the first to her intisementes, and refused her. Yet in the ende, perceiving that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and considering that she did all thinges for their availe, more diligently and lovingly then she would have done, if she had not ment further matter unto him, then only to enjoy the pleasure of him: he then accepted her love and kyndnesse, so as at the length she taught him a way howe to flye, and save him selfe and his frendes. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had imbraced and saluted eche other, going alongest the sea side, they founde two scorpions fightinge together. Marius tooke this for an ill signe: wherupon they quickly tooke a fisher boate, and went into the ile of Cercina, which is no great distaunce of from firme lande. They had no soner hoised up ancker, but they sawe the horse men which kinge Hiempsal had sent unto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greatest daungers that Marius ever escaped. In the meane time there was newes at Rome, that Silla made warre against kinge Mithridates Lieutenauntes: and furthermore, that the Consulls being up in armes thone against thother, Octavius wanne the battell, and being the stronger had driven out Cinna, who sought to have usurped tyrannicall power, and had made Cornelius Merula Consull in his

CAIUS
MARIUS

Marius wise
answere of
fortunes in-
constancy.

Marius the
younger
escapeth
Hiempsals
hands.

Cinna driven
out of Rome
by Octavius.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

place: and that Cinna on thother side leavied men out of other partes of Italie, and made warres upon them that were in Rome. Marius hearing of this dissention, thought good to returne as soone as he could possible into Italie. And assembling certaine horsemen of the nation of the Maurusians in Africke, and certaine Italians that had saved them selves there, unto the number of a thowsand men in all: he tooke sea, and landed in a haven of Thuscane called Telamon, and being landed, proclaimed by sounde of trompet, liberty to all slaves and bonde men that would come to him. So the laborers, heard men, and neateheardes of all that marche, for the onely name and reputacion of Marius, ranne to the sea side from all partes: of the which he having chosen out the stowtest and lustiest of them, wanne them so by fayer wordes, that having gathered a great companie together in few dayes, he made fortie sayle of them. Furthermore, knowing that Octavius was a marvelous honest man, that would have no authoritie otherwise then law and reason would: and that Cinna to the contrarie was suspected of Sylla, and that he sought to bring in change and innovation to the common wealth, he determined to joyne his force with Cinna. So Marius sent first unto Cinna, to lette him understande that he would obay him as Consull, and be ready to do all that he should commaunde him. Cinna received him, and gave him the title and authoritie of Viceconsull, and sent him sergeaunts to carie axes and rodde before him, with all other signes of publicke authoritie. But Marius refused them, and sayed, that pompe became not his miserable fortune: for he ever went in a poore threede bare gowne, and had let his heare grow still after he was banished, being above three score and tenne yeare olde, and had a sober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that sawe him. But under all this counterfeate pitie of his, he never chaunged his naturall looke, which was ever more fearefull and terrible, then otherwise. And where he spake but litle, and went very demurely and soberly: that shewed rather a cankered corage within him, then a minde humbled by his banishment. Thus when he had saluted Cinna, and spoken to the souldiers: he then beganne to set thinges

Marius joyne-
eth force
with Cinna.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

abroache, and made a wonderfull chaunge in fewe dayes. For first of all, with his shippes he cut of all the vittells by sea, and robbed the marchaunts that caried corne and other vittells to Rome: so that in a shorte space he was master purveyer for all necessarie provision and vittells. After this he went alongest the coast, and tooke all the cities apou the sea side, and at the length wanne Ostia also by treason, put the most parte of them in the towne to the sword, and spoyled all their goodes: and afterwards making a bridge apou the river of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to have any manner of provision by sea. That done, he went directly towardes Rome with his armie, where first he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through Octavius faulte: who overthrewe him selfe in his doinges, not so much for lacke of reasonable skill of warres, as through his unprofitable curiositie and strictnes in observing the law. For when diverse did perswade him to set the bond men at liberty to take armes for defence of the common wealth: he aunswered, that he would never geve bond men the law and privilegedge of a Romaine citizen, having driven Caius Marius out of Rome, to maintaine the authoritie of the lawe. But when Cæcilius Metellus was come to Rome, the sonne of that Metellus Numidicus, that having begonne the warres in Libya against king Iugurthe, was put out by Marius: the souldiers forsooke Octavius immediatly, and came unto him, bicause they tooke him to be a better Captaine, and desired also to have a leader that could tell how to commaund them, to save the citie, and the common wealth. For they promised to fight valliantly, and perswaded them selves that they should overcome their enemies, so that they had a skilfull and valliant Captaine that could order them. Metellus misliking their offer, commaunded them in anger to returne againe unto the Consull: but they for spite went unto their enemies. Metellus on thother side, seeing no good order taken in the citie to resist the enemies, got him out of Rome. But Octavius being perswaded by certaine Soothsayers and Chaldean sacrificers, who promised him all should goe well with him, taried still in Rome. For that man being otherwise, as wise as any Romaine of his time, and

CAIUS
MARIUS

Octavius
negligence
in defence of
the citie of
Rome, against
Cinna and
Marius.

Octavius too
much geven
to Soothsaiers.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS
Octavius
vertue and im-
perfection.

Octavius
slaine by
Marius
souldiers.

A great con-
trariety in
astronomy.

Cinna and
Marius entry
into Rome.

one that delt as uprightly in his Consulshippe, not caried away with flattering tales, and one also that followed the auncient orders and customes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any parte therof: me thinkes yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the Soothsayers, wise men, and astronomers, more then men skilfull in armes and government. Wherefore, before that Marius him selfe came into the citie, Octavius was by force pluct out of the pulpit for orations, and slaine presently by Marius souldiers, whome he had sent before into the citie. And it is sayed also, that when he was slaine, they founde a figure of a Chaldean prophecie in his bosome: and here is to be noted a great contrariety in these two notable men, Octavius and Marius. The first lost his life, by trusting to soothsaying: and the seconde prospered, and rose againe, bicause he did not despise the arte of divination. The state of Rome standing then in this maner, the Senate consulting together, sent Ambassadors unto Cinna and Marius, to pray them to come peacibly into Rome, and not to embrue their hands with the blood of their citizens. Cinna sitting in his chayer as Consul, gave them audience, and made them a very reasonable and curteous aunswer. Marius standing by him, spake never a worde: but shewed by his sower looke that he would straight fill Rome with murder and blood. So when the Ambassadors were gone, Cinna came into Rome environned with a great number of souldiers: but Marius stayed sodainly at the gate, speaking partely in anger, and partely in mockerie, that he was a banished man, and driven out of his contrie by law. And therefore if they would have him come into Rome againe, they should first by a contrarie decree abolish and revoke that of his banishment, as if he had bene a religious observer of the lawes, and as though Rome had at that present enjoyed their freedom and libertie. Thus he made the people assemble in the market place to proceede to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to geve their voices, disguising the matter no lenger, and showing plainly that he ment not to be lawfully called

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

home againe from exile : he came into Rome with a garde about him, of the veriest rascalls, and most shamelesse slaves, called the Bardiaeiens, who came to him from all partes : and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinc kling of his eye, or at a nodde of his head made to them, slew many men through his commaundement, and at the length slew Ancharius a Senator (that had bene Prætor) at Marius feete with their swordes, bicause only that Marius did not salute him when he came one day to speake with him. After this murther, they continued killinge all them that Marius did not salute, and speake unto : for that was the very signe he had geven them, to kill them openly in the streetes before every man, so that his very frendes were afearde of being murthered, when they came to salute him. Thus being a great number of men slaine, Cinna in the end beganne to be satisfied, and to appease his anger. But Marius anger and unsatiabie desire of revenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him never so litle : and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skowtes and spies, to hunte them out that hidde them selves and fled. Then experience taught them, that no frende is faithfull, and to be trusted, if fortune especially frowne never so litle : for there were very fewe that did not betray their frendes that fled to them for succor. And therefore doe Cornutus servauntes so much the more deserve praise, who having secretly hidden their master in his house, did hang up the dead body of some common persone by the necke, and having put a golde ring on his finger, they shewed him to the Bardiaeiens, Marius garde, and buried him in steade of their owne master, without suspicion of any man that it was a fained thing : and so Cornutus being hidden by his servauntes, was safely conveyed into the contrie of Gaule. Marke Anthony the Orator had also founde out a faithfull frende, yet was he unfortunate. This faithfull frend of his, was a poore simple man, who having received one of the chieftest men of Rome into his house to kepe him close there : he being desirous to make him the best chere he could with that litle he had, sent one of his men to the next taverne to fetche wine, and tastinge the

CAIUS
MARIUS
Bardiaei.

Marius caused
great murder
in Rome.

Marius
crueltie.

Small trust
of frendes in
adversitie.

The faithful-
nes of Cornu-
tus servauntes
to their
master.

M. Antonius
the Orator,
betrayed by a
taverner.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

wine more curiously then he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer asked him, why the new ordinary wine would not serve him, but he must needes have of the best and dearest : the foolish fellow simply aunswered him (telling him as his familiar frend) that his master did feast Marke Anthony, who was hidden very secretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his wine, and his backe turned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne unto Marius, who was set at supper when he came. The drawer beinge brought to him, promised him to deliver Marke Anthony into his handes. Marius hearing that, was so joconde, that he cried out, and clapt his handes together for joye : and would have risen from the borde, and gone thither him selfe in persone, had not his frendes kept him backe. But he sent Annius one of his Captaines thither with a certaine number of souldiers, and commaunded them to bringe him his heade quickly. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had brought them to, Annius taried beneath at the dore, and the souldiers went up the stayers into the chamber, and finding Anthony there, they beganne to encourage one an other to kill him, not one of them having the harte to lay handes upon him. For Anthonyes tongue was as sweete as a Sirene, and had such an excellent grace in speaking, that when he began to speake unto the souldiers, and to pray them to save his life : there was not one of them so hard harted, as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewardes, fell a weeping. Annius perceiving they taried long, and came not downe, went him selfe up into the chamber, and found Anthony talking to his souldiers, and them weeping, his sweete eloquent tongue had so melted their hartes : but he rating them, ranne furiously apon him, and strake of his head with his owne handes. And Catulus Luctatius also, that had bene Consull with Marius, and had triumphed over the Cimbres with him, seeing him selfe in this perill, set men to intreate Marius for him : but his aunswere was ever, he must needes dye. So Catulus locked him selfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the smoke thereof choked him selfe. Now after their heades were cut

The force of
eloquence.

Catulus Luc-
tatus killed
him selfe.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

of, they threw out the naked bodies into the streetes, and trodde them under their feete: the which was not only a pitiefull, but a fearefull sight to all that sawe them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieved the people so much, as the horrible lechery and abhominable crueltie of this gard of the Bardiaëians, who comming into mens houses by force, after they had slaine the masters, defiled their young children, and ravished their wives and maides, and no man would once reprove their crueltie, lecherie, and unsatiable avarice: untill Cinna and Sertorius in the end set apon them as they slept in their campe, and slewe them every one. But in this extremitie, as if all thinges had bene restored unto their first estate, newes came againe from all partes to Rome, that Sylla having ended his warre against king Mithridates, and recovered the provinces which he had usurped: returned into Italie with a great power. This caused these evils and unspeakeable miseries to cease a litle, because the wicked doers of the same looked they should have warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereuppon Marius was chosen Consull the seventh time. He going out of his house openly the first day of Ianuarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take possession of his Consulshippe: caused one Sextus Lucinus to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian, which seemed to be a great signe and certaine token of the evils and miseries, that fell out afterwards the selfe same yere apon them of their faction, and unto all the citie beside. But Marius being sore broken with his former troubles, and his minde oppressed with extreame sorow and grieve, could not now at this last time of neede plucke up his harte to him againe, when he came to thinke of this newe toward warre that threatned him, and of the daungers, griefes, and troubles he should enter into, more great and perillous then any he had passed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he beganne to thinke of it, considering that he had to fight, not with Octavius, nor with Merula, Captaines of a companie of rebells gathered together: but with a noble Sylla, that had driven him out of Rome before, and that came now from driving the puisant

CAIUS
MARIUS

The Bardiaëians slaine of their Captains for their crueltie.

Marius seventh Consulship.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

king Mithridates, unto the furdest parte of the realme of Pont, and of the sea Euxinum. Thus, deeply waying and considering the same, and specially when he looked backe upon his long time of banishment, how vacabondlike he wandered up and downe in other contries, and remembered the great misfortunes he had passed, and the sundrie daungers he fell so often into, being pursued still by sea and by land : it grieved him to the harte, and made him so unquiet, that he coulde not sleepe in the night, or if he slept, had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voyce bussing in his eares :

Marius
thoughtes
and feare.

A Lyons very denne, is dreadfull to behold :

Though he him selfe be gone abroade, and be not therein hold.

Devise to
winne sleepe.

But fearing most of all that he should no more sleepe and take his rest, he gave him selfe to make unreasonable banquetts, and to drinke more then his yeres could beare, seeking to winne sleepe by this meanes, to avoyde care the better. But at the length there came one from the sea, that gave him certaine intelligence of all : and that was an increase of a new feare unto him. And thus he being now extreemely troubled, partely for feare of the thing to come, and partely also for the over heavie burden of his present ill, there neded but litle more aggravation, to fall into the disease whereof he dyed, which was a plewrisie : as Posidonius the Philosopher wryteth, who sayeth plainly that he went into his chamber when he was sicke, and spake unto him about matters of his Ambassade, for the which he came to Rome. Yet an other historiographer Caius Piso wryteth, that Marius walking one day after supper with his frendes, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him : concluding, that it is no wise mans parte to trust her any more. So when he had done, he tooke his leave of them, and layed him downe upon his bed, where he lay sicke seven dayes together, and on the seventh day dyed. Some wryte that his ambition appeared plainly, by a straunge raving that tooke him in his head during his sickenes. For he thought that he made warres with Mithridates, and shewed in his bed all his gestures and movings of his bodie, as if he

Marius the
fathers death.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

had bene in a battell, crying the selfe same cryes out alowde, which he was wont to crie when he was in the extreamest fight. The desire he had to have taken this charge in hande against Mithridates, was so deeply settled in his minde through extreame ambition and jealousy that possesst him: that being then three score and ten yeare old, after he had bene the first man that ever was chosen seven times Consull in Rome, and also after that he had gotten a world of goodes and riches together that might have suffised many kinges: yet for all this he dyed for sorrowe, lamenting his harde fortune, as if he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had desired. But this was cleane contrarie unto that the wise Plato did, when he drewe neere to his death. For he gave God thanks for his fatall end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reasonable man, and no brute beast: secondly, a Greke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in Socrates time. It is reported also, that one Antipater of Tharsis, calling to mind a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forgette amonge other thinges, to tell of the happie navigation he made, comming from his contrie unto Athens: which did witness that he put upon the fyle of his good accompts for a singular great grace, all favor fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memorie, being the onely and most assured treasure a man can have, to kepe those giftes that nature or fortune doe bestowe upon him. But contrariwise, unthankfull fooles unto God and nature both, doe forget with time the memory of their former benefittes, and laying up nothing, nor keeping it in perpetuall memory, are alwayes voyde of goods and full of hope, gaping still for things to come and leaving in the meane time the things present, though reason perswades them the contrary. For fortune may easily let them of the thing to come, but she can not take that from them which is already past: and yet they utterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging unto them, and dreame alwayes of that which is uncertaine. And sure it chaunceth to them by great reason. For, having gathered outward goodes together,

CAIUS
MARIUS
Marius mad
ambition.

A note against
the ambitious.

Platoes words
at his death.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CAIUS
MARIUS

Note that in Syllaes life following it appeareth, that Marius the younger was besieged in the city of Præneste, and not in Perusia as ye reade here. So as the city seemeth to be mistaken in one of these lives.

and locking them up before they have built and layd a sure grounded foundation of reason through good learning: they can not afterwarde fill nor quenche their unsatiabie greedie covetous minde. Thus ended Marius his life, the seventeenth day of his seventh Consulshippe, whereof all the citie of Rome was not a litle glad, and tooke harte againe unto them, supposing they had then bene delivered from a bloodie cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their cost, that they had chaunged an olde master taken out of the worlde, for a younger that came but newly to them: such extreame unnaturall cruelties, and murders did Marius the younger commit, after the death of his father Marius, murdering in manner all the chiefest noble men of Rome. At the first, they tooke him for a valliant and hardy young man, whereuppon they named him the sonne of Mars: but shortly after his deedes did shew the contrary, and then they called him the sonne of Venus. In the end he was shut in, and besieged by Sylla in the city of Perusia, where he did what he could possible to save his life, but all was in vaine: and lastly, seeing no way to escape, the city being taken, he slewe him selfe with his owne handes.

THE END OF CAIUS MARIUS LIFE

THE LIFE OF LYSANDER



LN the tresorie of the Acanthians, which is in the temple of Apollo at Delphes, there is this inscription: Brasidas, and the Acanthians, with the spoile of the Athenians. That inscription maketh many men thinke, that the image of stone that standeth within the chamber by the dore therof, is the image of Brasidas: howbeit in truth it is the livelie image of Lysander him selfe, made with a great bush of heare, and a thicke long beard after the old auncient facion. And where some say that the Argives, after

Lysanders
image.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

they were overcome and had lost a great battell, did all of them shave them selves in token and signe of common sorrow: and that the Lacedæmonians on thother side to shewe the joy of their victory, did all let their heares growe, that is not true. No more then this is true which other do reporte of the Bacchiades: who being fled from Corinthe unto Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians founde them so ill favoredly disguised and deformed, because their heads were all shaven, that thereupon they had a desire to let their heare and beards grow. For that was one of the ordinaunces of Lycurgus, who sayd that the long bushe of heare, maketh them that are naturally fayer, the pleasaunter to looke upon: and those that are ill favored, more ougly and fearefull to see to. And furthermore, it is sayd that Aristoclitus, the father of Lysander, was not of the royall blood of the kinges of Sparta, though he came of the race of the Heraclides: and that his sonne Lysander was very meanelly and poorely brought up, being as obedient to the lawes and statutes of his contrie, as any other man was, showing him selfe alwayes very strong and constant against all vanitie and pleasure, saving only in matters of honor and curtesie, which they offer unto those that deserve well. For they thinke it no shame nor dishonesty in Sparta, that the young men doe suffer them selves to be overcome with that delite and pleasure: but doe so bring up their children, that from their youth they would have them to have some tast and feeling of honor, deliting to be praised, and sorie to be discommended. For they make no accompt of him that is not moved with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to doe good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and stownesse that was bred in Lysander, proceeded of the Laconicall discipline and education he had, and not so much of his owne nature. But in dede of his owne nature he was a right courtier, and could tell how to entertaine and flatter great states and nobility, farre better then the common maner of the natural Spartans: and moreover for his private benefit, he could easily beare with the stownes of greater men of authority then him selfe, which some judge to be a

LYSANDER

Lycurgus the author of wearing longe heare.

The commodie of wearing longe heare.

Lysanders kinred.

The education of the Laconian children.

Lysanders manners.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER great poynt of wisdome, to know how to deale in matters of state. Aristotle in a place where he sayeth, that the greatest wittes commonly are subject unto melancholye, (as Socrates, Plato, and Hercules were) wryteth, that Lysander in his later age fell into the melancholy disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift above all other, that in his poverty he alwayes kept that honest modesty with him, as he would never be overcome nor corrupted with gold nor silver: and yet he filled his contrie with riches and covetousnes, which lost him the reputacion he had wonne, bicause him selfe made none accompt of riches nor getting. For bringing store of golde and silver into his contrie after he had overcome the Athenians, he reserved not unto him selfe one Drachma only. And furthermore, when Dionysius the tyran of Syracusa, had on a time sent goodly riche gownes out of Sicilia to his daughters: he refused them, saying, that he was afrayed such gownes would make them fowler. Neverthelesse, shortly after being sent Ambassador out of his contrie unto the same tyranne, Dionysius sending him two gownes, praying him to choose which of the two he would cary to his daughter: he answered, that she her selfe could best choose which was the fitter, and so caried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes: the warres of Peloponnesus fell out marvelous long. For after the overthrow of the armie which the Athenians had sent into Sicilia, when every man thought they had utterly lost all their force by sea, and that by all conjecture they shoulde soone after loose all by lande also: Alcibiades returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the state, made an exceding great chaunge and alteration. For he set the Athenians a flote againe, and made them as strong by sea as the Lacedæmonians: who thereupon beganne to quake for feare, and to looke eftsoones for a freshe warre, perceiv- inge that they stooode in neede of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then ever they had before. Whereuppon they made Lysander their Admirall, who arriving in the citie of Ephesus, founde them very well affected towardes him, and marvelous willing and ready to take the Lacedæmonians parte: howbeit otherwise in very poore state, and ready

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

almost to take up all the barbarous maners and facions of **LYSANDER** the Persians, bicause they did continually frequent them, being environned round about with the contry of Lydia, where the king of Persiaes Captaines were ever resident. Wherefore, having planted his campe there, he brought thither marchauntes shippes out of all partes, and sette up an arsenall or store house to builde gallies in: so that in shorte space, by oft recourse of marchauntes that beganne to trade thither, he quickened their havens, and set up their staple againe for trafficke of marchaundise, and filled every private artificers house with an honest trade to make them riche by, so that ever after it grewe in continuall hope to come unto that florishinge state and greatnes, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, Lysander being advertised that Cyrus, one of the great king of Persiaes sonnes, was come unto the city of Sardis, he went thither to speake with him, and to complaine of Tisaphernes: who having commaundement geven him from the king to aide the Lacedæmonians, and to helpe to expulse the Athenians, and to drive them from the sea, seemed to deale but coldly and faintly against them, for the favor he bare to Alcibiades. For, furnishing the Lacedæmonians very scantly with money, was an occasion that all their armie by sea went to wracke. Cyrus for his owne parte was very glad that he heard complaintes of Tisaphernes, and that they spake against him: bicause he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had him selfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherefore he loved Lysander marvelous well, as well for the complaintes he made of Tisaphernes, as also for the pleasure he tooke in his companie, bicause he was a man that could wonderfully please and delite noble men: by which meanes having wonne the favor of this young Prince, he did perswade, and also incorage him to follow this warre. And when Lysander was upon his departure to take his leave of him, Cyrus feasted him, and afterwardes prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberalitie, and that was: that he would freely aske him what he would, assuring him he should not be denied any thing. Whereunto Lysander answered him: Sithence I see (Cyrus) you are so willing to pleasure us, I beseeche you, and doe

Lysander enlargeth the citie of Ephesus.

Sardis a citie in Lydia.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER also counsell you then to increase the ordinarie pay of our maryners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they have but three halfe pence, they may thenceforth receave two pence a day. Cyrus was glad to heare Lysanders bounty, and the increase that he would make, and caused tenne thowsande Darickes to be delivered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the maryners, the increase of a halfe penny a day. This liberality, within few dayes after, emptied all their enemies gallies of their men. For, the most parte of their maryners and galley men went where they might have the best pay: and such as remained behinde, became very dull, lasie, and seditious, dayly troubling their Captaines and governors. Now though Lysander had drawn his enemies men from them by this policie, and had done this great hurte, yet he durst not fight it out by sea, fearing the worthines of Alcibiades: who was a valliant man, and had greater store of shippes then he had, and besides that, was never overcome by lande nor by sea, in any battell where he was Generall. So it chaunced, that Alcibiades went out of the Ile of Samos, unto the city of Phoea, which standeth upon firme lande directly over against Samos, and leaving the whole charge of his fleete in his absence, with Antiochus his pylot: he being more hardie then wise, in scorne and derision of Lysander, went with two gallies only into the haven of Ephesus, and went by the arsenall (where all their shippes lay in docke) with great noyse and laughing. This put Lysander in such a heate and chafe, that first of all he put a fewe gallies to the sea, and had him in chase with them. But afterwarde, perceiving that the other Captaines of the Athenians came out one after an other to the rescue, he armed other gallies also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at the length they came to a maine battell, which Lysander wanne, and having taken fifteene of their gallies, he set up a token of triumphe and victory. When the people at Athens heard the newes of this overthrow, they were so angrie with Alcibiades, that they discharged him presently of his charge: and the souldiers also that lay in campe in the Ile of Samos, beganne to mislike him, and to speake ill of him. Whereuppon he

Lysander
tooke money
for paye of his
souldiers.

Lysanders
victorie of
the Athenians
by sea.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

presently left his campe, and went into the contrie of Cherronesus in Thracia. This battell was more spoken of then there was cause, by reason of Alcibiades reputacion. Furthermore, Lysander causinge the stowtest and boldest men of every city, above the common sorte, to come to Ephesus unto him: layed there secret foundations of great change and alteracion, which he stablished afterwarde in the governmentes of cities. For he perswaded his private frendes to make tribes amongst them selves to winne them frendes, and to practise to gette the rule of their cities into their handes: promising them, that so soone as the Athenians were overthrowen, they them selves also should be delivered from subjection of their people, and every one of them should beare chiefe rule in their contry. And this he performed to them all, and made every one of them prove his wordes true. For he preferred all them that had bene his olde frendes, unto the best offices and charges: not sparing to doe against all right and reason, so that they were advanced by it. And thus by this meanes, every man came to take his part, and they all sought and desired to gratifie and please him: hoping, that what great matter soever fell out, they assured themselves in maner that they should obtaine it of him, when he came to have the government in his owne hands. And therefore they nothing rejoyced at Callicratidas comming, who came to succede him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and just a man as coulde be. Neither did they like his manner of governinge which was plaine, and without any arte or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his vertue, as they would have done the image of some demy god made after the olde facion, which had bene of singular beawty. But in the meane time, they wished for Lysander, as well for the tender love and good will he bare to his frends and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him. So when Lysander tooke the seas to returne home againe, all they that were in the campe, were as sory as could be possible, insomuch as the teares stode in their eyes: and he on thother side, studied to make them

LYSANDER
Cherronesus
a contrye in
Thracia.

Callicratidas
Lysanders
successor in
his office of
admyraltie.

Playnenes
commended
for a vertue,
but liked as
an olde image
of a god that
had bene ex-
cellent faier.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER
The spighte
of Lisander to
Callicratidas.

worse affected unto Callicratidas. For amongst many other thinges, he sent the rest of the money backe againe to Sardis, which Cyrus had geuen him to pay the maryners: saying, that Callicratidas should go him selfe to aske it, if he would have it, and finde the meanes to entertaine his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliver, leave, and assigne over the armie into his handes, commaunding all the sea. But Callicratidas, to overcome his false ambicion, and fowle boasting lye answered him againe, and saied: If that be true thow saiest, come then and deliver me the gallies in the city of Miletum, as thou goest by, before the Ile of Samos: for sith thou commaundest all the sea, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in Samos. Lysander thereto replied, that the armie was no more at his commaundement, and that he had the charge over them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly unto Peloponnesus, and left Callicratidas in great perplexity. For he had brought no money out of his contrie with him, neither would he compell the cities to furnishe him with any, seeinge that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to goe to the Lieutenantes of the king of Persia, to aske them money as Lysander had done. But he was the unmeetest man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberall nature, and thought it lesse dishonor and reproache unto the Greecians, to be overcome by other Greecians, then to goe flatter the barbarous people, and seeke to them that had gold and silver enough, but otherwise, no goodnes nor honesty. In the end notwithstanding, making vertue of necessity, he tooke his journey towards Lydia, and went directly to Cyrus courte: where at his first comming he willed them to let him understand, that Callicratidas the Admirall of the Lacedæmonians would speake with him. One of the souldiers that warded at the gate, told him: My frende, syr straunger, Cyrus is not at leasure nowe, for he is set at dinner. Callicratidas aunswered him plainely againe: No force, I will tary here till he have dined. The barbarous Persians hearing this, tooke him

Nothing
estemed
with the
Barbarians
but money.

Callicratidas
pacience.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

for some plaine lowte, and so he went his waye the first time with a mocke at their handes. But the second time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and returned backe (as he came) to the citie of Ephesus, cursing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased them selves, as to goe sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be prowde and stately for their goodes and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soone as he came to Sparta againe, he would doe all that he could possible to pacifie the Greecians, and set them at peace one with an other, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, and also that they should medle with them no more, nor neede their aide to destroy one an other. But Callicratidas having the noble harte of a Spartan, and being to be compared in justice, valliancy, and greatnes of corage, with the most excellentest Greecians in his time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost uppon the Iles Arginusus. Wherefore, the confederates of the Lacedæmonians seeing that their state was in declining, they all together sent an Ambassade unto Sparta, by whom they made request to the counsell, that they would send Lysander againe for their Admirall, promising that they would do all things with better corage and goodwill under his conduction, then they would under any other Captaine they could sende them. So much did Cyrus also wryte unto them. But bicause there was an expresse law forbidding that one man should be twice Admirall, and besides, they being willing to graunt the request of their confederats, made one Aracus their Admirall, but in effect gave Lysander the whole authoritie of all thinges. Who was marvelous welcome unto them, and specially unto the heades and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for his comming: bicause that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loved plaine dealing, and open magnanimitie in the manners of a governor and generall, when they came to compare Lysander, with Callicratidas: they founde that Lysander had a fine subtiltie head, and did more in warres with his policy and subtiltie,

The death of
Callicratidas.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER
Lysander
crafty and
deceitfull.

A wise saying
of Lysander.

The wicked
dissembling
and double
dealing of
Lysander.

Lysander re-
garded no
perjurie, fol-
lowing the
example of
Polycrates
the tyran
of Samos.

then by any other meanes. And moreover, that he esteemed justice, when it fell out profitable: and tooke profit, for justice and honestie, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then crafte, but measuring the value of the tone and thother, by the profit that came out of them, and mockinge of them that sayed that the race of Hercules should not make warres with craft and subtilty. For sayd he, when the Lyons skin will not serve, we must help it with the case of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they wryte he did in the citie of Miletum. For his frendes and familiars to whome he had promised aide for destruction of the peoples authority, and to drive their enemies out of the city: they having chaunged their mindes, and being reconciled unto their adversaries, he openly made great showe of gladnes, and seemed as though he would helpe to agree them together: but secretly being alone, he tooke them up sharply, and told them that they were cowards to doe it, and did procure them to the contrarie, to set upon the people. And then when he understoode that there was commocion among them in the citie, he ranne thither sodainly as it were to appease it. But when he also comen into the citie, the first he met with of them that would alter the state of government, and take the authority from the people: he fell out withall, and gave them rough wordes, commaunding with extreamitie that they should follow him, as though he would have done some great punishment. And againe, meeting with them on the contrary parte, he willed them also that they should not be afrayed, nor dout that any man should doe them hurte where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practise of him, to stay the chiefest of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to the ende that afterwarde he might put them all to death, as he did. For they that trusting to his words remained quiet in the city were all put to death. Moreover, Androclidas touching this matter, hath left in wryting that which Lysander was wont to say: by the which it appeareth, that he made very litle reckening to be perjured. For he sayd, that children should be deceived with the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein Polycrates, the tyran of Samos, but without reason: for he

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent usurper of tyrannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true Laconian, to behaue him selfe towards the goddess none otherwise, then towards men, but rather worse, and more injuriously. For he that deceiveth his enemy, and breaketh his othe to him: sheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God. Cyrus therefore having sent for Lysander to come to Sardis to him, gave him money largely, and promised him more: and because he would more honorably shewe the good will he had to gratifie him, tolde him, that if the kinge his father would geve him nothing, yet he would geve him of his owne. And furthermore, when all other meanes fayled to helpe him with money, that rather then he should lacke he would melt his owne chayer to make money of (which he sate in when he gave audience in matter of justice) being altogether of gold and silver. And to be shorte, when he was going into Media to the king his father, he gave Lysander power to receive the taxes and ordinary tributes of the cities under his government, and made him Lieutenaunt of all his contry. And lastly, bidding him farewell, praied him that he woulde not geve battell by sea unto the Athenians, untill he returned from the courte: and that before his comming againe he woulde have authoritie to leaue a greate number of shippes, aswell out of Phœnicia, as out of Cilicia. Wherefore whilst Cyrus was in his jorney, Lysander not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of shippes, nor also to lye still and doe nothing with so good a number of gallyes, went and scowred the seas, where he tooke certaine Ilandes, and robbed also Ægina and Salamina. From thence he went and landed on the firme lande in the contrye of Attica, and did his dutie there unto Agis king of Lacedæmonia, who came purposely from the forte of Decelea to the sea side to see him, because their armye by lande also shoulde see what power they had by sea, and howe it ruled more by sea then they woulde. Nevertheless, being advertised that the flecte of the Athenians followed harde after him, he tooke an other course to flye backe againe into Asia by the Iles: and returninge againe, founde all the contry of Hellespont without men of warre.

LYSANDER

Cyrus
liberalitie
to Lysander.

Lysanders
actes by sea.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER So he laied siege before the citie of Lampsacus, and did assault it with his gallies by sea: and Thorax being come thither also at the selfe same time in great hast with his armie by land, gave thassault on his side. Thus was the citie taken by force, which Lysander left to the spoile of the souldiers. Now in the meane time the fleete of the Athenians (which was a hundred and foure score saile) came to an ancker before the citie of Eleunte, in the contrie of Cherronesus: and newes being broughte them that the city of Lampsacus was taken, they came with all spede possible unto the citie of Sestos, where getting freshe acates and vittelles, they coasted all alongest the coast unto a certaine place called the goates river, directly over against the fleete of their enemies, which lay yet at ancker before the citie of Lampsacus. Now there was a captaine of the Athenians amongst other called Philocles, he that perswaded the Athenians to cut of the prisoners thumbes of their right handes that were taken in the warres, to thend they should no more handle the pyke, but only serve to pull the ower. Both the tone and the tother rested that day, hoping to have battel without faile the next morning. But Lysander having an other meaning with him, commaunded the maisters and maryners notwithstanding, that they should have their gallies ready to geve battel the next morninge by breake of day, bicause every man should get a bord betimes, and should keepe them selves in order of battell, making no noise at all, attending what he would commaunde them: and further, made the armie by lande also to be ranged in battell ray, by the sea side. The next morning at sunne rising, the Athenians beganne to row with all their gallies set in order of battell in a fronte. But Lysander, though he had his shippes in order to fight, the proes lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not for all that against them, but sending out pynnasies unto the first gallies, commaunded them straightly that they should not stirre at all, but keepe them selves in order, making no noyse, nor rowing against the enemy. Though the Athenians also were retyred in the night, he would not geve the souldiers leave to come to lande out of the gallies, before he had sent first two or three gallies to discrie the

Philocles
cruel advise
unto the
Athenians.

Lysanders
craft in
marine fight.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

fleete of his enemies : who brought him word that they had seene the Athenians take lande. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth also all in one sorte: so that the Athenians beganne to be bold of them selves, and to despise their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for feare of them, and durst not come forward. In the meane time, Alcibiades (who lay at that time in the contrie of Cherronesus, in certaine places which he had conquered) came ryding to the campe of the Athenians, to tell the Captaines and generalls of the armie, the great faultes they committed. First, for that they had cast ancker, and kept their shippes in an open place, where there was no maner of succor, nor harbor to retyre unto upon any storme : and worst of all, bicause that they were to fetche their vittells farre of, at the cite of Sestos, unto which haven they should rather draw them selves unto, considering that they had but a litle way to go, and also that they should have the citie to backe them, which would furnish them with all thinges necessarie : and beside that, they should be further of from their enemies, which were governed by one generall onely that did commaund them all, and were so well trained, that at a whistle they were ready straight to execute his commaundement. Alcibiades perswasions to these Captaines of the Athenians were not only misliked, but furthermore there was one called Tydeus, that answered him very lewdly : that he had nothing to doe to commaunde the armie, but other that had the charge of them. Alcibiades mistrusting thereby some treason, quietly went his way. The fift day, the Athenians having made the same countenance to present battell unto their enemies, and retyring the same night as of custome very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckening of their enemies : Lysander sent againe certaine galliots to discrie them, commaunding the Captaines of the same, that when they perceived the Athenians had left their gallies and taken lande, they should then returne backe with all possible speede they could, and being mid way over the straightes, that they should lift up a copper target into the ayre, upon the top of a pyke in the foredecke, for a signe to make all the whole fleete to row in battell. Now Lysander him selfe

LYSANDER

Alcibiades gave good advise to the Captaines of the Athenians.

A copper target lift up, the signe of battell by sea.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER in the meane time went in persone from galley to galley, perswading and exhorting every Captaine that they should put their galliots, maryners, and souldiers in good readines, to thend that when the signe should be lifted up, they should rowe with all their might in battell against the enemies. Wherefore, so soone as the copper target was set up in the ayer, and that Lysander had made his trompet sound out of the Admiral, for a token to hale out into the sea: the gallies immediatly beganne to row for life in envy one of an other, and the footemen that were apou the lande, ranne with speede also to the toppe of a high cliffe neere unto the sea, to see what would be the ende of his fight, because the distaunce from one side to the other in that place was not fully two myles, which they had sone cut over, and in a litle space, through the great diligence and force of rowing with their owers. So Conon the chiefe Captaine of the Athenians perceiving from the shore this great flete comming with a full force to assault them: he then cried out to the souldiers that they should runne to their shippes, and being in a rage to see thinges in this daunger, called some by their names, others he intreated, and the rest he compelled to take their gallies. But all his diligence was to no purpose, because the souldiers were wholly scattered here and there. For so soone as they were set a lande out of their gallies at their returne, some went to buy provision, other went a walking in the fieldes, some were set at supper in their cabines, and other were layed downe to sleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignoraunce and lacke of experience. But when the enemies were ready to joyne and fall upon them with great cries and noyse of owers, Conon having eight gallies, stole secretly out of the flete, and flying unto Evagoras, saved him selfe in the Ile of Ciprus. In the meane time, the Peloponnesians falling apou the other gallies, tooke some of them emptie, and brake the others as the souldiers beganne to come aborde apou them. And as for the men, some were slaine by their shippes as they ranne unto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to have saved them selves: other were killed in flying, because the enemies landed and had them in

Conon, Ad-
mirall of the
Athenians.

Lysanders
victory of the
Athenians.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

chase. And there were taken alive of them, three thowsand prisoners with the Captaines. Lysander moreover tooke all the whole fleete of their shippes, the holie galley excepted called *Paralos*, and the eight that fled with Conon: and after he had destroyed all the campe of the Athenians, he fastened the gallies that were taken, unto the keele of his gallies, and returned with songes of triumphe, with the sound of flutes and hoboyes, towards the citie of Lampsacus, having wonne a great victory with litle labor, and had cut of in a small time, the long continuing and most diverse warre that ever was, and had brought forth so many sundrie straunge eventes of fortune, as are uncredible. For there had bene infinite battells fought both by sea and lande, and had altered many sundry times, and there was slaine at that time moe Captaines, than in all the other warres of Greece together: all which were at the length brought to ende and determined, by the good wisdom and conduction of one onely man. And therefore some thought, that this great overthrowe was geven by the gods, and sayd: that at the departure of Lysanders fleete out of the haven of Lampsacus, to goe set upon the fleete of the enemies, they perceaved over Lysanders galley the two fires, which they call the starres of Castor and Pollux: the one on the tone side of the galley, and the other on thother side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signifie this great overthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the ayer a marvelous great stone, in the place they call the goates river, which stone is seene yet unto this day, holden in great reverence by the inhabitauntes of the citie of Cherronesus. It is sayd also that Anaxagoras did prognosticate, that one of the bodies tyed unto the vaulte of the heaven, should be pluckt away, and should fall to the ground by a slyding and shaking that should happen. For he sayd, that the starres were not in their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heavy bodies, and of the nature of stone: howbeit that they did shine by reflection of the fire elementary, and had bene drawn up thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the element, even as at the beginning of the world

LYSANDER

Paralos, the holy galley of Athens.

The starres of Castor, and Pollux.

A stone fell out of the elements.

Ægos fl.

Anaxagoras opinion of the starres.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER they had bene stayed and let from falling downe beneath, at that time when the separation was made of the colde and heavy bodies, from the other substaunce of the universal world. There is an other opinion of certaine Philosophers, where there is more likelyhoode then in that. For they say, that those which we call falling starres, be no fluxions nor derivacions of the fire elementorie, which are put out in the ayer, in a manner so soone as they be lighted: nor also an inflammation or combustion of any parte of the ayer, which by her to overmuch quantity doth spread upwardes: but they are celestiall bodies, which by some slackenes of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of heaven, are thrown and cast downe here beneath, not alwayes in any parte of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroad in the great Ocean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, Anaxagoras words are confirmed by Damachus, who writeth in his booke of religion, that the space of three score and fifteene yeares together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great lump of fier continually in the ayer like a clowde inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went and came with diverse broken removings, by the driving whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gave light in falling, as the starres do that fall. In the end, when this great body of fire fell in that parte of the earth, the inhabitants of the contrie, after that they were a litle boldened from their feare and wonder, came to the place to see what it was: and they found no manner of shew or apparaunce of fire, but only a very great stone lying upon the ground, but nothing in comparison of the least parte of that which the compasse of this bodie of fire did shew, if we may so name it. Sure herein, Damachus wordes had neede of favorable hearers. But againe if they be true, then he utterly confuteth their argumentes, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boysterous winde did teare from the toppe of a mountaine, and caried in the ayer, so long as this hurle winde continued: but so soone as that was downe, and calme againe, the stone fell immediatly. Neither doe we say that this lightning bodie, which appeared so many dayes in the

What falling
starres be.

Damachus
testimonie of
the fiery stone
seene in the
element.

An other
opinion of
the stone
that fell.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

element, was very fire in deede, which comming to dissolve and to be put out, did beget this violent storme and boysterous wind in the element, that had the force to teare the stone in sunder, and to cast it downe. Nevertheles, this matter requireth better discourse in some other booke then this. But now to our story. When the three thowsand Athenians that were taken prisoners at that overthrow, were condemned by the counsell to be put to death: Lysander calling Philocles, one of the Captaines of the Athenians, asked him what paine he would judge him worthy of, that gave the citizens so cruell and wicked counsell. Philocles being nothing abashed to see him selfe in that miserie, aunswered him: Accuse not them that have no judge to heare their cause: but since the goddes have geven thee grace to be conqueror, doe with us, as we would have done with thee, if we had overcome thee. When he had sayd so, he went to washe him selfe, and then put on a fayer cloke upon him, as if he should have gone to some feast: and went lustely the foremost man to execution, leading his contrie men the way, as Theophrastus wryteth. After this done, Lysander with all his fleete went by all the cities of the sea coast, where he commaunded so many Athenians as he founde, that they should get them to Athens, letting them understand that he would not pardone a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the walles of Athens, bicause he might so much the sooner famish them for lacke of vittells: for otherwise they would have troubled him sore, if they had had wherewithall to have maintayned a long siege. But in all the cities as he passed by, if they were governed by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kinde of government, he left in every one of them a Lacedæmonian Captaine or governor, with a counsell of tenne officers, of them that had bene before in league and amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had ever bene confederates and frendes unto the Lacedæmonians, as in them that not long before had bene their enemies. So he went sayling all alongest the coastes, fayer and softly making no haste, stablishing in manner

LYSANDER

Philocles
constancy,
Captaine of
the Athen-
ians.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER a generall principality over all Greece. For he did not make them officers that were the richest, the noblest, or honestest men, but such as were his frendes, out of those tribes which he had placed in every citie: and to them he gave authority to punish, and reward such as they liked of, and would be present him selfe in persone to helpe them to put those to death, whome they would execute, or otherwise expulse or banish their contrie. But this gave the Greecians small hope of good or gracious government under the rule of the Lacedæmonians. Wherefore, me thinkes that Theopompus the comicall Poet doted, when he compared the Lacedæmonians, unto taverners wines, saying: that they had geven the Greecians a tast of the sweete drinke of libertie, and that afterwarde they had mingled it with vineger. For, the tast they gave the Greecians of their government from the beginning, was very sharpe unto them: bicause Lysander tooke the rule and authority of government out of the peoples handes, and gave it unto a fewe of the boldest, and most seditious men in every citie. Thus having spent a great time in this voyage, to make these alterations: he sent newes before to Lacedæmon, that he was comming with two hundred saile. He spake also with the kinges Agis and Pausanias, in the contry of Attica, perswading him selfe that he should winne the city of Athens at the first assault. But when he saw his expectation failed, and that the Athenians did valliantly resist him: he returned once againe with his fleete into Asia, where he made an end of chaunging and altering the maner of government through every city in equall maner, stablishing a counsell of tenne officers only in every one of them, and putting every where many citizens to death, and banishing many also. Among others, he drave all the Samians out of their contry, and restored againe all them that had bene banished before: and the city of Sestos also, being yet in the Athenians handes, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not suffer the naturall Sestians to dwell there, but drave them away, and gave their citie, their houses, and landes, unto shippe maisters, officers of gallies, and galley slaves, that had bene in the warres with him. But therein the Lacedæmonians were against him, and

Lysanders
cruelty.

Theopompus
the Comicall
Poets sayinge
of the Lacedæmonians.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

this was the first thing that they did forbid him : for they restored the Sestians, against his will, unto their landes and goodes againe. But as the Grecians were very much offended, to see the partes Lysander played : so were they all very glad againe, to see these others which he afterwarde did. For he restored the Æginetes againe to their landes and houses, who had bene put from them a long time. He restored also the Melians, and the Scionæians to their landes againe, which the Athenians had gotten from them, and drave out the Athenians. Furthermore, Lysander being advertised, that the citizens and inhabitantes of Athens were pinched sore for lacke of vittells, he returned againe, and came into the haven of Piræa : by meanes whereof he kept the citie so straight, that he made them yeelde uppon such condicions as he him selfe would. Howbeit there are certaine Lacedæmonians that say, Lysander wrote unto the Ephores : The city of Athens is taken. And that the Ephori wrote againe unto him : It is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale devised to make the matter seeme better: for in deede the capitulacions which the Ephori sent unto him, were these. The Lordes of the counsell of Lacedæmon have thus decreed : that ye doe rase the fortification of the haven of Piræa. That ye do overthrow also the long wall that joyneth the haven to the citie. That ye yeelde up and redeliver all the cities which ye doe holde, and content your selves with your lives and contry only. This doing, ye shall have peace, so that ye performe our demaundes. That ye shall receive those which are banished : and for the number of shippes, ye shall dispose of them as we shall will you. The Athenians agreed unto the articles contained in that bill, following the counsell of Theramenes, the sonne of Agnon. Who when a young orator called Cleomenes, did openly aske him in anger, if he were so bold to dare to doe, or say, any thing contrary unto that, which Themistocles had done before time, to assent unto the Lacedæmonians, that the walle which he built in despite of them, should by their commaundement now be rased : he aunswered him openly againe, Young man, my frend, I doe nothing contrary to Themistocles doinges. For like as he heretofore did build

LYSANDER

The Athenians yeelde up Athens to Lysander.

The maner of peace offered by the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER the walle, for the safety and benefit of all the citizens and
A notable saying for the walls of cities. people that were in Athens at that time: even so doe we that
are here nowe, for the selfe same cause plucke it downe and
rase it. And if it be true that walles doe make cities happy,
then it must needes follow that the city of Sparta which
never had any walles, should be the unfortunatest of all
other. So Lysander having received all the Athenians
shippes but twelve, and the walles of the city also to use
them at his pleasure: on the sixteenth day of March (on
which day in olde time the Athenians had wonne the battell
by sea, within the straight of Salamina, against the king of
Persia) he counselled them straight to chaunge the forme
of their government. The people could not brooke that
motion, and were marvelously offended withall. Where-
uppon Lysander sent to declare unto them, that they had
broken the articles of the peace made betwene them, for that
their walles were yet standing, the tenne dayes being expired
in which they had promised to overthrowe them: and there-
fore that he would once againe referre it to the determination
of the counsell, howe they should be used, that had broken
the articles and covenants of the first peace. Other say,
that immediatly he referred it unto the deliberacion of the
counsell of their confederates, that is to say: whether they
should altogether destroy the city, and make the inhabitantes
thereof, slaves, and bondmen or no. In this counsell, it is
reported that there was a Theban called Erianthus, whose
opinion was, that they should utterly rase the city, and
make the contry a desert: so that it should never after
serve for other thing, but for pasturage of beastes. But
during this dyet and counsell, there was a banket made,
whereunto all the Captaines and chiefe officers of the army
being bidden, there was a Phocian, a singer of songes, that
sang the entry of the Chorus to the tragedy of *Electra*, made
by the Poet Euripides, which beganne in this sorte :

Erianthus
cruell advise
against the
Athenians.

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king :
Even Agamemnon, king of Greece, whose fame so wide did ring.
I come now to your courtes, which lye both wide and wast :
By spoyle of warres depopulate, destroyed, and disgrast.

These words moved all the hearers with compassion, so
242

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that the most parte of them thought it were too great a sinne to destroy so noble a city, which brought forth so many famous wise men, and great persones. Wherefore Lysander, when the Athenians had submitted them selves altogether to his will, caused all the women players of pipes or shalmes to come out of the city, and gathered all those together which he had in his owne campe also, and with the sound of their instruments he made the walles and fortifications of the city of Athens to be pulled downe to the very ground, and set all their gallies on fire, and burnt them in the presence of the confederates of the Lacedæmonians, who daunced and played in the meane season with garlandes of flowers on their heades, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediatly after he chaunged also the state of the government, establishing a counsell of thirty Magistrates in the city, and other tenne also in the haven of Piræa, having all equall and like authority: and therewithall made Callibius a gentleman of Sparta Captaine of the castell there, and left a good garrison of the Lacedæmonians with him. This Callibius one day lift up his staffe he had in his hande to strike Autolycus withall, a strong made man to wrestle: whereuppon Xenophon the Philosopher made his booke in olde time, called *Convivium*. But Autolycus that was a cunning wrestler, having all the sleights of wrestling, sodainly tripped Callibius with his legge, and lifting him up at the armes ende, cast him to the ground. Howbeit Lysander was not angry with Autolycus for it, but reprovved Callibius, telling him that he should have remembred (if he had bene wise) that he had the government over free men, and not of bonde men. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty governors of the city, to satisfie Callibius, put this Autolycus to death. When Lysander had done all these things, he tooke sea againe, and went into the contry of Thracia, and sent by Gylippus before unto Sparta (who had bene Captaine and generall of the Syracusans in Sicilia) all the golde and silver that was left in his handes, with all the presentes besides which had bene privately geven him, and with the crownes also that had bene presented him: which were marvelous in

LYSANDER
The sweete musicke softened their cruell hearts, and moved them to pity.

Lysander overthrew the walles of the city of Athens.

Callibius Captaine of the Castell of Athens.

Autolycus a cunninge wrestler.

Autolycus put to death.

Lysander sent money to Sparta by Gylippus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER number as it is to be thought, for that many came to present him, considering the great power he had, and that in maner he was chiefe and sole prince of all Greece. This Gylippus did rippe the seames of every bagge in the bottome where the money was, and tooke a good summe out of every of them: and afterwarde sowed them up againe, not thinking that there had bene a border uppon every bagge, upon the which was declared, the number and kindes of gold and silver that were therein. Now when he was come to Sparta, he hid the money he had stolen, under the house eavinges, and went and delivered the bagges he had brought, into the handes of the Ephori, shewing them Lysanders seale, which he had set to every one of them. The Ephori having opened the bagges, and told the money, found that the summe agreed not with the borders of the contentes: and yet coule not tell where the fault was. But a servaunt of Gylippus told them in darke wordes, saying: that under the tyles of his masters house there lay a great number of owles. Nowe the greatest parte of the coyne of golde and silver which was currant through Greece, was stamped with the marke of an owle, by reason of the Athenians. Thus Gylippus after so many noble exploitcs done in warres, committing so shameful and vile a dede, was banished out of his contry of Lacedæmonia. But the wisest men of Sparta, and of deepest judgement, fearing the power of golde and silver, and seeing by proove of Gylippus doinges, that it had such power to make one of their chieftest men to fall through covetousnes: they greatly blamed Lysander for bringing of it into Lacedæmon, beseeching the Ephori that they would send all this golde and silver out of Sparta, as a plague, provocation, and wicked baite, to make them do evill: declaring unto them, that they should use no other money, but their owne only. Whereupon they referred all, to the wisdom and determination of the counsell. Theopompus wryteth, that Sciraphidas was he that did move the counsel of the Ephori in it. Howbeit Ephorus calleth him Phlogidas, who was the first that spake against it in the counsell, that they should not admit, nor receive into the city of Sparta, any

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

money of golde or silver: but should onely content them selves with their owne contry iron coyne, the which first of all, comming from the fire redde hotte, was quenched with vineger, to thend they should be forged no more, nor employed unto any other use. For it was so eager and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they coulede no more convert it to any other purpose: and beside, it was very heaive and unhandsome to remove, considering that a great heape and quantitie of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did use of olde time, certaine litle iron money, and in some places copper money, called Obelisci, from whence the small peeces of money now extant are called Oboli, whereof six make a Drachma, so termed, for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neverthelesse, at the earnest sute of Lysanders frendes that stooede against it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the counsell, that the money should remaine in the city, and ordained that it should be currant onely but for thaffayres of the common wealth. And if it were found, that any private man did either locke up, or kepe any money, that he should suffer death for it: as if Lycurgus when he made his lawes feared gold and silver, and not the covetousnes and avarice which the golde and silver bringeth with it. The which was not taken away so much, prohibiting private men to have it: as it was ingendred only by a common tolleracion of getting it. For, the profit which they sawe it brought withall, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was unpossible they should despise a thing privately for unprofitable, which they saw reckened of commonly, as a thing very necessary: and that they should thinke it would not serve their turne privately, seeing it so commonly esteemed and desired. But we are rather to thinke, that private mens manners are conformed according to the common uses and customes of cities: then that the faultes and vices of private men doe fill cities and common weales with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the partes are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill: then that the partes corrupted should drawe the whole unto corruption. For to the contrary, the faultes of a parte destroyed, which might be

LYSANDER
The iron
money of
Lacedæmonia

At what time
the Lacedæ-
monians re-
ceived gold
and silver
again.

The ill life of
the Magis-
trate, the
cause of dis-
order in a
common
weale.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER prejudicial unto the whole, are oftentimes redressed and corrected by thother partes, whole and entier. But they that tooke this resolucion in their counsell at that time, to have money in the common wealth: made feare of punishment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houses, to keepe that no money should come in to them. But all this while they made no inwarde provision, to keepe the entry of their soules from all passion and greedy desires of money: but to the contrary, they made them all to have a covetous desire to be rich, as if it were a great and honorable thing. But for that we have hertofore in other places reproved the Lacedæmonians. And moreover Lysander caused a statue of brasse to be made like him selfe of the spoile he had gotten of the enemies, to set it up in the citie of Delphes, and for every private Captaine of the gallies in like case: and the two starres of Castor and Pollux in golde besides, which vanished away a litle before the battell of Leuctres, and no man knewe what became of them. Againe, in the chamber of the treasury of Brasidas, and of the Acanthians, there was also a galley made of gold and ivory, of two cubittes long, which Cyrus sent unto him after the victory he had wonne by sea, of the Athenians. And furthermore, Alexandrides the historiographer borne at Delphes, wryteth, that the selfe same Lysander had left there to be kept safe, a tallent of silver, two and fifty Minas, and eleven peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other historiographers write, agreeing of his poverty. But Lysander being aloft then, and of greater power then ever any Greecian was before him: carried a greater porte and countenance then became his ability. For, as Duris writeth, he was the first of the Greecians unto whome they did ever erect any aulters, and offer sacrifice unto as a god, and in honor of whom they did first sing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memory of one which beganne in this maner:

A galley of
gold and
Ivory.

Lysanders
honors and
pride.

The noble Captaines praise, we meane to celebrate,
Of Greece: that land which is devine, in every kinde of state.
Even he, which was both borne, and brought to high renowne.
Within the noble wealthie walles, of Sparta stately towne.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

The Samians by publicke decree ordained, that the feastes of Iuno, which were called in their city Herœa, should be called Lysandria. Lysander had ever one Chœrilus, a Spartan Poet about him, to wryte and set forth all his doinges in verse. An other Poet called Antilocus, one day made certaine verses in his praise: which pleased him so well, that he gave him his hatte full of silver. There were two other Poets, Antimachus Colophonian, and Niceratus borne at Heraclea, which did both wryte verses to honor him, striving whether of them should do best. Lysander judged the crowne and victory, unto Niceratus: wherewith Antimachus was so angry, that he rased out all that he had written of him. But Plato who at that time was young, and loved Antimachus bicause he was an excellent Poet, did comforte him, and tolde him that ignoraunce did blinde the understanding of the ignoraunt, as blindenes doth the sight of the blinde. Aristonous an excellent player of the citerne, and one that had six times wonne the prises of the Pythian games: to winne Lysanders favor, promised him, that if ever he wanne the prise of his arte againe, he would cause him selfe to be proclaimed Lysanders slave. This ambition of Lysander was very odious and grievous, only unto great persones, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in thende he became very prowde and cruel, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompencing his frendes, as also in punishinge of his enemies. For, to gratifie his frendes and familiars, he gave them absolute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibilitie of pardon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the city of Miletum, where, fearing least they would flie that tooke parte with the people, and bicause he would have them appeare that hid them selves: he gave his word, and sware that he would doe them no hurt at all. The poore men gave credit to his worde. But so soone as they came out, and did appeare, he delivered them all into the handes of their adversaries, (which were the chiefest of the nobility) to put them all to death: and they were no lesse then eight

LYSANDER

Platoes saying of the ignorant.

Ignoraunce compared with blindenes.

Lysanders ambition, pride, and cruelty.

Lysander brake his word and othe, and procured the death of eight hundred people.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER hundred men one with an other. He caused great murders of people to also be done in other cities: for he did not only put them to death that had privatly offended him, but numbers besides, onely to satisfie and revenge the private quarrells, enmities and covetousnes of his frendes, whom he had in every place. And therefore was Eteocles Lacedæmonian greatly commended for his saying: that Greece could not abide two Lysanders. Theophrastus wryteth also, that the very like was spoken of Alcibiades by Arcestratus. Howbeit in Alcibiades there was nothing, but his insolency, and vaine glory that men misliked: but in Lysander, a severe nature, and sharpe condicions, that made his power fearfull and intollerable. Neverthelesse, the Lacedæmonians passed over all other complaintes exhibited against him: saving when they heard the complaints of Pharnabazus, who purposely sent Ambassadors unto them, to complaine of the wrongs and injuries Lysander had done him, spoyling and destroying the contry under his government. Then the Ephori being offended with him, clapped up Thorax in prison, one of his frendes and Captaines that had served under him: and finding that he had both gold and silver in his house contrary to the law, put him to death. And to him selfe they sent immediatly that which they call Scytala, (as who would say, the scrolle wrytten upon a rounde staffe) commaunding him that he should retorne immediatly upon receite thereof. The Scytala is in this sorte: When the Ephori doe sende a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cause two litle rounde staves to be made of the like bignes and length, of which the Ephori doe keepe the tone, and thother they geve to him whome they sende to the warres. These two litle staves they call Scytales. Nowe when they will advertise their Generall secretly of matters of importaunce, they take a scrolle of parchment, long and narrowe like a leather thonge, and wreath it about the round staffe, leavinge no voyde space betwene the knottes of the scrowle. Afterwardes when they have bound them fast together, then they wryte uppon the parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they have done wryting, unfolde it, and sende it to their Generall, who can not else

Eteocles
wordes of
Lysander.

Thorax put
to death for
offending
the law.

The Laconian
Scytala what
maner thing
it is, and how
used.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

possibly read it to know what is written, (bicause the letters are not joined together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there) untill he take his litle rowle of wodde which was geven him at his departure. And then wreathing the scrowle of parchment about it which he receaveth, the folding and wreathes of the parchment falling just into the selfe same place as they were first folded: the letters also come to joyne one with an other, as they ought to doe. This litle scrowle of parchment also is called as the rowle of wodde, Scytala: even as we commonly see in many places that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchment scrowle was brought unto Lysander, who was then in the contrie of Hellespont, he was marvelously troubled withall, fearing above all other thinges the accusations of Pharnabazus: so he sought meanes to speake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, Lysander prayed him he would write an other letter unto the Lordes of Sparta, contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a Cretan, (as the common proverbe sayeth) that could deceave an other Cretan. For Pharnabazus having promised him that he would performe his desire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of Lysanders request: but behinde he had an other of contrary effect, so like on the out side unto the other, that by sight no man could discerne thone from the other. And when he came to put his seale, he chaunged the first with the last that was hidden, and gave it him. When Lysander came unto Sparta, he went as the maner is, straight to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gave his letters unto the Ephores, thinking that by them he should have bene cleared from all daunger of the greatest accusations they could have burdened him withall: bicause that Pharnabazus was very well thought of of the Lords of Lacedæmonia, for that he did ever shew him selfe willing and ready to helpe them in all their warres, more then any other of the kinges Lieutenauntes of Persia. The Ephori having red this letter, they shewed

LYSANDER

Lysander
carieth letters
against him
selfe.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER it unto him. Then did Lysander plainly see, that the common proverb was true :

That Ulysses was not subtile alone.

Lysander
goeth to
Iupiter
Ammon.

Thereupon he went home to his house marvelously troubled. But within few dayes after returning to the pallace againe to speake with the Lords of the counsell, he told them that he must needes make a voyage unto the temple of Iupiter Ammon, to discharge certaine sacrifices which he had vowed and promised to him before he had wonne the battells. Some say, that in deede Iupiter Ammon appeared to him in a dreame as he did besiege the city of the Aphygæians, in the contry of Thracia, and that by his commaundement he raised the siege, and charged them of the city, that they should thanke Iupiter Ammon, and doe sacrifice unto him : by reason whereof, they thinke that he ment good faith, when he sued for licence to make this voyage into Libya, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the most parte did certainly beleve that he made sute to goe this journey, for a cloke and colour only to absent him selfe, bicause he feared the Ephores, and that he coule not endure the yoke and subjection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commaunded. And this was the true cause of his sute to goe this voyage, much like unto a horse taken out of a freshe pasture and goodly meadowes, to bring him into a stable, and make him to be journeyed as he was before. Nevertheless, Ephorus writeth an other cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, Lysander having hardly obtained licence, tooke shippe, and crossed saile. But during his absence, the kinges of Lacedæmon remembring that he kept all the cities at his commaundement, by meanes of the frendes he had in every city, whom he had made chiefe governors of the same, and that by their meanes he came in maner to be absolute prince over all Greece : they tooke upon them to redeliver the government of the townes and cities againe into the handes of the people, and also to put downe his frendes whome he had stablished there. And hereupon fell out great insurrection againe. For first of all,

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

they that were banished from Athens, having surprised and taken the castell of Phyla upon the sodaine, did set upon the thirty governors tyrans (whom Lysander had placed there) and overcame them in battell. Whereupon Lysander straight returned to Sparta, and perswaded the Lacedæmonians to referre the government to the number of a few, and to punish the insolency of the people. So by his procurement, they sent first a hundred tallents unto the thirty tyrans for an aide to maintaine this warre, and appointed Lysander him selfe generall. But the two kinges of Sparta envying him, and fearing least he should take the city of Athens againe: they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon Pausanias went thither immediatly, who in apparaunce seemed to maintaine the tyrannes against the people: but in effect, he did his indevor to appease this warre, for feare least Lysander by meanes of his frends and followers should once againe come to have the city of Athens in his power, the which he might easily doe. And thus having agreed the Athenians againe one with an other, and pacified all faction and commocion among them, he pluckt up the roote of Lysanders ambition. But shortly after, the Athenians rebelling againe against the Lacedæmonians, Pausanias him selfe was reprovved, bicause he yelded so much to the boldnes and insolency of the people, which were brided and restrained before, by the authority of the small number of governors: and to the contrary, they gave Lysander the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens mindes and to content them, neither with fond ostentation of glory, but severely, for the profit and commodity of Sparta. It is true he would geve great wordes, and was terrible to them that resisted him. As he aunswered the Argives one day, who contended for their confines with the Lacedæmonians, and seemed to alleage the best reasons. Even they (sayd he) that shall prove the stronger hereby, shewing them his sword: shalbe they that shal pleade their cause best for their confines. An other time, when a Megarian had tolde his minde boldly enough in open counsell, he aunswered him: Thy wordes (good frend) had neede of a city, meaning therby that he was of too meane a towne

LYSANDER

King Pausanias reconciled the Athenians with the Spartans.

Lysanders terrible words.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER to use so great words. And to the Bœotians also, who were in dout to professe them selves frends or enemies: he sent unto them, to know if he should passe through the contry with his pykes upwardes or downewardes. And when the Corinthians also were revolted from their allyance, he brought his army harde unto their walles: but when he sawe his men were afrayed, and made cursey whether they should goe to the assault or not: by chaunce spying a hare comming out of the towne ditches, he sayd unto them: Are ye not ashamed to be afrayed to goe and assault your enemies that are so cowardly and slothfull, as hares doe keepe their formes at ease within the circuite of their walles?

The death of
king Agis.

Lysander de-
priveth Leoty-
chides of his
kingedome.

Now king Agis being deceased, he left behinde him his brother Agesilaus, and his supposed sonne Leotychides. Wherefore, Lysander that had loved Agesilaus aforetime, gave him counsell to stande for the right of the crowne, as lawfull heire and next of the blood, discending of the race of Hercules: bicause it was suspected that Leotychides was Alcibiades sonne, who secretly had kept Timæa Agis wife, at what time he was banished out of his contry, and came then to remaine in Sparta. And Agis selfe also, concluding by reckening of the time of his absence, that his wife coulede not be with childe by him: made reckening of Leotychides, (and had openly shewed it all the rest of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his sonne, untill such time as falling sicke of that disease whereof he died, he was caried to the city of Heræa. And there lying in his death bed, at the humble sute of Leotychides him selfe, and partely at the instant request of his frendes who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge Leotychides for his sonne in the presence of divers, whome he prayed to be witnesses unto the Lordes of Lacedæmon, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his sonne. Which they all did in favor of Leotychides. For all that, Agesilaus tooke it upon him, by the support and maintenaunce of Lysanders favor. Howebeit, Diopithes a wise man, and knowen to be skilfull in auncient prophecies, did great hurt to Agesilaus side, by an auncient oracle which he alleaged against a defect Agesilaus had, which was his lamenes:

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

O Spartan people you, which beare high hawty hartes,
And looke a loft: take heede I say, looke well unto your martes :
Least whiles you stande upright, and guide your state by grace,
Some halting kingdom privily, come creeping in a pace.
By that meanes might you move, great troubles, carke and care,
And mischiefes heape upon your head, before you be aware.
And plonged should you be, even over head and eares,
With wast of warres, which here on earth doth perish many peares.

LYSANDER

Many by occasion of this oracle, fell to take Leotychides parte : but Lysander declared unto them, that Diopithes did not conster the meaning of the oracle well. For God, sayed he, cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that should come to be king of Lacedæmon : but in deede, the crowne and kingdome should halte and be lame, if bastardes not lawfully begotten, should come to raigne over the true naturall issue and right line of Hercules. By these perswasions, Lysander with his great countenance and authority besides, wanne all men to his opinion : so that Agesilaus by this meanes was proclaimed king of Lacedæmon. This done, Lysander beganne straight to counsell him to make warres in Asia, putting him in hope that he should destroy the kingdome of Persia, and should come to be the greatest man of the world. Moreover, he wrote unto his frendes in the cities of Asia, that they should send unto the Lacedæmonians to require king Agesilaus for their generall, to make warres against the barbarous people. Which they did, and sent Ambassadors purposely unto Sparta to sue that they might have him : the which was no lesse honor procured unto Agesilaus by Lysanders meanes, then that he did, in making him to be chosen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwise not unapt nor unfit to commaunde, have this imperfection : that through the jealousy of glory, they doe commonlie envie their equalles, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable thinges. For they take them for their enemies, envying their vertue : whose service and meanes might helpe them to doe great matters. Thus Agesilaus being chosen generall of this enterprise, tooke Lysander with him in this jorney, amongst the thirty counsellors which were geven unto him to assist him : and made speciall choyce of him, as by whose

Through
Lysanders
working,
Agesilaus was
made king.

Ambition
abideth no
equalles.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER counsell he hoped most to be governed, and to have him nearest about him, as his chieft frende. But when they were arrived in Asia, they of the contry having no acquaintance with Agesilaus, seldome spake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, having knowen Lysander of long time, they followed him, and waited uppon him to his tent or lodging, some to honor him, bicause they were his frendes, others for feare, bicause they did mistrust him. Even much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that shall play the person of some messenger or servaunt, shalbe the best player, and shall have the best voyce to be heard above all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royall bande about his heade, and the scepter in his hande, a man doth scant heare him speake. Even so fell it out then: for all the dignitie due unto him that commaundeth all, was shewed only unto the counseller: and there remained to the king no more, but the royall name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinkes that this indiscreete and importunate ambition of Lysander, did well deserve reproofe perhappes, to make him only to be contented with the second place of honor next unto the king. But for Agesilaus againe, through extreame covetousnes and jealousy of glory, to cast Lysander altogether of, and to set so light by his frende and benefactor, that surely became not him neither. For first of all, Agesilaus never gave Lysander occasion to doe any thinge, neither did commit any matter of weight unto him, that might be honorable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceived that he had taken any mens causes in hand, and that he did favor them, he did alwayes sende them backe againe into their contry, denying their sute, without that they coulde obtaine any thing they sued for, lesse then the meanest persones that could have come, extinguishing Lysanders credit by litle, and litle, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, Lysander perceiving howe he was thus refused and rejected in all thinges, seing that the countenance and favor which he thought to shew unto his frendes, fell out hurtfull unto them: left of to sollicite their matters any more, and prayed

Agesilaus
privie grudge
to Lysander.

Lysanders
wisedome.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

them to forbear to come unto him, or to followe him, but to go to the king, and unto those that could doe them better pleasure then him selfe, and specially those that honored them. When they heard that, many desisted to trouble him any more in matters of importaunce, but not to doe him all the honor they could, and continued still to accompanie him, when he went out to walke, or otherwise to exercise him selfe: the which did aggravate and increase Agesilaus anger more against him, for the envy he bare unto his glory. And where he gave very honorable charge and commission in the warres, oftentimes unto very meane souldiers to execute, or cities to governe: he appointed Lysander surveyor generall of all the ordinary provision of vittells, and distributer of flesh. And then mocking the Ionians that did honor him so much: Let them go now, sayd he, and honor my flesh distributer. Wherefore, Lysander seeing it high time to speake: went unto Agesilaus, and tolde him in few wordes after the Laconian manner: Truly Agesilaus, thou hast learned well to abase thy frendes. In deede sayed he againe, so have I, when they wilbe greater then my selfe: and to the contrary, they that maintaine and increase my honor and authority, it is reason that I esteeme of them. Yea mary, sayd Lysander, but perhappes I have not done as thou sayst. Yet I pray thee geve me such an office, as I may be least hated, and most profitable for thee: though it be but in respect of straungers eyes that looke upon us both. After this talke betwene them, Agesilaus sent him his Lieutenaunt into the contry of Hellespont, where Lysander still kept this anger secret in his hart against him, but for all that, did not leave to doe all that he could for the benefit of his masters affaires. As amongst many other things, he caused a Persian Captaine called Spithridates to rebell against his master, who was a valliant man of his hands, and a great enemy of Pharnabazus, and had an army also which he brought with him unto Agesilaus. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that jorney. Wherefore, he returned againe to Sparta not long after, with litle honor, being marvelously grieved and offended with Agesilaus, and hating more then

LYSANDER

Lysander
surveieur of
the vittells.

Lysanders
talke with
king Agesi-
laus, after
the Laconian
maner of
speaking.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER before, all the state and government of the citie of Sparta. by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time thought uppon, concerninge the alteration of government, and his enterprise was this. Amongst the ofspring and issue of Hercules, who were mingled with the Dorians, and returned againe into the contrie of Peloponnesus, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelled in the city of Sparta: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the crowne, saving two families only, the Eurytionides, and the Agiades. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood descended out of one selfe house, yet had they no more right nor interest unto the realme, then the residue of the people: for, the dignities that were attained unto by vertue, were given unto the inhabitauntes that could deserve them. Lysander then being one of those which was disceded of the true race of Hercules, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crowne: when he saw him selfe aloft, and called to great honor through his famous actes and merites, and that he had wonne many frendes, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the state: it grieved him much, to see that they which were no nobler then him selfe, should be kinges in that city, which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not have so much power as to take from these two houses, the Eurytionides, and the Agiades, the prerogative that the kinges should be chosen onely out of one of those two houses, and to cast it upon the ofspring of Hercules. Some say againe, that he would not only have enlarged that prerogative unto the issue of Hercules, but unto all the naturall Spartans also: bicause that Hercules race should not only desire this reward of honor, but even they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equal with the gods in honor. For he doubted not, but if they would dispose the crowne in this sorte, that there was no man in the city of Sparta that should sooner be chosen king then him selfe: wherupon he attempted first to perswade his citizens by very good reasons, and to bring this about the better, he conned an oration without booke, penned by Cleon Halicarnasseus, made him for this purpose. But

Lysander
seeketh in-
novation in
the state of
Sparta.

The Families
of the kinges
of Lacedæ-
mon.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

afterwardes weying with him selfe, that so great and straunge a change as he would bring in, had neede of some better and stronger helpe: he beganne to frame a devise as they say, to move the people by, much after the manner they use in tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come downe from heaven unto them, and this was his fained invention. He devised certaine oracles and prophecies, thinking that all Cleons rethoricke would stand him in no steade, if first of all he did not fill the citizens hartes with some supersticion and feare of the goddes, that he might bring them afterwardes more easily unto reason. And Ephorus sayeth, that he proved first to corrupt the Nunne with money, that geveth all the oracles and aunswers in the temple of Apollo at Delphes: and that afterwardes, he woulde have wonne the Nunne also of the temple of Dodone with money, by Pherecles practise. And that he being rejected by them both, went lastly unto the temple of Iupiter Ammon: and that there he spake unto the priestes, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with Lysander, that they sent men of purpose to Sparta, to accuse him, that he would have corrupted them with money. The counsell clearing Lysander of this accusation, the Libyans his accusers at their departing sayd: We will one day judge more justly, then you my Lordes of Lacedæmon have done now, when you shall come to dwell in our contry of Libya: supposing there was an auncient prophecy that sayd, the Lacedæmonians one day should come to dwell in the contry of Libya. But we shall doe better to wryte the whole story at large of this practise, suttelty, and malicious devise, which was no matter of small importaunce, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall proposition there were many great conjectures and presuppositions, and many long circumstances to bring it to conclusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, delivering that which an historiographer and philosopher both hath wrytten. There was in the marches of the realme of Pont, a woman that sayed she was gotten with childe by Apollo, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not beleve at all, and many also did beleve it: so that she beinge

LYSANDER

Lysander deviseth false oracles, and corrupteth soothsayers with money.

Lysanders fained devise to possesse the kingdome.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER delivered of a goodly sonne, diverse noble men and of great estate were carefull to bring him up, and to have him taught. This childe, I know not whereuppon, nor how, was named Silenus: and Lysander fetchinge the plat of his devise from thence, added to all the rest of him selfe, to goe on with his practise. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this jeast, geving out a rumor of the birth of this childe, without any suspicion gathered out of the intent of this rumor. And furthermore, they brought other newes from Delphes, which they dispersed abroad through the city of Sparta, to wit: that the priestes of the temple kept secret bookes of very auncient oracles, which they them selves durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, onlesse he were begotten of the seede of Apollo, who shoulde come after a long time, and make his birth appeare unto the priestes that kept these papers, and that by some secret marke and token, which they had amongst them: and thereby being knowen for Apolloes sonne, he might then take the bookes, and read the auncient revelacions and prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this sorte, there was order taken that Silenus should come and aske for these bookes as though he were the sonne of Apollo: and that the priestes which were privy to this practise, should make as though they did diligently examine him of every thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliver these prophecies unto him, as if he had bene in deede Apolloes sonne: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the prophecies, that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of Lacedæmonia: that it was better, and meetelier for the Spartans they should choose them for their kinges, whome they found the meetest men of all their magistrates. But when Silenus was come of full age, and brought into Greece of purpose to performe this practise, all the mistery was marde by the fainte heart of one of the players and companions of Lysander, who holpe him to countenance this devise: who when the matter should have

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

taken effect, shroncke for feare, and let the misterie alone. **LYSANDER**
This notwithstanding, nothing was bewrayed in Lysanders life time, till after his death. For he dyed, before king Agesilaus returned out of Asia, being fallen into warres with Bœotia before his death, or rather having him selfe made Greece to fall into warres. They doe reporte it either way, and some lay the fault upon him, other upon the Thebans, and other upon them both: and they burden the Thebans withall, because they did utterly overthrowe the common sacrifices which Agesilaus made in the city of Aulide. And they say also, that Androclides and Amphitheus did raise this warre among the Grecians, being before corrupted with money by the king of Persia to bring warres upon the Lacedæmonians in Greece: and beganne to invade and destroy the contry of the Phocians. Other say that Lysander was very angry with the Thebans, because they onely of all other their confederates did aske the tenth parte of all the spoyle which was wonne in the warre against the Athenians: and that they were not pleased that Lysander had sent the money away unto Sparta. But above all Lysander did malice them most, because they were the first that made way for the Athenians to be delivered from thoppression of thirty tyrannes, whom he had stablished governors in Athens, and in whose favor (to make them to be dreaded the more) the Lacedæmonians had ordained by a common edict: that they that were banished and did flee from Athens, might lawefully be taken and apprehended in what place soever they fled unto, and that whosoever should resist or let them to do it, they should be proclaimed rebels, and open enemies unto the Lacedæmonians. Againe to contrary this edict, the Thebans made an other very like, and meete for the glorious dedes of Bacchus and Hercules their auncestors, for whom it was made: that every house and city through the contry of Bœotia, should be open for the Athenians that would come thither, and that he that would not helpe a banished man from Athens, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And also if there were any souldiers that went unto Athens, through the contrie of Bœotia, that the Thebans should not see nor heare it. This was no

The warres
of Bœotia.

Divers causes
surmised of
the beginning
of these wars.

An edict
against the
banished men
from Athens.

An edict
made by the
Thebans in
favor of the
banished men.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER dissimulation to speake of, that they should ordaine thinges with so gentle wordes, and so meete for the people of Greece, and then that the dedes should not aunswer unto their edicts and proclamations. For Thrasybulus, and his fellowes of the conspiracie, who kept the castell of Phyla, they departed from Thebes, with armor and money, and the Thebans did helpe them to beginne and practise their enterprise so secretly, that it was not discovered. These were the causes why Lysander was so earnestly bent against the Thebans, and his choller being so extreame, by reason of his melancholines that grewe dayly upon him more and more through his age, he solicited the Ephores so, that he perswaded them to sende a garrison thither: and him selfe taking the charge of them, undertooke the journey straight with his men. But afterwardes they sent kinge Pausanias also with an army thither, who was to fetch a great compass about to enter into the contrie of Bœotia, by mount Cithæron: and Lysander shoulde goe to meete him through the contry of Phocides, with a great company of souldiers besides. Now as Lysander went, he tooke the city of the Orchomenians, who willingly yeelded them selves to him as soone as he came thither. From thence he went to the city of Lebadia, which he spoyled: and from thence he wrote unto king Pausanias, that departing from Platees, he should march directly to the city of Aliarte, where he would not faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne walles. These letters were intercepted by certaine skowtes of the Thebans, who met with the messenger that caried them. Thus the Thebans having intelligence of their purpose, left their citie in custodie unto the Athenians who were come to aide them: and departed out of Thebes about midnight, and marched all night with great speede, that they came to Aliarte in the morning a litle before Lysander, and put halfe their men into the citie. Now for Lysander, he was determined at the first to keepe his men upon a hill which is nere to the city, and there to tary the comming of king Pausanias. But afterwards, when he sawe that the day was farre spent, and that he came not, he could tary no lenger, but arming him selfe, after he had made an oration unto the confederates which

Lysanders
journey unto
Bœotia.

Cithæron
mons.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went unto the city. In the meane season, the Thebans that were left without the city, leaving Aliarte on the left hande, did set uppon Lysanders rerewarde of his army against the fountaine called Cissusa: where the Poets faine that the nurses of Bacchus did washe him, when he came out of his mothers wombe, bicause the water that commeth out of it (though it be very clere and sweete to drinke) hath notwithstanding (I can not tell by what meanes) a collour like wine: and not farre from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the Aliartians do alleage, to prove that Radamanthus heretofore dwelt in that parte, and doe shew his sepulchre there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that also, there is the monument of Alcmena, which was buried (as they say) in that place, and was married to Radamanthus, after the death of Amphitryon. But the Thebans who were within the city with the Aliartians, stirred not untill they sawe that Lysander with the first of his troupe was neere unto the towne walles: and then opening the gates on the sodaine, they made a salie out upon Lysander, and slue him with his soothsaier and a few other, bicause the most part of the voward fled, into the strength of the battel. Howbeit the Thebans gave them not over so, but followed them so valiantly, that they brake their order, and made them all flie through the mountaines, after they had slaine three thousand of them in the field: so were there three hundred Thebans also slaine there, who followed their enemies so fiercely, till they recovered straight narrow waies, of great strength for them. These three hundred were in maner all those that were suspected in Thebes to favor the Lacedæmonians secretly: wherfore, for the desire they had to take away this opinion from their citzens, they hazarded themselves to no purpose, and were cast away in this chase. King Pausanias heard newes of this overthrow, going from Platees unto Thespies, and went on further, marching still in battel ray towards Aliarte, where Thrasybulus also arrived at the selfe same time, bringing the aide of the Athenians from Thebes. And when Pausanias was purposed to send to aske

LYSANDER

Cissusa fons.

Lysander
slaine by the
Thebans.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER licence of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had slaine, to thintent to bury them: the olde Spartans that were in his army, misliking it much, at the first were angry in them selves. But afterwards they went unto the king him selfe, to tell him that he dishonored Sparta, to offer to take up Lysanders bodie by his enemies leave and favor, and that he should valliantly recover him by force of armes, and honorably burie him, after that he had overcome their enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be overthrowen, that yet it should be more honorable for them, to lye dead in the field by their Captaine, then to aske leave to take up his body. But notwithstanding all these wordes of the old men, king Pausanias seeing that it was a hard matter to overcome the Thebans in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that the body of Lysander lay hard by the walls of Aliarte, and that he could not come to take it away without great daunger, although they should win the battell: he sent a herault to the enemies. And having made truce for certaine dayes, he led his army away, and tooke up Lysanders body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confynes of Bœotia, within the territory of the Panopeians: where untill this day his tombe remaineth upon the high way, goinge from Delphes unto the city of Chæronea. Thus Pausanias campe being lodged there, it is sayd there was a Phocian, who reporting the battell unto one that was not there, sayd that the enemies came to geve a charge upon them, as Lysander had passed the Oplites. Thother wondring at that, there was a Spartan a very friend of Lysanders by, having heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? aunswered the Phocian to him againe. Even there it was where the enemies did overthrow the first of our men which were slaine in the fieldes: for the river that runneth by the walles of the city, is called Oplites. The Spartan hearing that, burst out of weeping for sorrow, saying: Then I see it is unpossible for a man to avoyde his destinie. For Lysander aforetime had an oracle that tolde him thus:

To aske leave of thenemie to burye the deade is dishonorable.

Lysanders tombe.

Oplites fl.
Destinie inevitable.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Lysander, take good heede, come not I thee advise :
 Neere Oplites that rivers banckes, in any kinde of wise,
 Nor neere the Dragon he, which is the earth her sonne,
 Who at the length will thee assault, and on thy backe will ronne.

LYSANDER

Howbeit some take it, that this river of Oplites is not that which passeth by the walles of Aliarte, but it is the river that runneth neere unto the city of Coronea, and falleth into the river of Phliarus, hard by the city : and they say that in olde time it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Isomantus. He that slue Lysander, was an Aliartian called Neochorus, who caried a Dragon painted upon his target : and this was that which the oracle of likelyhoode did signifie. They say also, that in the time of the warres of Peloponnesus, the Thebans had an oracle from the temple of Apollo Ismenias : which oracle did prophecy the battell which they wanne by the castell of Delium, and the battell of Aliarte also, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that oracle was this :

Phliarus fl.
 Hoplia,
 Isomantus.
 Neochorus
 slue Lysan-
 der.

When thou thy nets shalt spread, the wolves for to intrappe :
 Beware thou come not neere unto, a litle hill by happe,
 Of Orchalide. Nor neere, to any his confynes :
 For there, the crafty foxes keepe, their dennes and privy mines.

He calleth the territory that is about Delium, the uttermost confynes, because Bœotia doth confine there with the contry of Attica : and the hill Orchalide which is now called Alopecon (to say the foxe denne) which lieth on that side of the citie of Aliarte, that looketh towardes mounte Helicon. Lysander being slaine, the Spartans tooke his death so ill, that they would have condemned king Pausanias of treason by law : who durst not abide the tryall, but fled unto the citie of Tegea, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctuarie of the temple of Minerva. When Lysander was dead, his povertie appeared to the world which made his vertue farre more famous, than when he lived. For then they sawe, that for all the gold and silver which had passed through his hands, for all his great authority and countenance that he had caried, and for all that so many cities and townes did come to honor him, and briefly, for al that he had

Orchalide
 mons.
 Helicon mons.
 Pausanias
 exile.
 Lysanders
 cleane handes
 and povertie
 commended
 after his
 deathe.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER so great and puissant a kingdom in maner in his hands : yet he did never enrich nor increase his house with so much, as one farthing. So writeth Theopompus, whom we should rather beleve when he praiseth, then when he discommendeth : for commonly he taketh more delite to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortun'd not longe after, as Ephorus writeth, that the Lacedæmonians and their confederats fel at variance together, wherupon Lysanders letters were to be seene that were in his house. Kinge Agesilaus goinge thither to peruse them, amongst other writinges, founde the oration penned by Cleon Halicarnasseus which Lysander had prepared to perswade the Spartans to chaunge their government, and to declare unto them that they shoulde revoke the prerogative which the Eurytionides and the Agiades had: that the kinges of Sparta could not be chosen but out of those two families, and to leve the prerogative at liberty, that the chiefest magistrats might be lafully chosen kings of Sparta. Agesilaus stood indifferent to have shewed this oration openly to the people, that the Spartans might see what manner a citizen Lysander had bene in his harte. But Lacratidas, a grave wise man, and president at that time of the counsel of the Ephori, would not suffer him : saying, that he shoulde not digge Lysander out of his grave againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that was so passingly well, and eloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstandinge, they did him great honor after his death : and amongst others, condemned two citizens in a great summe of money, that were made sure to two of his daughters while he lived, and refused to marye them when he was dead, seeing their father dyed so poore : bicause they sought to matche in his house, supposing he had bene riche, and forsooke them afterwarde for their fathers poverty, when they saw he dyed a good and just man. Thus we see, that at Sparta there was a punishment for them that did not mary, or that maryed too late, or that married ill : and unto this punishment were they most subject, that sought great matches for covetousnes of goods. This is all we have to wryte of Lysanders life and actes.

Lysanders counsell for altering of the kingdom.

Lacratidas wisdom for-bearing to shewe extremitie to the deade. Lysander honored by the Spartans after his death.

Singlenes of life, late mariage, and ill mariage punished by the Lacedæmonians.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

THE LIFE OF SYLLA



UCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA was of the race of the Patricians, who be the noble men and gentlemen of Rome: and there was one of his auncesters called Rufinus, that obtained the dignity of Consul. He notwithstanding his Consulshippe, wanne more dishonor by defame, then he obtained honor by dignity of Consull. For they

Syllaes
kinred.

finding in his house above ten powndes worth of plate, contrary to the lawe at that time expressly forbidding it: he was expulsed the Senate, and lost his place there, after which dishonor once received, his issue never rose, nor yet recovered it. And Sylla him selfe had very litle left him by his father: so that in his youth he was faine to hyer an other mans house, and sat at a small rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they saw him richer then they thought he had deserved. For when he gloried and boasted of the victory at his returne from the warres of Africk, there was a noble man that sayd unto him: Why, how is it possible thou shouldest be an honest man, that having nothing left thee by thy father, thou arte now come to have so much? Now, though Rome had left her auncient justice and purenes of life, wherewith she brought up her people in former times, and that their hartes were poysoned with covetous desire of vaine superfluous delites: yet notwithstanding, it was as fowle a reproche to them that did not maintaine them selves in the poverty of their fathers, as unto them that did consume their patrimony, and bring all to naught which their parentes had left them. But afterwardes also when he caried the whole sway in Rome, and that he had put so many men to death: a free man being borne of the slaves infranchised, and being ready to be thrown downe the rocke Tarpeian, bicause he had saved and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be

Syllaes
honesty re-
proved, by
meanes of his
great wealth.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA put to death, wheresoever they were found : cast it in Syllaes teeth, how that they had lived and dwelt together a long time in one selfe house, he having payed thowsande Nummos for the rent of the uppermost roomes of the same house, and Sylla three thowsand for all the neathermost roomes beneath. So that betwene both their wealthes, there was but onely two thowsande and fiftie Drachmas of Athens difference. And this is that we finde in wryting of his first wealth. As for his stature and persone, that appeareth sufficiently by the statues and images that were made for him, which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull redde : and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to beholde. For he was copper nosed, and that was full of white streakes here and there : whereupon they say that the surname of a Sylla was geven him, by reason of his colour. And there was a jeaster at Athens that finely mocked him in his verse :

Syllaes
stature.

That is, because that *syl* in laten, signifieth oker, which becometh red when it is put to the fire, and therefore syllaceus color in vitruvia, signifieth purple colour.

Syllaes
skoffing.

Sylla is like a blacke Bery sprinkled with meale.

It is not amisse to search out the naturall disposition of this man by such outward markes and tokens. It is sayd also that he was so naturally geven to mocke and jeast, that being a young man unknowen, he would never be out of the company of players, fooles, and tomblers, but still eating and tippling with them in dissolute manner. And afterwarde also when he was in his chieftest authoritie, he would commonly eate and drinke with the most impudent jeasters and scoffers, and all such rakehelles, as made profession of counterfeate mirth, and would strive with the baddest of them to geve the finest mockes: wherin he did not only a thing uncomely for his yeres, and dishonored the majesty of his office and dignity, but therby also grew carelesse and negligent in matters of great importance, wherunto he should have taken good regard. For after he was once sette at his table, he was not to be moved any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very active, painefull, and severe: yet falling into such company by drinking, bowsing, and making good chere, he sodainly became an other maner of man. So that

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

without all compasse of modesty and judgement, he was too familiar and conversaunt with players, jeasters, tumblers, and dausers: who when they had him in that vaine, might doe what they would with him. Of this ryoting came (in mine opinion) his vice of letchery, whereunto he was greatly geuen, and easily drawn after love and pleasure: in such sorte, as his gray heares could not restraine his voluptuous life. His unlawfull lusting love beganne in his young yeares, with one Metrobius a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire untill his latter age. For at the first he loved Nicopolis a rich curtisan: and frequenting her company by oft accesse, and besides that he spent the prime of his beauty and youth in feasting her with great delight and passing pleasure, she afterwarde became in love with him, so that when she dyed, she made Sylla her heire of all she had. He was heire also unto his mother in lawe, who loved him as her owne begotten sonne: and by these two good happes he was stept up to pretie wealth. Afterwarde beinge chosen Quæstor (to say treasurer) the first time that Marius was Consul, he embarked with him in his journey into Africke, to warre with kinge Iugurthe. When he was arrived at the campe, he shewed him selfe a man of great service in all other things, but in this especially, that he could wisely use the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wanne Bocchus kinge of the Numidians to be his fast and faithfull frende: whose Ambassadors, that scaped from a company of Numidian theeves he curteously entertained, and having geuen them goodly presentes, sent them backe againe with a safe convoy. Now concerninge kinge Bocchus, he had of long time both hated and feared king Iugurthe his sonne in law: insomuch, that after he was overcome in battell, and came to him for succor, Bocchus practised treason against him, and for this cause sent secretly for Sylla, desiring rather that Iugurthe should be taken by Sylla, then by him selfe. Sylla brake this matter unto Marius, of whom having received a small number of souldiers to accompany him, (without respect of perill or daunger) went and committed him selfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take an other: considering also that the king whom

SYLLA

Syllaes voluptuousnes.

Sylla Quæstor.

The cause of Bocchus frendshippe unto Sylla.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

he trusted was so unjust of his word, even unto his nearest friends and confederates. Now Bocchus having Iugurthe and Sylla both in his power, and brought him selfe to that pinch that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to resolve which of the two he should deale withall, in thend went on with his first plat and devise of treason, and so delivered Iugurthe into Syllaes handes. In deede Marius triumphed for taking of king Iugurthe: but his evill willers, for the spight and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honor of Iugurthes taking wholly unto Sylla. That secretly went to Marius harte, and specially for that Sylla being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from a base, obscure, and unknowen life to be knowen and well accepted of the people in Rome, and to tast also what honor ment) became so ambitious and covetous of glory, that he caused the story to be graven in a ring, which he did ever after use to weare and seale withall. Where king Bocchus was delivering of Iugurthe unto Sylla, and Sylla also receiving Iugurthe prisoner. These thinges misliked Marius much: but notwithstanding, judging that Sylla was not so much envied as him selfe, he tooke him with him unto the warres. Marius in his seconde Consulship, made Sylla one of his Lieutenautes: and in his third Consulshippe, he had charge under him of a thowsand footemen, and did many notable and profitable employtes for him. When Sylla was his Lieutenaunt, he tooke one Copillus, a generall of the Gaules Tectosages. And when he was Colonell of a thowsande footemen, he brought the Marsians (a marvelous great contry of people in Italic) and perswaded them to remaine good frendes, and confederates of the Romaines. For this his good service, he founde that Marius grewe in great misliking with him, bicause from thence forth he never gave him any honorable charge, or occasion to shewe good service: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising. Wherefore, Sylla afterwardees tooke Catulus Luctatius parte, who was companion with Marius in his Consulshippe. This Catulus was a very honest man, but somewhat slacke and colde in marshall matters, which was the cause that in deede

Iugurthe delivered unto Sylla by kinge Bocchus.

Thonor of Iugurthes takinge ascribed unto Sylla.

Syllaes noble deedes under Marius.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

he did committe unto Sylla all the special service, and matters of weight in his charge: whereuppon he gave him occasion not onely to increase his estimacion, but also his credit and power. For, by force of armes, he conquered the most parte of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes: and Catulus campe lacking vittells, having commission, he made a marvelous great quantity of provision to be brought thither, insomuch as Catulus campe being plentifully vittelled, they sent their store and surplusage unto Marius souldiers, the which Sylla him selfe wryteth, did much mislike Marius. And this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded upon so light occasion, was followed with civill warres, great effusion of blood, and with incurable factions and dissentions: that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confusion of all the Romaine state and Empire. This doth prove that Euripides the Poet was a wise man, and one that foresaw the ruines of common weales, when he counselled, and also commaunded governors to flie ambition, as a most pestilent and mortall furie unto them that are once infected withall. Now Sylla thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the warres, would have made his way open to preferre him to some honorable office in the city of Rome: he was no sooner returned from the warres, but he would needes prove the peoples good willes unto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that sued for the Prætorshippe of the city (that is to say, the office of the ordinary judge that ministreth justice unto the citizens) but he was rejected by the voyce of the people. For the which he layed the faulte uppon the meaner sorte, saying, that the communalty knew well enough the frendshippe he had with king Bocchus, and that therefore they hopinge that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, he would make them see noble huntinges and great fightinges of wilde beastes of Libya. And that therefore they did choose other Prætors, and put him by his sute, in hope to compel him by this meanes to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confesse the troth of his refusall, for his owne act doth condemne him selfe: bicause the next

SYLLA

Sillaes doings under Catulus.

The first cause of enmity betwext Sylla and Marius.

Ambition is to be fled, as a mortall furie.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA
Sylla chosen
Prætor.

yere following he was chosen Prætor, partely for that he wan the people with curtesie, and partely with money. So he fallinge out with Cæsar apon that occasion, in his anger threatned him that he woulde use the power and authority of his office apon him. But Cæsar smiling, aunswered him: Thou hast reason to call it thine office, for in deede it is thine, bicause thou hast bought it. But after the time of his Prætorshippe was expired, he was sent with an army into Cappadocia, colouring his voyage thither with commission to restore Ariobarzanes into his kingdom againe: howbeit thonly cause of his journey was in deede to suppress kinge Mithridates a litle, who tooke too many thinges in hande, and increased his power and dominion with a new signiory of no lesse greatnes, then that which he had before. In troth he brought no great army out of Italie with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the Romaines in every place, through whose aide he overthrew a great number of the Cappadocians, and afterwardes also a greater number of the Armenians, which came in like case to aide them: so that he expulsed Gordius king of Phrygia out of Cappadocia, and restored Ariobarzanes to his realme againe. After which victory, Sylla remained by the river of Euphrates, and thither came unto him one Orobazus a Parthian, Ambassador of Arsaces, king of the Parthians. Now these two nations, the Romaines, and the Parthians, were never frendes before: and that with other thinges shewed the great good fortune Sylla had, that the Parthians came first to him by his meanes to seeke frendshippe with the Romaines. They say, that receiving this Ambassador Orobazus, he made three chayres to be brought out, the one for king Ariobarzanes, the other for Orobazus the Ambassador, and the third for him selfe, which he placed in the middest betwene them both, and sitting downe in the same, gave audience unto the Ambassador: for which cause the king of Parthia afterwardes put Orobazus to death. Some doe commend Sylla for this acte, for that he kept his state in such majesty among the barbarous people. Other do reprove his ambition in it, shewing him selfe stately out of time, and to no purpose. We doe read that a soothsayer of

Orobazus
Ambassador
from the king
of the Par-
thians unto
Sylla.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Chaldea being in Orobazus traine, having diligently viewed and considered the phisiognomy of Sylla, and all his other movinges and gestures of minde and body, to judge not by the clymate of the contry, but according to the rules of his arte what his nature should be: all well considered of, he sayed that Sylla one day must needes come to be a great man, and that he marveled how he could suffer it that he was not even then the chiefest man of the worlde. When Sylla was returned againe to Rome, one Censorinus accused him of extorcion, that he had caried away a great summe of money with him, contrary to the lawe, out of one of their confederates contry: howbeit he prosecuted not his accusation, but gave it over. In the meane time, the enmity begonne betwixt him and Marius, kindled againe uppon a new occasion of king Bocchus ambition: who partely to creepe further into the peoples favor of Rome, and partely also for to gratifie Sylla, gave and dedicated certaine images of victory carying tokens of triumphe, unto the temple of Iupiter Capitolin, and next unto them also the image of Iugurthe, which he delivered into the handes of Sylla, being all of pure golde. This did so offende Marius, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of Sylla. So that for the quarrell of these two, the city of Rome taking armes, had like to have brought all to ruine: had not the warres of the confederats of Italie bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this marvelous great warre which fell out very daungerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the Romaines, Marius did no notable exployte: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath neede of a strong, lusty, and able body. For Sylla to the contrary, having done notable service, and obtained many profitable victories, wanne the fame and estimacion among the Romaines, of a noble souldier, and worthy Captaine: and among thememies themselves, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, Sylla did not as Timotheus Athenian, the sonne of Conon had done: who, when his adversaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deedes unto the favor of fortune, and did painte

SYLLA

Sylla accused
of extorcion.

Civill warres.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and snared in nets whilst he slept: he tooke it in very ill parte, and was marvelous angrie with them that did it, saying, that they robbed him of the glory that justly belonged unto him. Wherefore one day when this Timotheus was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the Athenians with the whole discourse of his doings in his voyage, he sayd unto them: My Lordes of Athens, fortune hath had no parte in all this which I have told unto you. Hereupon the goddes it should seeme were so angry with this foolish ambition of Timotheus, that he never afterwarde did any worthy thing, but all went utterly against the heare with him: untill at the length he came to be so hated of the people, that in thend they banished him from Athens. But Sylla to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their wordes that sayed, he was a happy man, and singularly beloved of fortune: but also increasinge this opinion, and glorying as at a speciall grace of the goddes, did attribute the honor of his doings unto fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fansy, that the goddes did prosper him in all his doings. For he wrote him selfe in his commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hottely, according to the sodaine occasion offered, did better prosper with him, then those which by good advise he had determined of. Furthermore, when he sayd that he was better borne unto fortune, then to the warres: it seemeth that he confessed all his prosperity came rather by fortune, then by his worthinesse. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly submit him selfe unto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend upon her: considering that he did attribute it to the speciall grace and favor of the goddes, that he never disagreed with Metellus his father in law, who was a man of like dignitie and authoritie as him selfe was. For where it was thought he woulde have bene a greate hinderer of his doings, he found him verie curteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reason of the societie of their office. And furthermore, in his commentaries which he dedicated unto Lucullus, he counselled him to thincke nothing more certaine

Timotheus Athenian, would not attribute the glory of his doinges to fortune.

Sylla gave fortune the honor of all his doinges.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and assured, then that which the goddes should reveale unto him, and commaunde him in his nightes dreame. He wryteth also that when he was sent with an army unto the warres of the confederates, the earth sodainly opened about Laverna, out of the which immediatly came a marvelous bright flame of fire that ascended up to the element. The wise men being asked their opinions about the same, made aunswere: that a very honest, and also a marvelous fayer man of complexion taking souveraine authoritie in his handes, should pacifie all tumultes and sedition which were at that time in Rome. Whereupon Sylla sayed it was him selfe whome the goddes ment, bicause that amongst other things he had that singular gift of beawty, that his heare was yellow as golde: and he was not ashamed to name him selfe an honest man, after he had wonne so many notable great victories. Thus have we sufficiently spoken of the trust he had in the favor of the goddes. And furthermore, he seemed to be very contrary in his manners, and unlike to him selfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he gave as much more also in an other. Some he preferred without cause: and others he put downe without reason. He would be very gentle to them, of whome he would have ought: and unto those that sought of him, he would stand much upon his honor, and looke for great reverence. Wherby men could hardly decerne his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he used in punishing of them that had offended him: sometimes he hanged up men for very small and light causes: Some other times againe to the contrary, he paciently aboade the most grievous offences in the worlde: and lightly pardoned and forgave such faultes as were in no wise to be forgiven. And afterwards againe would punish right small crimes, with murders, effusion of blood, and confiscation of goodes. This judgement may be geven of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a revenging minde: yet notwithstanding he qualified that naturall bitternes with reason, geving place to necessity, and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his souldiers slue Albinus one of his Lieutenauntes, beating him to death with staves and stones, being a man of

SYLLA
Syllaes belefe
in dreames.

A straunge
sight ap-
peared to
Sylla.

Sylla straunge
of condicions.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA good quality, and one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he passed over with silence, using no manner of punishment, and turned it to a boast in the end, saying, that his men were the more obedient and diligent in any peece of service that was to be done, and that he made them amende their faultes by worthy service. And furthermore, he did not regarde them that did reprove him : but havinge determined with him selfe to destroy Marius, and to procure that he might be chosen generall in the warres against king Mithridates, bicause that this warre of the confederats was now ended : for this cause he flattered and curried favor with his souldiers that served under him. At his returne to Rome from these warres of the confederates, he was chosen Consull with Q. Pompeius, being then fifty yeare olde, and married with Cæcilia a noble Ladie, and Metellus daughter, who was then chiefe bishoppe of Rome, for which mariage the common people sang songes and ballades up and downe Rome against him : and many of the noble men envied him for it, thinkinge him unworthy of so noble a Ladie, whom they thought worthy to be Consul, as Titus Livius sayth.

Sylla chosen Consull. Metellus chiefe bishop of Rome, a married man.

Syllaes wives.

Now she was not his only wife, for he had a young wife before called Iliä, by whom he had a daughter. After her he married Ælia, then a thirde called Cælia, whom he put away bicause she brought him no children. But notwithstanding she went honorably away from him with very good wordes of her, besides many other goodly riche giftes he gave her : howbeit shortly after he married Metella, which made the worlde suspect that Cælia was put away for her naughtines. Howsoever it was, Sylla did ever honor and love Metella : insomuch as the people of Rome afterwardes making sute, that they that were banished for Marius faction might be called home againe : and being denied, and refused by Sylla, they cried out with open voyce for Metella, praying her to helpe them to obtaine their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the city of Athens, he delt more cruelly with them, bicause that some of them had scoffed at Metella from the walles : howbeit that was afterwardes. So Sylla making his reckening at that time that the Consulshippe was a small matter, in comparison of that

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

which he looked for in time to come: was marvelous desirous to go against Mithridates. But therein Marius also, of a mad furious ambition and covetousnes of glory stode against him, and sued to goe that jorney in like manner, being subject to those passions, which never waxe olde, as we may dayly see by experience. For being now a heavy man, sickly of body, and broken in service abroad in the warres, from the which he came but newly home, and brused moreover with age: did notwithstanding yet aspire to have the charge of the warres so farre of beyond the seas. Wherefore, to obtaine his purpose, whilst Sylla was gone a litle unto the campe to geve order for certaine thinges that were to be done, he remaining in the city, did practise this pestilent mortall sedition, which alone did more hurte unto the city of Rome, then all the enemies that Rome ever had: the which the goddes them selves had foreshewed by many signes and tokens. For fire tooke of it selfe in the staves of the ensignes, which they had much a doe to quenche. Three ravens brought their young ones into the high way, and did eat them up in the sight of many people, and afterwarde caried the garbage they left of them into their neastes. Rats also having gnawen some juells of golde in a church, the sextens setting a trappe for them, a rat was taken full of young, and kended five young rats in the trappe, of the which she ate up three. But more yet, on a fayer bright day when there was no clowde seene in the element at all, men heard such a sharp sound of a trompet, that they were almost all out of their wittes, for feare of so great a noyse. Whereuppon the wise men and soothsayers of Thuscan being asked their opinions, tolde them: that this so straunge and wonderfull signe did pronounce the change of the worlde, and the departure out of this into an other life. For they holde opinion, that there should be eight worldes, all contrary one unto an other, in manners and facions of life: unto every one of the which sayd they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance. Howbeit they all came to ende their course within the space of the revolution of the great year: and that when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there are seene such wonder-

SYLLA
Marius fonde
ambition.

Wonderfull
signes seene
before the
civill warres.

The Thuscans
opinion of
eight worldes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

full straunge signes on the earth, or in the element. And such as have studied that science, doe certainly know, as soone as men be borne, which are meere contrary unto the first in their lives and maners, and which are either more or lesse acceptable unto the goddes, then those which lived in former age. For they say, that amongst great chaunges and alteracions which are done in those places from one age unto an other, the science of divination and foretelling of thinges to come doth grow in reputacion, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaseth God to send most certaine and manifest signes, to knowe and foretell thinges to come. And in contrariwise also in an other age it groweth to contempt, and loseth her reputation, for that it is very rashe, and faileth to meete with the most parte of her predictions, bicause she hath but obscure meanes, and all her instruments defaced, to knowe what should come. And these be the fables which the wisest soothsayers of Thuscan reported abroad, and they specially, who seemed to have some singuler speculation above others. But as the Senate were talking with the soothsayers of these wonders, being assembled together within the temple of the goddesse Bellona, a sparrow came flying into the churche in sight of them all, and caried a grassehopper in her bill, and parted it in the middest, and left one parte within the temple, and caried thother away with her. Whereupon the wise men and interpreters of such wonders, saied, that they doubted a commotion and rising of the contry men against the commons of the citie, bicause the common people of the citie doe crye out continually like grassehoppers, and the husbandmen doe kepe them selves upon their landes in the contry. Thus Marius grew great and very famillier, with Sulpitius, one of the Tribunes of the people, who in all kindes of wickednes and mischiefe that a man can reckon, would geve place to no living creature: so that a man nede not to seeke or demaund any where for a worse then he, but the question is rather wherein he him selfe was not the worste of all others. For he was full replet with all kindes of cruelty, avarice, and rashnesse, and that so extremely, as he cared not what villany and wickednes he openly committed, so that the same

The wickednes of Sulpitius the Tribune.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

might turne to his profit. For he had set up a table in the open market place, where he solde freedome, making slaves and straungers denizens of Rome for their money: and for that purpose he entertained a gard of three thowsand about him, besides a band of young gentlemen of the order of knightes that attended alwayes upon his persone ready at commaundement, whome he called the garde against the Senate. And furthermore, him selfe having passed a lawe by the voyce of the people, that no Senator should borrow, nor ow, above two thowsande Drachmas: it was founde that at the hower of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man nowe like a furious raging beast, being left by Marius amongst the people, turned all thinges topsie turvey, by force of armes and maine strength. He made also many wicked lawes to passe by voyce of the people, and amongst others, that one specially, wherby he gave Marius commission to make warres against king Mithridates. For which extreame oppressions and dealings of Sulpitius, the two Consuls (Sylla and Quintus Pompeius) left of to heare publike causes, and ceased the common course of law and justice. And as they were one day occupied about the adjournement of the law, in an open assembly in the market place, before the temple of Castor and Pollux: Sulpitius the Tribune came upon them with his souldiers, and slue many people, and among others, the Consull Pompeius owne sonne, and the father him selfe being Consull, had much a doe to save his life by flying. And Sylla the other Consull, was also pursued even into Marius house, where he was compelled to promise before his departure, presently to goe and revoke thadjournement of the law which he had before commaunded. Thus Sulpitius having deprived Pompeius of his Consulshippe, did not depose Sylla, but only tooke from him the charge he had geven him to make warres against Mithridates, and transferred that unto Marius. And sending colonells to the city of Nola to receive the army that lay there, and to bring them unto Marius, Sylla prevented them, and fled to the campe before them, and told the souldiers all what had past, as it was in deede: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and slue Marius colonells with stones. Marius

SYLLA

Marius and Sulpitius sedition.

All lawe ceased for a time, by reason of Sulpitius oppressions and wicked lawes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA on the other side put all Syllaes frends to death at Rome, and tooke the spoyle of their goodes and houses: so was there nothing else but flying from the campe to Rome, and from Rome to the campe againe. The Senate were in manner beside them selves, not being able to governe as they would, but driven to obey Marius and Sulpitius commaundementes. Who being advertised that Sylla was comming towards Rome, sent straight two Prætors unto him, Brutus and Servilius, to commaund him as from the Senate, to approach no nearer. These two Prætors spake a litle to boldly unto Sylla: whereuppon the souldiers fell to a mutiny in such sorte, that they stooed indifferent whether to kill them presently in the field or no, howbeit they brake their axes and bondells of roddes, which were caried before them, and tooke their purple robes wherewith they were apparelled as magistrates, from them, and sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Uppon their returne now to Rome, their sadde silence only, and them selves so stripped besides, of all their markes and tokens of Prætoriall dignitie, made all men then to judge that they brought no other newes, but such as were the worst that possibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie this sedition, which was now altogether incurable. Wherefore Marius and his followers began to make them selves strong by force: and Sylla, with his companion Q. Pompeius, departed in the meane time from the city of Nola, and brought six entier legions on with him, who desired no other thing but to make hast to march to Rome ward. Howbeit Sylla stooed in doubt with him selfe what to do, thinking of the great daunger that might follow. Untill such time as his soothsayer Posthumius having considered the signes and tokens of the sacrifices, which Sylla had made upon this determination, gave him both his handes, and bad him binde them hard, and shut him up fast, untill the day of battell should be past: saying, that he was contented to suffer death, if he had not good successe, and that out of hande, to his great honor. And it is sayed also, that the same night there appeared unto Sylla in a dreame, the goddesse Bellona, whome the Romaines do greatly honor, following therein

Sylla marcheth towards Rome with six legions.

Posthumius the devine, did prognosticate victory unto Sylla.

Syllaes vision in his dreame.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the Cappadocians: and I knowe not whether it be the moone, Minerva, or Enyo the goddessse of battells. So he thought, that she comming to him did put lightning into his hande, commaunding him that he should lighten upon his enemies, naming them one after an other by their proper names: and that they being striken with his lightning, fell downe dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This vision encoraged Sylla very much, and having reported the same to Pompeius, his fellow Consull and companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome. When he was at Picines, there came other Ambassadors unto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and fury, declaring therewithall that the Senate would graunt him all things that should be meete and reasonable. When Sylla had heard the message, he aunswered them, that he would campe there: and so commaunded the marshalls to deuide the squadrons according to their maner. The Ambassadors beleving that he would so have done in deede, returned againe to Rome: howebeit their backes were no sooner turned, but Sylla straight sent Lucius Basillus, and Caius Mummius before to sease one of the gates of Rome, and the walles which were on the side of mount Esquilin, and he him selfe also in persone with all possible speede marched after them. Basillus entred Rome, and wanne the gate by force. But the common people unarmed, got them up straight to the top of their houses, and with tyles and stones stayed, and kept him, not onely from entring any further: but also drave him backe againe, even to the very walles of the city. In this hurly burly came Sylla him selfe to Rome, who seeing apparantly in what state thinges stooode, cried out to his men, and bad them set fyre on the houses: and him selfe taking a torche light in his hand, shewed them the way what they should doe, appointing his archers and darters to whurle and bestow their dartes, and other fiery instruments, to the toppes of the houses. Herein he was too much overcome with unreasonable choller, passion, and desire of revenge. For, seeking only to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to frends, to parentes, or confederates, neither had he yet any maner of

SYLLA

Sylla set the houses a fire in Rome.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

remorse, or pity: such and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference betwene those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this meanes was Marius driven into the city, unto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by sounde of the trompet, that he woulde make free all the slaves that woulde come to his parte. But forthwith came his enemies, set upon him, and prest him so neere, that he was constrained utterly to flie and forsake the city. Then Sylla assembling the Senate, caused Marius, and certaine others, together with Sulpitius Tribune of the people, to be condemned to death. Sulpitius was betrayed by a slave of his owne, whom Sylla made free according to his promise past by publike edict: but when he had made him free, he caused him to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he proclaimed by promise a great summe of money to him that would kill Marius: A very ingrate and unthankfull parte, consideringe that Marius not many dayes before havinge Sylla in his owne house, in his handes and custody, delivered him from perill, and set him in safety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had suffered Sulpitius to have slaine him: him selfe had bene sovaine Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might have ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. But Sylla shortly after upon the like advantage, used no such manner of requitall or gratuitie towards him, which bred a secret misliking emongest the Senate: howbeit the common people made open shewe of the evill will they bare unto Sylla, by rejecting one Nonius his neview, and one Servius, who uppon confidence of his favor, presented them selves to sue for certaine offices. And besides the shame of this refusall, to spyte him the more, they chose others in their steedes, whose honor and preferment they right well knew that Sylla would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely dissembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying, that by his meanes the people of Rome enjoyed a full and perfit liberty, that in such cases of election, they might freely do what them selves listed. And to mitigate somewhat the peoples evill will towards him he

Marius and Sulpitius condemned to death.

Treason justly rewarded.

The ingratitude of Sylla reproved.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

determined to choose Lucius Cinna Consull, who was of a contrary faction to him : having first bounde him by solemne othe and curse to favor his doings and whole proceedings. Wherupon Cinna went up to the Capitoll, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnly sweare and promise, that he would be Syllaes faithfull frende : beseeching the goddes if he did the contrary, that he might be thrown out of Rome, even as he threw that stone out of his hand : and with those wordes, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithstanding all these curses, Cinna was no sooner entred into his Consulshippe, but presently he beganne to chaunge and alter all. For amongst other thinges, he would needes have Sylla accused : and procured Verginius, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But Sylla left him with his judges, and went to make warres against Mithridates. And it is said, that about the time that Sylla tooke shippe, and departed out of Italie: there fortunated many tokens and warninges of the goddes unto kinge Mithridates, who was at that present in the city of Pergamum. As amongst others, that the Pargamenians to honor Mithridates withall, having made an image of victory, carying a garland of triumphe in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines : so soone as she was ready to put the garland upon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the grounde in the midst of the Theater, and burst all to peeces. Whereby all the people that were present, were stricken with a marvelous feare, and Mithridates him selfe beganne to mislike this evill lucke : although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, then he looked for. For he had taken Asia from the Romaines, and Bithynia and Cappadocia, from the kinges which he had driven out : and at that time remained in the city of Pergamum, to devide the riches and great territories among his frendes. As touching his sonnes : the eldest was in the realme of Pontus, and of Bosphorus, which he inherited from his predicecessors, even unto the desertes beyonde the marisses of Mæotides, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, Ariarathes, was with a great army, in conquering of Thracia and Macedon. His Captaines and

SYLLA

Lucius Cinna
Consull.

Cinna sware
to be Syllaes
frende.

Sylla went
against
Mithridates.

Mithridates
power.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

Lieutenauntes moreover, did many notable conquestes in divers places, with a great power : amongst the which, Archelaus being Lord and master of all the sea, for the great number of shippes he had, conquered the Iles Cyclades, and all those beyond the hed of Malea, and specially amongst others the Ile of Eubœa. And beginning at the city of Athens, had made all the nations of Greece to rebell, even unto Thessalie, saving that he received some losse by the city of Chæronea. Where Brutius Sura, one of the Lieutenauntes of Sentius governor of Macedon (a man of great wisdom and valliantnes) came against him, and stayed him for goinge any further, overrunning the whole contry of Bœotia, like a furious raging river. And setting upon Archelaus by the city of Chæronea, overthrew him in three severall battells : repulsed, and inforced him to take the seaes againe. But as Brutius was following him in chase, Lucius Lucullus sent him commaundement to geve place unto Sylla, to follow those warres against Mithridates, according to the charge and commission in that behalfe geven him. Whereupon Brutius Sura went out of the contry of Bœotia, and returned towardes his generall Sentius : notwithstandinge his affaires prospered better then he could have wished, and that all Greece were very willing to revolt, for the reputacion of his wisdom and goodnes. Howbeit the thinges that we before have spoken of, were the most notable matters that Brutius did in those partes. Sylla now upon his arrivall, recovered immediatly all the other cities of Greece : who being advertised of his comming, sent presently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of Athens onely excepted, which was compelled by the tyran Aristion, to take parte with Mithridates. Sylla thereupon with all his power went thither, besieged the haven of Piræa rounde, causing it to be battered and assaulted on every side, with all sortes of engines and instrumentes of battery : whereas if he could have had pacience but a litle lenger, he might have had the high towne by famine, without putting him selfe in any manner of daunger, the same being brought to such extreame dearth and scarsity of all kinde of vittells. But the hast that he made to returne againe to Rome, for

Sylla besiegeth the city of Athens.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

feare of the new change which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that sorte with great daunger, many battells, and infinite charge: consideringe also, that besides all other provision and furniture, he had twenty thowsand mules and mulets laboring dayly to furnishe his engines of batterie. And when all other woode fayled him, bicause his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of them selves by reason of their waight, others consumed with fire throwen from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the Academia, being better stored and furnished, then any other parke of pleasure in all the suburbes of the city, and feld downe also the wod of the parke Lycæum. And standing in neede of a great summe of money to entertaine this warre withall, he delt also with the holiest temples of all Greece, causing them to bring him from the temples of Epidaurum and Olympus, all the richest and most pretious juells they had. He wrote moreover unto the counsell of the Amphictyons holden in the city of Delphes, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of Apollo, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, then if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to use it, he would restore as much againe unto them: and for this purpose he sent Caphis Phocian, one of his very frends and familiars, and commaunded him to wey all that he tooke. So Caphis went unto Delphes: but when he came thither, being afraied to touch the holy things, in presence of the counsell of the Amphictyons, he wept, that the teares ran downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe such an act against his will. And when some that were present told Caphis that they heard the sound of Apolloes citherne in the temple: whether he beleived it was so in dede, or bicause he would put this superstitious feare into Syllaes head, he wrote to him of it. But Sylla mocking him, sent him word, that he marveled he could not consider, that singing and playing of the citherne, were tokens rather of joye then of anger: and therefore that he should not faile to procede further, and bring him those things which he commaunded,

SYLLA

Sylla tooke the juells and ready money out of all the temples of Greece, and brought it to him to Athens.

Caphis supersticion for touching the holy thinges.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

for that (said he) Apollo did geve them him. Now for the other juells of the temple of Apollo, the common people knew not that they were sent unto Sylla: but the silver tonne, which only was that that remained of the offerings of the kings, the Amphictyons were faine to breake that in peces, bicause it was so great and massie, that the beastes of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other auncient Romaine Captaines, as Flaminius, Manius Acilius, and Paulus Æmilius: of the which, the one having driven king Antiochus out of Greece, and the rest also having overthrown the kings of Macedon, they never once touched the gold and silver of the temples of Greece: but contrarily sent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honor and reverence. But as to them, they were all Captaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their souldiers wel trained, and obedient at commaundement, voide of rebellion, or any maner of mutiny. And for them selves, were kings in greatnes of corage and magnanimity of minde: but in expence of their persones, very spare and scant, without any lavish, but nedefull and necessary, proportioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their souldiers, then feare their enemies. Now the Captaines contrarily in Syllaes time, sought not their preferment in the common wealth by vertue, but by force, and having greater warres one with an other, then with straungers their enemies: were compelled to flatter their souldiers whom they should commaund, and to buy their paines and service, feeding them still with large and great expences, to please and content them. Wherein they did not consider, that they brought their contry into bondage, and made themselves slaves of the vilest people of the world, whiles that in the meane time they sought to commaund by all meanes possible those, which in many respectes were farre better then them selves. And this was the cause that both drave Marius out of Rome, and made him also to returne againe against Sylla. This selfe same cause made Cinna to kill Octavius, and Fimbria to slay Flaccus: of which evils, Sylla was the very first and only author, spending out of all reason, and geving

The commendacion of the auncient Romaine Captaines, for ordering of their souldiers, and also for their modest expences.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the souldiers largely that served under him, to winne their good willes the more, and thereby also to allure them. By reason whereof, Sylla had nede of mountaines of money, and specially at the siege where he was: both to make straungers traytors, and besides, to furnishe and satisfie his owne dissolute souldiers. For he had such an earnest desire to take the city of Athens, that he could not possibly be dissuaded from it. And either it was of a certen vaine ambition he had to fight against the auncient reputacion of that city, being then but a shadow to that it had bene: or els of a very anger, for the mockes and gibes which the tyran Aristion gave in his speches from the wals, against him and Metella, to spite him the more withall. This tyran Aristion was full of all cruelty and wickednes, having taken up all the worst qualities and greatest imperfections of king Mithridates, and heaped them wholly together in him selfe: by reason whereof the poore city of Athens which had escaped from so many warres, tyrannies, and civill dissentions until that present time, was by him, as by an uncurable disease, brought unto all extreamity. For a bushell of wheate was worth a thowsand Drachmas, and men were driven for famine to eate feverfew that grew about the castell: and they caused old shoes and old oyle pots to be sodden, to deliver some savor unto that they did eate, whilest the tyran himselfe did nothing all day long but cramme in meate, and drinke dronke, daunse, maske, scoffe and flowte at the enemies, suffering the holy lampe of Minerva in the meane season to go out for lacke of oyle. And when the Nunne of the same temple sent unto him for a quarter of a bushell of wheate, he sent her a quarter of a bushell of pepper. And when the counsellers of the city, the priestes and religious came to the castell, holding up their hands, and beseeching him to take some pity of the city, and fall to composition with Sylla: he made them to be driven away, and scattered with slings. In the end, very late, and yet with great a do, he sent two or three of his quaffing companions unto Sylla, who when they were come to him, made no demaund of composition for the towne, but began to praise and magnifie the dedes of Theseus, of Eumolpus, and of the Athenians against

SYLLA
Sylla the first
man that
spoiled all
good service
of souldiers,
by overmuch
libertie and
sufferaunce.

The wicked-
nes of the
tyran Aris-
tion.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA the Medes. Whereupon Sylla made them this aunswere: My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rethoricke: for the Romaines sent me not hither to learne nor to study, but to overcome and conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the meane time there were certaine spies in the city that heard old men talking together in a place called Ceramicus, blaming the tyran bicause he kept no better watch on that side of the wal that was directly over against the Heptachalcon, which was the only place where the enemies might easiliest get up upon the walls. Those spies went straight unto Sylla, and told him what they had heard the old men say. Sylla tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to see it: and perceiving that it was to be taken, set the matter straight abroad. And him selfe wrytes in his commentaries, that the first man that scaled the walls, was Marcus Teius: who finding a souldier ready to resist him, gave him such a sore blow with his sword upon his head peece, that his sword brake in two, and yet notwithstanding that he saw him selfe naked and diformed of a sword, did not for all that give back, but stooode still to it, and kept the place so long, till through him the city was taken, and all apon the talke of these old men. So Sylla caused the wall to be pulled downe betwene the haven of Piræa, and the holy haven: and having before made the breach very plaine, entred into the city about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a marvelous noise with a number of hornes, and sounding of trompets, and all his army with him in order of battel, crying, To the sack, to the sack: kill, kill. For he had geven them the towne in spoyle, and to put all to the sword. The souldiers therefore ran through the streetes with their swords drawn, making an uncredible slaughter: so that to this daye they be not acknowen, nor doe not declare what number of persons were slaine, but to shew the greatnes of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seene where the blood ranne. For besides them that were slaine through all the city, the blood of them only that were slaine in the market stede, did wet all the ground of Ceramicus, even unto the very place called

The greates
valiantnes
of Marcus
Teius.

Athens taken
by Sylla.

The slaughter
of the Athen-
ians after
the taking of
the citie.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Dipylon : and some say also, that it ranne by the gates into the suburbes of the citie. But if the multitude of the people that were slaine in this sorte were great, much more (or so many at the least) it is sayd were those that slue them selves, for the sorrow and compassion they had to see their contry in such pityful state, supposing certainly that their city was now come to utter ruine and destruction. This opinion made the noblest men of the city to dispaire of their owne safety, and feared to live any lenger : bicause they thought they should finde no mercy, no moderacion of cruelty in Sylla. Notwithstanding, partely at the requestes of Midias and Calliphon, who were banished men from Athens, and fell at Syllaes feete upon their knees : and partely also at the requests of the Romaine Senators that were in his campe, who prayed him to pardon the body of the city, and the rather for that he had already quenched the thirst of his ravening mind sufficiently well, after that he had somewhat sayd in praise of the auncient Athenians, he concluded in the end, to geve the greater number unto the smaller, and the living to the dead. Sylla wryteth him selfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the city of Athens on the very selfe day of the calendes of March, which commeth to agree with the first day of the moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chaunce many thinges are done at Athens in memory of Noes flood, and of the universall destruction of the whole world that was in olde time by rage of waters, falling out even in that very moneth. When the city was thus taken, the tyran Aristion fled into the castell, where he was besieged by Curio, whome Sylla left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last, constrained thereunto for lacke of water, yielded. The castell was no sooner given up, but immediatly by Goddes providence, the weather miraculously altered. For the selfe same day, and at the very selfe instant that Curio caried the tyran Aristion out of the castell : the element being very fayer and clere, the clowdes sodainly gathered together, and there fell such a marvelous glut of raine, that all the castell was full of water. Shortly after also, Sylla having gotten the haven of Piræa, burnt the greatest parte

SYLLA

Anthesterion
Marche.

The time of
Noes flood.

Aristion the
tyranyeeded.

The haven of
Piræa wonne.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

Philoes
armory burnt
by Sylla.

Taxilles army
a hundred
thowsande
footemen :
Tenne thow-
sand horse-
men :
Foure score
and ten thow-
sand cartes
with Sythes.

The force
of the Bar-
barians con-
sisted in
horsemen and
in their carts
with Sythes.

The straight
of Thermop-
yles.

Parnassus
hill.

The city of
Tithora.

Sylla and
Hortensius
met at
Patronide.

of the buildinges : amongst others was the arsenall and armory, which Philo in old time had caused to be built, being of a straunge and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, Taxilles, one of the Lieutenants of king Mithridates, comming from Thracia and Macedon, with a hundred thousand footemen, tenne thousand horsemen, and foure score and tenne thousand carts of warre all armed with sythes : sent unto Archelaus to joyne with him, lying yet at ancker in the haven of Munychia, and not willing to leave the sea, nor come to fight with the Romaines, but seeking rather to draw these warres out in length, and to cut of all vittells from his enemies. Sylla understanding this drift better then him selfe, departed out of the contry of Attica (a very barren soyle, and in dede not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into Bœotia : wherein most men thought he committed great error, to leave Attica, which is a very hard contry for horsemen, and to go into Bœotia, a plaine champion : and so much the rather, bicause he knew well enough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their horsemen, and their armed cartes with sythes. But to avoyd famine, and lacke of vittells as we have sayd, he was compelled to seeke battell. Furthermore, he had an other cause also that made him afrayed, and compelled him to go : and that was Hortensius, a famous Captaine, and very valliant also, who brought him aide out of Thessalie, and the barbarous people lay in waite for him in his way, in the straight of Thermopyles. And these were the causes that made Sylla take his way into Bœotia. But in the meane time, Caphis that was our contry man, deceiving the barbarous people, guided Hortensius an other way by mount Parnassus, and brought him under the city of Tithora, which was not then so great a city as nowe at this present it is, but was a castell only, situated upon the point of a rocke, hewen all about : whether the Phocians in olde time flying king Xerxes comming upon them, retyred them selves for their safety. Hortensius lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his enemies, so long as day light lasted : and when the night came on, got downe through very hard stony wayes, unto the city of Patronide, where he joyned with

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Sylla, who came to meete him with all his power. Thus being joyned together, they camped upon a hill that standeth about the middest of the plaine of Elatea: the soyle was very good, and well replenished with great store of trees, and water, at the foote of the same. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature and scituacion whereof, Sylla doth marvelously commend. When they were camped, they seemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they in deede, for they had not above fifteene hundred horse, and lesse then fifteene thowsand footemen. Whereupon the other Captaines their enemies, against Archelaus minde, brought out their bandes into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horsemen, with cartes, with shieldes and targettes, so that the ayer was even cut a sunder as it were with the violence of the noyse and cries of so many sundry nations, which altogether did put them selves in battell ray. The sumptuousnes of their furniture moreover, was not altogether superfluous and unprofitable, but served greatly to feare the beholders. For the glistening of their harnessse, so richly trimmed and set forth with gold and silver, the cullers of their arming coates upon their curaces, after the facion of the Medes and Scythians, mingled with the bright glistening steele and shining copper, gave such a show as they went and removed to and fro, that made a light as clere as if all had bene on a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke upon. Insomuch as the Romaines durst not so much as once goe out of the trenches of their campe, nor Sylla with all his perswasion coule take away this great conceived feare from them: wherefore, (and bicause also he would not compell them to go forth in this feare) he was driven not to stirre, but close to abide, (though it grieved him greatly) to see the barbarous people so proudly and villanously laugh him and his men to scorne. Howbeit the disdain and scoffing of his enemies, stode him to great good purpose afterwards. For they making now none accompt of him, kept small watche and ward, strayed up and downe disorderly besides, though otherwise they were not very obedient unto their Captaines, being many com-

SYLLA

The plaine of Elatea.

Philobæotus mons.

Their whole army together
1500 horse,
15000 footemen.

The brave armor and furniture of the Thracians and Macedonians, serving under Taxilles king Mithridates lieutenant.

Many commanders make disobedient souldiers.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

maunders, and fewe good followers: by reason whereof, a small number kept in the campe, and all the rest of the great multitude intised with the gaine they made by spoyling and sacking of townes thereabouts, dispersed them selves many dayes iorney from their campe. For it is sayd, that at that very time they destroyed the city of Panopæia, sacked the city of Lebadia, and spoyled the temple without commaundement or licence of any of all their Captaines to doe it. In the meane while, Sylla seeing so many cities and townes spoyled and destroyed, tooke it both grievously, and also angrily: howbeit he suffered not his men to lie idly, but kept them in labor, to turne the course of the river of

Cephisus fl.
Sylla
straightnes to
his souldiers.

Cephisus, and to cast great trenches, not suffering any man to take ease or rest, but contrarily with great severity punished such as went faintly and lasely to worke, to thend that being wearied with the paine they tooke after so many workes, they would rather prove to hazard battell, as it fell out in deede. For the third day after they had begonne thus to labor, as Sylla passed by them, they cried out unto him to leade them against their enemies. But his aunswere was unto them againe: that those were but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then desirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be so in deede, and that you have so

A good policie
to weary feare-
full souldiers
with extreame
labor, whereby
to make them
desirous to
fight.

good a will to fight as you make shoue of: then I will sayd he, that you arme your selves presently, and get you to yonder place, showing them therewithall where the castell of the Parapotamians stode in olde time, which then (the city being destroyed) was no more but the toppe of a stony mountaine cut all about, and severed from the mount of

Edylium
mons.

Assus fl.

Edylium by the breadth of the river of Assus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the same mountaine falleth into the river of Cephisus, and both these rivers running in one, carying a swift streame, doe make the knappe of the sayd hill very strong of scituacion to lodge a campe upon. And therefore Sylla seeing the souldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to take up that place to lodge in: to prevent them, and to get it before them (as in deede he did) he marched thither in all hast possible, and got it even with the earnest good will of

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

all his souldiers. Archelaus being so repulsed from thence, turned his way towards the city of Chæronea. Whereupon certaine of the Chæroneans that were in Syllaes campe, besought him that he would not forsake their city, and leave it to their enemy. Sylla desiring to gratifie them therein, sent one of his Colonells Gabinius with a legion, and therewithall gave the Chæroneans leave to go thither, who did what they could possible to get into their city before Gabinius: but that they could not, such was the diligence and honesty of the man, as he seemed more desirous of their safety, then they were them selves. Neverthelesse, Iubas doth not call the Colonell that was sent thither Gabinius, but Hircius. And thus was our city of Chæronea preserved from the daunger it stode in at that time. In the meane time came very good newes to the Romaines, both of oracles and prophecies, which promised them victory from the temple of Lebadia, and the cave of Trophonius: of which prophecies, those contry men make great mencion. But Sylla in his tenth booke of his commentaries writeth, that Quintus Titius, a man of quality and name amongst them that trafficked into the contry of Greece, came unto him after he had wonne the battell of Chæronea, to tell him that Trophonius gave him to understand, that shortly after he should have a second battell, and that he should yet againe have an other victory in the same place. After him an other man of warre called Salvenius, told him also what successe he should have in the warres of Italie, saying, that he knew it by revelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the revelation. For they sayd, that they had seene a god, in majesty, beawty, and greatnes, like unto the image of Iupiter Olympias. Sylla havinge passed the river of Assus, went to lodge at the foote of mount Edylum, hard by Archelaus, who had placed and fortified his campe betwene the two mountaines of Acontium, and of Edylum, joyninge to the city of the Assians. The place where Archelaus camped, beareth his owne name Archelaus unto this day. One day after Sylla had chaunged his lodging, he left Muræna in his campe with a legion, and two cohortes, to keepe the enemies still occupied that were in great trouble,

SYLLA

Sylla sendeth
Gabinius with
a legion to
aide Chæ-
ronea.

Oracles and
prophecies of
victory unto
Sylla.

Salvenius a
Souldier.

Iupiter
Olympias.

Acontium,
Edylum
mountaines.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA and he him selfe in the meane time went and sacrificed by the river of Cephisus. His sacrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of Chæronea, to take the force he had there under Gabinius, and to know the mountaine also called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knappe of a mountaine very steepe and sharpe of all sides, with a narrowe point like a pine apple, by reason whereof we doe call it Orthopagum. At the foote of the same runneth the river called Morion, and there is also the temple of Apollo surnamed Thurias: and they say that this surname of Thurias was geven unto him of the name of Thuros, who was mother of Chæron, the founder and builder of the city of Chæronea. Other thinke, that the cow which was geven to Cadmus for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath ever since kept the name, for that the Phenicians call a cow, *Thor*. Now when Sylla came neere unto Chæronea, the Colonell Gabinius whome he had sent thither with a garrison to defend the same, went to meete him with his men very well armed, wearing a lawrell garland: and Sylla after he had saluted him, and his souldiers, made an oration unto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of Chæronea to him, one, his name was Omoloichus, and the other Anaxidamus, who promised him to drive the enemies from mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but geve them some small number of souldiers. For there was a litle path way, which the barbarous people mistrusted not, beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the temple of the Muses, by the which they might easily go to the toppe of this mountaine Thurium: so that following that pathe, it would bring them over the barbarous peoples heads, and they might easily kill them with stones, or at the least they should drive them mawgre their heads, downe into the valley. Gabinius assuring Sylla that they were both very valliant men, and such as he might boldly trust unto, Sylla gave them men, and commaunded them to execute their enterprise: and he him selfe in the meane season went and set his men in order of battell in the plaine, deviding his horsemen on the winges, placed him selfe in the right wing,

Thurium
mons: *aliter*
Orthopagum.

Morion fl.
Apollo
Thurias.

Chæron the
founder of
the city of
Chæronea.

Sylla ordereth
his battell.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

appointinge the left unto Muræna. Galba and Hortensius his Lieutenantes, were placed in the taylor with certaine bandes of the reregard which they kept upon the hills, to watch and let that the enemies should not inclose them behinde: because they perceived a farre of that the enemies put forth a great number of horsemen and footemen light armed in the wings, to thend that the poynts of their battell might the more easily bowe and enlarge them selves, to compasse in the Romaines on the backe side. Now in the meane time, these two Chæroneians whome Sylla had sent under Hircius their Captaine, having compassed about the mountaine Thurium, before the enemies were aware of them: sodainly came to shew them selves uppon the toppe of the mountaine, which did so feare the barbarous people, that they began immediatly to flie, one of them for the most parte killing an other. There was no resistance, but flying downe the mountaine, fell upon the pointes of their owne partisans and pykes, and one of them thrusting in an others necke, tumbled hedlong downe the mountaine together, having their enemies besides on their backes, which drave them from the hill, and strake them behinde where they lay open unto them: so as they were slaine a three thowsande of them about this mountaine Thurium. And as for them that sought to save them selves by flight, Muræna that was already set in battell ray, met with some, cut them of by the way, and slue them downe right. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thrusting into the battell of their footemen, put the most parte of them quite out of order, and marvelously troubled their Captaines before they could set them againe in order: which was one of the chiefest causes of their overthrowe. For Sylla went and gave a charge uppon them in this trouble and disorder, and had quickly wonne the ground that was betwene both armies, wherby he tooke away the force of all their armed cartes with sythes, which are then of greatest force, when they have the longest course, to geve them a swift and violent stroke in their chase: whereas when their course is but short, the blow is so much the weaker, and of lesse strength, even as arrowes are, that a farre of enter not

SYLLA

Sylla drave
Archelaus
aide from
the hill.

The force of
the armed
cartes with
Sythes consist
in long course.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

Syllaes conflict with Archelaus at Thurium.

Slaves made free by authority of the Lieutenants in the field.

deepe into the thing they be shot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their first cartes set forth so faintly, and came on with so feeble a force, that the Romaines sent them backe, and easily repulsed them, with great slaughter and clapping of handes one to an other, as they commonly use in the ordinarie games of horse running at Rome. When they had thus repulsed the cartes, the battell of Syllaes footemen beganne to charge the barbarous people, who basing their pykes, stooed close one to an other because they would not be taken: and the Romaines on thother side bestowed first their dartes among them, and then sodainly drewe out their swordes in the heate they were in, and put a side the enemies pykes, whereby they might come neerer to their bodies. There were fifteene thowsand slaves in the fronte of the battell of the barbarous people, whom Mithridates Lieutenaunt had made free by open proclamation, and had devided them by bandes amongst the other footemen. By occasion whereof there was a Romaine Centurion, spake pleasauntly at that time, saying, that he never saw slaves before have liberty to speake and do like free men, but only at Saturnes feastes. Neverthelesse, they against the nature of slaves, were very valliant to abide the shocke, and the Romaine footemen could not so readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them geve backe, because they stooed very close one to an other, and their ranckes were of such a length besides: untill such time as the Romaines that were behinde the first ranckes, did so pelt them with their slinges, hurling stones, bestowing their dartes and arrowes upon them, that in thend they compelled them all to turne their backes, and flie a maine. And when Archelaus did first thrust out the right wing of his army, supposing to enclose the Romaines behinde: Hortensius straight wayes caused the bands he had with him to run and charge upon the flanckes. Which Archelaus perceiving, made the horsemen he had about him turne their faces forthwith, which were in number above two thowsand: insomuch as Hortensius, being set upon with all his trowpe, was compelled to retyre by litle and litle towards the mountaine, perceiving him selfe farre from the battell of his footemen,

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and environned round about with his enemies. Sylla seeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and having not yet fought, went straight to the rescue of Hortensius. But Archelaus conjecturing by the dust which the horses raised, what the matter was: left Hortensius there, and with speede returned againe towards the right wing of his enemies from whence Sylla was gone, hoping he had left it unfurnished of a sufficient Captaine to commaund them. Taxilles on thother side, caused his copper targets also to march against Muræna: so as the noyse they made on both sides, caused the mountaines to ring againe, wherewithall Sylla stayed, standing in dout which way to take. At the last he resolved, to returne to the place from whence he came, and sent Hortensius with foure ensignes to aide Muræna: and him selfe with the fift in great speede, went towards the right wing of his army, the which was now already bickering, and joyned with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with Archelaus. By reason whereof, when Sylla was comen with his aide, they did easily distresse them: and after they had broken their array, they chased them flying for life to the river, and unto the mountaine Acontium. But Sylla notwithstanding forgate not Muræna, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that he on his side had also put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chase of them that fled. There was a marvelous slaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them supposing to have recovered their campe, were slaine by the way: so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped only tenne thowsande, who saved them selves by flying unto the city of Chalcide. Sylla for his parte wryteth, that he could make reckening of no more but fourteene of his souldiers onely that were slaine, whereof there came two againe to him the same night. Wherefore in the markes of triumphe which he set up for tokens of that victory, he caused to be wrytten on the toppe thereof, *Mars, victory*, and *Venus*: signifying thereby, that he had overcome in these warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or marshall discipline. These markes of triumphe were set up for the battell which he wanne in the plaine field, in that place where Archelaus beganne to

SYLLA

Syllaes victory of Mithridates Lieutenantautes.

The field was wonne in the plaine of Elatea.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA
Molus fl.

flie, even unto the river of Molus. And he set up an other
also in the topp of mount Thurium, where the barbarous
people were set upon behinde: and there is wrytten in Greeke
letters, that the valliant deedes of Omoloichus and Anaxi-
damus, gave way to the winning of this victorie. Sylla for
the joy of this great wonne battell, caused musitians to play
in the city of Thebes, where he builded a stage for all the
musitians, neere unto the fountaine Œdipus, and certaine
noble Grecians were appointed judges of that musicke,
whom he caused to be sent for out of other cities, bicause
he mortally hated the Thebans: insomuch as he tooke from
them halfe their landes, which he consecrated unto Apollo
Pythias, and Iupiter Olympias, appointing that of the revenue
thereof, they should redeliver and pay backe the money which
he had taken and caried away from out of their temples.
Sylla after this having intelligence that Flaccus, one of his
enemies, was chosen Consull at Rome, and had passed the
sea Ionium with an army, under pretext to make warre
against king Mithridates, but in deede to make warre with
him selfe: tooke his journey towards Thessalie to meete him.
But when he was in the citie of Melitea, there came newes
to him out of all partes, that there was a new and second
army of the kings arrived, no lesse then the first, the which
spoyled and destroyed all the contry which he had left be-
hinde him. For Dorylaus, one of king Mithridates Lieu-
tenautes, was arrived in the city of Chalcide with a great
fleete of shippes, having brought thither with him foure
score thowsand fighting men, the best trained, the best
armed and appointed souldiers, that were in all his kingdom
of Pontus in Asia: and from thence went into Bœotia, had
all that contry at commaundement, and sought to fight with
Sylla, notwithstanding that Archelaus alleaged many reasons
to dissuade him from it: and furthermore, gave it out in
every place, that so many thowsandes of souldiers coule
not have bene cast away in the first battell, without some
notable treason. Wherupon Sylla returned with all possible
speede, and made Dorylaus know before many dayes passed
over his head, that Archelaus was a wise man, and knew well
enough the worthines and valliant corage of the Romaines.

Apollo
Pythias.

Iupiter
Olympias.

Flaccus Con-
sull went
against Sylla.

Dorylaus
Mithridates
generall
against Sylla.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

And Dorylaus having had but a litle prooffe only in certaine light skirmishes which he made against Sylla, about Tilphosion in Thessalie: him selfe was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazarde battell, but rather to draw out the warres in length, and supplant the Romaines with charge and expence. And yet notwithstanding, the commodity of the great large plaine that lyeth all about Orchomene, where they were encamped, gave great encouragement to Archelaus, who judged it a very fit place to geve battell in, specially bicause he was the stronger of horsemen in the field. For of all the plaines that are within the contry of Bœotia, the greatest and largest of them, is the plaine nere to the city of Orchomene: which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length unto the marisses, where the river of Melas disperseth it selfe abroad. The head of the same river is not farre from the city of Orchomene, and that river only of all other rivers in Greece from the very head whence it cometh, is navigable: and hath besides an other singular property, that it riseth and swelleth even in the longest sommer dayes, as the river of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the selfe same plantes and trees, saving that they beare no frute, neither are they so great as those of Ægypt. This river hath no longe course, bicause that the most parte of the water runneth into lakes and marisses, covered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very litle parte of it that falleth into the river of Cephisus, in the place where the redes grow that they make good flutes withal. When they were camped one nere to an other, Archelaus lay quietly and sturred not. But Sylla presently cast great trenches from one side to an other, to stoppe the way against their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might have taken what ground they would for their men of armes, and have driven the Romaines into the marisses. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, so soone as their Captaines had geven them liberty, discharged with such a fury, that they did not only scatter them that wrought in Syllaes trenches, but put the most parte of their gard also that stode in battell ray to defend them, in a marvelous feare, who also beganne to flie.

SYLLA

The goodly plaine before the city of Orchomene.

The river of Melas, and nature thereof.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

Syllaes words
to animate
his souldiers.

Which Sylla perceiving, lighted straight from his horse, and taking an ensigne in his hande, ran through the midst of his men that fled, untill he came to his enemies, and crying out, sayd unto them: O my Romaine souldiers, mine honor commaundeth me to dye here, and therefore when any man asketh you where you forsooke your Captaine, remember that you aunswer it was at Orchomene. They were so ashamed at these wordes, that he made them turne: besides that there came two cohortes unto him from the right wing of his battell, who under his leading gave such a hotte charge upon their enemies, that they fled forthwith apon it. That done, Sylla retyred with his men, and made them dine: and therupon by and by set them againe to the trenches to enclose his enemies campe, who then came out in better order then they did before. There was Diogenes, Archelaus wives sonne slaine, fighting valliantly before them all in the right wing of their battell. And the bowe men being pressed so neere by the Romaines, that their bowes would doe no good: tooke their arrowes in their handes in stead of swordes, and strake their enemies with them to force them to geve backe, untill such time as at the last they were all driven into their campe, where they passed that night in great sorow, as well for the losse of them that were slaine, as also for the number of those that were hurt. The next morning, Sylla leading his men againe towardes the campe of his enemies, went on still continuing his trenches: and certaine of them being come out to skirmish with them, he set apon them so lustely, that at the first charge he put them to flight. That brought such a feare to all the whole campe of the enemies, that not a man durst abide any lenger: so as Sylla valliantly following on his victory, shuffled in among them as they fled, and in thende tooke all together. Straight way all the marisses were filled with blood, and the lake full of dead bodies: so that untill this present day they find there in that place many bowes of the barbarous people, moryans, peeces of tasses, and swordes drowned in the mudde of the marisses, notwithstanding that it is well neere two hundred yeres agoe since this battell was striken. And thus much for the warres about the cities of Chæronea, and Orchomene. Now

Diogenes
slaine.

Syllaes vic-
tory of Mith-
ridates Lieu-
tenauntes at
Orchomene.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the warres being past in this sorte in Greece, Cinna, and Carbo delt very cruelly and unnaturally at Rome with the noble men and greatest persons: by reason whereof, many flying their tyranny, went to Syllaes campe, as unto the haven of their health and fulnes of felicity, so that in short time Sylla had an assembly of a Romaine Senate about him. Metella her selfe, his wife, having stollen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houses in the citie and contry both, were all burnt and destroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and help them that yet remained at Rome. Sylla uppon hearing of these newes, fell in great perplexity. For on the one side, it grieved him to see his contry so miserably afflicted: and on the other side he knew not well how he might go, leaving so great an enterprize as that warre was, and specially against a king of such might and power as Mithridates shewed him selfe to be. And being in these dumps, there came one Archelaus a marchant to him, borne in the city of Delium, who brought him a secret message from thother Archelaus, king Mithridates Lieutenaunt: the which pleased Sylla so well, that he desired that Archelaus and him selfe might meete and talke together. So at the length they met by the sea side, neere unto the city of Delium, where there is a temple of Apollo. Archelaus beganne to enter the talke with him, declaring unto Sylla that he would wish him to leave the conquest of Asia, and of the realme of Pont, and to returne into his contry to the civill warres at Rome: and in so doing, the king would furnish him, not onely with as much money, but with as many shippes and men, as he him selfe would desire. Sylla upon this motion told him againe: that he would wish him to forsake Mithridates service, and to make him selfe king, offering to proclaime him a frend and confederate of the Romaines, so that he would deliver him all his navie which then he had in his handes. Archelaus seemed much to abhorre to heare him speake of treason. But Sylla going on with his tale, replied againe unto him: Why Archelaus, sayd he, thou that art a Cappadocian, and servaunt to a barbarous king, or his frend at the least: hast thou so good a hart with thee, that for all the benefits I offer

SYLLA
Sylla overcame Arche-
laus in two
famous
battells at
Charonea
and at Orcho-
mene.

Talke betwixt
Sylla and
Archelaus at
their meeting.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act? And art thou in deede so bolde to speake to me of treason, which am the Romaines Lieutenant generall, and Sylla? As if thou wert not he, that at the battell of Chæronea didest save thy selfe by flying, with a smal number left thee of six score thowsand fighting men, which thou before haddest in thy campe: and that hid thy selfe two dayes together in the marisses of Orchomene, leaving the fieldes of Bœotia with such heapes of dead bodies, that no man could passe for them. After this replye, Archelaus altered his speech, and falling downe at Syllaes feete, humbly besought him to ende this warre, and to make peace with Mithridates. Whereunto Sylla aunswered, that he was very well contented withall. And thereupon peace was concluded betwene them under conditions: that Mithridates should departe from Asia the lesse, and from Paphlagonia, that he should restore Bithynia unto Nicomedes, and Cappadocia unto Ariobarzanes, that he should pay two thowsand talents to the Romaines, and geve them three score and tenne gallies, with all their furniture. And upon this, Sylla would also assure him the rest of his realme: and would cause him to be proclaimed a frende of the Romaines. These articles being past by agreement betwixt them, Sylla taking his jorney through Thessalie, and Macedon into the contry of Hellespont, caried Archelaus with him, whom he honorably intreated. For Archelaus falling daungerously sicke of a disease in the city of Larissa, he stayed there for him, and was very carefull to recover him, as if he had bene one of his chiefest Captaines and companions. And this was the cause that made Archelaus to be blamed for the battell of Chæronea, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor Sylla truly won [it, but by treason. And againe, Archelaus was the more suspected, because Sylla redelivered Mithridates all his servants and friends which he had prisoners, saving the tyran Aristion that kept Athens, whome he poysoned, because he was Archelaus enimie: but specially, for the lands Sylla gave unto this Cappadocian. For he gave him tenne thowsand Iugera, (or akers of lande) within the Ile of Eubœa, and gave him moreover the title of a frende of the Romaines for ever.

Peace concluded betwext Sylla and Archelaus in Mithridates behalfe upon conditions.

Archelaus suspected of treason.

Aristion tyran of Athens, poysoned by Sylla.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

But Sylla denyeth all these things in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambassadors came from king Mithridates unto Sylla, who told him that the king their maister did ratifie and accept all the articles of peace, saving that he onely prayed him he would not take the contry of Paphlagonia from him: and as for the gallies, he would not so much as once say he would promise them. Sylla being offended herewith, angerly aunswered them againe: Then Mithridates, as ye say, meaneth to kepe Paphlagonia still, and refuseth to geve the shippes I demaunded: where I looked that he would have humbly thancked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand only, with the which he put so many Romaine citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me an other tale, if I come once into Asia: but nowe at Pergamum, he speaketh his pleasure of this warre which he hath not seene. The Ambassadors being afrayed of his wordes, replied not againe. Whereupon Archelaus spake, and besought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hande. By intreatie, in thend he obtained of Sylla to sende him unto Mithridates: promising that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles and condicions of peace that he demaunded, or if he could not, he would kill him selfe with his owne handes. Upon this promise Sylla sent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armie into the contrie of Medica: and after he had destroyed the most parte thereof, returned backe againe into Macedon, where Archelaus being returned from Mithridates, founde him neere unto the city of Philippes, bringing him newes that all should be well, howbeit that his master Mithridates prayed him he might speake with him in any case. Now, the matter that made Mithridates so earnest to speake with Sylla, was chiefly for Fimbria: who having slaine Flaccus the Consull, being of the contrarie faction unto Sylla, and certaine of Mithridates Lieutenauntes also, went him selfe against him to fight with him. Mithridates fearing his comming, chose rather to make him selfe Syllaes frend. So Mithridates and Sylla met together in the contry of Troade, in the city of Dardane: Mithridates being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred saile of shippes

SYLLA

Mithridates
exception to
the condi-
cions.

Archelaus
sent from
Sylla to
Mithridates.

Sylla and
Mithridates
meete at
Dardane.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

with ores at sea, with twenty thowsand footemen, sixe thowsande horse, and a number of armed cartes with sythes besides by land, Sylla having onely but foure ensignes of footemen, and two hundred horsemen. Mithridates went to Sylla, and offering to take him by the hand: Sylla asked him first, if he did accept the peace with the condicions which Archelaus had agreed unto. Mithridates made him no aunswere. Sylla following on his tale, sayd unto him: It is for suters to speake first, that have request to make: and for conquerors, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare what they will say. Then began Mithridates to excuse him selfe, and to lay thioccasion of the warre, partly upon the ordinaunce of the goddes that so had appointed it, and partly also upon the Romanes them selves. Whereunto Sylla replied, that he had heard of long time that Mithridates was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, seeing that he lacked no comely words, to cloke his fowle and shamefull dedes: but withall he sharply reprovved him, and drave him to confesse the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him againe, if he did confirme that which Archelaus had done. Mithridates made aunswer that he did. Then Sylla saluted, embraced, and kissed him: and calling for the kinges Nicomedes, and Ariobarzanes, reconciled them together, and made Mithridates their frende againe. In conclusion, after Mithridates had delivered Sylla three score and tenne gallies, and five hundred bow men, he returned by sea into his realme of Pontus. But Sylla hearing that his souldiers were angrie with this peace made with Mithridates, because they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their most cruell and mortall enemy, (having in one selfe day caused a hundred and fifty thowsand Romane citzens to be slaine, that were dispersed abroade in divers places of Asia) so to departe, and goe his way safe, with the riches and spoyles of the contry, which he had bereft them of, and used at his pleasure, the space of forty yeares together: aunswered them in excuse of him selfe, that he was not able to make warres with Mithridates, and Fimbria both, if once they were joyned together against him.

The stowtnes of Sylla.

Mithridates excuseth him selfe to Sylla.

Syllaes aunswer to Mithridates.

Nicomedes king of Bithynia.

Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia.

A hundred and fifty thowsand Romanes slaine in one day in Asia by Mithridates commaundement.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

And so Sylla departing thence, went against Fimbria, who then was encamped neere to the city of Thyatira, and lodged him selfe as neere unto him as he conveniently might. Nowe whilst he was compassing in his lodging with a trench, Fimbriaes souldiers came out of their campe in their coates without any armor or weapon, to salute Syllaes souldiers, and holpe them very frendly to make up their trenche. Which Fimbria seeing, and perceiving his souldiers mindes so chaunged, of an extreame feare which he had of Sylla, at whose handes he looked for no mercy: killed him selfe in his owne campe. Sylla hereuppon condemned the whole contry of Asia the lesse, to pay the summe of twenty thousand talentes amongst them, and presently also he undid many poore householders through his insolent souldiers, lying long upon their charge, which he left in garrison there. For he ordained that every householder should geve the souldier that lodged in his house, foure Tetradrachmas a day, and should be bound to geve him and his frendes (as many as he would bring with him) their supper also: and that every Captaine should have fifty Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the house, and a garment to goe abroade into the city when he thought good. When he had geven this order, he departed from the city of Ephesus with all his fleete, and in three dayes sayling arrived in the haven of Piræa at Athens, where he was received into the fraternity of the mysteries, and reserved for him selfe the librarie of Apellicon Teian: in the which were the most parte of Aristotle and Theophrastus workes, not then thought meete to come in every mans handes. And they say, that this librarie being brought to Rome, Tyrannion the grammarian founde the meanes to extract a great parte of them: and that Andronicus the Rhodian having recovered the originalls into his hands, put them in printe, and wrote the summaries which we have at this present. For the auncient Peripateticke Philosophers were of them selves very wise and learned men, but they had not all Aristotles workes, nor Theophrastus amongst them, and yet those fewe they had, were not by them seene all whole and perfect together: bicause that the goodes of Neleus Scepsian (to whom Theophrastus

SYLLA
Fimbria
camped at
Thyatira.

Fimbria slain.

Sylla very
hardly in-
treated them
of Asia.

Aristotle and
Theophrastus
bookes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and estimacion of them. And furthermore, Sylla being at Athens had such a paine and numnesse in his legges, and was so heavy withall, that Strabo calleth it a spice of the gowte, that is to say, a feeling or entring therinto, which then beganne to roote and take hold of him. Upon which occasion he tooke the seaes, and went unto a place called Adipsum, where there are naturall hotte bathes: and there remained a while solacing him selfe all the day long with musicke, seeing of playes, and entertaining such kinde of people. Upon a day as he was walking by the sea side, certaine fisher men made him a present of fish, which pleased him marvelous well, and demanding of them whence they were: they aunswered him againe, that they were of the city of Ales. What? of Ales sayd he: is there any of them yet left alive? speaking it, bicause that after the battell of Orchomene when he followed the chase of his enemies, he had taken and destroyed three cities of Bœotia all at one selfe time, to wit Anthedon, Larymna, and Ales. The poore fisher men were so amazed with his wordes, that they stooode still, and could not tell what to say. Sylla fell a laughing thereat, and bad them go their wayes a gods name, and be not affrayed, for they brought no small intercessors with them, which were worth the reckening of. When Sylla had geven them these wordes, the Alleians went home with a mery harte, to gather them selves together againe in their city. Sylla so passing through Thessalia and Macedon, came to the sea side, intending to go from the city of Dyrrachium unto Brundusium, with twelve hundred sayle. The city of Apollonia is hard by Dyrrachium, and thereabouts is a parke consecrated unto the nymphes, where in a fayer goodly greene meadowe in many places there commeth out great bubbles of fire that flame continually: and it is sayd that there was a Satyre taken sleeping, even in the very selfe same forme the painters and image gravers have set him out. He was brought unto Sylla, and being asked by all sortes of interpreters what he was, he made no aunswere that a man could understand: but only put forth a sharpe voyce like the neying of a horse, or whynnyng of a

Sylla went to the bathes at Adipsum for the gowte in his legges.

Bubbles of fire rising out of a meadow by Dyrrachium.

A Satyre taken sleeping, and brought to Sylla.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

goate. Sylla wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when Sylla had imbarked his men to passe the sea, he was afrayed that so soone as they were landed in Italie, they would shrinke from him, and every man go home to his owne. But they sware and promised first of them selves, that they would tary and keepe together, and by their willes would doe no hurt in Italie. Moreover, perceiving that he stode in neede of money, they offred him of theirs, and every man to lend him as his ability served. But Sylla would none, yet thanked them for their goodwill: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valliant souldiers, he went against fifteene generalls of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fifty ensignes of footemen well armed, as he him selfe wryteth in his commentaries. But the goddes promised him good fortune in his warres, by many sundry apparant signes. For in a sacrifice he made by Tarentum, after he was come a lande, the liver of a certaine beast sacrificed, was altogether facioned after the maner of a crowne or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang two bandes or rolles. And a litle before he went into Campania, neere unto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, even as two men do when they fight: which neverthelesse was no matter of trueth, but a vision onely that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed it selfe by litle and litle here and there in the ayer, and in thende vanished quite away, as clowdes which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, Marius the younger, and Norbanus the Consull, who brought two great armies against him, were overthrown by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had appointed any man his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely upon the corage and life of his souldiers, whose goodwill to serve against them was such, as following this victory, he compelled the Consull Norbanus after he had slaine sixe thowsande of his men, to take the city of Capua for his refuge. This noble employte, (as him selfe reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their

SYLLA

Sylla went against fifteene Generalls, and foure hundred and fiftie ensignes.

Syllaes returne into Italie.

Epheum mons.

Sylla overthrew the Consull Norbanus and Marius the younger neere to the mountaine Epheum.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

A slave foreshewed Syllaes victory, and the burning of the Capitoll which fell out truly.

A winde that blewe flowers out of a meadow upon Lucullus souldiers by the city of Fidentia.

Lucullus victory at Fidentia.

Syllaes policie with Scipio.

enemies, although they were many against one. And he sayth furthermore, that in the city of Sylvium, there was a slave of one Pontius a citizen, who being inspired with a propheticall spirite, came to tell him from the goddessse Bellona, that he should grow in strength, and cary away the victory of these wars: howbeit that if he did not hye him the sooner, the Capitoll at Rome should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his wordes, being the sixteene day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now Iuly. And furthermore also, Lucullus (one of Syllaes Captaines) being neere unto the city of Fidentia with sixteene ensignes only, against fifty ensignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serve, bicause the most parte of them were naked and unarmed, was afrayed to hazard the battel: and as he was even bethinking him selfe what was best to determine therof, there rose a litle winde out of a goodly meadow that blewe a wonderfull sorte of flowers upon the souldiers on every parte of them. These flowers stayed of them selves as they fell, some upon their targets, and others upon their moryans, without falling to the grounde: so that it seemed to their enemies a farre of, as if they had bene garlandes of flowers upon their heades. This made Lucullus souldiers more lusty a great deale, then they were before, and with this good will they determined to geve a charge upon their enemies: whom they overthrew, slue eighteene thowsand of them in the field, and tooke their campe. This Lucullus was brother unto the other Lucullus, that afterwards overthrew the kings Mithridates, and Tigranes. Nevertheles, Sylla perceiving that his enemies lay round about him with many great puisant armies, thought good to use policy with force: and therefore practised with Scipio, one of the Consulls, to make peace with him. Scipio was willing to it: and thereupon were oft meetings and assemblies of both sides. Now Sylla drave of the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasion of delay, to thend that his souldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft and subtilty as well as him selfe, might in the meane time corrupt Scipioes souldiers by re-payre into his campe: for they comming into Scipioes

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

campe, being very conversaunt with them, straight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, and other with fayer flattering words, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practise had continued a while, Sylla comming nere unto Scipioes campe with twenty ensignes only: all his men saluted Scipioes souldiers, and they resaluting them againe, yelded them selves unto Sylla, so as Scipio was left poste alone in his tente where he was taken, but they afterwards let him goe. So Sylla with his twenty ensignes, like unto the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birds into their netts, having gotten forty ensignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that Carbo sayd of Sylla, that he had to fight with a foxe and a lyon both: but that the foxe did him more hurte and mischief, then the lyon. After this, Marius the younger having fourescore and five ensignes in his campe nere unto the cite of Signium, presented battell unto Sylla: who having very good desire to fight, and specially on that day, because the night before he had seene this vision in his dreame, that he thought he sawe Marius the father (who was deceased long before) warning his sonne that he should come to him. Sylla for this respect desired marvelously to fight that day: and thereuppon caused Dolobella to come unto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies stept betwene him and home, and stopped his passage to keepe him from joyning with Sylla. Syllaes souldiers to the contrarie, fought to keepe the way open for him, with so great labor and paine, that they were all wearie and overharried. And furthermore, there fell a marvelous great shower of raine upon them as they were busie, opening the way, that troubled them more, then the labor they had in hande. Whereuppon the private Captaines of the bandes went to make Sylla understande it, and to pray him to deferre the battell untill an other day: showing him howe the souldiers wearied with labor, lay downe upon their targettes on the grounde to take their ease. Sylla perceiving this, was contented withall, though greatly in deede against his will. But when he had geven the signal to

SYLLA

Sylla wanne
40 ensignes
from Scipio
by policie.

Carboes say-
ing of Sylla
touching the
foxe and lyon.

Marius the
younger with
85 ensignes
presenteth
Sylla battell
by the city of
Signium.

Syllaes vision
in his dreame.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA lodge, and that they beganne to trenche and fortifie their campe: Marius the younger commeth a horse backe marching bravely before all his companie, hoping to have surprised his enemies in disorder, and by that meanes to have overthrowen them easily. But farre otherwise did fortune then performe the revelation which Sylla had in his foresayed dreame: for his men fallinge in a rage withall, left their worke in the trenche where they wrought, stucke their dartes upon the bancke, ranne upon their enemies with their swordes drawn, and with a marvelous crie set upon them so valliantly, that they were not able to resist their furie, but sodainly turned their backes and fled, where there was a great and notable slaughter made of them. Marius their Captaine fled to the citie of Præneste, where he found the gates shut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tied about his midle, and so was triced up by it. Yet some wryters say, and Fenestella among other, that Marius never sawe the battell: for beinge wearied with labor, and verie sleepe, he laye under some tree in the shadowe to rest a litle, after he had geven the signall and word of the battell, and slept so soundly, that he coulde scant awake with the noyse and fleeinge of his men. Sylla him selfe wryteth, that he lost at this battell but three and twentie men, slewe twentie thowsande of his enemies, and tooke eight thowsande prisoners. His Lieutenantes also had the like good successe in other places, Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius: which without any losse of their men, or but with a verie small, overthrowe many great mightie armies of their enemies. Insomuch as Carbo, the heade and chiefe of all the contrarie faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his campe, and went beyonde the seaes into Africke. The last battell that Sylla had, was against Thelesinus Samnyte, who comming like a fresh champion to set upon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battells, had almost slaine him even at Rome gates. For Thelesinus havinge gathered together a great number of souldiers with one Lamponius Lucanian, marched with all speede towards the city of Præneste, to deliver Marius the younger that was besieged there. But understandinge that Sylla on the

Marius fled to
Præneste.

Carbo fled
into Africke.
Thelesinus
the Samnyte
put Sylla
in great
daunger.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

SYLLA

one side, came in great haste also to meete him, and that Pomponius came behinde him on the other side, and perceiving, moreover that the way was so shut up, that he could neither go forward nor backward: being a valliant souldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fieldes, most daungerously ventured to go straight to Rome. And so stale away by night with all his whole power, and marching to Rome ward, had almost taken it at his first comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he stayed happily tenne furlonges from the gate Collina, bragging with him selfe, and beleving that he should doe wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came diverse young noble men and gentlemen out of the citie to skirmishe with Thelesinus: who slue a great number of them, and among others one Appius Claudius a young gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereuppon (as you may easily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and specially the women, who fell a shreeking, and running up and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, Balbus (whom Sylla had sent) came first with seven hundred horse upon the spurre, and staying but a litle to coole and geve them breath, brided straight againe, and went to set apon the enemies thereby to stay them. Soone after him came Sylla also, who commaunded his men that came first, quickly to eate somewhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray: notwithstanding that Dolobella and Torquatus perswaded him to the contrary, and besought him not to put his souldiers wearied with their jorney, to so great and manifest a daunger, and the rather, bicause they had not to fight with Carbo and Marius, but with the Samnytes and Lucanes, who were (both) warlike nations and good souldiers, and those besides that most deadly hated the Romanes. But for all that, Sylla drave them backe, and commaunded his trompets to sounde the alarome, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that ever he fought before. The right wing where Crassus was, had the better much: but the left wing was very sore distressed, and stode in great perill.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

Sylla hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got up upon a white courser that was both swift, and very strong. The enemies knewe him, and there were two that lifted up their armes to throw their dartes at him, whom he saw not : but his page gave his horse such a lash with his whippe, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very pointes of the dartes came hard by the horse tayle, and stucke fast in the grounde. Some say that Sylla had a litle golden image of Apollo, which he brought from the city of Delphes, and in time of warres ware it alwayes in his bosome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kissing it, sayd : O Apollo Pythias, hast thou so highly exalted Cornelius Sylla, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame overwhelme him wholly, even at the very gates of his owne naturall city among his contry men? And so crying out to Apollo for helpe, thrust into the prease among his men, intreating some, threatning others, and layinge upon the rest to stay them. But for all he coule doe, all the left winge of his army was broken and overthrown by his enemies : and him selfe amongst them that fled, was compelled to recover his campe with speede, having lost many of his frendes and familiars. There were moreover many citizens slaine and troden under feete (both with horse and men) that came only to see the battell fought : so that they within the city thought them selves utterly undone. Lucretius Offella furthermore (he that besieged Marius in the citie of Præneste) had almost raised his siege, upon the wordes of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remove with all speede possible, for Sylla was slaine, and Thelesinus had taken Rome. Now about midnight came certaine souldiers from Crassus to Syllaes campe, and asked for meate for Crassus supper, and his mens, who having chased his flying enemies whom he had overthrown, unto the city of Antemna (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. Sylla understanding that, and being advertised that the most parte of his enemies were overthrown at this battell: went him selfe the next morning betimes unto Antemna, where three thousand of his enemies sent to know if he would receive

Syllaes
daunger.

Sylla fled.

Lucretius
Offella be-
sieged Marius
in Præneste.

In the ende of
Marius life it
is reported
contrarie, that
Sylla besieged
Marius the
younger in
Perusia, and
not in Præ-
neste.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

them to mercy, if they yelded them selves unto him. His aunswer was, that he would pardon their lives, so as they would do some mischiefe to their fellows before they came to him. These three thowsand hereupon trusting to his promise, fell upon their companions: and for the most parte one of them killed an other. Notwithstanding, Sylla having gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as wel the three thowsand, as the rest, amounting in all to the number of six thowsand men, within the show place where they used to run their horses: whilst he him self held a counsell in the temple of the goddesse Bellona, and was making his oration there, he had appointed certen to set upon those six thowsand, and put them to the sword every man. Great and terrible were the cries of such a number of men slaine in so small a roome, as many may easily conjecture: insomuch as the Senators sitting in counsell heard them very easily, and marveled what the matter was. But Sylla continuing on his oration which he had begon with a set steady countenance, without chaunging of colour, willed them only to hearken what he sayd, and not to trouble them selves with any thing done abroade: for they were but certen offenders and lewd persons that were punished by his commaundement. This was enough to shew the simplest Romane in Rome, that they had but only chaunged the tyran, but not the tyranny. Now for Marius, that had bene ever of a churlish and severe nature even from his childhood, he never chaunged for any authority, but did rather harden his natural stubbornes. Where Sylla contrarily in the beginning, was very modest and civill in all his prosperity, and gave great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would favor nobility wel, and yet love notwithstanding the benefit of the people. And being moreover a man in his youth geven all to pleasure, deliting to laugh, ready to pity, and weepe for tender hart: in that he became after so cruell and bloody, the great alteracion gave manifest cause to condemne the increase of honor and authority, as thonly meanes wherby mens maners continue not such as they were at the first, but still do chaunge and vary, making some fooles, others vaine and fantastically, and others extreame cruel and unnaturall.

SYLLA

3000 saved them selves in Antemna: and yelded to Sylla upon promise of life.

Sylla against the law of armes and his promise, caused sixe thowsand men to be slaine.

Honor chaungeth condicions. Sylla the example.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

But whether that alteration of nature came by chaunging his state and condicion, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to shewe it selfe, when the way of liberty was layed open: this matter is to be decided in some other treatise. So it came to passe, that Sylla fell to sheading of blood, and filled all Rome with infinite and unspeakeable murthers: for diverse were killed for private quarrels, that had nothing to do with Sylla at any time, who suffered his frends and those about him to worke their wicked wills. Until at the length there was a young man called Caius Metellus, that was so bold to aske Sylla in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should know that all the mischieves were finished, the which they dayly sawe. For said he, we will not intreate you to pardon life, where you have threatned death: but only to put them out of dout, whom you have determined to save. Wherunto Sylla made aunswer, that he was not resolved whom he would save. Metellus replied, Then tell us quod he, who they are that shall dye. Sylla answered he would. Howbeit some say it was not Metellus, but Aufidius one of his flatterers, that spake this last word unto him. Wherefore Sylla immediatly without making any of the magistrats privy, caused foure score mens names to be set up upon postes, whom he would put to death. Every man being offended withal, the next day following he set up two hundred and twenty mens names more: and likewise the third day as many more. Herupon, making an oration to the people, he told them openly that he had appointed all them to dye, that he could call to remembrance: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should dye by daies, as he did call them to minde. Whosoever saved an outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindnes, he himselfe was condemned to dye: not excepting them that had received their brothers, their sonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of every homycide and murtherer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talentes: though it were a slave that had killed his master, or the sonne that had slaine the father. But the most wicked and unjust act of all was, that he deprived the sonnes, and sonnes sonnes of them whom he

Infinite murthers committed in Rome by Sylla and his favorers.

The boldnes of Caius Metellus, to tell Sylla his cruelty in open Senate.

Syllaes procription.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

had killed, of all credit and good name, and besides that, had taken all their goods as confiscate. And this was not only done in Rome, but also in al the cities of Italie through out: and there was no temple of any god whatsoever, no aulter in any bodies house, no liberty of hospital, nor fathers house, that was not embrued with blood and horrible murder. For the husbands were slaine in their wives armes, and the children in their mothers laps: and yet they which were slaine for private hatred and malice, were nothing in respect of those that were murdered only for their goods. And they that killed them might well say, his goodly great house made that man dye, his goodly fayer garden the other: and his hotte bathes an other. As amongst others, Quintus Aurelius, a man that never medled with any thinge, and least looked that these evils should light upon him, and that only pitied those which he sawe so miserably murdered: went one day into the market'place, and reading the bill set up of the outlawes names, found his owne name amongst the rest, and cried out alowde: Alas the day that ever I was borne, my house of Alba maketh me to be put to death. He went not farre from the market place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meane time, Marius the younger seeing he could by no meanes escape if he were taken, slue him selfe. And Sylla comming to Præneste, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certaine forme of justice in putting them to death: but afterwardes as if he had no lenger leasure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelve thowsande men, whom he caused to be put to the sword every man, saving his host only, unto whom he said, that he shewed him specially favor to save his life. But his host answered him stowtly againe, that he would not be beholding unto him for his life, seeing he had slaine all the rest of his contry men: and so thrusting in amongst the citizens, was willingly slaine with them. They thought the act of Lucius Catiline also very straunge, who had slaine his owne brother before the civill warre was ended: and then prayed Sylla to put him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene alive. Sylla performed his desire. Catiline

SYLLA

The murder of outlawes generall through Italy

Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man that medled not, slaine for his house.

Marius the younger slue him selfe at Præneste.

Sylla slue 12 thowsand men in Præneste, being put all into one place together.

Lucius Catiline slue his owne brother.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

thereuppon to shewe his thankfulnessse for the pleasure Sylla had done him, went presently, and slue Marcus Marius, who was of the contrary faction : and brought him his head for a present before all the people, in the midst of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his handes all bloodied in the hallowed font of the temple of Apollo, that was hard by. But besides so many murders committed, yet were there other things also that grieved the people marvelously. For he proclaimed him selfe Dictator, which office had not bene of six score yeares before in use, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, geving him free liberty afterwarde to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goodes : to destroy cities, and to build up new as he listed : to take away kingdomes, and to geve them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly sold the goodes confiscate, by the crier, sitting so prwdly and stately in his chayer of state, that it grieved the people more to see those goodes packt up by them, to whome he gave and disposed them : then to see them taken from those that had forfeited them. For sometimes he would geve a whole contry, or the whole revenues of certaine cities, unto women for their beawty, or unto pleasaunt jeasters, minstrells, or wicked slaves made free : and unto some, he would geve other mens wives by force, and make them to be married against their willes. For he desiring (howsoever it happened) to make alliance with Pompey the great, commaunded him to put away his wife he had married : and taking Æmylia (the daughter of Æmylius Scaurus, and of Metella his wife) from the great Glabrio, caused him to mary her great with childe as she was by Glabrio : but she dyed in childbed, in Pompeyis house. Lucretius Offella also that had brought Marius the younger to that distresse at the city of Præneste : suing to be Consull, Sylla commaunded him to cease his sute. But he notwithstandinge that expresse commaundement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that favored his cause. Whither Sylla sent one of his Centurions that slue Offella before all the people : him selfe sitting in a chayer of estate in the temple of Castor and

Sylla
Dictator.

Lucretius
Offella slaine.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

SYLLA

The order of
Syllaes
triumphe.

Syllaes
twinnes,
named
Faustus and
Fausta.

Sylla leaveth
his Dictator
shippe.

Pollux, and seeing from above the murder done. The people that were about Offella, layed hold of the murderer straight and brought him before Sylla. But Sylla bad them be quiet, that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him goe, bicause he commaunded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumphe, it was a sumptuous sight to behold, for the rarenes of the riches, and princely spoyles which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the banished Romanes, who were the chiefest noble men of all the city of Rome, following his charet triumphant wearing garlandes of flowers on their heades, calling Sylla their father, and savior: bicause that by his meanes they returned to their contry, and recovered their goods, wives, and children. In the end of his triumphe, he made an oration in open assembly of the people of Rome, in the which he did not only declare unto them (according to the custome) what thinges he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe, as of his valliant deedes besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great favor fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, Felix, to say, happy, or fortunate. And he him selfe when he wrote unto the Greecians, or that he had any thing to do with them: sur-named him selfe Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasaunt man, beloved and favored of Venus. His tokens of triumphe which are yet in our contry, have this superscription: *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife Metella had brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter: he named his sonne Faustus, signifying fortunate, and his daughter Fausta: bicause the Romanes call *Faustum* that, which falleth out prosperously, and happely. To be short, he trusted so much unto his good fortune and doinges, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a change and innovation in the common wealth, yet of him selfe he left of his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consulls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a private man among

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

Marcus Lepidus chosen
Consull.

the citizens, offering him selfe to every man that would aske him account of his doings past. It happened that a stowt and rash enemy of his was chosen Consull against his will, called Marcus Lepidus, not for any devotion the people had to Lepidus, but onely to gratifie Pompey, who gave countenance and favor unto him. Sylla seeing Pompey come mery homewardest from the election, and joyfull that he had obtained his frendes sute from all other suters: tooke him a side, and told him: In deede thou hast great cause to rejoyce, young man my frende, for thou hast done a goodly acte: to choose Marcus Lepidus Consull, the veriest asse in all Rome, before Catulus the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou haddest not nede to sleepe: for thou hast strengthened an enemy, that will be thine owne destruction. And Sylla proved a true prophet: for Lepidus being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flatly fell at defiance with Pompey. Now Sylla consecratinge the dismes of all his goodes unto Hercules, made exceeding sumptuous feastes unto the Romanes, the provision whereof was so unreasonable great, that every day they threwe a great deale of meate into the river, and they dranke wine of forty yeares olde and above. During these feastes which continued many dayes, his wife Metella sickened, and dyed, and in her sickenes the Priestes and Soothsayers willed Sylla he should not come neere her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon Sylla was divorced from her in her sickenes, and caused her to be caried into an other house, whilst she lived. And thus did Sylla curiously observe the supersticion and ordinaunce of the Soothsayers: but yet he brake the law which he made him selfe, touching the order of funeralls, sparinge no cost at Metellæs buriall. So did he also breake an other order him selfe had made, touching the reformation of banckets: comforting his sorrow with ordinary feastes, full of all vanity and lasciviousnes. Within a fewe monethes after, he had fensers games at the sharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and unsevered, men and women sitting together, it fortunèd that there was a fayer Lady, and of a noble house, that sat hard by Sylla, called Valeria: she was the daughter of Messala,

Sylla feasted
the people.

Wine of forty
yeres olde
and upward.

Sylla brake
his owne lawes
he made.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and sister of Hortensius the orator, and had bene divorced not long before from her husbande. This Lady passing by Sylla behinde him did softly put her hand on his shoulder, and tooke a heare from of his gowne, and so went on to her place, and sat her downe. Sylla marveling at this familiarity, looked earnestly upon her: It is nothing my Lord, (quod she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a litle of your happines. Her words misliked not Sylla, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them: for he sent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had lived. But after many slye lookes betwene them, they turned their faces one to another upon every occasion, with pretie smyling countenaunces: so that in the end, they came to promise and contract mariage together, for the which Valeria was not to be blamed. For though she was as wise, as honest, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made Sylla mary her, was neither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with a looke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest passions of the minde, to be so caried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this fayer young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women minstrells and tumblers, and to have pleasaunt jeasters and musitians about him, with whome he would lye wallowing and drinking all the day long, uppon litle cowches made for the nonest. For, his companions that were in greatest estimacion with him at that time, were these three: Roscius a maker of common playes, Sorex a prince of scoffers, and one Metrobius a singing man, whom he was in love withall while he lived, and yet did not dissemble his love, though he was past age to be beloved. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the originall cause whereof had a light foundation at the first. For he lived a great time before he perceived that he had an impostume in his body, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his fleshe in such sorte, that it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him continually night and day, yet the lyce they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them

SYLLA

Valeria, desirous to be partaker of Syllaes happines.

Sylla married Valeria, the sister of Hortensius the Orator.

Syllaes impostume turned to lyce.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

SYLLA

that multiplied still upon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate it selfe, but was presently filled with swarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the bathe to washe and clense him selfe of them, but all would not serve: for the chaunging of his flesh into this putriture wanne it straight againe, that there was no clensing, nor shifting of him, that could kepe such a number of lyce from him. Some say, that in old time (amongest the most auncientest men, whereof there is any memory) Acastus the sonne of Pelias, dyed of the lowsie evill: and long time after also, the Poet Alcman, and Pherecidas the devine: and so did Callisthenes Olynthian in prison, and Mutius a wise lawyer. And if we shall make mencion of those that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter: we finde that a bonde man called Eunus, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmen in Sicilia, being taken and caried to Rome, dyed also of the same disease. Furthermore, Sylla did not only foresee his death, but he wrote some thing of it also: for he made an end of wryting the two and twenty booke of his commentaries, two dayes before he dyed. In that booke he sayth, that the wise men of Chaldea had told him long before, that after he had lived honorably, he should ende his dayes in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he sayth also, that his sonne (who departed a litle before his mother Metella) appeared to him in his sleepe, apparrelled in an ill favored gowne, and that comminge unto him, he prayed him he would go with him unto Metella his mother, thenceforth to live in peace and rest with her. But for all his disease, he would not geve over to deale in matters of state. For tenne dayes before his death he pacified a sedition, and tumult, risen among the inhabitantes of the city of Puteolanum (in Italian called Pozzolo) and there he gave them lawes and ordinaunces, wherby they should governe them selves. And the day before he dyed, hearing that Granius who was in debt to the common wealth deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he sent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compasse him about, and commaunded them to strangle him in his sight.

Divers famous men that dyed of lyce.

Syllaes commentaries containe 22 bookes.

Syllaes sonne that was dead appeared to him in his dreame in ill favored apparell.

Granius strangled in Syllaes sight by his owne commaundement.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

The passion of his anger was so vehement against him, that by the extreame straining of him selfe, he brake the impostume in his body, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of blood: by reason whereof his strength failing him, he was full of paine and panges that night, and so dyed, leaving the two litle children he had by Metella. For Valeria was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called Posthumia, because the Romanes call those children that are borne after the death of their fathers, *Posthumi*. Now when Sylla was dead, many gathered about the Consull Lepidus to let that his body should not be honorably buried, as they were accustomed to bury noble men and men of quality. But Pompey, though he was angry with Sylla, because he had geven him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other frendes: yet he made some for love, some by intreaty, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corps into Rome, gave both safety and honor unto the performance of his funeralls. And it is sayd also, that the Romane Ladies, amongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfumes and odoriferous matter towards the same: that besides those which were brought in two hundred and tenne great baskets, they made a great image to the likenes of Sylla him selfe, and an other of a sergeaunt carying the axes before him, all of excellent incence and synamon. When the day of the funeralls came, fearing least it would raine in the forenone, all the element being so cloudy: they deferred to cary forth the body to be burnt, untill past three of the clocke in the afternone. And then rose there such a sodaine boysterous winde, that it set all the stake of wodde straight a fire, that the body was burnt at a tryce, and the fire going out, fell a great shower of raine that held on till night: so that it seemed good fortune following him even to his ende, did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His tombe is to be seene in the felde of Mars, and they say that he him selfe made his owne epitaphe that is wrytten upon it, which was: that no man did ever passe him, neither in doing good to his frendes, nor in doing mischief to his enemies.

SYLLA

Syllaes death.

Posthumi.

Syllaes funeralls.

Syllaes epitaphe.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE COMPARISON OF SYLLA WITH LYSANDER



OW that we have at large also set forth the life of the Romane, let us come to compare them both together. In this they are both a like, that both of them grew to be great men, rising of them selves through their owne vertue: but this only is proper to Lysander, that all the offices and dignities which he attained unto in the common wealth, were layed upon him through the peoples good wills and consents. For he compelled them to nothinge, neither usurped he any extraordinarie authoritie upon them, contrarie to lawe: for, as the common saying is:

Where partialitie, and discorde once doe raigne:
There wicked men are most esteemde, and rule with greatest gaine.

As at that time in Rome, the people being corrupted, and the state of government utterly subverted and brought to nought: to day there rose up one tyranne, to morow another. And therefore we may not wonder if Sylla usurped and ruled all, when such fellowes as Glaucia and Saturninus, did both banish and drive out of Rome such men as Metellus was: and where also in open assembly they slue Consuls sonnes in the market place, and where force of armes was bought and sold for gold and silver, with the which the souldiers were corrupted: and where they made new lawes with fire and sword, and forced men to obey the same. Yet I speake not this in reproache of him that in such troublesome times founde meanes to make him selfe the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity he grew unto in so unfortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from Sparta (at what time it florished most, and was the best governed common weale) he in all great causes, and in most

The chiefe
person is not
alwayes the
honestest.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

LYSANDER
AND
SYLLA

honorable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of all chiefes. Wherefore it happened, that the one resigned up the authority to his contry men, the citizens, which they had geven him, who also restored it to him againe many and sundry times: for the honor of his vertue did alwayes remaine, and made him justly accompted for the worthiest man. Where the other being once only chosen generall of an army, remained tenne yeares continually in warres and hostilitie, making him selfe by force, sometime Consull, sometime vice Consull, and sometime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyranne. In dede Lysander attempted to change, and alter the state of government in his contrie, howbeit it was with greater lenity, and more lawfully then Sylla did. For he sought it by reason, and good perswasion, not by the sword: neither would he make a change of the whole at one selfe time as Sylla did, but sought only to reforme the election of kinges. The which thing according to nature, doubtlesse seemed very just: that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen king of that citie, which was the chiefe over all Greece, not for her nobility, but for her vertue only. For like as a good hunter doth not seeke for the whelp of a good dogge, but for the good dogge him selfe: nor a wise man of armes also, the colte that commeth of a good horse, but the good horse him selfe. Even so, he that taketh upon him to stablish a civill government, committeth a fowle fault: if he looke of whom his Prince should be borne, and not what the Prince him selfe should be, considering that the Lacedæmonians them selves have deprived diverse of their kinges from their crowne and realme, because they were not Princely, but unprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it alwayes ill of it selfe: but vertue is honored for her selfe alone, and not bicause she is placed with nobility. Now for the wronges and injuries they both committed, the one did worke only to pleasure his frendes, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine, that Lysander did great wronges to gratifie his familliaris: and the most parte of them whom he put to death, was to establish the tyrannicall power of certaine his frendes.

Lysanders
and Syllaes
faults.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER
AND
SYLLA

Where Sylla sought for spite to take away his army from Pompey, and the Admiralty from Dolobella, which he him selfe had geuen, and caused Lucretius Offella to be slaine openly in his owne sight, bicause he sought to be Consull, for recompence of the good service he had done: for which cruelty of his, causinge his owne frendes to be slaine in such sorte, he made every man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behaviors touching covetousnes and pleasure doth shew, that the intent of the one was the desire of a good Prince, and the other, that of a tyranne. For we doe not finde that Lysander, for all his great Princely authority, did ever use any insolency or lasciviousnes in his deedes, but alwayes avoyded as much as a man might, the reproache of this common proverbe: 'Lyons at home and Foxes abroad': He led such a true Laconian life, straightly reformed in all poyntes. Where Sylla could never moderate his unlawfull lustes, neither for poverty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came upon him. But whilst he gave lawes to the Romanes touching matrimoniall honestie and chastitie: him selfe in the meane time did nothing but follow love, and commit adultries, as Salust wryteth. By meanes whereof he so much impoverished Rome, and left it so voyde of gold and silver: that for ready money he sold absolute freedome unto the cities their confederates, yet was it his dayly study to confiscate and take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthiest houses in all the whole citie of Rome. But all this spoyle and havoke was nothing in comparison of that which he dayly cast away upon his jeasters and flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we thinke he kept, in his giftes at private banckets: when openly in the day time (all the people of Rome being present to see him sell the goodes which he had caused to be confiscate) he made one of his frendes and familiars, to trusse up a great deale of household stufte, for a very litle price. And when any other had out bidden his price, and that the crier had cried it out alowde: then was he angry, and sayd: My frendes, I have great wrong done me here, not to suffer me sell the spoile I have gotten at mine owne pleasure, and dispose it as I list my selfe. Where Lysander contrarily sent to the common

Lysanders
temperance
and mode-
rate life.

Syllaes licen-
tious and pro-
digall life.

Syllaes tyran-
nicall saying.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

LYSANDER
AND
SYLLA

wealth of Sparta, with other money, the very presentes that were geuen to him selfe. And yet I do not commende him in that deede. For, peradventure he did more hurt to Sparta, bringing thither that gold and silver: then Sylla did to Rome, in wasting and consuming that he consumed. Howbeit I alleage this onely, for prooffe and declaration that Lysander was nothing covetous. They both have done that unto their citie, which never any other but them selves did. For Sylla being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithstanding to good order and government: and Lysander contrarily filled his citie with vice, yet not infected withall him selfe. Thus were they both offenders, the one for breaking the law he commaunded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worse then he was him selfe: for he taught the Spartans to desire those thinges, which he above all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and civill government. Now for matters of warre and battells fought, there is no comparison to be made of Lysander to Sylla, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For Lysander wanne only but two battells by sea, besides the taking of the citie of Athens: which (though I graunt him) being rightly considered, was no great exployte of warre, howbeit it was a noble act, considering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in Bœotia, hard by the citie of Aliarte: a man might say peradventure that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinkes also there was a fault in him, for that he stayed not for king Pausanias aide (the which came from Platees immediatly after his overthrow) and bicause he went in a geere in fury, and in a vaine ambition to runne his head againt a wall: so that men of all sortes making a desperate salye out of Aliarte upon him, slue him there to no purpose. Farre unlike to Cleombrotus that died at the battell of Leuctres, resisting his enemies that distressed his men: nor yet like Cyrus, nor Epaminondas, who to keepe his men from flying, and to geve them assured victory, received his deadly wounde: for all these men dyed like noble kings, and valliant Captaines. Where Lysander rashly cast him selfe away, to his great dishonor, by too much venturing:

Sylla for wars
to be pre-
ferred before
Lysander.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LYSANDER
AND
SYLLA

proving thereby, that the auncient Spartans did like wise men, to avoyde the fight with walles. For the noblest and valliantest man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slaine, not onely by the first souldier that commeth, but by every seely woman or childe. As they say that the worthy Achilles was killed by Paris within the very gates of Troia. Now to the contrarie againe, the victories that Sylla wanne in set battells, and the thowsandes of enemies which he slue, are not easily to be numbred, besides also that he tooke the city of Rome twice, and the haven of Athens: not by famine as Lysander did, but by force, after he had by many great battells driven Archelaus out of firme land, into the maine sea. It is to be considered also, against what Captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a pastime, as a man might say, for Lysander to fight with Antiochus, a pylot of Alcibiades, or to surprise and deceive Philocles, a common orator at Athens:

Much worse then two edged sword, his busie tongue did seeme :
Which prattled still, and honestie did never once esteeme.

And whom Mithridates (in my opinion) would not vouchesafe to compare with his horsekeeper, nor Marius with one of his sergeantes or masebearers. But to leave a side the particular names of all other Princes, Lordes, Consulls, Prætors, Captaines, and Governors that made warres with Sylla: what Romane Captaine was there more to be feared, then Marius? what king living was there of such power as king Mithridates? And of Generalls and Lieutenauntes of armies in all Italie, were there any ever more valliant, then Lampo-nius and Thelesinus: of the which Sylla drave the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and slue the two last? But the greatest matter of all that we have spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that Lysander did all his noble actes, with the aide of his whole contrie: where Sylla to the contrarie did his, (being banished from his contry) by his enemies. And at the selfe same time that they drave Syllaes wife out of Rome, that they overthrewe his houses, and slue his frendes also in Rome: he notwithstanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thowsandes of fighting men in Bœotia,

Sylla fought
with men of
greatest
power and
overcame
them.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and ventred his person in manifold daungers, so that in the end he conquered them all to the honor and benefit of his contry. Furthermore, Sylla would never stoupe to king Mithridates, for any particular allyance he offred him, neither yeelde unto him for any aide of men, or money, to warre against his enemies: but a thing most chiefly to be noted above the rest, he would not vouchesafe to speake to Mithridates, nor to take him by the hande onely, before he had spoken it with his owne mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would forgoe Asia, deliver him his gallies, and geve up the realmes of Bithynia and Cappadocia unto their naturall kinges. This me thinkes was the goodliest act that ever Sylla did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to have preferred the benefit of the common wealth in that sorte, before his private commodity. For therein he was like unto a good greyhound that first pincheth the deare, and holdeth him fast, till he have overthrowen him: and then afterwarde followeth the recovery of his owne private quarrell. And lastly, me thinkes it is easily judged, what difference there was betwene their two natures, in that they did both towards the cite of Athens. For Sylla having taken it, after the citizens had made fierce warres with him for the increase of king Mithridates greatnes: yet he left it free unto them, enjoying their owne lawes. Where Lysander to the contrary, seing such a mighty state and Empire as that, overthrowen from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the libertie of popular government, whereby it had bene governed of long time before: and established there very cruell and wicked tyrans. And therefore in myne opinion, we shall not much swarve from troth, if we geve this judgement: that Sylla did the greater acts: and Lysander committed the fewer faultes. And that we geve to the one the honor of a continent and modest man: and to the other, the commendation of a valliant and skilfull souldier.

LYSANDER
AND
SYLLA

Syllaes magnanimity.

Plutarkes judgement of Sylla and Lysander.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE LIFE OF CIMON

Peripoltas and
his posterity.



The manners
and lewd
partes of
Damon Peri-
poltas.

PERIPOLTAS the Soothsayer, he that brought king Opheltas out of Thessalie into the contry of Bœotia, with the people which were undre his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time florished in that contry, the more parte of the which were ever resident in the city of Chæronæa, bicause it was the first city that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expulsed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great corage, and naturally geven to the warres: who were so forward and adventurous in all daungers therof (in the invasions of the Medes into Greece, and in the battells of the Gaules) that they were slaine all of them, but onely Damon (a litle childe left fatherlesse and motherlesse) surnamed Peripoltas that escaped, who for goodly personage and noble corage excelled all the lusty youthes of his time, though otherwise he was very rude, and of a severe nature. Now it fortunèd, that when Damon was grown of full age, a Romane Captaine of an ensigne of footemen (lying in garrison for the winter season in the citie of Chæronæa) fell in great love with Damon: and bicause he could not reape the frutes of his dishonest love by no intreaty nor giftes, there appeared vehement presumptions that by force he went about to abuse him, for that Chæronæa at that time (being my naturall city where I was borne) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) litle regarded. Damon mistrusting the Captaines villanie, and detesting his abhominable desire watched him a shrewd turne, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, bicause he might the more secretly compasse his enterprise) to be a counsel with him, and take his parte against the Captaine. Now there were a sixteene of them in consort together, that one night blacked their faces all with

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

CIMON

soote, and the next morning after they had dronke together, by the breake of day set upon this Romane Captaine, that was making sacrifice in the market place, and slue him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the citie, which was straight in a great uprore for the murther committed. Thereuppon they called a counsell, and in the market place condemned Damon and his confederates to suffer paines of death: hoping thereby to have cleared their innocencie for the fact done to the Romaines. But the selfe same night, as all the magistrates and officers of the city were at supper together in the townne house according to their custome: Damon and his followers stale upon them sodainly, slue them all, and fled againe upon it. It chaunsed about that time, that Lucius Lucullus being sent on some jorney, passed by the city of Chæronea with his army: and bicause this murther was but newly done, he stayed there a few dayes to examine the troth and originall thereof. And found that the commons of the citie were in no fault, but that they them selves also had received hurte: wherupon he tooke the souldiers of the Romanes that remained of the garrison, and caried them away with him. In the meane time, Damon destroyed all the contry thereabout, and still hovered neere to the citie, insomuch as the inhabitantes of the same were driven in the end to send unto him, and by gentle wordes and favorable decrees handled him so, that they intysed him to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongst them, they chose him Gymnasiarchus, to say, a master of exercises of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oyle in his stoove or hotte house, starke naked as he was, they slue him by treason. And bicause that there appeared sprights of long time after in that place, and that there were heard gronings and sighings as our fathers tolde us, they caused the dore of the hotte house to be walled up: yet for all that, there are visions scene, and terrible voyces and cries heard in that selfe place unto this present time, as the neighbours dwelling by doe testific. Now they that were discended of this Damon (for there are yet of his race in the contrie of Phocides, neere unto the citie of Stiris, who do only of all

Lucius Lucullus examineth the troth of the murther.

Damon slaine by treason.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON
Asbolomeni,
who they
were, and why
so called.

Chæronea in-
dited for the
murther.

Lucullus
called for a
witness of
the troth.

Historie, is
a certaine
image of mens
manners and
wisedom.

A prety
similitude.

other both keepe the language and maners of the Ætoliens) are called Asbolomeni, signifyinge blacke, and besmered with soote: bicause that Damon and his fellowes did blacke their faces with soote, when they slue the Romane Captaine. But the Orchomenians being neere neighbors unto the Chæroneians, and therfore their enemies, hyered an informer of Rome, a malitious accuser, to accuse the whole citie, (as if it had bene one private person alone) for the murther of the Romanes, whome Damon and his companions had slaine. The inditement was drawen, and the case pleaded before the governor of Macedon, for that the Romanes did send no governors at that time into Greece: and the counsellors that pleaded for the citie of Chæronea, relied upon the testimonie of Lucius Lucullus, referring them selves to his reporte, who knew the troth, and how it was. Thereupon the governor wrote unto him, and Lucullus in his letter of aunswere advertised the very troth: so was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stode in daunger of utter destruction. The inhabitantes of the city of Chæronea, for that they had escaped the daunger by testimonie of Lucius Lucullus, to honor him withall, they set up his image in stone in the market place, next unto the image of Bacchus. And we also that be living at this present, though many yeares be gone and passed sence, do notwithstanding reckon our selves partakers of his forepassed benefit. And bicause we are perswaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh us acquainted with mens manners and condicions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that representeth any mans person or shape only: we will comprehend his life and doinges according to the troth, in this volume of noble mens lives, where we doe compare and sorte them one with an other. It shalbe sufficient for us therefore, that we shew our selves thankfull for his benefit, and we thinke, that he himselfe would mislike for reward of his true testimonie, to be requited with a favorable lye told in his behalfe. But like as when we will have a passinge fayer face drawen, and lively counterfeated, and that hath an excellent good grace withall, yet some manner of blemishe or imperfection in it: we will not allowe the drawer to leave it out altogether, nor

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

yet too curiously to shewe it, bicause the one would deforme the counterfeate, and the other make it very unlikely. Even so, bicause it is a hard thing (or to say better, peradventure impossible) to describe a man, whose life should altogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first study to wryte his vertues at large, and thereby seeke perfectly to represent the troth, even as the life it selfe. But where by chaunce we finde certaine faultes and errors in their doinges, proceeding either of passion of the minde, by necessity of the time or state of the common wealthe: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednes proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we shall not neede too curiously to expresse in our history, but rather to passe them lightly over, of reverent shame to the meere frayelty of mans nature, which can not bringe foorth a man of such vertue and perfection, but there is ever some imperfection in him. And therefore, considering with my selfe unto whome I might compare Lucullus, I thought it best to compare him with Cimon, bicause they have bene both valliant souldiers against their enemies, having both done notable exploytes in warres against the barbarous people: and moreover, they have both bene courteous and mercifull unto their citizens, and were both the only men that pacified the civill warres and dissention in their contrie, and both the one and the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was never Greecian Captaine before Cimon, nor Romane Captaine before Lucullus, that had made warres so farre of from their contrie leaving a parte the deedes of Bacchus and of Hercules, and the deedes also of Perseus, against the Æthiopians, the Medes, and the Armenians, and the deedes of Iason also: if there remaine any monument extant since their time, worthie of credit in these our dayes. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that they never ended their warres, they only overthrewe their enemies, but never overcame them altogether. Againe, they may note in them a great resemblance of nature, for their honestie, curtesie and humanitie, which they shewed unto straungers in their contrie: and for the magnificence and sumptuousnes of their life and ordinance

CIMON

Howe to describe the life of a man.

Cimon, and Lucullus in what thinges they were like.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

Cimons
linadge.

Thucydides
linadge.

Miltiades died
in prison.

Cimon de-
famed in his
youth.

Coalemos,
foole.

Cimons con-
dicions.

expençe. It may be we doe leave out some other similitudes betwene them : howbeit in the discourse of their lives they will easily appeare. Cimon was the sonne of Miltiades and of Hegesipyle, a Thracian woman borne, and the daughter of king Olorus, as we finde wrytten in certaine poetically verses which Melanthius and Archelaus have wrytten of Cimon. The father of Thucydides the historiographer him selfe, who was of kinne also unto Cimon, was called in like manner Olorus, showing by the agreeing of the name, that this king Olorus was one of his auncesters, and did also possesse mines of gold in the contry of Thracia. It is sayd moreover that he dyed in a certaine place called the ditchie forrest, where he was slaine : howbeit that his ashes and bones were caried into the contrie of Attica, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongst the tombes of them of the house and family of Cimon, neere unto the tombe of Cimons owne sister called Elpinicè. Notwithstanding, Thucydides was of the village of Alimus, and Miltiades of the village of Lacia. This Miltiades Cimons father, being condemned by the state to pay the summe of fifty talentes, was for non payment cast into prison, and there dyed : and left Cimon and his sister Elpinicè alive, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, Cimon in his first young yeares had a very ill name and reporte in the city, being counted a riotous young man, and a great drinker, following his grandfather Cimons facions up and downe, as he had also his name : saving that his grandfather for his beastlines was surnamed Coalemos, as much to say as foole. Stesimbrotus Thasian, who was about Cimons time, wryteth, that Cimon never learned musike, nor any other of the liberall sciences accustomedly taught to young noble mens sonnes of Greece, and that he had no sharpe wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper unto children borne in the contry of Attica : howbeit that he was of a noble minde, and plaine, without dissimulacion, so that he rather lived Peloponnesian like, then like an Athenian. For he was even such as the Poet Euripides described Hercules to be :

A simple man he was, and could not well disguise :
As honest eke in thinges of weight, as wit could well devise.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

This served fitly to be applied unto Stesimbrotus wordes
 wrytten of him : but notwithstanding, in his first younge
 yeares he was suspected of incontynency with his sister, who
 in deede otherwise had no very good name. For she was
 very familiar with the painter Polygnotus, who painting the
 Troian Ladies prisoners, upon the walls of the gallery,
 called the Plesianaction, and now Pœcile : (to say, set out
 and beautified with divers pictures) he drue (as they say)
 Laodices face upon Elpinices picture. This painter Poly-
 gnotus was no common artificer nor hierling, that painted
 this gallery for moneys sake, but gave his labor franckely to
 the common wealth, as all the historiographers that wrote
 in that time do witness : and as the Poet Melanthius also
 reciteth in these verses :

CIMON

Elpinicè
 Cimons sister
 unchast.

Polygnotus
 the painter.

At his owne proper charge, great cost he hath bestowed :
 In decking up our temples here with gilted roofes embowed,
 For honor of the goddes. And in our towne likewise,
 He hath adorn'd the common place, with many a fine devise.
 Painting and setting forth, in stately show to see,
 The images of demy goddes that here amongst us be.

Yet some say that Elpinicè did not secretly companie
 with her brother Cimon, but lay with him openly as his
 lawfull married wife, bicause she could not for her poverty
 have a husband of like nobilitie and parentage to her selfe.
 Howbeit, that a certaine man called Callias, being one of
 the richest men of the citie, did afterwarde fall in fansie
 with her, and desired to mary her, offering to pay her father
 Miltiades fine of fiftie talents, wherein he stode condemned
 a debter to the state, so that he might have her to his wife.
 Cimon was contented, and uppon that condicion married his
 sister Elpinicè unto Callias. This notwithstandinge, it is
 certaine that Cimon was somewhat amorous, and geven to
 love women. For Melanthius the Poet in certaine of his
 elegies, maketh mencion for his pleasure of one Asteria borne
 at Salamina, and of an other called Mnestra, as if Cimon
 had bene in love with them. But undoutedly, he loved
 his lawfull wife Isodice marvelous well, the daughter of
 Euryptolemus, Megacles sonne, and tooke her death very
 grievously, as we may conjecture by the elegies that were

Elpinicè
 being poore,
 had regarde
 to matche ac-
 cording to her
 state and
 calling.

Cimon subject
 to lascivious
 life.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON wrytten unto him, to comforte him in his sorowe. Panætius the Philosopher is of opinion, that Archelaus the Phisitian wrote those elegies: and sure it is not unlikely, considering the time in which they were wrytten. But furthermore,

The praise of
Cimons con-
ditions.

Cimons nature and condicions deserved great commendacion. For his valliantnesse he gave no place unto Miltiades, and for his wisdome and judgement, he was not inferior unto Themistocles: and it is out of all doubt that he was a juster and honester man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the best of either of both in the discipline of warres, and for the valliantnesse of a noble Captaine: and he did much excell them both in the properties of a good governor, and in thadministracion of the affayres of a citie, when he was but a younge man, and had no experience of warres. For when Themistocles at the comminge in of the Medes counselled the people of Athens to goe out of the citie, to leave their landes and contrie, and to shippe into gallies, and fight with the barbarous people by sea in the straight of Salamina: as everie man was wonderinge at his bolde and venturous counsell, Cimon was the first man that went with a life and jolitie through the streete Ceramicus, unto the castell, accompanied with his younge familiars and companions, caryinge a bitte of a bridle in his hande to consecrate unto the goddesse Minerva, signifyng thereby, that the citie had no neede of horsemen at that time, but of mariners and sea men. And after he had geven up his offering, he tooke one of the targettes that honge uppon the wall of the temple, and havinge made his prayer unto Minerva, came downe to the haven, and was the first that made the most parte of the citizens to take a good harte to them, and coragiously to leave the land, and take the sea. Besides all this, he was a man of a goodly stature, as Ion the Poet testifieth, and had a fayer curled heare and thicke, and fought so valliantlie at the day of the battell, that he wanne immediatly great reputacion, with the love and good will of everie man. So that many were still about him to encorage him, to be lively and valliant, and to thinke thence foorth to doe some actes worthie of the glorie that his father had gotten at the battell of Marathon. And

Cimons per-
sonage com-
mended.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

afterwardes, so soone as he beganne to deale in matters of state, the people were marvelous glad of him, and were wearied with Themistocles: by meanes whereof Cimon was presently advanched and preferred, to the chiefe offices of honor in the citie, being very well thought on of the common people, because of his soft and plaine nature. Moreover, Aristides also did greatlie furder his advancement, because he sawe him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would use him as a countrepease to controll Themistocles craft and stownesse. Wherefore after the Medes were fled out of Greece, Cimon being sent for by the Athenians for their generall by sea, when the citie of Athens had then no manner of rule nor commaundement, but followed kinge Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians: he ever kept his contrie men and citizens in marvelous good order in all the viages he made, and they were readier to doe good service, then any other nation in the whole armie whatsoever. And when kinge Pausanias had practised with the barbarous people to betraye Greece, had wrytten also to the kinge of Persia about it, and in the meane time delt very cruelly and straightly with the confederates of his contry, and committed many insolent partes by reason of the great authority he had, and through his foolish pride whereof he was full: Cimon farre otherwise, gently entertained them whom Pausanias injured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his curteous manner, the Lacedæmonians having no eye to his doinges, he stale away the rule and commaundement of all Greece from them, and brought the Athenians to be sole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his sweete tongue, and gracious manner of using all men. For the most parte of the confederates being no lenger able to away with Pausanias pride and cruelty, came willingly and submitted them selves under the protection of Cimon and Aristides: who did not only receive them, but wrote also to the counsell of the Ephores at Lacedæmon, that they should call Pausanias home, for that he dishonored Sparta, and put all Greece to much trouble and warres. And for prooffe hereof, they say that king Pausanias being on a time in the citie of Byzance, sent for Cleonice, a young

CIMON

Cimon General for the Athenians by sea.

King Pausanias through his insolency and pride, lost the Lacedæmonians all their rule of Greece.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

maiden of a noble house, to take his pleasure of her. Her parentes durst not keepe her from him, by reason of his crueltie, but suffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of Pausanias chamber to take away the lightes, and thinking in the darke to come to Pausanias bed that was a sleepe, groping for the bed as softly as she could to make no noyse, she unfortunately hit against the lampe and overthrew it. The falling of the lampe, made such a noyse, that it waked him on the sodaine, and thought straight therewithall that some of his enemies had bene comen traiterously to kill him, wherupon he tooke his dagger lying under his beddes head, and so stabbed it in the young virgine, that she dyed immediatly upon it. Howbeit she never let Pausanias take rest after that, bicause her spirite came every night and appeared unto him, as he would faine have slept, and spake this angrily to him in verse, as followeth :

Pausanias
killed the
young Bizan-
tine virgine.

Keepe thou thy selfe upright, and justice see thou feare,
For woe and shame be unto him, that justice downe doth beare.

This vile fact of his did so stirre up all the confederates against him, that they came to besiege him in Bizantium under the conduction of Cimon: from whom notwithstanding he escaped, and secretly saved him selfe. And bicause that this maidens spirite would never let him rest, but vexed him continually: he fled unto the city of Heraclea, where there was a temple that conjured dead spirites, and there was the spirite of Cleonice conjured, to pray her to be contented. So she appeared unto him, and told him that he should be delivered of all his troubles so soone as he came to Sparta: signifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he should suffer there. Divers wryters do thus reporte it. Cimon being accompanied with the confederates of the Greecians, which were come to him to take his parte: was advertised that certaine great men of Persia, and allyed to the king himselfe, who kept the city of Eione, upon the river of Strymon in the contrie of Thracia, did great hurt and damage unto the Greecians inhabiting thereabouts. Upon which intelligence he tooke

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the sea with his armie, and went thither, where at his first comming he vanquished and overthrewe the barbarous people in battell: and havinge overthrowen them, drave all the rest into the city of Eione. That done, he went to invade the Thracians that dwelt on the other side of the river of Strymon, who did commonly vittell them of Eione: and having driven them to forsake the contrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole him selfe. Whereupon he held them that were besieged at Eione so straightly from vittells, that Butes the king of Persiaes Lieutenaunt, dispayringe of the state of the citie, set fire on the same, and burnt him selfe, his frendes, and all the goodes in it. By reason whereof, the spoyle taken in that citie was but small, because the barbarous people burnt all the best thinges in it with them selves: howbeit he conquered the contrie thereaboutes, and gave it the Athenians to inhabite, being a verie pleasante and fertile soyle. In memorie whereof, the people of Athens suffered him to consecrate and set up openly three Hermes of stone, (which are foure square pillers) upon the toppes of the which they set up heades of Mercurye: upon the first of the three pillers, this inscription is graven:

CIMON
Cimonsjourney
and victorie
in Thracia.

Butes burneth
him selfe, city,
and frendes,
for feare of
Cimon.

Statues of
Mercury.

The people truely were, of corage stowte and fierce,
Who having shut the Medes fast up (as stories do rehearce)
Within the walled towne, of Eione that tyde,
Which on the streame of Strymon stands: they made them there
abide

The force of famines pinche, and therewith made them feele,
The dynte of warre so many a time, with trusty tooles of steele,
Till in the end dispaire, so peared in their thought,
As there they did destroy them selves, and so were brought to
nought.

Upon the second there is such an other:

The citizens which dwell, in Athens stately towne,
Have here set up these monuments, and pictures of renowne.
To honor so the facts, and celebrate the fame,
Their valliant chieftaines did achieve, in many a marshall game.
That such as after come, when they thereby perceive,
How men of service for their deedes, did rich rewards receive,
Encouraged may be, such men for to resemble,
In valliant acts, and dreadfull deedes, which make their foes to
tremble.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

And upon the third an other :

When Mnestheus did lead forth of this citie here,
An armie to the Troyane warres, (by Homer doth appeare)
He was above the rest, that out of Græcia went :
A valliant knight, a worthy wight, a Captaine excellent.
To take in hand the charge, an army for to guide :
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praise of prowesse then, (O grave Atheniens)
Is now no newes to fill the eares of these your citizens.
Since through the world so wide, the fame and worthy praise,
For marshall feates, to you of yore hath judged beene alwayes.

Sochaes
Decelean,
spake against
Miltiades re-
quest for the
garland of
Olyve
boughes.

Cimon wanne
the Ile of
Scyros.

Now, though Cimons name be not comprised in these inscriptions, yet they thought that this was a singular honor to him at that time: for neither Miltiades nor Themistocles had ever the like. For when Miltiades requested the people one day that they would licence him to weare a garland of olyve boughes upon his head: there was one Sochaes, borne in the towne of Decelea, that standing up in open assembly spake against him, and sayd a thing that marvelously pleased the people, though in deede it was an unthankful recompence for the good service, he had done to the common wealth. When you have Miltiades, (sayd he) overcome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honored alone also. But howe was it then, that Cimons service was so acceptable to the Athenians? Yt was in myne opinion, bicause they had with other Captaines fought to defende them selves and their contrie onely: and that under the conduction of Cimon, they had assaulted and driven their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of Eione and of Amphipolis, which afterwarde they did inhabite with their owne citizens, and wanne there also the Ile of Scyros, which Cimon tooke upon this occasion. The Dolopians did inhabite it, who were idle people, and lived without labor or tillage, and had bene rovers of the sea of a wonderfull long time, using pyracie altogether to maintaine them selves withall: so that in the end they spared not so much as the marchaunts and passengers that harbored in their havens, but robbed certaine Thessalians that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goodes from them, yet would they cast them in prison besides.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

CIMON

The counsell
of the Am-
phictyons.

Howbeit the prisoners found meanes to escape, and after they had saved them selves, repayred to the parliament of the Amphictyons, which is a generall counsell of all the states and people of Greece. The Amphictyons understandinge the matter, condemned the cite of the Scyrians to pay a great summe of money. The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, and bad them that robbed the marchautes and had the goodes in their handes, pay it if they would. And therefore, bicause there was no other likelyhood, but that the theeves them selves should be driven to aunswer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters unto Cimon, and willed him to come with his army, and they would deliver their city into his handes: the which was performed. And thus Cimon having conquered this Iland, drave out the Dolopians thence, and ryd the sea Ægeum of all pirates therby. That done, remembering that the auncient Theseus, the sonne of Ægeus, flying from Athens came into that Iland of Scyros, where king Lycomedes suspecting his comming had traiterously slaine him. Cimon was marvelous carefull to seeke out his tombe, bicause the Athenians had an oracle and prophecie, that commaunded them to bring his ashes and bones backe againe to Athens, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knewe not where he was buried, for that the inhabitantes of the Ilande would never before confesse where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much a doe founde the tombe, put his bones aboard the Admirall galley sumptuously decked and set forth, and so brought them againe into his contry, foure hundred yeares after Theseus death. For this, the people thanked him marvelously, and thereby he wanne exceedingly the Athenians good willes: and in memorie of him they celebrated the judgement of the tragicall playes of the Poets. For when Sophocles the Poet, being a young man had played his first tragedy, Aphepsion the president perceivinge there was great strife and contention amongst the lookers on, would not draw them by lottes that should be judges of this play, to geve the victorie unto that Poet that had best deserved: but when Cimon and the other Captaines were come into the Theater to see the same, (after they had

Theseus bones
brought to
Athens 400
yeres after
his death by
Cimon.

Sophocles and
Æschylus
contention for
victory.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

made their accustomed oblations unto the god, in honor of whom these playes were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an othe unto tenne, (which were of every tribe of the people, one) and the othe being geven, he caused them to sit as judges to geve sentence, which of the Poets should cary away the prise. This made all the Poetes strive and contend who best shoulde doe, for the honor of the judges: but Sophocles, by their sentence bare away the victory. But Æschilus (as they say) was so angry and grieved withall, that he taried not long after in Athens, and went for spight into Sicilia, where he dyed and was buried neere unto the citie of Gela. Ion wryteth that he being but a young boy, newly come from Chio unto Athens, supped one night with Cimon at Laomedons house, and that after supper when they had geven the goddes thankes, Cimon was intreated by the company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that every man praised him that heard him, and sayd he was more curteous then Themistocles farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play upon the citherne, aunswered them, he was never taught to sing nor play upon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich and mighty city. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to an other, as it falleth out commonly in speeche, they entred in talke of Cimons doinges: and having rehearsed the chiefest of them, he him selfe told one, which was the notablest and wisest parte of all the rest that ever he played. For the Athenians and their confederates together, having taken a great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of Sestos and of Bizantium: the confederates to honor him withall, gave him the preheminance to devide the spoyle amongst them. Whereuppon he made the division, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by them selves, and layed the spoyles and their apparell by them selves. The confederates founde this distribution very unequal: but neverthesse Cimon gave them the choyce to choose which of the two they would, and that the Athenians should be contented with that which they left. So there was a Samian Captaine called Herophytus, that gave the confederats

Æschylus overcome by Sophocles, dwelleth in Sicilia, and dyeth there.

Cimon sang passing swetely.

Cimons cunning division of the spoyle.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

counsel rather to take the spoiles of the Persians, then the Persians them selves, and so they did: for they tooke the spoile of the prisoners goodes and apparell, and left the men unto the Athenians. Wherupon Cimon was thought at that time of the common souldiers to be but an ill devider of spoyle, bicause that the confederats caried away great store of chaines, karkanets, and braselets of gold, and goodly rich purple apparell after the Persian facion: and the Athenians brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and unacquainted with paine and labor. But shortly after, the parentes and frendes of these prisoners, came out of Phrygia and Lydia, and redeemed every man of them at a great raunsome: so that Cimon gathered such a masse of readie money together by their raunsome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his gallies with the same, for the space of foure monethes after, and left a great summe of money besides in the sparing treasure of Athens. Cimon by this meanes being nowe become riche, bestowed the goodes which he had thus honorably gotten from the barbarous people, more honorably againe, in relieving his poore decayed citizens. For he brake up all his hedges and inclosures, and layed them plaine and open, that travellers passing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much frute thereof as they would, without any maner daunger. And furthermore, kept a continuall table in his house, not furnished with many dishes, but with meate sufficient for many persons, and where his poore contrie men were dayly refreshed, that would come unto that ordinary: so as they needed not otherwise care to labor for their living, but might be the readier, and have the more leasure to serve the common wealth. Yet Aristotle the Philosopher wryteth, that it was not for all the Athenians indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men onely in the village of Lacia, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwayes certaine young men waiting on him of his household servauntes well apparelled, and if he met by chaunce as he went up and downe the citie, any olde citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of these younge men strip him selfe, and change apparell with the olde man: and that was very well thought

CIMON
Herophytus
Samian, gave
Counsell to
choose the
spoyle.

Cimons liber-
ality and
hospitality.

Cimons
charity.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON of, and they all honored him for it. Moreover, these young men caried ever good store of money about them : and when they met with any honest poore citizen in the market place, or else where, knowinge his povertie, they secretly gave him money in his hande, and sayd never a worde. Which the Poet selfe Cratinus seemeth to speake of, in a comedie of his intituled the *Archiloches*.

I am Metrobius the secretarie, he,
Which did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be :
At wealthie Cimons borde, where want was never found,
Whose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound.
There thought I for to passe myne aged yeares away,
With that right noble godly man, which was the Greecians stay.

How Cimon
used his
goods.

Furthermore, Gorgias Leontine sayd, that Cimon got goodes to use them, and that he used them to be honored by them. And Critias that was one of the thirty tyrannes of Athens, he wisheth and desireth of the goddes in his elegies :

The goddes of Scopas heyres, the great magnificence,
And noble hart of Cimon he, who spared none expence :
The glorious victories, and high triumphant showes,
Of good Agesilaus king, good goddes, oh graunt me those.

The hospital-
ity of Lichas
Spartan.

The name of Lichas Spartan, hath bene famous amongst the Greecians : and yet we know no other cause why, saving that he used to feast straungers that came to Lacedæmon on their festivall day, to see the sportes and exercises of the young men daunsing naked in the city. But the magnificence of Cimon, did farre exceede the auncient liberality, curtesie, and hospitalitie of the Athenians : for they of all other were the first men that taught the Greecians through out all Greece, how they should sow corne, and gather it to maintaine them selves withall, and also shewed them the use of welles, and howe they should light and keepe fire. But Cimon makinge an hospitall of his owne house, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieved, and permittege straungers that travelled by his groundes to gather such frutes there, as the time and season of the yeare yelded : he brought againe (as it were) into the world, the goodes to be

Cimons godly
actes.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

in common amongst them, as the Poets say they were in the old time of Saturnes raigne. And now, where some accused this honest liberality of Cimon, objecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good willes by that meanes: the maner of life he led, accompanying his liberality, did utterly confute and overthrow their opinions that way of him. For Cimon ever tooke parte with the nobilitie, and lived after the Lacedæmonians manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwayes against Themistocles, who without all compasse of reason encreased the authority and power of the people: and for this cause he joyned with Aristides, and was against Ephialtes, who would for the peoples sake have put downe and abolished Ariopagus courte. And where all other governors in his time were extorcioners, and bribetakers: (Aristides and Ephialtes only excepted) he to the contrarie led an uncorrupt life in administracion of justice, and ever had cleane hands, whatsoever he spake or did, for the state and common wealth, and would therefore never take money of any man living. And for prooffe hereof, we finde it wrytten, that a noble man of Persia called Resaces, being a traitor to his master the king of Persia, fled on a time unto Athens: where being continually bayted and wearied, with the common accusations of these tale bearers and picke thanks, that accused him to the people, he repayred at the length unto Cimon, and brought him home to his owne dore two bowles, thone full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of silver, which be peeces of money so called, because that the name of Darius was written upon them. Cimon seeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather choose: to have him his frende, or his hierling. The barbarous noble man answered him, that he had rather have him his frend. Then sayd Cimon to him againe, Away with thy golde and silver, and get thee hence: for if I be thy frend, that gold and silver shall ever be at my commaundement, to take and dispose it as I have neede. About that time beganne the confederates of the Athenians to be weary of the warres against the barbarous people, desiring thenceforth to live

CIMON

Cimon brought the golden world againe.

Cimons integrity and cleane hands.

Resaces attempted to bribe Cimon.

Darickes, whereof so called.

A noble saying of Cimon.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

quietly, and to have leasure to manure and husband their groundes, and to trafficke also, considering that they had driven their enemies out of their contrie, and that now they did them no more hurte : by reason whereof they payed the money they were sessed at, but they would furnish no moe men nor shippes as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the Athenians compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and prosecuted law against them that failed payment, condemning them in great fines, and that so cruelly, that they made the seigniorie and dominion of the Athenians hatefull unto their confederates. Howbeit Cimon tooke a contrary course to them : for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and voyde ships of them that would not, or could not serve in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become slothfull mongrells in their houses, by too much rest, and to transpose them selves from good souldiers which they had bene, to laborers, marchauntes, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the beastly slothfull desire they had, to live pleasauntly at home. And contrarily, causing a great number of the Athenians one after an other to serve in gallies, he so acquainted them with continuall paines in his viages : that he made them in shorte space become Lordes and masters over them, that gave them pay, and entertainment. For they beganne by litle and litle to flatter and feare the Athenians, whom they saw trained continually in the warres, ever bearing armor, and carying their weapons in their hands, becomming expert souldiers at their charge, by reason of the pay they gave them : so that in the end, they became subjects and contributaries as it were unto them, where before they were their frendes and companions. So as there never was Greecian Captaine that brided more the crueltie and power of that mightie Persian king, then Cimon did. For, after he had driven him out of all Greece, he left him not so, but following him foote hotte, as we commonly say, before the barbarous people could take breath, or geve wise and direct order for their doinges : he made so great speede, that he tooke some of their cities from them by force, and other some by prac-

. The benefit of paines and service : and the discommodity of ease and idleness.

Cimon plagued the Persians.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

tise, causing them to rebell against the king, and turne to the Grecians side. Insomuch as there was not a man of warre left for the king of Persia, in all Asia, from the contrie of Ionia, directly downe to Pamphylia. And furthermore, being advertised that the kinges Captaines were upon the coast of Pamphylia with a great armie by sea, because he would feare them in such sorte, that they should not brave any more to shewe them selves upon the sea, on this side of the Iles of the Chelidonians: he departed from the Ile of Gindos, and from the citie of Triopium, with two hundred gallies, the which at the first had bene excellently well made and devised by Themistocles, as well for swift sayling, as for easie turning. Howbeit Cimon made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carie the greater number of men of warre in battell, to assault the enemies. And so went first against the Phaselites, who were Grecians borne, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the Grecians parte, nor receive their armie into their havens: landed there, destroyed all the contrie, and then came and camped with his armie hard at their walles. But the men of Chio being auncient frendes of the Faselites, and in Cimon's armie at that jorney: did somewhat pacifie his anger, and gave advertisement to them of the citie of their doings by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and shotte over the walles. So as in the end they procured their peace with condicion, that the Faselites should pay ten talentes for a fine: and furthermore should also follow the armie of the Grecians, and from thencefoorth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous people. Now Ephorus sayth, that the Persian Captaine that had charge of the armie by sea, was called Tithraustes, and the Captaine of the armie by lande, Pherendates. But Callisthenes wryteth, that Ariomandes the sonne of Gobrias was the kinges Lieutenaunt, havinge chiefe authority over the whole armie that lay at ancker, before the river of Eurymedon, and had no desire to fight, because they looked for a new supply of foure score sayle of the Phenicians, that should come to them from Cyprus. But Cimon contrarily, sought to fight before these gallies of the Phenicians came to joyne

CIMON

Chio an Ile.

Cimon wanne
the city of
Faselis.

Ariomandes
the kinges
Lieutenant
of his whole
army by sea,
ryding at
ancker before
the river of
Eurymedon.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, determining to geve a charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not. Which the barbarous people perceiving, drew neerer into the mouth of the river Eurymedon, because they should not compasse them in behinde, nor force them to come to battell against their willes. Which notwithstanding, when they saw the Athenians come to set upon them where they lay, they made out against them, a flete of sixe hundred sayle, as Phanodemus declareth: or as Ephorus wryteth, three hundred and fifty sayle only. But they did nothings worthise of so great a power, at the least touchinge the fight by sea, but turned their prooes straight to the river: where such as coulede recover the mouth thereof in time saved them selves, flying to their armie by lande, which was not farre from that place set also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardy by the way, they were slaine, and their gallies sonke or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great number of them, for many were saved as it is likely, and many also were splitted to peeces, and yet the Athenians tooke two hundred of them prisoners. In the meane season, their armie by lande came neerer to the sea side: which Cimon perceiving, stooode in some doubt whether he should lande his men or not, because it seemed a hard and daungerous thing unto him, to land in spight of his enemies: and to put forth the Greecians already wearied with the first battell against the barbarous people, who were altogether whole, freshe, and lustie, and withall many in number against one. Neverthelesse, perceiving that his men trusted in their force, besides the corage which the first victorie gave them, and that they desired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them a lande while they were whotte yet with the first battell. And so with great furie and lowde cries they ranne immediatly against the barbarous people, who stooode still and sturred not, and received their first charge very valliantly: by reason wherof, the battell grew sharpe and bloody, inso-much as there were slaine all the greatest personages and men of best accompt of all the Athenians armie. But the other fought it out so valliantly, that in the ende they wanne

Cimons victory of the Persians both by sea and land.

Cimon tooke two hundred sayle prisoners at the battell fought by the river of Eurymedon.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the field, and with marvelous difficultie made the barbarous people flye, whereof they slue a great number in the place, and tooke the rest prisoners with all their tents and pavilions, which were full of all sortes of riches. Thus Cimon like a valliant champion of the holy games, having in one selfe day wonne two victories, and having excelled the battell by sea also which the Greecians had wonne within the channell of Salamina, with that which he wanne then upon the lande: and the battell which the Græcians wanne by lande before the city of Platees, with that which he wanne the day before on the sea: yet he was not contented with all this. For, after two so famous victories obtained, he would once againe fight for the honor of the tokens of triumphe: and being advertised that the foure score sayle of the Phœnicians (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arrived at the head of Hydra, he sayled thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this fleete, knewe no certainty of the overthrow of their chiefest armie, but stooed in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was overthrowen in that sorte: and therefore were they so much the more affrayed, when they descried a farre of the victorious armie of Cimon. To conclude, they lost all their shippes, and the greatest parte of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. This victorie against the Persians did so dawnte and plucke downe the pride and loftie minde of the barbarous Persian king, as he made that condicion of peace so much spoken of in auncient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thenceforth should come no neerer to the Græcian sea, then the carrere of a horse, and that he would sayle no further forward, then the Iles Chelidonians, and Cyaneans, with any gallies or other shippes of warre. Howbeit the historiographer Callisthenes wryteth, that it was no parte of any article comprised within the condicion of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of this so great an overthrow: and that afterwarde he kept so farre from the Græcian sea, that Pericles with fiftie saile, and Ephialtes with thirty only, did sayle beyonde the Iles Chelidoniæ, and no barbarous fleete ever came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst

CIMON
Cimon overcame the battell of the barbarous people also by lande.

Cimon brought the king of Persia to condicion of peace.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

the common actes of Athens, which Craterus hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found wrytten at large, as a thing that was true in deede. And it is sayd, that for this occasion the Athenians built an aulter of peace, and that they did Callias great honor, for that he was sent Ambassador unto the king of Persia to take his othe for confirmation of this peace. So when all these spoiles of the enemies were sold to them that would geve most, there was such store of gold and silver in the sparing cofers of their treasurie, that there was enough to serve their turne for any service they would employ it to, and besides that, they had sufficient to build up the side of the wall of the castell which looketh towards the south, this voyage and great spoyle did so enrich them. And it is sayd moreover, that the building of the long walles that joyne to the citie with the haven, which they call the legges, was built and finished afterwards: howbeit the first fundacions thereof were built with the money Cimon gave towards it, for that the worke met with moorish and watery places, by meane whereof they were driven to fill up the marisses, with force of flyntes and great logges, which they threw unto the bottome. It was he also that first did beautifie and set forth the citie of Athens, with places of liberall exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plane trees to be set in the market place: and the Academie which before was very drye and naked, he made it now a pleasaunt grove, and full of goodly springes which he brought into it, and made fine covered arbors to walke in, and goodly long smooth allies to runne a good course in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine Persians dwelling in Cherronesus, (to say a demy Ile of the contrie of Thracia) would not be gotten out, but sent to the people of high Thracia, to pray their aide to defend them selves against Cimon: of whome they made but litle accompt, bicause he was departed from Athens with a very few shippes, who set upon them only with foure gallies, and tooke thirteene of theirs. And so having driven the Persians out of Cherronesus, and subdued the Thracians, he conquered all the contrie of Cherronesus, from Thracia

Callias sent Ambassador to take the othe of the king of Persia.

Cimon was at the charge of certaine common buildings.

Cimon drave the Persians out of Thracia.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

unto his owne contrie. And departing from thence went against them of the Ile of Thasos, that had rebelled against the Athenians: and having overcome them in battell by sea, he wanne three and thirtie of their shippes, and besides that tooke their cite by siege, and wanne the mynes of golde lying beyonde the same to the Athenians, with all the lands that belonged unto them. This conquest made his way open into Macedon, and gave him great oportunitie to have taken the best parte thereof at that present time. But bicause he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he was suspected to have taken money, and to have bene bribed by presentes of king Alexander: whereupon, his secret enemies layed their heades together, and accused him. But Cimon to clere him selfe before the judges of this accusation, sayd unto them: I have practised friendshippe neither with the Ionians, nor yet with the Thessalians, both which are very riche and wealthie people: neither have I taken their matters in hand, as some other have done, to receive both honor and profit by them. But in deede I am a frende to the Lacedæmonians, for I confesse I love them, and desire to followe their sobrietye, and temperaunce of life, the which I preferre and esteeme above any riches or treasure: although I am very glad notwithstandinge to enrich our state and common wealth with the spoyles of our enemies. Stesimbrotus reporteth this accusation, and sayth: that his sister Elpinicè went to Pericles house, (who was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to pray him not to deale so extremely with her brother: and that Pericles laughing on her, sayd, Alas, thou art too old, Elpinicè, thou, now to overcome these matters. Yet for all that, when Cimon's cause came to hearinge, he was a more gentle adversarie, then any other of his accusers, and rose up but once to speake against him, and that for manners sake only: so that Cimon thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And furthermore, so long as he was present in Athens, he alwayes kept the seditious people in obedience, who would ever crosse and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, bicause they would have all the sway and rule in their owne handes. But when Cimon was sent

CIMON

Cimon
accused and
discharged.

Cimon praiseth the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians.

Stesimbrotus
the historian.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

* Areopagus was a village of Mars by Athens, where the judges called Areopagitæ did sit to judge causes of murder, and other waightie matters concerning the common wealth.

Democratia rule of communalty.

Pericles in Cimons absence reduceth the common wealth unto the state Democratia.

Optimacia the government of the nobility.

abroade any whither to the warres, then the common people having no bodie to gainesay them, turned, and altered the government of the citie topsie turvey, and confounded all the auncient lawes and customes which they had observed of long time, and that by the procurement and setting on of Ephialtes. For they tooke away all hearing of causes in maner from the court of *Areopagus, and put all authoritie of matters judiciall into the handes of the people, and brought the state of the citie into a pure Democratia, to say: a common weale ruled by the sole and absolute power of the people, Pericles being then in great credit, who altogether favored the peoples faction. Wherefore Cimon at his returne, finding thauthority of the Senate and counsell so shamefully defaced and troden under foote, was marvelously offended withall, and sought to restore thauncient state of judgement againe as it was before, and set up the government of the nobility (called Optimacia) that was established in the time of Clisthenes. But then beganne his enemies againe with open mouth to crye out upon him, reviving the olde former naughty rumor that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne sister: and furthermore accusing him, that he did favor the Lacedæmonians. And amongst other thinges there ranne in the peoples mouthes the verses of the Poet Eupolis, which were made against Cimon:

No wicked man he was, but very negligent,
 And therewithall to wyne much more, then unto money bent.
 He stale somtimes away, at Sparta for to sleepe:
 And left poore Elpinice his wife, at home alone to weepe.

And if it be so, that being thus negligent and geven to wyne, he have gotten so many cities, and wonne such sundry great battells: it is out of doubt then that if he had bene sober and carefull, there had never bene before him nor since any Græcian Captaine, that had passed him in glorie of the warres. In deede it is true, that from the beginning he ever loved the manner of the Lacedæmonians: for of two twynnes which he had by his wife Clitoria, he named thone of them Lacedæmonius, and thother Eleus, as Stesimbrotus wryteth, saying that for that cause Pericles did ever twit

Cimon followed the Lacedæmonian maner.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

CIMON

them in the teeth with their mothers stocke. Howbeit Diodorus the Geographer wryteth, that both those two, and an other third called Thessalus, were borne of Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the sonne of Megacles. Howsoever it was, it is certaine that Cimons credit grew the greater, by the favor and countenance which the Lacedæmonians gave him, who had hated Themistocles of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that Cimon being but a young man, did beare more sway in Athens then he. Which the Athenians perceived well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning: bicause the goodwill of the Lacedæmonians towards him, did bring them great commodity. For when the Athenians beganne to growe of great power, and to practise secretly that the confederats of the Græcians should forsake the Lacedæmonians to joyne with them: the Lacedæmonians were not angrie withall, for the honor and love they bare unto Cimon, who did alone in maner manedge all thaffayres of Græce at that time, bicause he was very courteous unto the confederates, and also thankfull unto the Lacedæmonians. But afterwardes when the Athenians were aloft and of great power, and that they saw Cimon stucke not for a litle matter with the Lacedæmonians, but loved them more then they would have had him: they beganne then to envy him, bicause in all his matters he had to do, he ever highly praised and extolled the Lacedæmonians before them. But specially, when he would reprove them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perswade them to do any thing: The Lacedæmonians, sayd he, I warrant ye do not so. That, as Stesimbrotus sayth, made him marvelously to be maliced of the people. But the chieftest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out upon this occasion. The fourth yeare of the raigne of Archidamus, the sonne of Zeuxidamus king of Sparta, there fortunèd the wonderfullest and most fearefull earthquake in the citie of Lacedæmon, and thereabouts, that ever was heard of. For the earth in many places of the contrie opened, and fell as into a bottomesse pit. The mountaine Taygetum shooke so terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the citie was

A marvelous
great earth-
quake in
Lacedæmon.

Taygetum
mons.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

layed on the ground and overthrowen, five houses only excepted, the rest being wholly destroyed. And it is said also, that a litle before this earthquake came, the young men of that citie were playing with the young boyes exercising them selves starke naked under a great galery covered over: and as they were sporting together, there started up a hare hard by them. The young men spyng her, ranne after the hare starke naked and oyled as they were, with great laughter. They were no sooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell downe upon the boyes that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memorie of the same, the tombe where they were afterwarde buried, is called unto this day Sismatias, as much to say, as the tombe of those which the earthquake had slaine. But king Archidamus foreseeing straight upon the sodaine the daunger that was to come, by that he saw present, perceiving his citizens busie in saving their householde stuffe, and that they were running out of their houses: made the trompetters to sound a hotte alarome upon it, as if their enemies had come stealingly upon them to take the citie, to thende that all the inhabitantes should presently repayre unto him (settinge all busines aparte) with armor and weapon. That sodaine alarome doubtlesse saved the citie of Sparta at that time: for the Ilotæ, which are their slaves and bondmen in the contrie of Laconia, and the contrie clownes of litle villages thereabouts, came running armed out of all partes, to spoyle and robbe them upon the sodaine, that were escaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then beganne afterwarde to make open warres upon them, when they had drawn certaine of their neighbors unto their confederacie, and specially the Messenians, who made hotte warres upon the Spartans. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians sent Periclidias unto Athens to demaunde ayde: whome Aristophanes the Poet mocking, sayed:

With visage pale and wanne, he on the aulter sate,
In skarlet gowne requiring ayde, to succor their estate.

Against whom Ephialtes also spake very much, protesting

Archidamus
sodaine policy
saved the city.

Ilotæ slaves
and bondmen
to the Lacedæmonians.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that they should not ayde nor relieve a city that was an enemy unto Athens, but rather suffer it to fall to the ground, and to spurne the pride and arrogancy of Sparta under their feete. But Cimon (as Cricias saith) being more carefull for the benefit of Sparta, then for thenlarging and encreasing of his contry: brought it to passe by his perswasion, that the Athenians sent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore Ion rehearseth the very selfe wordes that Cimon spake to move the people to graunt his request. For he besought them that they woulde not suffer Græce to halte, as if Lacedæmon had bene one of her feete, and Athens the other: nor to suffer their citie to lose an other citie their frend, and subject to the yoke and defence of Græce. Having therfore obteyned ayde, to leade unto the Lacedæmonians, he went with his army through the Corinthians contry: wherwith Lachartus a Captaine of Corinthe was marvelously offended, sayinge, that he should not have entred into their contrie with an armie, before he had asked licence of them of the citie. For sayd he, when one knocketh at a mans dore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the master of the house commaundeth him. But ye Corinthians (sayed Cimon to him againe) have not knocked at the gates of the Cleonæians, nor of the Megarians, to come in, but have broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinkinge that all should be open unto them that are the stronger. Thus did Cimon stowtely aunswere the Corinthian Captaine againe, because it stode him uppon, and so went on with his armie through the contrie of Corinthe. Afterwardes the Lacedæmonians sent againe unto the Athenians, to require ayde against the Messenians and the Ilotes, (which are their slaves) who had wonne the citie of Ithome. But when the Athenians were come, the Lacedæmonians were afrayed of the great power they had brought, and of their boldnes besides: wherefore they sent them backe againe, and would not imploy them of all other their confederats that came to their succor, because they knew them to be men very tickle, desiring chaunge and alteracions. The Athenians returned home, misliking much that they were sent backe againe:

CIMON

Cimon pro
cured ayde
for the Lacedæmonians.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

Cimon
banished for
10 yeares.

insomuch as ever after they hated them that favored the Lacedæmonians in any thing. And for the Lacedæmonians sake therefore, taking a small occasion of offence against Cimon, they banished him out of their contrie for tenne yeres: which was the full terme appointed and limited unto them that were banished with the Ostracismon banishment. Now within the terme of these ten yeares, the Lacedæmonians fortun'd to undertake the delivery of the citie of Delphes, from the servitude and bondage of the Phocians, and to put them from the custodie and keeping of the temple of Apollo, which is in the sayd city. Wherefore, to obtaine their desire and purpose, they came to plante their campe neere unto the citie of Tanagre in Phocide, where the Athenians went to fight with them. Cimon understanding this, although he was in exile, came to the Athenians campe armed, with intent to do his duety to fight with his contrie men against the Lacedæmonians, and so went into the bandes of the tribe Oeneide, of the which he was him selfe. But his owne contry enemies cried out against him, and sayd, that he was come to none other ende, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwarde bring them to the city selfe of Athens. Whereupon the great counsell of the five hundred men were afrayed, and sent to the Captaines to commaunde them they should not receive him into the battell: so that Cimon was compelled to departe the campe. But before he went, he prayed Euthippus Anaphlystian, and his other frendes that were suspected as him selfe was, to favor the Lacedæmonians doings: that they should doe their best endeavor to fight valliantly against their enemies, to thintent their good service at that battell might purge their innocencie towardes their contry men: and so they did. For the Athenians keeping the souldiers Cimon had brought with him, which were a hundred in all, they set them aparte by them selves in a squadron, and fought it so valliantly and desperatly, that they were slaine every man of them in the field, leaving the Athenians marvelous sory for them, and repenting them that they had so unjustly mistrusted them as traitors to their contrie. Wherefore they kept not their malice long

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

against Cimon, partly as I am perswaded, because they called his former good service to minde which he had done to their contrie aforetime, and partly also, because the necessitie of the time so required it. For the Athenians having lost a great battell before Tanagre, looked for no other about the spring of the yeare, but that the Peloponnesians would invade them with a great power: wherefore, they revoked Cimon's banishment by decree, whereof Pericles selfe was the only author and procurer. So civill and temperate were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publicke state and weale: and so much did their ambition (being the most vehement passion of all other, and that most troubleth mens mindes) geve place, and yeelde to the necessities and affayres of the common weale. Now when Cimon was againe returned to Athens, he straight pacified the warre, and reconciled both cities together. And when he saw that the Athenians could not live in peace, but woulde be doing still, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for lukers sake: to prevent them that they should not fall out with any of the Græcians, nor by scowring and coasting up and downe the contrie of Peloponnesus, and the Iles of Græce, with so great a navie, should move occasion of civill warres amongst the Græcians, or of complaintes unto their confederates against them: he rigged and armed out two hundred gallies to go againe to make warre in Cyprus, and in Egypt, because he would acquaint the Athenians with the warres of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the spoyles of those their naturall borne enemies. But when all things were in readines to departe, and the armie prest to shippe and sayle away: Cimon dreaming in the night had this vision. It seemed unto him that he saw a bitch angrie with him, and barking earnestly at him, and that in the midst of her barking, she spake with a mans voyce, and sayd unto him:

CIMON

Cimon called from exile.

Cimon's dreame.

Come hardily, spare not: for if thou come by me,
My whelpes, and I which here do stand, will quickly welcome thee.

This vision being verie hard to interpret, Astyphilus borne
3 : YY

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

The interpretation of the dreame.

Cimons death prognosticated.

in the citie of Posidonia, a man expert in such conjectures, and Cimons familiar frende, tolde him that this vision did betoken his death, expounding it in this sorte. The dogge commonly is an enemie to him he barketh at. Againe, nothing gladdeth our enemie more, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitche, signifieth nothing els, but an enemie of the Medes: bicause the armie of the Medes is mingeled with the barbarous people and the Græcians together. Besides this vision, as he did sacrifice to the god Bacchus, the Priest opening the beast after it was sacrificed, about the blood that fell to the grounde, there assembled a swarme of antes, which caried the congealed blood of from the grounde by litle and litle, and layed it all about Cimons great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: Cimon at the last spied it by chaunce, and as he was looking of them to marke what they did, the minister of the sacrifice brought the beastes liver that was sacrificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they judged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, having all things readie for preparation of this jorney, so as he could not well goe backe, he launched into the sea, and hoysed sayle, and sending three score of his gallies into Egypt, sayled with the rest upon the coast of Pamphylia. Where he wanne a battell by sea of the king of Persia, overcoming the gallies of the Phenicians and the Cilicians, and conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into Egypt. For he had no small thoughtes in his minde, but reached to high enterprises, and determined utterly to destroy the whole Empire of the mighty kinge of Persia, and specially for that he understoode Themistocles was in marvelous credit and reputacion amongst the barbarous people, bicause he had promised the king of Persia to lead his armie for him, and to doe him notable service whensoever he shoulde have occasion to warre with the Græcians. It is thought this was the chiefe cause that made Themistocles poison himselfe, bicause he dispaired that he could not performe that service against Græce which he had promised: assuring him selfe that it was no

The cause of Themistocles willing death.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

easie matter to vanquishe Cimon's corage, and good fortune, who lay at that time with his armie all alongest the Ile of Cyprus, promising him selfe great matters at that instant. But in the meane season, Cimon sent certaine of his men unto the oracle of Iuppiter Ammon, to aske him some secret question: for no man ever knew neither then nor since, for what cause he had sent them thither, neither did they also bring backe any aunswere. For they were no sooner come thither, but the oracle commaunded them straight to returne: saying unto them, that Cimon was then comming to him. So Cimon's men receiving this aunswere, left the oracle, and tooke their jorney backe to the seawardes. Now when they were commen againe to the Græcians campe, which at that present lay in Egypt, they heard that Cimon was departed this worlde: and reckoning the dayes sence his death, with the instant of their aunswere received by the oracle, that Cimon was then comming unto him: they knew straight that darkely he had signified his death unto them, and that, at that very time he was with the goddes. He dyed at the siege of the citie of Citium in Cyprus, as some reporte, or else of a hurte he received at a skirmishe, as other holde opinion. When he dyed, he commaunded them that were under his charge, to returne into their contry againe, and in no case to publishe his death: which commaundement was so wisely and cunningly handeled, that they all came home safe, and not an enemy, nor any of their confederates that once understoode any thing of it. So was the armie of the Græcians governed and led by Cimon, though him selfe was dead, the space of thirtie dayes, as Phanodemus wryteth: But after his death, there was no Græcian Captaine that did any notable thing worthie of fame against the barbarous people, because the Orators and governors of the chiefest cities of Grace stirred them up one against an other, and there was no man that would once steppe in as a mediator to make peace betwene them. And thus the Græcians now did one destroy and spoyle an other by civill warre amongst them selves: which happely gave the king of Persia leasure and time to restore him selfe againe, and contrarily was cause of such utter ruine and

CIMON

The death
of Cimon.

Cimon's death
kept very
secret.

No famous
act done by
any Græcians
to the bar-
barous people,
after Cimon's
death.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON

destruction of the whole power and force of Græce, as no tongue can well expresse. In deede a long time after, kinge Agesilaus came with an armie of the Græcians into Asia, and beganne a small warre against the Lieutenautes of the king of Persiaes governors of the lower contries of Asia. But before he could doe any notable exployte, he was called home againe by occasion of newe troubles and civill warres risinge amonge the Græcians, and compelled to returne into his contrie, leaving the treasurers of the king of Persia, raising of subsidies and taxes upon the cities of the Græcians in Asia, although they were confederates of the Lacedæmonians. Whereas in the time that Cimon governed, they never sawe any of the kinges sergeautes at armes, or commissioner, that brought any letters pattentes or commaundement from the king, or any souldier that durst come neere the sea, by fortie furlonges. The tombes which they call unto this present day Cimonia, doe witnesse that his ashes and bones were brought unto Athens. Neverthelesse, they of the citie of Citium doe honor a certaine tombe, which they say is Cimons tombe: bicause that in a great dearth and barrennes of the earth, they had an oracle that commaunded them, not to neglect Cimon, as the Orator Nausicrates writeth it, but to honor and reverence him as a god. Such was the life of this
Græcian Captaine.

Cimons
monuments
at Athens.

THE END OF CIMONS LIFE

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

THE LIFE OF LUCIUS LUCULLUS



And for Lucullus, his grandfather was a Consul, and so was Metellus (surnamed Numidicus, because of his conquest of Numidia) his uncle by the mothers side. His father notwithstanding was convict of felony, for robbing the treasure of the state whilest he was officer: and Cæcilia his mother was reported to have led an unchast life. But for Lucullus selfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of state: the first thing he towched and tooke in hande for the cause of his contrie was, thaccusation of Servilius the soothsayer (who before had accused his father) for that he also had delt falsely in his office, and deceived the common wealth. And this the Romanes thought very well handled of him, insomuch as a pretie while after there was no other talke in Rome but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valliant acte done by him. For otherwise, though privately they had no just occasion, yet they thought it a noble dede to accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men put lawe breakers in sute, as to see a notable good course of a dogge at a hare. Howebeit there followed such sturre and bandinge uppou this sute, that some were verie sore hurte, and other slaine in the market place: but in fyne, Servilius was cleared and quite dismissed. Lucullus was verie eloquent, well spoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latin tongue: insomuch as Sylla dedicated unto him the commentaries of all his doings which himselfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole historie thereof, and cowche it more eloquently together in wryting. For he had not only a ready tongue to utter that he would speake, and please

Lucullus
parents.

Lucullus
accuseth Ser-
vilius the
Soothsayer.

The Romanes
thought it a
noble dede to
accuse the
wicked.

Lucullus
eloquence.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS his matters with great eloquence, as other be seene to doe, having matters of sute or open audience :

Like tonny fishe they be, which swiftly dive and doppe,
Into the depth of Ocean sea, withouten stay or stoppe :

But afterwarde also when ye take them out of their
common practise and pleadings :

Then are they graveld straight withouten grace or skill,
Their eloquence lyes then in dyke, and they them selves be still.

For Lucullus had studied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall sciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refreshe his witte (after great troubles) he fell to the studie of Philosophie, which quickened the contemplative parte of his soule, and mortified, or at the least betimes brided the ambitious and active parte, specially after the dissention betwixt him and Pompey. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is said, that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with Hortensius the Orator, and Sisenna the historiographer (in jest as it were at the first, but afterwarde it fell to good earnest) that he would write the breviary of the warres of Marsicum in verse or prose, in the Latin or Greeke tongue, which soever fell to his lotte: and I thinke his happe was to doe it in prose in the Greeke tongue, because we finde a litle Greeke storie extant of the warres of the Romanes against the Marsians. He dearely loved his brother Marcus Lucullus, as appeared by many manifest proofes: but the chiefest and most noted prooffe among the Romanes was this. Him selfe was elder then his brother Marcus, and yet for all that would never sue to beare office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwayes till he should be chosen, and let his owne time passe over. This great curtesie to his brother so wanne the peoples hartes, as Lucius being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his brother Marcus with him for his sake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the Marsians warres, wherein he did many wise and valliant deedes. The cause notwithstanding that moved Sylla to make choyce of him, was rather for his constancy,

Lucullus studied Philosophie in his latter time.

Lucullus booke of the warre of the Marsians, in Greeke.
Lucullus love to his brother Marcus.

Lucius, and M. Lucullus both chosen Ædiles.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

and good curteous nature, then for any other respect. For when Sylla had once wonne him, he ever after employed him continually in his most weightie causes: as in a commission specially, he gave him to coyne money. For in deede parte of the money that Sylla spent in the warres against king Mithridates, was coyned by Lucullus commaundement within the contrie of Peloponnesus: whereupon they were called Lucullian peeces, and were current a long time amongst the souldiers, to buy such things as they stooode in nede of, and never refused by any. Sylla being afterwards at Athens, the stronger by land, but the weaker by sea, so as his enemies cut of his vittells from him: sent Lucullus into Egypt and Libya to bring him such shippes as he found in those partes. It was in the deepe of winter, and yet he spared not to sayle with three brigantines of Greece, and as many galliots of the Rhodians, putting him selfe not only to the daunger of the sea in so long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing them selves to be the stronger, went sayling every where with a great navie. But for all these daungers, he first arrived in the Ile of Creta, and wanne their good-willes. From thence went to the citie of Cyrene, where he found the inhabitaunts turmoyled with civil warres and continuall oppressions of tyrans: from which troubles he delivered them, and gave them lawes to establishe government amongst them, putting them in remembraunce of Platoes wordes spoken to their auncesters in old time, in the spirite of a prophecie. For when they prayed Plato to write them lawes, and to appoint them some forme of government for their common wealth, he made them aunswere: it was a hard thing to geve lawes to so riche and fortunate people as they were. For to say truely, as nothing is harder to be ruled, then a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to receive counsell and government, then a man in adversity. This lesson framed the Cyrenians at that time to be more civill and obedient to the lawes Lucullus gave them. When he departed thence, he coasted towardses Egypt, where he lost the more parte of his shippes by pyrates: but for his owne person, scaping their handes, he was very honorably received in the citie of Alexandria. For all the kinges armie came to

LUCULLUS

Sylla gave Lucullus commission to coyne money in Peloponnesus.

Lucullus geveveth lawes to the Cyrenians.

A notable saying of Plato.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS

Lucullus
journey into
Egypt.

meete him at sea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the kinge when he returned from any voyage by sea: and king Ptolomye him selfe being very young at that time, gave him as honorable entertainment as he possible could. For amongst other honors that he did him, he lodged him in his courte, and defrayed his ordinarie dyet, where never straunge Captaine was lodged before: and did not only spend the ordinary allowance in feasting of him which he used unto others, but commaunded foure times as much provision more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, Lucullus tooke no more then reasonable was for his person: nor yet would he receive any maner gift, although the king had sent him presents to the value of foure score talentes. And which more is, would not so much as go see the citie of Memphis, nor any other of the famous monumentes and wonderfull sightes in Egypt, saying: that it was for a man that travelled up and downe for his pleasure, and had leasure withall, to see such thinges, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the field, at the siege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king Ptolomye would in no case fall in frendshippe with Sylla, fearing least he should thereby put him selfe into warres: but gave him men and shippes to bring him into Cyprus. And as he was ready to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gave him a goodly rich emerod set in gold, which Lucullus at the first refused, untill the king shewed him his picture graven in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing least the utter refusall might cause the king thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambushe by sea for him. Thus having gotten a certaine number of shippes together of the porte townes thereabouts, over and besides such as the pyrates and sea rovers had hidden, being parte of their spoyles, and bestowed with their receitors: went on with them into Cyprus, where he understoode that his enemies lay close in certaine creekes under the foreland, watching to bourde him as he sayled by. Whereuppon he unrigged and bestowed his shippes in docks, and sent worde to all the porte townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to

A notable
rich emerod
geven Lucul-
lus by kinge
Ptolomye.

Lucullus
doinges under
Sylla by sea.

Lucullus
stratageame.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

LUCULLUS

provide him vittells and other necessarie munition to be in readines against the spring. But in the meane while, when he saw time convenient, he put his whole fleete againe to the sea with all possible speede, went him selfe away, and in the day time carried a lowe sayle, but in the night packt on all the cloth he could for life: so that by this craftie fetch, he wanne Rhodes, and lost not one shippe. The Rhodians they also furnished him with shippes: and besides them, he so perswaded the Gnidians and the inhabitantes of the Ile of Co, that they forsooke king Mithridates, and went to make warres with him against them of the Ile of Samos. But Lucullus him selfe alone drave kinge Mithridates men out of Chio, restored the Colophonians againe to libertie: and tooke Epigonus the tyranne prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, Mithridates was compelled to forsake the citie of Pergamum, and to retyre to the citie of Pitane, within the which Fimbria kept him besieged very straightly by lande. Wherefore Mithridates having the sea open upon him, sent for his force and navy out of all partes, not daring to hazard battell against Fimbria, who was very valliant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreover was him selfe a conqueror. Fimbria perceiving what Mithridates ment, and having no power by sea of his owne: sent straight to Lucullus to request him to come with his navie into those partes to his ayde, for thovercomming of this king, the greatest and most cruell enimie that ever the Romane people had. Bicause that so notable a praye, which they followed with such daunger and trouble, should not escape the Romanes, while they had him in their handes, and was come him selfe within their daunger: and that therefore he should so much the more harken unto it, bicause that if it fortun'd Mithridates to be taken, no man shoulde winne more honor and glorie by his takinge, then he that had stopped his passage, and layed handes on him, even as he thought to have fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betwene them both: the one that had driven him from lande, and the other that had stopped his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the Romanes would nothinge regard all the famous battells and victories

Fimbria
besieged
Mithridates
in Pitane.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS of Sylla in Græce, which he had wonne before the cities of Chæronea and Orchomene: in comparison of taking the king. This was theeffect of Fimbriaes message sent unto Lucullus, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelyhoode. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if Lucullus would have beleved him at that time (and have gone thither with his ships to stoppe the havens mouth of the citie, in the which Mithridates was besieged, considering also that he was so neere at hande) this warre had taken ende there, and the worlde besides had then bene delivered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwardes. But, whether Lucullus preferred the consideration and respect he had unto Sylla, whose Lieutenaunt he was, before all other due regarde of private or common benefit: or that he detested and abhorred Fimbria as a cursed persone, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the blood of his Captaine: or else that it was through the secret providence and permission of the goddes that he spared Mithridates at that time, to the end he might be reserved as a worthie enemy, against whom he might afterwardes shew his valure: howsoever it was, it so fell out that he harkened not unto Fimbriaes message, but gave Mithridates time and leisure to flye, and finally to scorne all Fimbriaes force and power. But Lucullus selfe alone afterwardes overcame the kinges armie by sea, once neere unto the head of Lectum, which is on the coast of Troade: and an other time neere unto the Ile of Tenedos, where Neoptolemus, Mithridates Lieutenaunt by sea, lay in wayte for him with a farre greater number of shippes then he had. And yet so soone as Lucullus had discried him, he sayled before all his navie being Admirall, in a galley of the Rhodes, at five ores to a bancke, whereof one Demagoras was master, a man well affected to the service of the Romanes, and very skillfull in battell by sea. And when Neoptolemus on the other side rowed against him with great force, commaunding his pylot that he should so order his galley, that he might stemme him right in the prow: Demagoras fearinge the full meetinge of the kinges galley which was very strong and heavie, and furthermore well armed with poyntes and spurres of

Lucullus
would not
aide Fimbria
in besieging
Mithridates.

Neoptolemus
king Mithri-
dates Lieu-
tenant by sea.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

brasse before, durst not encounter her with his prow, but nimblely made his gallie to winde about, and turned his poupe towards him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, received the blow without hurte, considering that they hit upon the dead workes, and those partes which are alwayes above water. In the meane time Lucullus other shippes were come, who commaunding his master to turne the beakehead of his gallie forward, did many famous actes: so that he made his enemies flye, and drave Neoptolemus away. And departing from thence, went to seeke out Sylla even as he was readie to passe over the seas, about Cherronesus: holpe him to waft his armie, and so passed him over with safety. Afterwardes when peace was concluded, and that king Mithridates was comen into his realme and contries againe, which lye upon the sea Major: Sylla condemned the province of Asia to pay the summe of twenty thowsand talentes for a fyne, by reason of their rebellion. And for leavyng of this fyne, left Lucullus there with commission to coyne money: which was a great comforte and hartes ease unto the cities of Asia, considering the extremitie that Sylla had used towards them. For in so grievous and odious a commission unto them all, as that was: Lucullus did not only behave him selfe uprightly and justly, but also very favorably and curteously. For, as touching the Mitylenians that were openly in armes against him, he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for satisfaction of thoffence they had committed takinge Marius parte, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continewe in their naughtines, he went against them, and having overcome them in battell, compelled them to keepe within their walles, and layed siege unto their citie, where he used this policy with them. At none dayes he launched into the sea, in the view of all the Mitylenians, and sayled towards the citie of Elea: howbeit in the night time secretly returned backe, and making no noyse, layed an ambushe nere unto the citie. The Mitylenians mistrusting nothings, went out the next morning very rashly without order, and without any maner watche or ward, to spoyle the campe of the Romanes, supposing

LUCULLUS

Lucullus put to flight Neoptolemus Mithridates Lieutenaunt by sea.

Lucullus stratageame at the siege of the Mitylenians.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS every man had bene gone: but Lucullus comming sodainly upon them, tooke a great number prisoners, slue about five hundred such as resisted, and wanne sixe thousande slaves, with an infinite quantitie of other spoyle. Now did the goddes happely preserve Lucullus, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miseries and troubles, which Sylla and Marius made poore Italie suffer, even then when he was occupied in the warres of Asia: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and favor with Sylla, as any of his frendes about him. For as we have sayd before, he dedicated his commentaries unto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his last will and testament appointed him Tutor unto his sonne, leaving Pompey out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwarde betwene them, bicause they were both young men, and vehemently desirous of honor. Shortly after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen Consull with Marcus Cotta, about the three score Olympiade: and then they began to revive the matter againe, that it was very needefull to make warres against Mithridates, and specially Marcus Cotta, who gave out that it was not ended, but only slept for a while. Wherefore, when the Consulls came to draw lottes what provinces they should take charge of, Lucullus was marvelous sorie that the province of Gaule, lying betwene the Alpes and Italie, fell to his lotte: bicause he thought it no contrie wherein any great exploytes were to be done, and againe, the glorie of Pompey grieved him greatly, whose honor dayly increased by the famous battells he wan in Spaine. So that it was most certaine, that so soone as Pompey had ended the warres there, they would have chosen him generall in the warres against Mithridates. Wherefore, when Pompey sent to Rome in earnest maner, to require money to make pay to his souldiers, wryting to the Senate, that if they did not send him money the sooner, he would leave Sertorius there, Spaine behinde him, and bring his army backe into Italie: Lucullus made all the meanes he could to have it quickly sent him, fearing least he should returne into Italie upon any occasion, while he was Consul. For he thought that if he returned againe to Rome with so

Lucullus
honored of
Sylla.

The first
occasion of
quarrell, be-
twext Pompey
and Lucullus.

Lucullus,
M. Cotta
Consuls.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

great an armie, he would easily do what him list: and the rather, because that Cethegus and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at Rome, because he spake and did all that pleased the common people, being a vitious liver, and dissolutely geven, for which cause Lucullus hated him. But there was an other common Orator among the people called Lucius Quintius, and he would have had all Syllaes doinges revoked and broken: a matter to alter even the whole state of the common wealth, and to turmoyle the citie of Rome againe with civill dissention, which then lived quietly and in good peace. This Lucius Quintius Lucullus talked withall a parte to perswade him, and openly reprovved him with such words, that he was dissuaded from his evell purpose, and by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wisely and as cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the common wealth) because it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to growe. While these thinges were thus in hande, newes came that Octavius the governor of Cilicia was dead. Straight where-uppon many put forward them selves to sue for this charge, and to courte Cethegus, as the only man who above all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for Lucullus, he made no great reckening of the government of Cilicia in respect of the contry, but because Cappadocia was hard adjoining to it, and perswading him selfe that if he could obtaine the government thereof, they would geve none other (but him selfe) the authoritie to make warres with Mithridates: he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none should have it but him selfe. And having proved sundry wayes, was compelled in the ende, against his owne nature, to practise a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly devise to obtaine his desire. There was a woman in Rome at that time called Præcia, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasaunt grace in talke and discourse, howbeit otherwise unchast after curtisan manner. But because she employed the credit and favor of them that frequented her companie, to the benefit and service of the common wealth, and of them that loved her: she wanne the reporte (besides

LUCULLUS

Cethegus a vitious liver.

Lucius Quintius, a seditious Orator at Rome.

Lucullus ambition to make warres against king Mithridates.

Præcia a famous curtisan of Rome.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very lovinge woman, and readie to favor and further any good enterprise, and it wanne her great fame and reputacion. But after she had once wonne Cethegus, (who ruled all the common wealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her sight: then had she all the whole power and authority of Rome in her hands, for the people did nothing but Cethegus preferred it, and Cethegus did what ever Præcia would will him to. Thus Lucullus sought to come in favor with her, sending her many presentes, and using all other curtesies he could offer unto her: besides that it seemed a great reward for so prowde and ambitious a woman as she, to be sued unto by such a man as Lucullus was, who by this meanes came to have Cethegus at his commaundement. For Cethegus did nothing but commend Lucullus in all assemblies of the people, to procure him the government of Cicilia: who after it was once graunted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of Præcia, nor yet of Cethegus. For the people wholly of them selves with one consent did graunt him the charge to make warre with Mithridates, bicause he knew better how to overcome him, then any other Captaine, and bicause that Pompey was in the warres with Sertorius in Spaine, and Metellus also growen too olde, both which two were the onely men that could deservedly have contended for this office with him. Nevertheles, Marcus Cotta his fellow Consull, made such sute to the Senate, that they sent him also with an armie by sea, to keepe the coastes of Propontide, and to defende the contrie of Bithynia. Thus, Lucullus having his commission, went into Asia with one legyon only, the which he leavied a new at Rome: and when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he founde there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through covetousnes and delicacie of the contrie. For amongst others, were the bandes which they called the Fimbrian bandes, men geven over to selfe will, and very ill to be ruled by marshall discipline, bicause they had lived a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were

Cethegus ruled all Rome.

The government of Cicilia and the warres against king Mithridates were geven to Lucullus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

those selfe souldiers that together with Fimbria, slue their generall Flaccus, Consull of the Romane people, and that afterwarde betrayed Fimbria him selfe, and forsooke him, leaving him unto Sylla, being mutiners, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwise very vallyant, well trayned, and painefull souldiers. Notwithstanding, Lucullus in shorte time brided their boldnes meetely well, and reformed the others also, who before had never proved (in my opinion) what the value of a good Captaine and Generall ment, that knew how to commaund: but were used to flattering leaders, that commaunded the souldiers no more then they them selves liked of. Now concerning the state of the enemies, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very brave and bolde (as these flourishing Sophisters commonly are) undertaking warre against the Romanes, with a vaine unprofitable armie, but passing freshe and sumptuous to the eye: but after that he was once foyled and overcome with no lesse shame then losse, when he came to make this second warre, he cut of all superfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a convenient furniture to serve for warres at all assayes. For he put by the confused multitude of sundrie nations, the fierce threatninges of the barbarous people in so many sundrie tongues, and clearly banisht also the riche graven armors with goldesmythes worke, and set with precious stones, as things that more enriched the enemies that wanne them, then gave strength or corage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe swords to be made after the Romane facion, and great heavy shields, and brought to the field a marvelous number of horse, more ready for service, then riche in furniture. Then he joyned sixe score thowsand footemen together, appointed and set in order like unto the battell of the Romanes, with sixteene thowsand horse of service, besides those that drue his armed cartes with siethes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And besides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of shippes and gallies together, which were not decked with goodly pavilions as at the first, neither with stoooves nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and gentlewomen: but furnished full of

LUCULLUS
Fimbrian
souldiers very
dissolute and
corrupted.

Mithridates
armie against
Lucullus.

Mithridates
armie.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS armor, artillerie, and slinges, and with money also to pay the souldiers. With all this armie and preparation, he went first to invade Bithynia, where the cities received him very gladly, and not those only, but all the other cities of Asia wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miseries and diseases, by the crueltie of the Romane farmers and userers, who raising taxes and impostes uppon them, made them abide untollerable thinges. It is true that Lucullus drave them away afterwardes, like the Harpyæ, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mowthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he used unto them, and qualified a litle the inclination of the people unto rebellion, being every one of them in manner willing to revolt. Now Lucullus being busie about these matters, Marcus Cotta the other Consull (and his companion) supposing that the absence of Lucullus was a fit occasion offered him to doe notable service, prepared to fight with Mithridates. And although he had newes brought him from sundrie places, that Lucullus was with his armie in Phrygia, and comming towards him: yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honor of triumphe assured already in his handes, and because Lucullus should be no partaker of it, he advanced forwardes to geve battell. But Mithridates overcame him both by sea and by lande: so that Cotta by sea lost three score of his shippes with all the men in them, foure thousand footemen by lande, and was after with shame shut up and besieged in the citie of Chalcedon, remaining there hopelesse to escape, but by Lucullus onely ayde and meanes. Howbeit there were in Lucullus campe, that were very earnest with him to leave Cotta, and to go further, assuring him that he should finde the realme of Mithridates both without men of warre, or any defence at all: so that he might easily be Lord of the whole. And these were the wordes of the souldiers that spyted Cotta, because his foolishhe rashnes and fonde imagination had not only brought those men to the shambles to be slaine and cast away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them also, that they could not overcome him, and ende this warre without blowes, for that they

Asia fell into former miseries by the Romane userers.

Cotta the Consull overcome by Mithridates in battell.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

were driven to go to his helpe. Howbeit Lucullus making an Oration unto them, answered, that he had rather save the life of one Romane citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when Archelaus, (who had bene Mithridates Lieutenaunt in Bœotia in the first warres against Sylla, and now in this seconde warre tooke parte with the Romanes) assured him that so soone as they sawe him in the realme of Pontus, they would all rise against Mithridates, and yeelde them selves unto him: Lucullus answered him thus, that he would not shewe him selfe more fearefull, then the good hunters which never suffer the beast to recover his denne. And when he had so sayd, he marched with his armie towards Mithridates, having in all his campe thirtie thousand footemen, and two thousande five hundred horse. When he came so neere unto his enemies, that he might easily at eye discerne all their hoast, he wondered at the great multitude of souldiers that were in their campe, and was in minde to geve battell, supposing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and drawe these warres out in length. But one Marius a Romane Captaine, whom Sertorius had sent out of Spayne unto Mithridates with a certaine number of souldiers: came forwardes, and provoked him to battell. Lucullus for his parte did put his men also in a readinesse to fight. But even as both battells were prepared to joyne, the element opened upon the sodaine, without any shewe of change of weather decerned before, and they plainly saw a great flake of fire fall betwene both armies, in forme and shape much like to a tonne, and of the colour of molten silver. This celestiall signe put both tharmies in such a feare, as they both retyred, and fought not a stroke: and this wonderfull sight fortunèd (as it appeared) in a place of Phrygia, called Otryes. Nowe Lucullus afterwards considering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor provision so great in the world, that could suffice to vittell so many thousandes of people as Mithridates had in his campe any long time together, having his enemies campe so lying before them: willed that one of the prisoners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of his

LUCULLUS
The godly saying of Lucullus for the saving of a citizen.

Lucullus
army.

A flame of fire
fell betwene
both armies,
out of the
element.

Lucullus
politicke con-
sideration to
dissipher the
enemy.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS

lay together in a cabin, then what corne he had left in their cabbins. And when the prisoner had aunswered to all his demaundes, he returned him to prison, and sent for an other: then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their corne, and other proportion of vittells they had, with the number of men the same should maintaine: he founde that all would be spent in three or foure dayes at thutmost. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of battell. So he caused a marvelous deale of wheate to be brought into his campe out of everie quarter, that the same being throughly vittelled, he might easily tary the occasion which his enemies necessitie should offer him. Mithridates in the meane time, sought which way he might take the citie of the Cyziceniens, who had bene overthrowen before with Cotta at the battell of Chalcedon, where they had lost three thowsande men, and tenne of their shippes. And bicause that Lucullus should not understand of his enterprise, Mithridates stale away by night after supper, taking the oportunity of a darke rainy night, and marched thitherwardes with such speede, that he was before the city of Cyzicus by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddesse Adrastia standeth, which is the goddesse of fatall destinie. Lucullus receiving intelligence of Mithridates departure from his campe, followed him straight wayes steppe by steppe, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in disorder, lodged his armie in a village called Thracia, in a place of great advantage for him, and commodiously seated also uppon the high wayes, and through fare of the neighbors therabouts, by the which they must come of necessity to vittell Mithridates campe. Wherefore Lucullus wisely foreseeing what would follow: would not keepe his purpose secret from his souldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counsell, and there making an oration unto them, tolde them openly by manifest demonstration of assured hope, that ere many dayes passed, he would geve victorie into their handes, and that without losse of one droppe of blood. In the meane season, Mithridates

Mithridates
besiegeth
Cyzicus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

LUCULLUS

environned the Græcians round about by lande, having devided his armie into tenne campes, and stopped up the mouth of the arme of the sea, which devideth the citie from firme lande, with his shippes from one side to another. Now the Cyziceniens were valliant men, and determined to abide all extreimity for the Romanes sakes: but one thing only troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of Lucullus, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe stooode in such a place, where they might easily decerne it from the citie. But Mithridates souldiers deceived them, for shewing them the Romanes campe that lay above hard by them, sayd unto them: Doe ye see yonder campe there? They are the Medes, and the Armenians, whom Tigranes hath sent to the ayde of Mithridates. These wordes put the Cyziceniens in a marvelous feare, seeing such a multitude of enemies dispersed round about them: that when Lucullus should come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of Lucullus approach, by one called Demonax, whom Archelaus sent unto them, but they would not beleve him at the first, taking it for a tale, only to make them be of good corage, and valliantly abide the furie of the siege: untill such time as a litle boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had taken him prisoner, was come againe unto them. Of whome they inquired where Lucullus was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they jeasted to aske that question of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the Romanes campe with his finger: then they beleved it in deede, and were coragious againe. There is a lake neere unto the citie of Cyzicus called Dascylitide, and it is navigable with convenient bigge boates. Lucullus tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in a carte, and so caried it to the sea, and there put as many souldiers in her as she could well cary, who by night entred into the citie, the skowte of the enemies never discoying them. This small supply did marvelously comferte the besieged Cyziceniens: and it seemeth that the goddes, deliting to see their noble corage, would further increase and assure the same, by many manifest tokens which they

The strata-
geame of
Mithridates
souldiers.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS sent from heaven, and specially by one which was this. The day of the feast of Proserpina was at hand, and the citizens had never a blacke cowe to offer in solemne sacrifice, as their auncient ceremonies required: so they made one of paste, and brought it hard unto the aulter. Now, the cowe that was vowed to this sacrifice, and which they reered up of purpose to serve for that day, was feeding amongst the heard of the citie in the fieldes, on thother side of the arme of the sea. But that day she kept alone from all the rest of the heard, and swamme over the arme of the sea, and came into the citie: where she went of her selfe unto the place of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the goddesse Proserpina her selfe appeared unto Aristagoras in his dreame, secretary of the state and common wealth of the Cyziceniens, and sayd unto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of Libia, against the trompet of Pont, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good corage. The next morning when the secretarie had tolde them his vision, the Ciziceniens marvelled much at the goddesses wordes, and could not imagine what they ment. Howbeit at the breake of day there rose a great whistling winde, that made the sea billowes rise very high: and the kings engines of batterie which were brought to the walles of the citie to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one Niconides a Thessalian enginer had made and devised) began to make such a noyse, and to breake in peeces by the roughnes of the winde, that a man might easily judge what would follow upon it. Then all at one instant, the southwinde was become so vehement bigge, that in a moment it burst all these engines a sunder, and specially a tower of wodde of the height of a hundred cubittes, which the winde shooke so vehemently, that it overthrew it to the ground. And it is sayd furthermore, that in the citie of Ilium the goddesse Minerva appeared unto diverse in their sleepe, all in a sweat, and showing parte of her vaile torne, as if she had bene newly returned from geving ayde unto the Cyziceniens: in confirmacion whereof, the inhabitantes of Ilium have a piller yet unto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memorie. Now was Mithridates marvelous sory

A wonderfull token of a cow that came to offer her selfe to the Ciziceniens to be sacrificed.

Aristagoras vision.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

for the breaking and losse of his engines, by meanes wherof, the Ciziceniens had escaped the daunger of assaulte, and of the siege in like maner, untill he truly understood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be such, as the souldiers were compelled to eate mans fleshe, which (his Captaines abusing him) had for a time kept secret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth in dede, he left of his vaine ambition obstinately to continewe siege: knowing well that Lucullus made not warres with threats and bravery, but (as the common proverbe sayth) lept on his belly with both his feete, that is to say, he did what he could possible to cut of all the vittells from him. And therefore one day when Lucullus was gone to assault a castell that troubled him very neere unto his campe: Mithridates bicause he would not lose that oportunity, sent the most parte of his horsemen to get vittels in Bithynia, with all his cartes, and beastes of cariage, and his most unprofitable footemen. Lucullus hearing thereof, returned againe the selfe same night unto his campe, and the next morninge betimes being in the winter season, followed them by the tracke with ten ensignes of footemen only and all his horsemen. But the snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sharp, and the weather so rough, that many of his souldiers not being able to abide it, dyed by the way. For all that he marched on still, till he overtooke his enemies about the river of Rindacus, where he gave them such an overthrowe, that the very women came out of the citie of Apollonia, and went to steale the vittells they had loden, and strippe the dead, which were a marvelous great number, as a man may judge in such a case: and neverthelesse there were taken sixe thowsande horse of service, an infinite number of beastes of cariage, and fifteene thowsande men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his campe, and passed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the historiographer Salust, who wryting of this matter sayth, that here was the first time that ever the Romanes saw any camells. Me thinkes it straunge how he should thinke so, that they who long before had overcomen Antiochus the great under Scipio, and thothers that a litle before had fought against Archelaus,

LUCULLUS

Extreame
famine in
Mithridates
campe.

Proverbe: He
lept on his
belly with
both his
feete.

Rindacus fl.

Lucullus
overthrew
Mithridates
horsemen.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS neere unto the cities of Orchomene and Chæronea, should not have seene camells. But to returne againe to our matter. Mithridates being feared with this overthrow, resolved with him selfe immediatly to flie, with all the speede he could possibly make: and to entertaine and stay Lucullus for a time behinde him, determined to sende Aristonicus his Admirall with his army by sea, into the sea of Græce. But as Aristonicus was ready to hoysesayle, his owne men betraied him, and delivered him into the handes of Lucullus, with tenne thowsand crownes which he caried with him, to corrupt if he could parte of the Romanes army. Mithridates hearing of this, fled by sea, leaving the rest of his armie by lande in the handes of his Captaines, to be brought away by them as well as they could. Lucullus followed unto the river of Granicus, where he set upon them, and after he had slaine twenty thowsande of them, tooke an infinite number prisoners. And they say there dyed in that warre, what souldiers, what slaves, what lackeis, and other stragglers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred thowsand people. This done, Lucullus returned to the cite of Cyzicus, where after he had spent some dayes, enjoying the glorie due unto him, and received the honorable entertainment of the Cyziceniens: he went to visite the coast of Hellespont, to get shippes together, and to prepare an armie by sea. And passing by Troade, they prepared his lodging within the temple of Venus: where, as he slept in the night, it seemed to him he saw the goddesse appeare before him, which sayd these verses unto him:

Mithridates
fled by sea.

Granicus fl.
Lucullus
overthroweth
Mithridates
footemen by
the river of
Granicus.

Lucullus
dreame.

O Lyon fierce, and stowte: why sleepest thou so sounde?
Since at thy hande so fayre a praye, is ready to be founde.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his frends to him, tolde them the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came some unto him from the cite of Ilium, that brought him newes of fifteene gallies of kinge Mithridates, having five ores to every bancke, that were seene in the haven of the Achaians, and that sayled towards the Ile of Lemnos. Whereupon Lucullus tooke shippe straight, went and tooke

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

them every one : for at his first comming he slue the Captaine called Isidorus, and went afterwarde to the other mariners that lay at ancker on the coast side, who seeinge him come, drew towardes land with their shippes, in purpose to runne them all a shore, and fighting above hatches, hurt many of Lucullus souldiers, bicause they could not compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had layed their shippes was such, as there was no way to force them before, their gallies floting in the sea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. Lucullus with much a do all this notwithstanding, found meanes in the end to put a shore certaine of the best souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily lande. These souldiers went straight and set upon the enemies behinde, slue some of them even at their first comming, and compelled the rest to cut a sunder the cables that fastned the gallies to the banckes. But when they thought to flie from lande, the gallies brused and brake one an other : and that worst of all was, ranne upon the poyntes and spurres of Lucullus gallies. And so many of them that stooode above hatches were slaine, the rest taken prisoners : amongst whom, Marius the Romane Captaine was brought unto Lucullus, whom Sertorius had sent out of Spaine unto Mithridates. He had but one eye, and Lucullus had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye : bicause Marius should not dye so happy a death, as to be slaine, but that he should dye some shamefull death, and be condemned by order of lawe. That done, Lucullus went in persone with all the speede he could possible to follow Mithridates, hoping to finde him yet upon the coast of Bithynia, where Voconius should have stayed him : for he had sent this Voconius before with a certaine number of shippes unto the cite of Nicomedia, to stop him from flying. But he taried so long in the Ile of Samothracia sacrificing to the goddes of the same, and to be received into the fraternitie of their religion, that he could never after come neere Mithridates to stoppe him from flying : having alreadye made sayle with all the whole fleete, and hasting with all possible speede to

LUCULLUS

Lucullus
overcame
Mithridates
navy by sea.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS recover the realme of Pontus, before Lucullus could returne from whence he went. But in sayling thitherwardes, he met with such a terrible storme, that caried parte of his shippes so away, that they ranne stragling to seeke their fortune, and parte of them splitted and drowned outright: so that all the coastes and rivers thereabouts, for many dayes after, were full of dead bodies and shippewracks cast a shore by waves of the sea. Nowe for Mithridates owne persone, he was in a shippe of great burden, the which for her greatnes could not sayle neere the shore, nor recover land, she was also very evill to be guided by the pylots in so boysterous a storme: the mariners besides were put out of all their skill and knowledge, and the shippe her selfe moreover tooke in such store of water, and was so heavily charged withall, that they durst no more put her out to the sea. By reason whereof Mithridates was compelled to goe abord a litle pinase of pyrates, and to put him selfe and his life into their handes, by whose helpe in the ende, (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to lande, and recovered the citie of Heraclea in the realme of Pontus. Now here is to be noted, that the great braverie Lucullus shewed unto the Senate of Rome, fell out according to his imagination by the favor of the goddes. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of these warres to prepare a great navie of shippes, and therewithall had geven order for. three thowsande talentes: Lucullus stayed them by letters that they should not doe it, wryting bravely unto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be strong enough to drive Mithridates from the sea, with the onely shippes he would borrowe of their frendes and confederates. And in deede, through the speciall favor of the goddes, he brought it so to passe: for they say, that this terrible storme that destroyed the armie of Mithridates, was raised up by Diana, being offended with the men of the realme of Pontus, because they had destroyed her temple in the citie of Priapos, and had caried away her image. Now there were divers that counselled Lucullus to deferre the rest of this warre, untill an other season: but notwithstanding all their perswasions, he went through the

Mithridates
in great
daunger apon
the sea by
tempest.

Lucullus
ambition com-
mendable.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

contrie of Galatia and Bithynia to invade the realme of Mithridates. In the which voyage, at the first beginning he lacked vittells, so that there were thirty thowsand men of Galatia following his campe, that caried every one of them a bushell of wheate on their shoulders: howbeit entring further into the contrie, and conquering the whole, there was such exceeding plenty of all thinges, that an oxe was sold in his campe but for a Drachma, and a slave at foure times as much. And of all other spoyle there was such great store, that either they made no reckening of it, or else they made havoke of it, bicause there was no man to sell it unto, every man having so much of his owne. For they ranne over all the contrie unto the cite of Themiscyra, and to the vallies that lay upon the river of Thermodon, and stayed no where lenger then they were a spoyling. Thereupon the souldiers beganne to murmur at Lucullus, bicause he assured all the cities upon composition, and never tooke any of them by force, nor gave them any meanes to enrich them selves by spoyle: and yet sayd they, he would make us now go further, and leave Amisus, a great rich cite which we might easily take by force, if it were but a litle straightly besieged, and lead us into the desertes of the Tibarenians and the Chaldæians to fight against Mithridates. Lucullus passed over all these complaints, and made no reckening of them, bicause he would never have thought that they would have fallen into such mutinie and furie, as afterwards they did: and contrarily excused him selfe the more carefully to them that blamed and reproved him, for his long tarying upon townes and villages that were not worth the reckening, and suffering Mithridates in the meane time to gather a new force and armie together at his pleasure.

LUCULLUS
 Lucullus
 journey into
 Pontus.

An oxe
 bought for a
 Drachma.

The mutiny
 of Lucullus
 souldiers.

‘ For, said he, that is the marke I shotte at, and that maketh me linger time up and downe as I doe, wishing nothing more, then that he might once againe make him selfe strong, and bring a second armie to the field, that might embolden him to come eftsoones to the fight with us, and runne away no more. Doe you not see, sayd he, that at his backe he hath an infinite number of desert contries, where it is impossible ever to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him also

Lucullus
 oration and
 excuse to his
 souldiers.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS

‘ the mounte Caucasus, and many other unpassable places,
‘ which are sufficient not only to hide him alone, but infinite
‘ number of other princes and kings besides that would fie
‘ battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a
‘ litle way from the contrie of the Cabirenians unto the
‘ realme of Armenia, where Tigranes the king of kings
‘ inhabiteth, whose power is so great, that he driveth the
‘ Parthians out of Asia, and carieth whole townes and cities
‘ of Græce unto the realme of Media, who hath all Syria and
‘ Palæstine in his handes, and hath slaine and rooted out the
‘ kinges and successors of the great Seleucus, and hath caried
‘ away their wives and daughters prisoners by force. This
‘ great and mightie kinge is allyed unto Mithridates, for
‘ he married Mithridates daughter: and it is not likely that
‘ when Mithridates shall come and intreate him to helpe him
‘ in his distresse, that Tigranes will refuse him, but rather
‘ we must thinke certainly that he will make warres upon us
‘ in his defence. And thus, in making hast to drive out
‘ Mithridates, we shall bring our selves into great daunger,
‘ to provoke a new enemye, even Tigranes against us, who of
‘ long time hath lurked for a just occasion to make warres
‘ with us: and he can have no honester cause to take armes,
‘ then to defend and kepe a king his neighbour, and so neere
‘ a kinseman, from utter destruction, and one that is com-
‘ pelled to seeke upon him for succor. What neede we then
‘ to provoke him to procure it, and teache Mithridates
‘ (which he purposeth not) to whom he should repayre for
‘ aide, to make warres against our selves, and pricke him for-
‘ ward, or to say better, put him with our owne handes into
‘ the way to go seeke aide of Tigranes: which of him selfe
‘ he will never doe, (thinking it a dishonor unto him) unlesse
‘ we drive him to it for very necessitie. Is it not better for
‘ us to geve him leasure and time, to gather a second force
‘ againe of him selfe, and his owne people, that we might
‘ rather fight with the Colchians, Tibarenians, Cappadocians,
‘ and with such other people whome we have so many times
‘ overcome: then with the Medes and Armenians?’ With
‘ this determination Lucullus taried a great while before the
‘ cite of Amisus, continuing this siege of purpose, without

Tigranes,
king of
Armenia,
married
Mithridates
daughter.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

distressing them at all. Afterwardes when winter was past, he left Murena there to continue the siege, and him selfe with the rest of his armie went to meete Mithridates: who had planted his campe neere unto the cite of Cabira, determining to tarie the Romanes comming, having gathered together againe a new armie of fortie thowsand footemen, and foure thowsand horsemen, in the which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed over the river of Lycus, and went and presented battell to the Romanes in the plaine field. There the horsemen skirmished, and the Romanes had the worse: for there was one Pomponius a Romane taken, of great estimacion, who was brought unto king Mithridates hurt as he was. Mithridates asked him, if in saving his life, and healing his woundes, he would become his servaunt and frend. Straight replied Pomponius, With all my hart quod he, so that thou make peace with the Romanes: if not, I will ever be thine enemye. The king esteemed his corage much, and would doe him no hurt. And as for Lucullus, he was affrayed to come into the plaine, bicause his enemye was the stronger of horsemen: and he doubted also on thother side to take his way by the mountaine, bicause it was very high, uncase to clime, and full of woddes and forrestes. But as he stode thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine Græcians by chaunce that were fled, and hidden in a cave hard by, among the which there was an old man called Artemidorus, who promised Lucullus if he would beleve and follow him, he would bring him into a sure strong place to lodge his campe, where was a castell above the cite of Cabira. Lucullus beleved the olde mans wordes, wherefore so soone as night came, he raised great fires in his campe, and went his way: and after they had passed certaine straight and dangerous wayes of the mountaines, he came in the morning unto the place which Artemidorus had promised to bring him. Now the enemies were marvelously amazed when day light came, to see him there over them, in a place where if he list to fight, he might come upon them with advantage: and if he liked not to sturre, it was impossible to compell him. For he stode indifferent then to hazard battell or not. But in the meane season, they say certaine of the kinges campe

LUCULLUS
Mithridates
camped at
Cabira.

Mithridates
army.
Lycus fl.

The constancy
of a Romane
souldier.

Lucullus
flieth Mithri-
dates horse-
men.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS by chance were a hunting the harte. The Romanes perceiving that, fell upon them to cut them of by the way : and they began by this meanes one to charge an other in such sorte, reliefe growing still from either side, as Mithridates men grew the stronger. But the Romanes seeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe above, were in such a rage, that they all ranne in a choller to Lucullus to pray him he would leade them to battell, and geve them a signall to fight. Lucullus, bicause he would shew them by experience how much the presence and eye of a good wise Captaine in time of neede was worth : commaunded them they should not once sturre, and he him selfe in persone went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the first of his men he met withall flying, to stay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they presently did, and all the other in like case : and thus gathering them together againe, did easily make their enemies returne, that before had them in chase, and drave them backe, fighting with them even hard to their owne forte. Afterwardes uppon his returne againe to his campe, he sette his souldiers that fled, unto a certaine peece of worke to shame them withall, which the Romanes are wont to use in such a case : and that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelve foote longe, being in their shirtes, all untrussed, and their other companions present seeinge them doe it. Now there was in king Mithridates campe, one Olthacus, prince of the Dardarians (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling upon the marishes of Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his persone, vallyant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good judgement to doe any great enterprise as any that was in all the armie, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainment in companie, knowing how to facion him selfe with all men. This prince, being always at strife with other Lordes of his contrie, and contending who should have the first place of honor and favor about the king : went unto Mithridates, and promised him that he would do him notable service, and that was, that he would kill Lucullus. The king was very glad of this promise, and praised him marvelously in secret : howbeit openly of purpose he did him many injuries, bicause he might have

The sight of a Generall in a battell is of marvelous force.

A politicke devise of the Romanes to punishe cowardly souldiers.

The Dardarians what people they be.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

some colour to counterfeate anger and displeasure, and to geve way for him to goe yelde him selfe unto Lucullus as he did. Lucullus was marvelous glad of him, bicause he was one of the chieftest men of name in all his campe, and to prove him withall, gave him charge immediatly: in the which he behaved him selfe so well, that Lucullus greatly esteemed his wisdom, and commended his diligence, in such sorte that he did him this honor, to call him somtimes unto the counsell, and make him sit at his borde. One day when this Dardarian prince Olthacus thought to have found fit occasion to execute his enterprize, he commaunded his footemen to be ready with his horse out of the trenches of the campe: and at none dayes when the souldiers tooke rest, and slept here and there in the campe, he went unto Lucullus tent, thinking to have found no body there to kepe him from comming in, considering the familiaritie Lucullus shewed him, saying also he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and sure he had gone in immediatly unto him, if sleepe that casteth away so many other Captaines, had not at that time preserved and saved Lucullus that slept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called Menedemus, who by good fortune kept the dore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, bicause Lucullus being wearied with travell and lacke of sleepe, was but then newly layed downe to rest. Olthacus whatsoever the other sayd to him, would not be so answered, but tolde him he would come in whether he would or not, for he must nedes speake with him in a matter of great importaunce. Menedemus answered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessarie, then the preservation of his masters life and health, who had neede to take rest: and with these words, he thrust him backe with both his hands. Olthacus was affrayed then, and withdrew him selfe secretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horse back, and rode straight to Mithridates campe without his purpose he came for, which was to kill Lucullus. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and oportunitie of time, even in great matters delivereth meanes, to save or destroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines geven unto the sicke and

LUCULLUS

Lucullus
daunger by
Olthacus
conspiracy.

Olthacus
prince of the
Dardarians.

Lucullus
life saved
by sleepe.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS diseased persones. Shortly after, Lucullus sent one of his Captaines called Sornatius to get vittells, with tenne ensignes of footemen. Whereof Mithridates being advertised, sent presently at his taylor one of his Captaines also, called Menander, unto whom Sornatius gave battell, and slue him with great slaughter of his men beside. And afterwarde Lucullus sent an other of his Lieutenautes called Adrianus with a great companie of souldiers, to get vittells into his campe more then he should neede. Mithridates did not let slippe this occasion, but sent after him two of his Captaines also called Menemachus and Myron, with a great number of men, as well footemen as horsemen: all which were slaine, two only excepted, that brought newes backe to Mithridates campe: the which he sought to salve as well as he could, saying that the losse was much lesse then it was thought for, and that it fortun'd through the ignorance and rashnes of his Lieutenautes. But Adrianus at his returne, passed by Mithridates campe with great pompe and majestie, carying a huge number of carts loden with corne and spoyle he had wonne: which drave Mithridates selfe into so great a dispaire, and all his people into such a feare and trouble, that he presently determined to remove thence. Whereupon, the nobility and such as had place of credit about him, beganne to send before, and secretly to convey their stuffe out of the campe, but utterly prohibiting others to doe the same. The rest of the souldiers seing the stowtnes of the kinges minions, beganne to set upon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to issue out of the campe. This mutinie grewe to such a fury, that they overthrewe their cariages and sumpter moyles, and slue them presently downe. Amongest others there was slaine Dorylaus, one of the chiefe Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne, for the which they killed him: and Hermæus the Priest of the sacrifices was troden under foote, and smothered at the campe gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great disorder. The king him selfe amongst others fled, but having never a one of his garde about him, nor any of the quieries of his stable to bring him a horse: Ptolomy, one of the groomes of his

Lucullus
victory of
certaine of
Mithridates
Captaines.

Mithridates
noble men
and familiars,
cause of
mutiny and
overthrowe
of his whole
army.

Mithridates
flieth.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

chamber, perceiving him in the company of them that fled, lighted of his owne horse, and gave him the king, but even in manner too late. For the Romanes that followed him were then even hard at his taylor: and it was not for lacke of speede they missed the taking of him, for they were very neere him: but the covetousnes of the souldiers was the losse of the praye they had so long sought for, with so great paine and hazard of battells, and deprived Lucullus of the honor and reward of all his victories. For they were so neere unto him, that if they had but followed Mithridates never so litle further, they had out of doubt overtaken him, and his horse that caried him away. But one of the moyles that caried his gold and silver (whether by chaunce, or of pretended policie of Mithridates, as a matter purposely habandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the midst of the high way betwixt him that fled, and the Romanes that followed: who stayed there to robbe the gold and silver, fighting about it, that Mithridates by that meanes wanne ground so farre before them, as they could never after come neere him againe. And this losse was not all which the covetousnes of the souldiers made Lucullus to lose. For, one of the chieft secretaries of the king being taken, called Callistratus, whom Lucullus commaunded to be brought unto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had five hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedines of them, slue him by the way, and yet notwithstanding Lucullus suffered them to spoyle and destroy the whole campe of their enemies. After Mithridates flight, Lucullus tooke the citie of Cabira, and many other castells and strong places, where he founde great treasure, and the prisons full of poore prisoners of the Græcians, and many Princes a kinne unto the king him selfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then seeing them selves delivered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefit of Lucullus, thought with them selves they were not only taken out of prison, but revived and turned againe unto a second life. There was also taken one of king Mithridates sisters called Nissa, whose taking fell out profitable for her: because all

LUCULLUS

Covetousnes,
the overthrow
of souldiers.

A strata-
geame of
Mithridates.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS Mithridates other wives and sisters whome they placed furthest of, as out of all daunger (and sent into a contrie of greatest safety, neere unto the citie of Pharnacia) dyed pitiefully, and were miserably slaine. For Mithridates sent one of the groomes of his privie chamber unto them called Bacchides, to bring them word that they must all dye. Amongest many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kinges sisters, called Roxane and Statira, which were forty yeres old a peece, and yet had never bene married: and two of his wives also whom he had married, both of the contrie of Ionia, the one called Berenicè, borne in the Ile of Chio, and the other Monimè, in the citie of Miletum. Monimè, she was very famous amongst the Græcians: for notwithstanding king Mithridates importunate dealing, being farre in love with her, insomuch as he sent her fiftene thowsand crownes at one time, yet she would never geve eare unto his sute, untill such time as the mariage was agreed upon betwene them, and that he had sent her his Diademe or royall bande, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore Ladie after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long lived a woefull life, bewailing continually her accursed beauty, that in steade of a husband, had procured her a master: and in steade of the matrimoniall companie which a noble woman should enjoy, had gotten her a gard and garrison of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, farre from the sweete contrie of Græce: in chaunge whereof, she had but a dreame and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, having unfortunately left them within her owne contry she happily enjoyed before. Now when this Bacchides was come unto them, and had commaunded them from the king to choose what maner of death they would, and which every one of them thought most easiest, and least painefull: Monimè pluckt of the royall bande from her head, and tying it on a knot above her necke, hung her selfe, but the band not being strong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cried out: O cursed and wicked tissue, wilt thou not yet serve me to end my sorowfull dayes? And speaking these wordes, cast it on the grounde and spit apon it, and held out her throte to Bacchides to be cut a sunder. The other,

Mithridates
slue his sisters
and wives.

The corage
of Monimè
Mithridates
wife.

Monimè her
throte was
cut.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Berenicè : she tooke a cuppe full of poyson her mother being present, who prayed her to let her have halfe, the which she did, and they dranke it of betwene them. The force of the poyson was stronge enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not so quickly to destroy the daughter : bicause she had not taken that proportion which would have served her turne, but drue out the paines of her death in length, untill such time as Bacchides hasting to dispatch her, she in the end did strangle her self. As for the kings two sisters, Roxane and Statyra, which were virgines yet unmarried, they say, that one of them also dranke poison, cursing and detesting the cruelty of her brother : howbeit Statira gave never an evill word, nor was fainte harted or sorowfull to dye, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that seeing him selfe in daunger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cause them dye, before they shoulde fall as slaves into the handes of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonor them, or do them villany. These pitiefull misfortunes went to Lucullus hart, who was curteous and gentle of nature : neverthelesse he went on further, still following Mithridates at the heeles, unto the city of Talaura. And there understanding that he was fled foure dayes before unto Tigranes in Armenia, returned backe againe, having first subdued the Chaldeans, and the Tibarenians, taken Armenia the lesse, and brought the cities, castells, and strong places unto his obedience. That done, he sent Appius Clodius unto king Tigranes, to summe him to deliver Mithridates unto him : and him selfe tooke his jorney towards the citie of Amisus, which was yet besieged. The cause why this siege continued long, was the sufficiencie and great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called Callimachus : who understoode so well howe all sortes of engines of batterie were to be used, and was so subtile besides in all inventions that might serve to defende a place besieged, as he troubled the Romanes much in this attempt : but afterwardes he was not only met withall, and payed home for all his labor, but also outreached by Lucullus for all his finesse. For where before he had always used to sound the retreat at a certaine hower, and

LUCULLUS

Berenicè
strangled
her selfe.

The corage
of Statira
Mithridates
sister.

Appius Clo-
dius sent unto
Tigranes from
Lucullus.

Callimachus
governor of
Amisus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS
Lucullus wan
Amisus.

Callimachus
setteth fire of
Amisus and
flieth.

Lucullus cur-
tesie towardes
the citie of
Amisus.

Lucullus
gentle saying.

to call his men backe from the assaulte, to rest them: one day he brake that order on the sodaine, and comminge to assaulte the walle, at the first charge wanne a peece of it, before those within could come in time to resist them. Callimachus seeing that, and knowing it was now impossible to keepe the city any lenger, forsooke it. But before his departing he set the citie a fire, either for the malice to the Romanes, because he would not they should enriche them selves with the sacke of so great a citie: or else for a policy of warre to have the more leasure to save him selfe, and flie. For no man gave eye to them that fled by sea, because the flame was so great, that it dispersed it selfe even to the very walles, and the Romane souldiers, they only prepared to spoyle. Lucullus seeing the fire without, had compassion of the citie within, and would gladly have holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the souldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would harken to him, every one gaping after the spoyle, making great noyse with classhing of harnesse, and being very lowde besides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gave the city wholly to spoyle, hoping thereby to save the houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the soldiers them selves in seeking all about with torches and linckes lighted, to see if any thing were hidden: they set a number of houses a fire. So as Lucullus comming into the citie the next morning, and seeing the great desolacion the fire had made, fell of weeping, saying unto his familiar frends about him: he had oftentimes before thought Sylla happy, howbeit he never wondred more at his good fortune, then that day he did. For, Sylla sayd he, desiring to save the citie of Athens, the goddess graunted him that favor that he might do it: but I that would faine follow him therein, and save this citie, fortune thwarting my desire, hath brought me to the reputation of Mummius, that caused Corinthe to be burnt. Neverthelesse he did his best endeavor at that time to helpe the poore citie againe. For touching the fire, even immediately after it was taken, by Gods providence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and Lucullus selfe before he left the citie, made a great

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

number of the houses which were spoyled by fire, to be built up againe, and curteously received all the inhabitauntes that were fled, besides them he placed other Græcians there also, that were willing to dwell amongst them, and increased the boundes and confines of the citie which he gave them, one hundred and twenty furlonges into the contrie. This citie was a colony of the Athenians, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire florished, and that they ruled the seas: by reason whereof, many flying the tyranny of Aristion, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the same. This good hadde fell upon them, that forsaking their owne goodes, they went to possesse and enjoy the goodes of other men: but the very citzens of Athens it selfe that had escaped from this great desolation, Lucullus clothed them well, and gave them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and sent them againe into their contrie. Tyrannion the grammarian was taken at that time, whom Muræna begged of Lucullus: and Lucullus having graunted him unto him, he made him free, wherein he delt very discourteously, and did much abuse Lucullus liberality and gift unto him. For in bestowing this prisoner upon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane Muræna should take him for a bondeman, whereby he should neede afterwarde to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and restore him to libertie: was no more but to take that freedome and liberty from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other thinges, and not in that only, Muræna layed him selfe open to the world, that he had not all the partes a worthy Captaine should have in him. When Lucullus departed from Amisus, he went to visite the cities of Asia, to thend that whilst he was not now occupied with warres, they might have some refreshing of lawes and justice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long time in Asia, the poore contry was so afflicted, and oppressed with so many evils and miseries: as no man living would scant beleve, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreame and horrible covetousnes of the farmers, customers, and Romane users did not only devoure it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldome,

LUCULLUS

Tyrannion the
grammarian
taken.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS that particularly the poore fathers were driven to sell their goodly young sonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the interest and usery of the money which they had borrowed to discharge their fines withall: and publikely the tables dedicated unto the temples, the statues of their goddes, and other church juells: and yet in the end, they them selves were also judged to be bondmen and slaves to their cruell creditors, to weare out their dayes in miserable servitude. And yet the worst of all was, the payne they put them to before they were so condemned: for they imprisoned them, set them on the racke, tormented them uppon a litle brasen horse, sette them in the stockes, made them stande naked in the greatest heate of sommer, and on the ise in the deepest of winter, so as that bondage seemed unto them a reliefe of their miseries, and a rest of their tormentes. Lucullus found the cities of Asia full of such oppressions, but in a shorte time after he delivered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he tooke order, they should account for the usery that was payed monethly, the hundred parte of the principall det onely, and no more. Secondly he cut of all useries that passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor and userer should enjoy the fourth parte of the profites and revenues of his detter. And he that joyned usery with the principall, that is to say, tooke usery upon usery: should lose the whole. So that by this order, all dettes were payed in lesse then foure yeares, and the owners landes and revenues set clere of all maner payments. This surcharge of useries, came of the twenty thowsande talentes, wherein Sylla had condemned the contrie of Asia: the which summe they had payed twise before unto the farmers and collectors of the Romanes, who had raised it, still heaping usery upon usery, to the summe of sixe score thowsand talentes. Wherefore these collectors and farmers ranne to Rome, and cried out upon Lucullus, saying, that he did them the greatest wrong that could be, and by meanes of money, they procured certaine of the common counsellers to speake against him: which they might easily doe, bicause they had diverse of their names in their bookes that delt in thaffaires of the common wealth at

Lucullus relieveth Asia from extreme usery.

That is after the rate of 12 in the hundred for the yeare.

Lawes set downe for userers.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Rome. But Lucullus was not only beloved of those contries whom he did good unto, but was wished for and desired also of others, who thought the contries happy that might have such a governor. Now for Appius Clodius, whom Lucullus had sent before from Talaura unto king Tigranes in Armenia, and whose sister at that time was Lucullus wife: he first tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high contry, making him fetch a great compasse about, by many dayes jorneyes spent in vaine: untill such time as one of his infranchised bondmen that was borne in Syria, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leaving the wrong wayes they had led him, within fewe dayes past over the river of Euphrates, and arrived in the citie of Antioch, surnamed Epidaphne. Where he had commaundement to abide Tigranes returne, who was then in the contry of Phenicia, where he subdued certaine cities, and had some other yet to conquer. Appius in the meane time wanne secretly divers of the princes and noble men, that obeyed this Armenian king but for feare, by force, and against their willes, amongst whom was Zarbienus, king of the province of Gordiaena: and promised the aide of Lucullus also to many the cities that sent unto him, (which had not long before bene subdued and brought into bondage) to whom nevertheles he gave in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once sturre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of these Armenians was intollerable to the Græcians, and specially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reason of his great prosperitie, was growen to such pride and presumption, that whatsoever men did commonly esteeme best, and make most reckoning of, he would not only have it, and use it as his owne, but also tooke it that all was made for him selfe whatsoever: and this great overwening grew, by reason of fortunes speciall grace and favor towards him. For at the beginning he had but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downe the power of the Parthians as much as any man that ever was before him. He replenished the contry of Mesopotamia with Græcian inhabitautes, which he brought by force out of Cilicia and

LUCULLUS

Appius Clodius, Lucullus wives brother.

Euphrates fl.

Zarbienus king of Gordiaena.

Tigranes pride and power.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS Cappadocia, compelling them to inhabite there. He made the Arabians chaunge their maner of living, who are otherwise called the Scenites, as much to say, as tent dwellers, bicause they are vagarant people that dwell in no other houses but tentes, which they ever use to carie with them, and brought them out of their naturall contrie, and made them followe him, using them for his commodity in trade of marchaundise. There were ever many kings in his courte that waited on him: but amongst others, he had foure kinges that waited continually on his person, as his foote-men: for when he rode abroade any whether, they ranne by his stirroppe in their shirtes. And when he was set in his chaire of state to geve audience, they stooode on their feete about his chaire holding their handes together, which countenance shewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could do unto him: as if they had shewed thereby that they resigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies unto their Lord and master, more ready to suffer, then any thing to doe. Notwithstanding, Appius Clodius being nothing abashed nor feared with all this tragicall pompe, when audience was geven him: tolde king Tigranes boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king Mithridates away with him, who was due to the triumphe of Lucullus: and therefore did summe him to deliver that king into his handes, or else that he proclaimed warres upon him selfe. They that were present at this summons, knew well enough that Tigranes (although he set a good countenance of the matter openly with a fainte counterfeate laughing) yet hearing these wordes so boldly and gallantly spoken out of this young mans mowth, was galled to the quicke, and hitte at the harte. For Tigranes having reigned, (or to say better tyrannically governed) five and twenty yeares space, had never heard any bold or francke speache but that. Notwithstanding, he answered Appius, that he would not deliver Mithridates: and if the Romanes made warres with him, that he would defende him selfe. And being greatly offended that Lucullus in his letters gave him not the title, king of kinges, but only king simply: in the letters he wrote backe to Lucullus againe, he did not so much

The boldnes
of Appius
Clodius,
Lucullus
Ambassador
unto Tigranes.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

as vowchesave to call him Captaine onely. But when Appius tooke his leave, he sent him goodly riche presentes which he refused. Whereupon the king sent others againe unto him, of the which Appius tooke a cuppe only, because the king should not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will: and so sending all the rest againe unto him, made great hast to returne to his Captaine Lucullus. Nowe Tigranes before that time would not once see king Mithridates his so neere kinseman, who by fortune of warres had lost so puissant and great a kingdome, but proudly kept him under in fennie, marrishe, and unholosome grounds, without any honor geven unto him, as if he had bene a very prisoner in deede: howbeit then he sent for him honorably, and received him with great curtesie. When they were neere together in the kings palace, they talked secretly one with an other, and excusing them selves, clearing all suspicions conceived betwene them, to the great hurt of their servauntes and frendes, whom they burdened with all thocccasion of unkindnes betwene them: amongst which number Metrodorus Scepsian was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in speache, and one whome Mithridates so much loved and esteemed, that they called him the kings father. Mithridates at the beginning of his warres had sent him Ambassador unto Tigranes, to pray ayde of him against the Romanes. At which time Tigranes sayd unto him: But what sayest thou to it Metrodorus: what advise wilt thou geve me? Metrodorus either because he had regard unto Tigranes profit, or else because he was loth Mithridates should escape, answered him againe: As Ambassador, O king, I would wish you should do it: but as a counsellor, that you should not do it. Tigranes now reported this speache unto Mithridates, not thinking he would have hurt Metrodorus for it, though in deede he presently put him to death upon it. Whereat Tigranes was hartely sorie, and repented him greatly to have tolde him so much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, having but only revived Mithridates evill will before conceived against him. For he had borne him displeasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he

LUCULLUS

Appius abstinence from taking of giftes.

Tigranes and Mithridates meeting.

Metrodorus praise, and death.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS had ordained that Metrodorus should be put to death: but in recompence thereof Tigranes buried his body honorably, sparing no cost at all unto the dead body of him, whom living he had betrayed. There dyed in king Tigranes courte also, an Orator called Amphicrates, if he deserve that mention should be made of him, for the citie of Athens sake whereof he was borne: for it is sayd, that when he was banished out of his contrie, he fled into the city of Seleucia, which standeth upon the river of Tigris. When the inhabitants of the same praied him to teache them the arte of eloquence in their contrie, he would not vouchesave it, but answered them prowdly: that a platter was too litle to holde a Dolphine in, meaning that their citie was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went unto Cleopatra, Mithridates daughter, and king Tigranes wife, where he was quickly suspected and accused: so that he was forbidden to frequent the Græcians company any more, which grieved him so much, that he famished him selfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very honorably buried by the Queene Cleopatra, nere unto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that contry. Now when Lucullus had quieted all thinges in Asia, and had established good lawes among them, he was not carelesse also of games and pleasaunt pastimes, but while he was at leasure in the city of Ephesus, he made many games, feastes, wrestlings and fence playes at the sharpe for joy of his victory, delighting all the cities of Asia with them, the which in recompence therof did institute a solemne feast also in the honor of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great joy, shewing a true and no fained frendshippe and good will towards him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honor they could devise to geve him. But after that Appius Clodius was returned from his Ambassade, and had tolde Lucullus that he must make warres with Tigranes: Lucullus went backe againe unto the realme of Pontus, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garrison, and brought it before the city of Sinope to lay siege unto it, or rather to besiege certaine Cilicians that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of Mithridates. But when they sawe

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Lucullus come against them, they slue a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the city, fled their way by night. Lucullus being advertised of it, entred the citie, put eight thowsande of the Cilicians to the sword which he found there, and restored the naturall citizens and inhabitantes thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cause that made him to be carefull to preserve the city, was this vision he had. He thought in his nightes dreame that one came to him, and sayd: Goe a litle further Lucullus, for Autolyucus commeth, who is desirous to speake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vision ment. It was the selfe same day on the which he tooke the city of Sinope, where following the Cilicians that escaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground upon the sea side, which the Cilicians would have caried away: but they were taken and followed so neere, that they had no leasure to shippe it. This statue (as it is reported) was one of the goodliest and notablest workes of Sthenis the Image graver. And some say that it was the image of Autolyucus who founded the city of Sinope. For Autolyucus was one of the princes that went out of Thessalie with Hercules to go against the Amazones, and he was the sonne of Deimachus. And they reporte that at the returne from this voyage, the shippe in the which Autolyucus was imbarked, with Demoleon and Phlogius, made shippewracke upon a rocke on the coast of Cherronesus, where she was cast away: howbeit that he and his men scaping with all their furniture, came to the city of Sinope, which he tooke from certaine Syrians, who came (as they say) of one Syrus the sonne of Apollo, and of the nimphe Sinope Asopus daughter. Lucullus understanding this matter, called a saying of Sylla to minde, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may geve more credit unto, then that which is signified to us by dreames. In the meane season he was advertised, that Tigranes and Mithridates were ready to come downe into Lycaonia, and Cilicia, bicause they might first enter Asia. Lucullus marveled much at Tigranes counsell, that sithence he was minded to warre with the Romanes, he did not use Mithridates ayde in his warres

LUCULLUS
Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.

Lucullus dreame.

A statue made by Sthenis.

Autolyucus founder of the city of Sinope.

The Syrians why so called.

Syllaes note for dreames.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS at such time, as when he was in his best strength and force : and that he did not then joyne his power with Mithridates, rather then suffer him to be destroyed and overthrowen, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding him selfe with those, that could not helpe them selves. While these thinges passed in this sorte, Machares king Mithridates sonne, that kept the realme of Bosphorus, sent a crowne of golde unto Lucullus, of the waight of a thowsande crownes, praying him that he would name him a frende and confederate of the Romanes. Whereupon Lucullus thought he was then at the very last ende of his first warre, and leaving Sornatius with sixe thowsand men to keepe the realme of Pontus, he departed with twelve thowsand footemen, and lesse then three thowsand horsemen to go to the second warres. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a parte of him to goe with so small a company to fight with so many warlike nations, and to put him selfe unto the hazard of so many thowsandes of horsemen, in a marvelous large contry, and of a wonderful length, environned round about with deepe rivers, and mountaines, covered with snowe all the yeare through: so that his souldiers, which otherwise were no speciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an evill will, and did stubbornly disobey him. And on thother side, the common counsellers at Rome cried out on him continually, and openly protested before all the people, that out of one warre he sowed an other, which the common wealth had nothing to doe withall, and that he looked after none other thinge but still to raise newe occasions of warres, to the ende he might alwayes have armies at his commaundement, and never leave the warres, bicause he would make him selfe great with the cost and perill of the common wealth. These crying counsellers in the end obtained their purpose, which was: to call home Lucullus againe, and to substitute Pompey in his place. But Lucullus for all that, marched on with his army with all the possible speede he coulde, so that he came in few dayes unto the river of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough by reason of the winter season: which troubled him marvel-

Machares
Mithridates
sonne prayeth
frendshippe
of Lucullus.

Lucullus
goeth against
Tigranes with
a small com-
pany.

The quarrel-
linge counsel-
lers at Rome,
envy Lucullus
prosperity.

Lucullus
came to the
river of
Euphrates,
and found it
very high, and
rough.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

ously at that present, doubting least it would hold him there a long time in finding out of boates, and making of postes and planckes to build a bridge to passe over his army. But towards night the water beganne to fall a litle, and in the night fell so much, that the next morning the river was comen to her ordinary streame: and moreover, the contrie men them selves decerning certaine litle Ilandes that appeared unto them in the middest of the water course, and the river very calme as a marrishe rounde about them, did honor Lucullus as a god, because it was a thing they had never seene chaunce before, as though at his comming the river had sodainly yeilded unto him, and was become gentle to geve him safe and easie passage. And bicause he would not loose that oportunitie, he passed over his army immediatly: and was no sooner on thother side, but he met with a happie token of good lucke, which was this. On thother side of the river, there was a certaine number of kyne consecrated to Diana Persica, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyonde the river of Euphrates, do reverence and honor above all the other goddes: and these kyne they employ to none other use, but only to sacrifice them unto this goddesse. They wander all about the contry where they will, without any maner of tying, or shackling otherwise, having only the marke of the goddesse, which is a lampe printed upon their bodies, and they are not easie to be taken when one would have them, but with great a doe. One of these consecrated kyne, after that Lucullus army was passed over Euphrates, came to offer her selfe upon a rock which they suppose is hallowed or dedicate unto this goddesse, bowing downe her head, and stretching out her necke, like those that are tyed shorte, as if she had comen even of purpose to present her selfe to Lucullus, to be sacrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a bull also unto the river Euphrates, in token of thanks for his safe passage over. Lucullus the first day did nothing but encampe him selfe only, on the other side of the river: but the next morning, and the other dayes following, he went further into the contry by the way of Sophene, hurting none that came and yeilded unto him, or that willingly received his army. For when his men would

LUCULLUS

The straunge and sodaine fall of the river of Euphrates, from her great swelling.

Diana Persica.

Kyne consecrated to Diana Persica.

A straunge thing of a cow that came to offer her selfe to Lucullus to be sacrificed.

The contry of Sophene.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS have had him to have taken a castell by force, where they said was great store of gold and silver: he shewed them mownte Taurus a farre of, and told them it is that which we must rather go to take. As for the thinges which be in this castell, they be kept for them that vanquishe: and going on still with great jorneyes, passed over the river of Tigris, and so entred the realme of Armenia with a maine armie. Now for Tigranes, the first man that ventured to bring him newes of Lucullus comming, had no joy of it: for he cut of his head for his labor. And therefore from thenceforth there durst no man say any thing unto him, untill such time as he was at the last environned rounde with fire, which Lucullus army had raised about him, before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was sporting and gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that Lucullus in deede were a noble Captaine, if he durst but tary Tigranes comming downe in the citie of Ephesus only, and howe he would straight flie out of all Asia, so soone as he might but heare tell of his comming against him with so triumphing an army of so many thowsand men. And thus may we see, that like as all bodies and braines, are not a like strong nor able to cary much wine: so in like case all wittes be not resolute and constant, never to doe amisse, nor to swarve from reasons bandes in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, Mithrobarzanes, one of Tigranes familiars, was the next man that enterprised to tell him the troth: whose boldnes had litle better reward for his newes, then the first that was beheaded. For Tigranes sent him immediatly with three thowsand horse, and a good number of footemen, commaunding him that he should bring Lucullus alive unto him, and that furthermore, he should marche upon the bellies of his men. Now was Lucullus alreadie camped with parte of his army, and the other parte comming after, when his skowtes brought him newes of the barbarous Captaines approche: which at the first put him in feare, that if the enemy should come and assaile them thus scattered in companies, and not raunged in battell, and ready to fight, he might overthrow them whiles they were in disorder. And therefore he remained within his campe to fortife the same, and sent Sextilius one of his

Tigris fl.

Tigranes slue the first messenger that brought the newes of Lucullus approach.

Tigranes sendeth Mithrobarzanes against Lucullus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

Lieutenants, with a thousand six hundred horse, and as many footmen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commanding him to approach as neere to his enemy as he could without fighting, only to stay him there, untill such time as he heard newes that all his army was comen together into his campe. Sextilius went to doe his commaundement, but he was compelled to fight, (though against his will) Mithrobarzanes came so bravely and lustely to assayle him. So was the battell striken betwene them, in the which Mithrobarzanes was slaine valliantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, fewe excepted, that onely by flying saved them selves. After this overthrow, Tigranes forsooke his great royall citie of Tigranocerta that he built him selfe, and went to mownt Taurus, where he assembled a great number of men out of all partes. But Lucullus would geve him no leasure to prepare him selfe, but sent Muræna on the one side to cut them of by the way, and to overthrow those that were assembled about him: and on the other side Sextilius to stoppe a great company of the Arabians that were comming to Tigranes, whom Sextilius set upon as they were ready to lodge, and overthrew them in maner every man. And Muræna following king Tigranes at the heeles, spyed an occasion to geve the charge as he passed a long and narrow valley, in the bottome wherof the way was very ill, and specially for an armie of such a length: and taking the oportunity, set upon the rereward, which Tigranes perceiving, fled straight upon it, making all his cariage to be throwen downe in the way before the enemies to stay them. There were a great number of the Armenians slayne in this overthrow, and moe taken. Those thinges having this successe, Lucullus went to the city of Tigranocerta, the which he besiegeth round. In that citie were a marvelous number of Græcians that had bene brought thither by force out of Cilicia, and many of the barbarous people also whom they had used in the like forcible maner, as they had done the Adiabeniens, the Assyrians, the Gordæniens, and the Cappadociens, whose townes and cities Tigranes had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reason whereof, this city of Tigranocerta

LUCULLUS
Lucullus
sendeth Sextilius
against
Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius slue
Mithrobarzanes
and
overthrew
his force.

The city of
Tigranocerta,
built by
Tigranes.

Lucullus
besiegeth
Tigranocerta.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS was full of golde and silver, of mettells, statues, tables and pictures, bicause every man (as well private, as Princes and Lords) studied to please the king, to enrich and beautife this city, with all kindes of furniture and ornamentes fit for the same. And hereuppon Lucullus straighted the siege as much as he could, perswading him selfe that Tigranes would never suffer, that it should be taken, but (though he had otherwise determined) yet for very anger would present him battell, thereby to enforce him to raise his siege. And surely he gessed right, had it not bene that Mithridates had dissuaded him by expresse letters and messengers that he should in no case hazard battell, and perswaded him rather to cut of the vittells on all sides from the Romanes with his horsemen. The selfe same counsell and advise did Taxiles (the Captaine whom Mithridates sent) geve him in his campe, and prayed him very earnestly, that he would not prove the invincible force of the Romanes. Tigranes pacientlie harkened to their reasons at the first. But when the Armenians were come, and all the force of the contry besides, and the Gordiæniens, and that the kinges of the Medes and of the Adiabenians were commen also with all their power, and that on thother side there came a marvelous great host of the Arabians that dwell upon the sea of Babylon, and a multitude of the Albanians from the Caspian sea, and of the Iberians their neighbors, besides a great company of free people living without a king, that dwell by the river of Araxes, some comming freely to doe him pleasure, other for their pensions and pay which he gave them: then was there none other talke neither at his table nor in counsell, but of assured hope of victorie, and of great bragges and barbarous threatninges, so that Taxiles was in great daunger of him selfe, bicause he was against the determination taken in counsell for geving of the battell. Now was it thought that Mithridates did envy the glory of king Tigranes, and therefore did thus dissuade him from battell. For which respect Tigranes would not so much as tary for him, and bicause also Mithridates should have no parte of the honor of his victory: but went into the felde with all this great army, vaunting amongst his familiars as they reporte, that

Taxiles per-
swadeth
Tigranes not
to fight with
the Romanes.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

nothing grieved him but one, that he should fight with Lucullus alone, and not with all the other Romane Capitaines. Now this bravery was not so fond, nor so farre out of square, but that there was great likelyhoode of it when he saw so many sundrie nations about him, so many kinges that followed him, so many battells of armed footemen, and so many thowsande of horsemen. For he had in his army of bowmen and slinges onely, twenty thowsand: five and fifty thowsand horsemen, whereof seventeene thowsande men of armes, armed from toppe to toe, as Lucullus him selfe wrote unto the Senate: and a hundred and fifty thowsand armed footemen, devided by ensignes and squadrons: of pyoners, carpinters, masons, and such other kinde of handy craftes men, to plaine wayes, to make bridges to passe over rivers, to stoppe streames, to cut wodde, and to make such kinde of workes, of this sorte of people, the number of five and thirty thowsand, who followed in battell ray in the rereward of the army, making their campe seme farre greater, and by so much the more stronger. When Tigranes shewed on the toppe of mownt Taurus, and that they might plainly see his whole army from the city, and that him selfe also might easily decerne Lucullus armie that besieged Tigranocerta: the barbarous people that were within the citie were so glad of this sight, that they made wonderfull showtes of joy, and great clapping of handes, threatning the Romanes from their walles, and shewing them the army of the Armenians. Lucullus in the meane time sate in counsell to consider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his siege, and goe with his whole armie undevided against Tigranes. But others liked not that he should leave so great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he should raise his siege. Lucullus made them aunswere, that neither of them both did counsell him well, but both together did counsell him right. Whereuppon he devided his armie, and left Muræna at the siege of Tigranocerta with sixe thowsand men: and he with foure and twenty cohortes (in the which were not above tenne thowsand armed footemen) and all his horsemen, with a thowsand bow men and slinges or thereabouts, went towardses Tigranes, and camped

LUCULLUS
The prowde
saying of
Tigranes.

Tigranes
whole armie:
two hundred
three score
thowsand
men.

Lucullus
army against
Tigranes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS in a goodly broade felde by the rivers side. The Romanes seemed but a handfull to Tigranes campe, so that for a while Tigranes parasyts made but a May game of them to sporte withall. For some mocked them to scorne, other drewe lottes, and played away their parte of the spoyles, as if they had already wonne the felde: and every one of the kinges and Captaines came and offered them selves to Tigranes, and besought him everie man for him selfe, that he would geve him the honor alone to leade this battell, and that it would please him to sit by in some place to see the sporte. Tigranes then, bicause he would shewe that he could be as pleasaunt as the rest, spake a thing knowen to every man. If they come as Ambassadors, quod he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but fewe. And thus they played upon the Romanes, and tooke their pleasure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, Lucullus brought all his men armed into the felde, and put them in order of battel. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on thother side of the river towards the East, and by chaunce the streame of the river turned sodainly towards the West, where there was a better ford to passe over. Wherefore Lucullus marching with his army by the rivers side, following the streame to meete with some forde, hasting to get over, Tigranes thought he had marched away, and called for Taxiles, and sayd unto him, laughing: Doest thou see Taxiles, those goodly Romane legyons, whom thou praisest to be men so invincible: howe they flie away now? Taxiles answered the king againe: I would your good fortune (O king) might worke some miracle this day: for doutlesse it were a straunge thing that the Romanes should flie. They are not wont to weare their brave cotes and furniture upon their armor, when they meane onely but to marche in the feldes: neither doe they carie their shieldes and targets uncased, nor their burganets bare on their heades, as they doe at this present, having thrown away their leather cases and coveringes. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we see so bright and glistering in our faces, is a manifest signe that they intend to fight, and that they marche towards us. Taxiles had no sooner spoken these wordes, but Lucullus in

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

the view of his enemies, made his ensigne bearer turne sodainly that caried the first Eagle, and the bands tooke their places to passe the river in order of battell. Then Tigranes secretly comen to him selfe, as out of dronkennes: cried out alowde twise, or thrise, Come they then to us? But then was there no small sturre and tumult, to put such a world of people into battell. The king Tigranes him selfe undertooke to leade the midle battell, gave the left wing unto the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right unto the king of the Medes: in the which were the most parte of the complete armed men, who made the first front of all the battell. But as Lucullus was ready to passe the river, there were certaine of his Captaines that came unto him, to wish him to take heede that he fought not that day, bicause it was one of those which the Romanes thought unfortunate, and call them *Atri*, to saye, blacke: for upon one of those dayes, one Cæpio was overthrowen in a set battell with all his army by the Cimbres. But Lucullus gave them a prety aunswere againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (sayd he) for the Romanes. It was the sixteenth day of the moneth of October. And so with those wordes encoraging his men, passed over the river, and went him selfe the foremost man, and marched directly towardes his enemy, armed with an anima of steele, made with scalloppe shelles, shining like the sunne, and upon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding his sword drawn in his hand: to let his men understand, that they must sodainly joyne with their enemies, and fight at the swordes pointe, that were not acquainted to fight but a farre of with shotte and slinges, and that he would so quickly winne the distaunce of grounde they had to marche ere they could joyne, that they should have no leasure to shoote. And furthermore, perceiving that the strength of their men of armes (wherof they made so great accompt) was ranged in battell under a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and even, and the way up the hill not passing foure furlonges travaill, and not very hard nor steepe to clime: he sent thither certaine horsemen of the Thracians and Gaules which he had in pay, and commaunded them to geve a charge on the flancke to

LUCULLUS

The ordering of Tigranes battell.

Atri blacke or unfortunate dayes.

Lucullus battell with Tigranes.

Lucullus armor.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS disorder them, and assay to cut their launces, with their swordes. For all the strength of these men of armes consisteth in their launces, and they can do nothing for them selves, nor against their enemies, they are so heavily armed and loden: so as it seemeth they are locked up in their armor, as in an iron prison. And he him self therewithall taking two ensignes of footemen, strove also to gaine the toppe of the hill, his souldiers following him hard at the heeles with a notable corage, bicause they saw him the foremost man travailing a foote, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten up to the toppe, he stayed a litle in the highest place he could finde, and then cried out with a lowd voyce: Oh companions, the victory is ours. And as he spake those wordes, he ledde them against these men of armes, commaunding them they should not medle with throwing of their dartes, but taking their swordes in their handes they should strike at their thighes and legges, bicause they have no other partes of their bodies naked. Howbeit there was no neede of such fight, for they taried not the Romanes, but with great crying out turned their horse heades immediatly, and ranne cowardly (them selves and their horses, heave armed as they were) through the midst of the bandes of their footemen, before they had striken a stroke. And thus were so many thowsandes of men broken without any stroke striken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of blood sene to be spilt. But the great slaughter was, when they beganne to flie, or (to say better) when they thought to flie: for they could not flie, they ranne so one upon an others necke by reason of the marvelous length and bredth of their battells. Tigranes amongst the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, and seeing his sonne running the same fortune, flying as him selfe did, tooke of his diadeame or royall bande from his head, and gave it him weeping, commaunding him to save him selfe as well as he could by some other way. But the young prince durst not put it on his head, but gave it to one of his trusty servauntes to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought unto Lucullus: so that amongst the other spoyle and prisoners, there was taken Tigranes diadeame. It is

Lucullus famous vic-
torie of
Tigranes.

Tigranes
flight.

Tigranes dia-
deame taken
by Lucullus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

thought that there were slaine at this overthrow, above a hundred thowsand footemen, and very few of all the horsemen saved. On the Romanes side, there were about a hundred hurt, and five slaine. Antiochus the Philosopher speaking of this battell in a treatise he made of the gods, wryteth that the sunne never saw the like overthrowe. And Strabo an other Philosopher in a certaine abridgement he made of stories sayd, that the Romanes were ashamed, and laughed at them selves that they had drawn their swordes against such dastardly slaves. And Titus Livius declareth also, that the Romanes were never in any battell with so small a number of fighting men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerers were not in all the world the twentieth parte (nothing like) of those that were overcome. Wherefore the oldest and best experienced Captaines of the Romanes did highly commende Lucullus, bicause he had overcome two of the greatest and most mighty Princes of the world, by two sundry contrary meanes: the one by tract and delay, and the other by speede and swiftnes. For he undermined and consumed Mithridates, by holding backe, and delaying, at that time when all his strength was whole: and to the contrary he destroyed Tigranes with great speede and haste. And thus did he that, which few Captaines could ever do: that is, used delay of time to execute, and valliant expedition to winne the victory. This was the cause why Mithridates made no hast to come to the battel, thinking still that Lucullus had used his wonted policy, to delay and geve backe alwaies: and therefore he came by small jorneyes unto Tigranes campe. But meeting at the first with a few of the Armenians that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he straight mistrusted the overthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them naked, and sore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seeke out Tigranes, whom he found alone, forsaken of his men, and in very poore estate, yet did not he requite Tigranes in adversity with that pride and disdaine he had used him before in his miserie: but lighted of his horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gave him all his officers, and traine of a kings court that followed him to

LUCULLUS

Lucullus
praise.

Two puyasant
kings over-
come by con-
trary meanes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS serve him, comforting him, and exhorting him to plucke up his hart againe, and to be coragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leaved a freshe the whole force and power they could from all the partes of their dominions. In the meane season, there fell out great sedition in the city of Tigranocerta, betwene the Græcians and the barbarous people: for the Græcians, they would have yeelded up the towne into Lucullus hands. Whereupon, Lucullus geving an assault to the city at that very instant, wanne it, and seased upon the kings treasure there, leaving all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thowsand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gave of the spoile that was won upon the enemies, eight hundred Drachmas unto every souldier. And understanding that there were divers musitians, common players, minstrels, and such kinde of people meete for feastes and sporte, whom Tigranes had sent for thither from all partes, to dedicate the Theater he had made in his city: he caused all them to serve at the sportes and feastes of this victory. After the solempnization whereof, he sent the Græcians home againe unto their contry, and gave them money to defraye their charges by the way, and the barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their native contries. And so it fortunod, that by the desolation and destruction of a city forsaken, many others were built againe, and stored with people: bicause those cities had thereby recovered their naturall inhabitants againe, who ever after did love and honor Lucullus, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also, according to his vertue and merites. For Lucullus liked better the praise that came of bounty, of justice, and of clemencie: then that that came by force of marshall prowes and chevalry. For in deedes of armes, he sayd his army partly deserved praise, and fortune also caried the best parte away: but the praise of the other, were onely due unto him selfe. Whereby he shewed the valor of an excellent good man, well taught and trained up in vertue: and so reaped the frute of his worthy deserts. For by those good partes, he wanne the hartes of the barbarous people in such sorte, that the kinges of the Arabians

Lucullus
tooke Tigranocerta.

Lucullus
justice and
clemency.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

came of good will to put them selves and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the Sopenians also yeld them selves unto him. The Gordiaenians in like maner, they liked Lucullus so well, that they would willingly have forsaken their cities, houses and contry, to follow him with their wives and children upon this occasion. Zarbienus king of these Gordiaenians, as we have recited before, had privily entred amity with Lucullus, by meanes of Appius Clodius, who could no lenger away with the tyranny of Tigranes. This practise was bewrayed unto Tigranes, who put Zarbienus, his wife, and children to death, before the Romanes maine army came into the contry of Armenia. Howbeit Lucullus did not forget it, but passing through his realme, gave him very royall funeralles. For having heaped up a huge pyle of wodde, sumptuously set out with cloth of gold and silver, and other rich spoiles of Tigranes: he him selfe in person, would needes set it a fire, and made the funerall effusions and accustomed sprincklings at burialles, with his frendes and kinsemen, doing him this honor, as to call him frend and confederate of the Romane people, and appointed also a great summe of money besides to erect a sumptuous tombe for him. For they found great store of gold and silver in the kinges castell, and there was plenty of provision also of three hundred thowsand bushells of wheate: the which did enriche his souldiers marvelously, and made Lucullus to be wondered at, that havinge received not one Drachma from the sparing coffers at Rome, he had notwithstanding made the warre entertaine it selfe. About the self same time also, the king of the Parthians sent Ambassadors unto him to offer him his frendshippe and allyance: which Lucullus willingly accepted, and sent Ambassadors from him also of acceptation, who made reporte to Lucullus at their returne, that the king of the Parthians stode doubtfull how to resolve which parte he should take, and that secretly he sent unto Tigranes, to aske the realme of Mesopotamia for his reward to aide him against the Romanes. Lucullus being truly enformed of the king of Parthiaes double dealing, determined to leave Tigranes and Mithridates, as two enemies wearied and overcome, and a litle to prove the force and

LUCULLUS

Zarbienus
king of the
Gordiaenians
slaine by
Tigranes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS power of the Parthians by making warres upon them, thinking it great honor unto him, if he might discomfit and overthrow three so mighty kings one after an other, like a valliant conqueror that had overcome three famous Captaines together, and had passed through the contries of three of the greatest Princes under the sunne, alwayes a conqueror, and never conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly unto Sornatius and other of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of Pontus, that they should repayre to him with all speede with the bandes they had under their charge, for that he was determined to departe out of the contry of Gordiaena, to go against the Parthians: howbeit his purpose altered by occasion. For his Lieutenauntes that had many times before founde their souldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commaundements, knew plainly then their cancred stomakes and incorrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by any compulsion or perswasions they could use: but contrarily they cryed out, and tolde them plainly, that they would no lenger tary where they were, but would goe home to their contry, and leave the realme of Pontus without gard or garrison at all. And further, that worst of all was, when these newes were brought to Lucullus campe, they gave a full example of boldnes to his souldiers there, to mutiny in such sorte, having good will and disposition thereunto of themselves before. For their purses being full, and they acquainted with finenes, were become so dull and lasie, that they could endure no paines nor hardnes of warres, but desired to live in all idlenes and ease. And hearing the reporte of their fellowes stowtenesse, called them lustie laddes, saying, they must needes take the like course, and doe as they taught them, vaunting of their good service of long time done, which well deserved leave nowe to departe home with safety, and thenceforth take their rest. Lucullus hearing of this their talke, and many other their words worse, and fuller of sedition then these: brake of his enterprise against the Parthians, and went againe in the midst of sommer to meete with Tigranes. But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieved him to see the fields so full of wheate yet standing, which

Lucullus pre-
pareth to goe
against the
Parthians.

Lucullus
souldiers fall
to mutiny.

Full purses,
and ease: mak-
eth mutinous
souldiers.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

came by the season of the yeare, and coldnes of the ayer, being so slacke and slowe in all those partes. Nevertheles, he came downe into the valley, and at two or three skirmishes overthrew the Armenians, that ventered to abide his comming downe. And ranne over all the valley, and destroyed the whole contry, without let or stoppe of any man, taking away the provision of corne that was made for Tigranes campe: wherby he straighted his enemies unto that nede and necessity of vittells which him selfe feared, and yet ceased not to provoke them (by all other meanes) to come to battell. Somtime enclosing their campe with trenches about, as if he ment to famish them: somtime againe destroying and spoyling the whole contry before their face. But because they had so ofte bene discomfited, they would no more stirre, nor once move against him. Lucullus perceiving that, in the end raised his campe, and went and layed siege unto Artaxata, the chiefe city of the kingdom of Armenia, in the which were Tigranes lawfull wives and young children, hoping that Tigranes would rather hazard an other battell, then suffer that city to be lost. It is sayd that Hanniball of Carthage (after king Antiochus was overthrown in battell by the Romanes) went unto king Artaxes, whom he taught many necessary and profitable things for his realme: and amongst others, considering that one of the goodliest and pleasauntest places of all his kingdom lay wast, and no reckoning made of it, drewe a plat of a city, brought the king thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The king liked his devise marvelous well, and prayed him to take the charge upon him to see the worke finished. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the kings name, Artaxata: and held ever after the reputation of the chiefest place of the whole realme of Armenia. Tigranes being advertised that Lucullus went to laye siege thereunto, could not endure it, but went with all his army to follow the Romanes, and the fourth day came and camped hard by them: insomuch as there was but the river of Arsanias betwene them, which the Romanes of necessitie must passe over to goe to Artaxata. Lucullus havinge first sacrificed unto the goddes, assuring him selfe

LUCULLUS

Lucullus besiegeth Artaxata, the chief city of Armenia.

Artaxes king of Armenia.

Hanniball buildd Artaxata.

Arsanias fl.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS of the victorie, as if he had it already in his handes: made his armie passe over in order of battell, putting twelve cohortes in the fronte, and the other behinde, fearing least the enemies having a great number of men of armes shoulde environne them at their backes. They had against them also the Mardian bow men a horse backe, and the Iberians with their launces, in whom Tigranes trusted more then in any other, as in the best souldiers he had in pay: and yet for all that they did no notable service. For when they had skirmished but a litle with the horsemen of the Romanes, they durst not tarie the legyonaries or footebands that came behinde them, but dispersed them selves, some flying one way, some an other, which intised the Romane horsemen to follow the chase. But when the men of armes that were about Tigranes person, sawe the horsemen so scattered abroade, they began straight to breake upon the foote-men. Lucullus seeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat affrayed thereof: sent in hast to call in his horsemen that followed the chase, and in the meane time him selfe marched foremost, against these Lordes and Satrapes, which were in the fronte before him with all the nobility of their hoast, whom he put in such a feare, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kinges ranged in battell one hard by an other, howbeit of the three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly, was Mithridates king of Pontus, who had not the hart so much as to abide the cries of the Romanes. The chase was very long: for it continued all night untill such time as the Romanes were wearied with killing, taking of prisoners, and packing up of all kindes of spoyles. Titus Livius sayeth, that there were slaine moe men in the first battell: but greater personages in the seconde, and the chieftest of the enemies were all taken. After this battell Lucullus hart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to goe further into the contry, even utterly to destroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the equinoctiall autumnne, (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that season have thought) there fell out so great a cold,

Lucullus order of his army.

Other do read in this place against the Atropatians, which are people of Media.

Three kings ranged in battell.

Lucullus maketh Tigranes flye againe.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

that for the most part it did nothing but snow : and if the element did any thing cleere, then frose it so hard, that the horse could come by no water, the rivers were so extreameley congealed with ise. And there could no man passe over by forde : for they did not so soone enter, but the ise brake, and cut the vaines and sinewes of the horse legges a sunder, they were so hard and thicke withall. And furthermore, the contry being full of trees, woddes and forrestes, and the wayes very narrowe, not being able to passe by the fieldes, they were through wet with snow that fell upon them : and when they came to their lodging, then it was worse, for there were they constrained to lye in soft and moyst places. And therefore the souldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refused to goe any further. And first they sent their Collonells and Captaines to intreate Lucullus to leave of this journey. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in trowpes, and in the night time beganne to murmure and groyne in their tents (which is a certaine signe and token of a mutinous armie, that hath a minde to rebell against their Generall) although that Lucullus used all gentle perswasions to winne them with pacience to abide this journey, at the least, till time they might take the citie of Carthage in Armenia : to thende they might there destroy the worke and memory of the greatest enemy that ever the Romanes had in this world, meaning Hanniball. But when he saw all this would not prevaile, he brought them backe againe, and passed over mount Taurus an other way, and came downe into the contry called Mygdonia, a very hotte and fertile soyle, where there is a great city, and marvelously replenished with inhabitauntes : who call it Nisibis, and the Græcians call it Antioch, of Mygdonia. In that city Gouras was Governor, who was Tigranes owne brother : but for experience in engines of battery, and for sufficiency and skill in such matters, there was Callimachus also, he that so marvelously troubled Lucullus before at the siege of the city of Amisus. Lucullus placing his campe before this city, besieged the same by all such meanes as might enforce it, and that so valliantly, that in very shorte time he tooke it by assault. And as for Gouras, who sub-

LUCULLUS

The contry of Mygdonia.

Nisibis, *alîas* Antiochia, a city of Mygdonia.

Lucullus taketh Nisibis by assault.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS mitted him selfe to Lucullus mercie, he was very curteously intrated. But for Callimachus, he would not once heare him speake, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would save his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but him selfe onely. But Lucullus commaunded them to bring him with gyves to receive the punishment he had justly deserved, for setting the city of Amisus a fire, and taking from him the meane to shewe the Græcians his goodnesse, affection and liberality towards them. Until this present time, it might be truly sayd, that good fortune ever favored and followed Lucullus in all his enterprises and affayres: but from that time forwards, it was quickly seene that the favorable blast of fortune failed him, he did all his things with so great payne, and all that he did fell out contrarie unto him, and to very ill purpose. In deede he did ever shew the valiancy, pacience, and great corage that should be in a valliant Generall, or Lieutenaunt of an armie. But his exployts and doinges had never after that easie grace, nor shining glory they were wont to have: but to the contrary, he was like to have lost all that he had wonne before, through the misfortunes that fell upon him, and for the brawles and vaine contention he had with his people to no purpose. But the worst was, that they make him selfe thonly author of all these evils, because he could not, or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multitude of his souldiers: thinking that whatsoever a Generall, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them he hath under his charge, is to dishonor him selfe, and to geve cause unto his souldiers to despise his authoritie. But that which made most against him was this: that he gave no estimacion to gentlemen, and men of like quality to him selfe, but disdained them, and thought them unworthy to be equall with him. For these they say were his faultes and imperfections, but otherwise that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes and good condicions that could be possibly wished for, or desired. For he was a talle gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wise and discreete, as well in matters of government, as in warres: and as well to perswade the people in

Callimachus did set the city of Amisus a fire.

Thalteracion of Lucullus good fortune.

Lucullus cause of all his misfortune.

Lucullus faults.

Lucullus vertues.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

peace, as to encourage his souldiers in warre. Salust wryteth of him, that his souldiers began to mislike with him, even from the first entry into these warres, because he made them lye out two winters together in the field, one after an other: the one before the city of Cizicus, and the other before the city of Amisus. And even as much did the other winters following vexed and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies contry, or else, if they lay in their frendes, yet he made them campe abroade in the field, and shrowd them selves in their tentes: for Lucullus never entred with his army into any city or confederate towne of Græce. Now if the souldiers of them selves misliked Lucullus, the counsellors at Rome that were his enemies, and envied his prosperity and glory, gave them yet greater occasions to mutine against him. For they continually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this warre in length, purposely because he would alwayes have occasion to rule, and meanes to get, having in his hands in maner all Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces and regions as farre as to the river of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoyled the Princely houses of Tigranes, as if he had bene sent thither only to sack and spoyle, and not to destroy and overcome those kings. And they say that it was Lucius Quintius, one of the Prætors, that spake these wordes. It was he also that most moved the people to take order, that Lucullus should be called home, and other sent to succede him in the charge and government of the contries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane, it was also ordained: that divers which were under his charge, should be dispersed with all for their othes, and licenced to leave the warres when they thought good. But besides those and such like great causes, there was yet an other more daungerous plague, and that most overthrew Lucullus proceedings, passing all the other evils being put together: and that was Publius Clodius, a wicked, licentious, and a harebrainde man. He was Lucullus wives brother, and she was so light of her body, that Clodius her brother was accused of incontinecie with her. This Clodius being at that time in Lucullus campe, caried not that estima-

LUCULLUS

The cause why Lucullus souldiers misliked with him.

Lucullus army ever lay in the field, winter and summer.

Phasis fl.

Publius Clodius a wicked man.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS cion and credit he thought him selfe worthy of. For he tooke him selfe equall with the best, and would needes have bene holden for chiefe: when in deede there were many of farre better desert, he being noted both for a vitious and ill disposed person. Whereupon he beganne for spight to suborne the bandes called Fimbrians, and to stirre them up against Lucullus, sowing sweete and pleasaunt wordes amongst the souldiers, which being wonted therunto, looked still to be flattered. For they were those whom Fimbria had procured to kill the Consull Flaccus, and chose him in his steede for their Captaine. By reason whereof they gave good eare to Clodius words, and called him a noble Captaine, and a lover of souldiers. For when he spake unto them, he made as though he had pittied them, for that they should never see an end of their great paynes and warres, but should miserably consume their dayes in fighting continually, sometime with one nation, and sometime with an other: and that they wandered through all the contries of the world, receiving no worthy reward of so long and painfull service, serving only to gard Lucullus cartes and camells loden with plate and vessell of golde, and silver, and other pretious stones. Where the souldiers that had served under Pompey, tooke nowe their ease at home in their contry with their wives and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly fayer cities, as rich burgeses and wealthy citizens: and yet they had not driven Mithridates and Tigranes out of their kingdomes, into desert places uninhabitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houses of Asia, but only made a litle warre in Spayne against those that were banished, and in Italie against fugitive slaves. Shall we then sayd he, cary harnesse on our backes all the dayes of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped until this present, reserve our selves, our bodies and lives for that noble Captaine, who esteemeth the greatest honor and glory he can atchieve unto, is to make his souldiers rich that serve under him? Lucullus army was so seduced and corrupted, with these mutinous and seditious accusations, that the souldiers would no lenger follow him, neither against Tigranes, nor against Mithridates: who went presently out

Publius Clodius stirred up the souldiers against Lucullus.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

of Armenia into his realme of Pontus, and beganne to conquer it againe, whilst the Romane souldiers mutining against their General, remained idle in the province of Gordiæna, excusing them selves by the winter season, and tarying untill Pompey or some other Captaine should quickly come to raise the siege, and succede Lucullus. Notwithstanding, when they understoode that Mithridates had overthrown Fabius, one of Lucullus Lieutenants, and that he went against Sornatius and Triarius: they were then ashamed of them selves, and became contented to be led by Lucullus. But Triarius in a bravery, when he heard that Lucullus drew neere, made hast to winne the victory, as if it had bene cocke sure before Lucullus came: and was him selfe overthrown in a great battell, where some say there dyed above seven thowsande Romanes, amongst the which were a hundred and fifty centurions, and foure and twenty Captaines or Collonells of a thowsand men a peece, and yet besides, Mithridates tooke their campe also. Shortly after this overthrow, Lucullus came thither, who hid Triarius, whom the souldiers sought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when Lucullus was come, he proved sundrie meanes to procure Mithridates to battell: but Mithridates would not once sturre abroad, because he looked for Tigranes that came downe with a mighty power. Whereuppon he determined againe to goe against Tigranes to fight with him, before Mithridates and he joyned forces together. But as he was in his jorney towards him, the Fimbrian bandes beganne to rebell a new, and would not follow his ensignes, saying, and alleaging of them selves, that by decree of the people they had leave to departe, and were discharged from their othe: and furthermore that Lucullus had no more to do to commaund them, considering that the government of the provinces which he had, was geven unto others. Lucullus perceiving this, did so humble him selfe unto them, supposing that way to winne them, as there was no kinde of uncomely humility but he submitted him selfe unto it: insomuch as he went into their tentes to pray and intreate them one after an other, with water in his eyes, and with so great

LUCULLUS

Mithridates
victory of
Lucullus Lieu-
tenants.

Mithridates
overcame
Triarius
Lucullus
Captaine.

The Fimbrian
souldiers
forsooke
Lucullus.

Lucullus
forced to
humble him
selfe to his
mutinous
souldiers.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS lowlinesse, as even to shake handes with them. But they fiercely rejected all his curtesies and fayer intreaties, casting their pennylesse purses before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, since he had with the spoile of them all so well enriched him selfe alone. Neverthelessse, at the intercession and earnest request of other soldiers, these Fimbrian bands were compelled to promise, that they would yet tary all that sommer, so that if no man in the meane time offred them battell, at the ende of the tearme, they might go where they would. Lucullus was forced to accept this condicion, or else to remaine alone, and consequently to forsake the contry of the barbarous people. With much a do thus he kept them together, but in such sorte, as he durst no more venter to compell them to come to battell, contenting him selfe that they were willing onely to stay with him, being forced to suffer Tigranes in the meane time to destroy and overrunne the contry of Cappadocia, and Mithridates also to bragge againe, of whom he had before wrytten to the Senate that he had utterly overcome him: insomuch as there came commissioners and deputies from Rome by his owne procurement, to order the state of the realme of Pontus with him, as of a kingdom already wonne to the Romane Empire. But when they were comen, they found him not master of him selfe, and that his owne souldiers flowted him, and did him all the spight and injury they could. For they were so unruly towards their Captaine, and did so much disdain him, that when the end of the sommer was come, they armed them selves with armor and weapon, and drawing out their swordes in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the field: and after they had made the noyse and cryes accustomed when they joyned battel, and made as though they fought, hurling and swinging their swords in the ayer, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promised Lucullus to tary. On thother side Pompey had wrytten unto the other souldiers that were yet in campe, to come unto him: for through the peoples favor at Rome, the practises and flatteries of the common counsellors there, he was substituted Generall in Lucullus place. Which much

The Fimbrian souldiers tarie out the sommer, upon condicion to departe when sommer was done.

Pompey, Lucullus successor in Asia.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

misliked the Senate and nobility : for they thought Lucullus greatly wronged to have a successor sent, not to succede him in troubles and daungers, but in honor and glory of triumphe. And that they should compell him not onely to resigne up the office of a Generall to an other, but (for the good service he long time had done) the reward of his honor due for the same : and this also more misliked them, that were then about him. That so soone as Pompey was arrived in Asia, he tooke all power and authority from Lucullus, to punishe or reward any man, for good or ill service done to the common wealth in those warres, and did moreover prohibite by publicke bills set up in every common place, that they should no more repayre unto him, nor obey ought, that he, or any of the ten commissioners sent to dispose of the state of the provinces wonne by him, should commaund or ordaine : and bicause Pompey came with a greater power and army then his, he was in some feare of him. Their frends thought good neverthesse they should meete together: and so they did incontiently, in a village of Galatia, where at their first meeting they saluted ech other very curteously, rejoycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey of greater dignity, bicause he had bene Generall of the Romane people in many warres, and had already triumphed twise. The bundells of roddes which the sergeaunts caried before them, were wreathed about with lawrell braunches for the victories they had both atchieved: but Pompeys bundells were withered away, bicause they had comen a longe jorney through hotte and drye contries. Lucullus officers seeing theirs withered, curteously gave them of theirs fresh and new gathered: which Pompeys frendes tooke for a signe of good lucke. For to say truely, the thinges that Lucullus did in the time of his charge, were cause of the honor that Pompey afterwarde wanne. Howbeit in the end for all their talke, they were no whit the better frendes: but departed thone from thother more straunge then they met. For Pompey by a plaine edict, brake, revoked, and disanulled all Lucullus ordinaunces, and taking from him all his other souldiers, left him but only sixtene hundred to accompany his triumphe, and yet

LUCULLUS

Injuries offered Lucullus by Pompey.

Lucullus and Pompeys meeting.

Mislikinges betwene Pompey and Lucullus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS they followed him with unwilling mindes: such was Lucullus imperfection and mayme, either by nature, or frowardnes of fortune, that he lacked the chiefest thing a Generall should have, which was, to be beloved of his souldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongst many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimity, wisdom, judgement, and justice: the river of Euphrates had not bene the uttermost confines of the Empire of Rome on Asia side, but it had extended as farre as the sea Hyrcane, yea even unto thutmost parte of the world. For king Tigranes had already conquered the other nations that lye beyonde that, saving the contrie of Parthia, which then was not so great nor stronge, as it appeared afterwardes in Crassus time: nor so joyned and knit together, but (what through civill dissensions amongst them at home, and forrein warres with their neighbors abroade) was so weake, that with great difficulty they could defend them selves from the Armenians, that continually harried them out of their skinnes. But to take thinges rightly as they be in deede, me thinkes that Lucullus did more hurt unto his contry by other, then he did benefit the same by him selfe. For the tokens of triumphe and victories which he wanne in Armenia so neere unto the Parthians, the cities of Tigranocerta and of Nisibis which he had sacked and spoyled, the great treasure that he brought to Rome, and the Diadeame also of Tigranes, which was shewed in triumphe as a prisoner with the rest: moved Crassus with such a marvelous desire to passe into Asia, as if Asia apon sight of Lucullus triumphe. all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an assured spoyle, and a purposed pray unto all those that would come to take them. But Crassus farre otherwise, finding him selfe galled and troubled with the arrowes of the Parthians, knew then by prooffe, that Lucullus had not so much overcome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wisdom and valliantnes. But that shalbe seene hereafter. Furthermore, Lucullus being now returned to Rome, found first of all his brother Marcus, accused by one Gaius Memmius, for that he had done in his office of treasurer, in Syllaes time, and by his commaundement, whereof he was cleared by sentence of the

Lucullus not beloved of his souldiers.

Crassus desire to conquer Asia apon sight of Lucullus triumphe.

See the life of Crassus what successe he had.

Lucullus returne to Rome.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

judges. But Memmius of spight turned his anger against Lucullus selfe, stirring up the people against him, and letting them understand that Lucullus had kept backe and robbed much parte of the treasure, which should have comen to the common wealth, and that to worke his feate the better, had prolonged these warres as he did: wherefore he perswaded them flatly to deny him the honor of his triumphe. And truly Lucullus was in great daunger to have lost it utterly: but that the noble men of the city, and they that were of greatest authority, intermedled them selves with the tribes when they came to passe it by voyces of the people, whome they intreated so much through sute and perswasion, that in the end, with much a doe, the people suffred him to enter the city in triumphe. So Lucullus made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troublesome for the long shewe or sight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For he caused the showe place (which they call Circus Flaminius at Rome) to be set out and furnished chiefly with armor and weapons of the enemies to a marvelous number: and with the kinges engynes and inventions of battering peeces, which was a pleasant sight to behold. And in this show, there was a certaine number of his men of armes bravely armed, tenne cartes of warre armed with sythes that passed by, and three score of the chiefest frendes and Captaines of the two kinges that were led prisoners through the city. And there were also drawn after them, a hundred and tenne gallies all armed in the prooves with strong spurres of copper, and a statue of Mithridates all of cleane gold, sixe foote high, with a rich target set with pretious stones. Besides all that, there were twenty cubberds as full of silver plate as could be, and thirty cubberds full also of golden vessell, armor and coyne of gold, caried upon mens shoulders. After them followed eight mules loden with golden beddes, and sixe and fifty other mules that caried silver bullion, and a hundred and seven other moyles that caried silver coyne, amounting to the summe of two hundred three score and tenne thowsand Sestertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of accompt caried also, wherein were particularly wrytten the

LUCULLUS

Lucullus
triumphe.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS summes of mony which Lucullus had delivered before unto Pompey for the warre against pyrates on the sea, and unto the treasurers, and high treasors, to put into the sparing coffers of the common wealth at Rome. And afterwardes in an article by it selfe, that he had geven nyne hundred and fifty Drachmas to every souldier by the polle. After the shewe of this triumphe was ended, he made a generall feast, in the which he feasted all the city and villages thereabouts, which the Romanes call Vicos. And afterwardes forsooke his wife Clodia for her unchast and wanton life, and married Servilia Catoes sister: howbeit he wanne nothing by the exchange, for he sped as evill with the seconde, as he did with the first. For, saving that she was not slaundred with thincest of her owne brethren, otherwise she was as dishonest and unchast as Clodia: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers sake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as he had done Clodia. Nowe when he had filled the Senate with a marvelous hope and expectation of him, (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withstande Pompeys tyranny, and to uphold and maintaine the authority of the nobility and Senate against the people, for that by his noble deedes he had atchieved so great fame and reputacion) he sodainly gave over all dealinges in thaffayres of the common wealth: either bicause he sawe it so best, being a hard thing now to kepe it from ruine: or else (as other sayd) for that he felt him selfe sufficiently furnished with honor and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to live quietly all at his ease, after so great paynes, travailes and troubles, the end whereof fell not out over fortunately. And surely some were of his minde, and liked this great change of his marvelous well: bicause he did not as Marius did, neither happened on the ill successe and end that Marius had. For Marius after the notable victories which he brought from the Cimbres, and after his valliant actes in warres which had won him great honor, yet would he not so leave of, when he might have bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an unsatiable minde, and ambitious desire to rule and beare sway, (being withall a very olde man) went and sorted him selfe amongst

Lucullus forsaketh Clodia and marieth Servilia Catoes sister, as unchast as Clodia.

Lucullus geveth over government of the common wealth.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

young men desirous of government, who brought him not only to commit many outrages, but made him selfe also to suffer greater cruelties. It is thought also that Cicero had ended his aged course more happely, if after he had quenched Catilines conspiracy, he had then taken his ease. And so had Scipio in like case, if when he had joyned Numantia unto Carthage, he would then have quieted him selfe. And therefore, some say, that there is a certaine revolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wise man should medle any more with thaffayers of the common wealth: no more then a man whose youth and strength is gone and decayed, is any more fit to just, wrestle, or enter into such exercises of the body. But contrarily, Crassus and Pompey mocked Lucullus, bicause he gave him selfe so much to pleasure and pastime: as if to live pleasauntly, and delicatly did not worse become his age, then to commaund an army, or to governe thaffayres of a common weale. And for my parte, reading Lucullus life: me thinkes that I read an auncient comedy, the beginning wherof is tedious, and the latter end joyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you finde notable exployts done by him in warres, and great good government also in peace: but in the end they all turned into feasts, and banckets, and lacking litle of maskes and mommeries, dauncing with torches, and all other such delights fitte for young men. For I bring within the compasse and reckoning of his finenes and pleasures, his sumptuous buildinges, his stately walles and galleries, his hotte houses and stoves, his tables and pictures, his statues also: and the great workmanship and curiositie he had besides of all other cartes by him, gotten together out of all partes to his infinite charge, abusing therein the world of goodes and treasure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwise. Insomuch, that notwithstanding excesse and superfluity hath ever since increased until this present time, yet they reckon the gardens Lucullus made, to be the most sumptuous and delicat places that the Emperors have. And therefore Tubero the Stoike Philosopher, having seene these stately works which Lucullus had caused to be made neere unto

LUCULLUS

Lucullus buildinges and pleasures.

Lucullus gardens of great estimacion.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS Naples, by the sea side, (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged upon vawtes) and great ditches cast by force to make the sea passe and runne through his houses, to keepe fishe therein, and lodgings also that he built in the sea it selfe: he called Lucullus, Xerxes the gownman, as if he would have sayd, Xerxes the Romane. For even so did Xerxes in olde time cause the mountaine Atho to be cut in sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his shippes through. He had also many other pleasaunt places within the territories of Rome, neere unto Thusculum, where there were great large halles set upon tarrasses to see rounde about farre of in the day time. And Pompey going thither somtime to see him, reprovod him greatly, telling him that he had built a marvelous fayer sommer house, but not to be dwelt in, the winter season. Lucullus laughing, answered him: Doe ye thinke me to have lesse wit and reason then storkes or cranes, that I can not shift houses accordinge to the season? An other time there was a Prætor of Rome, that makinge playes to shewe the people pastime, sent unto Lucullus to borrow certaine purple clokes to set forth his players: Lucullus made him aunswer, that he would cause his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demaunding of him, how many he should neede: the other answered, that a hundred would serve his turne. Whereupon Lucullus told him againe, he would furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therefore the Poet Horace wryting this story, addeeth to a notable exclamation against superfluity, saying: that men thinke that a poore house, where there is no more riches then necessary, and where there is not more then appeareth in sight, and that the master knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinarie service at his borde, not only in that his beddes whereon he fedde, were covered with rich carpettes of purple, and him selfe served in gold and silver vessell set with pretious stones, and that there was dauncing, musicke, playes, and other such like pastimes of ordinary: but also for that he was continually served with all sortes of fine dainty dishes, with workes of pastry, bancketing dishes, and frute curiously wrought and prepared, which only made

Lucullus called Xerxes the gownman.

Xerxes cut through the mountaine Atho, and made a channell for his shippes to passe thorow.

Lucullus curiosity and excesse in meates and service.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

him to be wondered at of men of simple understanding and meane condicion. Therefore was Pompey marvelously esteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sicke, and that the Phisitian had willed him to eate of a thrushe. For when his seruaunts told him they were hard to come by in sommer, but at Lucullus house where they brought them up all the yeare through: he would in no wise they should aske any of him, but sayd unto his Phisitian: What if Lucullus were not geuen to pleasure: could not Pompey live? And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more easily come by. Cato was Lucullus frend and kinseman both, and yet he so much misliked his maner of living and ordinary expence: that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpose) touching meane dyet, sobriety, and temperaunce of life: Cato could no lenger abide him, but rose up, and sayd unto him: What, wilt thou not leave babbling to us all day: thou that art riche as Crassus, that livest as Lucullus, and speakest as Cato? Other affirme that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not Cato that spake them: neverthesse it is certaine, by the notable sayinges they have gathered of Lucullus, he did not only delight to live so delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some wryte that he feasted certaine Græcians many dayes together in his house, that were come out of Græce to Rome: and that they being men brought up with the sobriety and simplicity of Græce, after they had bene feasted there divers times, were ashamed, and refused to goe thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to Lucullus, supposing that he had made them this great chere for their owne sakes. Lucullus hearing of it, told them: My Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that. In decde I must needes graunt that there is somewhat more then ordinary, to welcome you with all: but I tell you truly, the most parte is for Lucullus sake. An other time when he supped all alone, and his men had layed but one bord, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his steward to know why he was served so: the steward aunswered him:

LUCULLUS

Catoes saying
of Lucullus.

Certaine
sayinges of
Lucullus.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS My Lord, bicause I sawe you sende for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What, sayd he againe: knewest thou that Lucullus should suppe to night with him selfe? In fine, Lucullus fare was commonly knowen through Rome, that there was no talke but of Lucullus noble housekeeping. Whereupon, Cicero and Pompey being desirous to see the prooffe thereof, came one day to him in the market place seeing him at pleasure: (for Cicero was Lucullus very good frend, and Pompey also: and though there was some jarre betwene them for matters of warres, he did not let for that to come unto him, and to speake gently one to an other) and Cicero after he had saluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, sayd he, with all my hart: I pray you come to me. Well then, sayd Cicero, Pompey and I will come and suppe with you to night, with condicion that you provide no more then your ordinary. Lucullus told them againe, they should then fare but badly, and therefore it were better they taried till to morrow. But they would none of that, no nor suffer him to speake with his men, for feare he should commaund them, to provide somewhat more then for him selfe. Neverthesse, at his desire, they suffered him onely in their presence alowde to tell one of his men, that he would suppe that night in Apollo: (for so was one of his most stately and sumptuous halles of his house called) and with that word only he finely deceived them both, and they never found him. For every halle had his certaine summe and rate appointed for the charge and expence of every supper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and service for the same. So that when his servauntes had their watche worde but in what halle he would suppe, they knewe straight what charge he would be at for his supper, and what orders should be observed therein. Now Lucullus manner was to spende when he made any feast in the hall of Apollo, fifty thowsand pence, and that selfe day the supper was prepared according to that value: insomuch as Pompey marveled howe it could be possible that a supper of so exceeding great charge could be so sodainly prepared. In such thinges therefore did Lucullus lavishly and riotously spend his goodes, like spoyles in deede gotten of slaves and

Lucullus having divers halles, had appointed every hall his certain rate and charge of dyet.

What Lucullus supper was in Apollo.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

barbarous people. But that specially which he bestowed upon bookes, was very commendable and honest expence. For he had gathered together a great number of notable histories, the use wherof was more honor to him, then the having of them. For his library was ever open to all comers, and they suffred the Græcians to come into his goodly tarrasses and fayer walkes, or other pleasaunt places thereabouts convenient to sit and reason together, and never shut dore against them: where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the Muses, being very glad when other matters were dispatched, they had so much leasure as but to goe thither. And Lucullus selfe would also many times be amongst them, in those tarrasses and pleasaunt walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did ever helpe to dispatch them that had any busines with him, and graunted the thing they requested of him. To conclude, his house was a common receite for all them that came from Græce to Rome. He loved all maner of Philosophy, and refused no sect of the same. But from his youth upward, he ever loved and esteemed best the Academicke sect, not that which they call the new Academicke (although it florished at that time through Carneades workes, which Philo made such estimacion of) but the old Academicke, which the Philosopher Antiochus of the city of Ascalon did defende and maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rethoritian and well spoken, whom Lucullus sought to win by all meanes to make him his frende, and to have him in house with him: because he might invey against Philoes hearers and followers, whose scholler Cicero among the rest was, that wrote a notable booke against this olde Academicke sect. And in the same he reciteth Lucullus, maintaining the opinion of the old Academickes: who hold, that a man may certainly know, and comprehend something, and called that Catalepsin: but Cicero defended the contrary. The booke is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we have rehearsed before) very good frendes, and had both one selfe desire for government in the common wealth. For Lucullus did not so withdrawe him selfe from matters of state, that he would no more medle at all, nor heare speake

LUCULLUS

Lucullus library.

Lucullus loved Philosophie.

Antiochus of Ascalon an eloquent rethoritian.

The opinion of the Academickes.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

LUCULLUS of them : but he betimes gave over all ambition and contention, as a thing of no small daunger, and breeding great reproache and dishonor to Marcus Crassus, and Cato, to be chiefe in authority. And these two were they that defended the Senate, and whom they raised up to withstand Pompeys greatnes, being affrayed of him, after that Lucullus had refused the chiefe place of authority. But otherwise, Lucullus would be in the market place at courtes and common counsells, to pleasure his frendes when they requested him : and would goe to the Senate also, when there was occasion to breake any new practise, or to overthrowe Pompeys ambitious policie. For he overthrowe all the orders and constitutions that Pompey had made, after he had overcome the kinges, Mithridates and Tigranes : and with the helpe of Cato hindered a distribution of money which Pompey had wrytten for to Rome, to be bestowed amongst his souldiers. Whereupon Pompey fell in frendshippe, (or to speake more plainly, in conspiracy) with Crassus and Cæsar, by whose helpe and assistaunce, he filled Rome with armes and souldiers : and made the people by force to passe and confirme what he would have done, after he had violently expulsed Lucullus and Cato out of the market place. Whereat the noble men were much offended, and misliking the great wrong they had offred Lucullus and Cato, Pompeys followers suborned a * Brutian, and said he was taken lying in waite to kill Pompey. Wherupon the sayd Brutian being examined by the Senate, named certaine : but when he came before the people, he named Lucullus, saying that he had hyered him to kill Pompey. But no man beleved him. For they perceived openly in the market place, that he was procured by them selves falsely to accuse Lucullus, and Pompeys other adversaries. And this was proved more plainly within few dayes after, when they threw the body of this Brutian dead in the midst of the streete, out of the prisone : who they say dyed of him selfe with sickenes. Howbeit the markes being plainly seene of the halter wherewith they had strangled him, and the stripes appearing also which they had geven him : did plainly shew that they them selves did it, whom after they had suborned

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

to accuse Lucullus, they slue in this maner. This was the cause why Lucullus did more then before absent him selfe from meddling in publicke causes : but after, when he sawe that they had so wickedly exiled Cicero, and found meanes also to convey Cato farre enough of, under pretenced colour to sende him with charge into the Ile of Cyprus : then he gave up altogether. Some wryte that a litle before his death, he was not perfit in his wittes, decaying through age by litle and litle. Howbeit Cornelius Nepos sayth, that it was not for age, nor sickenes, that his wittes did alter : but through poyson which one of his slaves had geven him, whom he had made free, called Callisthenes : who gave it him, not of any evill intent, but bicause his master should love him the more, supposing that this poyson had power to make him love him. But he troubled his wits so much with this poyson, that Lucullus while he lived was faine to have his brother Marcus to oversee his goods. Notwithstanding this, when he was dead, he was as much bewayled and lamented of all the people, as if he had dyed in his best credit, and greatest prosperity. For all the people ranne to honor his funeralls, and his bodie was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citie. The people woulde in any case have buried him within the field of Mars, as they had before buried Sylla. But bicause no man thought of it before, and also for that things necessary were not easily to be provided for the place : his brother Marcus besought the people they would be content his funeralls might be at a towne of his owne, neere unto the city of Thusculum, where his tombe was prepared, and he him selfe lived not long time after. For as Lucullus both in age, and honor, had not left him farre behinde him : so did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwayes dearely loved him, he could not then long live, and survive him.

LUCULLUS

Lucullus fell out of his wits before his death.

Callisthenes poysoned Lucullus whereof he dyed.

Lucullus death.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

THE COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS WITH CIMON

Lucullus
death blessed.



NOTHING (in my opinion) made Lucullus more happy, then to dye when he did, before he sawe the chaunge and alteracion of the common weale, which the fatall destinies plagued the Romanes withall, with sedition and civill warres: and that he dyed in his contry yet enjoying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was likest unto Cimon above all other things: who died whilst the Græcians were in good love and peace with other, and not in broyle of discorde and civill warres. In deede Cimon dyed in his campe, being Generall of his contry, at the siege of the city of Citium in Cyprus, not withdrawen to his home, as one wearied, living idly, or leading a voluptuous life in feastes and bankets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphes: but as Plato said, (when he wisely blamed and reprov'd Orpheus, who promiseth perpetuall dronkenes in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that lived well in this life) merily: And truely it is a great comfort and contentation of minde, for an old man feebled with age, and compelled by weakenes, to withdraw him selfe from the world, as well in matters of government in peace, as in warres: and quietly to passe his time in studie, where delight is joynd with honest contemplation. But to finish his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleasure, as unto their only end, and moreover, to grow old by pleasure and vanity, solemnising Venus feast all the rest of his life, after he hath made such warres, and commaunded such armies: that me thinkes a thing unworthy of an honest Academicke, and altogether unmeet for one professing olde Xenocrates doctrine, but fit rather for a man geven over

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

altogether to Epicurus discipline. There is a wonderful thing to be considered of in these two men, that the ones youth was altogether vitious and reproachfull, and thothers to the contrary, honest and vertuous. But he is the better that chaungeth for the better: and that nature is alwayes more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time sheweth still the contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one selfe meane: but they did not both a like use their riches. For it were to no purpose to compare the buildings of the wall that standeth south within the castell of Athens, which was built with the money Cimon brought thither: with the fine built chambers, and high raised turrets to gase a farre, and environned about with conduits of water, which Lucullus erected by Naples, with the spoyles of the barbarous people. Neither is Cimons table also of moderate fare and dyet, but yet open to every man, comparable to Lucullus borde: which was sumptuously furnished, and shewed the greatnes of his Lord. For Cimons bord fed many mouthes dayly with a small charge: and Lucullus table exceded in expence, to feede a few, with superfluous dainties. Onlesse they will say, that time caused this difference betwene them. But who can tell, if Cimon had bene at leasure to have withdrawen him selfe to quiet in age from government, and armes, he also would not have ledde a more sumptuous and dissolute life, geven to all pleasure, then Lucullus did? For of his owne nature he loved wine, banckets, and playes, and was also geven to women, as we have told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate successe of thinges doe bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises: that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine desires. And therefore had Lucullus dyed abroad in the warres, whilst he commaunded armies: there had not bene that living man, how curious soever he had bene to reprove other mens faultes, that could have detected him of any reproachfull vice. And thus much for their maner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by sea as by land.

CIMON
AND
LUCULLUS

A good gift to
decay vice
and to en-
crease vertue.

LIVES OF THE NOBLE

CIMON
AND
LUCULLUS

Cimons two
victories
obtained in
one day.

Great differ-
ence betwext
Cimon and
Lucullus.

And like as in games of prise and exercises of body which are shewed in Græce, they that in one selfe day winne the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a straunge custome, not conquerours only, but victors also, to honor them withall: even so me thinks that Cimon in like case having in one selfe day crowned Græce with two notable markes of triumphe, for two battels he wanne, the one by sea, and the other by lande, deserveth to have some place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreover, Lucullus received the authoritie to commaund, of his contry and common wealth: but Cimon gave his contry both authority and ability to commaund. Lucullus found his contry a commaunding people to all their frends and confederats: through whose aide he overcame his enemies. And Cimon contrarily, found his contry marching under an others ensigne, and through his valliantnes did so behave him selfe, that he made his city goe before her confederats, and triumphe over her enemies: compelling the Persians by force to geve them the rule by sea, and perswading the Lacedæmonians willingly to geve place unto them by lande. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make him selfe to be beloved of his souldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was Lucullus despised of his souldiers, and Cimon esteemed and wondred at, even of the confederates them selves. For Lucullus was forsaken of his owne men: and Cimon was followed by very straungers, for the confederates did joyne together with him. Lucullus returned home into his contry, forsaken of those he caried out with him. Cimon returned againe, commaunding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his contry three notable things, and hard for them to have compassed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, geven them authority and rule of their confederats, and joyned frendshippe with the Lacedæmonians. Both of them undertooke to destroy great Empires, and conquer all Asia. But neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his death, which cut him of on the sodaine being Generall, and when his affayres prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

a great fault in him : either in that he could not, or bicause he would not satisfie the complaints and griefes of his men, which caused them so much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be sayd also, that in this fault he was like unto Cimon : who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his contrie for the space of tenne yeares, bicause that in tenne yeares space (as Plato sayth) they should no more heare him speake. For to say truely, it seldom times happeneth, that the grave wittes of noble men do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable unto the common people: bicause they striving continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieve them as much, as surgeons doe their pacients when they binde up their sores with bandes to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their natural places againe the broken bones or members out of joynt: yet put they the pacient to great paine and griefe. And therefore me thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, Lucullus went a great deale further with his army, then ever Cimon did. For he was the first Romane Captaine that passed over mount Taurus, and the river of Tigris with an army. He tooke and burnt almost in sight of both the kinges, the royall cities of Asia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, and Nisibis. Towards the north, he went as farre as the river of Phasis: towards the east, into Media: and southward, even to the redde sea, and unto the realmes of Arabia, subduing all unto the Romane Empire. And having overthrowen all the power of these two mighty kinges, he tooke from them all, but their persons only: who fled and hid them selves like wild beastes, in infinite deserts and unpassable forrestes. Wherin is easily discerned the difference betwixt the doings of the one, and of the other. For the Persians, as if they had had no hurt nor overthrow at all by Cimon, fought a battell immediatly after against the Græcians, and overthrow the greatest parte of their army in Egypt: where Mithridates and Tigranes, after Lucullus victories, did never any notable act. For the one finding him selfe altogether pulled downe on his knees, and broken by the former battells: durst never once only shew his army

CIMON
AND
LUCULLUS

Grave magistrates resembled by similitude unto good Surgeons.

GRECIANS AND ROMANES

CIMON
AND
LUCULLUS

Mithridates
king of Pon-
tus, dyed in
the realme of
Bosphorus.

Tigranes king
of Armenia,
submitteth
him selfe to
Pompey.

unto Pompey, out of the strength of his campe, but fled into the realme of Bosphorus, where he dyed. And Tigranes, he went and humbled him selfe on his knees, unarmed, and without weapon, unto Pompey: and taking his diadeame of from his head, layed it at his feete, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for those which Lucullus had triumphed for. By reason wherof he scaped good cheape, and thought him selfe happy, when Pompey gave him only the marke and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the more worthy Captaine, and stowtest champion, that leaveth his enemy in weake estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwarde with him. And furthermore, Cimon found the power of the king of Persia overharried, the pride and fiercenesse of the Persians layed a grounde, by many great battells they had lost before unto Themistocles, king Pausanias, and Leotychides, who had overthrowen them: and going now againe to fight a fresh with them, it was an easie thing to overcome the bodies of those, whose harts were already vanquished. Where Lucullus to the contrary, assailed Tigranes, that had never bene overcome, but bare a marvelous lofty minde with him, for the many great battells and conquestes he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betwene those that Cimon overthrowed, and those that were raunged in battell against Lucullus. So that all thinges weyed and considered, it were hard to judge which of them two proved the worthiest man: for that it seemeth, that the goddes did favor both the one and the other, telling the one what he should doe, and the other what he should not doe. And thus it appeareth by testimonie of the goddes, they were both good men, and that they both obtained everlasting glorie.

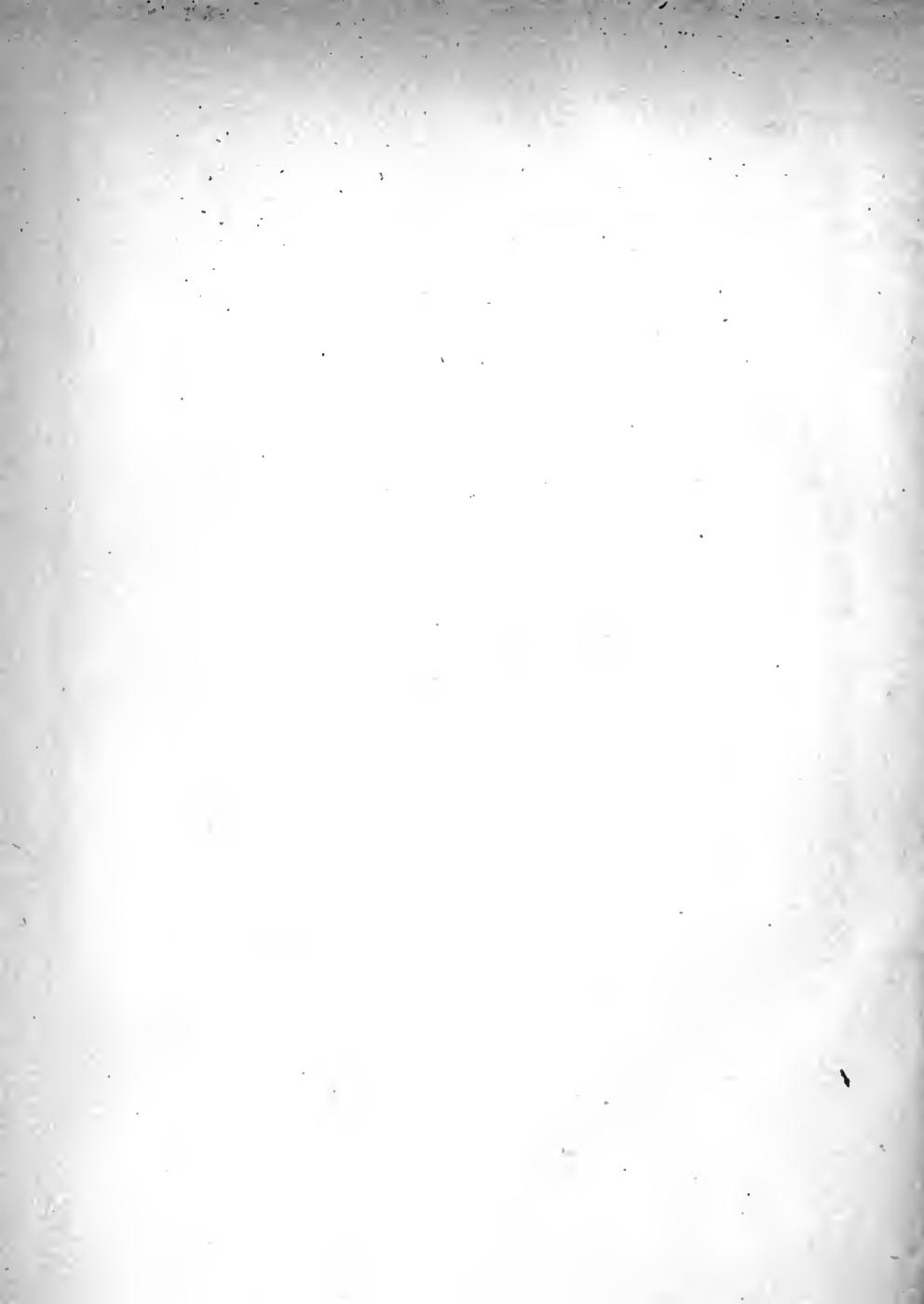
THE END OF LUCULLUS LIFE

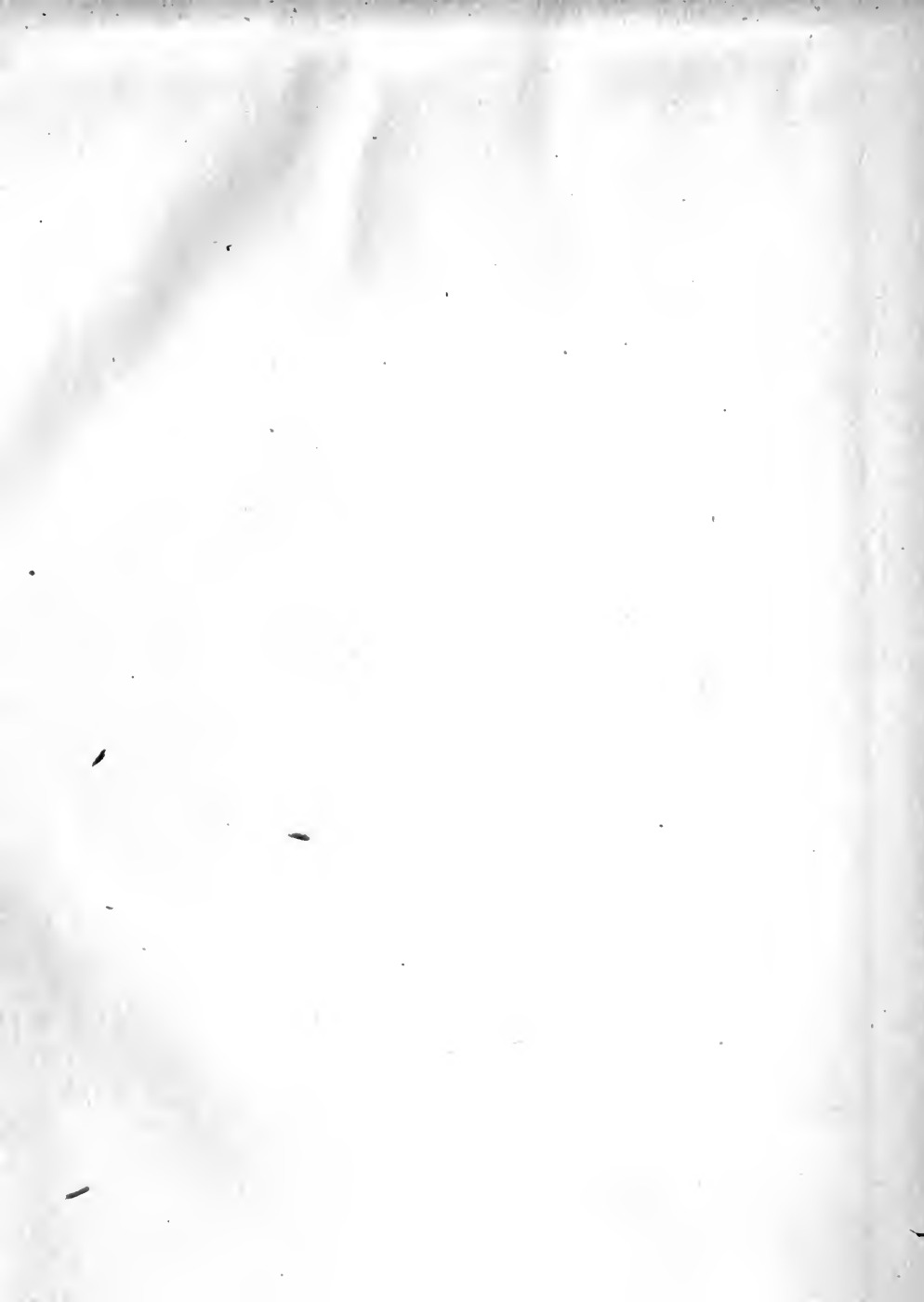


EDINBURGH
T. & A. CONSTABLE

Printers to Her Majesty

1895





UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

RECEIVED

MAIN LOAN DESK

SEP 22 1964

A.M.

P.M.

7|8|9|10|11|12|1|2|3|4|5|6

FEB - 4 1970

DISCHARGE-URL

MAR 15 1981

MAR 15 1981



3 1158 00668 7379

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 216 927 4

