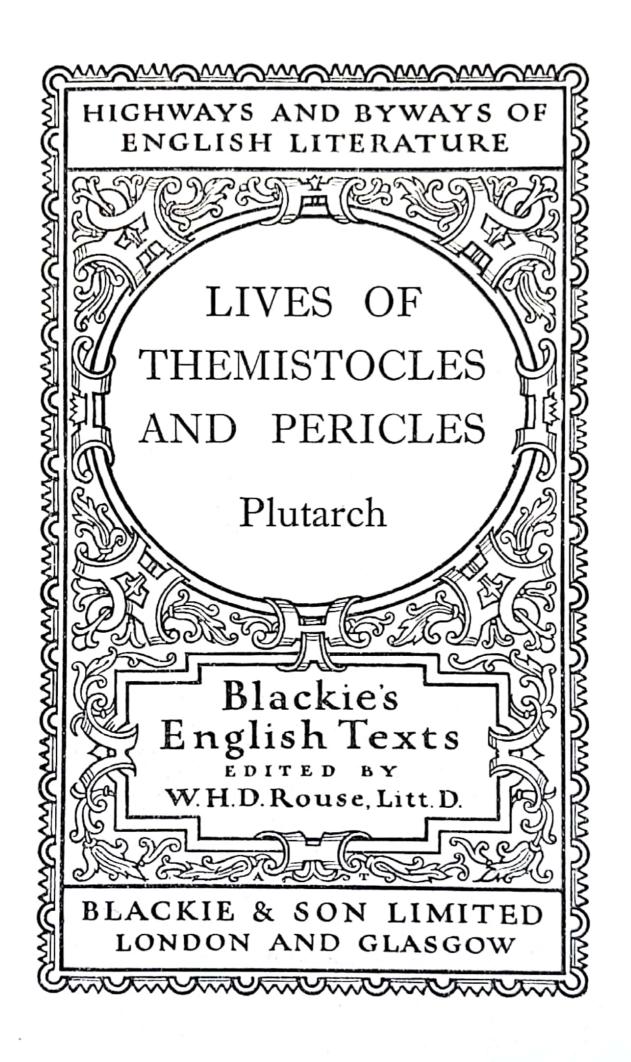


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INTRODUCTION

Life of Plutarch.—Plutarch, the author of the Greek original of this work, was born at Chæronea in Bæotia about the middle of the first century after Christ: the time of his death is unknown, but it may be placed with probability in the reign of Hadrian, about the year 125. He came of an ancient family of pure Hellenic descent, rich in traditions, and true to a high standard of character. Lamprias, his grandfather, was a great teller of stories; with him and with his father Nearchus the boy's early years were passed. At Athens he studied philosophy and rhetoric, and was an insatiable inquirer into science as then understood, history, legend, and all kinds of antiquarian lore. He travelled in Greece, Italy, and Egypt; in Italy he had public business to do, and he also in Domitian's time lectured there on philosophy. He preferred, however, to hold aloof from politics, filling the offices of priest, and archon or mayor of his native town. His tastes lay in study and in cultivated society; he had a happy life and many friends.

His Works.—Plutarch wrote a large number of works; some have perished, but those which remain form a library of interesting and profitable reading. There is hardly a subject on which he has not written something—history and criticism, biography and anecdote, philosophy, medicine, and music, mathematics, natural science, archæology,

and folklore. He is least known, but best deserves to be known, as a man of deep religious feeling, a high-minded moralist, a courageous and upright man. In his works it is possible to see how an intelligent mind could find satisfaction in the Greek religion, which he so analysed as to extract its good essence while rejecting the trivial or immoral parts of it.

His most famous work, however, is the collection of Lives of Famous Men, fifty in number. Forty-six of these are arranged in pairs, wherein he made a comparison between typical great men of the Greek and Roman races. Thus the Roman Cicero is set against the Greek Demosthenes, and at the end of the lives a detailed comparison is made between them. The same plan is followed with the remaining pairs. Historically these Lives are of great value, not only because Plutarch drew on numbers of historians whose works are now lost, but because he was careful about little personal details which are often left out of account. Plutarch did this because he knew that a man's character is often revealed by trivial acts and sayings; and character, not history, was his theme. Plutarch was not a critical historian, and he is not always accurate, but the general impression of the portraits in his great gallery is vivid and true. Few works have been more popular, and few better deserve their popularity. His own nobility of nature has stamped his work, and the Lives of Plutarch ought to form part of all liberal education.

North's Translation.—The translation which is here reprinted is hardly less notable than the original work. Sir Thomas North, the translator, was born about 1535, and died early in the seventeenth century. He may have studied at Cambridge university, and he was a member of Lincoln's Inn. He was a justice of the peace, and a practical man of war, for in the Armada year he was captain of three hundred men of Ely: and he could himself wear and wield the arms and armour which Plutarch's heroes

were accustomed to use. In 1557 he translated Guevara's Golden Book, a free version of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, under the title of the Diall of Princes; he also translated the famous Eastern story-book of Baarlam and Josaphat under the title of the Morall Philosophie of Doni (1570). But his chief work was the translation of Plutarch's Lives from the French of Amyot. This translation has its faults. It is sometimes far from the Greek, as having been rendered at second-hand; sometimes North has misunderstood the French, as when he renders la presqu'isle de la Peloponnèse by "the Isle Presqua". But it has shining virtues in the magnificence of the vocabulary and the noble cadences of the rhythm, partly due to the equal magnificence of Amyot, but partly the common heritage of Elizabethan prose. In translations the Elizabethans were at their best; their exuberant fancy was kept in bounds by the original, and the style gained in strength without losing in richness. But above this the book has a further importance in being one of the sources of Shakespeare's plays. From North's Plutarch, Shakespeare got the dry bones for his Coriolanus, Julius Cæsar, and Antony and Cleopatra, and in some cases he transfers to the plays phrases, sentences, even whole speeches almost unchanged.

The modern reader may at first be ill at ease amongst North's long periods and irregular syntax. He will, however, find that the strangeness is due not to faults on North's part but chiefly to ignorance on his own. Since the days of Macaulay we have become used to short crisp sentences, which are admirably clear, each by each, but have no other merit; while they have the faults of monotony in the rhythm and of obscuring the logical connection of the thoughts. North requires a sustained effort of the mind; but that given, he satisfies the understanding no less than his noble cadences satisfy the ear. His irregularities are idiomatic, and are true English no less than the

constructio ad sensum is true Latin, and more than the stereotyped propriety of modern style.

The Text.—This edition is reprinted from that of 1595, the second, and the latest printed in North's lifetime. A few omissions have been made, the names corrected where necessary, and once or twice a mistake also tacitly corrected; the spelling has been made modern, but not the language.

The Life of Themistocles

Themistocles' parentage did little advance his glory: for his father Neocles was of small reputation in Athens, being of the hundred of Phrearrhia, and tribe of Leontis: of his mother an alien or stranger, as these verses do witness:

Abrotonon I am, yborn in Thracia,
And yet this high good hap I have, that into Grecia
I have brought forth a son, Themistocles by name,
The glory of the Greekish bloods, and man of greatest
fame.

Howbeit Phanias 1 writeth, that his mother was not a Thracian, but born in the country of Caria: and they do not call her Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And Neanthes saith furthermore, that she was of Halicarnassus, the chiefest city of all the Realm of Caria. For which cause when the strangers did assemble at Cynosarges (a place of exercise without the gate dedicated to Hercules 2, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortal woman): Themistocles per-

¹ A historian, born in Lesbos. ² Son of Zeus and Alemena. (D 394) A2

suaded divers youths of the most honourable houses, to go down with him, and to anoint themselves at Cynosarges, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right and alien sort. But setting apart all these circumstances, he was no doubt allied unto the house of the Lycomidæ: for Themistocles caused the chapel of this family, which is in the village of Phlya¹, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built up again at his own charges: and as Simonides² saith, he did set it forth and enrich it with pictures.

Moreover every man doth confess it, that even from his childhood they did perceive he was given to be very hot headed, stirring, wise, and of good spirit, and enterprising of himself to do great things, and born to rule weighty causes. For at such days and hours as he was taken from his book, and had leave to play, he never played, nor would never be idle, as other children were: but they always found him conning some oration without book, or making it alone by himself, and the ground of his matter was ever commonly, either to defend or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his schoolmaster observing him, oft said unto him: Sure some great matter hangeth over thy head, my boy, for it cannot be chosen but that one day thou shalt do some notable good thing, or some extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teach him any thing, only to check his nature, or to fashion him with good manner and civility, or to study any matter for pleasure or honest pastime: he would slowly and care-

¹ In Attica.

² Simonides of Ceos, a great lyric poet, 556-467 B.C.

lessly learn of them. But if they delivered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state: they saw he would beat at it marvellously, and would understand more than they could of his age and carriage, trusting altogether to his natural mother wit. This was the cause, that being mocked afterwards by some that had studied humanity 1, and other liberal sciences, he was driven for revenge and his own defence, to answer with great and stout words, saying, that in deed he could 2 no skill to tune a harp, nor a viol, nor to play of a psalterion 3: but if they did put a city into his hands that was of small name, weak, and little, he knew ways enough how to make it noble, strong, and great. Nevertheless, Stesimbrotus 4 writeth, how he went to Anaxagoras' 5 school, and that under Melissus he studied natural Philosophy. But herein he was greatly deceived, for that he took no great heed unto the time. For Melissus was captain of the Samians against Pericles, at what time he did lay siege unto the city of Samos.6 Now this is true, Pericles was much younger than Themistocles, and Anaxagoras dwelt with Pericles in his own house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion to believe those that write, Themistocles did determine to follow Mnesiphilus Phrearian. For he was no professed Orator, nor natural Philosopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profession of that which then they called wisdom. Which was no other thing, but a certain knowledge to handle

¹ Fine literature. ² Knew. ³ Harp.

⁴ A teacher of rhetoric.

^b Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, a philosopher of the fifth century B.C. ⁶ 440 B.C.

great causes, and an endeavour to have a good wit and judgment in matters of state and government: which profession beginning in Solon 1, did continue, and was taken up from man to man, as a sect of Philosophy. But those that came sithence, have mingled it with art of speech, and by little and little have translated the exercise of deeds, unto bare and curious words: 2 whereupon they were called Sophisters, as who would say, counterfeit wise men. Notwithstanding, when Themistocles began to meddle with the government of the common weal, he followed much Mnesiphilus.

In the first part of his youth, his behaviour and doings were very light and unconstant, as one carried away with a rash head, and without any order or discretion: by reason whereof his manners and conditions seemed marvellously to change, and ofttimes fell into very illfavoured events, as himself did afterwards confess by saying: that a ragged colt ofttimes proves a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seem to add to this, are in my opinion but fables: as that his father did disinherit him, and that his mother for very care and sorrow she took to see the lewd life of her son, did kill her self. For there are that write to the contrary, that his father being desirous to take him from dealing in government, did go and show him all alongst the sea shore, the shipwrecks and ribs of old galleys cast here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and said to him: Thus the people use their governors, when they can serve no longer. Howsoever it was, it is most

The great lawgiver of Athens.

²Applied it to language instead of practical life.

true that Themistocles earnestly gave himself to state, and was suddenly taken with desire of glory. For even at his first entry, because he would set foot before the proudest, he stood at pike against the greatest and mightiest persons, that bare the sway and government, and specially against Aristeides, Lysimachus' son, who ever encountered him, and was still his adversary opposite. And they always took contrary part one against another, not only in their private likings, but also in the government of the commonweal. Yet I am persuaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions, did much increase the grudge and discord betwixt them. For Aristeides being by nature a very good man, a just dealer, and honest of his life, and one that in all his doings would never flatter the people, nor serve his own glory, but rather to the contrary would do, would say, and counsel always for the most benefit and commodity of the common weal: was ofttimes enforced to resist Themistocles, and disappoint his ambition, being ever busily moving the people, to take some new matter in hand. For they report of him, that he was so inflamed with desire of glory, and to enterprise great matters, that being but a very young man at the battle of Marathon 1 where there was no talk but of the worthiness of captain Miltiades that had won the battle: he was found many times solitarily there alone devising with himself: besides, they say he could then take no rest in the night, neither would go to plays in the day time, nor would keep company with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withal before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wondered to see him so

1 490 B.C. Wall tell presented a 1/

in his muses, and changed, and asked him what he ailed that Miltiades' victory would not let him sleep, because other thought this overthrow at Marathon, would have made an end of all wars. Howbeit Themistocles was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles.

Therefore he daily studied how to prevent them, and how to see to the safety of Greece; and before occasion offered, he did exercise his city in feats of war, foreseeing what should follow after. Wherefore, where the citizens of Athens before did use to divide among themselves the revenue of their mines of silver, which were in a part of Attica called Laureion: he alone was the first that durst speak to the people, and persuade them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among themselves, and employ the money of the same in making of galleys, to make wars against the Æginetans.¹ For their wars of all Greece were most cruel, because they were lords of the sea, and had so great a number of ships. This persuasion drew the citizens more easily to Themistocles' mind, than the threatening them with King Darius, or the Persians, would have done: who were far from them, and not feared that they would come near unto them. So this opportunity taken of the hatred and jealousy between the Athenians and the Æginetans, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an hundred galleys, with which they fought against King Xerxes 2, and did overcome him by sea.3

¹ 484-483 B.C. Ægina is an island opposite Athens.

² Son and successor of Darius, the Ahasuerus of Scripture.

Now after this good beginning and success, he won the citizens by degrees to bend their force to sea, declaring unto them, how by land they were scant able to make head against their equals, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defend themselves from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to command all Greece. Hereupon he made them good mariners, and passing seamen, as Plato saith, where before they were stout and valiant soldiers by land. This gave his enemies occasion to cast it in his teeth afterwards, that he had taken away from the Athenians the pike and the target, and had brought them to the bank and the oar: and so he got the upper hand of Miltiades, who inveighed against him in that, as Stesimbrotus writeth.

Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this sea service to pass, whether thereby he did overthrow the justice of the commonweal or not, I leave that to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preservation of all Greece stood at that time upon the sea, and that the galleys only were the cause of setting up Athens again: Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness, besides other proofs that might be brought thereof. For his army by land being yet whole, and unset-on, when he saw his army by sea broken, dispersed, and sunk, he fled straight upon it, confessing as it were that he was now too weak to deal any more with the Grecians, and left Mardonius his lieutenant in Greece, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let 1 that the Grecians should not follow him, than for any hope he had to overcome them.

Some write of Themistocles, that he was a very good Hinder.

husband for his own profit, and careful to look to his things, for that he did spend liberally, and loved oft to make sacrifices, and honourably to receive and entertain strangers: wherefore he had good reason to be careful to get, to defray his charges. Other to the contrary, blame him much, that he was too near, and miserable 1: for some say, he would sell presents of meat that were given him. He did ask one Philides on a time, which had a breed of mares, a colt of gift: who denying him flatly, he was so angry, that he threatened him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wood, with the which Troia was taken. Meaning covertly to let him understand, that he would shortly set strife and quarrel betwixt him, and his nearest kinsmen and familiar friends.

It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a young man, and scantly known, he earnestly entreated one Epicles born at Hermione, an excellent player of the cithern, and counted at that time the cunningest man in all Athens at that instrument, that he would come and teach his art at his house: and all was no more, but that many people being desirous to hear him play, should ask for his house, and come thither to him. And one year when he went unto the feast and assembly of the plays Olympian 2, he would needs keep open house for all comers, have his tents richly furnished, and a great train of servants and all other furniture, only to contend with Cimon.³ This marvellously spited the Grecians,

¹ Miserly.

² The great games held every four years at Olympia, in Elis.
³ Son of Miltiades.

who thought Themistocles' expenses fit for Cimon's countenance, and ability, because he was a young gentleman, and of a noble house: but for him that was but a new come man, and would bear a greater port than either his calling or ability, they thought it not only unallowable in him, but mere presumption and vain glory. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedy which was played openly: and being set out therein to have won the prize, and the Athenians being marvellous desirous of the honour in such plays, he caused this victory of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate and set up in a temple, with this inscription: Themistocles Phrearrhian defrayed the charges: Phrynichus made it: Adeimantus was chief ruler. Yet notwithstanding he was well taken of the common people, partly because he would speak to every citizen by his name, no man telling him their names: and partly also because he showed himself an upright judge in private men's causes. As one day he answered the Poet Simonides, born in Ceos, who did request an unreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was governor of the city: Thou couldest be no good Poet, Simonides, if thou didst sing against the rules of music; neither my self a good governor of a city, if I should do any thing against the law. And mocking the same Simonides another time, he told him he was but a fool to speak ill of the Corinthians, considering they were lords of so great and strong a city; likewise he was not wise to make himself to be drawn, being so deformed and ill favoured. But being grown in credit, and having won the favour of the people, he was such an enemy to Aristeides, that in the end he made him

to be expulsed and banished Athens, for five years.

When news were brought that the king of Persia was onwards on his journey and coming down to make wars upon the Grecians: the Athenians consulted whom they should make their general. And it is reported, that all their common counsellors which were wont to speak in matters, fearing the danger, did draw back, save an orator called Epicydes, Euphemides' son, very eloquent in speech, but somewhat womanish, faint hearted, and greedy of money, offered himself to sue for this charge, and had some hope to obtain it. Wherefore Themistocles fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this man to be general of the army, he bought out Epicydes' ambition with ready money, and so made him let fall his suit.

It fell out Themistocles was greatly commended, about that was done to the interpreter, that came with the king of Persia's ambassadors, and demanded the empire of the Grecians both by sea and land, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken, and put to death by a common consent, for using the Greek tongue in the service and commandment of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion, Arthmius born at Zeleia, was noted of infamy, both he, his children, and all his posterity after him, because he brought gold from the king of Persia, to corrupt and win the Grecians. the greatest and worthiest act he did in those parts, was this: that he pacified all civil wars among the Grecians, persuading the cities to leave off their quarrels until the wars were done, in the which they say Chileos Arcadian did help him more than any other man.

He being now chosen general of the Athenians, went

about presently to embark his citizens into galleys, declaring to them they should leave their city, and go meet with the barbarous King by sea, so far from the coast of Greece as they could: but the people did not think that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of soldiers by land, into the country of Tempe 1 with the Lacedæmonians, to keep the passage and entry into Thessaly, against the barbarous people, which country stood yet sound to Greece, and not revolted to the Medes. Afterwards the Grecians coming from thence without any act done, and the Thessalians also being won somewhat on the King's side, for that all the whole country unto Bœotia was at the devotion and goodwill of the barbarous people: then the Athenians began to find, how Themistocles' opinion to fight by sea was very good. Whereupon they sent him with their navy to the city of Artemisium², to keep the strait. There the other Grecians would have had the Lacedæmonians and their admiral Eurybiades to have had the authority and commandment of the rest. But the Athenians would not set sail under any other admiral than their own, because theirs were the greatest number of ships in the army, and above all the other Grecians. Themistocles foreseeing the danger that was likely to fall out amongst themselves, did willingly yield the whole authority unto Eurybiades, and got the Athenians to agree unto it: assuring them, that if they behaved themselves valiantly in these wars, the other Grecians of their own accord would afterwards submit themselves unto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the original cause of the saving of Greece,

¹ A valley and pass in Thessaly. ² North of Eubœa.

and did most advance the honour and glory of the Athenians, by making them to overcome their enemies by force, and their friends and allies with liberality.

In the mean time, Eurybiades seeing the barbarous fleet riding at anchor, all alongst the Isle of Aphetæ 1, with such a great number of ships in the vaward, he began to be afraid. And understanding moreover, there were other 200 sail that went to cast about the Isle of Sciathus, and so to come in: he presently would have drawn nearer unto Peloponnesus, to the end their army by sea might be near their army by land, as thinking it unpossible to fight with King Xerxes' power by sea. Whereupon the inhabitants of the Isle of Eubœa, fearing lest the Grecians would leave them to be the spoil of the enemy, they caused Themistocles secretly to be spoken withal, and sent him a good sum of money by one called Pelagon. Themistocles took the money, as Herodotus writeth, and gave it to Eurybiades. there was one Architeles amongst the Athenians, captain of the galley called the holy galley, that was much against Themistocles' intended purpose: who having no money to pay his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with speed from thence. Themistocles stirred up then his sailors more against him than before, insomuch as they ran upon him together, and took his supper from him. Architeles being marvellous angry and offended withal, Themistocles sent him both bread and meat in a pannier, and in the bottom thereof he had put a talent of silver bidding him for that night to sup with that, and the next morning he should provide for his mariners, or else he would complain, and accuse

¹A port of Magnesia in Thessaly, near which was an island.

him to the citizens that he had taken money of his enemies. Thus it is written by Phanias Lesbian.

Moreover these first fights in the strait of Eubœa, between the Grecians, and the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the wars between them. For it was but a taste given unto them, which served the Grecians' turn very much, by making them to see by experience, and the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of ships, nor the pomp and sumptuous setting out of the same, nor the proud barbarous shouts and songs of victory that could stand them to purpose, against noble hearts and valiant minded soldiers, that durst grapple with them, and come to hand strokes with their enemies: and that they should make no reckoning of all that bravery and brags, but should stick to it like men, and lay it on the jacks 1 of them. The which (as it seemeth) the poet Pindarus understood very well, when he said touching the battle of Artemisium,

The stout Athenians, have now foundation laid, Unto the liberty of Greece, by these assaults essayed.

For out of doubt the beginning of victory, is to be hardy.

This place Artemisium is a part of the Isle of Eubœa, looking towards the North, above the city of Hestiæa, lying directly over against the country which sometimes was under the obedience of Philoctetes, and specially the city of Olizon. There is a little temple of Artemis, surnamed Oriental, round about the which there are trees, and a compass of pillars of white stone, which

¹ Jackets.

when a man rubs with his hand, they show of the colour and savour of saffron. And in one of those pillars there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect:

When boldest bloods of Athens by their might Had overcome the numbers infinite Of Asia: they then in memory Of all their deeds, and valiant victory Began to build this noble monument, And to Diane the same they did present, For that they had the Medes likewise subdued, And with their blood, their hardy hands embrued.

There is a place seen also upon that coast at this day, a good way into the land, in the midst whereof are great sands full of black dust as ashes: and they think that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and old shipwrecks.

News being brought what had been done in the country of Thermopylæ, how that King Leonidas 1 was dead, and how that Xerxes had won that entry into Greece by land: the Grecians then brought their whole army by sea more into Greece, the Athenians being in the rearward in this retire, as men whose hearts were lift up with the glory of their former valiant deeds. Now Themistocles passing by those places where he knew the enemies must of necessity fall upon the lee shore for harbour: he did engrave certain words spoken unto the Ionians, in great letters in stone, which he found there by chance, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbour for ships, and fit places also to lie in. These were the words, that the Ionians should take the Grecians' parts

¹ King of Sparta.

being their founders and ancestors, and such as fought for their liberty: or at the least they should trouble the army of the barbarous people, and do them all the mischief they could, when the Grecians should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the Ionians to take their part, or at the least he should make the barbarous people jealous and mistrustful of them.

Xerxes being already entered in the uppermost part of the province of Doris, into the country of Phocis, burning and destroying the towns and cities of the Phocians: the other Grecians lay still and suffered the invasion, notwithstanding the Athenians did request them to meet with the barbarous army in Bœotia, to save the country of Attica, as before they had done, when they went by sea to Artemisium. But they would not hearken to it in no wise, and all was because they were desirous they should draw to the strait of Peloponnesus, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of Greece within the bar of the same, and make a strong substantial wall from the one sea to the other. The Athenians were very angry at this device, and were half discouraged and out of heart, to see themselves thus forsaken and cast off, by the rest of the Grecians. For it was out of all speech that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: and therefore their only remedy was, to leave their city, and to get them to the sea. The people were very unwilling to listen hereunto, making their reckoning it was needless to be careful to overcome, or to save themselves, having once forsaken the temples of their gods, and the graves of their parents.

. . .

Wherefore Themistocles seeing that neither reason. nor man's persuasion could bring the people to like his opinion: he began to frame a device (as men do use sometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the Athenians with signs from heaven, with oracles and answers from the gods. And the occasion of Athena's dragon 1 served his turn for a celestial sign and token, which by good fortune did not appear in those days in the temple as it was wont to do: and the priests found the sacrifices which were daily offered to him, whole and untouched by any. Wherefore being informed by Themistocles what they should do, they spread a bruit abroad amongst the people, that the goddess Athena, the protector and defender of the city, had forsaken it, pointing them the way unto the sea. And again he won them by a prophecy, which commanded them to save themselves in walls of wood: saying, that the walls of wood did signify nothing else but ships. And for this cause he said, Apollo in his oracle called Salamis divine, not miserable nor unfortunate, because it should give the name of a most happy victory which the Grecians should get there.

And so at the last they following his counsel, he made this decree, that they should leave the city of Athens to the custody of the goddess Pallas 2, that was lady and governor of the country, and that all those which were of age to carry any weapon should get them to the galleys: and for the rest, that every man should see his wife, children, and bondmen placed in some sure place as well as he could. After this decree was passed and

¹ The sacred serpent which lived on the Acropolis of Athens.

authorized by the people, the most part of them did convey their aged fathers and mothers, their wives and little children, into the city of Træzen 1, where the Træzenians received them very lovingly and gently. For they gave order that they should be entertained of the common charge, allowing them apiece, two obols of their money a day, and suffered the young children to gather fruit wheresoever they found it: and furthermore did hire schoolmasters at the charge of the common wealth, to bring them up at school. He that was the penner of this decree, was one called Nicagoras. The Athenians at that time, had no common money, but the Senate of the Areopagites 2 (as Aristotle saith) furnished every soldier with eight drachmas, which was the only mean that the galleys were armed. Yet Cleidemus writeth, that this was a craft devised of Themistocles. The Athenians being come down unto the haven of Piræus, he made as though Pallas' target (on the which Medusa's head was graven) had been lost, and was not found with the image of the goddess: and feigning to seek for it, he ransacked every corner of the galleys, and found a great deal of silver which private persons had hidden amongst their fardels. This money was brought out unto the people, and by this means the soldiers that were shipped had wherewithal, to provide them of necessary things.

When time came that they were to depart the haven, and that all the city of Athens had taken sea: one way it was a pity to behold them. Another way it made all

¹ On the coast opposite Attica.

² The highest court of Athens, which sat on the Areopagus (called Mars' Hill in the Acts).

sorts to wonder, that considered the boldness and courage of those men, which before sent away their fathers and mothers from them, and were nothing moved at their tears, cries, shrieks, and embracings of their wives, their children, and departures, but stoutly and resolutely held on their course to Salamis. Notwithstanding, there were many old citizens left still of necessity in Athens, because they could not be removed for very extreme age, which stirred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certain pity that made men's hearts to yearn, when they saw the poor dogs, beasts, and cattle run up and down bleating, mowing, and howling out aloud after their masters, in token of sorrow, when they did embark. these, there goeth a strange tale of Xanthippus' dog, who was Pericles' father 1: which for sorrow his master had left him behind him, did cast himself after into the sea, and swimming still by the galley's side wherein his master was, he held on to the Isle of Salamis, where so soon as the poor cur landed, his breath failed him, and died presently. They say, at this day the place called the dog's grave, is the very place where he was buried.

These were strange acts of Themistocles, that beholding the Athenians sorry for the absence of Aristeides, and fearing lest of spite he taking part with the barbarous nation, might have been the ruin and destruction of the state of Greece, being banished five years also before the wars by Themistocles' procurement: that he did set forth a decree, that all those which had been banished for a time, might return home again, to do,

¹ Pericles was an Athenian statesman of later days.

to say, and to give counsel to the citizens in those things, which they thought best for the preservation of Greece. And also where Eurybiades being general of the Grecians' whole army by sea, for the worthiness of the city of Sparta, but otherwise a rank coward at time of need, would in any case depart from thence, and retire into the gulf of Peloponnesus, where all the army of the Peloponnesians was by land assembled: that Themistocles withstood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that Themistocles made so notable answers, which specially are noted and gathered together. For when Eurybiades said one day unto him: Themistocles, those that at plays and games do rise before the company, are whistled at. It is true, said Themistocles: but those that tarry last so, do never win any game. Another time Eurybiades having a staff in his hand lift it up, as though he would have striken him. Strike and thou wilt, said he, so thou wilt hear me. Eurybiades wondering to see him so patient, suffered him then to say what he would. Then Themistocles began to bring him to reason: but one that stood by, said unto him: Themistocles, for a man that hath neither city nor house, it is an ill part to will others that have, to forsake all. Themistocles turning to him, replied: We have willingly forsaken our houses and walls, said he, cowardly beast that thou art, because we would not become slaves for fear to lose things, that have neither soul nor life. And yet our city I tell thee is the greatest of all Greece: for it is a fleet of two hundred galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to save you if you list. But if you will needs go your ways and forsake us the second time: you shall hear

tell ere it be long, that the Athenians have another free city, and have possessed again as much good land, as that they have already lost. These words made Eurybiades presently think, and fear, that the Athenians would not go, and that they would forsake them. And as the Eretrian was about to utter his reason against Themistocles' opinion: he could not but answer him. Alas, and must you my masters talk of wars too, that are like to a cuttle-fish? In deed you have a sword, but you lack a heart 1. Some write, that whilst Themistocles was talking thus from his galley, they spied an owl flying on the right hand of the ships which came to light on one of the masts of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other Grecians did agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by sea. But when the fleet of their enemies' ships showed on the coasts of Attica, hard by the haven Phalerum, and covered all the rivers thereabouts, as far as any body could see, and that King Xerxes himself was come in person with all his army by land, to camp by the sea side: so that his whole power both by land and sea might be seen in fight: then the Grecians had forgotten all Themistocles' goodly persuasions, and began to incline again to the Peloponnesians, considering how they might recover the gulf of Peloponnesus, and they did grow very angry, when any man went about to talk of any other matter. To be short, it was concluded that they should sail away the next night following, and the masters of the ships had order given them to make all things ready for them to depart. Themistocles perceiving their determination,

¹ The word used means both a sword and the long pouch which takes the place of the fish's heart.

he was marvellous angry in his mind, that the Grecians would thus disperse them selves asunder, repairing every man to his own city, and leaving the advantage which the nature of the place, and the strait of the arm of the sea, where they lay in harbour together, did offer them: and so he bethought him self how this was to be holpen. Suddenly the famous trick of Sicinnus came into his mind, who being a Persian born, and taken prisoner before in the wars, loved Themistocles very well, and was schoolmaster ¹ to his children.

This Sicinnus he secretly sent unto the king of Persia, to advertise him that Themistocles (general of the Athenians) was very desirous to become his majesty's servant, and that he did let him understand betimes, that the Grecians were determined to fly: and therefore that he wished him not to let them escape, but to set upon them, whilst they were troubled and afraid, and far from their army by land, to the end that upon a sudden he might overthrow their whole power by sea. Xerxes supposing this intelligence came from a man that wished him well, received the messenger with great joy, and thereupon gave present order to his captains, by sea, that they should embark their men into the other ships at better leisure, and that presently they should put out with all possible speed, two hundred sail to follow the Grecians in the tail, to shut up the foreland of the strait, and to compass the Isles all about, that not one of his enemies' ships might escape: and so it fell out. Then Aristeides (Lysimachus' son) being the first that perceived it, went to Themistocles' tent, though he was his enemy, and through his only means

¹ Properly, their attendant slave.

had been banished before, as ye have heard: and calling him out, told him how they were environed. Themistocles, who knew well enough the goodness of this man, being very glad he came at that time to seek him out, declared unto him the policy he had used by the message of Sicinnus, praying him to put to his help to stay the Grecians, and to procure with him, considering his word had more authority among them, that they would fight within the strait of Salamina. Aristeides commending his great wisdom, went to deal with the captains of the other galleys, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he said, until such time as there arrived a galley of Tenos, whereof one Panætius was captain, who being stolen out of the host of the barbarous enemy, brought certain news, that the strait was out of doubt shut up. So that besides the necessity which did urge them, the spite which the Grecians conceived thereof, did provoke them to hazard the battle.

The next morning by break of day, King Xerxes placed himself on a marvellous steep high hill from whence he might discern his whole fleet, and the ordering of his army by sea, above the temple of Hercules, as Phanodemus writeth. Which is the narrow way or channel betwixt the Isle of Salamis, and the coast of Attica: or as Acestodorus saith, upon the confines of the territories of Megara, above the point which they commonly call the horns. There Xerxes set up a throne of gold, and had about him many secretaries to write all that was done in the battle.

But as Themistocles was sacrificing unto the gods in his galley that was admiral, they brought to him three

young prisoners, fair of complexion, richly arrayed with gold and jewels, whom they said were the children of Sandauce the King's sister, and of prince Artayctus. So soon as Euphrantides the soothsayer had seen them, and at their arrival observed there rose a great bright flame out of the sacrifice, and at the very self same instant that one on his right hand had sneezed: he took Themistocles by the hand, and willed him to sacrifice all those three prisoners unto the god Bacchus, surnamed Omestes 1, as much as to say, as the cruel Bacchus: for in doing it, the Grecians should not only be saved, but they should have the victory over their enemies. Themistocles wondered much, to hear so strange and terrible a commandment of the soothsayer. Nevertheless, the common sort following his custom, which is, to promise safety sooner in the greatest dangers, and most desperate cases, by strange and unreasonable, rather than by reasonable and ordinary means: they began to call upon the god with one voice, and bringing the three prisoners near unto the altar, they compelled him to perform the sacrifice in that sort as the soothsayer had appointed. Phanias Lesbian, an excellent Philosopher, and well seen in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus.

As for the number of ships of the barbarous navy: Æschylus the poet, in a tragedy which he entitled the Persians, knowing certainly the truth, saith thus:

King Xerxes had a thousand ships I know, Amongst the which, two hundred were (I trow) And seven: which all the rest did oversail With swifter course. This is withouten fail.

¹ Carnivorous.

The Athenians had nine score, in every one of the which there were eighteen soldiers, whereof four of them were archers, and all the rest armed men.

Themistocles also did with no less skill and wisdom choose his time and place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, until the hour was come, that of ordinary custom the sea wind arose, and brought in a rough tide within the channel, which did not hurt the Grecian galleys, being made low and snug, but greatly offended the Persian galleys, being high cargged, heavy, and not yare of steerage, and made them lie sidelong to the Grecians, who fiercely set upon them, having always an eye to Themistocles' direction, that best foresaw their advantage. At the same time, Ariamenes, Xerxes' admiral, a man of great valour and worthiest of the King's brethren, bestowed arrows and darts as it were from the walls of a castle, charging the galley of Ameinias Deceleian, and Socles Pæanian, which were joined and grappled with him, and fiercely entering the same, was by them valiantly received upon their pikes, and thrust overboard into the sea. Whose body floating amongst other shipwrecks Artemisia 1 knowing, caused to be carried to King Xerxes.

Now whilst this battle stood in these terms, they say that there appeared a great flame in the element toward the city of Eleusis, and that a loud voice was heard through all the plain of Thriasia unto the sea, as if there had been a number of men together, that had sung out aloud, the holy song of Iacchus². And it seemed by little and little, that there rose a cloud in the air

¹ Queen of Halicarnassus.

² One of the gods celebrated in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

from those which sang: that left the land, and came and lighted on the galleys in the sea. Other affirmed, that they saw armed men, which did reach out their hands from the Isle of Ægina, towards the Grecians' galleys: and they thought they were the Æacidæ¹, for whose help they all prayed before the battle was begun.

The first man of the Athenians that took any of the enemies' ships, was Lycomedes, a captain of a galley: who having taken very rich furniture and flags, did afterwards consecrate them to Apollo Laurel-bearer: as ye would say, victorious. The other Grecians in the front being equal in number with the barbarous ships, by reason of the straitness of the arm of the sea wherein they fought, were so straitened as they could not fight but by one and one, whereby the Barbarians disorderly laid one another aboard, that they did hinder themselves with their over multitude: and in the end were so sore pressed upon by the Grecians, that they were constrained to fly by night, after they had fought and maintained battle, until it was very dark. So that the Grecians won that glorious and famous victory: of the which may truly be affirmed that, as Simonides saith:

> Was never yet, nor Greek nor barbarous crew That could by sea, so many men subdue: Nor that obtained, so famous victory In any fight, against their enemy.

Thus was the victory won through the valiantness and courage of those that fought that battle, but especially through Themistocles' great policy and wisdom.

After this battle Xerxes being mad for his loss, thought

¹ Sons of Æacus, legendary King of Ægina.

to fill up the arm of the sea, and to pass his army by land, upon a bridge, into the Isle of Salamis. Themistocles, because he would feel Aristeides' opinion, told him as they were talking together, that he thought best to go and occupy the strait of Hellespont with the army by sea, to break the bridge of ships which Xerxes had caused to be made: to the end, said he, that we may take Asia in Europe. Aristeides liked not this opinion. for we have (said he) fought all this while against this barbarous King, who thought but to play with us: but if we shut him within Greece, and bring him to fight of necessity to save his life: such an enemy that commandeth so great an army, will no more stand still as a looker on, and set at his ease under his golden pavilion, to see the pastime of the battle, but will prove every way, and be himself in every place at all essays to save himself from such a strait and danger. Thus with politic care and foresight, he may easily amend his former fault committed by negligence, and do well enough, when he shall see his life and kingdom both depend upon it. Therefore Themistocles, I would think not best to break his bridge at all, which he hath caused to be made: but rather if we could, to build another to it, to drive him out of Europe as soon as we could. Themistocles then replied: Seeing you think this were good to be done, we must all lay our heads together, to devise how he may be forced to come out as soon as we could. They breaking off with this resolution, Themistocles sent immediately one of the King's Eunuchs, called Arnaces, that was one of the grooms of his chamber, whom he found out amongst the prisoners, and by him he sent this message unto the King:

That the Grecians having won the battle of him by sea, had decreed in their council, how they would go to the strait of Hellespont, to break the bridge of the ships he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to advertise him for the good will he did bear him, and to the end he might bethink him betimes, to get him away to the sea within his own dominion, and so pass back again into Asia as soon as he could, whilst he gave order to his allies and confederates, to stay following him at the poop. The barbarous King understanding these news, was so afraid, that he hoisted away with all possible speed.

The further foresight and great wisdom of Themistocles, and Aristeides, in marine causes, did manifestly appear afterwards in the battle the Grecians fought before the city of Platea, against Mardonius, King Xerxes' lieutenant: 1 who having but a small power of the King his sovereign's there, did yet put the Grecians to great distress, and in hazard to have lost all. Of all the towns and cities that fought in the battle, Herodotus writeth, that the city of Ægina won the fame for valiantness above the rest: and of private men, among the Grecians, Themistocles was judged the worthiest man: although it was sore against their wills, because they envied much his glory. For after the battle done, all the captains being gotten into the strait of Peloponnesus, and having sworn upon the altar of their sacrifices, that they would give their voices after their consciences, to those they thought had best deserved it: every man gave himself the first place for worthiness, and the second unto Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians

¹ 479 B.C.

carried him into Sparta, where they judged the honour and dignity to their admiral Eurybiades: but the wisdom and policy they attributed to Themistocles. In token thereof they gave him an olive branch, and the goodliest coach that was in their city: and moreover they sent three hundred of their lusty youths to accompany him, and conduct him out of their country.

They say, at the next feasts and assemblies of the plays Olympian that were made after this victory, when Themistocles was once come into the show place where these games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, showing him to the strangers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their hands did witness how much they esteemed him. Whereat he himself took so great delight, that he confessed to his familiar friends, he then did reap the fruit and benefit of his sundry and painful services he had taken in hand, for the preservation of Greece: so ambitious was he by nature, and covetous of honour, as we may easily perceive by certain of his deeds and notable sayings they have noted of him. For being chosen admiral of Athens, he never dispatched any causes private or public, howsoever they fell out, until the very day of his departure, and taking ship: and all because that men seeing him rid much business at once, and to speak with so many persons together, they should esteem him to be the notabler man, and of greater authority. Another time he walked upon the sands by the sea side, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the sea had cast up upon the shore: and seeing some of them that had on still their chains of gold and

bracelets, he passed by on his way, but showed them yet to his familiar friend that followed him, and said unto him: Take thou those, for thou art not Themistocles. He said the Athenians did not esteem him in time of peace: but when any storm of wars were towards, and they stood in any danger, they ran to him then, as they run to the shadow of a plane tree, upon any sudden rain: and after fair weather come again, they cut away then the branches, and boughs thereof.

There was a man born in the Isle of Seriphus, who being fallen out with him, did cast him in the teeth, that it was not for his worthiness, but for the noble city wherein he was born, that he had won such glory. Thou sayest true, said he: but neither should I ever have won any great honour, if I had been a Seriphian, nor thou also if thou hadst been an Athenian. Another time one of the captains of the city, having done good service unto the common weal, made boast before Themistocles, and compared his service equal with his. Themistocles to answer him, told him a pretty tale. That the working day brawled on a time with the holy day, repining against her, that he laboured for his living continually, and how she did nothing but fill her belly, and spend that they had gotten. Thou hast reason, said the holy day. But if I had not been before thee, thou hadst not been here now. And so, if I had not been then: where had you my masters been now? His own son was a little too saucy with his mother, and with him also, bearing himself over-boldly of her good will, by means of her cockering of him. Whereupon being merrily disposed, he would say that his son could do more than any man in all Greece. For, saith he, the

Athenians command the Grecians, I command the Athenians, my wife commandeth me, and my son commandeth her. Moreover because he would be singular by himself above all other men: having a piece of land he would sell, he willed the crier to proclaim open sale of it in the market place, and with all he should add unto the sale, that his land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being suitors to his daughter, he preferred the honester before the richer, saying: he had rather have to his son-in-law a man that lacked goods, than goods to lack a man. These were Themistocles' pleasant conceits and answers.

But after he had done all these things we have spoken of before, he took in hand to build again the city and walls of Athens, and did corrupt the officers of Lacedæmonia with money, to the end they should not hinder his purpose, as Theopompus writeth. Or as all other say when he had deceived them by this subtlety, he went unto Sparta as ambassador, sent thither of purpose unto the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, for that the Athenians did enclose their city again with walls, who were accused unto the council of Sparta, by an orator called Polyarchus, who was sent thither from the Æginetans, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the Athenians. Themistocles stoutly denied it to them, and prayed them for better understanding of the truth, they would send some of their men thither to see it. This was but a fetch only to win by this delay, the Athenians so much more time to raise up their walls, and that the Athenians should keep as hostages for surety of his person, those they should send to Athens, to bring back the report thereof: and so it

fell out. For the Lacedæmonians being informed of the truth as it was, did him no hurt, but dissembling the misliking they had to be thus abused by him, sent him away safe and sound.

Afterwards he made them also mend and fortify the haven of Piræus, having considered the situation of the place, and all to incline the city to the sea. Wherein he did directly contrary to all the counsel of the ancient kings of Athens: who seeking (as they say) to withdraw their people from the sea, and to accustom them to live upon the land, by planting, sowing, and ploughing their grounds, did devise and give out abroad, the fable they tell of the goddess Pallas. And that is this, how she contending with Poseidon about the patronage of the country of Athens, brought forth and showed to the judges the olive tree, by means whereof she prevailed, and obtained the pre-eminence. Even so Themistocles did not join the haven of Piræus, unto the city of Athens, as the Comical poet Aristophanes saith: but rather joined the city unto the haven Piræus, and the land unto the sea. By this means he made the people strong against the nobility, and brought the commonalty to wax bolder than they were before, by reason the rule and authority fell into the hands of sailors, mariners, pilots, shipmasters, and such kind of seafaring men: so as the platform where all the orations were made, that stood in the Pnyx1, and did look towards the sea; but the thirty tyrants that came in afterwards, did remove it, and turn it towards the land: holding opinion, to be strong by sea, was it, that did maintain the authority of the popular state; and that

¹ A place in Athens where public meetings were held.

contrariwise they which live by the labour and toil of the earth, do more willingly like the government of Nobility.

Themistocles called to mind another matter also of greater importance, to make the city of Athens a greater power by sea. For after the retire of Xerxes, and that all the fleet and navy of the Grecians wintered in the haven of Pagasæ1: he said one day in an open assembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficial for them, but it was not to be told openly. The people willed him to impart it to Aristeides: and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedily. Themistocles then told Aristeides: the thing he had considered of, was to burn the arsenal where the Grecians' navy lay, and to set on fire all their ships. Aristeides hearing his purpose, returned to the people and told them: how nothing could be more profitable, but withall more unjust, than that which Themistocles had devised. The Athenians then willed Aristeides it should be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the Lacedæmonians had exhibited their petition to the council of the Amphictyons (that is the general council of all the states of Greece assembled) how the towns and cities of Greece which had not been parties with the Grecians to the league, against the barbarous people, should be put off wholly from this council: Themistocles doubting if the Argives, the Thessalians, and the Thebans also should by this means be exempted, that the Lacedæmonians would be then the greater number in voices, and by this means might do what they would in this council: he spake so considerately for their cities which they would have thus discharged, that he made the petitioners in the assembly utterly to change their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirty cities comprised only the league, and yet that some of them were very weak and small: and how it were no reason, that rejecting all the rest of Greece, the greatest authority of this council should fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefest cities alone.

For this cause chiefly the Lacedæmonians did ever bear him extreme hatred, and did set up Cimon all they could, to be always adversary opposite unto him, and as it were to beard him in all matters of state, and the government of Athens. They procured him besides the ill will and displeasure of all the friends and confederates of the Athenians, for that he went sailing still to and fro alongst the Isles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the same. And this is to be known by the matter propounded by him to the Andrians (of whom he would have had money) and by the answer they made him, as Herodotus writeth. Which was, how he had brought them two mighty gods: Love, and Force. And they answered him again, that they also had two great goddesses, which kept them from giving him any money: Poverty and Impossibility. And to make this good also: Timocreon the Rhodian Poet galled him to the quick, when he sharply taunted him, for calling many home again for money that were banished: and how for covetousness of money he had betrayed, and forsaken his host and friend. The verses wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effect:

(D 394)

Who list commend worthy Pausanias, Xanthippus, or good Leotychides, Yet shall I seem but light thereof to pass. Compared with valiant Aristides 1. For yet was neer, the like in Athens town. Nor never shall come none of like renown. Themistocles by right and due desert. Is hated of Latona², for his lies, And for he bare a traitrous wicked heart, Who like a wretch, and niggard, did devise, For small reward, his host Timocreon To hold out of his country Ialison 3. He took for bribe (unjustly yet therewhile) Of ready coin three talents fair and bright. Revoking such as pleas'd him, from exile, And banishing full many a worthy wight, Or putting them to death, without cause told; He gat thereby, great heaps of coin and gold. But in the end (O right reward for such) This bribing wretch, was forced for to hold, A tippling booth, most like a clown or snutch, At holy feasts and pastimes manifold, Which were amongst the people in those days. Isthmian folk, did use the like always. And there he served his guests with cold meat still, Whilst they that tasted of his cookery, Gan wish that they (to ease their weary will) Had never lived to see the treachery Of false Themistocles, and that he might No longer live, which wrought them such despite.

After this, he did more openly blaze him to the world, when he was banished and condemned: in a song that had beginning thus:

¹ The poet mispronounces the name, which is Aristeides.

² Mother of Artemis and Apollo.

³ Ialysus in Rhodes.

O Muse, let these my verses be dispersed, Throughout all Greece, since they deserve no less: And since the truth which is in them rehearsed, Deserveth fame, whom no man should suppress.

They say the cause was, why this Timocreon was banished: the friendship which he had with the Barbarous people, and for giving them intelligence. Whereof Themistocles was one that judicially condemned him. Wherefore when Themistocles himself was accused afterwards of the same fault, Timocreon then made these verses following against him:

Timocreon was not without his peer,
Which did confer with Medes privily,
Since others more, the self same blame might bear:
More foxes lurk in dens as well as I.

Besides these verses, Themistocles' own citizens for the ill will they bare him, were contented to hear him ill spoken of. Therefore while he sought ways, to redress all this: he was driven to use such mean, which more increased their hatred toward him. For in his orations to the people, he did oft remember them of the good service he had done them: and perceiving how they were offended withal, he was driven to say, Why, are ye weary so oft to receive good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he surnamed Artemis (in the dedication of her temple he made unto her) Aristobulé, as much to say, as the good counsellor: meaning thereby, how he had given grave and wise counsel, both unto his city, and to all the rest of the Grecians. He built this temple also near his house, in a place called Melita, where the hangmen do cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throw rags and halters' ends of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by law. There was also in our days in the temple of Artemis Aristobulé, a little image of Themistocles, which showed plainly, that he was not only wise, and of a noble mind, but also of a great majesty and countenance in the face.

In the end the Athenians banished him Athens for ten years, because they would pluck down his overgreat courage and authority; as they did use to serve those, whose greatness they thought to be more, than common equality that ought to be among citizens would bear. For this manner of banishment for a time, called Ostracismos, was no punishment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the envy of the people, which delighted to pluck down their stomachs that too much seemed to exceed in greatness: and by this means they took away the poison of his malice, with diminishing his glory and honour.

So Themistocles being banished Athens, went to dwell in Argos. In this mean season, Pausanias' treachery fell out,⁴ which gave his enemies occasion to lie heavy on his back. But he which became his accuser, and was partner of the treason, was one called Leobotes (Alcmæon's son) born in a village called Agraulé. Besides this, the Spartans also did sit on his skirts, and charged him sorely. For Pausanias never before revealed to

About 472 B.C. Pride.

³Properly: an alleviation of jealousy, which delights in humbling the pre-eminent, and vents its malice to rob a man of his citizenship.

⁴ Spartan commander, victor of Platæa, later condemned for intriguing with Persia.

Themistocles the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familiar friend. But after he saw Themistocles was banished, and did take his exile very unpatiently: then Pausanias was bold to open his treason to him, to procure him to take his part, and showed him the letters the king of Persia had written to him, and all to stir him up against the Grecians, as against ungrateful and unnatural people. Howbeit Themistocles shook him off, and told him plainly he would be no partner of his treason. Notwithstanding, he never revealed it to any living creature, nor discovered the practice he intended: hoping either he would have given it over, or that shortly it would appear by some other mean, considering he so fondly aspired to things of great danger, and without purpose or possibility. After Pausanias was condemned, and had suffered pains of death for the same: they found amongst his papers, certain writings and letters, which made Themistocles to be very sore suspected. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians on the one side cried out of him: and his enemies and ill wishers at Athens accused him on the other side. To the which he made answer by letters from the beginning, and wrote unto the people, it was not likely that he (who sought all the ways to rule, and was not born to serve, neither had any mind thereto) would ever have thought in his head, to sell his own liberty, and the Grecians' also unto the Barbarous people their enemies.

Notwithstanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the states of all Greece, to be judged by that council. Whereof Themistocles having intelligence in time, he did convey himself into the Isle of Corcyra, because the city there was greatly beholding to him, for a certain pleasure in time past he had done them. For they being at suit and strife with the Corinthians, he took up the matter between them, and gave judgment of their side, and condemned the Corinthians to pay them twenty talents damages: and did set down an order, that they should occupy the Isle of Leucas in common together, as ground that had been inhabited with the people, as well of the one city, as of the other. From thence he fled to Epeirus, whither being followed by the Athenians, and the Lacedæmonians, he was compelled to venture himself upon a very dangerous hope. For he went to yield himself into the hands of Admetus, king of Molossians. having heretofore made certain requests unto the Athenians, and being shamefully denied them by means of Themistocles (who was then at his chiefest height and authority) the King was marvellously offended with him: and it was a clear case in deed, that if he could then have laid hands on him, he would have been revenged of him thoroughly. Howbeit feeling the present misery of his exile, he thought he might less fear the King's old quarrel and displeasure, than the fresh hate and envy of his country men. Whereupon he went unto King Admetus, trusting to his mercy, and became an humble suitor to him in a strange extraordinary sort. For he took the King's little young son in his arms, and went and kneeled down before the altar in his chapel 1: which humble manner of suing the Molossians take to be most effectual, and such as they dare not

¹ Properly: by the hearth.

deny or refuse. Some say that Queen Phthia herself, the King's wife, did inform him of their country custom and manner, and brought her little son near unto the altar. Other write also, that it was Admetus himself that taught and showed him this enforcing manner of petition, only for a cloak to excuse himself to those that should come to demand Themistocles of him: that by duty of religion he was so straitly bound and restrained, that he might not deliver him out of his protection.

In this mean time, Epicrates Acharnian found the means secretly to convey Themistocles' wife and children out of Athens, and did send them privily unto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused, and put to death, upon Cimon's accusation and motion, as Stesimbrotus writeth. Who not remembering those matters I know not how, or making as though Themistocles had not remembered himself, doth say, that Themistocles sailed into Sicily, where he sought to marry Hieron's daughter, the tyrant of Syracuse: promising him if he would let him have her, he would assure him to conquer all Greece for him, and to bring them under his obedience. But Hieron refusing this offer, Themistocles went from thence into Asia: but that is not likely. For Theophrastus writeth in his book entitled of Kingdoms, that Hieron having sent certain running horses to the feast of games Olympian, and having set up a marvellous rich and sumptuous tent there: Themistocles made an oration to the Grecians, declaring unto them how they should tear the tyrant's tent in pieces, and not to suffer his horses to run with other swift and light horses, and to carry away the

prize in those holy games. Thucydides again declareth. how he went unto the other sea, and embarked in the city of Pydna, being known of never a man in the ship. until such time as the wind began to carry them into the Isle of Naxos, which the Athenians by chance did besiege at that time, where being afeard to be set on land, he was forced to bewray himself to the master of the ship, and the master's mate, and wrought them, what with fair words and what with threats (by saying he would accuse them to the Athenians, that they did not ignorantly receive him in, but hired for money) so as he compelled them to sail on further, and to carry him into Asia. As for his goods, his friends saved the most part of them, and sent them into Asia to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate unto the state: Theopompus writeth, they did amount to the value of one hundred talents. And Theophrastus saith, but to four score talents only. And yet all his goods was not worth three talents, when he began to govern the state of the common weal.

When he came unto the city of Cymé, he perceived that all the coasts by sea were laid for him to apprehend him, and that he had many spials upon him: among the which, these were two special noted men, Ergoteles, and one Pythodorus, the reward being very great, for men that sought their gain any way they could. For the king of Persia had proclaimed by sound of trumpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him Themistocles. Whereupon he fled unto a little town of Æolia, called Ægae, where no living body knew him, but his host only, called Nicogenes: who was the richest man of all the Æolians, and knew all the noble men of

authority that were about the king of Persia. Themistocles continued hidden certain days in his house: in which time, on a night after the feast of sacrifice, one Olbius, schoolmaster to Nicogenes' children, by some secret working of the gods, suddenly fell besides himself, and began to sing these verses out aloud:

Do thou believe, what so the night thee tells,
And give they voice, thy counsel and conceits
Unto the night, in darksomeness that dwells;
Thereon also thy victory awaits.

The next night following, Themistocles being fast asleep in his bed, dreamed that a snake wound itself round about his belly, and glided upwards to his neck, until it touched his face, and suddenly then it became an Eagle, and embraced him with his wings: and so at length did lift him up into the air, and carried him a marvellous way off, until he thought he saw a golden rod (such as Heralds use to carry in their hands) whereupon the Eagle did set him, and so was delivered of all this fear and trouble he thought himself in.

The truth was, Nicogenes had this device in his head, how he might bring him safe to the king of Persia's court. The barbarous nations for the most part (and specially the Persians) are of a very strange nature, and marvellous jealous over their women, and that not only of their wives, but also of their bond women, which they keep so straitly locked up, that no man ever seeth them abroad at any time, but are always like housedoves kept within doors. And when they have any occasion to go into the country, they are carried in close coaches covered all about, that no man can look

into them. Themistocles was conveyed into one of these coaches dressed after this manner, and had warned his men to answer those they met by the way, that asked whom they carried: how it was a young Grecian gentlewoman of the country of Ionia, which they carried to the court for a noble man there.

Thucydides, and Charon Lampsacenian say, he went thither after the death of Xerxes, and spake with his son there. But Ephorus, Deino, Cleitarchus, Heracleides, and many other write, that he spake with himself. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that Thucydides' words do best agree with the chronicles and tables, recording the succession of times, although they be of no great certainty.

Themistocles being come now to the sword's point (as it were) and to the extremity of his danger: did first present himself unto one Artabanus, Colonel of a thousand footmen, and said unto him: Sir, I am a Grecian born, and desire to speak with the King; I have matters of importance to open to his majesty, and such as I know he will thankfully receive. Artabanus answered him in this manner: My friend sir stranger, the laws and customs of men are diverse, and some take one thing for honest, others some another thing; but it is most honesty for all men, to keep and observe the laws and manners of their own country. For you Grecians have the name to love liberty, and equality above all things: and for us, amongst all the goodly laws and customs we have, we esteem this above the rest: to reverence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt fashion

thyself after our manner to honour the King, thou mayest both see him, and speak with him: but if thou have another mind with thee, then must thou of necessity use some third person for thy mean. For this is the manner of our country: the King never giveth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him.1 Themistocles hearing what he said, answered him again: My lord Artabanus, the great good will I bear unto the King, and the desire I have to advance his glory and power, is the only cause of my present repair unto his court; therefore I mean not only to obey your laws (since it hath so pleased the gods to raise up the noble empire of Persia unto this greatness) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more than there do at this present. Therefore let there be no stay, but that myself in person may deliver to the King what I have to say unto him. Well, said Artabanus: whom shall we say thou art? For by thy speech it seemeth, thou art a man of no mean state and condition. Themistocles answered him: as for that, Artabanus, none shall know before the King himself. Thus doth Phanias report it.

Themistocles being brought into his presence, after he had presented his humble duty and reverence to him, stood on his feet, and said never a word, until the King commanded the interpreter to ask him what he was? and he answered. May it please your majesty, O noble King: I am Themistocles the Athenian, a banished man out of my country by the Grecians, who humbly repaireth to your highness, knowing I have done great

¹ The word used for this "obeisance" is the same which is used of the salutations offered to gods.

hurt to the Persians, but I persuade myself I have done them far more good than harm. For I it was that kept the Grecians back they did not follow you, when the state of Greece was delivered from thralldom, and my native country from danger, and that I knew I stood then in good state to pleasure you. Now for me, I find all men's good wills agreeable to my present misery and calamity: for I come determined, most humbly to thank your highness, for any grace and favour you shall show me, and also to crave humble pardon, if your majesty be yet offended with me. And therefore licence me (most noble King) to beseech you, that taking mine enemies the Grecians for witnesses of the pleasures I have done the Persian nation, you will of your princely grace use my hard fortune, as a good occasion to show your honourable virtue, rather than to satisfy the passion of your heat and choler. For in saving my life, your majesty saveth an humble suitor that put himself to your mercy: and in putting me to death, you shall rid away an enemy of the Grecians. Having spoken thus these words, he said further. That the gods by divers signs and tokens had procured him to come to submit himself unto him, and told the King what vision he had seen in his dream in Nicogenes' house: and declared also the oracle of Zeus Dodonian, who had commanded him that he should go unto him that was called a god, and how he thought it was the person of his majesty, because that god and he in truth were called both great Kings.

The King having thus heard him speak, gave him then no present answer again, notwithstanding he marvellously wondered at his great wisdom and boldness. But afterwards amongst his familiars the King said, he thought himself very happy to meet with the good fortune of Themistocles coming to him: and so besought his great god Arimanius¹, that he would always send his enemies such minds, as to banish the greatest and wisest men amongst them. It is reported also he did sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks therefore, and disposed himself presently to be merry. Insomuch as dreaming in the night, in the midst of his dream he cried out three times together for joy: I have Themistocles the Athenian.

The next morning the King having sent for the chiefest lords of his court, he made Themistocles also to be brought before him: who looked for no goodness at all, specially when he saw the soldiers, warding at the court gates, give him ill countenance and language both, when they beheld him, and understood his name. Moreover, Roxanes, one of the captains, as Themistocles passed by him going to the King (who was set in his chair of state, and every man keeping silence) softly sighing, said unto him, O thou Greekish serpent, subtle and malicious: the King's good fortune hath brought thee hither. Nevertheless when he came to the King, and had once again made him a very humble and low reverence; the King saluted him, and spake very courteously to him, saying: I am now your debtor of two hundred talents, for presenting your self. It is good reason I should deliver you the money promised him that should have brought you: but I give you a further warrant, be bold, I charge you, and speak your mind freely, say what you think of the state of Greece. Themistocles then answered

Ahriman, the good spirit of the Persian creed.

him: That men's words did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a piece of arras; for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seen, when they are unfolded and laid open. Contrariwise they appear not, but are lost, when they are shut up, and close folded: whereupon he said to the King, he must needs require some further time of answer.

The King liked his comparison passingly well, and willed him to appoint his own time. Themistocles asked a year: in which time having prettily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the King himself without any interpreter. So, such as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of Greece. But because the change and alteration of the court fell out great at that time, the noblemen imagined he had been so bold to common with the King of them also. Thereupon they greatly envied him, and afterwards murmured much against him. For indeed the King did honour Themistocles above all other strangers whatsoever they were. On a time the King had him out a-hunting with him, he made him see his mother, with whom he grew familiar: and by the King's own commandment he was to hear the disputations of the wise men of Persia touching secret philosophy, which they call magic. Demaratus the Lacedæmonian being at that time in the court of Persia, the King willing him to ask what gift he would, he besought the King to grant him this favour: to licence him to go up and down the city of Sardis, with his royal hat on his head as the Kings of Persia do. Mithropaustes, the King's cousin, taking him by the hand, said unto him: Demaratus, the King's hat

thou demandest, and if it were on thy head, it would cover but little wit; nay though Zeus did give thee his lightning in thy hand, yet that would not make thee Zeus. But the King gave him so sharp a repulse for his unreasonable request, and was so angry with him for it, that it was thought he would never have forgiven him: howbeit Themistocles was so earnest a suitor for him, that he brought him into favour again. And the report goeth, that the King's successors which have been since that time, under whom the Persians have had more dealings with the Grecians, than in former days: when they would retain any great state or personage of Greece into their service, they wrote unto him, and promised him they would make him greater about them, than ever was Themistocles about Xerxes. That which is written of him, doth also confirm it. For he being stepped up to great countenance and authority, and followed with great trains of suitors after him by reason of his greatness: seeing him self one day very honourably served at his table, and with all sorts of dainty meats, he turned him to his children, and said unto them, My sons, we should have been undone, if we had not been undone. The most writers do agree, that he had given him the revenue of three cities for his allowance of bread, wine, and victuals: to wit, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. But Neanthes Cyzicenian, and Phanias, do add two other cities more, Percote, and Palescepsis: the one to defray his charges of apparel, and the other for his lodging. Afterwards Themistocles going into the low countries towards the sea, to take order against the practices of the Grecians: there was a Persian lord called Epixyes (governor of the

high Phrygia) that had laid a train to kill him (having of long time hired certain murderers of Pisidia to do it) so soon as he should come into a town of his government, called the Lion's Head. But as he slept on a day in his house in the afternoon, the mother of the gods appeared unto him, and said, Themistocles, go not to the Lion's Head, for fear thou meet with the Lion: and for this warning, I do ask thy daughter Mnesiptolema for my servant.

Themistocles waking suddenly out of his dream, made his prayer unto the goddess, and turning out of the high way, fetched another compass about. Afterwards having passed that town, he took his lodging being benighted: but one of the beasts which carried his tent, fell by the way, unfortunately in a river, and all his arras and tapestry hangings being thoroughly wet, his servants were driven to lay them out a drying, by moon light. The Pisidians that lay in wait, and could not discern by moon light that they were hangings laid out to dry, thought it had been the very tent Themistocles' self did lie in: whereupon they went unto it with their swords drawn in their hands, hoping to have taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and began to lift up a piece of the hangings: some of the people of Themistocles (which kept watch) perceiving them, ran upon them, and took them. So Themistocles having escaped this danger, wondered greatly at the favour of the goddess which had appeared unto In recompense whereof, when he was in the city of Magnesia, he built a temple unto Dindymene 1, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema prioress of the same.

¹ A name of Cybele, mother of the gods.

As he passed by the city of Sardis for his recreation, he went to visit the temples, and offerings that had been given there. So he saw an image of a maiden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the gods, being two yards high, which they called the Water-carrier. And it was a statue, which himself had heretofore dedicated and caused to be made, with the fines of those that had paid forfeitures, for stealing or turning away the water-course at Athens, at such time as he was master surveyor of the water-works and conduits there. Wherefore, whether Themistocles was sorry to see this goodly image a prisoner in the hands of the Barbarous people, or that he would show unto the Athenians the greatness of his credit and authority through all the King's dominions: he spake to the governor of Lydia, and prayed him for his sake that he would send this image again to Athens. But this Barbarous governor was very angry with his request, and told him he would advertise the King thereof. Then Themistocles began to be afeard, and was driven to seek to the governor's women, whom he got for money to entreat him, and so made fair weather again with the governor. But from thenceforth, he took better guard of himself in all his doings, greatly fearing the envy of the Barbarous people.

For he progressed not up and down Asia, as Theopompus writeth, but lay a long time in the city of Magnesia, quietly enjoying the King's gracious gifts bestowed on him: where he was honoured and reverenced for one of the greatest persons of Persia, whilst the King was elsewhere occupied in the affairs of the high provinces of Asia, and had no leisure to think upon those of Greece. But when news was brought him that Egypt

was rebelled by means of the favour and assistance of the Athenians, and that the Grecians' galleys did scour the seas even unto the Isle of Cyprus, and unto the coasts of Cilicia, and that Cimon had all the sea in subjection: that made him then to bend all his thoughts how to resist the Grecians, that their greatness might not turn to his harm. Then commissioners went out to levy men, to assemble captains, and to dispatch posts unto Themistocles at Magnesia, with the King's letters straitly charging him to have an eye to the Grecians' doings, and moreover that he should faithfully keep his promise he had made to him. But he, to show that he neither maliced his citizens, nor was moved with the desire of greatness and authority he might have grown unto in those wars, or else for that he thought the King's expectation would prove to a greater matter, than he could end or wade through, considering Greece was full at that time of famous captains, and that Cimon amongst the rest had marvellous good fortune, and that it should be a reproach to him to stain the glory of so many noble acts, so many triumphs, and so great victories as Cimon had done and won: he took a wise resolution with himself, to make such an end of his life, as the fame thereof deserved. For he made a solemn sacrifice unto the gods, and feasted at the same all his friends; and after he had taken his leave of them all, he drank bull's blood, as most men think (or as other say) poison, which dispatcheth a man in four and twenty hours, and so ended his days in the city of Magnesia, after he had lived threescore and five years, and the most part of them always in office, and great charge.

¹ In 459 B.C.

It is written, that the King of Persia understanding the cause and manner of his death, did more esteem him afterwards, than he did before, and that ever after he continued to use his friends and familiars in very good sort. For he left children behind him, which he had of Archippe, Lysander's daughter of the town of Alopece 1: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus, and Cleophantus, of whom Plato the philosopher maketh mention, saying that he was a good man at arms, but otherwise that there was no goodness in him. Of his other sons that were elder, Neocles died being bitten with a horse: and as for Diocles, another son, his grandfather Lysander did adopt him for his son. He had many daughters, of the which Mnesiptolema (which he had by a second wife) was married unto her half brother Archeptolis, for they were not both of one mother. Another called Italia, was married unto one Panthoides of Chios; Sybaris, unto Nicomedes an Athenian; and Nicomache, unto Phrasicles, Themistocles' nephew: unto whom her brethren did marry her within the city of Magnesia, after the death of their father. This Phrasicles did bring up Asia, which was the youngest of all his daughters.

Furthermore his sumptuous tomb standeth yet in the market place of Magnesia. But that Andocides writeth of his bones, in a book he made to his friends, is not to be credited, which was: that the Athenians having found the ashes of his bones, did cast them up into the air, as a device to stir up the noble men against the people. And Phylarchus in his history (much like unto the feigned subtleties of a tragedy) bringeth in I cannot tell what Neocles and Demopolis, for Themistocles his

¹ An Attic deme or parish.

sons, to move the readers with compassion. Howbeit no man is so simple, but will judge it straight a very feigning and device. Diodorus, the cosmographer, also in a book he hath written of tombs and monuments saith, by conjecture, rather than of any certain knowledge: that alongst the haven of Piræus, coming towards the head of Alcimus, there is a foreland in the form of an elbow, within the which when they have doubled the point, the sea is always calm, and there they find a great and long foundation or base, upon the which there is as it were the form of an altar, and that is (saith he) Themistocles' tomb. And he supposeth that Plato the Comical Poet doth witness it in these verses:

Thy grave is set and placed, commodiously, Where passengers and merchants that come by May visit thee, and where it may regard, All such as seek that port to be their ward. Sometimes also, it may rejoice to see, The bloody fights, upon the sea that be.

And furthermore, those of Magnesia did institute certain honours unto the issue of Themistocles, which continue yet unto this day. And in my time, another Themistocles also of Athens did enjoy the same honours, with whom I was familiarly conversant in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

The Life of Pericles

Cæsar 1 seeing in Rome one day certain rich and wealthy strangers, having little dogs and monkeys in their arms, and that they made marvellous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wisely reproving them by this question, for that they bestowed their natural love and affection upon brute beasts, which they should with all kindness and love bestow upon creatures. Nature in like case also, having planted in our minds a natural desire to learn and understand, we are in reason to reprove those that vainly abuse this good desire, fondly disposing it to learn things vain and unprofitable: and to cast behind them in the mean season things honest and necessary to be learned. For as touching our outward sense, which with passion receiveth impression of the thing it seeth, peradventure it will be necessary to consider indifferently the thing seen, whether it will fall out beneficial or hurtful unto him: but so fareth it not with our understanding, for every man may at his pleasure turn and dispose that to the thing he taketh delight in, the reason

¹ The Emperor Augustus.

whereof we must always employ to the best part, and that not only to consider and look upon the thing, but also to reap the benefit and commodity of the thing we see. For like as the eye is most delighted with the lightest and freshest colours: even so we must give our minds unto those sights, which by looking upon them do draw profit and pleasure unto us. For such effects doth virtue bring: that either to hear or read them, they do print in our hearts an earnest love and desire to follow them.

But this followeth not in all other things we esteem, neither are we always disposed to desire to do the things we see well done: but contrary oftentimes, when we like the work, we mislike the workman, as commonly in making these perfumes and purple colours. For both the one and the other do please us well: but yet we take perfumers and dyers to be men of a mean occupation. Therefore Antisthenes 1 answered one very wisely, that told him Ismenias was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughty 2 man, said he: otherwise he could not be so cunning at the flute as he is. Even so did Philip king of Macedon say to his son Alexander the Great on a time, that at a certain feast had sung passing sweetly, and like a master of music: Art thou not ashamed son, to sing so well? It is enough for a King to bestow his leisure sometime to hear musicians sing, and he doth much honour to the Muses to hear the master of the science otherwhile, when one of them singeth to excel another. But he that personally shall bestow his time,

¹ A philosopher, friend of Socrates (about 450-366 B.C.).
² Worthless.

exercising any mean science: bringeth his pains he hath taken in matters unprofitable, a witness against himself, to prove that he hath been negligent to learn things honest and profitable. And there was never any young gentleman nobly born, that seeing the image of Zeus (which is in the city of Pisa) 1 desired to become Pheidias 2: nor Polycleitus 3, for seeing of Hera in the city of Argos: nor that desired to be Anacreon 4, or Philemon⁵, or Archilochus⁶, for that they took pleasure sometime to read their works. For it followeth not of necessity, that though the work delight, the workman must needs be praised. And so in like case, such things do not profit those which behold them, because they do not move affection in the hearts of the beholders to follow them, neither do stir up affection to resemble them, and much less to conform our selves unto them. But virtue hath this singular property in all her actions: that she maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her so, that straight he liketh all her doings, and desireth to follow those that are virtuous. For, as for riches, we only desire to have them in possession: but of virtue, we chiefly love the deeds. Wherefore we are contented to have goods from other men: but good deeds we would other should have from us. For virtue is of this power, that she allureth a man's mind presently

¹ Olympia, in Elis.

3 Sculptor and architect, died about 412 B.C.

² The great sculptor, who made the statue of Athena in the Parthenon at Athens, and that of Zeus in Olympia: the Elgin Marbles are his work. He died 432 B.C.

⁴ Anacreon of Ceos, a lyric poet, died about 478 B.C.

⁵ A comic poet of Athens, fourth century B.C. ⁶ A great satirist, of Paros, seventh century B.C.

to use her, that wisely considereth of her, and maketh him very desirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only understanding and knowledge of virtuous deeds, which suddenly bringeth unto him a resolute desire to do the like.

And this is the reason, why methought I should continue still to write on the lives of noble men, and why I made also this tenth book: in the which are contained the lives of Pericles and Fabius Maximus, who maintained wars against Hannibal. For they were both men very like together in many sundry virtues, and specially in courtesy and justice: and for that they could patiently bear the follies of their people, and companions that were in charge of government with them, they were marvellous profitable members for their country. But if we have sorted them well together, comparing the one with the other: you shall easily judge that read our writings of their lives.

Pericles was of the tribe of the Acamantis, of the town of Cholargus, and one of the best and most ancient families of the city of Athens, both by his father and mother. For Xanthippus his father (who overcame in battle the lieutenants of the king of Persia in the journey of Mycale) married Agariste that came of Cleisthenes, he who drave out of Athens Peisistratus' offspring, and valiantly overthrew their tyranny. Afterwards he established laws, and ordained a very grave form of government, to maintain his citizens in peace and concord together. This Agariste dreamed one night that she was mother of a Lion: and very shortly after she was

¹ Day, i.e. battle, of Mycale, 479 B.C.

delivered of Pericles, who was so well proportioned in all parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, saving that his head was somewhat too long and out of proportion to the rest of his body. And this is the only cause why all the statues and images of him almost, are made with a helmet on his head: because the workmen as it should seem (and so it is most likely) were willing to hide the blemish of his deformity. But the Attican Poets did call him Schinocephalos, as much to say, headed like an onion. For those of Attica do sometime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue Scilla, that is to say, an onion of Barbary: Schinos. Telecleides mocking him, saith in a place:

Sometimes he stands, amazed when he perceives,
That hard it were, sufficiently to know,
In what estate, his government he leaves.
And then will he be seldom seen below,
Such heavy heaps within his brains do grow.
But yet sometimes out of that monstrous pate
He thundreth fast, and threatneth every state.

And Eupolis in a comedy which he entitled *Demi*: being very inquisitive, and asking particularly of every one of the Orators (whom he feigned were returned out of hell) when they named Pericles the last man unto him, he said:

Truly thou hast now brought, unto us here that dwell, The chief of all the captains, that come from darksome hell.

And as for music, the most authors write, that Damon did teach him music, of whose name (as men say) they should pronounce the first syllable short. Howbeit Aristotle saith, that he was taught music by Pytho(D 394)

cleides. Howsoever it was, it is certain that this Damon was a man of deep understanding, and subtle in matters of government: for, to hide from the people his sufficiency therein, he gave it out he was a musician, and did resort unto Pericles as a master wrestler, or fencer: but he taught him how he should deal in matters of state. Notwithstanding, in the end he could not so cunningly convey this matter, but the people saw his harping and music was only a visor to his other practice: wherefore they did banish him Athens for ten years, as a man that busily took upon him to change the state of things, and that favoured tyranny. And this gave the Comical Poets matter to play upon him finely, among which Plato 1 in a comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him:

O Cheiron 2, tell me first: art thou indeed the man, Which did instruct Pericles thus? make answer if thou can.

He was sometime also scholar to the Philosopher Zenon, who was born in the city of Elea, and taught natural philosophy, as Parmenides did: but his profession was to thwart and contrary all men, and to allege a world of objections in his disputation, which were so intricate, that his adversary replying against him, knew not how to answer him, nor to conclude his argument. The which Timon of Phlius witnesseth in these words:

Zenon was subtle sure, and very eloquent, And craftily could wind a man, by way of argument, If so he were disposed, his cunning to descry, Or show the sharpness of his wit, to practise policy.

¹ A comic poet, not the philosopher. ² A centaur, proverbial for wisdom.

But Anaxagoras 1 Clazomenian was he that was most familiar and conversant with him, and did put in him the majesty and gravity he showed in all his sayings, and doings, who did far excel the common course of ordinary Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be short, he it was that did fashion his manners, altogether to carry that grave countenance which he did. For they called Anaxagoras in his time, Mind. Either because they had his singular wit and capacity in such great admiration, being grown to search out the cause of natural things: or that he was the first man, who did ascribe the disposition and government of this world, not unto fortune or fatal necessity, but unto a pure, simple, and understanding mind, which doth separate at the first moving cause, the substance of such like parts as are meddled and compounded of diverse substances, in all other bodies through the world.

Pericles made marvellous much of Anaxagoras, who had fully instructed him in the knowledge of natural things, and of those specially that work above in the air and firmament. For he grew not only to have a great mind and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or gross country terms: but to a certain modest countenance that scantly smiled, very sober in his gait, having a kind of sound in his voice that he never lost nor altered, and was of very honest behaviour, never troubled in his talk for any thing that crossed him, and many other such like things, as all that saw them in him, and considered them, could but wonder at him. But for proof hereof, the report goeth, there was a naughty busy fellow on a time, that a whole day together

¹ A philosopher, died about 432 B.C.

did nothing but rail upon Pericles in the market place, and revile him to his face, with all the villainous words he could use. But Pericles put all up quietly, and gave him not a word again, dispatching in the mean time matters of importance he had in hand, until night came, that he went softly home to his house, showing no alteration nor semblance of trouble at all, though this lewd varlet followed him at the heels, with words of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his own doors, being dark night, he commanded one of his men to take a torch, and to bring this man home to his house.

Yet the Poet Ion saith, that Pericles was a very proud man, and a stately, and that with his gravity and noble mind, there was mingled a certain scorn and contempt of other: and contrarily, he greatly praiseth the civility, humanity, and courtesy of Cimon 1, because he could fashion himself to all companies. But letting pass that which the Poet Ion said 2: who would that virtue should be full of tragical discipline, bringing in with it, a certain satirical discourse to move laughter:-now Zeno contrariwise did counsel all those, that said Pericles' gravity was a presumption, and arrogancy: that they should also follow him in his presumption. For, to counterfeit in that sort things honest and virtuous, doth secretly with time breed an affection and desire to love them, and afterwards with custom even effectually to use and follow them.

¹ Son of Miltiades.

²The Greek really means: "who demanded that virtue should be like a group of tragic plays, which always end with a satyric burlesque".

So Pericles by keeping Anaxagoras company, did not only profit himself in these things, but he learned besides to put away all superstitious fear, of celestial signs and impressions seen in the air. For to those that are ignorant of the causes thereof, such sights are terrible, and to the godly also fearful, as if they were utterly undone: and all is, because they have no certain knowledge of the reason that natural philosophy yieldeth, which instead of a fearful superstition, would bring a true religion accompanied with assured hope of goodness.

Some say a man brought Pericles one day from his farm out of the country, a Ram's head that had but one horn, and that the prognosticator Lampon considering this head, that had but one strong horn in the midst of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the signification thereof: That being two tribes and several 1 factions in the city of Athens touching government, the one of Pericles, and the other of Thucydides: the power of both should be brought into one, and specially into his part, in whose house this sign did happen. Further, it is said that Anaxagoras being present, did cause the Ram's head to be cloven in two pieces, and showed unto them that stood by, that the brain of this Ram did not fill the pan of his natural place, but enclosed itself in all parts, being narrow like the point of an egg, in that part where the horn took his first root of budding out. So Anaxagoras was marvellously esteemed at that present by all those that stood by: but so was Lampon, soon after that Thucydides was driven away, and that the government of the whole commonweal fell into the hands of Pericles alone.

¹ Different.

And it is not to be wondered at (in my opinion) that the natural Philosopher and his prognosticator did rightly meet together in troth: the one directly telling the cause, and the other the end of the event as it fell out. For the possession of the one, is to know how it cometh: and of the other, wherefore it cometh, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where some say, that to show the cause, is to take away the signification of the sign: they do not consider that in seeking to abolish by this reason the wonderful tokens and signs in the air, they do take away those also which are done by art. As the noise of basins, the lights of fire by the sea side, and the shadows of needles or points of dials in the sun: all which things are done by some cause and handiwork, to be a sign and token of some thing. But this argument peradventure may serve better in another book.

And now again to Pericles. Whilst he was yet but a young man, the people stood in awe of him, because he somewhat resembled Peisistratus 1 in countenance: and the ancientest men of the city also were much afeard of his soft voice, his eloquent tongue, and ready utterance, because in those he was Peisistratus up and down. Moreover he was very rich and wealthy, and of one of the noblest families of the city, and those were his friends also that carried the only sway and authority in the state: whereupon, fearing lest they would banish him with the banishment of Ostracism 2, he would not meddle with the government in any case, although

¹ Formerly tyrant of Athens.

² So called because the citizens scratched the names of any whom they wished to be condemned to banishment on potsherds (ostraca).

otherwise he showed himself in wars very valiant and forward, and feared not to venture his person. But after that Aristeides was dead 1, that Themistocles was driven away 2, and that Cimon being ever in service in the wars as general in foreign countries, was a long time out of Greece: then he came to lean to the tribe of the poor people, preferring the multitude of the poor commonalty, above the small number of Nobility and rich men, the which was directly against his nature. For of himself he was not popular, nor meanly given: but he did it (as it should seem) to avoid suspicion, that he should pretend to make himself King. And because he saw Cimon was inclined also to take part with the Nobility, and that he was singularly beloved and liked of all the honester sort: he to the contrary inclined to the common people, purchasing by this means safety to himself, and authority against Cimon.

So he presently began a new course of life, since he had taken upon him to deal in matters of state: for they never saw him afterwards at any time go into the city, but to the market place, or to the Senate house. He gave up going to all feasts where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friends, their company and familiarity. So that in all his time wherein he governed the commonweal, which was a long time, he never went out to supper to any of his friends, unless it were that he was once at a feast at his nephew Euryptolemus' marriage: and then he tarried there no longer, but while the ceremony was a doing, when they offer wine to the gods, and so he rose from the table. For these friendly meetings at such feasts, do much abase

¹ After 468 B.C. ² After 472 B.C.

any counterfeit majesty or set countenance: and he shall have much ado to keep gravity and reputation, showing familiarity to every known friend in such open places. For in perfect virtue, those things truly are ever most excellent, which be most common: and in good and virtuous men there is nothing more admirable unto strangers, than their daily conversation is to their friends.

Pericles now to prevent that the people should not be glutted with seeing him too oft, nor that they should come much to him: they did see him but at some times. and then he would not talk in every matter, neither came much abroad among them, but reserved him self (as Critolaus said they kept the Salaminian galley 1 at Athens) for matters of great importance. And in the mean season, in other matters of small moment, he dealt by means of certain orators his familiar friends, amongst whom Ephialtes (as they say) was one: he who took away the authority and power from the court of Areopagus², and did give too much liberty to the people, as Plato said. Upon which occasion, as the comical poets say, he became so stout and headstrong, that they could no more hold him back, than a young unbridled colt: and took such a courage upon him, that he would obey no more, but invaded the Isle of Eubœa, and set upon the other Islands.

Pericles also because he would fashion a phrase of speech, with a kind of style altogether agreeable to the manner of life and gravity he had taken upon him: he gave himself to all matters which he had learned of

A dispatch-boat of state.

² The oldest aristocratic court of Athens.

Anaxagoras, shadowing his reasons of natural philosophy with artificial rhetoric. For having obtained a deep understanding by studying of Philosophy, and a ready way effectually to end any matter, he undertook to prove (besides that nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacity, as the divine Plato doth write, to bring any thing to serve his purpose) he did so artificially compass it with eloquence, that he far passed all the orators in his time. And for this cause was he (as they say) surnamed Olympian, as much to say, as heavenly or divine. But some are of opinion he had that surname, by reason of the common buildings and stately works he raised up in the city of Athens, that did much set forth the same. Other think it was given him for his great authority and power he had in government, as well in wars, as in peace. But it is no marvel that this glory was given him, considering the many other qualities and virtues that were in him. Howbeit the comedies the Poets caused to be played in those times (in which there were many words spoken of him, some in earnest, some in sport and jest) do witness that he had that surname given him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundered and lightened in his oration to the people, and that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an answer Thucydides, Milesias' son, should 1 pleasantly make concerning the force of Pericles' eloquence. Thucydides was a noble man, and had long time contended against Pericles in matters of the commonweal. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, asked

¹ Should make = was said to have made, a common English idiom. So German sollen.

(D 394)

C2

Thucydides on a time: whether he or Pericles wrestled best. Thucydides made him answer: When I have given him an open fall before the face of the world, he can so excellently deny it, that he maketh the people believe he had no fall at all, and persuadeth them the contrary of that they saw.

Notwithstanding he was ever very grave and wise in speaking. For ever when he went up into the pulpit 1 for orations to speak to the people, he made his prayers unto the gods, that nothing might escape his mouth, but that he might consider before whether it would serve the purpose of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his works extant in writing, unless it be some few laws he made, and but very few of his notable sayings are brought to light, save only these. He said on a time that they must take away the city of Ægina, because it was a straw lying in the eye of the haven Piræus. Another time, he said that he saw the wars afar off, coming from Peloponnesus. And Stesimbrotus writeth, that in a funeral oration he made in the praise of those that were slain in the war of Samos 2: he said they were immortal as the gods. For we do not see the gods (said he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happiness they enjoy. we do conjecture they are immortal: and the same things are in those that die in service, and defence of their country.

Now where Thucydides doth write the government of the commonweal under Pericles to be as a government of Nobility, and yet had appearance of a popular state: it is true that in effect it was a Kingdom, because

¹ Platform. ² 440-439 B.C.

one alone did rule and govern the whole state. And many other say also, he was the first that brought in the custom to divide the enemies' lands won by conquest among the people, and of the common money to make the people see plays and pastimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this custom was ill brought up. For the common people that before were contented with little, and got their living painfully with sweat of their brows, became now to be very vain, sumptuous, and riotous, by reason of these things brought up then. The cause of the alteration doth easily appear by those things.

For Pericles at his first coming, sought to win the favour of the people, as we have said before, only to get like reputation that Cimon had won. But coming far short of his wealth and ability, to carry out the port and charge that Cimon did, entertaining the poor, keeping open house to all comers, clothing poor old people, breaking open besides all enclosures and pales through all his lands, that every one might with more liberty come in, and take the fruits thereof at their pleasure: and seeing himself by these great means outgone far in goodwill with the common people, by Damonides' counsel and procurement (who was born in the Isle of Ios 1) he brought in this distribution of the common money, as Aristotle writeth. And having won in a short time the favour and goodwill of the common people, by distribution of the common treasure, which he caused to be divided among them, as well to have place to see these plays, as for that they had reward to be present at the judgments, and by other such like

¹Really from Oa.

corruptions: he with the people's help, did inveigh against the court of the Areopagites, whereof he never was any member. For it never came to be his hap to be yearly governor, nor keeper of the laws, nor King of the sacrifices, nor master of the wars: all which were offices chosen in ancient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had behaved themselves well in their office, they were called forwards, and raised to be of the body of this court of the Areopagites.

Pericles now by these means having obtained great credit and authority amongst the people, he troubled the Senate of the Areopagites in such sort, that he plucked many matters from their hearing, by Ephialtes' help: and in time made Cimon to be banished Athens 1, as one that favoured the Lacedæmonians, and contraried the commonwealth, and authority of the people. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest person of all the city, and one that had won so many glorious victories, and had so replenished Athens with the conquered spoils of their enemies, as we have declared in his life: so great was the authority of Pericles amongst the people.

Now the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called Ostracism) was limited by law for ten years. In which space the Lacedæmonians being come down with a great army into the country of Tanagra 2, the Athenians sent out their power presently against them. There Cimon willing to show the Athenians by his deeds, that they had falsely accused him for favouring the Lacedæmonians: did arm himself, and went on his countrymen's side, to fight in the company

¹ 461 B.C. ² In Bœotia: 457 B.C.

of his tribe. But Pericles' friends gathered together, and forced Cimon to depart thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that Pericles fought that day more valiantly than ever he did, and he won the honour and name to have done more in the person of himself that day, than any other of all the army. At that battle also, all Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had burdened likewise to favour the Lacedæmonians' doings, died every man of them that day. Then the Athenians repented them much that they had driven Cimon away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this battle upon the confines of the country of Attica: because they feared sharp wars would come upon them again at the next spring. Which thing when Pericles perceived, he sought also to further that the common people desired: wherefore he straight caused a decree to be made, that Cimon should be called home again, which was done accordingly 1. Now when Cimon was returned, he advised that peace should be made between both cities: for the Lacedæmonians did love Cimon very well, and contrarily they hated Pericles, and all other governors. Some notwithstanding do write, that Pericles did never pass his consent to call him home again, before such time as they had made a secret agreement amongst themselves (by means of Elpinice, Cimon's sister) that Cimon should be sent out with an army of two hundred galleys, to make wars in the king of Persia his dominions, and that Pericles should remain at home with the authority of government within the city. This Elpinice (Cimon's sister) had once before entreated Pericles for her brother, at such

¹450 B.C.

time as he was accused before the judge of treason 1. For Pericles was one of the committees 2, to whom this accusation was referred by the people. Elpinice went unto him, and besought him not to do his worst unto her brother. Pericles answered her merrily: Thou art too old, Elpinice, thou art too old, to go through with these matters. Yet when his matter came to judgment, and that his cause was pleaded: he rose but once to speak against him (for his own discharge as it were) and went his way when he had said, doing less hurt to Cimon than any other of his accusers.

How is Idomeneus to be credited now, who accuseth Pericles that he had caused the orator Ephialtes to be slain by treason (that was his friend, and did always counsel him, and take his part in all kind of government of the commonweal) only for the jealousy and envy he did bear to his glory? I can but muse why Idomeneus should speak so slanderously against Pericles, unless it were that his melancholy humour procured such violent speech: who though peradventure he was not altogether blameless, yet he was ever nobly minded, and had a natural desire of honour, in which kind of men such furious cruel passions are seldom seen to breed. But this orator Ephialtes being cruel to those that took part with the Nobility, because he would spare or pardon no man for any offence whatsoever committed against the people's authority, but did follow and persecute them with all rigour to the uttermost: his enemies laid wait for him by means of one Aristodicus Tanagrian, and they killed him by treason, as Aristotle writeth. In the mean time Cimon died in the Isle of Cyprus,

¹ 463 B.C. ² Commissioners.

being general of the army of the Athenians by sea. Wherefore those that took part with the Nobility, seeing Pericles was now grown very great, and that he went before all other citizens of Athens, thinking it good to have some one to stick on their side against him, and to lessen thereby somewhat his authority, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raised up against him, one Thucydides, of the town of Alopecé, a grave wise man, and father-in-law to Cimon. This Thucydides had less skill of wars than Cimon, but understood more in civil government than he, for that he remained most part of his time within the city: where continually inveighing against Pericles in his pulpit orations to the people, in short time he had stirred up a like company against the faction of Pericles. For he kept the gentlemen and richer sort (which they call Nobility) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their estate and dignity was obscured, and trodden under foot. Moreover he did separate them from the people, and did assemble them all as it were into one body, who came to be of equal power with the other faction, and did put (as a man will say) a counter-piece into the balance. For at the beginning there was but a little secret grudge only between these two factions, as a flaw set in the blade of a sword, which made those show a little, that did lean unto the people: and the other also somewhat that favoured the Nobility. But the contention between these two persons, was as a deep cut, which divided the city wholly in two factions: of the which the one was called the Nobility, and the other the commonalty.

Therefore Pericles giving yet more liberty unto the people, did all things that might be to please them. ordaining continual plays and games in the city, many feasts, banquets, and open pastimes to entertain the commons with such honest pleasures and devices: and besides all this, he sent yearly an army of three score galleys unto the wars, into the which he put a great number of poor citizens that took pay of the state for nine months of the year, and thereby they did learn together, and practise to be good sea men. Furthermore he sent into the country of Chersonesus,1 a thousand free men of the city to dwell there, and to divide the lands amongst them: five hundred also into the Isle of Naxos: into the Isle of Andros, two hundred and fifty: into Thracia, a thousand to dwell with the Bisaltæ: and other also into Italy, when the city of Sybaris was built again, which afterwards was surnamed the city of the Thurians 2. All this he did to rid the city of a number of idle people, who through idleness began to be curious, and to desire change of things, as also to provide for the necessity of the poor townsmen that had nothing. For, placing the natural citizens of Athens near unto their subjects and friends, they served as a garrison to keep them under, and did suppress them also from attempting any alteration or change.

But that which delighteth most, and is the greatest ornament unto the city of Athens, which maketh strangers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimony, to confirm that which is reported of the ancient power, riches, and great wealth of Greece, to be true and not false: are the stately and sumptuous

¹ 447 B.C. ² 444 B.C.

buildings, which Pericles made to be built in the city of Athens. For it is the only act of all other Pericles did, which made his enemies most to spite him, and which they most accused him for, crying out upon him in all councils and assemblies: that the people of Athens were openly defamed, for carrying away the ready money of all Greece, which was left in the Isle of Delos to be safely kept there.1 And although they could with good honesty have excused this fact, saying that Pericles had taken it from them for fear of the Barbarous people, to the end to lay it up in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safety: yet was this too overgreat an injury offered unto all the rest of Greece, and too manifest a token of tyranny also, to behold before their eyes, how we do employ the money, which they were enforced to gather for the maintenance of the wars against the Barbarous people, in gilding, building, and setting forth our city, like a glorious woman, all to be gauded with gold and precious stones, and how we do make images, and build up temples of wonderful and infinite charge.

Pericles replied to the contrary, and declared unto the Athenians that they were not bound to make any account of this money unto their friends and allies, considering that they fought for their safety, and that they kept the Barbarous people far from Greece, without troubling them to set out any one man, horse, or ship of theirs, the money only excepted, which is no more theirs that paid it, than theirs that received it, so they bestow it to that use they received it for. And their city being already very well furnished, and provided of all things

¹ The treasure of the Greek League against Persia.
(D 394)
6

necessary for the wars, it was good reason they should employ and bestow the surplus of treasure in things which in time to come (and being thoroughly finished) would make their fame eternal. Moreover he said that whilst they continue building, they should be presently rich, by reason of the diversity of works of all sorts. and other things which they should have need of: and to compass these things the better, and to set them in hand, all manner of artificers and workmen (that would labour) should be set a work. So should all the town's men, and inhabitants of the city, receive pay and wages of the common treasure: and the city by this means should be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintain itself. For such as were strong, and able men of body, and of years to carry weapon, had pay and entertainment of the common wealth, which were sent abroad unto the wars: and other that were not meet for wars, as craftsmen, and labourers: he would also they should have part of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somewhat.

And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupy the common people with great buildings, and devices of works of divers occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the end that the citizens remaining at home, might have a mean and way to take part of the common treasure, and enrich themselves, as well as those that went to the wars, and served on the sea, or else that lay in garrison to keep any place or fort. For some gained by bringing stuff, as stones, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress. Other got, to work and fashion it: as carpenters, gravers, founders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone,

dyers, goldsmiths, joiners working in ivory, painters, men that set in sundry colours of pieces of stone or wood, and turners. Other gained to bring stuff, and to furnish them: as merchants, mariners, and shipmasters, for things they brought them by sea. And by land other got also: as cart-makers, carriers, carters, cord-makers, saddlers, collar-makers, and pioneers to make ways plain, and miners, and such like. Furthermore, every science and craft, as a captain having soldiers, had also their army of workmen that served them, labouring truly for their living, who served as prentices and journey men under the workmasters: so the work by this means did disperse abroad a common gain to all sorts of people and ages, what occupation or trade soever they had.

And thus came the buildings to rise in greatness and sumptuousness, being of excellent workmanship, and for grace and beauty not comparable: because every workman in his science did strive what he could to excel others, to make his work appear greatest in sight, and to be most workmanly done in show. But the greatest thing to be wondered at, was their speed and diligence. For where every man thought those works were not likely to be finished in many men's lives and ages, and from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilst one only governor continued still in credit and authority. And yet they say, that in the same time, as one Agatharchus boasted him self, that he had quickly painted certain figures: Zeuxis, another painter hearing him, answered: And I contrarily do rejoice, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly slight and sudden drawing of any thing, cannot take deep colours, nor give perfect beauty to the

work; but length of time, adding to the painter's diligence and labour in making of the work, maketh the colours to continue for ever. For this cause therefore the works Pericles made, are more wonderful: because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and have continued so long a season. For every one of those which were finished up at that time, seemed then to be very ancient touching the beauty thereof: and vet for the grace and continuance of the same, it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finished, there is such a certain kind of flourishing freshness in it, which letteth that the injury of time cannot impair the sight thereof: as if every one of those foresaid works, had some living spirit in it, to make it seem young and fresh; and a soul that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing state.

Now the chief surveyor general of all these works, was Pheidias, albeit that there were many other excellent workmasters in every science and occupation. For the temple of Pallas, which is called Parthenon (as a man would say, the temple of the Virgin), and is surnamed Hecatompedon (for that it is a hundred foot every way) was built by Ictinus, and Callicrates: and the chapel of Eleusis (where the secret ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by Coræbus, who raised up the first pillars in order, standing beneath on the ground, and did set them up unto the master chaptrels. But after he was dead, Metagenes, born in the town of Xypeté, turned the arches over 1, and then did set the pillars in order also which are above: and Xenocles of the town of Cholargus, was he that made the lantern

¹Properly: "built the cornice or frieze".

or top of the steeple which covereth the sanctuary: but the long wall which Socrates heard Pericles himself give order for the building of it, was done by Callicrates, who undertook the work. Cratinus the Poet, in a comedy he made, laughed at this work, to see how slowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, saying:

Pericles long ago, did end this work begun: And build it high, with glorious words, if so it had been done.

But as for deeds (indeed) he built no thing at all, But let it stand, as yet it stands, much liker for to fall.

And as for the Theatre or place appointed for music, where they hear all musicians play, and is called Odeon: it is very well made within with divers seats and degrees, and many ranges of pillars, but the top of the roof is altogether round, which is somewhat hanging downward round about of itself, coming together into one point. And it is said that this was made after the pattern and fashion of King Xerxes' royal pavilion, and that Pericles was the first deviser and maker of it. Wherefore Cratinus in another place of his comedy he maketh of the Thracians, doth play very prettily upon him, saying:

Pericles here doth come, Dan Jupiter surnamed, (And onion's head), which hath in his great noddle finely framed

The plot of Odeon, when he delivered was From banishment, and dangers deep, wherein he long did pass.

¹ Sloping down from one peak.

Pericles was the first that made marvellous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the feast called Panathenæa, they would set up games for music. And he himself being chosen ruler of these games, as judge to reward the best deserved: ordained the manner the musicians should ever after keep in their singing, playing on their flutes, or upon the cithern, or other instruments of music. So the first games that ever were for music, were kept within the Odeon: and so were the other after them also, ever celebrated there.

The gate and entering into the castle 1 was made and finished within the space of five years, under the charge of Mnesicles, that was master of the works. And whilst these gates were a building, there happened a wonderful chance, which declared very well that the goddess Athena did not mislike the building, but that it pleased her marvellously. For one of the most painfullest workmen that wrought there, fell by mischance from the height of the castle to the ground, which fall did so sore bruise him, and he was so sick withal, that the physicians and surgeons had no hope of his life. Pericles being very sorry for his mischance, the goddess appeared to him in his sleep in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he did easily heal the poor bruised man, and that in short time. And this was the occasion why he caused the image of the goddess Athena (otherwise called of Health) to be cast in brass, and set up within the temple of the castle, near unto the altar which was there before, as they say. But the golden image of Athena was made by Pheidias, and graven

¹ The Propylæa, or Grand Porch of the Acropolis.

round about the base: who had the charge in manner of all other works, and by reason of the good will Pericles bare him, he commanded all the other workmen. And this made the one to be greatly envied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. And this is the reason, in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the truth of ancient things, by the monuments of historiographers: considering long process of time, doth utterly obscure the truth of matters, done in former times. For every written history speaking of men that are alive, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention: sometime for hate and envy, sometime for favour or flattery, doth disguise and corrupt the truth.

But Pericles perceiving that the orators of Thucydides' faction, in their common orations did still cry out upon him, that he did vainly waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed upon the works, all the whole revenue of the city: one day when the people were assembled together, before them all he asked them, if they thought that the cost bestowed were too much. The people answered him: a great deal too much. Well, said he then, the charges shall be mine (if you think good) and none of yours: provided that no man's name be written upon the works, but mine only. When Pericles had said so, the people cried out aloud, they would none of that (either because that they wondered at the greatness of his mind, or else for that they would not give him the only honour and praise to have done so sumptuous and stately works) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any cost. But in

the end, falling out openly with Thucydides, and putting it to an adventure which of them should banish other, with the banishment of Ostracism: Pericles got the upper hand, and banished Thucydides out of the city, and therewithal also overthrew the contrary faction against him.

Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the city again to unity and concord, he found then the whole power of Athens in his hands, and all the Athenians' matters at his disposing. And having all the treasure, armour, galleys, the Isles, and the sea, and a marvellous seignory and kingdom (that did enlarge itself partly over the Grecians, and partly over the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of nations subject unto them, with the friendship of Kings, and with the alliance of divers other Princes and mighty Lords: then from that time forward he began to change his manners, and not so easily to grant to all the people's wills and desires, no more than as it were to contrary winds. Furthermore he altered his over gentle and popular manner of government which he used until that time, as too delicate and too effeminate an harmony of music, and did convert it into an imperious government, or rather to a kingly authority: but yet held still a direct course, and kept himself ever upright without fault, as one that did, said, and consulted that, which was most expedient for the common weal. He many times brought on the people by persuasions and reasons, to be willing to grant that he preferred unto them: but many times also, he drave them to it by force, and made them against their wills do that, which was best for them. Following

therein the device of a wise physician: who in a long and changeable disease, doth grant his patient sometime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sort: and another time also, he doth give him a sharp or bitter medicine that doth vex him, though it heal him. For as it falleth out commonly unto people that enjoy so great an empire: many times misfortunes do chance, that fill them full of sundry passions, the which Pericles alone could finely steer and govern with two principal rudders, fear, and hope: bridling with the one, the fierce and insolent rashness of the common people in prosperity, and with the other comforting their grief and discouragement in adversity. Wherein he manifestly proved, that rhetoric and eloquence (as Plato saith) is an art which quickeneth men's spirits at her pleasure, and her chiefest skill is, to know how to move passions and affections thoroughly, which are as stops and sounds of the soul, that would be played upon with a fine fingered hand of a cunning master.

All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to pass, as Thucydides witnesseth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthiness, because he would not any way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any covetousness in him. For, when he had brought his city not only to be great, but exceedingly great and wealthy, and had in power and authority exceeded many Kings and tyrants, yea even those which by their wills and testaments might have left great possessions to their children: he never for all that increased his father's goods and patrimony left him, the value of a groat in silver. And yet

the historiographer Thucydides doth set forth plainly enough, the greatness of his power. And the Comical Poets also of that time do report it maliciously under covert words, calling his familiar friends, the new Peisistratids: saying, how they must make him swear and protest he would never be King, giving us thereby to understand, that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular government. And Telecleides (amongst other) saith that the Athenians had put into his hands the revenue of the towns and cities under their obedience, and the towns themselves, to bind the one, and to loose the other, and to pull down their walls, or to build them again at his pleasure. They gave him power, to make peace and alliance: they gave all their force, treasure, and authority, and all their goods wholly into his hands. But this was not for a little while, nor in a gear of favour, that should continue for a time: but this held out forty years together, he being always the chief of his city amongst the Ephialtes, the Leocrates, the Myronides, the Cimons, the Tolmides, and the Thucydides.1 For after he had prevailed against Thucydides, and had banished him: he yet remained chief above all other, the space of fifteen years. Thus having attained a regal dignity to command all, which continued as aforesaid, where no other captain's authority endured but one year: he ever kept himself upright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no ill husband, and could warily look to his own. As for his lands and goods left him by his parents, that they miscarried not by negligence, nor that they should trouble him much, in busying himself to reduce them

¹ That is, such men as E., &c., the names being used as plurals.

to a value: he did so husband them, as he thought was his best and easiest way. For he sold in gross ever the whole year's profit and commodity of his lands, and afterwards sent to the market daily to buy the cates 1, and other ordinary provision of household. This did not like his sons that were men grown, neither were his women contented with it, who would have had him more liberal in his house, for they complained of his overhard and strait ordinary 2, because in so noble and great a house as his, there was never any great remain left of meat, but all things received into the house, ran under accompt, and were delivered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his, was kept upright in this good order, by one Evangelus, Steward of his house, a man very honest and skilful in ordering his household provision: and whether Pericles had brought him up to it, or that he had it by nature, it was unknown.

But these things were far contrary to Anaxagoras' wisdom. For he despising the world, and casting his affection on heavenly things: did willingly forsake his house, and suffered all his land to run to leys 3 and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diversity between a contemplative life and a civil life. For the one employeth all his time upon the speculation of good and honest things: and to attain to that, he thinketh he hath no need of any exterior help or instrument. The other applying all his time upon virtue, to the common profit and benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an instrument not only necessary, but also honest. As, look upon the example of Pericles: who did relieve many poor people. And Anaxagoras

¹ Articles. ² Dinner. ³ Fallow.

specially among other: of whom it is reported, that Pericles being occupied about matters of state at that time, having no leisure to think upon Anaxagoras, he seeing himself old and forsaken of the world, laid him down, and covered his head close, determining to starve himself to death with hunger. Pericles understanding this, ran presently to him as a man half cast away, and prayed him as earnestly as he could, that he would dispose himself to live, being not only sorry for him, but for himself also, that he should lose so faithful and wise a counsellor, in matters of state and government. Then Anaxagoras showed his face, and told him: O Pericles, those that will see by the light of a lamp, must put oil to it, to make the light burn.

Now began the Lacedæmonians to grow jealous of the greatness of the Athenians, wherefore Pericles to make the Athenians' hearts greater, and so draw their minds to great enterprises, set down an order they should send ambassadors to persuade all the Grecians (in what part soever they dwelt in Europe, or Asia, as well the little as the great cities) to send their deputies unto Athens, to the general assembly that should be holden there, to take order for the temples of the gods which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the sacrifices they had vowed for the preservation of Greece, when they gave battle upon them: and touching sea matters also, that every man might sail in safety where he would, and that all might live together in good peace and love, one with another. To perform this commission, twenty persons were sent of this ambassiate, every one of them being fifty years of age and upward. Whereof five of them went to the Dorians, dwelling in Asia, and

to the inhabitants of the Isles, even unto the Isles of Lesbos, and of Rhodes. Five other went through all the country of Hellespont, and of Thracia, unto the city of Byzantium. Other five were commanded to go into Bœotia, into Phocis, and through all Peloponnesus, and from thence by the country of the Locrians, into the upland country adjoining to it, until they came into the country of Acarnania, and of Ambracia. And the other five went first into the Isle of Eubœa, and from thence unto the Œtæans, and through all the gulf of Malea, unto the Phthiotes, unto the Achaians, and the Thessalians: declaring to all the people where they came, the Athenians' commission, persuading them to send unto Athens, and to be present at the council which should be holden there, for the pacification and union of all Greece. But when all came to all, nothing was done, and the said cities of Greece did not assemble, by practice 1 of the Lacedæmonians (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refusal that was made of their summons, was at Peloponnesus. This have I written to make Pericles' noble courage to be known, and how profound a wise man he showed him self unto the world.

Furthermore, when he was chosen general in the wars, he was much esteemed, because he ever took a great regard to the safety of his soldiers. For by his good will he would never hazard battle, which he saw might fall out doubtful, or in any thing dangerous: and moreover, he never praised them for good generals, neither would he follow them that had obtained great victories by hazard, howsoever other did esteem or commend

¹ Intrigue.

them. For he was wont to say, that if none but himself did lead them to the shambles, as much as lay in him, they should be immortal. And when he saw Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus (trusting to his former victories, and the praise and commendation of his good service) did prepare upon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the country of Bœotia, and had procured also a thousand of the lustiest and most valiant men of the city, to be contented to go with him in that journey. over and above the rest of the army he had levied: he went about to turn him from his purpose, and to keep him at home, by many persuasions he used to him before the people's face, and spake certain words at that time, that were remembered long after, and these they were: That if he would not believe Pericles' counsel, yet that he would tarry time at the least, which is the wisest counsellor of men. These words were prettily liked at that present time. But within few days after, when news was brought that Tolmides' self was slain in a battle he had lost, near unto the city of Coronea,1 wherein perished also, many other honest and valiant men of Athens: his words spoken before, did then greatly increase Pericles' reputation and good will with the common people, because he was taken for a wise man, and one that loved his citizens.

But of all his journeys he made, being general over the army of the Athenians: the journey of Chersonesus ² was best thought of and esteemed, because it fell out to the great benefit and preservation of all the Grecians inhabiting in that country. For besides that he brought thither a thousand citizens of Athens to dwell there (in

¹ 447 B.C.

which doing he strengthened the city with so many good men) he did fortify the bar also, which did let it from being of an Isle, with a fortification he drew from one sea to another: so that he defended the country against all the invasions and piracies of the Thracians inhabiting thereabouts, and delivered it of extreme war, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongst them, who only lived upon piracy and robbing on the seas. So was he likewise much honoured and esteemed of strangers, when he did environ all Peloponnesus, departing out of the haven of Pegæ, on the coast of Megara, with a fleet of a hundred galleys.1 For he did not only spoil the towns all alongst the sea side, as Tolmides had done before him: but going up further into the main land, far from the sea, with his soldiers he had in the galleys, he drave some of them to retire within their walls, he made them so afraid of him: and in the country of Nemea, he overcame the Sicyonians in battle, that tarried him in the field, and did erect a pillar for a notable mark of his victory. And embarking in his ships a new supply of soldiers which he took up in Achaia, being friends with the Athenians at that time: he passed over to the firm land that lay directly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the river of Achelous, he invaded the country of Acarnania, where he shut up the Œneadæ within their walls. And after he had laid waste and destroyed all the champion 2 country, he returned home again to Athens: having showed himself in this journey, a dreadful captain to his enemies, and very careful for the safety of his soldiers. For there fell out no manner

¹ 453 B.C. ² Champagne, meadow land.

of misfortune all this journey (by chance or otherwise) unto the soldiers under his charge. And afterwards. going with a great navy marvellous well appointed unto the realm of Pontus, he did there gently use and intreat the cities of Greece, and granted them all that they required of him: making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the great force and power of the Athenians, who sailed without fear all about where they thought good, keeping all the coasts of the sea under their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the Sinopians thirteen galleys, with certain number of soldiers under captain Lamachus, to defend them against the tyrant Timesileos: who being expulsed and driven away with those of his faction, Pericles caused proclamation to be made at Athens, that six hundred free men of the city, that had any desire to go, without compulsion, might go dwell at Sinopé, where they should have divided among them, the goods and lands of the tyrant and his followers.

But he did not follow the foolish vain humours of his citizens, nor would not yield to their unsatiable covetousness; who being set on a jollity to see them selves so strong, and of such a power, and besides, to have good luck, would needs once again attempt to conquer Egypt, and to revolt all the countries upon the sea coasts, from the empire of the king of Persia: for there were many of them whose minds were marvellously bent to attempt the unfortunate enterprise of entering Sicily, which Alcibiades afterwards did much prick forward. And some of them dreamed besides, of the conquest of Tuscany, and the empire of Carthage.

But this was not altogether without some likelihood, nor without occasion of hope, considering the large bounds of their Kingdom, and the fortunate estate of their affairs, which fell out according to their own desire.

But Pericles did hinder this going out, and cut off altogether their curious desire, employing the most part of their power and force, to keep that they had already gotten: judging it no small matter to keep down the Lacedæmonians from growing greater. For he was always an enemy to the Lacedæmonians, as he showed himself in many things, but specially in the war he made, called the holy war.1 For the Lacedæmonians having put the Phocians from the charge of the temple of Apollo, in the city of Delphi, which they had usurped, and having restored the Delphians again unto the same: so soon as they were gone thence, Pericles went also with another army, and restored the Phocians in again. And whereas the Lacedæmonians had caused to be graven in the forehead of a Wolf of brass, the privilege the Delphians had granted them, to be the first that should make their demands of the oracle: he having attained the like privilege of the Phocians, made his image also to be graven on the right side of the same image, of the brazen Wolf.

Now how wisely Pericles did govern Greece by the power of the Athenians, his deeds do plainly show. For first of all, the country of Eubœa did rebel, against whom he brought the army of the Athenians.² And suddenly in the neck of that, came news from another coast, that the Megarians also were in arms against

¹ 448 B.C. ² 446 B.C. D

them: and how they were already entered into the country of Attica with a great army, led by Pleistoanax, king of Lacedæmon. This occasion drew him homeward again, and so he marched back with speed into his country, to make preparation to encounter his enemies, that were already entered into the territories of Attica. He durst not offer them battle, being so great a number of valiant soldiers: but hearing that King Pleistoanax was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by Cleandridas' counsel and direction (whom the Ephors had placed about him to counsel and direct him) he sought privily to corrupt Cleandridas. When he had won him soon with his money, he persuaded him to draw back the Peloponnesians out of their country of Attica: and so he did.

But when the Lacedæmonians saw their army cassed 1, and that the people were gone their way, every man to his own city or town: they were so mad at it, that the King was condemned in a great sum. The King being unable to answer his fine, which was so extreme great: he was driven to absent himself from Lacedæmon. Cleandridas on the other side, if he had not fled in time, even for spite had been condemned to death. This Cleandridas was Gylippus' father, that afterwards overcame the Athenians in Sicily, in whom it seemed nature bred covetousness, as a disease inheritable by succession from the father to the son. For he being shamefully convicted also, for certain vile parts he had played, was likewise banished from Sparta; as we have more amply declared in the life of Lysander. And Pericles delivering up the

¹ Disbanded.

account of his charge, and setting down an article of the expense of ten talents he had employed, or should employ in needful causes: the people allowed them him. never asking question how, nor which way, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certain writers (among them the Philosopher Theophrastus is one) who write that Pericles sent yearly unto Sparta ten talents, with the which he entertained those that were in authority there, because they should make no wars with them: not to buy peace of them, but time, that he might in the mean season, with better commodity, and that leisure, provide to maintain the wars. After that, as the army of the Peloponnesians were out of the country of Attica, he returned again against the rebels, and passed into the Isle of Eubœa with fifty sail, and five thousand footmen well armed: and there he overcame all the cities that had taken arms against him, and drave away the Hippobotæ¹, who were the most famous men of all the Chalcidians, as well for their riches, as for their valiantness. He drave away also all the Hestiæans, whom he chased clean out of all the country, and placed in their city, only the citizens of Athens. And the cause why he dealt so rigorously with them was, because they having taken a galley of the Athenians prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in her.

And peace being concluded afterwards between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for thirty years: he proclaimed open wars against those of the Isle of Samos,² burdening them, that they being commanded by the Athenians, to pacify the quarrels which they had against

¹ Knights.

² 440 B.C.

the Milesians, they would not obey. But because some hold opinion, that he took upon him this war against Samos, for the love of Aspasia: it shall be no great digression of our story, to tell you by the way, what manner of woman she was, and what a marvellous gift and power she had, that she could entangle with her love the chiefest rulers and governors at that time of the common weal, and that the philosophers themselves did so largely speak and write of her.

First of all, it is certain that she was born in the city of Miletus, and was the daughter of one Axiochus: she following the steps and example of an Ionian woman of ancient days, called Thargelia, gave her self only to entertain the greatest persons and chiefest rulers in her time. For this Thargelia being passing fair, and carrying a comely grace with her, having a sharp wit and pleasant tongue: she had the acquaintance and friendship of the greatest persons of all Greece, and won all those that did haunt her company, to be at the king of Persia's commandment. So that she sowed through all the cities of Greece, great beginnings of the faction of the Medes: for they were the greatest men of power and authority of every city that were acquainted with her. But as for Aspasia, some say that Pericles resorted unto her, because she was a wise woman, and had great understanding in matters of state and government. Socrates himself went to see her sometimes with his friends: and those that used her company also, brought their wives many times with them to hear her talk. Æschines writeth, that Lysicles a grazier, being but a mean man, and of a clubbish nature, came to be the chief man of Athens, by frequenting the company of

Aspasia, after the death of Pericles. And to Plato's book entitled Menexenus, although the beginning of it be but pleasantly written, yet in that, this story is written truly: that this Aspasia was repaired unto by divers of the Athenians, to learn the art of rhetoric of her. Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely that the affection Pericles did bear her, grew rather of love, than of any other cause. For he was married unto a kinswoman of his own, and that before was Hipponicus' wife, by whom she had Callias, surnamed the rich: and had afterwards by Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus. But not liking her company, he gave her with her own good will and consent unto another, and married Aspasia whom he dearly loved. For ever when he went abroad, and came home again, he saluted her with a kiss. Whereupon in the ancient comedies, she is called in many places, the new Omphale¹, and sometimes Deianeira², and sometimes Hera 3.

Pericles was charged that he made wars against the Samians, on the behalf of the Milesians, at the request of Aspasia: for these two cities were at wars together, for the city of Priene, but the Samians were the stronger. Now the Athenians commanded them to lay aside their arms, and to come and plead their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refused it utterly. Wherefore Pericles went thither and took away the government of the small number of Nobility, taking for hostages, fifty of the chiefest men of the city, and so many children besides, which he left to be kept in the Isle of Lemnos. Some say every one of these hostages

¹ Who enslaved Hercules.

² Wife of Hercules.

³ Wife of Zeus.

offered to give him a talent: and besides those, many other offered him the like, such as would not have the sovereign authority put into the hands of the people. Moreover Pissuthnes the Persian, lieutenant to the King of Persia, for the good will he bare those of Samos, did send Pericles ten thousand crowns to release the hostages. But Pericles never took penny: and having done that he determined at Samos, and established a popular government, he returned again to Athens. Notwithstanding, the Samians rebelled immediately after, having recovered their hostages again by means of this Pissuthnes that stale them away, and did furnish them also with all their munition of war. Whereupon Pericles returning against them once more, he found them not idle, nor amazed at his coming, but resolutely determined to receive him, and to fight for the seignory by sea. So there was a great battle fought between them, near the Isle of Tragia. And Pericles won the battle: having with four and forty sail only nobly overcome his enemies, which were three score and ten in number, whereof twenty of them were ships of war.

And so following his victory forthwith, he won also the port of Samos, and kept the Samians besieged within their own city: where they were yet so bold, as they would make sallies out many times, and fight before the walls of the city. But when there arrived a new supply of ships bringing a greater aid unto Pericles: then were they shut up of all sides. Pericles then taking three score galleys with him, launched out into the sea, with intent (as some say) to go meet certain ships of the Phænicians (that came to aid the Samians) as far from Samos as he could: or as Stesimbrotus saith, to go into

Cyprus, which me thinketh is not true. But whatsoever was his intent, he committed a foul fault. For Melissus (the son of Ithagenes, a great Philosopher) being at that time general of the Samians: perceiving that few ships were left behind at the siege of the city, and that the captains also that had the charge of them were no very expert men of war, persuaded his citizens to make a sally upon them. Whereupon they fought a battle, and the Samians overcame: the Athenians were taken prisoners, and they sunk many of their ships.

Now they being lords again of the sea, did furnish their city with all manner of munition for wars whereof before they had great want. Yet Aristotle writeth that Pericles' self was once overcome in a battle by sea by Melissus. Furthermore the Samians, to be even with the Athenians for the injury they had received of them before: did brand them in the forehead with the stamp of an owl, the owl being then the stamp of their coin at Athens, even as the Athenians had branded the Samian prisoners before with the stamp of Samæna. This Samæna is a kind of ship amongst the Samians, low afore, and well laid out in the mid-ship, so that it is excellent good to rise with the waves of the sea, and is very swift under sail: and it was so called, because the first ship that was made of this fashion, was made in the Isle of Samos, by the tyrant Polycrates. It is said that the Poet Aristophanes, covertly conveying the stamp of the Samians, speaking merrily in a place of his comedies saith:

The Samians are great lettered men.

Pericles being advertised of the overthrow of his army, returned presently to the rescue. Melissus went to meet him, and gave him battle: but he was overthrown, and driven back into his city, where Pericles walled them in round about the city, desiring victory rather by time and charge, than by danger, and loss of his soldiers. But when he saw that they were weary with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battle, and that he could by no means withhold them: he then divided his army into eight companies, whom he made to draw lots, and that company that lighted on the white bean, they should be quiet and make good cheer, while the other seven fought. And they say that from thence it came, that when any have made good cheer, and taken pleasure abroad, they do yet call it a white day, because of the white bean.

Ephorus the historiographer writeth, that it was there, where first of all they began to use engines of war to pluck down great walls, and that Pericles used first this wonderful invention: and that Artemon an engineer was the first deviser of them. He was carried up and down in a chair, to set forward these works, because he had a lame leg: and for this cause he was called Periphoretos 1. But Heracleides Ponticus confuteth Ephorus therein, by the verses of Anacreon, in the which Artemon is called Periphoretos, many years before this war of Samos began: and saith this Periphoretos was a marvellous tender man, and so foolishly afeard of his own shadow, that the most part of his time he stirred not out of his house, and did sit always having two of his men by him, that held a copper target over his head,

^{1 &}quot; Carried about."

for fear lest anything should fall upon him. And if upon any occasion he were driven to go abroad out of his house: he would be carried in a little bed hanging near the ground, and for this cause he was surnamed Periphoretos.

At the last, at nine months end, the Samians were compelled to yield. So Pericles took the city, and razed their walls to the ground: he brought their ships away, and made them pay a marvellous great tribute, whereof part he received in hand, and the rest payable at a certain time, taking hostages with him for assurance of payment. But Duris the Samian dilateth 1 these matters marvellous pityfully, burdening the Athenians, and Pericles' self with unnatural cruelty: whereof neither Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle himself maketh mention. And sure I cannot believe it is true that is written: That he brought the captains of the galleys, and the soldiers them selves of Samos, into the market place of the city of Miletus, where he made them to be bound fast unto boards for the space of ten days, and at the end of the same, the poor men half dead, were beaten down with clubs, and their heads pashed in pieces: and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crows, and would not bury them. So Duris being accustomed to overreach, and to lie many times in things nothing touching him: seemeth in this place out of all reason to aggravate the calamities of his country, only to accuse the Athenians, and to make them odious to the world.

Pericles having won the city of Samos, he returned again to Athens, where he did honourably bury the bones of the slain citizens in this war: and himself

¹ Exaggerates.

 D_2

(according to their manner and custom) made the funeral oration, for the which he was marvellously esteemed. In such sort, that after he came down from the pulpit where he made his oration: the ladies and gentlewomen of the city came to salute him, and brought him garlands to put upon his head, as they do to noble conquerors when they return from games, where they have won the prize. But Elpinicé coming to him, said: Surely, Pericles, thy good service done, deserveth garlands of triumph; for thou hast lost us many a good and valiant citizen, not fighting with the Medes, the Phænicians, and with the barbarous people as my brother Cimon did, but for destroying a city of our own nation and kindred. Pericles to these words, softly answered Elpinicé, with Archilochus' verse, smiling:

When thou art old, paint not thy self.1

But Ion writeth, that he greatly gloried, and stood much in his own conceit, after he had subdued the Samians, saying: Agamemnon was ten years taking of a city of the barbarous people: and he in nine months only had won the strongest city of the whole nation of Ionia. Indeed he had good cause to glory in his victory: for truly (if Thucydides' report be true) his conquest was no less doubtful, than he found it dangerous. For the Samians had almost been lords of the sea, and taken the seignory thereof from the Athenians.

After this, the wars of Peloponnesus being wrought again, the Corinthians invading the Islanders of Corcyra: Pericles did persuade the Athenians to send aid unto

¹ You are too old to influence men; so do not meddle in politics.

the Corcyreans, and to join in league with that island, which was of great power by sea, saying: that the Peloponnesians (before it were long) would have war with them. The Athenians consented to his motion, to aid those of Corcyra. Whereupon they sent thither Lacedæmonius (Cimon's son) with ten galleys only for a mockery: for all Cimon's family and friends, were wholly at the Lacedæmonians' devotion. Therefore did Pericles cause Lacedæmonius to have so few ships delivered him, and further, sent him thither against his will, to the end that if he did no notable exploit in this service, that they might then the more justly suspect his goodwill to the Lacedæmonians. Moreover, whilst he lived, he did ever what he could to keep Cimon's children back from rising: because that by their names they were no natural born Athenians, but strangers. For the one was called Lacedæmonius, the other Thessalus, the third Eleius: and the mother to all them three, was an Arcadian woman born.

But Pericles being blamed for that he sent but ten galleys only, which was but a slender aid for those that had requested them, and a great matter to them that spake ill of him: he sent thither afterwards a great number of other galleys, which came when the battle was fought. But the Corinthians were marvellous angry, and went and complained to the council of the Lacedæmonians, where they laid open many grievous complaints and accusations against the Athenians, and so did the Megarians also: alleging that the Athenians had forbidden them their havens, their staples, and all traffic of merchandise in the territories under their obedience, which was directly against the common

laws, and articles of peace, agreed upon by oath among all the Grecians. Moreover the Æginetans finding themselves very ill and cruelly handled, did send secretly to make their moan and complaints to the Lacedæmonians, being afraid openly to complain of the Athenians.

While these things were a doing, the city of Potidæa, subject at that time unto the Athenians (and was built in old time by the Corinthians) did rebel, and was besieged by the Athenians, which did hasten on the wars. Notwithstanding this, ambassadors were first sent unto Athens upon these complaints, and Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, did all that he could to pacify the most part of these quarrels and complaints, intreating their friends and allies. So as the Athenians had had no wars at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would have granted to have revoked the decree they had made against the Megarians. Whereupon, Pericles, that above all other stood most against the revocation of that decree, and that did stir up the people, and made them stand to that they had once decreed, and ordered, against the Megarians: was thought the original cause and author of the Peloponnesian wars. For it is said that the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors unto Athens for that matter only. And when Pericles alleged a law, that did forbid them to take away the table whereupon before time had been written any common law or edict: Polyalces, one of the Lacedæmon ambassadors, said unto him: Well, said he, take it not away then, but turn the table only 1: your law I am sure forbiddeth not that. This was

¹ Face to wall.

pleasantly spoken of the ambassador, but Pericles could never be brought to it for all that.

And therefore it seemeth he had some secret occasion of grudge against the Megarians: yet as one that would finely convey it under the common cause and cloak, he took from them the holy lands they were breaking up. For to bring this to pass, he made an order, that they should send an herald to summon the Megarians to let the land alone, and that the same herald should go also unto the Lacedæmonians to accuse the Megarians unto them. It is true that this ordinance was made by Pericles' means, as also it was most just and reasonable: but it fortuned so, that the messenger they sent thither died, and not without suspicion that the Megarians made him away. Wherefore Charinus made a law presently against the Megarians: that they should be proclaimed mortal enemies to the Athenians for ever, without any hope of after reconciliation. And also if any Megarian should once put his foot within the territories of Attica, that he should suffer the pains of death. And moreover, that their captains taking yearly their ordinary oath, should destroy some part of the Megarians' land. And lastly, that the herald Anthemocritus should be buried by the place called then the gates Thriasian, now called Dipylon. But the Megarians stoutly denying, that they were any cause of the death of this Anthemocritus: did altogether burthen Aspasia and Pericles with the same.

But in very deed, to tell the original cause of this war, and to deliver the truth thereof, it is very hard. But all the historiographers together agree, that Pericles was the chiefest author of the war: because the decree made against the Megarians, was not revoked back again. Yet some hold opinion, that Pericles did it of a noble mind and judgment, to be constant in that he thought most expedient. For he judged that this commandment of the Lacedæmonians was but a trial, to prove if the Athenians would grant them: and if they yielded to them in that, then they manifestly showed that they were the weaker. Other contrarily say, that it was done of a self-will and arrogancy, to show his authority and power, and how he did despise the Lacedæmonians. But the shrewdest proof of all, that bringeth best authority with it, is reported after this sort. Pheidias the image maker (as we have told you before) had undertaken to make an image of Pallas: and being Pericles' friend, was in great estimation about him. But that procured him many ill willers. Then they being desirous to hear by him what the people would judge of Pericles: they enticed Menon, one of the workmen that wrought under Pheidias, and made him come into the market place to pray assurance of the people that he might openly accuse Pheidias, for a fault he had committed about Pallas' image. The people received his obedience, and his accusation was heard openly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: because that Pheidias (through Pericles' counsel and device) had from the beginning so laid on the gold upon the image, that it might be taken off and weighed every whit. Whereupon Pericles openly said unto his accusers, take off the gold and weigh it. The glory of his works did purchase him this envy. For he having graven upon the scutcheon of the goddess, the battle of the Amazons, had cut out the portraiture of himself marvellous lively,

under the person of an old bald man, lifting up a great stone with both his hands. Further he had cut out Pericles' image, excellently wrought and artificially, seeming in manner to be Pericles' self, fighting with an Amazon in this sort. The Amazon's hand being lift up high, holdeth a dart before Pericles' face, so passing cunningly wrought, as it seemed to shadow 1 the likeness and resemblance of Pericles: and yet notwithstanding appeareth plainly to be Pericles' self on either side of the portraiture. So Pheidias was clapt up in prison, and there died of a sickness, or else of poison (as some say) which his enemies had prepared for him: and all to bring Pericles into further suspicion, and to give them the more cause to accuse him. But howsoever it was, the people gave Menon his freedom, and set him free for payment of all subsidies, following the order Glycon made, and gave the captains charge they should see him safely kept, and that he took no hurt.

And about the same time also Aspasia was accused, that she did not believe in the gods: and her accuser was Hermippus, maker of the comedies. And Diopeithes at the same time made a decree, that they should make search and enquire for heretics that did not believe in the gods, and that taught certain new doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things above in the element, turning the suspicion upon Pericles, because of Anaxagoras. The people did receive and confirm this inquisition: and it was moved also then by Dracontides, that Pericles should deliver an account of the money he had spent, unto the hands of the Prytanes, who were treasurers of the common fines and revenues, and that

¹ Conceal.

the judges deputed to give judgment, should give sentence within the city upon the altar. But Hagnon put that word out of the decree, and placed instead thereof. that the cause should be judged by the fifteen hundred judges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for theft, for battery, or for injustice. As for Aspasia, he saved her, even for the very pity and compassion the judges took of him, for the tears he shed in making his humble suit for her, all the time he pleaded her case: as Æschines writeth. But for Anaxagoras, fearing that he could not do so much for him: he sent him out of the city, and himself did accompany him. And furthermore, seeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for Pheidias' fact, and for this cause fearing the issue of the judgment: he set the wars a fire again, that always went backward, and did but smoke a little, hoping by this means to wear out the accusations against him, and to root out the malice some did bear him. For the people having weighty matters in hand, and very dangerous also: he knew they would put all into his hands alone, he having won already such great authority and reputation among them. And these be the causes why he would not (it is said) suffer the Athenians to yield unto the Lacedæmonians in any thing: howbeit the truth cannot certainly be known.

But the Lacedæmonians knowing well, that if they could weed out Pericles, and overthrow him, they might then deal as they would with the Athenians: they commanded them they should purge their city of Cylon's rebellion, because they knew well enough that Pericles' kin by his mother's side were to be touched withal, as

Thucydides declareth.1 But this practice fell out contrary to their hope and expectation, that were sent to Athens for this purpose. For, weening to have brought Pericles into further suspicion and displeasure, the citizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiance in him than before, because they saw his enemies did so much fear and hate him. Wherefore, before king Archidamus entered with the army of the Peloponnesians into the country of Attica, he told the Athenians, that if king Archidamus fortuned to waste and destroy all the country about, and should spare his lands and goods for the old love and familiarity that was between them, or rather to give his enemies occasion falsely to accuse him: that from thenceforth, he gave all the lands and tenements he had in the country, unto the common wealth. So it fortuned that the Lacedæmonians with all their friends and confederates, brought a marvellous army into the country of Attica, under the leading of king Archidamus: who burning and spoiling all the country he came alongst, they came unto the town of Acharnæ, where they encamped, supposing the Athenians would never suffer them to approach so near, but that they would give them battle for the honour and defence of their country, and to show that they were no cowards. But Pericles wisely considered how the danger was too great to hazard battle, where the loss of the city of Athens stood in peril, seeing they were threescore thousand footmen of the Peloponnesians, and of the Bœotians together: for so many was their number in the first

¹ Pericles came of the great Alcmæonid family, which was involved in the stain of blood-guiltiness when Megacles sacrilegiously slew the followers of Cylon (636 B.C.).

(D 394)

voyage they made against the Athenians. And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and put themselves to any hazard, being mad to see their country thus wasted and destroyed before their eyes, Pericles did comfort and pacify them with these words: That trees being cut and hewn down, did spring again in short time; but men being once dead, by no possibility could be brought again. Therefore he never durst assemble the people in council, fearing lest he should be enforced by the multitude, to do some thing against his will. But as a wise man of a ship, when he seeth a storm coming on the sea, doth straight give order to make all things safe in the ship, preparing every thing ready to defend the storm, according to his art and skill, not harkening to the passengers' fearful cries and pitiful tears, who think themselves cast away: even so did Pericles rule all things according to his wisdom, having walled the city substantially about and set good watch in every corner: and passed not for those that were angry and offended with him, neither would be persuaded by his friends' earnest requests and intreaties, neither cared for his enemies' threats nor accusations against him, nor yet reckoned of all their foolish scoffing songs they sung of him in the city, to his shame and reproach of government, saying that he was a cowardly captain, and that for dastardliness he let the enemies take all, and spoil what they would. Of which number Cleon was one that most defamed him, and began to enter into some pretty credit and favour with the common people, for that they were angry, and misliked with Pericles: as appeareth by these slanderous verses of Hermippus, which then were abroad:

O King of Satyrs thou, who with such manly speech Of bloody wars and doughty deeds, dost daily to us preach: Why art thou now afraid, to take thy lance in hand, Or with thy pike against thy foes, courageously to stand? Since Cleon stout and fierce, doth daily thee provoke, With biting words, with trenchant blades, and deadly daunting stroke.

All these notwithstanding, Pericles was never moved any thing, but with silence did patiently bear all injuries and scoffings of his enemies, and did send for all that a navy of a hundred sail unto Peloponnesus, whither he would not go in person, but kept himself at home, to keep the people in quiet: until such time as the enemies had raised their camp, and were gone away. And to entertain the common people that were offended and angry at this war: he comforted the poor people again, with causing a certain distribution to be made amongst them of the common treasure, and division also of the lands that were got by conquest. For after he had driven all the Æginetans out of their country, he caused the whole Isle of Ægina to be divided by lot amongst the citizens of Athens. And then it was a great comfort to them in this adversity, to hear of their enemies' hurt and loss in such manner as it did fall out. For their army that was sent by sea unto Peloponnesus, had wasted and destroyed a great part of the champion country there, and had sacked besides many small cities and towns. Pericles' self also entering the Megarians' country by land, did waste the whole country all afore him. So the Peloponnesians receiving by sea as much hurt and loss at the Athenians' hands, as they before had done by land unto the Athenians: they had not holden out wars so long with the Athenians, but would soon have given over (as Pericles had told them before) had not the gods above secretly hindered man's reason and policy.

For first of all there came such a sore plague among the Athenians, that it took away the flower of Athens youth, and weakened the force of the whole city besides.1 Furthermore the bodies of them that were left alive being infected with this disease, their hearts also were so sharply bent aginst Pericles, that the sickness having troubled their brains, they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the patient against his physician, or children against their father, even to the hurting of him, at the provocation of his enemies. Who bruited abroad, that the plague came of no cause else, but of the great multitude of the country men that came into the city on heaps, one upon another's neck in the heart of summer, where they were compelled to lie many together, smothered up in little tents and cabins, remaining there all day long, cowering downwards, and doing nothing, where before they had lived in the country in a fresh open air, and at liberty. And of all this (say they) Pericles is the only cause, who procuring this war, hath pent and shrouded the country men together within the walls of a city, employing them to no manner of use nor service, but keeping them like sheep in a pinfold, maketh one to poison another with the infection of their plague sores running upon them, and giving them no leave to change air, that they might so much as take breath abroad. Pericles to remedy this, and to do their enemies a little mischief: armed 150 ships, and shipped into them

^{1 430} B.C.

a great number of armed footmen and horsemen also. Hereby he put the citizens in good hope, and the enemies in great fear, seeing so great a power.

But when he had shipped all his men, and was himself also in the admiral 1 ready to hoist sail: suddenly there was a great eclipse of the sun, and the day was very dark, that all the army was stricken with a marvellous fear, as of some dangerous and very ill token towards them. Pericles seeing the master of his galley in a maze withal, not knowing what to do: cast his cloak over the master's face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harm or no. The master answered him, he thought it none. Then said Pericles again to him. There is no difference between this and that, saving that the body which maketh the darkness is greater, than my cloak which hideth thy eyes. These things are thus disputed of in the schools of the philosophers.

But Pericles hoisting sail notwithstanding, did no notable nor special service, answerable to so great an army and preparation. For he laying siege unto the holy city of Epidaurus, when every man looked they should have taken it, was compelled to raise his siege for the plague that was so vehement, that it did not only kill the Athenians themselves, but all other also (were they never so few) that came to them, or near their camp. Wherefore perceiving the Athenians were marvellously offended with him, he did what he could to comfort them, and put them in heart again: but all was in vain, he could not pacify them. For by the most part of voices, they deprived him of his charge

¹ Flagship.

of general, and condemned him in a marvellous great fine and sum of money, the which those that tell the least do write, that it was the sum of fifteen talents: and those that say more, speak of fifty talents. The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was Cleon, as Idomeneus saith, or as Theophrastus writeth, Simmias: yet Heracleides Ponticus saith, one Lacratidas. Now his common griefs were soon blown over: for the people did easily let fall their displeasures towards him, as the wasp leaveth her sting behind her with them she hath stung.

But his own private affairs and household causes were in very ill case: both for that the plague had taken away many of his friends and kinsmen from him, as also for that he and his house had continued a long time in disgrace. For Xanthippus (Pericles' son and heir) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, and having married a young woman very prodigal and lavish of expense, the daughter of Isander, son of Epilycus: he grudged much at his father's hardness, who scantly gave him money and but a little at a time. Whereupon he sent on a time to one of his father's friends in Pericles' name, to pray him to lend him some money, who sent it unto him. But afterwards when he came to demand it again, Pericles did not only refuse to pay it him, but further also, he put him in suit. But this made the young man Xanthippus so angry with his father, that he spake very ill of him in every place where he came: and in mockery reported how his father spent his time when he was at home, and the talk he had with the Sophisters, and the master Rhetoricians. For a mischance fortuning on a time, at the game of throwing

the dart, who should throw best, that he that threw, did unfortunately kill one Epitimus, a Thessalian: Xanthippus went prattling up and down the town, that his father Pericles was a whole day disputing with Protagoras the Rhetorician, to know which of the three by law and reason should be condemned for this murder -The dart: he that threw the dart: or the deviser of the game. But so it is, this quarrel and hate betwixt the father and son continued without reconciliation unto the death. For Xanthippus died in the great plague, and Pericles' own sister also: moreover he lost at that time by the plague, the most part of his friends and kinsfolks, and those specially that did him greatest pleasure in governing of the state. But all this did never pull down his countenance, nor any thing abate the greatness of his mind, what misfortunes soever he had sustained. Neither saw they him weep at any time, nor mourn at the funerals of any of his kinsmen or friends, but at the death of Paralus, his younger and lawfully begotten son: for, the loss of him alone did only melt his heart. Yet he did strive to show his natural constancy, and to keep his accustomed modesty. But as he would have put a garland of flowers upon his head, sorrow did so pierce his heart when he saw his face, that then he burst out in tears, and cried amain: which they never saw him do before: all the days of his life.

Furthermore, the people having proved other captains and governors, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of judgment and authority sufficient, for so great a charge: In the end, of themselves they called him again to the pulpit for orations to hear their counsels, and to the state of a captain also to take charge of the state. But at that time he kept himself close in his house, as one bewailing his late grievous loss and sorrow. Howbeit Alcibiades, and other his familiar friends, persuaded him to show himself unto the people: who did excuse themselves unto him, for their ingratitude towards him.

Now was Pericles at that time infected with the plague, but not so vehemently as other were, rather more temperately: and by long space of time, with many alterations and changes, that did by little and little decay and consume the strength of his body, and overcame his senses and noble mind. Therefore Theophrastus in his morals declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether men's manners do change with their misfortunes, and whether corporal troubles and afflictions do so alter men, that they forget virtue, and abandon reason: that Pericles in his sickness showed a friend of his that came to see him, I cannot tell what a preserving charm the woman hath tied (as a carkanet) about his neck, to let him understand he was very ill, since he suffered them to apply such a foolish bauble to him. In the end, Pericles drawing fast unto his death, the Nobility of the city, and such his friends as were left alive, standing about his bed, began to speak of his virtue, and of the great authority he had borne, considering the greatness of his noble acts, and counting the number of his victories he had won (for he had won nine foughten battles being general of the Athenians, and had set up so many tokens and triumphs in honour of his country) they reckoned up among themselves all these matters, as if he had not under-

stood them, imagining his senses had been gone. But he contrarily being yet of perfect memory, heard all what they said, and thus he began to speak unto them: That he marvelled why they had so highly praised that in him, which was common to many other captains, and wherein fortune dealt with them in equality alike, and all this while they had forgotten to speak of the best and most notable thing that was in him, which was; that no Athenian had ever worn black gown through his occasion. And sure so was he a noble and worthy person. For he did not only show himself merciful and courteous, even in most weighty matters of government, among so envious people and hateful enemies: but he had this judgment also to think, that the most noble acts he did were these, that he never gave himself unto hatred, envy, nor choler, to be revenged of his most mortal enemy, without mercy showed towards him, though he had committed unto him such absolute power and sole government among them. And this made his surname to be Olympian (as to say, divine or celestial) which otherwise for him had been too proud and arrogant a name, because he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great liberty he had kept clean hands and undefiled: even as we esteem the gods authors of all good, and causers of no evil, and so worthy to govern and rule the whole monarchy of the world. And not as Poets say, which do confound our wits by their follies, and fond feignings, and are also contrary to themselves, considering that they call heaven (which containeth the gods) the everlasting seat, which trembleth not, and is not driven nor moved with winds, neither is darkened with clouds, but is always bright

and clear, and at all times shining equally with a pure bright light, as being the only habitation and mansion place of the eternal God, only happy and immortal. And afterwards they describe it themselves, full of dissentions, of enmities, of anger and passions, which do nothing become wise and learned men. But this discourse peradventure would be better spoken of in some other book.

Now the troubles of the Athenians felt immediately after Pericles' death, made them then lament the loss of so noble a member. For those who unpatiently did brook his great authority while he lived, because it drowned their own: when they came after his death to prove other speakers and governors, they were compelled then to confess, that no man's nature living could be more moderate nor grave, with lenity and mercy, than his was. And that most hated power, which in his life time they called monarchy, did then most plainly appear unto them, to have been the manifest rampart and bulwark of the safety of their whole state and common weal: such corruption and vice in government of the state did then spring up immediately after his death,

which when he was alive, he did ever suppress and keep under in such sort, that either it did not appear at all, or at the least it came not to that head and liberty, that such faults were committed,

as were unpossible to be remedied.

LIST OF NAMES

Abrot'onon. Acaman'tis. Acarnā'nia. Acestodo'rus. Acha'ia. Achar'nian. Achelō'us. Acrop'olis. Adeiman'tus. Admē'tus. Æac'idæ. Æ'acus. Æ′gæ. Ægī'na. Ægīnē'tans. Æo'lia. Æs'chines. Æs'chylus. Agamem'nōn. Agaris'tē. Agathar'chus. Agrau'lē. Ahasuē'rus. Alcibi'adēs. Al'cimus. Alcmæ'ōn. Alcmæon'id. Alcm**ē**'na. Alōp'ecē. A'mazons. Ambra'cia. Amei'niās. Ammō'nius.

Anac'reon. Anaxag'orās. Andoc'ides. An'drians. An'dros. Anthemoc'ritus. Antis'thenes. Aph'etæ. Apol'lō. Arca'dian. Archep'tolis. Archidā'mus. Archil'ochus. Archip'pē. Archit'el**e**s. Arēop'agus. A'rgives. Ar'gos. Ariam'enēs. Arima'nius. Aristei'dēs. Aristobū'lē. Aristo'dicus. Aristoph'anes. A'ristotle. Ar'nacës. Artabā'nus. Ar'temis. Artemīs'ia. Artemīs'ium. Ar'temön. Arth'mius. Aspa'sia.

Athē'na. At'tica. Augus'tus. Axi'ochus.

Bac'chus. Bisal'tæ. Bæō'tia. Byzan'tium.

Cæ'sar. Cal'las. Callic'rates. Cā'ria. Ce'os. Chalcid'ians. Charī'nus. Cha'rōn. Chei'rōn. Chersone'sus. Chil'eōs. Chi'os. Cholar'gus. Cilic'ia. Ci'mōn. Clazom'enæ. Clean'dridas. Cleidē'mus. Cleis'thenës. Cleitar'chus. Cle'on. Cleophan'tus.

Corcy'ra.

Corcyre'ans.
Corœ'bus.
Coronē'a.
Cratī'nus.
Critolā'us.
Cyb'elē.
Cy'lōn.
Cÿ'mē.
Cynosar'gēs.
Cyzicē'nian.

Da'mōn. Damō'nidēs. Dārī'us. Decelei'an. Dēïanei'ra. Dē'los. Del'phi. Dēmarā'tus. Dēmop'olis. Diā'na. Dindymē'nē. Di'ocles. Diodō'rus. Diopei'thes. Dōdō'nian. Dō'rians. Dō'ris. Dracon'tides. Dū'ris.

Eleusīn'ian. Eleu'sis. E'lis. Elpini'cē. Epei'rus. Ephial'tēs. Eph'orus. Epic'idēs. E'piclēs. Epic'rates. Epidau'rus. Epil'ycus. Epitī'mus. Epi'xyes. Ere'trian. Ergo'teles. Eubœ'a.

Euphē'midēs.
Euphran'tidēs.
Eu'polis.
Eurybi'adēs.
Euryptol'emus.
Euter'pē.
Evan'gelus.

Fa'bius.

Gly'cōn. Gylip'pus.

Hag'nōn.
Halicarnas'sus.
Han'nibal.
Hecatom'pedon.
Hē'ra.
Hēraclei'dēs.
Her'culēs.
Hermi'onē.
Hermip'pus.
Hērod'otus.
Hestiæ'a.
Hi'erōn.
Hippob'otæ.
Hipponī'cus.

Ialy'sus.
Ictī'nus.
Idom'eneus.
I'ōn.
Io'nia.
I'os.
Isan'der.
Ismē'nias.

Lacedæ'mon.
Lācra'tidās.
Lām'achus.
Lam'sacē'nian.
Lamp'sacus.
Lātō'na.
Laurei'on.
Lem'nos.
Leob'otēs.
Leōc'ratēs.
Leon'idās.

Leon'tis.
Leotych'idēs.
Les'bos.
Leu'cas.
Loc'rians.
Lycomē'dēs.
Lycom'idæ.
Ly'dia.
Ly'dia.
Lysan'der.
Ly'siclēs.
Lysim'achus.

Mac'edon. Magnē'sia. Ma'lea. Mar'athon. Mardo'nius. Max'imus. Medū'sa. Meg'aclēs. Meg'ara. Melis'sus. Mel'ita. Menex'enus. Me'nōn. Metag'enēs. Mile'sias. Mīlē'tus. Milti'adēs. Mithropaus'tēs. Mnēs'iclēs. Mnēsiph'ilus. Mnēsiptol'ema. Myc'alē. Myrōn'idēs. My'ūs.

Nax'os.
Nean'thēs.
Ne'mea.
Ne'oclēs.
Nīcag'orās.
Nīcog'enēs.
Nīcom'achē.
Nīcomē'dēs.

Ōdē'on. Œne'adæ. Œtæ'ans Ol'bius. Oli'zōn. Olym'pia. Omē'stēs. Om'phalē.

Pæan'ian. Pāg'asæ. Palescep'sis. Pal'las. Panæ'tius. Panathenæ'a. Pantho'ides. Par'alus. Parmen'ides. Pa'ros. Par'thenon. Pausa'nias. Pē'gæ. Peisis'tratus. Pel'agon. Peloponnē'sus. Perco'te. Per'icles. Periphore tos. Phalē'rum. Pha'niās. Phānodē'mus. Phei'diās. Pheis'toanax. Philē'mōn. Phil'ides. Philocte'tes. Phli'us. Phly'a. Phō'cis. Phœnīc'ians. Phras'icles. Phrear'rhia. Phryg'ia. Phryn'ichus.

Phthi'a. Phthio'tes. Phylar'chus. Pin'darus. Pīræ'us. Pī'sa. Pisid'ia. Pisid'ians. Pissūth'nēs. Platæ'a. Plat'ō. Pnyx. Polyal'ces. Polyar'chus. Polyclei'tus. Polyc'rates. Polyeuc'tus. Pon'ticus. Pon'tus. Posei'don. Potīdæ'a. Priē'nē. Propylæ'a. Protag'orās. Pryt'anēs. Pyd'na. Pvthoclei'des. Pythod'orus.

Roxā'nes.

Salami'na.
Sal'amis.
Samæ'na.
Sa'mos.
Sandau'cē.
Sar'dīs.
Schinoceph'alos.
Schin'os.
Sci'athus.
Scil'la.
Serī'phus.

Sicin'nus.
Sicyō'nians.
Simō'nidēs.
Sinō'pē.
Sōc'lēs.
Sōc'ratēs.
Sol'ōn.
Stēsim'brotus.
Syb'aris.
Sy'racuse.

Tan'agra. Teleclei'des. Tem'pē. Tēn'os. Thargē'lia. Themis'tocles. Theophras'tus. Theopom'pus. Thermop'ylæ. Thes'saly. Thrā'cia. Thrias'ia. Thūcvd'ides. Thū'rians. Tīmēsil'eōs. Tīmoc'reōn. Ti'mōn. Tolmæ'us. Tol'mides. Trœ'zēn. Troi'a.

Xanthip'pus. Xen'oclēs. Xer'xēs. Xyp'etē.

Zēle'ia Zē'nōn. Ze'us. Zeu'xis.