

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE

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The LIVES of
ALCIBIADES
AND
DEMOSTHENES

PLUTARCH

BLACKIE'S
ENGLISH
TEXTS

Edited by
W.H.D. ROUSE
LITT.D.

BLACKIE AND SON LIMITED

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INTRODUCTION

Life of Plutarch.—Plutarch, the author of the Greek original of this work, was born at Chæronea in Bœotia 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 office 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 *Baalam 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 Caesar*, 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 connexion 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 has been checked by the edition of 1595, in all doubtful points, and compared with the Greek and with Amyot. There are a few small omissions and corrections, chiefly in certain names. The spelling has been modernized, but old verbal forms have been kept.

THE LIFE OF ALCIBIADES

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THE LIFE OF ALCIBIADES

Alcibiades, by his father's side, was anciently descended of Eurysaces, that was the son of Ajax, and by his mother's side, of Alcmaeon: for his mother Dinomacha, was the daughter of Megacles. His father Clinias, having armed and set forth a galley, at his own proper costs and charges, did win great honour in the battle by sea, that was fought amongst the coast of Artemisium, and he was slain afterwards in another battle fought at Coronea, against the Bœotians. His son Alcibiades' tutors, were Pericles and Aripbron, Xanthippus's sons: who were also his near kinsmen. They say, and truly: that Socrates' good-will and friendship did greatly further Alcibiades' honour. For it appeareth not, neither was it ever written, what were the names of the mothers of Nicias, of Demosthenes, of Lamachus of Phormion, of Thrasybulus, and of Theramenes: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrary, we find the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was a Lacedæmonian born, and was called Amicla, and

that his schoolmaster was called Zopyrus: of the which, Antisthenes mentioneth the one, and Plato the other.

Now for Alcibiades' beauty, it made no matter if we speake not of it, yet I will a little touch it by the way: for he was wonderful fair, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times, which made him marvellous amiable, and beloved of every man. For where Euripides sayeth, that of all the fair times of the year, the Autumn or latter season is the fairest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proved true in Alcibiades, though in few other: for he was passing fair even to his latter time, and of good temperature¹ of body. They write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, but gave him a certain natural pleasant grace in his talk: which Aristophanes mentioneth, mocking one Theorus that did counterfeit a lisping grace with his tongue.

This Alcibiades, with his fat lisping tongue,
 into mine ears, this trusty tale, and song full often sung.
 Look upon Theolus (quoth he) lo there he bows,
 behold his comely crowbright face with fat and flatling²
 brows.

The son of Clinias, would lisp it thus somewhiles,
 and sure he lispéd never a lie, but rightly hit his wiles.

And Archippus another poet also, mocking the son
 of Alcibiades, sayeth thus:

Because he would be like his father every way
 in his long trailing gown he would go jetting³ day by
 day,

¹ Admixture of elements, proportion.

² "I have set *flatling* brows, for *flattering* brows, observing the grace of lisping as near as I could; likewise Theolus for Theorus."—*T. North*.

³ Strutting.

And counterfeit his speech, his countenance, and face:
as though dame nature had him given therein a perfect
grace.

To lisp and look aside, and hold his head awry,
even as his father looked and lisped, so would he prate
and pry.

For his manners they altered and changed very often
with time, which is not to be wondered at, seeing his
marvellous great prosperity, as also adversity that fol-
lowed him afterwards. But of all the great desires he
had, that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition,
seeking to have the upper hand in all things, and to be
taken for the best person: as appeareth by certain of his
deeds, and notable sayings in his youth, extant in
writing. One day wrestling with a companion of his,
that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have
given him the fall: he got his fellow's arm in his mouth,
and bit so hard, as he would have eaten it off. The
other feeling him bite so hard, let go his hold straight,
and said unto him: What Alcibiades, bitest thou like a
woman? No, marry, do I not (quoth he), but like a lion.
Another time being but a little boy, he played at skales¹
in the midst of the street with other of his companions,
and when his turn came about to throw, there came a
cart laden by chance that way: Alcibiades prayed the
carter to stay awhile until he had played out his game,
because the skales were set right in the high way where
the cart should pass over. The carter was a stubborn
knave, and would not stay for any request the boy could
make, but drove his horse on still, in so much as other
boys gave back to let him go on: but Alcibiades fell

¹ Skittles, or ninepins. This is a mistranslation for knuckle-bones.

flat to the ground before the cart, and bade the carter drive over and ¹ he durst. The carter being afraid, plucked back his horse to stay them: the neighbours frightened to see the danger, ran to the boy in all haste crying out. Afterwards when he was put to school to learn, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him anything, saying that he disdained to learn to play of the flute or recorder ², saying that it was no gentlemanly quality. For, said he, to play on the viol with a stick doth not alter man's favour ³, nor disgraceth any gentleman: but otherwise, to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and changeth so often, that his familiar friends can scant know him. Moreover, the harp or viol doth not let ⁴ him that playeth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so hard to it, that it taketh not only his words from him, but his voice. Therefore, said he, let the children of the Thebans play on the flute that cannot tell how to speak: as for us Athenians, we have (as our forefathers tell us) for protectors and patrons of our country the goddess Pallas and the god Apollo: of the which the one in old time (as it is said) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skin over his ears that played upon the flute. ⁵ Thus Alcibiades alleging these reasons, partly in sport, and partly in good earnest, did not only himself leave to learn to play on the flute, but he turned his companions' minds also quite from it. For these words of Alcibiades, ran from boy to boy incontinently ⁶: that Alcibiades mocked all those that learned to play of it. So afterwards,

¹ If.² Pipe.³ Looks.⁴ Hinder.⁵ This was the satyr Marsyas, whom Apollo flayed.⁶ At once.

it fell out at Athens, that teaching to play of the flute was had reason to despise playing on the flute, and that he put out of the number of honest and liberal exercises, and the flute itself was thought a vile instrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accusations Antiphon wrote against Alcibiades, it is declared: that when he was a boy, he fled out of his tutors' house into the house of Democrates one of his friends, and how Ariphron one of his tutors thought to have made a beadle cry him through the city. But Pericles would not suffer him, saying: that if he were dead, they should know it but one day sooner by crying of him; and if he were alive, that it would be such a shame to him while he lived, that he had been better he had never been heard of again. The same Antiphon accuseth him further, that he had killed a servant of his that attended on him, in the wrestling place of Sibyrtius, with a blow of a staff. But there is no reason to credit his writing, who confesseth he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he did bear him. /

Now straight there were many great and rich men that made much of Alcibiades, and were glad to get his goodwill. But Socrates' love unto him had another end and cause, which witnessed that Alcibiades had a natural inclination to virtue. Who perceiving that virtue did appear in him, and was joined with the other beauty of his face and body, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignity, and authority, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefest of the city, as of strangers, seeking to entice him by flattery, and by many other pleasures: he took upon him to protect him from them all, and not to suffer so goodly an

imp¹ to lose the hope of the good fruit of his youth. For fortune doth never so entangle nor snare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let and hinder him so, that philosophy should not take hold on him with her free, severe, and quick reasons. So Alcibiades was at the beginning assayed with all delights, and shut up as it were in their company that feasted him with all pleasures, only to turn him that he should not hearken to Socrates' words, who sought to bring him up at his charge, and to teach him. But Alcibiades notwithstanding, having a good natural wit, knew what Socrates was, and went to him, refusing the company of all his rich friends and their flatteries, and fell in a kind of familiar friendship with Socrates. Whom when he had heard speak, he noted his words very well, that they were no persuasions of a man seeking his dishonesty, but one that gave him good counsel, and went about to reform his faults and imperfections, and to pluck down the pride and presumption that was in him: then, as the common proverb sayeth,

Like to the craven cock, he droppéd down his wings,
which cowardly doth run away, or from the pit out-
flings;

and did think with himself, that all Socrates' love and following of young men, was indeed a thing sent from the gods and ordained above for them, whom they would have preserved, and put into the pathway of honour. Therefore he began to despise himself, and greatly to reverence Socrates, taking pleasure of his good using of him, and much embraced his virtue:

¹ Child.

so as he had (he wist not how) an image of love graven in his heart, or rather (as Plato sayeth) a mutual love, to wit, an holy and honest affection towards Socrates. Insomuch as all the world wondered at Alcibiades, to see him commonly at Socrates' board, to play, to wrestle, and to lodge in the wars with Socrates: and contrarily to chide his other well-willers, who could not so much as have a good look at his hands, and besides became dangerous to some, as it is said he was unto Anytus, the son of Anthemion, being one of those that loved him well. Anytus making good cheer to certain strangers his friends that were come to see him, went and prayed Alcibiades to come and make merry with them: but he refused to go. For he went to make merry with certain of his companions at his own house; and after he had well taken in his cups, he went to Anytus' house to counterfeit the fool amongst them, and staying at the hall door, and seeing Anytus' table and cupboard full of plate of silver and gold, he commanded his servants to take away half of it, and carry it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come no nearer into the house, but went his way home. Anytus' friends and guests, misliking this strange part of Alcibiades, said it was shamefully and boldly done so to abuse Anytus. Nay, gently done of him, said Anytus: for he hath left us some, where he might have taken all. All others also that made much of him, he served after that sort. Saving a stranger that came to dwell in Athens: who being but a poor man as the voice went, sold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred staters¹ which he brought unto

¹ A coin worth two or three shillings.

Alcibiades, and prayed him to take it at his hands. Alcibiades began to be merry, and being very glad to understand his good-will towards him, took his honest offer, and prayed him to come to supper to him: so he welcomed him very heartily, and made him good cheer. When supper was done, he gave him his money again, and commanded him not to fail the next morning to meet him where the farms and lands of the city are wont to be let out to those that bid most, and charged him he should out-bid all. The poor man would fain have excused himself, saying, the farms were too great for him to hire: but Alcibiades threatened to whip him if he would not do it. For besides the desire he had to please him, he bare a private grudge against the ordinary farmers of the city. The next morning the stranger was ready in the market-place where they did cry out the letting of their farms, and he raised one to a talent more, than all others did offer. The other farmers were as mad with him as they could be, that they all did set upon him, crying out: Let him put in surety straight, supposing he could have found none. The stranger was marvellous blank thereat, and began to shrink back. Then cried Alcibiades out aloud to the officers that sat there to take the best offers: I will be his surety, sayeth he, put me in the book, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him say so, were at their wits' end, and wist not what to do. For they being always accustomed to pay their yearly rent as it went before, by the help of the rest of the years that followed after: perceiving now that they should not be able to pay the arrears of the rents due to the common weal, and seeing no other remedy, they prayed

him to take a piece of money and leave the bargain. Then Alcibiades would in no wise he should take less than a talent,¹ which they gave him willingly. So Alcibiades suffered the stranger then to depart, and made him gain by his device.

Now Socrates' love which he bare him, though it had many mighty and great adversaries, yet it did stay much Alcibiades, sometimes by his gentle nature, sometimes by his grave counsel and advice: so as the reason thereof took so deep root in him, and did so pierce his heart, that many times the tears ran down his cheeks. Another time also being carried away with the enticement of flatterers, that held up his humour with all pleasure and delights, he stole away from Socrates, and made him run after him to fetch him again, as if he had been a slave that had run away from his master's house: for Alcibiades stood in awe of no man but of Socrates only, and indeed he did reverence him, and did despise all others. And therefore Cleanthes was wont to say, that Alcibiades was held of Socrates by the ears: but to say truly, Alcibiades was much given over to pleasure. Those that marred Alcibiades quite, did still prick forward his ambition and desire of honour, and did put him in the head to thrust himself into great matters betimes, making him believe that if he did but once begin to show himself to deal in matters of state, he would not only blemish and deface all other governors, but far excel Pericles in authority and power among the Grecians. For like as iron by fire is made soft, to be wrought in to any form, and by cold also doth shut and harden in again: even so Alcibiades being puffed

¹ Talent, a weight. A silver talent is worth about £250.

up with vanity and opinion of himself, as often as Socrates took him in hand, was made fast and firm again by his good persuasions; insomuch that when he saw his own fault and folly, and how far wide he had strayed from virtue, he became suddenly very humble and lowly again.

Now on a time when he was grown to man's state, he went into a grammar school, and asked the schoolmaster for one of Homer's books. The schoolmaster answered him he had none of them: Alcibiades up with his fist, and gave him a good box on the ear, and went his way. Another grammarian told him on a time he had Homer which he had corrected. Alcibiades replied, Why what meanest thou, to stand teaching little children their A B C, when thou art able to correct Homer, and to teach young men, not boys? Another time he came and knocked at Pericles' gate, desirous to speak with him: answer was made him, he was not at leisure now, for that he was busily occupied by himself thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the Athenians. Why, said he, going his way: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreover, being but a young boy, he was at the journey¹ of Potidæa, where he lay still with Socrates, who would never let him be from him in all battles and skirmishes he was in: among which there was one, very hot and bloody, where they both fought valiantly, and Alcibiades was hurt. But Socrates stepped before him, and did defend him so valiantly before them all, that he saved him and his weapon out of the enemies' hands. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equity and

¹ Military expedition.

reason, was due unto Socrates: but yet the captains would fain have judged it on Alcibiades' side, because he was of a noble house. But Socrates, because he would increase his desire of honour, and would prick him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that witnessed Alcibiades had deserved it: and therefore prayed the captains to judge him the crown and complete armour.

Afterwards, in the battle of Delion, the Athenians having received the overthrow, Socrates retired with a few others on foot. Alcibiades being on horse-back, and overtaking him, would not go from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a troop of his enemies that followed him, and slew many of his company. But that was a pretty while after, and before he gave a box of the ear unto Hipponicus, Callias' father: who was one of the greatest men of power in the city, being a nobleman born, and of great possessions; which was done upon a bravery¹ and certain lustiness, as having laid a wager with his companions he would do it, and for no malice or quarrel that he bare the man. This light part was straight over all the city, and everyone that heard it said it was lewdly² done. But Alcibiades the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was let in: so he stripping himself before him, delivered him his body to be whipped, and punished at his pleasure. Hipponicus pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gave him his daughter Hipparete afterwards in marriage. Howbeit some say, it was not Hipponicus that gave her to him: but Callias' son, with ten talents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of

¹ Bravado.

² Vulgarly, coarsely.

his first child he had by her, he asked ten talents more, saying: they were promised him upon the contract, if his wife had children. But Callias fearing lest this was an occasion sought of him to lie in wait to kill him for his goods: declared openly to the people that he made him his heir general, if he died without heirs special of his body. This gentlewoman Hipparete, being an honest true wife to Alcibiades, misliking her husband did so much misuse her: she went abroad one day to her brother's house, and told him of it. Alcibiades passed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter: but only bade his wife, if she would, present her cause for divorce before the judge. So she went thither herself to sue the divorce between them, according to the law: but Alcibiades being there also, took her by the hand, and carried her through the market-place home to his house, and no man durst meddle between them to take her from him. And so she continued with him all the days of her life, which was not long after, for she died when Alcibiades was in his journey he made to Ephesus. This force Alcibiades used was not thought altogether unlawful, nor uncivil, because it seemeth that the law was grounded upon this cause: that the wife which would be divorced from her husband, should go herself openly before the judge to put up her complaint, to the end, that by this means, the husband might come to speak with his wife, and seek to stay her if he could.

Alcibiades had a marvellous fair great dog that cost him three score and ten minas¹, and he cut off his tail that was his chief beauty. When his friends reproved

¹ Mina, a sum of money equal in silver to about £4.

him, and told him how every man blamed him for it: he fell a-laughing and told them he had that he sought. For, sayeth he, I would have the Athenians rather prate upon that, than they should say worse of me.

Moreover, it is said, the first time that Alcibiades spake openly in the common weal, and began to deal in matters, was upon a gift of money he gave to the people, and not of any pretence, or former purpose he had to do it. One day as he came through the market-place, hearing the people very loud, he asked what the matter was: they told him it was about money certain men had given to the people. Then Alcibiades went to them, and gave them money out of his own purse. The people were so glad at that, as they fell to shouting and clapping of their hands in token of thankfulness: and himself was so glad for company that he forgot a quail he had under his gown, which was so afraid of the noise that she took her flight away. The people seeing the quail, made a greater noise than before, and many rose out of their places to run after her, so that in the end, it was taken up by a master of a ship called Antiochus, who brought him the quail again, and for that cause Alcibiades did love him ever after.

Now albeit the nobility of his house, his goods, his worthiness, and the great number of his kinsmen and friends made his way open to take upon him government in the common weal; yet the only way he desired to win the favour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To prove he was eloquent, all the comical poets do testify it: and besides them, Demosthenes the prince of orators also doth say, in an oration

he made against Midias, that Alcibiades above all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we may believe Theophrastus, the greatest searcher of antiquities, the best historiographer above any other philosopher: he hath written, that Alcibiades had as good wit to devise and consider what he would say, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit sometimes, studying what he should say, as also to deliver good words, not having them very readily at his tongue's end, he many times took breath by the way, and paused in the midst of his tale, not speaking a word, until he had called it to mind, that he would say. /

His charge was great, and much spoken of also, for keeping of running horses at games: not only because they were the best and swiftest, but for the number of coaches he had besides. For never private person, no nor any prince, that ever sent seven so well appointed coaches, in all furniture, unto the games Olympical, as he did, nor that at one course hath borne away the first, the second, and the fourth prize, as Thucydides sayeth: or as Euripides reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that ever strived for victory therein. For Euripides pronounced his praise, in a song he made of him, as followeth:

O son of Clinias, I will resound thy praise:

for thou art bold in martial deeds, and overcomest
always.

Thy victories therewith, do far exceed the rest,

that ever were in Greece ygot, therefore I count them
best.

For at th' Olympic games, thou hast with chariots won
the first prize, second, third and all, which there in race
were run.

With praise and little pain, thy head hath twice been
crowned,
with olive boughs for victory, and twice by trumpet's
sound,
The heralds have proclaimed thee victor by thy name,
above all those, which ran with thee, in hope to get the
game.

Howbeit the good affection divers cities did bear him, contending which should gratify him best, did much increase his fame and honour. For the Ephesians did set up a tent for him, very sumptuously and richly furnished. Those of the city of Chios, furnished him with provender for his horse, and gave him muttons besides, and other beasts to sacrifice withall. They of Lesbos also sent him in wine and other provision for vittles, to help him to defray the great charges he was at in keeping open house, and feeding such a number of mouths daily. Yet the spite they did bear him, or rather his breach of promise which he often made, with this magnificence and state he showed, gave the people more cause to speak of him than before. For they say there was one Diomedes at Athens, a friend of Alcibiades, and no ill man, who desired once in his life to win a game at the plays Olympical. This man being informed that the Argives had a coach excellently furnished belonging to their common weal, and knowing that Alcibiades could do very much in the city of Argos because he had many friends in the same: he came to entreat Alcibiades to buy this coach for him. Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to himself, not regarding Diomedes' request he had made. Diomedes seeing that, fell stark mad for anger, and called the gods and men

to witness that Alcibiades did him open wrong: and it seemeth that there fell out suit in law upon the same. For Isocrates wrote an oration, and drew a plea in defence of Alcibiades, being yet but a child, touching a couple of horses: yet in this plea, his adversary was called Tisias and not Diomedes. Furthermore, Alcibiades being yet but a young man, when he came to practice and plead publicly, he put all other orators to silence, but only two that were ever against him: the one was Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and the other Nicias, the son of Niceratus. Of these two, Nicias was a man grown, and had won the name and reputation of a good captain. And Phæax began also to come forward as he did, being of a good and honourable house: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence specially. For, he could more properly talk and discourse among his friends privately, than he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as Eupolis sayeth:

Words enough, but no eloquence.

There is a certain oration extant in writing, against Alcibiades and Phæax: where among other accusations is brought in, how Alcibiades was ordinarily served in his house, with gold and silver plate that belonged to the common weal, and which were used to be borne for state and magnificence in solemn processions before them, and how he used them as boldly, as if they had been his own. Now there was one Hyperbolus in Athens at that time born in the village of Perithoidæ: of whom Thucydides maketh mention, as of a naughty wicked man, whose tongue was a fit instrument to deliver

matter to all the comical poets of that time, to pour out all their taunts and mocks against men. Howbeit he was so impudent a person, and cared so little what men said of him, that he passed ¹ not though he were defamed, neither did anything grieve him, whatsoever they reported of him: which some do call boldness, and courage, being no better indeed than plain impudence, extreme madness, and desperate folly. He would never please any man: and if the common people had any grudge to any nobleman or magistrate, whom they would any way accuse, Hyperbolus' wicked tongue was their instrument to utter their spite.

Now the people (by Hyperbolus' procurement) being assembled, were ready to proceed to the banishment of ostracism by most voices. The manner and custom of this kind of banishment was, for a time to banish out of their city such a one as seemed to have too great authority and credit in the city: and that was, rather to satisfy their envy, than for to remedy their fear. And because it was manifest it would fall out to one of them three to be banished (to wit, Alcibiades, Nicias, or Phæax) Alcibiades found means to join all their three factions in one, becoming friends one to another: and having conferred with Nicias about it, he made Hyperbolus' self to be banished, who was the chief instrument to prepare the way of their banishment. Howbeit others say, he spake not with Nicias about it, but with Phæax, and joining his part with Phæax, he caused Hyperbolus to be banished, who feared nothing less: for it was never seen before that a man of mean countenance, and of small authority, fell into the hap

¹ Cared.

of this banishment. As Plato the comical poet testifieth, speaking of Hyperbolus:

Although for his deserts this pain to him is due,
or greater punishment prepared, the which might make
him rue:

Yet since he was by birth a person mean and base,
such punishment therefore did seem (for him) too great
of grace.

Since Ostracism^{on} was not made at first to be,
nor yet devised as punishment, for such mean folk as he.

But of this matter, we have spoken more at large before: and now to return again to Alcibiades. Nicias had great reputation among strangers, and his enemies grieved at it no less than at the honour the citizens themselves did unto him. For his house was the common inn for all Lacedæmonians when they came to Athens, and they ever lay with him: moreover he had very well entertained the Lacedæmon prisoners that were taken at the fort of Pylos. And afterwards when peace was concluded between Lacedæmon and Athens, and their prisoners redelivered home again by Nicias' means only and procurement: they loved him more than ever they did before. This was blown abroad through Greece, that Pericles had kindled the wars amongst them, and Nicias quenched it: so some called this peace Nician, as one would say, Nicias' work.

But Alcibiades stomaching¹ this, and envying Nicias' glory, determined to break the peace whatsoever came of it. Wherefore to compass this matter, knowing first of all that the Argives had no liking of the Lacedæmonians, but were their mortal enemies, and that they did but

¹ Angry at.

seek matter to fall out with them: he secretly put them in hope of peace and league with the Athenians. Moreover he did persuade them to it, both by letters and word of mouth, speaking with the magistrates, and such as had greatest authority and credit among the people: declaring unto them, that they should not fear the Lacedæmonians, nor yield to them at all, but to stick to the Athenians, who would soon repent them of the peace they had made, and break it with them. Afterwards when the Lacedæmonians had made league with the Bœotians, and had redelivered the city of Panactum to the Athenians, all defaced and spoiled contrary to the league: Alcibiades perceiving how the people were much offended thereat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithal brought Nicias in disgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelihood. As at that time, when he was general: that he would never take any of the Lacedæmonians, when they were shut up within the Isle of Sphacteria, and much less distress them when he might: and moreover that when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had found the means to deliver them, and send them home again to gratify the Lacedæmonians. Furthermore, that being their friend he did not his duty to dissuade the people from making of league offensive and defensive with the Bœotians and the Corinthians: and again also, if there were any people of Greece that had a desire to become friends and allies with the Athenians, that he did the best he could to let them, if the Lacedæmonians had no liking of the matter.

Now as Nicias was thus in disgrace with the people, for the causes above said: in the midst of this stir,

ambassadors came by chance from Lacedæmon to Athens, who at their coming gave very good words, saying they had full power and commission to compound all controversies under reasonable and equal conditions. The Senate heard them, and received them very courteously, and the people the next day should assemble in council to give them audience: which Alcibiades fearing much, he went to labour the ambassadors, and spake with them apart in this sort. What mean you, my Lords of Sparta: do ye not know that the Senate hath always accustomed to be gracious and favourable unto those that sue unto them for any matter, and that the people contrarily are of a proud nature, and desirous to embrace all great matters? If therefore at the first sight, ye do give them to understand that you are come hither with full power to treat freely with them in all manner of causes: do you not think that they make you stretch your authority far, to grant them all that they will demand? Therefore, my Lords ambassadors, if you look for indifference at the Athenians' hands, and that they shall not press you too far against your wills, to grant them anything of advantage: I would wish you a little to cover your full commission, and in open manner to propound certain articles, and reasonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things: and for my part, I will assure you of my good will in favour of the Lacedæmonians. When he had told them this tale, he gave them his faithful promise, and vowed as it were to perform his word. Hereupon Alcibiades turned the ambassadors from the trust they reposed in Nicias, and won them on his side

in so much as they gave credit to no man but to him, wondering much at his great wisdom and ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man.

The next morning the people were assembled to give the ambassadors audience. They were sent for, and brought into the market-place. There Alcibiades gently asked them what was the cause of their coming. They answered that they were come to treat of peace, but they had no power to determine anything. Then began Alcibiades to be angry with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he any to them: calling them unfaithful, inconstant, and fickle men, that were come neither to do nor say anything worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: whereat Nicias was so ashamed and amazed withal, that he could not tell what to say, to see so sudden a change, knowing nothing of Alcibiades' malice and subtle practice with the ambassadors. So the ambassadors of Lacedæmon were dispatched without anything done, and Alcibiades chosen general: who presently brought the Argives, the Eleans, and the Mantineans in league with the Athenians. Though no man did commend this practice of his, in working it after this sort: yet was it a marvellous thing of him to devise to put all Peloponnesus in arms, and to procure such a number of soldiers against the Lacedæmonians as he did before the city of Mantinea, and to shift off the miseries of war and hazard of battle so far from Athens. Which if the Lacedæmonians did win, could not profit them much: and if they lost it, they could hardly save their city of Sparta.

After this battle of Mantinea, the thousand men

whom the city by an ancient order did keep continually in pay, as well in peace as in war, within the city of Argos, thinking now opportunity served them very trimly: attempted to take the sovereign authority from the common people, and to make themselves Lords of the city. And to bring this to pass, the Lacedæmonians coming in the meantime, did aid them in their purpose, and so did put down the government of the people: notwithstanding, immediately after the people took arms again, and became the stronger. Alcibiades coming thither even at that time, did warrant them the victory, and to set up again the authority of the people. Then he persuaded them to make their walls longer to join their city to the sea, to the end they might more easily be aided by sea, by the Athenians. He brought them also from Athens, many carpenters, masons, stone hewers, and other workmen: and to conclude, he showed them by all the means and ways he could, that he did bear good-will unto them, and thereby won himself no less favour, particularly among them, than generally he did good unto his country. He did persuade also the citizens of Patras to join their town to the sea, by making long walls, which they built out even to the cliffs of the sea. And when one said unto them, Alas, poor people of Patras, what do ye mean? the Athenians will eat you out. Alcibiades answered him, It may well be, but it shall be by little and little, beginning first at the feet: but the Lacedæmonians will devour you all at once, and begin at the head.

Now although Alcibiades did make the city of Athens strong by sea, yet he did not leave to persuade the Athenians also, to make themselves strong by land.

For he did put the young men oftentimes in mind of the oath they were made to swear in the temple of Agraulos, and did advise them to accomplish it indeed. Which was, that they should take all corn-fields, vines and olive trees to be the borders and confines of Attica, whereby they were taught to reckon all land theirs, that was manured¹, and did bring forth fruit.

Yet with all these goodly deeds and fair words of Alcibiades, and with this great courage and quickness of understanding, he had many great faults and imperfections. For he was too dainty in his fare, wantonly given, riotous in banquets, vain and womanish in apparel: he wore ever a long purple gown that swept the market-place as he walked up and down, it had such a train, and was too rich and costly for him to wear. And following these vain pleasures and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the planks of the poop thereof to be cut and broken up that he might lie the softer: for his bed was not laid upon the overlop², but lay upon girths strained over the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides; and he carried to the wars with him a gilded scutcheon, wherein he had no cognizance nor ordinary device of the Athenians, but only had the image of Cupid in it, holding lightning in his hand. The noblemen and best citizens of Athens perceiving this, they hated his fashions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afraid withal of his rashness and insolence: he did so condemn the laws and customs of their country, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be King, and would subvert and turn all over hand. And as for the good-will of the common people towards him, the

¹ Cultivated. ² Usually contracted to orlop, i.e. deck. (Not in N. E. Dict.)

poet Aristophanes doth plainly express it in these words:

The people most desire what most they hate to have:
and what their mind abhors, even that they seem to
crave.

And in another place he said also, aggravating the
suspicion they had of him:

For state or common weal much better should it be,
to keep within the country none such lions looks as he.
But if they needs will keep a lion to their cost,
then must they obey his will, for he will rule the roost.

For to say truly: his courtesies, his liberalities, and
noble expenses, to show the people so great pleasure
and pastime as nothing could be more; the glorious
memory of his ancestors, the grace of his eloquence, the
beauty of his person, the strength and valiantness of his
body, joined together with his wisdom and experience
in martial affairs, were the very causes that made them
to bear with him in all things, and that the Athenians
did patiently endure all his light parts, and did cover
his faults, with the best words and terms they could,
calling them youthful and gentlemen's sports. As
when he kept Agartharchus, the painter, prisoner in
his house by force, until he had painted all his walls
within: and when he had done, did let him go, and
rewarded him very honestly for his pains. Again, when
he gave a box of the ear to Taureas, who did pay the
whole charges of a company of common players, in
spite of him, to carry away the honour of the games.
Also when he took away a young woman of Melos by
his authority, that was taken among certain prisoners in
the wars; which they called a work of charity, albeit

afterwards they burdened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poor Melians, saving the little children, because he had favoured and persuaded that unnatural and wicked decree, which another had propounded. Likewise where one Aristophon a painter, had painted a woman named Nemea, holding Alcibiades in her arms, and sitting in her lap, which all the people ran to see, and took great pleasure to behold it: the grave and ancient men were angry at these foolish parts, accompting them impudent things, and done against all civil modesty and temperance. Wherefore it seemed Archestratus' words were spoken to good purpose, when he said that Greece could not abide two Alcibiades at once. And on a day as he came from the council and assembly of the city, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptance of all the hearers, and by means thereof had obtained the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great train that followed him to his honour: Timon, surnamed Misanthropus (as who would say, Loup-garou, or the manhater) meeting Alcibiades thus accompanied, did not pass by him, nor gave him way (as he was wont to do to all other men) but went straight to him, and took him by the hand, and said: O, thou dost well my son, I can thee thank,¹ that thou goest on, and climbest up still: for if ever thou be in authority, woe be unto those that follow thee, for they are utterly undone. When they had heard these words, those that stood by fell a-laughing: others reviled Timon, others again marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after, such sundry opinions they had of him for the incon-

¹ I give thee thanks: *can* means *know*, I have thanks in my mind.

(D 699)

stancy of his life, and waywardness of his nature and conditions.

Now for the taking of Sicily, the Athenians did marvellously covet it in Pericles' life, but yet they did not meddle withal, until after his death: and then they did it at the first under colour of friendship, as aiding those cities which were oppressed and spoiled by the Syracusans. This was in manner a plain bridge made, to pass afterwards a greater power and army thither. Howbeit the only procurer of the Athenians, and persuader of them, to send small companies thither no more, but to enter with a great army at once to conquer all the country together, was Alcibiades: who had so allured the people with his pleasant tongue, that upon his persuasion, they built castles in the air, and thought to do greater wonders by winning only of Sicilia. For where others did set their minds upon the conquest of Sicily, being that they only hoped after: it was to Alcibiades but a beginning of further enterprises. And where Nicias commonly in all his persuasions did turn the Athenians from their purpose to make wars against the Syracusans, as being too great a matter for them to take the city of Syracuse: Alcibiades again had a further reach in his head, to go conquer Libya, and Carthage, and that being conquered, to pass from thence into Italy, and so to Peloponnesus: so that Sicilia should serve but to furnish them with vittles, and to pay the soldiers for their conquests which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently carried away with a marvellous hope and opinion of this journey, and gave good ear to old men's tales that told them wonders of the countries: insomuch as there was no

North coast of Africa

other pastime nor exercise among the youths in their meetings, but companies of men to sit around together, draw plates of Sicily, and describe the situation of Libya and Carthage. And yet they say, that neither Socrates the philosopher, nor Meton the astronomer, did ever hope to see any good success of this journey. For the one by the revealing of his familiar spirit, who told him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: and Meton, whether it was for the fear of the success of the journey he had by reason, or that he knew by divination of his art what would follow, he counterfeited the mad man, and holding a burning torch in his hand, made as though he would have set his house afire. Others say, that he did not counterfeit, but like a madman indeed did set his house afire one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the marketplace to pray the people, that in consideration of his great loss and his grievous calamity so late happened him, it would please them to discharge his son for going this voyage. So by this mad device, he obtained his request of the people for his son, whom¹ he abused much. But Nicias against his will was chosen captain, to take charge of men in these wars: who misliked this journey, as well for his companion and associate in the charge of these wars, as for other misfortunes he foresaw therein. Howbeit the Athenians thought the war would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to Alcibiades' rashness and hardness, but did join with him the wisdom of Nicias: and appointed Lamachus also for their third captain, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somewhat old, as one that

¹ That is, he abused or tricked the people.

had showed himself no less venturous and hardy in some battles, than Alcibiades himself.

Now when they came to resolve of the number of soldiers, the furniture and order of these wars, Nicias sought crookedly to thwart this journey, and to break it altogether: but Alcibiades withstood him, and got the better hand of him. There was an orator called Demostratus, who moved the people also that the captains whom they had chosen for these wars, might have full power and authority to levy men at their discretion, and to make such preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condescended, and did authorize them.

But when they were even ready to go their way, many signs of ill success lighted in the neck one of another: and amongst the rest this was one. That they were commanded to take ship, on the day of the celebration of the feast of Adonia; on the which the custom is, that women do set up in divers places of the city, in the midst of the streets, images, like to dead corpses which they carry to burial, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering, and beating themselves, in token of the sorrow the goddess Venus made, for the death of her friend Adonis. Moreover, the Hermes (which are the images of Mercury, and were wont to be set up in every land and street) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled specially in their faces: but this put divers in great fear and trouble, yea even those that made no accompt of such toys. Whereupon it was alleged that it might be the Corinthians that did it, or procured that lewd act to be done, favouring the Syracusans, who

were their near kinsmen, and had been the first founders of them, imagining upon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake off the enterprize, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this war in hand. Nevertheless, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their words that said, they should not reckon of any such signs or tokens, and that they were but some light-brained youths, that being tippled, had played this shameful part in their bravery or for sport. But for all these reasons, they took these signs very grievously, and were indeed not a little afraid, as thinking undoubtedly that no man durst have been so bold to have done such an abominable fact, but that there was some conspiracy in the matter. Hereupon, they looked upon every suspicion and conjecture that might be (how little or unlikely soever it were) and that very severely: and both Senate and people also met in counsel upon it, very often, and in a few days.

Now whilst they were busily searching out the matter, Androcles a common counsellor and orator in the common wealth, brought before the council certain slaves and strangers that dwelt in Athens: who deposed that Alcibiades, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that sort, and in a mockery had counterfeited also, in a banquet that he made, the ceremonies of the holy mysteries, declaring these matters particularly. How one Theodorus counterfeited the herald, that is wont to make the proclamations: Polytion the torch bearer, and Alcibiades the priest, who showeth the holy signs and mysteries: and that his other companions were the assistants, as those that make suit to be received into their religion

and order, and into the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call Mystes. These very words are written in the accusation Thessalus (Cimon's son) made against Alcibiades, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddesses, Ceres, and Proserpina.

Whereat the people being marvellously moved and offended, and the orator Androcles his mortal enemy aggravating and stirring them up the more against him: Alcibiades a little at the first began to be amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were prepared for the voyage of Sicilia, and the soldiers also that were gathered, did bear him great good-will, and specially how the aid, and that band that came from Argos, and Mantinea (being a thousand footmen, well armed and appointed) did say openly, how it was for Alcibiades' sake they did take upon them so long a voyage beyond sea, and that if they went about to do him any hurt or wrong, they would presently return home again from whence they came: he began to be of a good courage again, and determined with this good favourable opportunity of time, to come before the council to answer to all such articles and accusations as should be laid against him. Thereupon his enemies were a little cooled, fearing lest the people in this judgment would have showed him more favour, because they stood in need of him. Wherefore to prevent this danger, they had fed other orators who set a good face on the matter, as they had been Alcibiades' friends, and yet bare him no less good-will, than the rankest enemies he had. These fine fellows rose up in open assembly, and said: it was no reason, that he that was now chosen

one of the generals of so mighty and puissant an army (being ready to hoise sail) and the aid also of their allies and friends, should be driven to stay now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilst they should go about to choose judges and appoint him his hours and time of answer. Therefore, they said, it was fit he should take his journey betimes, and when wars were done, that he should present himself to require justice, and to purge himself of such matters as should be objected against him.

But Alcibiades smelling straight their fetch¹, and perceiving the practice of his stay, stepped up, and declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a general of so great an army, his mind being troubled with continual fear of so grievous curses, as he should leave upon him: and that he deserved death, if he could not purge and justify himself, of all the unjust and surmised accusations against him. And if he had once cleared himself of all things, and had published his innocence: he should then have nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to think upon, but to go on lustily to fight with his enemies, and to cast behind him the danger of all his slanderous detractors. But all this could not persuade them. And so he was presently commanded in the behalf of the people to embark and ship away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the seas with his other companions, having in their navy about a hundred and forty galleys, all having three oars to a bank²: and five thousand one hundred footmen very well armed and appointed, and throwers with slings, archers, and other light-armed men

¹ Trick.

² Bench. But the word translated means, three banks of oars.

to the number of thirteen hundred, sufficiently furnished of all warlike and necessary munition.

Now after they were arrived on the coast of Italy, they landed in the city of Rhegium: where, holding counsel in what sort they should direct these wars, it was resolved in the end that they should go straight unto Sicilia. This opinion was followed, although Nicias did contrary it, when Lamachus gave his consent thereunto: and at his first coming, he was the occasion of winning the city of Catana. But he never after did any exploit, for he was called home immediately by the Athenians, to come and answer certain accusations laid to his charge. For as we told you before, there was at the beginning, certain light suspicions and accusations put up against him, by some slaves and strangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burdened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken the images of Mercury: and had committed sacrilege in counterfeiting in jest and mockery the holy ceremonies of the mysteries: and blew into the ears of the people, that both the one and the other proceeded of one set conspiracy, to change and alter the government of the state of the city.

Upon these informations, the people took it in so ill part, that they committed all to prison, that were in any sort accused or suspected thereof, and would never let them come to their answer, and moreover did much repent them that they had not condemned Alcibiades, upon so great complaints and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offence was in question before them. And the fury and hatred of the people was such towards him, that if any of Alcibiades' friends

and acquaintances came within their danger,¹ they were the worse handled for his sake. Thucydides did not name his accusers, but some other do name Diocles and Teucer: amongst whom, Phrynichus the comical poet is one, who discovereth it in his verses, by bringing in one that speaketh thus to the image of Mercury:

My good friend Mercury, I pray thee take good heed,
that thou fall not, and break thy neck: for thou so mightst
me breed

both danger and distrust, and though I guiltless be,
some Diocles falsely might accuse and trouble me.

Mercury answereth:

Take thou no thought for me, myself I shall well save:
and will foresee full well therewith that Teucer (that false
knave)

Shall not the money get, which he by law hath won,
for his promoters' bribing part, and accusation.

And yet for all this, these tokens do show no certainty of anything. For one of them being asked, how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced these images? he answered that he knew them well enough by the brightness of the moon. And hereby it appeareth plainly that he was perjured, because that the same night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a conjunction of the moon.² This did a little trouble and stay men of judgment: howbeit the common sort of people this notwithstanding, did not leave to be as sharp set, to receive all accusations and informations, that were brought in against him, as ever they were before.

¹ Power.

² The last day of the month, called in Greek the "old and new moon".

Now there was among the prisoners whose cause was hanging before them, the orator Andocides (whom Hellicus the historiographer describeth to descend of the race of Ulysses) whom they took to be a man that hated the government of the common people, and bent altogether to favour the small number of the nobility. But one of the chiefest occasions why he was suspected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his house there was a fair great image set up in old time, by the family or tribe of the *Ægeides*, and that alone amongst all the rest of so many famous images, was left whole and unbroken: whereupon it is called at this day, the Mercury of Andocides, and is so called generally of everybody, albeit the inscription showeth the contrary. Andocides being in prison, chanced to fall in acquaintance with one *Timæus*, with whom he was more familiar than with all the rest, who was also prisoner with him for the self cause. This *Timæus* was a man not so well known as he, but besides, a wise man, and very hardy. He persuaded him, and put into his head, that he should accuse himself, and certain others with him: for taking the matter upon him, and confessing it, he should receive grace and pardon, according to the course and promise of the law. Where contrarily, if he should stand upon the courtesy of the judge's sentence, he might easily endanger himself: because judgments in such cases are uncertain to all people, and most to be doubted and feared toward the rich. And therefore he told him it were his best way, if he looked into the matter wisely, by lying to save his life, rather than to suffer death with shame, and to be condemned upon this false accusation.

Also he said if he would have regard to the common wealth, that it should in like case be wisely done of him, to put in danger a few of those (which stood doubtful whether in truth they were any of them or not) to save from the fury of the people, and terror of death, many honest men, who indeed were innocent of this lewd fact.

Timæus' words and persuasions wrought such effect with Andocides, that they made him yield unto them, and brought him to accuse himself, and certain others with him: by means whereof Andocides according to the law had his pardon. But all such as he named and accused, were every man put to death, saving such as saved themselves by running away. Furthermore, to shadow his accusation with some appearance of truth, Andocides among those that were accused, did accuse also certain of his own servants. Now though the people had no more occasion to occupy their busy heads about the breakers of these images, yet was not their malice thus appeased against Alcibiades, until they sent the galley called Salaminian¹, commanding those they sent by a special commission to seek him out, in no case to attempt to take him by force, nor to lay hold on him by violence: but to use him with all the good words and courteous manner that they possibly could, and to will him only to appear in person before the people, to answer to certain accusations put up against him. If otherwise they should have used force, they feared much lest the army would have mutinied on his behalf within the country of their enemies, and that there would have grown some sedition amongst their soldiers. This might

¹ The state dispatch boat.

Alcibiades have easily done, if he had been disposed. For the soldiers were very sorry to see him depart, perceiving that the wars should be drawn out now in length, and be much prolonged under Nicias, seeing Alcibiades was taken from them, who was the only spur that pricked Nicias forward to do any service: and that Lamachus also, though he were a valiant man of his hands, yet he lacked honour and authority in the army, because he was but a mean man born, and poor besides.

Now Alcibiades for a farewell, disappointed the Athenians of winning the city of Messina: for they having intelligence by certain private persons within the city, that it would yield up into their hands, Alcibiades knowing them very well by their names, betrayed them unto those that were the Syracusans' friends: whereupon all this practice was broken utterly. Afterwards when he came to the city of Thurii, so soon as he had landed, he went and hid himself incontinently in such sort, that such as sought for him, could not find him. Yet there was one that knew him where he was, and said: Why, how now Alcibiades, darest thou not trust the justice of thy country? Yes very well (quoth he) and it were in another matter: but my life standing upon it, I would not trust mine own mother, fearing lest negligently she should put in the black bean where she should cast in the white. For by the first, condemnation of death was signified: and by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the Athenians for malice had condemned him to death: Well, quoth he, they shall know I am yet alive.

Now the manner of his accusation and inditement

framed against him, was found written in this sort: Thessalus the son of Cimon, of the village of Laciadæ, hath accused, and doth accuse Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the village of Scambonidæ, to have offended against the goddesses, Ceres and Proserpina, counterfeiting in mockery their holy mysteries, and showing them to his familiar friends in his house, himself apparelled and arrayed in a long vestment or cope, like unto the vestment the priest weareth when he showeth these holy sacred mysteries: and naming himself the priest, Polytion the torch bearer, and Theodorus of the village of Phegus the verger, and the other lookers on, brethren, and fellow scorers with them, and all done in manifest contempt and derision of holy ceremonies and mysteries of the Eumolpidæ, the religious priests and ministers of the sacred temple of the city of Eleusis. So Alcibiades for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his goods confiscate. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the religious priests and women should ban and accurse him. But hereunto answered one of the Nuns called Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the village of Agraula, saying: that she was professed religious, to pray and to bless, not to curse and ban.

After this most grievous sentence and condemnation passed against him, Alcibiades departed out of the city of Thurii, and went into the country of Peloponnesus, where he continued a good season in the city of Argos. But in the end fearing his enemies, and having no hope to return again to his own country with any safety: he sent unto Sparta to have safe conduct and licence of the Lacedæmonians, that he might come and dwell

in their country, promising them he would do them more good being now their friend, than he ever did them hurt, while he was their enemy. The Lacedæmonians granted his request, and received him very willingly into their city: where even upon his first coming, he did three things. The first was: That the Lacedæmonians by his persuasion and procurement did determine speedily to send aid to the Syracusans, whom they had long before delayed: and so they sent Gylippus their captain, to overthrow the Athenians' army, which they had sent thither. The second thing he did for them, was: That he made them of Greece to begin war upon the Athenians. The third, and greatest matter of importance, was: That he did counsel them to fortify the city of Decelea, which was within the territories of Attica itself: which consumed, and brought the power of the Athenians lower, than any other thing whatsoever he could have done.

And if he were welcome, and well esteemed in Sparta, for the service he did to the common wealth: much more he won the love and good wills of private men, for that he lived after the Laconian manner. So as they that saw his skin scraped to the flesh, and saw him wash himself in cold water, and how he did eat brown bread, and sup of their black broth: would have doubted (or to say better, never have believed) that such a man had ever kept cook in his house, nor that he ever had seen so much as a perfuming pan, or had touched cloth of tissue made at Miletus. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they say was one, whereby he most robbed men's hearts: that he could frame altogether with their

manners and fashions of life, transforming himself more easily to all manner of shapes, than the chameleon. For it is reported that the chameleon cannot take white colour: but Alcibiades could put upon him any manners, customs or fashions, of what nation soever, and could follow, exercise, and counterfeit them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very painful¹, and in continual exercise: he lived sparingly with little, and led a straight life. In Ionia, to the contrary: there he lived daintily, and superfluously, and give himself to all mirth and pleasure. In Thrace, he drank ever, or was always on horse-back. If he came to Tissaphernes, lieutenant of the mighty king of Persia: he far exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pomp and sumptuousness. And these things notwithstanding, never altered his natural condition from one fashion to another, neither did his manners (to say truly) receive all sorts of changes. But because peradventure, if he had showed his natural disposition, he might in divers places where he came, have offended those whose company he kept, he did with such a visard² and cloak disguise himself, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming himself into their natural countenance, as he that had seen him when he was at Sparta, to have looked upon the outward man, would have said as the common proverb sayeth:

It is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles self:

even so it is even he, whom Lycurgus brought up. But he that had inwardly seen his natural doings and good-will indeed lie naked before him: would have

¹ Laborious.

² Or visor, visor: mask.

said contrarily, as they say commonly in another language:

This woman is no changeling.

After the utter overthrow of the Athenians in Sicilia, those of the Isles of Chios and Lesbos, with the Cyziceniens, did send all about a ten ambassadors to Sparta: to let the Lacedæmonians understand they had good will to leave the Athenians, so they would send them aid to defend them. The Bœotians favoured those of Lesbos: Pharnabazus, the King of Persia's lieutenant, favoured the Cyziceniens. This notwithstanding, the Lacedæmonians were better affected to help those of Chios first, by the persuasion of Alcibiades, who took their matters in hand. And he took sea himself and went into Asia, where he almost turned the country of Ionia against the Athenians; and keeping always with the generals of the Lacedæmonians, he did much hurt the Athenians.

Yet notwithstanding, King Agis did bear him ill will, partly for that he envied his glory: because the rumour ran about, that the most part of the goodly exploits of these wars did happen well, by Alcibiades' means. Others also of the greatest authority among the Spartans, that were most ambitious among them, began in their minds to be angry with Alcibiades, for the envy they bare him: who were of so great power, that they procured their governors to write their letters to their captains in the field, to kill him. Alcibiades hearing of this, did no whit desist to do all he could for the benefit of the Lacedæmonians: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occasions to fall into their hands.

So in the end, for more surety of his person, he

went unto Tissaphernes, one of the King of Persia's lieutenants, with whom he won incontinently such credit, that he was the first and chiefest person he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple person, but rather malicious, and subtle of nature, and that loved fine and crafty men: did wonder how he could so easily turn from one manner of living to another, and also at his quick wit and understanding. Moreover, his company and manner to pass the time away, was commonly marvellous full of mirth and pleasure; and he had such pleasant comely devices with him, that no man was of so sullen a nature, but he would make him merry, nor so churlish, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also envied him: they were yet glad to see him, and it did them good to be in his company, and use talk with him. In so much as this Tissaphernes (that otherwise was a churlish man, and naturally hated the Grecians) did give himself so much unto Alcibiades' flatteries, and they pleased him so well: that he himself did study to flatter Alcibiades again, and make much of him. For he called Alcibiades his fair house of pleasure, and goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had many goodly gardens, sweet springs, green arbours and pleasant meadows, and those in all royal and magnificent manner.

Alcibiades despairing utterly to find any safety or friendship among the Spartans, and fearing on the other side King Agis also: he began to speak ill of them, and to disgrace all that they did, to Tissaphernes. By this practice he stayed Tissaphernes from aiding them so friendly as he might: moreover, he did not utterly destroy the Athenians. For he persuaded him that he

should furnish the Lacedæmonians but with little money, to let them diminish and consume by little and little: to the end that after one had troubled and weakened the other, they both at the length should be the easier for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did easily consent to this device. All the world then saw he loved Alcibiades, and esteemed of him very much: in so much as he was sought to, and regarded of all hands of the Grecians.

Then were the Athenians sorry, and repented them when they had received so great loss and hurt, for that they had decreed so severely against Alcibiades, who in like manner was very sorrowful to see them brought to so hard terms, fearing, if the city of Athens came to destruction, that he himself should fall in the end into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who maliced him to the death.

Now about that time, all the power of the Athenians was almost in the Isle of Samos, from whence with their army by sea, they sought to suppress the rebels that were up against them, and to keep all that which yet remained. For they were yet prettily strong to resist their enemies, at least by sea: but they stood in great fear of the power of Tissaphernes, and of the hundred and fifty galleys which were reported to be coming out of the country of Phœnicia, to the aid of their enemies, which if they had come, the city of Athens had been utterly spoiled, and for ever without hope of recovery. The which Alcibiades understanding, sent secretly unto the chiefest men that were in the army of the Athenians at Samos, to give them hope he would make Tissaphernes their friend: howbeit not of any desire he had to gratify

the people, nor that he trusted to the commonalty of Athens, but only to the honourable, and honest citizens, and that conditionally so as they had the heart and courage, to bridle a little the over licentiousness and insolence of the common people, and that they would take upon them the authority to govern, and to redress their state, and to preserve the city of Athens, from final and utter destruction.

Upon this advertisement, all the heads and chief men did give very good ear unto it: saving only Phrynichus, one of the captains. Who mistrusting (that was true indeed) that Alcibiades cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chief government of Athens, the nobility, or the commonalty, and did but seek all the devices and ways he could, to return again if it might be possible, in any manner of sort, and that he did but curry favour with the nobility, blaming and accusing the people: he stood altogether against the motion, whereupon Alcibiades' device was not followed. And having now showed himself open enemy to Alcibiades, he did secretly advertise Astyochus then admiral to the Lacedæmonians, of Alcibiades' practice, and warned him to take heed of him, and to lay him up safe, as a double dealer, and one that had intelligence with both sides: but he understood not how it was but one traitor to speak to another. For this Astyochus was a follower of Tissaphernes for his private commodity: and perceiving Alcibiades in such credit with him, he did discover to Alcibiades all that Phrynichus had advertised him.

Alcibiades straight sent men of purpose to Samos, unto the captains there, to accuse Phrynichus of the

treason he had revealed against them. Those of the council there, receiving this intelligence: were highly offended with Phrynichus. So, he seeing no better way to save himself for making of this fault, went about to make amends with committing a worse fault. Thereupon he sent again to Astyochus, complaining much he had disclosed him: and yet nevertheless he promised him, if he would keep his counsel, that he would deliver the whole fleet and army of the Athenians into his hands. Howbeit this treason of Phrynichus did the Athenians no hurt at all, by reason of Astyochus' counter treason: for he did let Alcibiades again understand what offer Phrynichus had made him. Phrynichus looking to be charged with this again, the second time before the council, by means of Alcibiades, did first advertise the chief of the army of the Athenians: That their enemies would come and set upon them, and where, and how: and gave them therefore warning to keep near their ships, to make a strong watch, and to fortify themselves with all speed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other letters from Alcibiades, by the which he did warn them again to take heed of Phrynichus, because he had practised again with their enemies, to deliver the whole army of Athens into their hands. But they gave no credit to his second letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparations and minds of the enemies, would serve his own turn with the false accusing of Phrynichus.

Notwithstanding this, there was some falsehood in fellowship: for one Hermon, openly in the market-place, stabbed Phrynichus in with a dagger, and killed him. The fact being pleaded in law, and thoroughly con-

sidered of: the dead body by the sentence of the people was condemned for a traitor: and Hermon the murderer, and his fellows, were crowned in recompense of their fact they had done to kill a traitor to the common wealth. Wherefore those that were Alcibiades' friends, being at that time the stronger, and greatest men of the council in the army at Samos: they sent one Pisander to Athens, to attempt to alter the government and to encourage the noblemen to take upon them the authority, and to pluck it from the people: assuring them that Tissaphernes would give them aid to do it, by means of Alcibiades, who would make him their friend.

This was the colour and cloak wherewith they served their turns, that did change the government of Athens, and that brought it into the hands of a small number of nobility: for they were in all but four hundred, and yet they called themselves five thousand. But so soon as they felt themselves strong, and that they had the whole authority of government, without contradiction in their hands: they made then no more reckoning of Alcibiades, and so they made wars more coldly and slackly than before. Partly because they mistrusted their citizens, who found the change of government very strange: and partly also because they were of opinion that the Lacedæmonians (who at all times did most favour the government of nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them.

Now the common people that remained still in the city, stirred not, but were quiet against their wills, for fear of danger, because they were many of them slain, that boldly took upon them in open presence to resist these four hundred. But those that were in the camp,

in the Isle of Samos, hearing this news, were so grievously offended: that they resolved to return incontinently again, unto the haven of Piræus. First of all, they sent for Alcibiades, whom they chose their captain: then they commanded him straightly to lead them against these tyrants, who had usurped the liberty of the people of Athens. But nevertheless he did not therein, as another would have done in this case, seeing himself so suddenly crept again in favour with the common people: for he did not think he should incontinently please and gratify them in all things, though they had made him now their general over all their ships and so great an army, being before but a banished man, a vagabond, and a fugitive. But to the contrary, as it became a general worthy of such a charge, he considered with himself, that it was his part wisely to stay those, who would in a rage and fury carelessly cast themselves away, and not suffer them to do it.

And truly Alcibiades was the cause of the preserving of the city of Athens at that time, from utter destruction. For if they had suddenly (according to their determination) departed from Samos to go to Athens: the enemies finding no man to let them, might easily have won all the country of Ionia, of Hellespont, and of all the other Isles without stroke striking, whilst the Athenians were busy fighting one against another in civil wars, and within the compass of their own walls. This Alcibiades alone, and no other, did prevent, not only by persuading the whole army, and declaring the inconvenience thereof, which would fall out upon their sudden departure: but also by entreating some particularly apart, and keeping a number back by very force.

To bring this about, one Thrasybulus, did help him much: who went through the army, and cried out upon them that were bent to enterprise this journey. For he had the biggest and loudest voice as they say, of any man that was in all the city of Athens. This was a notable act, and a great piece of service done by Alcibiades: that the promised five hundred sail of the Phenicians (which the Lacedæmonians assuredly looked for, in their aid from the King of Persia) should not come at all, or else if they came, it should be in the favour of the Athenians. For he departed immediately, and went with great speed to Tissaphernes: whom he handled in such sort, that he brought not the ships that lay at rode¹ before the city of Aspendus, and so he brake promise with the Lacedæmonians. Therefore Alcibiades was marvellously blamed and accused, both of the one and the other side, to have altered Tissaphernes' mind, but chiefly of the Lacedæmonians: who said that he had persuaded this barbarous captain, he should neither aid the one nor the other, but rather to suffer them one to devour and destroy each other. For it had been out of doubt, if this great fleet and navy of the King's had come, to join their force with either party: that they had taken from the one of them, the signiory and domination of the sea.

Shortly after, the four hundred noblemen that had usurped the authority and government of Athens, were utterly driven away and overthrown, by means of the friendly aid, and assistance that Alcibiades' friends gave those that took the people's part. So the citizens were very well pleased with Alcibiades, in so much as they

¹ Riding at anchor.

sent for him to return when he thought good. But he judging with himself it would be no honour nor grace unto him to return without some well deserving, and before he had done some greater exploit, as only upon the people's favour and good-will, whereas otherwise his return might be both glorious and triumphant: departed first from Samos with a small number of galleys, and went sailing up and down the Isles of Cos and Cnidos. There he was advertised, that Mindarus, the admiral of the Lacedæmonians, was gone with all his fleet unto the Strait of Hellespont, and that the captains of the Athenians gave chase unto him. Thereupon he went also and sailed thither with speed, to aid the Athenians: and by very good fortune came with eighteen galleys even at the very instant, when they were both in the midst of their fight, with all their ships before the city of Abydos.

The battle was cruelly foughten between them from morning till night, both the one and the other having the better in one part of the battle, and the worst in another place. Now at the first discovery of Alcibiades' coming, both parties had indeed contrary imaginations of him. For the enemies took heart unto them: and the Athenians began to be afraid. But Alcibiades set up straight his flag in the top of the galley of his admiral,¹ to show what he was. Wherewithal, he set upon the Peloponnesians that had the better, and had certain galleys of the Athenians in chase: whereupon the Peloponnesians gave over their chase, and fled. But Alcibiades followed them so lustily, that he ran divers of them aground, and brake their ships, and slew a great

¹ The flagship was called the *Admiral*.

number of men that leapt into the sea, in hope to save themselves by swimming to land. So notwithstanding that Pharnabazus was come thither to aid the Lacedæmonians, and did his best endeavour to save their galleys by the sea-shore: yet the Athenians in the end won thirty galleys of their enemies, and saved all their own, and so did set up certain flags of triumph and victory.

Alcibiades having now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs go show himself in triumph unto Tissaphernes. So having prepared to present him with goodly rich presents, and appointed also a convenient train and number of sail meet for a general, he took his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for. For Tissaphernes, standing in great hazard of displeasure, and fear of punishment at the King's hands, having long time before been defamed by the Lacedæmonians, who had complained of him, that he did not fulfil the King's commandment, thought that Alcibiades was arrived in very happy hour: whereupon he kept him prisoner in the city of Sardis, supposing the wrong he had done, would by this means easily discharge, and purge him to the King. Yet at the end of thirty days, Alcibiades by fortune got a horse, and stealing from his keepers, fled unto the city of Clazomenæ: and this did more increase the suspicion they had of Tissaphernes, because they thought that under-hand he had wrought his liberty.

Alcibiades took then sea again, and went to seek out the army of the Athenians. Which when he had found, and heard news that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together in the city of Cyzicus: he made an oration to

Lacedæmonian admirals

his soldiers, and declared unto them how it was very requisite they should fight with their enemies, both by sea and by land, and moreover that they should assault them within their forts and castles, because otherwise they could have no money to defray their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediately hoise sail, and so to go lie at anchor in the Isle of Proconnesus: where he took order that they should keep in all the pinnaces and brigantines among the ships of war, that the enemy might have no manner of intelligence of his coming. The great showers of rain also, with thunder and dark weather that fell out suddenly upon it, did greatly further him in his attempt and enterprise: in so much as not only his enemies, but the Athenians that were there before, knew nothing of his coming. So some made their reckoning, that they could do little or nothing all that day: yet he made them suddenly embark, and hoise sail.

They were no sooner in the main sea, but they descried afar off the galleys of their enemies, which lay at rode before the haven of Cyzicus. And fearing lest the great number of his fleet would make them fly, and take land before he could come to them: he commanded certain captains to stay behind, and to row softly after him, and himself with forty galleys with him, went towards the enemies to provoke them to fight. The enemies supposing there had been no more ships, than those that were in sight: did set out presently to fight with them. They were no sooner joined together, but Alcibiades' ships that came behind, were also descried: the enemies were so afraid thereat, that they cast about, and fled straight. Alcibiades leaving his

fleet, followed the chase with twenty of the best galleys he had, and drove them on land. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued them so courageously at their heels, that he slew a great number of them on the mainland, who thought by flying to have saved themselves. Moreover, Mindarus and Pharnabazus, being come out of the city to rescue their people, were overthrown both. He slew Mindarus in the field, fighting valiantly: as for Pharnabazus, he cowardly fled away. So the Athenians spoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deal of armour and riches, and took besides all their enemies' ships. After they took the city of Cyzicus, Pharnabazus having left it. Then the Peloponnesians being slain, they had not only the possession of the whole country of Hellespont, which they kept: but they drove their enemies by force, out of all parts of the sea.

There were at that time certain letters intercepted, whereby a secretary gave advertisement unto the Ephors at Sparta, of the overthrow, in this sort: All is lost, Mindarus is slain, our people die for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the soldiers of Athens that had been at this journey and overthrow, grew to such a pride and reputation of themselves, that they would not, and disdained also to serve with the other soldiers that had been beaten many times, and went away with the worse: where they to the contrary had never been overcome, as a little before it happened, that the captain Thrasyllus had been overthrown by the city of Ephesus. And for this overthrow, the Ephesians had set up a triumph, and token of brass, to the utter shame and ignominy of the Athenians.

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For the which Alcibiades' soldiers did very much rebuke Thrasyllus' men, and did exceedingly extol their captain and themselves, and would neither encamp with them, neither have to do with them, nor yet keep them company, until such time as Pharnabazus came with a great army against them, as well of footmen as horsemen, when they ran a-foraging upon the Abydenians: and then Alcibiades went to the rescue of them, and gave Pharnabazus battle, and overthrew him once again, and did together with Thrasyllus chase him even until dark night. Then both Alcibiades and Thrasyllus' soldiers did company together, one rejoicing with another: and so returned all with great joy into one camp. The next morning Alcibiades set up a triumph for the victory he had the day before, and then went to spoil and destroy Pharnabazus' country, where he was governor, and no man durst once come out to meet him. In this road there were taken prisoners, certain priests and nuns of the country: but Alcibiades freely delivered them afterwards without ransom.

And preparing to make wars against the Chalcedonians, who were revolted from the Athenians, and had received a garrison and governor of the Lacedæmonians into their city: he was advertised that they had brought in all their goods and cattle out of the fields, and had delivered them to the safe custody of the Bithynians, who were their neighbours and friends. Hereupon he led his army into their borders, and sent a herald before to summon the Bithynians, to make amends for the wrong they had done the Athenians. The Bithynians fearing lest Alcibiades would set upon them, did straight deliver him the goods they had set as afore in their

custody, and moreover, made a league with the Athenians besides. That done, he went and laid siege to the city of Chalcedon, to which he environed all about from the one side of the sea to the other. Pharnabazus came thither, thinking to have raised the siege. And Hippocrates, a captain of the Lacedæmonians, that was governor of the city, assembled all the force he was able to make within the same, and made a sail out also upon the Athenians at the very same time. Whereupon Alcibiades putting his men in order of battle, so as they might give a charge upon them both at one instant: he fought so valiantly, that he forced Pharnabazus to run his way with shame enough, and slew Hippocrates in the field, with a great number of his men.

Then took he the seas again, to go towards the country of Hellespont, to get some money; where upon the sudden he did take the city of Selybria: because he valiantly put himself in hazard before the time appointed him. For certain of his friends within, with whom he had secret practice, had given him a token, that when time served, they would show a burning torch in the air at midnight: but they were compelled to show this fire in the air before they were ready, for fear lest one of their confederacy would betray the matter, who suddenly repented him. Now this torch burning in the air, was set up before Alcibiades was ready with his company. But he perceiving the sign set, took about thirty men with him in his company, and ran with them to the walls of the city, having commanded the rest of his army to follow him with all speed possible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirty men: besides them there followed twenty other light-armed men. Howbeit they

were no sooner entered the city, but they heard the citizens armed come against them: so that there was no hope to escape, if he did tarry their coming. Nevertheless, considering that until that present time he was never overcome in battle, where he had taken charge, it grieved him very much to fly: wherefore it straight came in his head to make silence by sound of trumpet, and after silence made, he caused one of them that were about him to make proclamation with a loud voice, that the Selybrians should not take arms against the Athenians. This cooled them a little that would fain have been doing, because they supposed that all the army of the Athenians had been already in the city: the other on the contrary side, were very glad to talk of peace, without any further danger. And as they began to parley upon composition, the rest of Alcibiades' army was come on. Now he thinking indeed (which was true) that the Selybrians sought nothing but peace, and fearing lest the Thracians which were many in number (and came with good-will to serve him in that journey) would sack and spoil the city, he made them all to go out again: and so concluding peace with the chief of the Selybrians, he did them no more hurt, upon their humble submission, but made them pay him a sum of money, and so leaving a garrison of the Athenians within the city, he departed thence.

Whilst Alcibiades was in treaty with the Selybrians, the other Athenian captains that lay at the siege of Chalcedon, made an agreement with Pharnabazus, that he should give them a sum of money, and give up the town into the Athenians' hands, to enjoy it as they had before. And with express condition also, that the

Athenians should make no roads into Pharnabazus' dominions, to hurt or spoil any of his: and likewise should be bound to give good safe conduct unto the ambassadors of the Athenians, to go and come safe from time to time, to the King of Persia. The other captains being sworn to this peace, Pharnabazus conditioned also, that Alcibiades at his return should likewise be sworn to the peace and conditions thereof. But Alcibiades said, he would not be sworn at all, unless Pharnabazus were first sworn for his part.

Thus when oaths were taken of either side, Alcibiades went also against those of Byzantium, who in like case had rebelled against the Athenians. At his first coming thither, he environed the city round about with a wall. Afterwards he practised with two secret friends of his, Anaxilaüs, and Lycurgus, and certain others within the city, who promised him to deliver it into his hands, so they might be assured he would do them no hurt. To colour ¹ this practice, he gave it out, that he must needs leave the siege, and depart with speed, for certain news that were come out of Ionia: and thereupon he embarked presently, and went out of the haven at noon-days with all his ships, howbeit he returned again the same night. And going on land with the choicest and best armed men he had, he approached the walls of the city, without any manner of noise, having left order with them that remained in the ships, that in the mean season they should row with all force into the haven, with as great cries and shouts as might be, to fear and trouble the enemies: partly to fear the Byzantines the more with their sudden coming among them, and partly that his

¹ Disguise.

confederates within the city, might with better opportunity receive him and his company into the town with the more assured safety whilst every man ran to the haven, to resist them that were upon the galleys. Nevertheless they went not away unfought with. For those that lay in garrison within the city, some of them Peloponnesians, other Bœotians, and other Megarians, did so valiantly repulse them that came out of their galleys, that they drove them to retire aboard again. Afterwards hearing how the Athenians were entered the city on the other side, they put themselves in battle array, and went to meet them. The battle was terrible of both parts: but Alcibiades in the end obtained victory, leading the right wing of his battle, and Theramenes the left.

The victory being gotten, he took 300 of his enemies prisoners, who had escaped the fury of the battle. But after the battle, there was not a Byzantine put to death, neither banished, nor his goods confiscated: because it was capitulated by Alcibiades with his confederates, that neither he, nor his, should hurt any of the Byzantines either in person or goods, nor any way should rifle them. And Anaxilaüs being afterwards accused of treason in Lacedæmon, for this practice: he answered, and justified himself in such sort, that they could not find he had committed the fault laid unto his charge. For he said, that he was no Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine: and that he saw not Lacedæmon in danger, but Byzantium, which the enemies had compassed about with a wall they had built, that it was impossible to bring anything into the city. Moreover he alleged, that they having very small store of corn within the city (as was true indeed) the Peloponnesians, and Bœotians, that

lay there in garrison, did eat it up, while the poor Byzantines themselves, their wives and children, died for very hunger. Therefore it could not be said of him, that he had betrayed his country, but rather that he had delivered it from the misery and calamities the wars brought upon it: wherein he had followed the example of the honestest men of Lacedæmon, who did acknowledge nothing honest and just, but that which was necessary and profitable for their country. The Lacedæmonians hearing his reasons he alleged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemn him, and therefore they let him go. /

Now Alcibiades desirous in the end to see his native country again (or to speak more truly, that his countrymen should see him) after he had so many times overthrown their enemies in battle: he hoised sail, and directed his course towards Athens, bringing with him all the galleys of the Athenians richly furnished, and decked all about, with scutcheons and targets, and other armour and weapons gotten amongst the spoils of his enemies. Moreover, he brought with him many other ships he had won and broken in the wars, besides many ensigns and other ornaments: all which being counted together one with the other, made up the number of two hundred ships. Furthermore, when Duris the Samian writeth (who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player of the flute (that had won certain of the Pythian games) did play such a note, that at the sound thereof the galley slaves would keep stroke with their oars, and that Callippides, another excellent player of tragedies, playing the part of a comedy, did stir them to row,

being in such player's garments as every master of such science useth commonly to wear, presenting himself in theatre or stage before the people to show his art: and that the admiral galley wherein himself was, entered the haven with a purple sail, as if some mask had come into a man's house after some great banquet made: neither Ephorus, nor Theopompus, nor Xenophon, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, he thinks it should not be true, that he returning from exile after so long a banishment, and having passed over such sorrows and calamities as he had sustained, would so proudly and presumptuously show himself unto the Athenians.

But merely contrary, it is most certain, that he returned in great fear and doubt. For when he was arrived in the haven of Piræus, he would not set foot on land, before he first saw his nephew Eurypotemus, and divers other of his friends from the hatches of his ship, standing upon the sands in the haven mouth, who were come thither to receive and welcome him, and told him that he might be bold to land, without fear of anything. He was no sooner landed, but all the people ran out of every corner to see him, with so great love and affection, that they took no heed of the other captains that came with him, but clustered all to him only, and cried out for joy to see him. Those that could come near him, did welcome and embrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers upon his head: and those that could not come near him, saw him afar off, and the old folks did point him out to the younger sort. But this common joy was mingled notwithstanding, with tears and sorrow, when they

came to think upon their former misfortunes and calamities, and to compare them with their present prosperity: weighing with themselves also how they had not lost Sicily, nor their hope in all things else had failed them, if they had delivered themselves and the charge of their army into Alcibiades' hands, when they sent for him to appear in person before them. Considering also how he found the city of Athens in manner put from the seignory and commandment on the sea, and on the other side how their force by land was brought unto such extremity, that Athens scanty could defend her suburbs, the city itself being so divided and turmoiled with civil dissention: yet he gathered together those few, and small force that remained, and had now not only restored Athens to her former power and sovereignty on the sea, but had made her also a conqueror by land.

Now the decree for his repair home again, was passed before by the people, at the instant request of Callias, the son of Callæschrus, who did prefer it: as he himself did testify in his elegies, putting Alcibiades in remembrance of the good turn he had done him, saying:

I was the first that moved in open conference,
the people's voice to call thee home, when thou wert
banished hence.

So I was eke the first, which thereto gave consent,
and therefore may I boldly say, by truth of such intent:
I was the only mean to call thee home again,
by such request so rightly made, to move the people
vain.

And this may serve for pledge, what friendship I thee bear:
fast sealed with a faithful tongue, as plainly shall appear.

But notwithstanding, the people being assembled all in counsel, Alcibiades came before them, and made an oration: wherein he first lamented all his mishaps, and found himself grieved a little with the wrongs they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the end to his cursed fortune, and some spiteful god that envied his glory and prosperity. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to have advantage of them: and therewithal persuaded the people to be of good courage, and afraid of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crowns of gold, and chose him general again of Athens, with sovereign power and authority both by land as by sea. And at that very instant it was decreed by the people, that he should be restored again to all his goods, and that the priests Eumolpidæ should absolve him of all their curses, and that the heralds should with open proclamation revoke the execrations and cursings they had thundered out against him before, by commandment of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, saving Theodorus the bishop, who said: I did neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurt to the common wealth.

Now Alcibiades flourished in his chiefest prosperity, yet were there some notwithstanding that misliked very much the time of his landing: saying it was very unlucky and unfortunate. For the very day of his return and arrival, fell out by chance on the feast which they call Plynteria, as you would say, the washing day, which they celebrate in honour of Minerva: on the which day, the priests that they call Praxiergidæ, do make certain secret and hidden sacrifices and ceremonies, being

Golden of war & wisdom.

the five and twentieth day of the month of September, and do take from the image of this goddess, all her raiment and jewels, and keep the image close covered over. Hereupon the Athenians do ascribe that day, for a most unfortunate day, and are very circumspect to do any matter of importance on it. Moreover, it was commonly scanned abroad of everybody, that it seemed the goddess was not content, nor glad of Alcibiades' return: and that she did hide herself, because she would not see him, nor have him come near her.

Notwithstanding all these toys and ceremonies, when Alcibiades found everything fall out well at his return, and as he would have wished it: he armed a hundred galleys presently, to return again to the wars. Howbeit he wisely regarded the time and solemnity of celebration of these mysteries, and considerably stayed until they had finished all. And it fell out, that after the Lacedæmonians had taken and fortified the city of Decelea, within the territory of Attica, and that the enemies being the stronger in the field, did keep the way going from Athens to Eleusis, so as by no possible means they could make their solemn procession by land, with such honour and devotion as they were before accustomed to do: and thereby all the sacrifices, dances, and many other holy devout ceremonies they were wont to do by the way, in singing the holy song of Iacchus, came of very necessity to be left off, and clean laid aside. Then Alcibiades thought he should do a meritorious deed to the gods, and an acceptable to men, to bring the old ceremonies up again upon the said feast: and thereupon purposed to accompany the procession, and defend it by power, against all invasion and disturbance

by the enemies. As one that foresaw one of those two things would come to pass. Either that Agis, King of the Lacedæmonians, would not stir at all against the sacred ceremonies, and by this means should much debase and diminish his reputation and glory: or if he did come out to the field, that he would make the battle very grateful to the gods, considering it should be in defence of their most holy feast and worship, and in the sight of his country, where the people should see and witness both, his valiantness, and also his courage.

Alcibiades being fully resolved upon this procession, went and made the priests Eumolpidæ, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, privy to his determination. Then he sent out scouts to watch on the side of the hills thereabouts, and to view the way of their perambulation. The next morning very early he sent out light horsemen also to scour the country. Then he made the priests, the professed, and all the ministers of religion, go in procession, together with those that followed the same: and he himself compassed them about with his army on every side, marching in battle array, and very good order, and with great silence. This was an honourable and devout leading of an army, and such as if his greatest enemies would confess a troth, they could not but say, Alcibiades had as much showed the office of a high bishop, as of a noble soldier and good captain. So he ended this procession, returning to Athens in all safe order again, and not an enemy that durst once look out into the field to set upon him.

Now this did more increase the greatness of his mind,

and therewith the people's good opinion of his sufficiency, and wise conduction of an army: in so much as they thought him invincible, having the sovereign power and authority of a general. Furthermore, he spake so fair to the poor people, and meaner sort, that they chiefly wished and desired he would take upon him like a King: yea, and many went to him to persuade him in it, as though he should thereby withstand all envy, and drive away the laws and customs of trying of matters by the voices of the people, and all such fond devices, as did destroy the state of the common weal. And furthermore, they said it was very needful that he alone should take upon him the whole rule and government of the city, that he might dispose of all things according to his will, and not stand in fear of slanderous and wicked tongues.

Now, whether Alcibiades ever had any mind to usurp the Kingdom, the matter is somewhat doubtful. But this is certain, the greatest men of the city, fearing lest indeed he meant some such thing, did hasten his departure as soon as they could possible, doing all other things according to his mind: and did assign him such associates in his charge of general, as he himself best liked. So in the end, he departed with a fleet of a hundred galleys, and first of all he fell with the Isle of Andros, where he overcame by fight, the inhabitants of the said Isle, and certain Lacedæmonians that were amongst them: but he took not the city, which was one of the first matters his enemies did accuse him for. For if ever man was overthrown and envied, for the estimation they had of his valour and sufficiency, truly Alcibiades was the man. For the notable and sundry services he had done, won him such estimation of wisdom and

valiantness, that where he slacked in any service whatsoever, he was presently suspected, judging the ill success not in that he could not, but for that he would not: and that where he undertook any enterprise, nothing could withstand or lie in his way.

Hereupon the people persuading themselves, that immediately after his departure, they should hear that the Isle of Chios was taken, with all the country of Ionia: they were angry they could have no news so suddenly from him as they looked for. Moreover, they did not consider the lack of money he had, and specially making war with such enemies, as were ever relieved with the great King of Persia's aid, and that for necessity's sake he was sundry times driven to leave his camp, to seek money where he could get it, to pay his soldiers, and to maintain his army.

Now for testimony hereof, the last accusation that was against him, was only for this matter. Lysander being sent by the Lacedæmonians for admiral and general of their army by sea, used such policy with Cyrus, the King of Persia's brother, that he got into his hands a great sum of money: by means whereof he gave unto his mariners four obols a day for their wages, where before they were wont to have but three, and yet Alcibiades had much ado to furnish his with three only a day. For this cause, to get money, Alcibiades sailed into Caria. But in the meantime Antiochus, whom Alcibiades had left his lieutenant behind him, and had given him charge of all the ships in his absence, being a very skilful seaman, but otherwise a hasty hare-brained fool, and of small capacity: he being expressly commanded by Alcibiades not to fight in any case, though

the enemies offered him battle, was so foolish rash, and made so little reckoning of his strait commandment, that he armed his own galley, whereof himself was captain, and another besides, and went to the city of Ephesus, passing all along his enemies' galleys, reviling and offering villany to those that stood upon the hatches of their galleys. Lysander being marvellously provoked by those words, went and encountered him at the first with a few ships. The other captains of the galleys of the Athenians, seeing Antiochus in danger, went to aid him, one after another. Then Lysander of his part also set out all his whole fleet against him, and in the end overcame them. Antiochus himself was killed in the conflict, and many galleys and men were taken prisoners: wherefore Lysander set up shows of triumph in token of victory.

Alcibiades hearing this ill-favoured news, returned presently with all possible speed to Samos: and when he came thither, he went with all the rest of his fleet to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander quietly contenting himself with his first victory: went not out against him. Now this victory was no sooner won, but one Thrasybulus the son of Thrason, Alcibiades' enemy, went incontinently from the camp, and got him to Athens, to accuse Alcibiades to the people: whom he informed how all went to wrack, and that he had lost many ships, for that he regarded not his charge, carelessly putting men in trust, whom he gave too great credit to, because they were good fellows, and would drink drunk with him, and were full of mariners' mocks and knavish jests, such as they use commonly amongst themselves. And that he in the meantime took his

pleasure abroad, here, and there, scraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheer, and feasting of the Abydenians and Ionians, when the enemies' army was so near theirs as it was. Moreover, they laid to his charge, that he did fortify a castle in the country of Thracia, near unto the city of Bisanthe, for a place to retire himself unto, either because he could not, or rather that he would not, live any longer in his own country.

Upon those accusations, the Athenians giving over credit to the report: did immediately choose new captains, and thereby declared their misliking. Alcibiades hearing of this, and fearing lest they would do him some worse harm, did leave straight the Athenians' camp, and gathering a certain number of strangers together, went off himself to make war upon certain free people of the Thracians, who were subject to no prince nor state: where he got a marvellous mass of money together, by means whereof he did assure the Græcians inhabiting those marches, from all invasion of foreign enemies. Now Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus the Athenians' captains, being afterwards in a place commonly called the Goats' River, with all the galleys the city of Athens had at that time upon that coast: used every morning commonly to go to the sea, to offer battle to Lysander, who rode at an anchor before the city of Lampsacus, with all the Lacedæmonians' army by sea, and commonly returned again to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watch or ward, as men that were careless of their enemies.

Alcibiades being on the land not far off, and finding their great fault and negligence: took his horse, and

went to them, and told them that they lay on an ill shore, where there was no good road, nor town, and where they were driven to seek their vittles, as far as to the city of Sestos, and that they suffered their mariners to leave their ships, and go on land when they lay at anchor, straggling up and down the country as they would themselves, without regard that there lay a great army of their enemies before them, ready to be set out at their general's commandment: and therefore he advised them to remove thence, and to go cast anchor before the city of Sestos. Howbeit the captains would not be advised by him: and that which was worst of all, Tydeus, one of the captains, stoutly commanded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to do with the matter, and that other had charge of the army. Whereupon Alcibiades fearing they would purpose some treason against him, did depart presently from them. And as he went his way, he said to some of his friends which accompanied him out of the camp at his return: that if the captains of the Athenians had not been so round with him, he would have forced the Lacedæmonians to have come to the battle in despite of their beards, or else he would have driven them to forsake their ships. Some took this for a glorious brag: others thought he was like enough to have done it, because he could have brought from land a great number of Thracians, both archers and horsemen, with whom he might have given a charge upon the Lacedæmonians, and done great mischief unto their camp.

But now, how wisely Alcibiades did foresee the faults he told the Athenians' captains of, their great misfortune and loss that followed incontinently, did too plainly

witness it to the world. For Lysander came so fiercely upon them on a sudden, that of all the ships they had in their whole fleet, only eight galleys were saved, with whom Conon fled: and the other being not much less than two hundred in number, were every one of them taken and carried away, with three thousand prisoners whom Lysander put to death. Shortly after, he took the city itself of Athens, and razed their long walls even to the ground.

After this great and noble victory, Alcibiades fearing sore the Lacedæmonians, who then without let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by sea and by land: he went into the country of Bithynia, and caused great good to be brought after him, and took a marvellous sum of money with him, besides great riches he left also in the castles of Thracia, where he did remain before. Howbeit he lost much of his goods in Bithynia, which certain Thracians dwelling in that country had robbed him of, and taken from him. So he determined to repair forthwith unto King Artaxerxes, hoping that when the King had once proved him, he should find him a man of no less service, than he had found Themistocles before him; besides that the occasion of his going thither, should be much juster than his was. For he did not go thither, to make war against the city of Athens and his country, as Themistocles did: but of a contrary intent, to make intercession to the King, that it would please him to aid them. Now Alcibiades thinking he could use no better means, than Pharnabazus' help only, to see him safely conducted to the King's court: he proposed his journey to him, into the country of Phrygia, where he abode a certain

time to attend upon him, and was very honourably entertained and received of Pharnabazus.

All this while the Athenians found themselves desolate, and in miserable state to see their empire lost: but then much more, when Lysander had taken all their liberties, and did set thirty governors over their city. Now too late, after all was lost (where they might have recovered again, if they had been wise) they began together to bewail and lament their miseries and wretched state, looking back upon all their wilful faults and follies committed: among which, they did reckon their second time of falling out with Alcibiades, was their greatest fault. So they banished him only of malice and displeasure, not for any offence himself in person had committed against them, saving that his lieutenant in his absence had shamefully lost a few of their ships: and they themselves more shamefully had driven out of their city, the noblest soldier, and most skilful captain that they had. And yet they had some little poor hope left, that they were not altogether cast away, so long as Alcibiades lived, and had his health. For before, when he was a forsaken man, and led a banished life: yet he could not live idly, and do nothing. Wherefore now much more, said they to themselves: if there be any help at all, he will not suffer out of doubt the insolence and pride of the Lacedæmonians, nor yet abide the cruelties and outrages of these thirty tyrants.

And surely the common people had some reason to have these thoughts in their heads, considering that the thirty governors themselves did what they could possible to spy out Alcibiades' doings, and what he went about.

In so much as Critias at the last, declared to Lysander, that so long the Lacedæmonians might reckon themselves Lords over all Greece, as they kept from the common people the rule and authority of the city of Athens. And further he added, that notwithstanding the people of Athens could well away¹ to live like subjects under the government of a few: yet Alcibiades whilst he lived, would never suffer them so to be reigned over, but would attempt by all the devices he could to bring a change and innovation among them. Yet Lysander would not credit these persuasions, before special commandment was sent to him from the Senate of Lacedæmon, upon his allegiance, that he should devise to kill Alcibiades by all means he could procure: either because in troth they feared the subtlety of his wit, and the greatness of his courage, to enterprise matters of great weight and danger, or else that they sought to gratify King Agis by it. Lysander being thus straitly commanded, did send and practice incontinently with Pharnabazus to execute the fact: who gave his brother Magæus, and his uncle Susamithres, commission to attempt the matter.

Now was Alcibiades in a certain village of Phrygia, with a woman of his called Timandra. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on this woman's apparel, and how she dandling him in her arms, had dressed his head, frizzling his hair, and painted his face, as he had been a woman. Others say, that he thought Magæus strake off his head, and made his body to be burnt: and the voice goeth, this vision was but a little before his death.

¹ Endure.

Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it on fire round about. Alcibiades spying the fire, got such apparel and hangings as he had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to have put it out: and so casting his cloak about his left arm, took his naked sword in his other hand, and ran out of the house, himself not once touched with fire, saving his clothes were a little singed. These murderers so soon as they spied him, drew back, and stood asunder, and durst not one of them come near him, to stand and fight with him: but afar off they bestowed so many arrows and darts of him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, Timandra went and took his body which she wrapped up in the best linen she had, and buried him as honourably as she could possible, with such things as she had, and could get together. Notwithstanding, touching the death of Alcibiades, there are some that agree to all the rest I have written, saving that they say, it was neither Pharnabazus, nor Lysander, nor the Lacedæmonians, which caused him to be slain: but that he keeping with him a young gentlewoman of a noble house, whom he had stolen away, and enticed to folly: her brethren to revenge this injury, went to set fire upon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we have told you, thinking to leap out of the fire.

THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

He that made the little book of the praise of Alcibiades, touching the victory he won at the horse race of the Olympian games (were it the poet Euripides as some think, or any other), my friend Sossius, said, that to make a man happy, he must of necessity be born in some famous city. But to tell you what I think hereof, doubtless, true happiness chiefly consisteth in the virtue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be born in a pelting village, or in a famous city: no more than it is for one to be born of a fair or foul mother. For it were a madness to think that the little village of Iulis, being the least part of the Isle of Ceos (the whole island of itself being but a small thing) and that the Isle of Ægina (which is of so small a length, that a certain Athenian on a time made a motion it might be taken away, because it was but a straw in the sight ¹ of the haven of Piræus) could bring forth famous poets, and excellent comedians: and not breed an

¹ The Greek means: "it was a sty in the eye of the Peiræus".

honest, just, and wise man, and of noble courage. For, as we have reason to think that arts and sciences which were first devised and invented to make some things necessary for men's use, or otherwise to win fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in little poor villages: so are we to judge also, that virtue, like a strong and fruitful plant, can take root, and bring forth in every place, where it is grafted¹ in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with pains. And therefore if we chance to offend, and live not as we should, we cannot accuse the meanness of our country where we were born, but we must justly accuse ourselves. Surely he that hath taken upon him to put forth any work, or to write any history, into the which he is to thrust many strange things unknown to his country, and which are not ready to his hand to be had, but dispersed abroad in divers places, and are to be gathered out of divers books and authorities, first of all he must needs remain in some great and famous city thoroughly inhabited where men do delight in good and virtuous things, because there are commonly plenty of all sorts of books: and that perusing them, and hearing talk also of many things besides, which other historiographers peradventure have not written of, and which will carry so much more credit, because men that are alive may presently speak of them as of their own knowledge, whereby he may make his work perfect in every point, having many and divers necessary things contained in it. But I myself that dwell in a poor little town, and yet do remain there willingly lest it should become less: whilst I was in Italy, and at Rome, I had no leisure to

¹ Grafted.

study and exercise the Latin tongue, as well for the great business I had then to do as also to satisfy them that came to learn philosophy of me: so that even somewhat too late, and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latin books in my hand. And thereby, a strange thing to tell you, but yet true: I learned not, nor understood matters so much by the words, as I came to understand the words, by common experience and knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to know how to pronounce the Latin tongue well, or to speak it readily, or to understand the signification, translations, and fine joining of the simple words one with another which do beautify and set forth the tongue, surely I judge it to be a marvellous pleasant and sweet thing, but withal it requireth a long and laboursome study, meet for those that have better leisure than I have, and that have young years on their backs to follow such pleasure. Therefore, in this present book, which is the fifth of this work, where I have taken upon me to compare the lives of noble men one with another: undertaking to write the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, we will consider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deeds in the government of the commonwealth, not meaning otherwise to confer their works and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two was sharper or sweeter in his oration. For, as the poet Ion sayeth,

In this behalf a man may rightly say,
The Dolphins in their proper soil do play.

The which Cæcilius little understanding, being a man very rash in all his doings, hath unadvisedly written and

set forth in print, a comparison of Demosthenes' eloquence, with Cicero's. But if it were an easy matter for every man to know himself, then the gods need have given us no commandment, neither could men have said that it came from heaven.

But for my opinion, methinks fortune even from the beginning hath framed in manner one self mould of Demosthenes and Cicero, and hath in their natures fashioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to love the liberty of their country, and both of them very fearful in any danger of wars. And likewise their fortunes seem to me to be both much alike. For it is hard to find two orators again that being so meanly born as they have come to be of so great power and authority as these two, nor that have deserved the ill-will of kings and noble men so much as they have done, nor that have lost their daughters, nor that have been banished their countries, and that have been restored again with honour, and that again have fled, and have been taken again, nor that have ended their lives with the liberty of their country. So that it is hard to be judged, whether nature have made them alike in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workmasters strived one with the other to whom they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of the two.

Demosthenes, the father of this orator Demosthenes, was as Theopompus writes, one of the chief men of the city, and they called him "a maker of sword blades", because he had a great shop where he kept a number of slaves to forge them. But touching Æschines, the

orators report of his mother, who said that she was the daughter of one Gylon (that fled from Athens being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to say whether it be true, or devices of malice to do him despite. Howsoever it was, it is true that Demosthenes his father died, leaving him seven years old, and left him reasonably well: for his goods came to little less than the value of fifteen talents. Howbeit his guardians did him great wrong, for they stole a great part of his goods themselves and did let the rest run to naught, as having little care of it, for they would not pay his schoolmasters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learn the liberal sciences which are usually taught unto honest men's sons: and to further that want also he was but a weakling and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him go to school, neither his masters also durst keep him too hard to it, because he was but a sickly child at the first and very weak. And it is reported also that the surname of Battalus was given him in mockery by other schoolboys his companions, because of his weakness of body. This Battalus (as divers men do report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whom the poet Antiphanes to mock him devised a little play. Others also do write of one Battalus, a dissolute orator, and that wrote lascivious verses. Now for Argas (which surname men say was also given him) he was so called either for his rude and beastly manners (because some poets do call a snake Argas) or else for his manner of speech, which was very unpleasant to the ear: for Argas is the name of a poet that made ill-favoured songs. But hereof enough as Plato said.

Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moved him to give himself to eloquence, was this. Callistratus the orator was to defend the cause of one Oropus before the judges, and every man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellence of the orator that then bore the bell for eloquence, as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly known to all. Demosthenes hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolmaster to be so good as to let him go with him. His master granted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hall door where this matter was to be pleaded, he so entreated them that they placed his scholar in a very good place, where being set at his ease, he might both see and hear all that was done, and no man could see him. Thereupon, when Demosthenes had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in love with the honour which the orator had got, when he saw how he was waited upon home with such a train of people after him; but yet he wondered more at the force of his great eloquence that could so turn and convey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon he left the study of all other sciences, and all other exercises of wit and body which other children are brought up in, and began to labour continually and to frame himself to make orations, with intent one day to be an orator among the rest. His master that taught him rhetoric was Isæus, notwithstanding that Isocrates also kept a school of rhetoric at that time, either because that being an orphan he was not able to pay the wages that Isocrates demanded of his scholars, which was ten minas, or rather that he found Isæus' manner of speech more proper for the use of the eloquence he

desired, because it was finer and subtler. Yet Hermippus writes notwithstanding that he had read certain books having no name of any author, which declared that Demosthenes had been Plato's scholar, and that by hearing of him he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writes also of one Ctesibius, who reporteth that Demosthenes had secretly read Isocrates' works of rhetoric, and also Alcidas' books, by means of one Callias Syracusan, and others.

Whereupon when he came out of his wardship he began to put his guardians in suit, and to write orations and pleas against them, who in contrary manner did ever use delays and excuses to save themselves from giving up any accompt unto him of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exercise (as Thucydides writes)¹ it prospered so well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great pains and danger: and yet with all that he could do, he could not recover all that his father left him by a good deal.

So having now got some boldness, and being used to speak in open presence, and withal, having a feeling and delight of the estimation that is won by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward himself and to practise in matters of state. For, as there goes a tale of one Laomedon an Orchomenian, who having a previous pain in the spleen, by advice of the physicians was willed to run long courses to help him: and that following their order he became in the end so lusty and nimble of body, that afterwards he would needs make one to run for games, and indeed

¹ Certain words of Thucydides used in another connexion.

grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time: even so the like chanced unto Demosthenes. For at the first, beginning to practise oratory for recovery of his goods, and thereby having got good skill and knowledge how to plead, he afterwards took upon him to speak to the people in assemblies touching the government of the commonwealth, even as if he should have contended for some game of price, and at length did excel all the orators at that time that got up into the pulpit for orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventured to speak openly, the people made such a noise that he could scant be heard, and besides they mocked him for his manner of speech, that was so strange because he used so many long confused periods, and his matter he spoke of was so intricate with arguments one upon another that they were tedious, and made men weary to hear him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he meant, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted before he was at the end of his sentence.

So that at length, perceiving he was thus rejected, he gave over to speak any more before the people, and half in despair withdrew himself into the haven of Piræus. There Eunomus the Thessalian being a very old man, found him, and sharply reprovèd him and told him that he did himself great wrong, considering that having a manner of speech much like unto Pericles, he drowned himself by his faint heart because he did not seek the way to be bold against the noise of the common people and to arm his body to away with the

pains and burden of public orations, but suffering it to grow feebler for lack of use and practice. Furthermore, being once again repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home, hanging down his head for shame, and utterly discouraged, Satyrus, an excellent player of comedies, being his familiar friend, followed him and went and spoke with him. Demosthenes made his complaint unto him that where he had taken more pains than all the orators besides, and had almost even worn himself to the bones with study, yet he could by no means devise to please the people, whereas other orators that did nothing but bib all day long, and mariners that understood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations; and on the other side that they made no accompt of him.

Satyrus then answered him, Thou sayest true Demosthenes, but care not for this, I will help it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without book certain verses of Euripides, or of Sophocles. Thereupon Demosthenes presently rehearsed some unto him that came into his mind. Satyrus repeating them after him, gave them quite another grace, with such a pronounciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becoming the verses, that Demosthenes thought them clean changed. Whereby perceiving how much the action (to wit, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth give grace and comeliness in his pleading, he then thought it but a trifle and almost nothing to speak of, to exercise to plead well unless therewithal he do also study to have a good pronounciation and gesture.

Thereupon he built him a cellar under the ground,

the which was whole even in my time, and he would daily go down into it to fashion his gesture and pronunciation, and also to exercise his voice, and that with such earnest affection that oftentimes he would be there two or three months one after another, and did shave his head of purpose because he durst not go abroad in that sort, although his will was good.¹

And yet he took his theme and matter to declaim upon, and to practise to plead of the matters he had had in hand before, or else upon occasion of such talk as he had with them that came to see him while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went down into his cellar and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed between him and his friends in talk together, and alleged also both his own and their answers. And if peradventure he had been at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeat it by himself and would finely couch and convey it into proper sentences, and thus change and alter every way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quick capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not natural but artificially got with extreme labour.

And for proof hereof, they make this probable reason, that they never saw Demosthenes make any oration on the sudden, and that oftentimes when he was set in the assembly the people would call him by his name to say his opinion touching the matter of counsel then in hand: howbeit that he never rose upon their call, unless he

¹ The Greek means: "He shaved half his head, that he might not for shame go forth even if he should wish."

had first studied the matter well he would speak of. So that all the other orators would many times give him a taunt for it: as Pytheas among others, that taunting him on a time, told him his reasons smelled of the lamp. Yea, replied Demosthenes sharply again: so is there great difference, Pytheas, betwixt thy labour and mine by lamplight.¹ And himself also speaking to others did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly that he did not always write at length all that he would speak, neither did he also offer to speak before he had made briefs of that he would speak. He said furthermore, that it was a token the man loved the people well, that he would be careful before what he would say to them. For this preparative (quoth he) doth show that he doth honour and reverence them. In contrary manner also he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plain token that he despiseth their authority and that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to use force against them, rather than reason and persuasion.

But yet further to enlarge the proofs, that Demosthenes had no heart to make any oration on the sudden, they do allege this reason: that Demades many times rose upon the sudden to maintain Demosthenes' reasons, when the people otherwhile did reject him: and that Demosthenes on the other side did never rise to make Demades' words good, which he had spoken in his behalf. But now might a man ask again: If Demosthenes was so timorous to speak before the people upon the sudden: what meant Æschines then to say that he was marvellous bold in his words? And how chanceth it, that he rising upon the sudden, did presently answer

¹ He suggests that Pytheas spent his time in carousing.

the orator Python Byzantine in the field, that was very lusty in speech (and rough like a vehement running stream) against the Athenians? And how chanced it that Lamachus Myrinean, having made an oration in the praise of Philip and Alexander, kings of Macedon, in which he spoke all the ill he could of the Thebans, and of the Olynthians, and when he had read and pronounced it in the open assembly of the Olympian games, Demosthenes upon the instant rising up on his feet declared, as if he had read some history, and pointed as it were with his finger unto all the whole assembly, the notable great service and worthy deeds the which the Chalcidians had done in former times for the benefit and honour of Greece? And in contrary manner also, what mischief and inconvenience came by means of the flatterers, that altogether gave themselves to curry favour with the Macedonians? With these and such like persuasions, Demosthenes made such stir amongst the people, that the orator Lamachus being afraid of the sudden uproar did secretly convey himself out of the assembly.

But yet to tell you what I think, Demosthenes in my opinion fashioning himself even from the beginning to follow Pericles' steps and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not so requisite for him, and that he would counterfeit his gravity and sober countenance, and to be wise, not to speak over lightly to every matter at all adventures: judging that by that manner of wisdom he came to be great. And like as he would not let slip any good occasion to speak, where it might be for his credit, so would he not likewise over rashly hazard his credit and reputation to the

mercy of fortune. And to prove this true, the orations which he made upon the sudden without premeditation before, do show more boldness and courage than those which he had written and studied long before: if we may believe the reports of Eratosthenes, Demetrius Phalerian, and of the other comical poets. For Eratosthenes said that he would be often carried away with choler and fury. Demetrius also sayeth, that speaking one day to the people he swore a great oath in rhyme, as if he had been possessed with some divine spirit, and said:

By sea and land, by rivers, springs, and ponds.

There are also certain comical poets that do call him Ropoperperethra, as who would say a great babbler that spoke all things that came to his tongue's end. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of rhetoric called Antithesis: which is, opposition, with saying, "*Sic recepit sicut cepit*" (which signifies, He took it as he found it). In the use of this figure Demosthenes much pleased himself, unless the poet Antiphanes speaks it of pleasure, deriding the counsel he gave the people not to take the Isle of Halonesus of King Philip, as of gift, but to receive it as their own restored. And yet everybody did grant that Demades of his own natural wit, without art, was invincible: and that many times speaking upon the sudden he did utterly overthrow Demosthenes' long studied reasons. And Aristo, of the Isle of Chios, hath written Theophrastus' judgment of the orators of that time. Who being asked what manner of orator he thought Demosthenes he answered, Worthy of this city. Then again, how he thought of Demades:

Above this city, said he. The same philosopher writes also that Polyeuctus Sphettian (one of those that practised at that time in the commonwealth) gave this sentence: that Demosthenes indeed was a great orator, but Phocion's tongue had a sharper understanding because in few words he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that Demosthenes himself said also, that as often as he saw Phocion get up into the pulpit for orations to speak against him, he was wont to say to his friends: See, the axe of my words¹ rises. And yet it is hard to judge, whether he spoke that in respect of his tongue, or rather for the estimation he had got, because of his great wisdom: thinking (as indeed it is true) that one word only, the twinkling of an eye, or a nod of his head of such a man (that through his worthiness is attained to that credit) has more force to persuade than all the fine reasons and devices of rhetoric.

But now for his bodily defects of nature, Demetrius Phalerian writes that he heard Demosthenes himself say, being very old, that he did help them by these means. First, touching the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat and made him that he could not pronounce all syllables distinctly: he did help it by putting little pebble stones into his mouth, which he found upon the sands by the river's side, and so pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without book. And for his small and soft voice, he made that louder by running up steep and high hills, uttering even with full breath some orations or verses that he had without book. And further it is reported of him,

¹ "The pruner of my periods."

that he had a great looking glass in his house, and ever standing on his feet before it he would learn and exercise himself to pronounce his orations. For proof hereof it is reported, that there came a man unto him on a time, and prayed his help to defend his cause, and told him that one had beaten him: and that Demosthenes said again unto him, I do not believe this is true thou tellest me, for surely the other did never beat thee. The plaintiff then thrusting out his voice aloud said: What, hath he not beaten me? Yes, indeed, quoth Demosthenes then: I believe it now; for I hear the voice of a man that was beaten indeed. Thus he thought, that the sound of the voice, the pronunciation or gesture in one sort or other, were things of force to believe or discredit that a man sayeth. His countenance when he pleaded before the people did marvellously please the common sort: but the noble men, and men of understanding found it too base and mean, as Demetrius Phalerian said, among others. And Hermippus writes, that one called *Æsion*, being asked of the ancient orators and of those of his time, answered: That every man that had seen them would have wondered with what honour, reverence and modesty they spoke unto the people: howbeit that Demosthenes' orations (whosoever read them) were too artificial and vehement. And therefore we may easily judge that the orations Demosthenes wrote are very severe and sharp.

This notwithstanding, otherwhile he would give many pleasant and witty answers upon the sudden. As when Demades one day said unto him, Demosthenes will teach me, after the common proverb, The sow will teach Minerva. He answered straight again: This

Minerva not long since was in Collytus Street taken in evildoing. A certain thief also called Chalcus (as much to say, as of copper) stepping forth to say somewhat of Demosthenes' late sitting up at nights, and that he wrote and studied the most part of the night by lamplight: indeed, quoth Demosthenes, I know it grieves thee to see my lamp burn all night. And therefore, you, my Lords of Athens, methinks you should not wonder to see such robberies in your city, considering we have thieves of copper, and the walls of our houses be but of clay. We could tell you of divers others of his like witty and pleasant answers, but these may suffice for the present: and therefore we will proceed to consider further of his nature and conditions, by his acts and deeds in the affairs of the commonwealth.

Now Demosthenes' first beginning when he came to deal in the affairs of state was in the time of the war made with the Phocians, as himself reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made against Philip: of the which the last were made after the war was ended, and the first do touch also some particular doings of the same. He made the oration against Midias, when he was but thirty-two years old and was of small countenance and reputation in the commonwealth: the want whereof was the chiefest cause (as I think) that induced him to take money for the injury he had done him and to let his action fall against him.

He was not of a mild and gentle mind,
But fierce and hasty to revenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small power and authority

as himself, to overthrow a man so wealthy, so befriended, and so eloquent as Midias: he therefore yielded himself unto those that did speak and entreat for him. Neither do I think that the three thousand drachmas which he received could have bridled the bitterness of his nature, if otherwise he had seen any hope or likelihood that he could have prevailed against him.

Now at his first coming unto the commonwealth, taking a noble matter in hand to speak against Philip, for the defence and maintenance of the laws and liberties of the Grecians, wherein he handled himself so worthily, that in short space he won him marvellous fame for his great eloquence and plain manner of speech. Thereby he was marvellously honoured also through all Greece, and greatly esteemed with the King of Persia: and Philip himself made more accompt of him than of all the orators in Athens, and his greatest foes which were most against him were driven to confess that they had to do with a famous man. For, in the orations which Æschines and Hyperides made to accuse him, they write thus of him. And therefore I marvel what Theopompus meant when he wrote that Demosthenes had a subtle inconstant mind and could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters of state. For in contrary manner, in my judgment, he continued constant still to the end, in one self manner and order, unto the which he had betaken himself at the beginning: and that not only he never changed all his lifetime but to the contrary he lost his life because he would be no changeling. For he did not like Demades, who to excuse himself for that he had oft turned coat in matters of government, said that he went oftentimes

against his own sayings as matters fell out, but never against the benefit of the commonwealth. And Melanopus also, who was ever against Callistratus, having his mouth stopped many times with money, he would up to the pulpit for orations and tell the people that indeed Callistratus, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is mine enemy, and yet I yield unto him for this time: for the benefit of the commonwealth must carry it. And another also, Nicodemus Messenian, who being first of Cassanders' side, took part afterwards with Demetrius, and then said that he did not speak against himself but that it was meet he should obey his superiors. They cannot detect Demosthenes with the like, that he did ever halt or yield, either in word or deed: for he ever continued firm and constant in one mind in his orations. Insomuch that Panætius the philosopher sayeth, that the most part of all his orations are grounded upon this maxim and principle: that for itself, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the oration of the crown, the which he made against Aristocrates: that also which he made for the franchise and freedom: and in fine, all his orations against Philip of Macedon. And in all those he doth not persuade his countrymen to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proveth that oftentimes honesty is to be preferred above safety or health. So that, had he in all his orations and doings, joined to his honesty, courtesy and frank speech, valiantness in wars, and clean hands from bribery, he might deservedly have been compared, not with Myrocles, Polyeuctus, Hyperides and such other orators: but even with the highest, with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles. For Phocion,

who took the worst way in government of the commonwealth, because he was suspected that he took part with the Macedonians: yet for valiantness, wisdom and justice he was ever thought as honest a man as Ephialtes and Aristides.

But Demosthenes on the other side (as Demetrius sayeth) was no man to trust to for wars, neither had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For, though he would never be corrupted with Philip king of Macedon, yet he was bribed with gold and silver that was brought from the cities of Susa and Ecbatana, and was very ready to praise and commend the deeds of their ancestors, but not follow them. Truly, yet was he the most honest man of all other orators in his time, excepting Phocion. And besides, he did ever speak more boldly and plainly to the people than any man else, and would openly contrary their minds and sharply reprove the Athenians for their faults, as appeareth by his orations.

Theopompus also writeth that the people on a time would have had him to accuse a man whom they would needs have condemned. But he refusing to do it, the people were offended and did mutiny against him. Thereupon he rising up said openly unto them: My Lords Athenians, I will always counsel ye to that which I think best for the benefit of the commonwealth, although it be against your minds: but falsely to accuse one, to satisfy your minds, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against Antiphon sheweth plainly that he was no people-pleaser, and that he did lean more unto the authority of the Senate. For when Antiphon was quit by the people in an assembly of the city, Demosthenes not-

withstanding took him and called him into the Court of the Areopagites, and did not pass upon¹ the people's ill will but there convinced him for promising Philip of Macedon to burn the arsenal of Athens: so by sentence of that court he was condemned and suffered for it. He did also accuse the nun Theoris for many lewd parts committed, and amongst others for that she taught slaves to deceive their masters: and so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned and executed. It is thought also that he made the oration Apollodorus spoke against the Prætor Timotheus, and proved thereby that he was a debtor to the commonwealth and so a naughty man: and that he wrote those orations also entitled unto Phormio and Stephanus, for the which he was justly reprov'd. For Phormio pleaded against Apollodorus with the oration which Demosthenes self had made for him: which was even alike, as if out of one self cutlers' shop he had sold his enemies swords one to kill another. And for his known orations, those which he made against Androtion, Timocrates and Aristocrates: he caused them to give them unto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of state. For indeed when he did put them forth, he was not passing seven or eight and twenty years old. The oration which he made against Aristogiton, and the other also of liberty against Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, he spoke them, as he sayeth himself (or as others write) openly unto the people, because he intended to marry Chabrias' mother. Howbeit he did not, but married a Samian woman, as Demetrius Magnesian writeth in his book he made entitled *Synonyma*, and in

that he wrote against Æschines: where he accuseth him that he dealt falsely when he was ambassador. It is not known whether it was ever recited or not, although Idomeneus writeth, that there lacked but thirty voices only to have quit Æschines. But in this methinks he spoke not truly, and doth but conjecture it, by that the one and the other have said in their orations against the crown, in the which, neither the one nor the other do say precisely that this accusation proceeded to judgment. But let others that listen decide this doubt.

Now before the war began, it was evident enough to which part Demosthenes would incline in the commonwealth: for, he would never leave to reprove and withstand Philip's doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in Philip's Court than any man else, he was sent unto him the tenth person with nine others in embassy. Philip gave them all audience one after another: howbeit he was more careful and circumspect to answer Demosthenes' oration than all the rest. But otherwise out of that place he did not Demosthenes so much honour, nor gave him so good entertainment as to his other companions. For Philip showed more kindness and gave better countenance unto Æschines and Philocrates than unto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise Philip and said that he was a well-spoken prince, a fair man, and would drink freely, and be pleasant in company, Demosthenes smiled at it and turned all those things to the worst, saying that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meet for a king. For, the first was a quality meet for a pleader, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge.

In fine, wars falling out between them because Philip

of the one side could not live in peace, and the Athenians on the other side were still incensed and stirred up by Demosthenes' daily orations. Whereupon, the Athenians first sent into the Isle of Eubœa (the which by means of certain private tyrannies that had taken the towns, became subject again unto Philip) following a decree Demosthenes had preferred, and so went to expulse the Macedonians again. After that also he caused them to send aid unto the Byzantines, and unto the Perinthians with whom Philip made war. For he so persuaded the Athenians that he made them forget the malice they did bear unto those two nations, and the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the wars, touching the rebellion of their confederates: and he caused them to send them aid, which kept them from Philip's force and power. Furthermore, going afterwards unto all the great cities of Greece as ambassador, he did so solicit and persuade them that he brought them all in manner to be against Philip. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge was fifteen thousand footmen, all strangers, and two thousand horsemen, besides the citizens of every city which should also serve in the wars at their charge: and the money levied for the maintenance of this war was very willingly disbursed. Theophrastus writeth that it was at that time their confederates did pray that they would set down a certain sum of money, what every city should pay: and that Crobilus an orator should make answer that the war had no certain maintenance: inferring that the charges of war was infinite.

Now all Greece being in arms, attending what should

happen, and all these people and cities being united in one league together: as, the Eubœans, the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Megarians, the Leucadians, and the Corcyræans: the greatest matter Demosthenes had to do was to persuade the Thebans also to enter into this league, because their country confined and bordered with Attica: besides, their force and power was of great importance, for that they carried the fame of all Greece at that time, for the most valiant soldiers. But it was no trifling matter to win the Thebans, and to make them break with Philip, who but lately before had bound them unto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them in the war of the Phocians: besides also that betwixt Athens and Thebes, by reason of vicinity, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, which with every little thing were soon renewed. This notwithstanding, Philip being proud of the victory he had won by the city of Amphissa, when he came and invaded the country of Elatea, and was entered into Phocis: the Athenians were then so amazed with it that no man durst occupy the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assembly standing in a doubt with great silence, Demosthenes only stepped up and did again give them counsel to seek to make league and alliance with the Thebans: and so did further encourage the people and put them in good hope, as he was always wont to do. Then with others he was sent ambassador unto Thebes: and Philip also for his part sent ambassadors unto the Thebans, Amyntas and Clearchus, two gentlemen Macedonians, and with them Daochus, Thesalus, and Thrasydæus, to answer and withstand the persuasions of the Athenian ambassadors.

Thereupon the Thebans began to advise themselves for the best, and laid before their eyes the miserable fruits and calamities of war, their wounds being yet green and uncured, which they got by the wars of Phocis. Notwithstanding, the great force of Demosthenes' eloquence (as Theopompus writeth) did so inflame the Thebans' courage with desire of honour, that it trod under their feet all manner of considerations, and did so ravish them with the love and desire of honesty that they cast at their heels all fear of danger, all remembrance of pleasures received, and all reason persuading the contrary. This act of an orator was of so great force, that Philip forthwith sent ambassadors unto the Grecians to entreat for peace, and all Greece was up to see what would become of this stir. Thus, not only the captains of Athens obeyed Demosthenes, doing all that he commanded them, but the governors also of Thebes and of all the country of Bœotia besides. And the assemblies also of the council of Thebes were as well governed by him as the assemblies of Athens, being alike beloved both of the one and the other, and having a like authority to command both, and not undeservedly, as Theopompus sayeth, but by just desert.

But some fatal destiny, and the revolution of times, had determined the final end of the liberty of Greece at that time, clean contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestial signs that did foreshow and prognosticate what end should ensue thereof. And among others, Apollo's nun gave these dreadful oracles: and this old prophecy of the Sibyls was commonly sung in everybody's mouth:

What time the bloody battle shall be fought at Thermodon,
God grant I may be far away, or else (to look thereon)
Have Eagle's wings to soar above, among the clouds on
high.

For there the vanquished side shall weep, and Conquerer
shall die.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a little river of
our country of Chæroneia, the which falleth into the
river of Cephissus: howbeit at this present time there is
never a river nor brook in all our country that I know
called Thermodon. And I think that that river which
we call now Hæmon, was in old times Thermodon:
for it runneth by the temple of Hercules, where the
Grecians lay in camp. And it may be that because it
was filled with dead bodies, and that it ran blood at
the day of the battle, it changed her name, and was
surnamed Hæmon, because *Hæma* in the Greek tongue
signifieth blood. Yet Duris writeth notwithstanding
that this Thermodon was no river, but that certain
men setting up their tent, and trenching it about, found
a little image of stone, whereupon were engraven these
letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called
Thermodon, who carried an Amazon heart in his arms,
and that for this image of Thermodon, they do sing such
another old oracle as this:

Ye Ernes ¹ and Ravens tarry till the field of Thermodon:
There will be stores of carcasses of men to feed upon.

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the truth
of these things.

But Demosthenes trusting to the valiantness and
power of the Grecians, and being marvellously encour-

¹ Eagles.

aged to see such a great number of valiant and resolute men, so willing to fight with the enemy: he bade them be of good courage and not to buzz about such oracles, and to give ear to those prophecies. And furthermore, he told them plainly that he did mistrust the nun Pythia did lean unto Philip, as favouring him, and did put the Thebans in mind of their captain Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, and persuaded them that those two famous men were always of opinion that such prophecies were no other but a fine cloak for cowards, and that taking no heed to them they did dispatch their matters according to their own discretion. Until this present time, Demosthenes showed himself always an honest man: but when it came to the battle, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant act anything answerable to the orations whereby he had persuaded the people. For he left his rank, and cowardly cast away his weapons to run the lighter, and was not ashamed at all, as Pythias said, of the words written upon his shield in golden letters, which were, " Good Fortune ":

Now Philip having won the battle, he was at that present so joyful that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had drunk well with his friends, he went into the place where the overthrow was given, and there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had preferred (by the which, the Athenians accordingly proclaimed wars against him) rising and falling with his voice, and dancing it in measure with his foot:

Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes Pæanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to wax sober, and leaving his drunkenness, and that he had remembered himself what danger he had been in: then his hair stood bolt upright upon his head, considering the force and power of such an orator, that in a piece of a day had enforced him to hazard his realm and life at a battle./

Now Demosthenes' fame was so great, that it was carried even to the great King of Persia's court, who wrote unto his lieutenants and governors, that they should feed Demosthenes with money, and should procure to entertain him above all the men in Greece as he that could best withdraw Philip and trouble him with the wars and tumults of Greece. And this was afterwards proved by letters found of Demosthenes himself, the which came to King Alexander's hands in the city of Sardis, and by other writings also of the governors and lieutenants of the King of Persia: in the which were named directly the express sums of money which had been sent and given unto him. Now, the Grecians being thus overthrown by battle, the other orators, adversaries unto Demosthenes in the commonwealth, began to set upon him, and to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not only clear him of all accusations objected against him, but did continue to honour him more than before, and to call him to assemblies as one that loved the honour and benefit of his country. So that when the bones of their countrymen which were slain at the battle of Chæronea, were brought to be openly buried according to the custom: the people gave him the honour to make the funeral oration in praise of the dead, and made no show of sorrow or grief for the loss they had received (as Theo-

pompus witnesseth, and doth nobly declare): but rather in contrary manner showed that they did not repent them in following of his counsel but did honour him that gave it. Demosthenes then did make the funeral oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would never subscribe any to prevent the sinister luck and misfortune of his name, but did pass it under his friends' names one after another until he grew courageous again, shortly after that he understood of the death of Philip, who was slain immediately after the victory he won at Chæronea. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the prophecy or oracle in the two last verses:

The vanquishéd bewailes his luckless lot,
And he that wins, with life escapeth not.

Now Demosthenes hearing of Philip's death, before the news was openly known, to prevent them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better luck to come. Thereupon he went with a cheerful countenance into the assembly of the council, and told them there that he had a certain dream that promised great good hap, and that out of hand, unto the Athenians: and immediately after the messengers arrived that brought certain news of King Philip's death. Thereupon the Athenians made sacrifices of joy to the gods for this happy news, and appointed a crown unto Pausanias that had slain him. Demosthenes also came abroad in his best gown, and crowned with flowers, seven days after the death of his daughter, as Æschines reporteth: who reproveth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having little love or charity unto his own

children. But indeed Æschines self deserveth more blame, to have such a tender womanish heart as to believe that weeping, and lamenting, are signs of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and constancy do pass away such misfortunes. 7

But now to the Athenians again. I can neither think nor say that they did wisely show such open signs of joy as to wear crowns and garlands upon their heads, nor also to sacrifice to the gods for the death of a prince, that behaved himself so princely and courteously unto them in the victories he had won of them. For, though indeed all cruelty be subject to the revenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base mind, to honour a man, and while he lived to make him free of their city, and now that another hath slain him, they to be in such an exceeding jollity withal, and to exceed the bonds of modesty so far, as to ramp in manner with both feet upon the dead, and to sing songs of victory as if they themselves had been the men that had valiantly slain him. In contrary manner also, I praise and commend the constancy and courage of Demosthenes, that he leaving the tears and lamentation of his home trouble unto women, did himself in the meantime that he thought was for the benefit of the commonwealth: and in my opinion, I think he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to be a governor of a commonwealth, never to stoop nor yield, but always to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the commonwealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affections in respect of the service of his country, and to keep his honour much more carefully than common players used to do when they play the parts of kings and

princes: whom we see neither weep nor laugh when they listen though they be on the stage, but when the matter of the play falleth out to give them just occasion. But omitting these reasons, if there be no reason (as indeed there is not) to leave and forsake a man in his sorrow and trouble, without giving him some words of comfort, and rather to devise some matter to assuage his sorrow, and to withdraw his mind from that, to think upon some pleasanter things: even as they should keep sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours in offering them green and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefs at home when the commonwealth doeth well: than to join their private griefs with common joys, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worse? But thus far I digressed from my history, enlarging this matter, because Æschines in his oration touching this matter did move the people's hearts too much to womanish sorrow. But now to the rest/

The cities of Greece being again stirred up by Demosthenes, made a new league again together: and the Thebans also having armed themselves by his practice did one day set upon the garrison of the Macedonians within their city and slew many of them. The Athenians prepared also to maintain war on the Thebans' behalf, and Demosthenes was daily at all the assemblies of council, in the pulpit, persuading the people with his orations: and he wrote also into Asia unto the King of Persia's lieutenants and captains, to make war with Alexander on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as much to say as fool. But after that Alexander having

set all his things at stay within his realm, came himself in person with his army and invaded the country of Bœotia: then fell the pride of the Athenians greatly, and Demosthenes also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length, the poor Thebans being left unto themselves, forsaken of every man: they were compelled themselves alone to bear the brunt of this war and so came their city to utter ruin and destruction. Thereby the Athenians being in a marvellous fear and perplexity, did suddenly choose ambassadors to send unto this young king, and Demosthenes chiefly among others: who being afraid of Alexander's fury and wrath, durst not go to him, but returned from Mount Cythæron, and gave up the ambassade.

But Alexander sent to summon the Athenians, to send unto him ten of their orators, as Idomeneus and Duris both do write: or eight, as the most writers and best historiographers do report, which were these: Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus. At which time, they write that Demosthenes told the people of Athens the fable of the sheep and wolves, how that the wolves came on a time and willed the sheep if they would have peace with them to deliver them their mas-tives that kept them. And so he compared himself, and his companions that travelled for the benefit of the country, unto the dogs that keep the flocks of sheep, and calling Alexander the wolf. And so forth, said he, like as you see these corn-masters bringing a sample of their corn in a dish or napkin to show you, and by that little do sell all that they have: so I think you will all wonder, that delivering of us you will also deliver your-

selves into the hands of your enemies. Aristobulus of Cassandra reporteth this matter thus.

Now the Athenians being in consultation, not knowing how to resolve: Demades having taken five talents of them whom Alexander demanded, did offer himself, and promised to go in this ambassade unto Alexander, and to entreat for them, either because he trusted in the love the king did bear him or else for that he thought he hoped he should find him pacified, as a lion glutted with the blood of beasts which he had slain. Howsoever it happened, he persuaded the people to send him unto him, and so handled Alexander that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the city of Athens. Thereupon Alexander being retired, Demades and his fellows bore all the sway and authority, and Demosthenes was under foot. Indeed when Agis king of Lacedæmon came with his army into the field, he began a little to rouse himself and to lift up his head: but he shrunk choler¹ again soon after because the Athenians would not rise with the Lacedæmonians, who were overthrown, and Agis slain in battle.

At that time was the cause of the crown pleaded against Ctesiphon, and the plea was written a little before the battle of Chæronea, in the year when Charondas was Provost of Athens: howbeit no sentence was given but ten years after that Aristophon was Provost. This was such an open judgment, and so famous, as never was any, as well for the great fame of the orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthiness of the judges that gave sentence thereof: who did not leave Demosthenes to his enemies, although

¹ Spirit.

indeed they were of greater power than he, and were also supported with the favour and good-will of the Macedonians; but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that Æschines had not so much as the fifth part of men's voices and opinions in his behalf. Wherefore immediately after sentence given, he went out of Athens for shame, and travelled into the country of Ionia, and unto Rhodes, where he did teach rhetoric.

Shortly after, Harpalus flying out of Alexander's service, came unto Athens, being to be charged with many foul matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigality: and also because he feared Alexander's fury, who was grown severe and cruel unto his chiefest servants. He coming now amongst the Athenians, with store of gold and silver, the orators being greedy and desirous of the gold and silver he had brought, began straight to speak for him, and did counsel the people to receive and protect a poor suitor that came to them for succour. But Demosthenes gave counsel to the contrary, and bade them rather drive him out of the city and take heed they brought not wars upon their backs, for a matter that not only was not necessary but furthermore merely unjust. But within few days after, inventory being taken of all Harpalus' goods, he perceiving that Demosthenes took great pleasure to see a cup of the king's and considered very curiously the fashion and workmanship upon it, he gave it him in his hand to judge what it weighed. Demosthenes paesing¹ it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heavy: so he asked how many pound weight it weighed. Harpalus smiling, answered him: It will weigh thee twenty

¹ Weighing.

talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cup, with the twenty talents. This Harpalus was a very wise man, and found straight by Demosthenes' countenance that he loved money, and could presently judge his nature, by seeing his pleasant countenance and his eyes still upon the cup. So Demosthenes refused not his gift, and being overcome withal, as if he had received a garrison into his house, he took Harpalus' part.

The next morning, he went into the assembly of the people, having his neck bound up with wool and rolls¹. So when they called him by his name to step up into the pulpit to speak to the people as he had done before, he made a sign with his head that he had an impediment in his voice, and that he could not speak. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, told him that it was no neck-throttle that had stopped his voice² that night, as he would make them believe: but it was Harpalus' silver-throttle which he had received that made him in that case. Afterwards when the people understood that he was corrupted, Demosthenes going about to excuse himself, they would not abide to hear him, but made a noise and exclamation against him. Thereupon there rose up a pleasant conceited man that said: Why my masters do you refuse to hear a man that hath such a golden tongue?

The people thereupon did immediately banish Harpalus, and fearing lest King Alexander would require an account of the gold and silver which the orators had robbed and pilfered away among them, they made very diligent search and inquiry in every man's house, excepting Callicles' house, the son of Arrenidas, whose

¹ Bandages.

² Throat, weazand.

house they would have searched by no means because he was but newly married and had his new spouse in his house, as Theopompus writeth.

Now Demosthenes desiring to show that he was in fault, preferred a decree, that the court of the Areopagites should hear the matter and punish them that were found faulty, and therewithal straight offered himself to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the sum of fifty talents, and for lack of payment they put him in prison, where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned as also for his sickly body. So he broke prison, partly without the privity of his keepers and partly also with their consent, for they were willing he should make an escape. Some do report that he fled not far from the city, where it was told him that certain of his enemies followed him, whereupon he would have hidden himself from them. But they themselves first called him by his name, and coming to him prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to help him in his banishment, and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, and persuaded him to be of good cheer and not to despair for the misfortune that was come unto him. This did pierce his heart the more for sorrow that he answered them: Why, would you not have me be sorry for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the city where indeed I have so courteous enemies, that it is hard for me to find anywhere so good friends?

So he took his banishment unmanly, and remained the most part of his banishment in the city of Ægina,

or at the city of Træzen, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the country of Attica and weep bitterly. And some have written certain words he spoke which showed no mind of a man of courage, nor were answerable to the noble things he was wont to persuade in his orations. For it is reported of him that as he went out of Athens, he looked back again, and holding up his hands to the castle, said in this sort: O Lady Minerva, Lady patroness of this city, why doest thou delight in three so mischievous beasts: the owl, the dragon, and the people? Besides, he persuaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, never to meddle in matters of state, assuring them that if they had offered him two ways at the first, the one to go into the assembly of the people to make orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had known as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that meddles with the affairs of the state, the fear, the envy, the accusations, and troubles in the same: he would rather have chosen the way to have suffered death.

So, Demosthenes continuing in his exile, King Alexander died, and all Greece was up again: insomuch as Leosthenes being a man of great value had shut up Antipater in the city of Lamia, and there kept him straitly besieged. Then Pytheas and Callimedon, surnamed Carabos¹, two orators, and both of them banished from Athens, they took part with Antipater and went from town to town with his ambassadors and friends, persuading the Grecians not to stir, neither to take part with the Athenians. But Demosthenes in

¹ Crab.

contrary manner, joining with the ambassadors sent from Athens into every quarter to solicit the cities of Greece, to seek to recover their liberty: he did aid them the best he could to solicit the Grecians, to take arms with the Athenians, to drive the Macedonians out of Greece. And Phylarchus writeth that Demosthenes encountered with Pytheas' words in an open assembly of the people in a certain town of Arcadia. Pytheas having spoken before him had said: Like as we presume always that there is some sickness in the house whither we do see asses' milk brought, so must that town of necessity be sick, wherein the ambassadors of Athens do enter. Demosthenes answered him again, turning his comparison against him: that indeed they brought asses' milk where there was need to recover health: and even so, the ambassadors of Athens were sent to heal and cure them that were sick.

The people at Athens understanding what Demosthenes had done, they so rejoiced at it that presently they gave order in the field¹ that his banishment should be revoked. He that persuaded the decree of his revocation was called Damon, a Pæanian, that was his nephew: and thereupon the Athenians sent him a galley to bring him to Athens from the city of Ægina. So Demosthenes being arrived at the haven of Piræus, there was neither governor, priest, nor almost any townsman left in the city, but went out to the haven to welcome him home. So that Demetrius Magnesian writeth that Demosthenes then lifting up his hands unto heaven said, that he thought himself happy for

¹ "In the field" is a mistranslation of *sur le champ*, "on the spot", in Amyot's French version, which Sir Thomas North used.

the honour of that journey, that the return from his banishment was far more honourable than Alcibiades' return in the like case had been. For Alcibiades was called home by force: and he was sent for with the good-will of the citizens. This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not dispense with all, nor remit it. Howbeit they devised a way to deceive the law: for they had a manner to give certain money unto them that did prepare and set out the altar of Jupiter Saviour, for the day of solemnity of the sacrifice, the which they did yearly celebrate unto him: so they gave him the charge to make this preparation for the sum of fifty talents, being the sum of the fine aforesaid wherein he was condemned.

Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the good hap of his restitution to his country and goods. For the affairs of the Grecians were immediately after brought to utter ruin. For the battle of Cranon which they lost, was in the month Metageitnion (to wit, July) and in the month Boëdromion next ensuing (to wit, August) the garrison of the Macedonians entered into the fort of Munychia. And in the month Pyanepsion (to wit, the October following) Demosthenes died in this manner.

When news came to Athens, that Antipater and Craterus were coming thither with a great army, Demosthenes and his friends got out of the town a little before they entered, the people, by Demades' persuasion, having condemned them to die. So, every man making shift for himself, Antipater sent soldiers after them to take them: and of them Archias was captain, surnamed Phygadotheras, as much to say, as a hunter of the

banished men. It is reported that this Archias was born in the city of Thurii, and that he had been sometimes a common player of tragedies: and that Polus also who was born in the city of Ægina (the excellentest craftsman in that faculty of all men) was his scholar. Yet Hermippus doth recite him amongst the number of the scholars of Lacritus the orator. And Demetrius also writeth that he had been at Anaximenes' school. Now, this Archias having found the orator Hyperides in the city of Ægina, Aristonicus Marathonian, and Himeræus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerian, which had taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax, he took them out of the temple by force and sent them unto Antipater, who was at that time in the city of Cleonæ, where he did put them all to death: and some say that he did cut off Hyperides' tongue. Furthermore, hearing that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the Isle of Calauria, he took little pinnaces and a certain number of Thracian soldiers, and being come thither he sought to persuade Demosthenes to be contented to go with him unto Antipater, promising him that he should have no hurt.

Demosthenes had a strange dream the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedy contending with Archias, and that he handled himself so well that all the lookers-on at the theatre did commend him, and gave him the honour to be the best player: howbeit that otherwise he was not so well furnished as Archias and his players, and that in all manner of furniture he did far exceed him. The next morning when Archias came to speak with him, who using gentle words unto him thinking thereby to win him by fair means to leave

the sanctuary: Demosthenes looking him full in the face, sitting still where he was, without removing, said unto him: O Archias, thou didst never persuade me when thou playedst a play, neither shalt thou now persuade me though thou promise me. Then Archias began to be angry with him and to threaten him. O, said Demosthenes, now thou speakest in good earnest, without dissimulation, as the Oracle of Macedon hath commanded thee: for before thou spakest in the clouds, and far from thy thought. But I pray thee stay a while till I have written somewhat to my friends. After he had said so, he went into the temple as though he would have dispatched some letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withal, and bit it as his manner was when he did use to write anything, and held the end of the quill in his mouth a pretty while together: then he cast his gown over his head and laid him down. Archias' soldiers seeing that, being at the door of the temple, laughing him to scorn (thinking he had done so for that he was afraid to die), called him coward, and beast. Archias also coming to him prayed him to rise and began to use the former persuasions to him, promising him that he would make Antipater his friend. Then Demosthenes feeling the poison work, cast open his gown, and boldly looking Archias in the face, said unto him: Now when thou wilt, play Creon's part and throw my body to the dogs without further grave or burial. For my part, O god Neptune, I do go out of thy temple being yet alive because I will not profane it with my death: but Antipater, and the Macedonians, have not spared to defile thy sanctuary with blood and cruel murder. Having

spoken these words, he prayed them to stay him up by his armholes, for his feet began already to fail him, and thinking to go forward as he passed by the altar of Neptune, he fell down and giving one gasp gave up the ghost.

Now touching the poison, Aristo reporteth that he sucked and drew it up into his mouth out of his quill as we have said before. But one Pappus (from whom Hermippus has taken his history) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the altar they found the beginning of a letter which said: Demosthenes unto Antipater, but no more. Now his death being thus sudden, the Thracian soldiers that were at the temple door reported that they saw him pluck the poison which he put into his mouth out of a little cloth he had, thinking to them that it had been a piece of gold he had swallowed down. Howbeit a maid of the house that served him, being examined by Archias about it, told him that he had carried it about him a long time for a preservative for him. Eratosthenes writeth that he kept this poison in a little box of gold made hollow within, the which he wore as a bracelet about his arm. There are many writers also that do report his death diversely, but to recite them all it were in vain, saving that there was one called Demochares (who was Demosthenes' very friend) said that he died not so suddenly by poison but that it was the special favour of the gods (to preserve him from the cruelty of the Macedonians) that so suddenly took him out of his life and made him feel so little pain.

Demosthenes died the sixteenth day of the month Pyanepsion (to wit, October) on the which day they do

celebrate at Athens the feast of Ceres, called Thesmophoria, which is the dolefullest feast of all the year: on the which day also the women remain all day long in the temple of the goddess without meat or drink. Shortly after, the Athenians to honour him according to his deserts did cast his image in brass, and made a law besides that the oldest man of his house should for ever be kept within the palace at the charge of the commonwealth: and engraved these verses also upon the base of his image:

Hadst thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy
heart,
The Macedons should not have wrought the Greeks such
woe and smart.

For they that think that it was Demosthenes himself that made the verses in the Isle of Calauria before he took his poison, they are greatly deceived.

But yet a little before my first coming to Athens, there went a report that such a thing happened. A certain soldier being sent for to come unto his captain, did put such pieces of gold as he had into the hands of Demosthenes' statue, which had both his hands joined together, and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, divers leaves whereof either blown off by wind by chance, or else put there of purpose by the soldier, covered so this gold that it was there a long time, and no man found it until such time as the soldier came again and found it as he left it. Hereupon this matter running abroad in every man's mouth, there were divers wise men that took occasion of this subject to make epigrams in the praise of Demosthenes, as one who in his life was never cor-

rupted. Furthermore, Demades did not long enjoy the honour he thought he had newly gotten. For the justice of the gods, revenger of the death of Demosthenes, brought him into Macedon, to receive just punishment by death, of those whom he dishonestly flattered: being before grown hateful to them, and afterwards committed a fault whereby he could not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did persuade and pray Perdiccas to make himself king of Macedon, and to deliver Greece from bondage, saying that it hung by a thread and yet it was half rotten, meaning thereby, Antipater. Dinarchus Corinthian accused him that he wrote these letters: the which so grievously offended Cassander, that first he slew his own son in his arms, and then commanded that they should afterwards kill Demades, making him feel then by those miseries (which are the cruelest that can happen unto man) that traitors betraying their own country do first of all betray themselves. Demosthenes had often forewarned him of his end, but he would never

believe him. Thus, my friend Sossius, you have
what we can deliver you, by reading or
report, touching Demosthenes'
life and doings.

LIST OF NAMES

The vowels are usually pronounced as in English.

Long vowels are marked —.

Short vowels are not marked.

Diphthongs are naturally long.

The syllable accented in English is marked '.

Abȳ'dus
 Adō'nia
 Adō'nis
 Ægē'ides
 Ægí'na
 Æs'chinēs
 Æs'ion
 Agathar'chus
 Ā'gis
 Agrau'los
 A'jax
 Alcibi'adēs
 Alcid'amās
 Alcmaē'on
 Ami'cha
 Anaxilā'us
 Andoc'idēs
 An'droclēs
 Anthe'mion
 Anti'ochus
 Anti'phanēs
 An'tiphōn
 Antis'thenēs
 An'ytus
 Apol'lō
 Apollodō'rus
 Archip'pus
 Ari'phrōn

Aristi'dēs
 Aris'tō
 Aristobū'lus
 Aristogi'tōn
 Aristoni'cus
 Aristoph'anēs
 Aris'tophōn
 Arren'idās
 Artemis'ium
 Asty'ochus

 Bat'talus
 Bisan'the
 Boēdro'miōn
 Bæō'tia

 Cal'liās
 Callip'pidēs
 Cār'abos
 Cat'ana
 Ce'os
 Cēphi'sus
 Ce'res
 Chæronē'a
 Chalcē'dōn
 Chari'dēmus
 Chi'os
 Chry'sogonus

Ci'mon
Clazom'enæ
Clean'thēs
Cleō'næ
Clīn'ias
Cnid'os
Con'ōn
Coronē'a
Cran'ōn
Crat'erus
Crō'bylus
Ctēsi'bius
Ctēs'iphōn
Cythæ'rōn
Cyz'icus

Decelē'a
Dē'madēs
Dēmo'charēs
Dēmoc'ratēs
Dēmos'thenēs
Dīno'macha
Diocli'des
Diomē'dēs
Dū'ris

Ecbat'ana
Epaminōn'dās
Ephial'tēs
E'phor
Erasistratus
Eratos'thenēs
Eumol'pidæ
Eu'nomus
Eu'polis
Eurip'idēs
Eurypto'lemus
Eury'sacēs

Gylip'pus

Halonē'sus
Har'palus
Hellani'cus
Her'mēs
Her'mōn
Himeræ'us
Hippa'retē

Hippoc'ratēs
Hipponi'cus
Hyper'bolus
Hyperī'dēs

Iac'chus
I'ōn
Isoc'ratēs

Jū'lis

Lac'iadæ
Lac'ritus
Lām'achus
La'mia
Lāom'edōn
Leōs'thenēs
Lycūr'gus

Mantinē'a
Margi'tēs
Meg'ac'lē
Melanō'pus
Mē'los
Messi'na
Metageit'niōn
Me'tōn
Mid'ias
Milē'tus
Mi'na
Min'darus
Misanthrō'pus

Nicē'ratus
Ni'ciās
Nicodē'mus

Ōrō'pus

Pal'las
Peloponnē'sus
Per'ic'lē
Peritho'idæ
Phæ'ax
Pharnaba'zus
Phē'gūs
Phō'ciōn
Phor'miōn

Phryn'ichus
Phygadothē'rās
Piræ'ūs
Pisan'der
Plat'ō
Plyntē'ria
Poly'tiōn
Potidæ'a
Praxier'gidæ
Proconnē'sus
Proser'pina
Pyanep'siōn
Py'los
Pŷ'theās

Sa'mos
Sat'yrus
Scambō'nidæ
Sēly'bria
Sibyr'tius
Sō'cratēs
Sphactē'ria
Susami'thres
Synō'nyma

Tau'reās

Teu'cer
Theā'nō
Theodō'rus
Theophras'tus
Theō'ris
Theō'rus
Thēra'menēs
Thesmopho'ria
Thrasibū'lus
Thra'sōn
Thūcyd'idēs
Thū'rii
Timæ'us
Timoc'ratēs
Tīmōn
Tis'iās
Tissapher'nēs
Ty'deus (*eu* diphthong)

Ulys'ses

Ve'nus

Xanthip'pus

Zōp'yrys

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