

NARRATIVE
AND DRAMATIC
SOURCES OF
SHAKESPEARE

Edited by
~~GEOFFREY BULLOUGH~~

THE ROMAN PLAYS:
JULIUS CÆSAR
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA
CORIOLANUS

London and New York

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PREFACE

THIS volume was originally intended to include consideration both of the Roman plays and of the other plays on ostensibly 'classical' themes. While gathering the material, however, I came to see the advisability of lengthening the Introductions so as to trace the growth of the Caesar and Cleopatra legends, and of omitting as little as possible of the three major Lives in Plutarch. Moreover, realizing that no modern editions of the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie* and Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra* are accessible to students, I determined to include complete texts of these plays, since they are valuable not only as sources or analogues but also for themselves as dramatic experiments in the classical mode. (In these as in other texts I have occasionally amended punctuation and spelling, but as seldom and slightly as possible.) In consequence what was meant to be one volume must become two, and *Titus Andronicus*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon* and *Pericles* will be discussed in Volume VI, leaving the four greatest tragedies and the Romances for Vol. VII.

My thanks are extended to the Librarians of the British Museum, King's College, London, and the University Libraries of London and Edinburgh, and to my colleagues Professor H. H. Scullard, Mr A. W. Lintott and Mr F. M. Guercio for help in interpretation and translation. I am grateful to the Council of the Malone Society for permission to quote passages from its edition of *Caesar's Revenge*. I owe much, as before, to Miss Rosemary Jackson for her secretarial assistance and care for detail, and to her and my wife for aid with the proofs.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. <i>Shakespeare's Works and Apocrypha</i>		<i>R2</i>	<i>King Richard the Second</i>
		<i>R3</i>	<i>King Richard the Third</i>
		<i>RJ</i>	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
<i>Ado</i>	<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>	<i>Son</i>	<i>Sonnets</i>
<i>AFev</i>	<i>Arden of Feversham</i>	<i>TA</i>	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>
<i>AShrew</i>	<i>The Taming of A Shrew</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>The Tempest</i>
<i>ATL</i>	<i>As You Like It</i>	<i>TGV</i>	<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Comedy of Errors</i>	<i>Tim</i>	<i>Timon of Athens</i>
<i>Cor</i>	<i>Coriolanus</i>	<i>TN</i>	<i>Twelfth Night</i>
<i>Cym</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>	<i>TrC</i>	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>
<i>Ham</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>TSh</i>	<i>The Taming of The Shrew</i>
<i>1H4</i>	<i>Henry the Fourth, Part I</i>	<i>VA</i>	<i>Venus and Adonis</i>
<i>2H4</i>	<i>Henry the Fourth, Part II</i>	<i>WT</i>	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>
<i>H5</i>	<i>Henry the Fifth</i>	2. <i>Modern Editions and Other Works</i>	
<i>1H6</i>	<i>Henry the Sixth, Part I</i>		
<i>2H6</i>	<i>Henry the Sixth, Part II</i>	<i>Arden</i>	<i>The Arden Shakespeare</i>
<i>3H6</i>	<i>Henry the Sixth, Part III</i>	<i>Camb</i>	<i>The New Cambridge edition, edited by J. Dover Wilson, A. Quiller-Couch, &c.</i>
<i>H8</i>	<i>Henry the Eighth</i>	<i>Coll</i>	<i>Shakespeare's Library, edited J. Payne Collier, 2 vols.</i>
<i>KJ</i>	<i>King John</i>	<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History (Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.)</i>
<i>LComp</i>	<i>Lover's Complaint</i>	<i>ElSt</i>	<i>E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols.</i>
<i>Lear</i>	<i>King Lear</i>	<i>EngHist Soc</i>	<i>English Historical Society</i>
<i>LLL</i>	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	<i>EngStud</i>	<i>Englische Studien</i>
<i>Luc</i>	<i>The Rape of Lucrece</i>		
<i>Mac</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>		
<i>MM</i>	<i>Measure for Measure</i>		
<i>MND</i>	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>		
<i>More</i>	<i>Sir Thomas More</i>		
<i>MV</i>	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>		
<i>MWW</i>	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>		
<i>NobKin</i>	<i>Two Noble Kinsmen</i>		
<i>Oth</i>	<i>Othello</i>		
<i>Per</i>	<i>Pericles</i>		
<i>PhT</i>	<i>The Phoenix and the Turtle</i>		
<i>PPil</i>	<i>The Passionate Pilgrim</i>		

<i>Hol.</i>	Holinshed's <i>Chronicles</i>	<i>ShLib</i>	<i>Shakespeare's Library</i> , 6 vols. 2nd Edn. 1875, edited J. P. Collier and W. C. Hazlitt
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>The Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>		
<i>Jest Books</i>	<i>Shakespeare Jest Books</i> , edited W. C. Hazlitt	<i>ShQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
		<i>Sh.Soc</i>	<i>Transactions of the New Trans. Shakespeare Society</i>
<i>Lee</i>	Sir Sidney Lee, <i>Life of Shakespeare</i>	<i>SPhil</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
		<i>Sh Survey</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
<i>MalSoc</i>	Malone Society Reprints	<i>Texas</i>	<i>University of Texas Studies in English</i>
<i>MedSt</i>	E. K. Chambers, <i>The Medieval Stage</i> , 2 vols.	<i>TLS</i>	<i>The Times Literary Supplement</i> (London)
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>The Troublesome Raigne of King John</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>The Modern Language Review</i>		
<i>MPhil</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>	<i>Var.</i>	<i>The New Variorum edition</i> , ed. H. H. Furness, &c.
<i>New Arden</i>	The Arden Edition of Shakespeare (revised and reset)	<i>WSh</i>	E. K. Chambers, <i>William Shakespeare</i> , 2 vols.
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes & Queries</i>		
<i>Oxf.</i>	The Oxford Edition of Shakespeare, text by W. J. Craig; Introductory Studies by E. Dowden	3. <i>Other Abbreviations</i>	
		<i>Arg</i>	Argument
		<i>Chor</i>	Chorus
<i>PhilQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>	<i>Prol</i>	Prologue
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America	<i>Rev.</i>	Review
		<i>F</i>	Folio edition
		<i>n.d.</i>	No date
<i>RES</i>	<i>The Review of English Studies</i>	<i>S.R.</i>	The Stationer's Register
<i>ShJb</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare—Gesellschaft</i>	<i>STC</i>	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed . . . 1475-1640</i> (1950)

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JULIUS CÆSAR

INTRODUCTION

JULIUS CÆSAR was not published till the First Folio (1623) in which it appears with few errors or misprints. It seems to have been printed from a clean prompt-copy or a transcript made from it. T. S. Dorsch (*New Arden*, xxiv) suggests that the printers used 'a careful scribal copy of Shakespeare's "fine papers" which had been used as the prompt-book'. There are few textual cruces, and no clear signs of revision except in the two differing accounts of Portia's death (IV.3.146-56 and 180-94) where Messala's relation was probably written first and Brutus' account written second to replace it but the earlier one printed by mistake as well.

The date of composition has been placed variously, but there is a reference to III.2 in John Weever's *The Mirror of Martyrs, or the Life and Death of Sir John Oldcastle* (1601):

The many-headed multitude were drawne
By *Brutus* speach, that Cæsar was ambitious,
When eloquent *Mark Antonie* had showne
His vertues, who but *Brutus* then was vicious?

Weever plagiarized from Edmund Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1600),¹ so the reference proves that Shakespeare's play was well known in 1600. In all probability it was the play seen in the new Globe Theatre in the autumn of 1599 by the Swiss traveller Thomas Platter.²

The date 1599 agrees with other references, such as Ben Jonson's humorous use of 'Et tu, Brute' in *Every Man out of his Humour* (V.6.79) and Samuel Nicholson's use of the same phrase in *Acolastus his Afterwitte* (1600).³ The play was popular, as Leonard Digges declared in lines (published in the 1640

¹ T. S. Dorsch, *New Arden*, viii.

² *WSh* ii, 322; from G. Binz, *Anglia* xxii, 456.

³ Cf. *New Arden* viii-xi and *WSh* i, 397 for these and other allusions.

2—N.D.S.S. 5

edition of Shakespeare's poems) comparing Shakespeare and Jonson to the latter's disadvantage:

So have I seen, when Cesar would appeare,
And on the Stage at halfe-sword parley were,
Brutus and *Cassius*; oh how the Audience
Were ravished, with what wonder they went thence . . .

The popularity of *Julius Cæsar* was caused not only by its dramatic effectiveness but also by its individual approach to the traditions and feelings which had grown up round the name of Caius Julius Cæsar. To explore the long history of the 'Cæsar-Mythos' is outside our present terms of reference, but although Shakespeare's main source was North's *Plutarch*, he seems to have dipped into other authorities, and it may well be that his handling of the material was affected by a complex tradition which, arising from the divergent attitudes of classical historians, had been modified in the Middle Ages and Renaissance in legend, scholarship and creative writing.

The life and personality of Julius Cæsar have always been of intense interest to biographers and historians. The range of his activities, his far-flung conquests, his political achievements, the manner of his death and what came after it, were so dramatic and well documented as to attract students of military history and of the Roman state (especially of the decline and fall of the Republic) and many explorers of the 'Great Man's' rôle in human affairs. His personality remained an enigma, interpreted differently by men of different political persuasions. In classical times he was praised or blamed as the pivot of Rome's transformation from Republic to Empire. In the Middle Ages he was a figure of bizarre legend. In the Renaissance he was regarded in the light of new political theories and of a new study of ancient documents; and the opposed views of him then formed endured until the nineteenth century, when opinions as diverse as those of Mommsen and Oman were still possible.¹ To trace the course and nature of his fame helps to explain the conflict of attitudes which affected dramatic representations of Cæsar and those associated with him, and

¹ Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome* (1854-6); C. Oman, *Seven Roman Statesmen*, 1902.

may throw light on the curiously ambivalent attitude apparent in Shakespeare's plays on Cæsar and Antony. In the following summary attention will mainly be centred on works current in the sixteenth century and contributing to the Renaissance tradition.¹

Gaius Julius Cæsar (100–44 B.C.) wrote some of his own life-story in his two military memoirs. The *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (*Gallic Wars*) comprise seven books about his relations with the Gauls, the Germans and the Britons between 59 B.C. and 52 B.C. Cæsar's aim in this was to justify to people at home his activities beyond the Alps. The *De Bello Civili* in three books was intended to describe and justify his war against Pompey. Both works are soldierly, cool and ostensibly objective accounts in which great exploits and endurances are narrated in a flat simple style which conceals the artfulness of the apologia and the egocentricity of the narrator while making clear his military genius, determination and command over the legions entrusted to him. Three books on the wars in Egypt, Africa and Spain (48–45 B.C.) may have been written by someone else, but in the Renaissance were usually regarded as his own.

Much light is thrown on the tangled affairs of Rome during the Civil Wars by the correspondence and speeches of the great orator and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) who though not of the highest rank by birth had risen quickly to the Consulship and had suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline.

Afterwards he was exiled, but Pompey had him recalled. During the ensuing struggle between Cæsar and Pompey he lived mainly in retirement, practising law and writing his works on public affairs (*De Republica*, *De Legibus*), ethics (*Old Age*, *Friendship*) and rhetoric (*Brutus*, *De Oratore*).

Cicero's attitude to Julius Cæsar varied from time to time. On the whole he admired the younger man's active genius but mistrusted his political ambition. Cæsar, who was not above using gangster methods to increase his influence, had played a somewhat ambiguous part during the Catiline affair. Cicero sided with Pompey in the Civil War but was reconciled after Pharsalia to Cæsar, who treated him with courtesy, tolerating

¹ I am indebted to Gundolf, *The Mantle of Cæsar*, 1929, and also to Dr E. Schanzer, whose essay on 'Julius Cæsar' I read in draft after I had written most of this section. See his *Shakespeare's Problem Plays*, 1963.

the man of words as an unreliable friend and an irresolute foe. Cicero was not invited to join Brutus' conspiracy, but his Republican sentiments made him greet the assassination of Cæsar as a virtuous act, and he corresponded with Brutus and Cassius as their fortunes declined. 'It would seem' (he wrote to the latter¹) 'that we have been delivered, not from a tyranny, but only from a tyrant. For though we have slain the tyrant, we still watch that tyrant's every word.' Cicero hated Antony, and in letters and speeches (the *Philippics*) he painted a lurid portrait of 'that crazy and desperate fellow' who spent his time either plotting 'to avenge the death of Cæsar' or 'exhausted with debauchery and wine . . . practising in [his] licentious house all forms of impurity'. He regretted that Antony had been spared: 'I wish you had invited me to your banquet on the Ides of March; there would have been no leavings' (to Cassius, February, 43 B.C.). 'The only refuge for honest folk is with you and Brutus', he declared a month or so later; 'if we have Cassius and Brutus back in Rome we shall think we have our Republic again.' When Antony claimed that the two friends were exiled, Cicero cried, 'What men so boorish, when they see these men, as not to think that they themselves have reaped the fullest harvest life can give? What future generation indeed shall be found so unmindful, what literature so ungrateful, as not to enshrine their glory in an immortal record?'²

Brutus and Cassius never returned; so Cicero looked to Octavian to save Rome from Antony's drunkenness and corruption; but after a while Octavian turned from him, and Antony had his revenge when Cicero was proscribed in 43 B.C. and murdered.

Although the *Familiar Epistles* of Cicero were not Englished until 1620 (by J. Webbe), they were widely known in the Renaissance. In England a Latin edition printed by H. Bynne-man in 1571 was followed by others in 1574 (T. March), 1575 and 1579 (T. Vautrollier), 1585 (J. Jackson and E. Bollifant), 1591 (R. Robinson). They were used in schools and universities to teach the art of prose writing. The *Philippics* were printed by R. Pynson in 1521, and the ethical writings were among the most widely studied of Latin works. Insofar as Tudor England

¹ May, 44 B.C. *Letters to Friends*, Loeb ii, Bk. xii, 1, p. 516.

² *Philippics* II, trans. W. C. A. Ker, Loeb, p. 97.

had any sense of Roman values it was owing largely to Cicero. Shakespeare may have read something of him in Latin. Cicero's account of major oratorical styles (in his dialogue *Brutus* or *De Claris Oratoribus*) may have coloured the funeral speeches. Cicero distinguishes the dry, reserved Stoic manner from the richer, more highly coloured way of speaking, praising on the one hand the plain oratory of Cato and Brutus himself, and on the other the more lavish art of an earlier Marcus Antonius, a victim of the Marian persecution in 87 B.C.

'Stoic oratory (says Cicero in the dialogue) is too closely knit and too compact for a popular audience;' and Brutus himself declares, 'practically all adherents of the Stoic school are very able in precise argument; they work by rule and system and are fairly architects in the use of words; but transfer them from discussion to oratorical presentation, and they are found poor and unresourceful.'¹

How true this is of Brutus' speech at the funeral! Yet Cicero praised Brutus for combining the virtues of several schools in his eloquence. So Shakespeare has given us a Stoic speech rather than that which Cicero's Brutus would probably have made.

'As for Antonius (wrote Cicero) nothing relevant escaped his attention, and it was all set in proper place for the greatest force and effectiveness . . . In the matter of choosing words (and choosing them more for weight than for charm), in placing them and tying them into compact sentences, Antonius controlled everything by purpose and by something like deliberate art. This same quality was still more noticeable in the embellishment which he gave to his thought by figurative expression. [His voice] . . . in passages of pathos it had a touching quality well-suited to winning confidence and to stirring compassion.'²

This was a different Antony, but it holds good of the Antony of the play, whose oration is so consciously contrived to move the emotions of the audience.

¹ *Brutus*, trans. G. L. Henderson and H. M. Hubbell, Loeb edn. 1942, xxxi, 120 and 118, pp. 107-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 123-5.

Among other contemporaries hostile to Cæsar the poet Catullus (c. 84-54 B.C.) could be held to represent the younger nobility during Cæsar's rise to power, afraid of losing their class-privileges through his bribery of the mob, and inimical towards the apostle of central government and authoritarian efficiency. Personal factors also made Catullus write satiric epigrams against the successful man of the world, and insist, 'Nil nimium studeo, Cæsar, tibi velle placere.' Ere he died, some years before Cæsar, Catullus had come to think better of him.

On the other side Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus, 86-34 B.C.) owed much to Julius Cæsar, because, after he had been degraded from the Senate in 50 B.C. for licentious conduct, Cæsar had him reinstated and made governor of Numidia. After his patron's murder Sallust retired from public life and wrote a history of the years 78-67 B.C. of which little remains, and short accounts of the Jugurthine war and the Catiline conspiracy. In this last he defended Cæsar and showed the incompetence and corruption of the aristocrats in the Senate who opposed him. Sallust preferred the magnificence of Cæsar to the acknowledged virtue of the stoic Cato. Most previous historians had been annalists, but Sallust unified his work by his strong partisanship, and began the glorification of Cæsar which flourished under Augustus and the later emperors of the Julian line. His works were well known in the Renaissance but not published in England until 1615, and although his *Jugurthine War* was translated by Sir A. Barclay in about 1520 and twice reprinted, the *Catiline Conspiracy* was not translated until Thomas Heywood did both works in 1608/9.¹ Shakespeare may possibly have read Sallust, and a brief excerpt from Heywood is given below [Text IV].

The Emperor Augustus's own memoirs down to 24 B.C. are lost, but were used by the imperialists Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius. Another influential work now lost was the relevant portion of Titus Livius's great *History of Rome from the Foundation of the City* to 9 B.C. which contained 142 books of which the 35 extant in full do not go beyond 167 B.C. The remainder are represented by various resumé's, including one made in the first

¹ The two most worthy and notable histories, the *Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Warre which Jugurtha maintained* . . . 2 pts. For J. Haggard, 1608-9.

century A.D. and the epitomes of Florus, Eutropius and Orosius. Livy (59 B.C.—A.D. 17) was a supporter of the Republic and Senate, with a liking for Pompey and considerable respect for Brutus and Cassius. A saga-writer rather than a historian (in any modern sense), he organized with superb style his carefully selected material so as to portray the civic and private virtues of early Rome as a moral standard by which to judge the later decay of the Republic.

At the imperial court there was a natural tendency to praise Julius Cæsar as the saviour of Rome from degenerate democracy and the founder of the new order. Under Tiberius, Gaius Velleius Paterculus, an army officer devoted to the Emperor, under whom he had served in the Danube and Rhine campaigns, spent his retirement in writing a *Compendium of Roman History* in two books, of which the second covers 146 B.C. to A.D. 30. The first forty chapters of this extend to Julius Cæsar's consulship, the next sixteen to his death, the next twenty-eight to Actium (31 B.C.). So Velleius gave good measure to Cæsar, whom he admired as 'scion of the noble Julian house, descendant (as all antiquarians agree) of Anchises and Venus . . . one whose soul rose above the limit of man's nature, and indeed his powers of belief.' The bias is plainly anti-republican.

Little known in the Middle Ages, Velleius was printed in 1520 from a copy found by the Tacitus scholar Beatus Rhenanus in the Abbey of Murbach. Ascham cited his opinion of Cicero, Chapman his reference to Homer, but he was not translated into English until 1632, when Sir R. Le Grys made a version¹ which has been used for some excerpts below [Text V].

The appearance of Cæsar and his group in collections of anecdotes about great men began with the *Noteworthy Deeds and Sayings* (*Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*) of Valerius Maximus, also in the reign of Tiberius. This contained nine books in which the stories were arranged under subjects. Thus Book i (concerning religious matters, portents, dreams, apparitions) contains the story of an apparition seen by Cassius before Philippi; Book ii (on old institutions) has a description of Cato's power over the people; Book v contains the story of Cæsar's grief over Pompey's head, Portia's death by swallowing fire, and Antony's honour-

¹ *Velleius Paterculus, his Romane historie*, trans. Sr. R. Le Grys. M. F[lesher] for R. Simme, 1632.