THE ENDE OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.

FLOWER BOOKE OF THE HISTORIES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

The second Edition.

M. D. XCVIII.
TO HER MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.

Present here to your Maiesties view
my imperfections in their owne colours,
and the excellencies of another man with
much losse of their lustre, as being tran-
ported from their naturall light of the
Latin by an unskilful hand into a strange
language, perchance not so fit to set out a
peece drawne with so curious a pensill. The cause of underta-
ting a worke of this kind was a good will in this scribling age
not to do nothing, and a diſproportion in the powers of my
mind, nothing of mine owne invention being able to passe the
censure of mine owne judgement, much lesse, I presumed, the
judgement of others. The cause that I published it under your
Maiesties name and protection (beside the testification of
my bounden dutie) was the great account your Highnesse
most worthily holdeth this Historie in; hoping thereby, that
as some for the excellencie of the wine, have liked also the lees,
so it might peraduenture please you, to accept into some degree
of favour this worke as it is, though by change from veeſell to
veeſell haung taken winde and lost his pleasing taste to the
palate, yet retaing somewhat of his former strength, and
much of his substance. But the principal cause was to incite
your Maiestie by this as by a foile to communicate to the
world, if not those admirable compositions of your owne, yet at
the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histor-
ies (if I may call them translations, which have so infinitely
exceeded the originals) making evident demonstration to all
who
who haue seene them, that as the great actions of Princes are
the subject of stories, so stories composed or amended by Prin-
ces, are not onely the best patterne and rule of great actions,
but also the most naturall Registres thereof, the writers being
persons of like degree and of proportionable conceits with the
doers. And so wishing your Maieſtie either so much leasure
your selfe, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious raigne, I
commit this worke (whereof I claime nothing to my selfe but
the faults) to your most gracious patronage, and the curtesie
of the reader, from whom, at leaſt from his handes that hall
finiſh out the reſt, I hope to finde both pardon for my faultes,
and some pittie for my pains.

The Almighty bleſſe your most excellent Maieſtie with
a long, happie, and proſperous raigne, and the onely true
means thereof, many watchfull eies to foreſee, many valiant
handes to fight, and many godly hartes to pray for the peace of
your state.

Your sacred Maieſties

most humble subject and servant

Henry Savile.
HERE is no treasure so much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning so proper for the direction of the life of man as Historie; there is no historie (I speake one-lie of prophane) so well woorth the reading as Tacitus. For learning nature acknowledgeth a reason, by leaving industrie to finish her vnperfect worke: for without learning the conceite is like a fruitfull soyle without tilling, the memorie like a storehouse without wares, the will like a shippe without a rudder. For Historie, since we are easlier taught by example then by precept, what studie can profit vs so much, as that which giues patternes either to followe or to flie, of the best and woordt men of all estates, cuntries, and times that euer were: For Tacitus I may say without partialitie, that he hath written the most matter with best conceite in fewest vvords of any Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is harde. Difficilia que pulchra: the seconde reading ouer vvill please thee more then the first, and the third then the second. And if thy stomacke be so tender as thou canst not digest Tacitus in his owyne stile, thou art beholding to Saluile, who giues thee the same foode, but with a pleasant and easie taste. In these sever bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining state: the Empire vsurped; the Princes murthered; the people vvauering; the soldierrers tumultuous; nothing vnlarvyfull to him that hath power, and nothing so vn-fafe as to be securely innocent. In Galba thou maieft learn,
learne, that a good Prince governed by euill ministers is as dangerous as if he vvere euill himſelfe. By Otho, that the fortune of a rash man is Torrenti similis, which rises at an instant, and falles in a moment. By Vitellius, that he that hath no vertue can neuer be happie: for by his own baſenes he vwill loose all, which either fortune, or other mens labours haue caſt vpon him. By Vespasian, that in ciuill tumults an aduised patience, and opportunitie vvell taken are the onely weapons of aduan-
tage. In them all, and in the state of Rome vnder them thou maieſt see the calamities that follovv ciuill warres, vwhere lauves lie a sleepe, and all things are iudged by the ſvword. If thou mislike their vvarres be thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doft abhor their tyrann-
ies, loue and reuerence thine owne wise, iuſt, and ex-
cellent Prince. If thou doeft deteſt their Anarchie, ac-
knowledge our owne happie gouernment, and thanke God for hir, vnder vvhom England enjoyes as many benefits, as euer Rome did suffer miseries vnder the greatest Tyrant.
I

THE ENDE OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.

Alerius Trachalus, and Silius Italicus being Consuls: Caius Iulius the son of Vindex, Lieutenant of Gallia Lugdunensis, perceiving that private conspiracies against the person of Nero had been often intended and ever discovered, determined to give the first onset in arms and openly go to the field. Vindex was by his father of a Senator's house, by birth French and extricated from the line of their ancient kings, of bodie puissant, quick of conceit, of a ready dispatch, skillful in arms and bold to attempt, his province peaceable, and therefore utterly disfavor of forces: no Legion, no garrison under his government. Notwithstanding as in a bodie corrupt, and full of ill humors, the first paine that appeareth be it never so slender, draws on the rest, disloceth old ashes and straights, attainteth what els is unfounde in the bodie: so in a state universally disliked, the first disorder dissolveth the whole, yea and oft so is happeneth in both, the diseale that grewe first, and gave cause to the other, being recurred, the rest nor withstanding wrought out the smallest destruction. Novv Vindex, before he declared himself, well weighing the vuckness of his estate, and visthath his own persone incapable of the Empire, as being but a stranger, without followers, without friends or allies among the nobilitie, deliberated to cast it on some other man of more reputation, who also by a rennefe and strength might second his attempts. Cæsaro was lately murdered by Nerus Velabrian far off vvarring in Ierys: Suetonius Paulinus at home vwithout armie, the most famous men of that age for militar matters. Of high Germany Virginius Rufus was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to Vindex, one of a mean gentlemans house. In lowe Germany Fontius Capito was with former Legions, and Claudius Macer in Africke was with a competent army, neither of them likely to repaire that which Nero had ruined. There remained then in armes Sertius Subtius Galba, a man of great wealth and ancient nobilitie, who had been eight yeeres Lieutenant in nearer Spaine, to the reasonable contentment of the countrey, with an holl of one Legion and the Aides belonging thereto. Upon him Vindex finally resolving, dispatched into Spaine, and other partes adjoining, secret letters, declaring his purpose to the Lieutenants. Galba, in whom age had abated the heart of ambition, experience and dangerous times engendered a wary and searesfull proceeding, thought then upon nothing less: then diademes and kingdoms having given himselfe over for certaine yeers past, to an idle and obscure kind of life, sequestred as it were, and retired from affairs for feare of Nerus; under whom to do ill was not alwaies safe, alwaies to do well, and of doing nothing no man constrained to yield an account. Whereupon the letters arriving, he finde much amazed divided in minde what cause he should follow, to trust them: peradventure it was but a traine, to dispose them and send them to Nero? that were indeed to put in his head an eternal tlesse, and himselfe into a needleferill: and perhaps also there might be good meaning. Whereupon in so doubtfull a case, the extremes seeming dangerous, he took the meanest vway, suppressing the letters, and not entering into the cause any further, referring to governe himselfe in the rest, as events and occurreents should lead and direct him. The other Lieutenants sent all their letters to Nero, betraying Vindex, betraying the cause, whereof the selves alone were partakers.

Novv Vindex certaine dies after the Calends of March, though not fullie assurred, yet hoping well of Galbaes intent, and presuming good lucke to go good an meaning assembled them of his province, such chiefe as were chiefe in their countrey for credit, and chiefly
chiefsly had been touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namelie his sparing of "France to the quicke", to the utter destruction of so many men, the vvhose fall decay of so goodlie a cuntrie, he exhorted them all to take armes, to succour themselves to succour the Romans, and to free the vvhose vvorlde from so hea- nie a yoke. Or if, vvhich the gods forbide in so good a cafe, yet let us (quoth he) fell him our lives in the field vvhith honour, seeing vve cannot poffesse them vvhith safetie. For another prince (our broken state, and age void of vertue, not bearing a free common wealth) vve haue here at hand aman of great birth, great vwealth, and great forces, one that hath made honourable proofs of himself, at home, and abroad, in all respecits worthy the place, Galba Lieutenant of "Arragon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then one- lie vve muste the cuntrie to the most this vve may, vwithout vvhose favordes althale of vwarre is but vaine, and this pernicious. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he unites a pouwer, maniemen, and fewe oldiers, taken up on the sodaine, not disciplined, not trained to the order of service; he publisheth edicts dismissing the per- son and government of Nero. Then causeth Galba to be proclaimed, he vvorites him a letter, novo or els neuer, to declare himselfe in favour of mankind against that monster of nature, to furnisb the bodye of an hundred thousand French men in armes, and more if neede vvere of a head. The Sequni, Acutii, Arverni, Reni and the flower in amans of France, vvere all of the partie, conferring men, horse, armoure, money, and vwho els vvere requisite for service in fields. Rufinus, Flavins, Astitius with others were ap- pointed captnes, and Vienna, faie of the warres vvhose next neighbours, and ancient enmies, the Ludurienes banded themselves against them, and the caufe, or the cause for their fakes. Many conflicts betwixt them and skirmishes during the warre so thicke, and so hasty pursued, that one might perceive much private choler passe under the shadow of publicke pretences. The Lingiones like wife and Treueri, and some other cities, forsak- ing the fereral voves, linked themselves with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their Aides, Vercivus had in his charge who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force he must either rebell with the rest, or vwarre with the rebels (for so they vvere fyled till they prevailed) in private behalden, for publicke respects misliking of Nero, no admirers of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being onscene, that a province should be a Princemaker, thus vreolved, refol- ning this onely, that he would not be resolved by others, determined to stand on his garde, and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant soldiars and expert in service, and likely to faie where they went.

Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, reque- sted the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who then at Carthage kept a lavo date: but anon he perceived hovv that he had taken a wrong adress. For Galba receiving the letters of Vindex, and being advertised that so arrant was out for his death to the Pro- curators, had debated the matter aforesh vwith his friends. Some unwilling to plie their state at a cafe, vwould him to stay and attende to what head the humours in Rome newes firred would gather: as for the Procursors they might be prevented, and vwarred is his life armed. To Titus Vinius, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anone chiefes in fa- vour vwith Galba, that course seemed onsafe. Armed indeede (quoth hee) for a while against a Procurator or two, may put cawse vve could hang up these fewe in our places, shall we live, do you thike, for lacke of ab angman? give vs armes against Nero, and so vwe are armed. But perhaps sheth nothing is past on our part, he may be perverted to call in his sentence again. Even good Princes are elsow of foueraigne points, & that firing being touched, have a quicke care. They have bought it fuldeere vwhich ignorantly have set in their chaire of estate, that have vvorne their disademe to kepe it from vresting, or
upon like occasion. Germanicus, as some here may remember, because one or two in the
armie had one or a purpose to salute him prince, was never well brooked, till he by his owne
death he had paid the price of other mens rashnesse. Corbulo, even that Corbulo, which had
quieted Germanie, subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian spirites, brought Arfaces line
on his knees before Nero, after he had so highly defendt at his handes, it cost him his life,
that some men in secret thought him a man fit to succeede. We are, as they say, openly pro-
claimed, we have an armie in fiele. Shall be then repent it, that never repented but when
he did well? Let him look that lift for succours from Rome, where libertie is lost, fit men
to free others. Galba and Vindex their words and their armies must purchase our free-
dome. This opinion prevailing, as possible to prove, but of force to be followed, a day was
appointed by Galba therein to dispatch the freeing of slaves. The cuntry came in at the
date suspecting the matter apt to receive anew impression. And Galba having placed of
purpose, before his tribunall, a name of images of great personages executed or banished in
Nero's time, and fetched from exile a young noble man, out of the next isles, to stande
by his seate, his armie about him, to shew in this voice. My fellow soldiers and friends, we
are at this present assembled to enfranchise our bondmen, to belieue upon others that
great benefits of libertie and freedome, which we our selves, whom both nature and fortune
hath fed in this long time, have smallie enjoyed. The life I have lead hitherto to will suf-
Sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceite, and mine owne conscience beareth me
words, that I shew not upon any malice, or private reflectts. It greeves me to say: but
it helpes not to hide that which every man feeth. hath ever bondman under actual ma-
ster passed a yeere of harder service, then we have done fourteen under Nero? what
kinde of exaction hath he not prooued to supplie with extorsion that which with shame
he hath spent? what kinde of cruelitie hath he not practised? If we should conceal or
seek to suppreff it, these dumb stones would declare them. Behold poisoned his father
and brother, abused and slaine his owne mother, murdered his owne wife, his master, and what
else fouer valiant or virtuous in Senate, incitie in province, without anie difference of
sex, or of age. I need not to shew what servitude fills with bitter teares of so manie
young gentlemen bereft of their fathers, so manie wives robbed of their husbands, so manie
great men deprived of their cuntry, which crie vengeance upon such a prince. a
Prince? naie, an incendiaries, a singer, a fiddler, a flaggeplayer, a cartburner, a cryer, no prince,
naie no man that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monfer of man-
kinde; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you do
know, and I, for my part, am most forie to heare. The whole course of my former life
hath beene other wise removed from ambition in court, from aiming too high; and this
Little that remains of my daies I could beartile with were spent in more ease. But fah, I
know not what my misfortune, some have imposed upon me a part, which I reverent to
sustaine, and least of all at this age. I will not refuse, if you also approoue it, to sacrifice this
olde carse of mine for the wealth of my cuntry, not as Emperor, but Augustus, which sac-
cred names I adore afar off, not daring to approch them, but as--The speech was not fini-
shed, when the soldiers, and people, with one common voice interrupting, saluted him
Emperour. Galba commending their zeale to the good of the Empire, and accepting the
substance refused the name, teeming himselfe Lieutenant of the Senate and people of
Rome. Next case was to muster more men, to make good the revolts. the cuntry was preft,
and soldiers came in of all hands, new Legions and Aides were enrolled, and to helpe at
a neede, a ship of Alexandria, laden with armor, without master, without mariner, with-
out passenger, arrived at the port: which accident, besides that the weather came in good
season, increas to the cuntry reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furnished
weapons from heaven. Then he ordained a counsell in forme of a Senate elected out of the
chiefe
THE ENDE OF NERO AND

chiefest and gravest men of his traine, and a garde of young gentlemen to watch and warde
at his lodging, he publisheth edicts, and sendes them abrode to every province, exhorts
them all to take armes, and concurre in common against the common enimie. Many resol-
ted from Nero and came to the side: M. Saluius Otho with the first, then Lieutenant of
Lusitania. "Portingall, bringing his jewels and plate, which Galba made into money.

In high Germanie the soldiers considering the weaknesse of Nero; that France had al-
ready rebelled; that Spaine made a Prince, that the rest of the countreis were likely to fol-
low, if not all for the same, yet all against Nero; viewing their owne forces, and strength
now united, which before lay differenced in troupes: and in bandes, stranger to Galba, and
greatly disdaining that one simple Legion should impose them a Prince, finally concluded
to make it their benefite and beflowe the Empire themselves. A fit man they needed not
seeke farre off: Verquinimus Rufus the Lieutenant, though of a gentlemans house, and no
higher, in strength of bodie, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba. in
birth what if Galba were better? Catulus the top of his kinne fled dishonorably awaie
in the Cimbrian warre, where Marius, baselier borne then Verquinimus, wororthyly succede-
to it, and sued the state. Hereupon they go, and breake downe tumultuously the images of
Nero, salute Verquinimus Prince, inscribing his name in the banners. Verquinimus seeing the
matter groove to a tumult, and being unable to refit their violence, shewed to yeeld in
some degree against Nero, but not for himselfe, much lesse any other named abroad. For his
part he faied he had no neede of the place, which all men beside so greatly desired: nor was
not to suffer, but such as by order of Senate should be appointed, that they were the men, to
whom that election belonged, whose right he would surely maintaine against whomso-
euer. The soldiers being in part thus appeased, he commandes the inscription to be defe-
ced, and with his whole armie entrench Frantce, pretending to warre against Vindex. The
citie of Besancon, which first refused to receive him, he straightway beseegeth. Vindex
to succour the towne and leiu the siege, or bid him bataille, if it might be no better, with
twenty thousand men commeth against him. Lying encamped not farre asunder, there
paesd letters betweene them: whereupon they secretly met and conferred together, none
els being present on either side. Their conclusion was friendly, doubtlesse to come against
Nero: some thought to set downe Galba also; and it was not unlikely. Thus departing
as friends, to his campe, Vindex secure as in a quarrell already composeth, and nothing
attending left the dispute, meaning to enter the towne, and repose his armie, whilst all
his men made towards the gates. The soldiery of Germanie lying at the walls, and per-
cieving the armie approach, marching, as it seemed, direcly upon them, not priuie to their
Generals purpose, or not willing to so faire an occasion, ranne out without bidding,
and falling upon them at unawares and in disarray, not able on a soudaine to remedie the
error, as men newly trained, and unexpert in warre, flew them all in a manner, and spo-
iled the cariage. Vindex seeing the unluckie success of this unlooked for bataille, having
lost in a manner the flower of all France, and suspecting fraude of Verquinimus sиде, as though
he ment to entrase him, and sende him to Nero, ranne himselfe upon his owne sword, many
coming after bestowed their blouses upon the dead carcasse, seeking a colour for praisef
or reward for Nero premised. After this slaughter, the soldiers pressd Verquinimus againe
to accept of the Empire, and embriages came almost from every quarter requiring the
same, with affured promise of all possible assistance, if not, ready to returne to Neress obe-
dience: but Verquinimus bewailing the beauteousnes of his unfortunat friends, reviseth
the speech, and marcheth forward in France. This ende had Julius Vindex, a man in the
course of this action more vertuous then fortunate; who having no armie provided, no le-
gion, no souldier in charge, whyles others more able look on, first entred the lists, chal-
 lenging a Prince upholden with thirtie legions, rooted in the Empire by lower descents of
ancestors,
ancefors, and fourteen yeeres continuance of raigne, not upon private desfaire to set in combustion the state, not to reuenge disgrace or dishonour, not to establishe his owne fome-raighton, things which have moued most men to attempts: but to redeem his cuntre from tyrannie and bondage, which onely respect he regarded so much, that in respect he regarded nothing his owne life or securitie. For when it was shewed him that Nero by publicke edict had prized his head at "ten thousand thousand sesterties," Well quoth he againe, and he that killeth Nero, and brings me his head, shall have mine in exchange. And though in this action fortune gave ower the chekke, and by a strange accident, which mans wife-dome could not foresee, overturned the entreprise, yet must we confesse, that Vindex first stirred the bone, which rowling along tumbled Nero out of his seate.

Of Vindex return the first news came to Nero at Naples, about the twentioth of March: whereof he made shewe to lightlie to set, that he would not vouchsafe once to intermit his accustomed pastimes and pleasures, but rather seemed to rejoice, and embrace the occasion, as falling out futilly to convenuer to his cosers by the law of armes the spoile of so large and so wholesome a cuntrey: at supper also receiving more letters of freier advise, and certain danger, he wished them only to chance, which shew by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and so for eight daies he neither wrote letter, nor gave out order for anie dispatch. At length through Vindex edicts, so thickly and so basting being avoaked, he warned the Senate by letter to avenge his cause, and the common weathers, excusing his absence by reason of sicknes. In Vindex edicts, supporting the reit patiently, one thing about all troubled him moit, that his skill was impeached in playing: wherein he thought surelie there was not his peer; eftsoones demanding of them about him, whether, without flatterie, they knew any in that profession more skilful then him. By this they so manifestly an un-truth, in an acte that he had so painfully labourd, so farily learned, he avoided them to esteeme of the rest. The Senate, receiving the letters, flatteringe and fearing, aludged Vindex a traitour, the selfe same men which some after bestowed the like uppon Nero. But urged by newes upon newes, at last in a fright he repaired to Rome: where not calling Senate nor people together, but some principalmen to the Palace at an unfeasable houre of the night, as to consult of urgent afferaires, he shewed them certaine conceits, and newe strange devises of musique by water instruments, discoursing of the manner and difficultie of eche, and that he had found out a waie to make them sounde both sweeter and lowder, and shortly to produce them in stage. If Vindex would give him leisure to doe it. But hearing that Galba & Spaine had rebelled, he ranc his clothes beat his head, and would in no wise receive any comfort, till such time as the Senate by decree had declared Galba enimie to the state. Then refreshing courage, and somewhat revived with some rumours out of Germanie, he returned to his riot and careless licentious life, and putting Galbaes seruants in prison seized his goods and set them to sale. The like did Galba with Neroes in Spaine, and found a great deal more readie chapmen.

Anone as the tumultus began, it is supposeth credible, that Nero had purpose to have made away all the governours of armes and provinces as being conspir'd against him; to murder all exiled persons, lest they should aromise themselves with the rebels; all French he could finde in the Cittie, as being friends to the cause; to poison the Senate in banquet; to set fire the Citty, turning in wild beasts among them which endeavored to stop the course of the flame. But setting apart the devise, not as disliking, being so suitabe to his proceeding, but as desparing to bring it about, he determined a voyage in person sending before in the mean season Petronius Turpilianus, and Rubrius Galus with certaine others against them. To furnish the journey his chiefie provision consisted in vriage for playing furniture, in concubines borne and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to the Amazonian fashion. For mustering of men there were but few able enrolled and moit...
most of them bondmen. Money was hardly and with much ado a little extorted. For whereas in time of civil sedition most need is of money, and a wise Prince will least grieve the subject with new imposition, as coming to stand in some fort at his curette, and having to employ his body beside, Nero, in peace no fewer for warre, was forced then to offend, when he should in reason have sought to have won, and yet raised less with more opposition then ever, reputation now warning, a contrary faction being on foote. As for policies, and plots of warre, he told his familiar friends, he had one most assured. As soon as he entered the province, he would venture himself unarmed amongst them, and with silence and tears move them to compassion, and so they returning to former obedience without more ado, he would the next day mildly sing, in that merie company, sonnets of victorie, which he willd to be composed out of hand against the time came.

As Nero was thus busie occupied in making provision for the warre against Galba and Vindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Verginia's decease, and the rest of the armies. Whereupon in a deliverate rage, he tore the letters, overturned the table, dashed two cups on the ground, which he seerely espiered, and casting away all care of himselfe, notwithstanding the peril pressed no nearer, he called for poxion, which he put up in a golden box, that his death at the least might be according to his estate, and so walked forth into the Scullian gardens. From thence he sent of his truelie servants to Olliv to make ready the steps, purposing to have fled with his friends into Egypt, and there to have taken himselfe to his journey to get him a station; hastily supposing in Egypt an imaginarie fortune to himselfe by his musick, when he could not live safely Emperor at Rome. To that purpose founding the minds of the Tribunates and Centurions of the Garde, and finding them some to decline backe, some flatly refuse to goe with him, one among others directly to tell him, that if he left the warre were to make an ende of himselfe, he was distracted into diverse opinions, casting about what course he should follow. Flee to the Parthian, whom of late he had pleased? to Galba, who peradventur might pity his estate? or were it else better in lamentable fort and mourning vexe to goe out abroad, and in the place of common affability, most humbly for that which was past demand pardon: or if he could not obtaine it, at least they would grant him the government of Egypt. This liked him best, and thereof he framed a speech, vvhich afterwards was founde in his papers: but fearing the people would pull him in pieces before he came to the Place, he deferred the matter till the next morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonia Tigellinus were captains of the Garde, preferred by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and nowe the first to forsake him. But Tigellinus, as a person infamous and generally hated, prevaileth not much: Sabinus had the credit vwith the fouldier, who affirming that Nero was already fled into Egypt, and promising donation in Galbaes name * of thirty thousand feserres a man and * five thousand to the fouldier abroad, much more then would or could be performed, easily vvan them to leave him, who had as they thought already left them, and so to pronounce Galba Emperor not upon any especial liking they had to the man others, but vvhile left some doubted, some other denied, Galba pretending directly the suite, and no counterfaet appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their fellows vvhich vwarded that night forseeing the issue, and countining in this creation of the new Prince a part with the rest, left Nero asleep alone in the garden. Vho being awaked about midnight, understanding his garde vvas departed left out of his bed, and sent about for his friends; from vwhom receiving no answerer, he went with a fewe fewe to their lodgings himselfe. The great Monarch of the world, adored everwhile as a god, attended upon and garded by thousands of friends, of fouldiers, of seruants, novu as a page knocking at dores findeth all jut against his unfortunate state. Thus in adversitie desitute of aide,
aide, of counsell or comfort of friends, he returneth home, where finding his chamber rift, d, the chamberlaines fled, his box of poison remoued away, he sought for Spicillus the \textit{fencer} or some of his sort, by whose hands he might be dispatched: and finding none, wanting alike both friends and foes, he ran desperately out, as though he would have thrown himselfe headlong into the Tiber, but his hart failing he repressed his pace, and then upon requiring some secret place to recall his wits, and revenge courage against, Phaon his freedman offered his house four miles off in the country, which Nero accepted; and so accompanied with four men on easie, Phaon, Epaphroditus, Sporus and Neopythus fleeth awaie, badie appareilled, and woorse mounted, covering his head, and hiding his face with a handkerchiefe. As he was in his way out of the Cittie, approaching the campe of the Garde, he heard the soldiers shouting and wishing good lucke unto Galba, and illo to himselfe. In riding along his horse starting aside his face was discovered, and he knowne & saluted by one of the Garde which met him by chance. Whereupon forsaking horse and high way, through bushes and briers he crept in at the last into a thicket of reedes on the backside of Phaons ferme-houfe, who persading Nero in the mean time to set in a pit out of the which lands had beene digged, he refused the fauour, denying to go alio under ground, and so cast himselfe downe close in the reedes till they had beaten a hole in the wall, through which Nero upon all fawe crept into the backside, casting himselfe upon a simple pales in a backe roome.

Whilest Nero thus lurked, the Senate assembled in counsale declare him enemie of the state and punishable more maiorum, sending out to seek him and bring him alio. Concerning the chosie of a new, although in their secret opinions Perginus desired to resume the benefits which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further troubles, and rafe up a new civil warre, without which Galba, who had alreadie foreprized the place could not be set downe, following the soldiers example they openly agreed all upon Galba. By this time they about Nero were instant upon him to rid himselfe quicklie out of the contumelies and indignities, which anoone he shoulde be forced to endure. To whom yeelding himselfe he commandes to make ready for the funerall, weeping and wailing at eniere word, it was, that so good a minstrell should be so easte away. In the mean seafon certaine letters which were brought to Phaon from Rome he snatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree demanded what more maiorum meant, for that peace of law he had never prufed: understanding it was, that his necke should be locked in a forke, and himselfe whipped naked to death, having in honour so shamefull an ende, he tooke up two rapiers which he had brought with him, and trying their points how sharp they were, put them up againe, desiring some of them to beginne & shew him the mail to be manfull, but desiring a vertuous example out of so vicious a school, a court so corrupt, bee defined in vainie. And now the horsemen sent by the Senate apprached, which Nero perceiving by faire encouraged vane himselfe thorow, Epaphroditus his Secretarie at his request helping to dispatch him the sooner, for which service he was afterward put to death by Domitian, who thought it not mete to suffer anie to live, which had in anie sort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus Nero, a Prince in life contemptible, and hatefull in government, having thereby disarmed himselfe both of the love and fear of his buglies, ended his days the eighth of June in the one and thirtieth yeare of his age and fourteenth of his Empire, at the first hauing ruled the State with reasonable liking, inso much that Traian was wonted to saie, that even good Princes were no more of Heroes fine yeaeres: but after breaking forth into all infamous behaviour, and detestable opprobions and cruelties, and being withall a Prince weate in action, not of vertue sufficient to uphold his vices by might, he was at the length thus overthrown.

Nero being slaine, the people and Gentlemen, but principally the nobilitie, the principal
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The Senate assembled againe decreeth thankes to Nympthidius in most exquisit manner, extolling his high wisdome and tender care over the State: confirment to Galba all priuilece prerogatives and imperiall titles; making thereof a publicke instrument, which the Confuls sent him in post: and moreover concludes to upon a solemn embassage of honorable personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, humble to desir with speede his presence at Rome. Then was it proposed, that information might proceede against the accusers. The matter concerned some mightie men, which had lined in times past by the like of their neighbours, and touched somewhat a secrete of late overthrowing and abolishing the instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memorie of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by voices in Senate, making them all, with the rest of the ministers of Neroes tyrannie, punishable more maiorum; but was executed onely against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme: the principal malefactors brake thorrow well enough and escaped the danger.

While matters thus past in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galbaes soldiers in part were in termes to forfake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had bestowed upon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practice; who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entred the bath, yong their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion were jodainly apprehended, & being examin'd what occasion they ment, and put to the racke confessed the treason. Apon after these hazards so hardly escaped, the news came to Galba of Vindex death, and that upon so great a victory most men were willing Verginious should take the Empire upon him, or els would returne to Nero againe. Galba extremelie afraid writes to Verginious, beseeching him most instantly to joine in defence of the libertie and Empire of Rome: himselfe not withstanding as destitute and forlorn, and wearie of the world that went so against him, leaving Vinius Lieutenant in the armie, retireth to Clunis, respecting of what he had done, and wishing againe his private estate, as though in this case there were any means betweene hiest and nothing. Thus being dishearted and anguish in minde without any care of himselfe or the caufe, in very good season comes Icelus his freedman from Rome in seven daies thither, reporting that Nero being yet alive, but not to be found, the paliter, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that straight theraupon Nero was faied to be slaine, but himselfe not beleewing it went to the place, saw him lie dead, and so came his way. Two daies after Vinius came from the campe, declaring to him the particular points of the Senators decrees. Galba receyving the newes with great joy, as greatest: above expectation, priviledgeth Icelus to wear gold rings, advancement Vinius to chief place in credite about him: and laying aside the name of lieutenant, assumeth the title of Caesar, preferreth Cornelius Laco to be captaine of his gard, and judging his presence necessary to settle the state, giueth out order for his voyage to Rome with his armie by lande.

Now at Rome Nympthidius making his count that Neroes fall was his only deed, that no recompence is sufficient for bejoying the diadem but the diadem, that Galba was old and feare could last out in a letter to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine courfe drew all to himselfe. The Gard in respect of their donative, were at his devotion, to be employed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly upon him. Whereupon usurping authority unlie to his place, he commands by and by Tegellinus his companion to put off his sword and forsake from his office. The Confuls upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publicke patents not by his soldiers, nor signed with his seal, the curriers commission, he had once determined to have deprifed. And
And laying the plot for himself he biddeth to banquet the principal men of the City: he sitteth under hand to put in the soldiers heads to present supplication to Galba, to establish Nymphidius captive for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the good will of the commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of Neroes crew. Spicillius the" fencer they tied under the images of Nero, trailed him along thorough the streets, and dispatch him in the Place of publice assembly. Aponius an acooper they overthrew, & drew cartes laden with stones over his bodie, beside manie other outraged and slaine, and some, as it happeneth where the reigne is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently: in so much that in Senate a grave and honorable counsellor openly protesteth, that in short time there would be great cause to with Nero againe, as being more tolerable one tyrannem then many, & better to live where nothing then there where all things were lawfull. Thus Nymphidius, some to Nymphidia a libertine an old seruant in court and Martianus a fencer, secretly aspired to the Empire: working in Rome by certaine gracious women and Senators, & sending to Spaine Gallianus one of his friends to espy the proceedings and actions of Galba.

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, mustered men, & pretended for himself: but being for avarice & cruelty hated extremely, and finding no followers, could neither maintaine it with strength nor leave it without saftie. Galba Crispinilla Neroes schoole mistresse in matter of pleasure and lust, when Nero was dead, misdoubting mishances, sailed into Africke, by hir acooper Macer beftet the sea coastes, and forbad any corne should be transported, meaning to famish the citie of Rome. Fonteius Capito, Lieutenant of Louve Germanie, some thought had a meaning also for himself. Certain it is that sitting in judgement, the partie aggrieved appealing to Cesar, he skipped out of the state where he satte, into a chaire of estate set vp on high, and then bad him tell on his tale before Cesar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant there of a Legion, greatly besieving Galbaes part, foure to him first he with his company, and the rest of the armie followed the example. Verginius, the onelie concurrent of Galba in speech of the people, having overthrowen Vindex and masterd France, not withstanding his fouldiers, after the death of Nero was knownne, prested him againe in such vehemint fort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sword wylld him to accept of it or the Empire, perswaded constantlie in his first resolucion: and receiuing ane aduice of the Sengates decree, himselfe most wyllinglie, his fouldiers hardlie, & with much ado were perused, sith lovere Germanie had fouerne to souereay allegiance to Galba. The rest of the Proninces without anne difficultie accepted him all.

Novv Galba disposing as Prince the affaires of the Empire, sixeth the citiies of Spaine, whiche were not so forward to further the cause, and some he dismantelled: certaine Procurators and officers he putted to death, their wives and their children, a crueltie practised not by Nero, much lesse expected in Galbaes beginnings. He direlyth out warrant to Trebonius Gurrucianus Procurour of Africa to put Macer to death, dismissey the Legion lately mustered, and quiet the country: and appoints in Verginius place Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant in Germanie. Then with coat-armour on bice a jekelie old man, himselfe and his men in warlike order march over the mountaines. The citiies of France that took part against Vindex he punisheth withis loss of reuence and countryle: the rest were relised, their tributes a quarter abated, themselfes made citizens of Rome by means of their money, and Pinius who carrying an illminde, andseruing in great place a weake master, made open sale of his Princes free graces and favours. At Narbon the embassadours sent from the Senate met him in dutifull manner, whom Galba receiued curteously with a friendly
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friendly and familiar speeches, and feasted in Jover for all with his owne, though other-
wife he had pleasant sorte of Neros masters and seruice sent by Nymphidius. But assone
Vinius, which vulnerably possess'd and governed the oldman, counsell'd him to put off popu-
larity, as not becomming his place to accept of Neros provision, & to become void in expense
and seruice. Verginius having deliuered the armes to his suces/for met Galba on the way,
received of him not as in displeasure, yet with small honoure. So dangerous a point it is ye-
sto haue but onely refused the Empire.

At Gallium returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was captaine alreadie, that
Vinius had all the autoritie and in/cid, that his messenger was suspected and watched of al,
not suffered to talke with the Prince in private, not once to approch to his person, was won-
terfully moved in mind. Whereupon assemblng the chiefes of the Garde, he shew'd them, that
Galba was for his owne part a good barmalefe old man, but misle'd by two persones much
of Tigellins making, Vinius and Laco: and therefore it were not amiss to send one or
two in the name of the vnbale to make him remonstrance, that remouing afaie those two
from about him he should be more welcome & better accepted. This speech seeming strange
and abhorre to præferbe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsailors
fell, he taketh a contrarie cours, and vorseth to Galba in terrifying maner. That the matters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Muster in Afrike had playd
the ships, the Legions of Germanie stredd a nev, the like was reported from Iewrie & Sy-
ria. But perceiving that Galba gau to his tales small care and lesse credit, and having the
soldiers at wel affected, he determined to present & giue the attempt, notwithstanding that
Clodius Celsus a sober wiseman and one of his friends plainly protestted, that in his opinion
fearce any three persones in Rome would accept him for Empyre: but the rest skipt it out,
namely one Mistridates of Pontius, Perhaps, quoth hee, Galba seemes some bodie now to
the Romans, whilst he is absent: but when they shall see that balle heade, & riuelted face, he
will see the very reproch & disgrace of the daies in vvhich he vwas Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the campe and pro-
clame him Empyre. But when the evening vvas come Antonius Honoratus prin-
cipall Tribune assemblng the soldiars under his charge, demanded what cull frist had
bereaued the of under standing mouing them so sodainly & without cause to change their
allegence. If Nero deseru'd it, vvhat mother, vvhat wife, had Galba then killed? or for
vvhat misdemeanour would they forfake Serius Galba to preferre a curtizans sonne? vwhilst vwho fe bloud they shold eres vvere long if they vwould be directely by his
both revenge Neros death, vwhom he first betrayd, and shew themselves loyal to Gal-
ba against whom he intende: willing them to looke to reason what succefs might
ten thousand and attend against the content of the Empire armed for Galba. His soldiars thus
being persuaded peraued the ref? still in a maner to remayne in Galbas obedience. Where-
on a foroyte being made in the campe, Nymphidius supposing the soldiars had call'd him,
or hauing to confirme the vuvaner, and preuent the tumult, went shister himselfe
with torches and limockes, having learned without booke an oration compsed by Cin-
gonius Varro, to pronounce there among them. But finding the gates of the campe made fast,
and soldiars in armes on the walle, he feared the matter, and advancing neare demanded
what they ment, and by vwho varrant they had put themselves in armes. And when
it was answered by all agreeabill, that they knew not, nor would not accept other
Prince before Galba, Nymphidius finding the peril, joined vwith them and vusked also
long life & prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commanding his followers to do at the like. And
so by the soldiars, vwhich garded the gates, being admitted vwith a sure of his traine,
he vvas at his entry vwelcomed in vwith a dart hurled at him, vwhich one Septinium
bare of vwith a buckler. But seeinge some at the receit vwith naked swords prepared against
AGAINST him, he fled, and being pursued was slain at the length in a soldiers cabin. The day following his body was laid out to view in an open place railed about.

Galba being yet in his waie and hearing of Symbidius death commanded the rest of his fauourers and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus paid for his mirth, and Cingonius Varro who penned the oration. As Galba drew near to the City at the Milianian bridge the Mariners met him, whom being by Nero taken from service by sea, and enrolled into a Legion, Galba had commanded to return to their former estate. But they being mane in number, and loth to goe backe to the Galleys againe, befet the bie waie on both sides, demanding their Eagle and ensignes tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seen of the people making his entrance: neither could he appease them by putting them over to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking afferrings as a kind of denying sedition, they murmured and followed with outeries. And some of them also drawed out their swords, as though they would obtain it by force, which by faire means they could not. Whereupon Galba commanding the horsemen to ride in amongst them swere of them being unarmed thousand, and of the rest unto eddier every tenth man to offer, putting the rest close up in prison, which neuertheless he after enlarged to his disadventage.

Nero Galba, with generall applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in state, behaued himselfe under expectation. And though in most points he shewed himselfe a vertuous Prince, yet were not his outward doome so well accepta, as those disallowed bi which were otherwise. All persons nuisible exceld by Nero, as well of the robidic as a meaner sort, with their children he mercifully reserved, according to their countrey and honour, though not to their wealth. Contrary, Petronius Tavilianus, an ancient man and once Consul, without forme of process or order of law, he commanded to die, being charged with other crime, but onlie that he had beene faithfull to Nero and would not betray him as the rest did. Then was represented a plensable and gratefull spectacle. Elinus, Polyceitus, Locustia, Patrobus, Petinus and others in letters drauen thow the Cittie and publickcie executed, as ministers of Nero in mischiefes, whereas Tegellinus the Master, not without notable inconvenienc, was by Galba protecta. And notwithstanding the people in 7 heares and all common a fandle of chief not importunately to demand: his death, as an accomplisment of the and exceptrient discontent pleasing to God and to man, yet gilde with Vinius and Vinius with Galba weighed so much the not onely be received under securitie but also for to fake the people were rebuked by publicke edict. Whereupon Tegellinus so comming the feit of his hid. i.e. we acce Vinius rose from supper with Galba and went thither with her child to banke, upon whom Tegellinus bestowed a cartofe of a thousand thousand stolenes in ready money and besides all the revenues and Cargaments of his prince, common with the same there attable, by estimation five hundred thousand stolenes. Resid Tegellinus one Halotus of all Nereus instruments the most pernicious, was like wise by Galba post cened, and preferred also to an honourable office. Nover for reeves Galba was noted extremelie, a wise though incident to age, yet doubtlesse in a Prince unmatcht, and in a new Prince dangerou. To a certaine musician which had worned, yeullieple fed he gaue with his owne hands out of his owne purse twentie stolenes, and to his steuward at the making up of his books a reward from his table. But this which was most material of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the soldiers: to whom large donaties being promised in Galbas name, and requirin if not to much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receive, he wholly refused the suit, adding vusball. That soliders he took up in the master bought not in the market. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, but not so in those
seasons for him, who suffered himselfe to be sold ensnare, and abused to all purposes, to be governned by three pedagogues Vinius and Laco his favourites, and Isellus his man. To private men it is sufficient if themselves do no wrong; a Prince must provide that none do it about him; or else he may looke when the first occasion is offered against him to be charg'd with all the whole reckening togeth. To him that suffereth the injurie, it matters not much whom made the motion when he feeleth the hand that is heaunic upon him. Thus Galba though innocent of much harme which pass'd under his name, yet because he permitted them to commit it, whom he ought to have bridled, or was ignorant of that which he ought to have known, lost reputation, and opened the waie to his owne destruction.

FINIS.
THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. The Proeme of Tacitus, wherein he professeth simple dealing without partialitie.

The beginning of my worke shalbe at the yere, when Servius The year of Galba was second time Consull with Titus Vinius. For the ancient story of the people of Rome, for seven hundreth and twenty yereas after the Cittie was founded, manic excellent man have deliuered, with no leaffe eloquence then libertie of speche: but when as after the battaile at Actium, the whole soueraignty, as it was meete for the peace of the state, was conferred upon one, those worthy wits were no more to be found, and withall the truth of the story was diversely weakened: partly because hauing no more part in the state they were ignorant of publike affaires; and partly being led away with a luft to flatter the Princes, or againe to defeace them. So betweene maleice of the one side, and awed partiality of the other, small regard there was taken by either, how pletterie should be truly enformed. But that endeauor, to please and winne thanks, in a writer a man shalbe easily mislike, hauing in it the foule note of servility: detracting and enuyous carping, caraying a counterfett shew of libertie, oft findeth a good and gracious audience. Now for Galba, Otho, Vitellius, to me they are as unknowen, for neither benefit or wrong I haue found at their hands. My first rising, I will not deny, was vnder Vespian, my state bettered by Titus, and so further advanced by Domitian: but they which make profession of the simple truth, may not say ought of any man for loue, or for hatred. Hereafter, if the gods spare, I purpose when I am old, to set downe the story of 4 Prince Nerva of saffred memory, and of the Emperour Traiane, a more plentiful and saff matter to deal in, where a man may thinke what he will, and say what he thinks: a rare felicity of the time.

When Serviue Galba was second time Consull] Cornelius Tacitus, whom Vopiscus calleth scrip-sorex hisbo Aquilis, wrote two certayn volumes of histories: one from the death of Augustus, as it may seeme, to the Calends of January next after the death of Nero, comprehending Tiberius, Claudius and Neroes time, and the greater part of Galba; another from the said Calends to the death of Domitian. Of this later volume in order of time, howeuer it was in order of writing, the first four bookes comprize the history of one yere and some monethes onely, from the beginning of Ianuarie, when Galba and Vinius entered their Consulsips, in the yere ob verso condita 823. according to Taciaus, or rather the content of the Empire in that time.
THE I. BOOKE of the HISTORIE

cius faminariu animis, &c. Neither was it Tiberius manner to bellow offices so long before hande. Tact. 1.

\textit{Annal.}

\textit{Many excellent men} principally men, as I take it of Liuiu, although his forte reach somewhat further, of whose eloquence, those works are windeffe that remaine: and of his letters, Tactius 4. Annal. in the oration of Cremrus Cordus. \textit{Tutius Linius eloquente as sedit præclare in primis Co. Pompeiuos stanis luidius qui, vi Pompeiuos} annus Augustus appellaret, neque id amississe eorum officis, Suppoleon, Afranius, bunc suum Caiam nullum lustrum \textit{pararii, quae vocales impressionem, \textit{apo in} infuge virum religiosissimum.}

But notwithstanding no part of the Romes they were ignorant: \textit{Institutio regum,\textit{ a simile.}} All\textit{ ignorant, either because we cannot, or because we care not to know them.} The birth of menc here to have place, for whereas before the people and Senate of Rome tooke knowledge of all that was done wherefoere, now the most important aires extant throug horror fengers, in more fastes. \textit{Dis. lib. 3, t. \textit{tum e\textit{m}e tuei dulcis, \textit{et} tum ex præiecto extulo. This is, The most part of affairs begin in secret to be disputed, whereas the certaine truth no man lightly knowe, except the doers.

\textit{Prince Nema of faced memorie: Principianum Dini Renuo & imperium Trajani} To certaine Emperours the Senate, for their good government, or impounded by their face cers, awarded \textit{Templum} e des religiosen, and the title of Dius. And not only to the Princes themselves, but sometimes to their wives, mothers, and children also, as we reade in the lines. \textit{Appianus} I. \textit{delev} 1. quod \textit{secundum} (speaking of Dium Iulus) \textit{ibat eis oculum, et \textit{se} \\textit{et} tum \textit{tum} \textit{tum} \textit{tum} \textit{tum} 0. Thronem honos Principii non ait balsam, quid agere inter hominem deexit. \textit{Tacitus.} And therefore in this place he nameth Traian, who then liued, simply with:

\textit{That is, The Senate, for their good gouernment, or inſportuned by their ſucceſſors, awarded Templem & calefies religiones, throughly, Iulius, before the Prince Nerua of sacred memoria:} 

\textit{fluconely, Iulius, before the Prince Nerua of sacred memoria:}
II. A general view of the whole history following.

A Work I take here in hand containing sundry changes, bloudie batailles, violent mutinies, peacefull of cruelty and perill; foure Emperors slaine with sword, three ciuil warres, forraigne many mo, and oft both at once: good successe in the East, bad in the West: Illyricum troubled; the countries of Gallia wauering: Britanny all conquered, not all retained: invasions of the Sarmatian and Suevian nation: the Dacians guing and taking notable overthrowes: the Parthians also almost in armes, abuied by a counterfayt Nero. Now for Italy, it was afflicted with many miferies, some neuer heard of, some not of many yeares before, townes burnt or ouerwhelmed: the most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the city of Rome wafted by fire: the most ancient temples confused to ashes: even the Capitol it selfe set on fire by the citizens owne hands: the holy ceremonies prophaned: great adulteries: the ilands replenished with banished men: the cliffs stained with bloud: and yet greater rage of cruelty in the citie. to have beene welthry or nobly borne, was a capitall crime; offices of honour likewise either to beare them, or forbeare them; and vertue the readie broad way to most affrighted destruction. Neither were the wicked practises of the informers more odious, then was the recompence they obtained, some gained as spoiles, Pontificial dignities and Consulares roomes: some other Procuratorships and inward credit, making hatecocke of all without any difference. The bondmen, vpon hatred or feare, were allured to betray their owne masters, the freedman his patrone: and where enimies were wanting, one friend ruined another. And yet for all this, was not the age fo vterly void of all good, but that it yeelded some good examples. diversse wifes were content to take such part as their banished husbands did: dutier mothers, as their children: some kinsfolks hardy: some sonnes in law faithfull: some bondmen no racke could remove from beinge true to their masters: the death of some honorable men, and their laft torments manfully borne, and to be matched with those of ancient times. Befide for manifold changes in humane affairs, many prodigious fights were feene in heauen and earth; many forewarnings by thunders; many prelages of things to come, some portending good lucke, some bad; some ambiguous and doubtfull, some plaine and euident: such heauie and horrible calamities in the Roman estate, yeelding proofs neuer more pregnant, that the gods are carefull rather to reuenge our wrongs, then provide for our safety. But before I enter into my purposed matter, I thinke good to rehearse first, what the state of the citie was, how the souldiers were affected, in what termes the provinces floode, and what there was any where in the whole Empire found or complaining: so shall we see the reasons and caues of things, not only the bare events, which are most commonly gourned by fortune.

The I. Booke of the Historie


Some learned men correct this place, which no doubt is corrupted, thus. perdomiana Britanniæ statum missi amissi: course Sarmatianum Sueonianum genem: perdomiana Britanniæ is met by Julius Agricola in Domitians time. Tacitus in vitæ Agricola: Quia sum domino perdomina est Britanniæ: now Rule it the left againe in the fame Domitianis time (for this historie end no further) which can no doubt be proved by any storie, no norby any flender coniection. Tacitus writing the life of Agricola in Traians time, Ex infectione faus, faith: heereip, tempore, quod fuere Agricolum non visser: tos exercitum in Maxia Daciorum & Germaniarum, Patrimonium, quamvis una per ignominiam: ut militares varias cum toto coloribus expugnaris & capri, nec iam de limite imperii & ripa, fed iheridium legiam & posse fuisse dubitabam, the loffe of Britanni if there had beene any such, had much better becommned this place, then any other calamity that he could have tolde vs. But Agricola left the currey in good quiet, and so no doute it continued all Domitianis time. As for any matter happening under Adrian (which yet was no loffe of the currey, but some disorder) be- ing out of the compasse of this historie, and as it is likely, of his life that wrote it, I will easily beleue it was not intended to be briefed in this place. More according to the storie, and with leffe change in the letter we may thus amend it. Britanum perdonin & statum missi successo in Sarmatianum genem: signifies that all Britanni was conquered, but no latter retained. App. de eis commissis victis, faith, he, in praemo clementia, jagon...

To the islands &c. Plemon exilium mare. More pro infueltas. So Tacitus 2. Ann. calleth Sirephuaxum Sirephium, by way of contempt: for such commonly were the Ilands, intowhich there legation rejoynt. The usual Ilands of deportation were Pandateria, Planasia, Cercina, Sirephus, Gyaurus, Cythera, Amorgus, Donufa, Trimerus, Balareis, Sardina, Cadiz, &c. and perhaps others.

The mott fruitfull tract of Campania, and the cite of Rome wafted by fire. Suet. Tit. c. 8. Quadam [bo] fortunia in tristia accelerandis, vsi conflagrationis mortis in Campania, & incendium Rome præteritam, vitamque nes. Xiphilinus the abridor of Diode describeth this burning of Velusia at large with all the circumstances & miracles, among the rest, that the ashes thereof were suffered into Africaine, Syria and Egypte: and what else, &c. Where he calleth Sirephus an Iland taken away by fire, & others...

And at Rome filled all the aire about the cite. From this general notion, the word was afterward particular appliued to certaine offices, which could not be proved by any storie, no nor by any flender coniection. Tacitus the abridger of Diodes description, calleth this burning of Vesuius at large with all the circumstances & miracles, which cannot be proved by any storie, no not by any slender conieuction. Tacitus

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rather then honour, supplied by the gentlemen of Rome, or by the Princes libertines, generally by his mott affu-
red, and multe furitous. And this was their first infinition. Befide this they were for to pie the Nen-
manes actions, and sometim one they had speck colcussion to murder them. Sometime they were fent into
smaller pronoues as gourmons with juridiction, then called procurators compositis, or vice-procurat. Tac. in
this book: Dissi Monus orate, Rhetia, Narius, Firia, & quidem procuratorium cohentur, totas, exinovio
eine, &c. Claudius especially enlarged the office, saith, faith: "Tacius, pueius sahia le csi, porem vi-
verum habendun a procuratunus suis indicamentum, ac simp lattice. Acme correid prodigius videreus, fenuus quo-
confus causum, pellius quam etept & sbern. And in Tiberius time Pontius Palaus, who put Christ to death,
was but onely procurator, not Lieutenant, or Preident. Tacius 15. Annal. Auctor nominis eius Christius, qui Ti-
berio imperiinent, per procuratorum Pontium Palaum suiplicio affie tract.

11 Inward credit. Such was the credit of Mecenas with Auguflus, and of Salustius Cripus, who as Tac-
ius reporteth. Quamquam prompato ad caupiohon honoris Mecenas amatus, fine dignitate senatus uni
memborum, coniurationis, potentia antiis, inclusi Mecenas proximus, non primus, sii secreta imperatorum inin
serint, in summe, fuche as cared not to be ofce honour, but otherwise governed the Prince peaceably, in quality of
favorites, or munitions, as they call them.

12 The bondmen. In ancient time by a decree of the Senat the bondman could not be put to the torture in
caput domini; but Tiberius, faith Tacius 2. Annal. callibus, quorum repetitio mepicipi aliquos ad publicum inicet:
sililius in dominum ex senis falvo fenauidconufo quateroret. Afterward indicia fenuum without torture were
vitally received as good evidence, and largely rewarded. Tacius 16. Annal. in the caufe of Petronius; currpoper
ad indicium ferno.

2 Lucan lib. 1. Foxx (Roma eum
2 Annal. Exams omiais inius
2 Annal. exilium aliui (Caffius Adeleipusodou) aquata deme erga bona malg, documenta. And yet in for another places he
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III. The state of the City and provinces at the beginning of the yeare, when Galba and Pinius entred their office.

The death of Nero, as it was at the first very joyfully received, so wrought it anone very diuerse effects in the minds of the Senate at home, the people and Citty-souldier, and of all the Legions, and captaines abroad, perceiving that secret of state disclosed, that a Prince might be made elsewhere then at Rome. The Lords of the Senate were glad, finding their liberty straightsway put in practice, making indeed very bould with their Prince, as being new in state, and away: next were the principall Gentlemen as in degree, so in reioycing; of the people the founder fort, and such as were linked with great houses, the followers and freed men of condemned and exiled perions were rayled to hope: the base people nolleled vp in the Race and Theaters, together with the worst fort of bondmen, and those which having eaten their owne litted only now vpon Neroes dishonours, hung downe the head, and listned for nouelties. The City-soldiers posseffed with the oth of allegiance so many descents to the houfe of the Caesars, and to forfake Nero being wrought rather by arte and cunning perswation of others, then of their owne motion, when they saw the donatiue, which was promfied them in Galbaes name, not to be perfourmed, nor the like possibility and means of great desert, and great gaine in peace, as in warre; seeing also their thanks proventuated by the Legions, who first proclaimed the new Prince: vpon thefe and the like respects being prone to innovatation, they were pricked forward by means of Nymphidius Sabinus his captaine, who by treason aspired himselfe to the Empire. And though Nymphidius was in the verie attempt suppressed, and the head cut off thereby of the treason; yet there remained many of the soldiers guilty of the faute, and hating him whom they had wronged. Moreover speeches were giuen out, noting the age and auarice of Galba. His feuerity, which was wont to be highly commended by the common voice of the soldiery, was now displeaunt to them, who were generally weary of the ancient discipline, and fo trained vp by Nero fourteen yeares, that now they loued their Emperours no leffe for their vices, then once they reckned for their vertues. And Galba had let fall a speech honorable indeede for the common wealth, but for himselfe dangerous, That soldiery he tooke vp in the mufeter, bought not in the market; for the rest of his doings were not according. His two fauourites, Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, the one of all mortall men most vnhoneft, the other most vnable, with the hatefulnes of their lewd actions surcharged, and with the contempt of their insufficiencie, ytterly overthrew the feely old man. His journey to Rome was slowe and bloudy, for by his commandement Cingonius Varto Confull elect, and Petronius Turpilianus who had beene Confull, were both put to death: Cingonius, as an associate of Nymphidius, the other as one of Neross captaines: who, howsoever they deffered it, dying as they did, not called, not hearde, dyed as guiltlesse. His entrie into the citie, when as so many thousandes of vnarmed soldiery were put to the worde, seemed an vnluckie beginning, and was had in horrour, even of thofe which executed the slaughter. The citie was full of extraordinary soldiery: Galba brought in the Spaniish Legion, and there remained another, which Nero had gathered out of the Nauie, besides many companies out of the Legions of Germanie, Britannie, and Illyricum, which Nero had selected, and sent before to the straits of the Caffian mountains, for the warre intende with the Albanes, and afterward called against to employ...
employ against Vindex: matter enough for innovation, though not greatly in favour of any one, yet ready prepared for him that would venture. By chance the newes came together that Clodius Macer, and Fonteius Capito were slaine. Macer without question had begun to work troubles in Africke, and was by Trebonius Garucianus the Procurator dispatched, by commandement from Galba: Capito in Germanie attempting the like, Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens? Lieutenants of legions, flew without warrant. Some men were of opinion that Capito (though otherwise for extortion and vicious living very infamous) was neuertheles not guilty of treason: but that the Lieutenants having moved him to undertake the matter against Galba, and seeing they could not induce him, took a new course, preferring accusation against him, and consequently killing him for the crime whereof themselves were the hatchers: and fo Galba either upon a fickle disposition, or as being loth to search any deeper, did give allowance to that which was done howsoever, fith it could not be undone: but purposely both the executions were greatly misliked, as in a prince once in obloquie, do he well do he ill, all is ill taken. Now his freedmen being ouer mighty, made open sale of all matters: his bondmen greedy upon present advantage, and hasty, as being vnder a master that was old, and not like long to continue: in summe the faults in the newe court but the fame and of the like nature, yet were not excused alike. The very age of Galba was matter of scorn and contempt to them that were used to Neroes fresh youth, comparing the Princes, as the manner is of the common fort, in beauty, and comelines of presence. And this was at Rome, as in such a variety, the state of mens minds. Now for the provinces abroad, of Spaine Cluuius Rufus was President, a person very eloquent, and for service in peace able, in war vnexpert. Those of Gallia, before the memory of Vindex, were another way aflured to Galba, being of late by him made citizens of Rome, and releaved of part of their tribute for the time to come; only the cities which lay nearest the armies of Germany, hauing not the like honour done, yea and some before hauing part of their territory taken away, were aggrieved as well with their fellowes benefits, as with their owne wrongs. The soldiers of Germany (a perillous matter in so mighty armies) swelled with pride vpon their late victory, and againe, as hauing supported in some degree the contrary side, were perplexed with feare. They were flow in revolting from Nero: neither did Verginius declare himselfe at the first for Galba: whether he depired the Empire himselfe, or no, was a question: without question his soldiery made him a profer. The death of Fonteius Capito eu'n they itomacked, that could not unjustly complain: only there wanted an head, Verginius being fent for away vnder colour of friendship: whom when they faw not to be sent backe, and moreover his doings called in question, they toke it all as their owne cafe. The arme of upper Germany made light reckening of Hordeonius Flaccus their Lieutenant, a man aged, and gowtie, without resolution, without authoritie, vnable to rule a quieter company; now being in fury, and finding him weake to governo the bridle, they sturred and troubled the more. The legions of lower Germanie were awhile without a Lieutenant generally, till at length Vitellius came, sent by Galba, the fonne of Vitellius which had beene Censor, and thirfe Consull: that seemed sufficient. The arme in Britain was quiet; and in truth among all the legions, in all those civil troubles, none behaued themselves more innocently: whether it was, that they were farre off, and cured by sea, or that by continual exploits against the enemy, the malice of their humour was spent otherwife. Illyricum also sturred not, although the legions which Nero had called thence, while they tinged in Italie, had sent to Verginius to offer their
their service: but the armies being farre aunder (a point most holesome to keepe
foildiers in due faith and allegiance) could not joyn neither faulstes, nor forces
together. The East as yet was calme. Licinius Mutianus with foure legions ruled
Syria, a man in the course of good and bad fortune famous alike: in his youth he
had to his cost wound himselfe into the acquaintance of great men; anoone wealth
wearing awaie, his state decaying, suspfeting also the displeasure of Claudius, hee
withdrewe himselfe from Rome into Asia, then as neere to the state of an exiled
perfon, as after he was to the state of an Emperour: of riot, and induftrie; of cur-
tesie and arrogancie, of good and ill parts strangely compounded: pleasures, exce-
flue, when his leaure serued: when the caufe required, excellent vertues: openly
praiwe prouyde, his secret actions were ill spoken of; but generallie with them vnder
him, with them about him, with his companions in office, by diuers allurements
vere gracious; and such a one as could more easily deliuer the Empire to another,
then obtaine it himselfe. Flauius Vespassianus with three legions gouerned the
Iewish warre, appointed generall by Nero; a man that wifhed to Galba but wel, 
and neuer meant to attempt against him; for he had sent his fonne Titus to do him
his duety, as anoone in conuenient place shall be declared. After the event we fully
believed, that the Empire was by the secret cours of fate, by signes and oracles
fore-appointed to Vespassian and his line. AEgypt and the garriſons there the
gentlemen of Rome euer since Augustus time haue ruled with royall authority:
for fo it was thought expedient to bridle and keep vnder a province of hard ac-
cesse, fruitfull of graine, feditious, and variable through superfition and wan-
tonnesse, not accustomed to obey any lawe, to agnize any magiftrate. 
Tiberius Alexander, a man borne in the countrey, was gouernour ther. Africc and
the legions there, Clodius Macer beeing slaine, liked well enow of any Prince what-
soever, haung hauing had * triall of a meaner mafter. The one Mauretania and
the other, Rhoetia, Noricum, Thracia, and the other countries ruled by Procurators, as
they lay neare to any of the armies, were fwayed to like or dislike, as it liked their 
* better that bordered about them. The provinces which were vnfurnished of forces,
and especially Italy itselfe, lying open to be subdued by any, were to become the
prize of the warre. And this was the state of the Romane Empire when Serruius
Galba fecond time Conful with Titus Vinius, began the yeare which was laft to
themselfes, and laft almoft to the common wealth also.

* City-foulder the fouldiers that were refiant at Rome were of two forts, Pratoriani and Urbani proprii
didi, both of them] by Tacitus here, and elsewhere comprehended by the name of Miles urbani, Miles urbani
longo Cæsarum sacramento inbussus: and againe ne urbani quidem militis fatis confuus, meaning onely or principally of
the Praetoriani. In his proper signification and standing in opposition to Pratoriani, Tacit. addidit classi Urbanae
cohorte plerique Pratiorum, againge, quod alio ordinario urbani, miles in acie deduxi: now when it
doeth stande for the one, or for both, onely circumstance must helpe to difcern.

That secret of state disclosed: Eunapius imperii arcana. Eunapius arcana imperii may seeme to be that which
Dionysius in the place before allacced called te συγκεκριμένα του εξής σε συγκεκριμένα τον εξής, τον εξής ου συγκεκριμένα τον εξής.

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of Cornelius Tacitus.

Somuch the secrete importe, that in fabulance it mattered not much where he were made, that afterward could maintaine it with armes, and with the good liking of the Empire. This secrete of state Galba dicianed, and making his profiteer of against Nero, gave occasion to other to practice the like against him. The founders of Germanie in the choise of Vellellius, as Plutarch reporteth, ere him selfe with the diuiding of the Empire, he likewise laid downe the same, as he also layneth at the same time. This in, Go too now, by closing Vellellius let our selfe in the world that we are able to make an Emperor better than the spoyle of Spain and Poroingall. Vellellius likewise passe away, and not the same way he came in. 

To Actium, enforced soor by the Senatetowndertakethemonarchy, diuided the provinces into two sorts. The


Elagibius P. C. nec iam libellus famus, qui accepero Nero de lentores, & ceteris more maiusimum panisiniatostates. Optimus est potios malum principum dies primas. Nowe accusatores, promotors, or enemmen, are reckended in afterinstumenta inempire, with as good reason as one Locutali. Claudius and Neroes times, super venefici damas & dies inimicorum regis vbi sit, Tacitus 12. Annal. For accuters certaine it is that many good Princes, or not very bad, have beeene content to maintaine them. Montanus the mouth of Velstian consularis prisci pro accusatioribus Tacitus 4. Histur. 

Heliodorus Prefus sund Eurus Marcellus uppon the decrect Dedit voluntate Galba became soodly none

4. His journey to Rome was slowe] At what day Galba began his journey from Spaine to Rome, when he entered the citie, the stories being lost, it is hard precisely to determine. Nowuthstanding to gave some light to this place, and withall to yield a reason of the times set downe by me elsewhere, I thinke good to note the reasons which mused me thereto. First Galerius Tracheli, Silisio cos. Neapolis de mons Gallatianus captivus (Nero) deips quos apudagrippe occidit. Sueton. Nero. Nowe Agrippina was flaine ipso Quinquepartium diebus: Tacit. 14. Annal. & Sueton. Nero 3; & Quinquagenarius begin the nineteenth day of March: Ouid. Fall 3, so allowing some competent time from time he tooke the Empire upon him in Spaine, as Xiphilinus himselfe noteth in the last words of Velstian times. So that Galba, dying the first of January, began his raigne about the first or second of April. Nero began the 13. of October: Tacitus 12. Ann. hoc enim inveniur, in hoc partibus ceterum Galbatium, quod 

5. In the end of Nero and beginning of Galba] Tacitus 3. Hist. Dio lib. 59. & Suetonian by Galba in Spaine, which notwithstanding seemeth to have beene sent away into Illyricum before his death under Antonius Primus Lieutenant, and therefore without causc re membranced here, in the tumult of Otho I finde no mention of any Hispania legio, neither in Tacitus in this book, nor any writer befide, vnsleepe percase they alone were a fleape, when all the world beided was in armes.

6. To the straites of the Caspian mountaines] Suetonius 3; Nero. Parades (Nero) c ad Caspian partes expedi
tiorem, confcripta ex Italiis senenis placidum syrumonis mons legione, quam Magni Alexander pluingem appellatiss. Xiphilinus addeth further that he had purposed a voyage against Spain.

7. Lieutenant of legions: Legati en in this very book hath three significations. 1. Legatus for an Embassador. Conferens pacem missis ad Germaniam exercitum legatus, 2. Legatus, or Legatus consularis, or confularis for a Lieutenant, deputee, president, or governor of a whole province, or army: Osthomer in provincia Lusitaniam specie legationis fessus, Horvudianus Flaccus consularis legatus ad laetet. inferioris Germaniae legione diuitit fine consularis suere. 3. Legatus legionis, or legatus Praetorius, or legatus simply, but by circumstance to be noted for, the Lieutenant of a Legion, whereof were in cuene army as many as Legions. Calibus legatus vicemina legiones, in vii Agricola speaking of the same Generall and man: Quoque legatus consularis nimiis ad formidolos erat. Nek legatus Praetorius ad cibatorium postum. 

8. Provinces abroad: E provincia] Silietes Cesaris, only ment, as it take in, here. for Augustus after the warre at Actium, enforced soor by the Senate to vndertake the Monarchy, diuided the provinces into two sorts. The

9. Quieter: The
quiet and peaceable cuntries he rendered into the Senate and peoples hand; the prouinces that limited & bordered the Empire, with the rest where any rebellion, or war might be feared, he retained to himself, and his successe-

In Marcellinus

Tiberius, and in the same

Pio. lib. 17.


and amongst these. To the Senate and people, as Strabo, and Dio write, belongeth this prouinces following, which Tacitus, if he be not deceived, calleth Publicales prouinces, Non confin-

Nemetes, &c. And

Germaules; and the prouinces of Africa, which were called Africanus, and Dio writeth that these two prouinces were properly alligned to those who had beene Confuls, whereas for the rest it suffizizd to haue borne the name of</p>
The adoption of Piso.

Some few days after the beginning of January, letters came out of Belgica from Pompeius Propinquus Procurator there, that the legions of upper Germany without respect of oath and duty demanded another Emperor; and that this their revolt might be the lesse hainously taken, had referred the choice thereof to the Senate, and people of Rome. These new webs the purpose of Galba, who had already a good while before deuised with himselfe, and with some neere about him, concerning the adoption. No speech was for the time more common and currant in the whole city, partly upon a licence and luft to talke of such matters, and partly because Galba was spent and feeble for age: vpon judgement or loute to the common wealth very few, the most part vpon secret hopes, as they fattoured or followed this man or that, offred occasion to bring them in speech for the succeffion. And now Viniius was growne into great hatted; who, as he waxed daily more mighty, so daily more odious: for Galba with his too much facilitie encreasefed and nourished the greedy and gaping desires of his friends newer fatisfied in so great meanes, and offending, as vnder a Prince weake of body, and light of beleeffe, with lesse feare, and greater adventage. The whole power of the Prince was diuided betwene Titus Viniius the Conful, and Cornelius Laco captaine of the garde. Neither was Icelus the freed-man inferior in fauour with his master, who being priuiledged to weare gold rings, and made a gentleman, was commonly called by the name of Martianus. These three, other wise disaffarging, and in points of lesse importance drawing every one a fundry waie, in this confusion of chufing a succesour were diuided into two sides. Viniius was for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelus agreed not so much vpon any one, as vpon any other. Neither did Galba much like of the
party, suspecting the counsell of Vinius as partial, and grounded upon a marriage pretended between his daughter being a widow, and Otho an unmarried man; a matter wherewith the cares of the Prince, by reason of tale-carriers in court, were not vnaacknowledged. I think also that Galba was touched in part with care of the common wealth, which might seeme in value transferred from Nero, if it were to be left upon Otho, for Otho had spent his tender years without regard of his honour, his youth afterward in all dissolute disorder, in grace with Nero through emulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his custodie, as with one that was priuy to his lufts, Poppea Sabina his principal minion, till he had dispatched his hands of Otho to his wife: foone after vpon an apprehension of idoisy, he sent him away into Lusitania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Otho having governed the province with all curtsey, and being the first that came in to Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the warre of greatest account, readily conceived hope of adoption, and daily took himself better assured, being well favoured of most of the soldiers, and greatly beloved of Neroes court, as one like to their late mafter. But Galba after the newes of the German rebellion, although of Vitellius as yet he vnderstoode no certainie, being doubtful to what issue this violent proceeding of the armie would grow, and reposin no trust in the city-souldier, proceedeth to declare a succesflour, the only stay, as he supposeth, of his estate. And calling to him beside Vinius and Laco, Marius Cellius Consul elect, and Duenius Gemins * Praouett of the city, after some speech vset of his age, he commandeth Pifo Licinius to be sent for, either vpon his owne choice, or as some have reported, at the instance of Laco: who cunningly preferred him as a meer stranger to himselfe, whereas indeede they had in Rubellius Plautius house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went generally of Pifo, gaue credit to his counsell. Pifo was sonne to Marcus Crafus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both sides; in countenance and presence after the ancient for, rightly to judge, feuer; but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too souere. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, carefull in that behalfe, misdoubted and feared, the better it pleased the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Pifo by the hand, is faied to haue spoked in this manner.

If I should as a private man only, by an act of the Curie, and affent of the Priests, as the manet is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take into my family the progene of Marcus Crafus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adioine the honarable encrease of the Sulpitian and Lutatian house to your owne nobility. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, I am moved by your rare towardnes, and the loue I bear to my countrey, to offer vnto you, without your trouble, the Princes place, that, for which our ancetors haue contended in armes, which by armes my selfe haue obtained: following herein the example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to himselfe, first Marcellus his first sonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in lawe, then his daughters sonnes, and lastly his wifes sonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, sought a succesflour in his family, and in the common wealth. Not that I lacke some nearer in blood, or companions in armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by ambition attaine to the Empire, and of my judgement herein may be proofoe, not onely mine owne friends paffed ouer, but yours also. A brother you haue, noble alike, in yeares before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more worthy. Your yeares are such, as are settled from the affections of youth, and so spent, as nothing
nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you haue tafted onely of aduerse fortune: prosperity searcheth more deeply the minde; for miseries are borne with patience, felicity corrupteth. Integritie, friendship, round and free dealing, the principal gifts of the minde, you for your part, no doubt will retaine as heretofore; but in others towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall finde it to be otherwise: patience will brake in, and pleasing speeches, and the most pestilent poison of all true meaning, private respects for private advantage. We two this day common plainly together, others rather talke with our estate, then our persons: for indeede to persuade a Prince that which is meete, is a point of some patience; to flatter any Prince whatsoever, needeth small endeavoure. If this vast body of the Empire could stand without governour, balanced in due proportion and order, the fre common wealth might worthily have taken beginning from me: but now it is come long ago to that paſfe, that neither mine age can benefite the people of Rome any way more, then in finding them a good successor, nor your youth, then in yeelding them a good Prince. Vnder Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we haue bene as it were, the inheritance of one family: it will be in need of liberty, that we begin to succeede by election: and now the Italian and Claudian lines be spent, adoption will still find out of the best: for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere fortune, and so it seemed: in adoptions our judgement is most incorrupt, and feldomest abused; and if we will chuse of the fittest, the voice of the most will point vs our man. Sce Nero before your eies, whom, being descended of so many Cæsars, his owne infamous life, and vntolerable cruelty caſt out of state, not Vindex with an vnarmed province, nor I with a one Legion: neither was there before a precedent of any Prince by publicke sentence depoſed. We, that came in, not by descent, but called in by warre and opinion of defter, how honorable foever we carry our felues, yet shal we be sure to haue our enuyours. And yet be not dismayed, if in this troubled and shaken estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet settled: I my selfe found not all for sure at the first: and when this adoption shall be heard of abroad, I shall cease to feeme an old man, the onely exception they take now against me. Nero shall doubtlesse be mislaid, and wished alwaies among the lewd for, you and I must prouide, left good men also do with him againe. To admonish you longer is not for this time, and all mine intent is fully performed, if I haue, as I hope, choosen aright. The surest and shortest rule to for out good from cuill, is to waigh what your selfe would vnder another Prince haue allowed or blamed: for you haue not here, as in kingdomes, a certaine race borne to soueraintie, and the rest to be slaves; but you are to gouerne a people, which cannot beare, neither bondage, nor liberty meece without mixture.

These words and the like Galba vsed as h creating a Prince, but the rest that were present, speake as to a Prince alreadie created. Pifio is faide to haue vtted no motion, as of a minde either troubled or exceceffe in joye, neither then nor afterward when euer mans eies were fixd upon him. His speeche to his father, and soueraigne was respectiue, and reuerent; concerning himselfe very modest: in countenance and gesturce not changed, shewing himselfe rather i able to furnishe the place, then devisous. Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced; *before the people, in the Senate, or in the campe. the campe was preferred, to honore the souldier thereby, whose good will and favour, as it was by money and crowning not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be contemned. In the meane saison Publicke expectation, which suffereth not any great secret long to be secret, had, as it were, befeft the Palace about; and the fame finding an issue, was afterward
terward by suppressing increased. The tenth of January fell out to be stormy, with great thunder, lightnings, and extraordinary weather. That being of ancient time observed as cause to break up assemblies, feared not Galba from going to the camp, contemplating such things as casual, or because that which by fate is allotted, though sometime forebode, is never avoided. There in full assembly of the soldiers with brevity princely he pronounced, that he adopteth Piso, following the example of Augustus of sacred memory, and according to that military fashion, where each man maketh choice of his fellow. And left the German rebellion should, if it were concealed, be deemed the greater, he sheweth them purposely, that the fourth and eighteenth legion miste-led by a few mutinous persons had erred in words only, and terms, and shortly would be claimed: and so concluded his speech, bestowing upon them neither eloquence nor money. The Tribunes notwithstanding, and Centurions, and soldiers which stood neere about him, returned a plausible aunswere: the rest of the company were silent, and sad, as having lost now their donatiue in warre, which they had vfed of duety in peace to receive.

It is very certaine, their hearts might well have beene won with newe so little liberality of the sparing oldeman: his too much precisenes did harme, and that ancient rigour, which we in our time are not able to bear. From thence Galba went to the Senate, and there made a speech neither fuller, nor finer, than before to the soldiers. Piso's oration was curteous, and the Senators shewed them selues forward, many which liked him indeed, very farre; others that wished him not, in a good mediocrity: but most, very readie humbly to profer all duety and service upon priuate respects, without care of the common. Neither did Piso say or doe publicly any thing els the other foure dayes, that were betweene his adoption and slaughter.

Tacitus most contrary, and without question irreconcilable is Tacitus himself in another. 13. Annal.

Ofone family C.Iulius adopted Auguſtus; Auguſtus Liuiia and Tiberius, who adopted Germanicus, perеноſuerunt, Or rather, as I was the firſt which athis creation promisedto theſouldiers Donatiue, fifteenethouſandſºftcreesaman, that is, Nero hisadoptedſonnedidtaketogamvirilem, he gauethemanother. Nero athis entry promisedonatiuemex manipularibusdiuiſit, thatis, aboutſixteenepound, and diuerſetimes inthe Greciantourney, inducing as it were emplarpaternelagilionis. Tac. Annal. 12. and after the conspiracy of Piſo was detected inanumºmillavirilet, aboutſixeſcorepoundſterling. Primu, Ceſarumſidemmilitisetianpremiopigmºratus, ſaith&Suetonius: and when cap. io. are, legiones ſelfeſsamething: Deducius (Nero) inforumtyro, pºpulocongiarium, militidonatiuumpropoſuit. Which propriety of Donatiue which they had used of duty to receive} The Princes liberalitiesto theſouldiers were therit. But ifSuetonius in Galba do not deceive you may read more at large in Sueton. 3. But Galba, futh Plutarch, επηδρετα τοι τη καθη προεκάλει, Thatis, Gloried more in his affiuntes with Catullus. Qu, Lutatium Catulii being his great grandfather by the mother. That he was ofſen to Liua Auguſtus, as Plutarch wright, I have not els red, although it is true, that ofſenaini ante omnes Luanum Auguſtum, eius & vina gratiæpublicanu[m] valu[i], & mor- tusse setlemento pendennis eff, Suet. c.5. But of kinred I finde no word, neither do I greatly beleaue it. only a ſeem preceeder he had named Liua Ocellenia, who adopted him, and therefore he was called Lucius Liuia Oce- liinus after his name. Vipsa ad tempus imperii, if Suetonius in 5 Galba do not deceueth.

1. Near me in blood: Propinquus unus fœci belli} Auguſtus adopted Agrrippa and Tiberius as fœci belli, the reft as propinquus. So Otho was to Galba fœci belli, and Dabellia, who as Plutarch affirmteth was also in speech about the adoption, propinquus. Tac. Cornelius Dabellia propinquissatis Galba nonfratris, ſif be, as I think, the same man, of whom Plutarch speaketh.

2. Of one family was, and Claudius his brother, and faſty Claudius adopted Nero in whom failed the Italian Line. Auſonis. 

Amencum generis qui fœcux & vicianes hirtes 
Pellius, & claribus Liuia faca Nero. 

That being of ancient time obserued as caufe to break vp assemblyes Cit in Vazinium. Auguiones omnes vœs 
ab Remulo decreuerunt. Ione fulgente cum populo agi neſfas effe. Phoſippia 5. Ione somante cum populo agi non effe fas quia igno- neres 2. de diainatione. In nostris commenfatoris scripium habemus: Ione somante fulgentem consilium populi habere nefas, Anone after. Consilium vnum vicianis eff fulomen, quod idem omnibus rebus utilius optiumn habemus, fiat fimilium fuere. 

Where ech man maketh choiſe of his fellow} This manner of muttering was, that the ift man should chuſe out the second, who in the battell should ſtand efteſt by him, the second the third, and fo forth, ech his mare till the last man. An army ſo gathered was in the opinion of thoſe ancient times thought in a maner inuincible, exerciç, cum vir virum legiſt, quanti, nunquam alia, antesimulcopffs, ſimulanimi, dimicérunt. Much after theſe manner Xenoph. 1. tray- and questionles. Deſnamrideriſenex) Deſnamcontemnique ſenex. Non legiones, non claſſa, priva forma impræmunimuinte, quæm nuneorum liberorum. Tacit. 4. Hist. in the person of Titus. Literally to construe, it may ſeeme, but Adoption, as Generation, doth in a ſort ternerize, and eternity know-eth no ageſnde. 

Of the same family was, and with Catula. Quintus Catulius, namely being his great grandfather by the mother. That he was of kinred to Liua Auguſta, as Plutarch wrighteth, I haue not.

Sulpician and Lutatian houses]. Plutarch ſpeaking of Galbaes, of which the wordedonatiuum came in with the Empire, not knowen in the freeſt state. But of kinred I finde no word, neither do I greatly beleaue it. Namely a flidºſ. 

Neare me in bloud: Propinquus unus fœci belli] Auguſtus adopted Agrrippa and Tiberius as fœci belli, the reft as propinquus. So Otho was to Galba fœci belli, and Dabellia, who as Plutarch affirmteth was also in speech about the adoption, propinquus. Tac. Cornelius Dabellia propinquissatis Galba nonfratris, ſif be, as I think, the same man, of whom Plutarch speaketh.

This forename of fœcux was fo general to the Roman, quia nobilisbathe. Sénvus genuſs is aſſumed Galba affirmteth another forename turning the fore- 

V. An Embassage to the armies in Germanie.

T he news growing daily freither of the German reuolt, and the city being ready to admit and beleue all newes when they are euill, the Senate ordered, that Embassadors should be fent to the armies. It was besides secretly deba-
THE next care was for money; and casting about for supply it seemed most reasonable to fetch it thence, from whence the lacke had proceeded. Two and twenty hundredth millions of sesterces Nero had wafted in prodigall gifts. Galba commanded them all to be called, and left only to each the tenth part of their gift: but they had in all scarce one tenth part remaining, having spent with like riot what came from others, as they had before consumed their owne. Those greedy and wastfull companions had neither lands to extend, nor goods to be seized, save only some furniture of vices. Thirty gentlemens of Rome were deputed collectors to gather the money; a strange kind of office, and burdensome, both for the number, and suit that was made. In every corner the speare was planted, and files proclaimed, the city diſquieted with prizers and buyers: yet was it a great comfort to see that they should be as poore, to whom Nero had giuen, as they were, from whom he had taken. About the same time certaine Tribunes were called; Antonius Taurus, and Antonius Nafo of the gard, Aemilius Pacensis of the city-bands, and Iulius Fronto of the watch: neither was it any remedy to amend the state; but rather an occasion of new feare in their minds, as though by cunning, and for feare certaine were singled, whereas all were indeed mistrusted alike.

Two and twenty hundredth millions: $2,200,000,000$ sesterces. Tauc. His: Namie millies, sesteria, not mones mille; for so is the vfe of the young. Now in these speeches pronounced unaccountably is unaccountable of course centena millia, so that his & vicies millies is as much as if he had saied, bis & vicies millies centena millia sesteria. Plutarchus Antonius interpretereth Decies by πολλα x' εικος μιλιαι (σεσερια) that is decies centena millia sesteria; counting as he doeth four sesteria to a drachma. Sesteria qua quattuor sesteria, that is two and an halfe; and according to the same analogie, in Grecce ηπταεκατος εκατον is four talents and an halfe, and in Dutch dit halb batzen, two batz and an halfe. Now sesteria signifying two and an halfe, as the vulgar note also importeth I.I.S. or ioynted H.S. that is duo & semis, is meant alwayes of so many ales; and therefore foure sesteria are precisely equivalent to a denarius, so called of dena era. Now all the Grecce stories without exception writing of the Roman affaires, in stead of quattuor sesteria let downe spesegia, not only in small summes, but in huge great, where the difference mult of force appeare, in their opinion there were any bene benee them. Seem then denarius and drachma, according to the content of the most olde writers against a feue, are of equall value, both containing foure sesterces, eight drachmess making an ounce, and the ounce in our time esteemed at fute flillings sterling, our present summe of bis & vicies millies centena millia sesteria, reduced to English money now current, amounteth to fourteenement millions an hundred eighty feuen thousand and fute hundredth pound. Neither can this summe feeme strange for Nero in fourteeene yeares, when Vitellius parcialis millies mones mille H.S. interentis si est credere. about feuen thousand thousand pound.

VI. The donations of Nero renouked by Galba. Certaine Tribunes put from their charge.

In the meane seasion sundry causes concurring incited Otho, whose hope and deuision depended upon the common disturbance, to trouble the state; riot and excesse too costly even for the purse of a Prince; barenesse and beggery scarce for a meane man to bear; anger against Galba, envy toward Pio, and that his aspi
ring might seeme to be grounded vpon greater reason, he sayned also feares to him-
selfe: now that in respect of his greatnes he had been a burden to Nero: that he was
not againe to looke for a new Lufitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but
to be murthered, or made away by some meanes; that course might Otho more
justly expect, the rule being almost without inflaunce, That alwayes he shall be
suspected and hated of the Prince in possession, whom men do account woorthy, or
like to be Prince in succession, that point alone did him harme with ould Galba;
and would do him more with young Pifo, a man by nature not of the mildest, and
made by long exile saueage and rough: and therefore he must of force doe and dare,
now or else neuer, whilest Galbaes authority was waning, and Pifoes as yet not
fully well waxen; fish *changes were times moost apt for greatest attempts; and
delays there dangerous, where soft quiet dealing draweth more cuil, then hazar-
ding rashly. that death happeneth by nature to all men alike, with only this difference
of fame, or obliuion with potterity: and if he must dye either guileful or guilty, then
were it more valiantnesse to dye for defect. Otho was not effeminate in mind as in
body, and his freedmen and seruants, the neerest about him, being brought vp in
more licence then vsually in a priuat mans house, layed before him, who greedily
gaped after such baiets, the court of Nero and riotous liuing, wittyes at will of his
owne, and of other mens, with such like pleasures of Princes, as his owne proper
good, if he durft feaze vpon them; if not, vpbraiding them to him, as left into o-
thers. The Astrologers also vrged him forward, affuring by their star-learning
greath guages at hand, and a yeare of advancement for Otho: a kind of people to
Princes vnfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, that in our commonwealth shall be alwaies
forbidden, and alwaies retained. Many of that profession were employed by Pop-
pæa in her secret affaires, the baddest instuments *a *b Princes wife can vse: of which
number Ptolemaus, who followed Otho into Spaine, promised he shoulde overlie
Nero: and so by the euent hauing won credit, perfuaded him further, by coniecture
alone, and speech of people comparing the yeares of Galba and Otho, that he
should be affumed to the Empire: but Otho embraced it as foretold by art, and by
the forewarning of fate; as the humour is of moft men to beleue that fooneft.
which they least vnderstand, or know what it meaneth. Neither was Ptolemaus
behinde for his part, persuading him now to the point, in that kind of fact, which in
a mind so desirous is soone apprehended. But whether it came in his mind on the
fodaine or no, to commit this foule act, that is not certainly knowne: certaine it is,
that long before that, he had by all possible meanes practized the favour and good
will of the soldiers, either vpon the hope of succession, or as preparing the way to his
treacon: in iourneing, in marching, in warding, calling by name such as were of
greasteft continuance, and tearning them mates, vpon the remembrance of liuing
together in Nereos traine; with sonie renewing acquaintance; some calling for,
and releueing their needs with his purfe, and his countenance; infreriting withall
now and then complaints, and glauncing at Galba with speeches of doubtfull con-
struction, or what other way he could bethinke him, to flux vp, and alter the vulgar
fort. The trouails in iourneing, the frayntesse of prouision, the hard hand held o-
uer them were much mifleke of the soldieters: for whereas before they were wont to
viife the *c lakes of Campania, and townes of Achaia at their eafe vpon shipboard,
now it seemed fore to trot all afoote over the Pyrenees and Alpes, and huge long
viages at small eafe in their armour. The soldiers mindes being thus alreadie incen-
fed, Meuius Pudens an acquaintance of Tigellinus, ministred matter to inflame them
further; who alluring some vnintiaed heads, or such as were needy of money, and
desperate
The I. booke of the Historie

desperate upon new desires, by little and little proceeded so farre, that so oft as Galba was feafted at Otho's, vnder pretence of a banquet-beneuolence, he distributed to each man of the cohort which waited, an hundredst feetore, which, as being a publicke largeffe, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons: to confident a corrupter, that whereas Cocceius Proculus a billman of the Garde had a suite with his neighbour about a small parcel of ground, which lay doubtfull betweene them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole ground, and freely bestowed it vpon him: such was the insufficientie of Laoco the captainte, grossely to ouersee not onely close practises, but even those dealings, which all the whole world espied beside. But at that time Otho appointed Onomastus one of his freedmen for master workeman to contrive the treason, who bringing Barbius Proculus the watch-word-carrier of the billmen, and Veturius a Centurions lieutenanct anone to his master, after that Otho by sundry speeches, and much private conference, perceived them to be crafty, and bould, fit for his purpose, he lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come; giving them money to assay the minds of moe of their fellowes: and so two common fouldiers tooke vpon them to transferre the Empire of the people of Rome, and accordingly perforemed it indeed. Few were by them made priuy to the principal purpose, and they by divers性疾病 incited the houering minds of the refl, drawing into the association the chief of the fouldiers preferred by Nymphidius, as being fipset to the present estate; the meaneer sort, and the rest, by meanes of the anger and dipleafe conceived vpon despaire of their donatifs so often differed: some alfo there were, whom the memory of Nero, and desire of former licence did moue: in generall all were afraid they shoulde finde a change in the foure, This contagion infected also the Legions and Aides, whose faith was weakened already, when as they heard their fellowes of Germany had left their allegiance. And so foory were the bad to rebell, yea the good to dissemble, that vpon the fourteenth of January, they had determined, as Otho returned from supper to haue taken him vp by the way, had they not feared such casuall chances, as night might haue bred; and by reason the fouldiers were lodged scateringly throughout the whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not for any care of common wealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to pollute with the bloud of their Prince; but leaft in the garde by error it might chance, that in seedle of Otho some other man should be offerd to the Pannonian and German fouldiers, and so be accepted for Emperour, the most part of them not knowing Otho by sight. Many signes of treason euene now as it were discouering it selfe, were suppressed by the conspirators: some other in Galbaes hearing Laoco, the captainte put away with a left; a man little scene in fouldiers affections, and of any aduise, were it never so excellent, whereof himselfe was not auonour, an enemy, and agaunt the skilfull obtinately contentious. The fifteenth of January as Galba was sacrificing before Apollos temple, Vmbticlus the Priest, by view of vnprospetous entrailes, foreswore thauers at hand, and a home enemy in Othoses audience (for he was the next man) who contrariety conftrued it as good lucke on his side, and happy successe in his affaires. Anone after Onomastus bringeth in word, that the master carpenter, and thofe which had vndertaken the worke at a price, stayed for his comming: for that was the watchwoorde agreed betweene them, to signifie that now the fouldiers were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho faining an answer to such as demanded the cause of his departure, that he had certaine oulde tenements to buy, which hee fipset were ruinous, and therefore would have them
them viewed before;* following his feruants direction, went through Tiberius *imicus liberta. houfe into the Velabrum, and thence to the 3 golden Milliarium vnder the temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty*bilmen attending his comming salute him *Spiculatores. Emperour: and as hee floode amazed, trembling for feare at their fewenesse, they snatch him vp hastily into a chayre, and with their swords drawn carry him away. As they went forward toward the campe,about so many mo fouldiers ioyned themselves, some acquainted indeede with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangenes: part with shovts,and drawn swords,part holding their peace,meaning so to proceed,as the euent should direct them. Iulius Marthals warded as Tribune that day in the campe: who being either terrified with the greatness of so fodaie a treason, or else fearing the campe was further corrupted, and death, if he should make shew of resistance, gawe most men to middeyme by his dealing, that he was somewhat of counsel with the caufe. The rest likewife of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred preuent security before duty with danger: and generally after that manner were their mindes and affections inclined, that into so horrible a treason few only durft enter, more wished it fo, and all were contented to suffer it to paffe. Galba in the meanes while ignorant of all which had pass'd, was busily occupied about his devotion, importuning the gods now of another mans Empire, when as fodainely word was brought, that a Senator, they wist not well who, was caicled to the campe; and straightwaies that it was Otho. Anon flock'd thither out of all quarters,* as they happened to meete him, some making the feare more then it was, some leffe, not forgetting euyn then to fall to their flatteringe biace. The matter being consultd vpon, it was thought convenient, to founde the minde of the cohorte, which warded in the Palace, not by Galba himselfe, whose auterity was to be referred intier for greater exploits, but by Piño: who calling them before the staeres of the house, vfed this speech. It is now, fellow-fouldiers, fix daies, since that I was, not knowing what might after befall, and whether this name were to be withed, or feared, adopted Cæsar: with what successe to our house, or to the common wealth, that lyes in your hands. not that I am, for mine owne particular, afraid of any heave chaunce that can happen: Ioward fortune I have proued with the most; and the good I do take to bring no leffe danger: but my fathers case, the Senators, and the whole Empires I lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed; a hard choise for any good man. In the laft troubles these comforts we had: the city was kept cleane without any bloodshed; the stale pass'd ouer without any discord, order was taken as it seemed, sufficient, by declaring a succesfullour, that hereafter also there should be no new occasion of warre. I will not extoll and magnifie here mine ancient house, or modest behauioir; neither in the comparision with Otho, neede we to reckne vp vertues: his vices wherein alone he triumphs, have ruin'd the stale euyn then, when he was but a friend of the Emperours. By his gesture and gate shoule he deferue to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they are lowly deceit, whom riot deceives with shew of liberality. to cast away and consume well may he be leane, not in good order he hath not the skill: bodily pleasures and banqueting, wanton dalliance with women, these be the points which now he proposeth himeselfe, these he accounteth the prerogatives of Princes, where of the lust and pleasure shall be only his owne, the shame and ignomi- miny redoundeth to all: for neuer any man yet vfed the Empire well, which he got by ill meanes. The content of the world made Galba Emperor, and Galba by your content made me. If the weale publicke, the Senate, the people, be frivolous names, and no substance; yet for your owne interest prouide, fellow-soldiers, that the ra-

* * * *
kalleth sort ben at Emperour-makers. The legions abroad have sometime mutined against their generals; that hath bin heard of: your truth and good name hath remained as yet to this day untouced: and Nero also forsooke you, not you Nero, Shall leffe than thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to chuse, their Centurion, or Tribune, dispose of the Empire? do you allow the example? do you winke at their crime, and so make it your owne? the provinices will vurp the like licence, and the end of these treasons will fall to our share, the end of those wars vnto yours. Neither is there more gotten by murthering your Prince, then by keeping your hands innocent & cleane: as well (hal you receive of vs a donatiue for truth, as of others for treason. The bilmé being slipped away, the rest of the cohort seeming to be mowed with his words, more of feare, as it hapneth in tumultus, and yet with some reaason, make ready their ensignes, which afterward me supposéd was done for a color & fraude. Marius Cellus also was sent to the selecte soldiers of the Illyrian army, encamped in Vipanius cloyter: and commandement was gitten to Amlius Serenus, & Domitius Sabinus, which had bin * leaders of the principal ensigne, to fetch forth the German soldiers * out of the court of Liberty. The legion of mariners Galba distrusted, as being incensed against him for the slaughtar of their fellows at his first entry. Cerius Seuerus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus Tribunes were sent to the Pretorian camp, to try whether the sedition might now at the beginning, & before it were grown to a ripenes, by better aduise be allwaged. Subrius & Cerius with threats, & manacing were put by the soldiers to silence: vpon Longinus they lay violent hands, and difarme him, because he had come to that place not by order of feruice, but by extraordinary favoure of Galba; a man faithfull to his Prince, & therfore of rebels worser liked. The legion of mariners without any stay joine themselfes to them of the gard: the selecte of the Illyrian army, with darts bent vpon him, drue Cellus away: the German ensignes were long in suspence, being as yet feeble in body, but in mind well affected, for that being sent by Nero before to Alexandria, at their return tired & fick with so long a cut, they were by Galba carefully cherished. Now was all the common people, and bondme with all affembled into the Palace, requiring with tumultuous cries, as if they were to demand in the stage or Race a paltime, that Otho might be pulled in peeces, and those other traitors exiled; not vpon iudgement or any true meaning; for the selfe same day with as vehemont infaunce they would be as ready to demand the other way: but only vpo a receiued custome to flatter the Prince whatsoeuer he be, framing 3 acclamations at pleasure, & vainely indeuouring to shew their good wils. In the meane season Galba was distracted with two dieris opinions. Titus Vinius thought bext to stay within dores, to oppose the bondmen against them, to fortie the paffages, and not to go forth to men in their fury: that he should giue a space for the bad to repent, for the good to confent: that treasons preuaile on the foddain, good counsels gather forces by leaure: and laftly if he would, or reaason required it, then might he well go, as now, fo alone: but to come in again, if he chanced to repent him, were likely to ly in the wil of another. The rest were all of a contrary mind: that it was the much better way, to cut off delais with all possible speed, before the conspiracie of few, as yet without force, took further increase: that even Otho himselfe would tremble for feare, who being conueied priuily away, & brought in among thofe which knew not the matter, through foathful delaying, and trifling the time, learns soon at his leisure to countertfair the Prince, what would they expect til Otho hauing compoed the camp, and set all in order, should invade the Place of publicke assemby, and as Galba peeped out of a hole, vnder his nole enter the Capitol, while he, like a goodly trim captaine,
tainewithhiscouragiousfriends,sotheymaybeincourt,keptclosewithindores,
&shutupthegates,meaningbeliketoattendthesiegeremuchhelpmightone
hopeforatbondmenschands,ifthegreementof sogreatamultitude,andexeed
indignation,whichisalwaysthethoateste,weresufferedtocoole.thattherefore
partieinhonorablenewasmorerisqmoredangerous:orifneedestheymustdie,thenbe-
teromeeteeandencounterthedarng:thatwouldatleastbreedeOthomoreenuy,
andwerewithallmoftfortheirhonor.AssViniusrepliedagainstattheopinion,Laco,
attheinstigationofIcelus,persuadinginprivatepleasuresstotheoverthrowe
ofthepublickeestate,beginnethtochargehimwithmanacingandthreats:andGal-
bawithoutanylongerdelaygaunthimselfe whollytofollowtheircounsell,which
hadthefairershoweinapparence.yetfirstwasPifoenttothecampe,asbeing
a youngmanofgracefulandgracious,freshinmensfavour,andenemytoVi-
nius,eitherbecausehewasso,orthatViniusillwillersdidwithithitobeso;andit
isthoughtratherhewassoindeede.Pifowasfancgoneabroade,whenfirstaflying
rumourofwhichnoauthorwasفرد,thatOthowasflaineinthecampe:anone,asin
agreatliesthefallout,foamesaffirmedytpresent,andsawit;areportwhich
menpartlyrejoicing,partlynotcurious,eadisbealeued.Manysupposed
thisrumourwasframed,andeincreasedbysomeofOthoesmen,beingnowshuf-
flèdinwiththeleft,alandgivingoutvntrulygoodnewesofpurpose toallureGalba
outofhishold.Butuponthereporthowsoever,notonlythepeopleandsimpler
fortelapihands,andeclareimmoderatelytheiraffections,butmostofthepeople
men,Senatorswithoutmanaging,asbeingnowfroodoffear,breakenopen
thegates,rushintothepalace,preffeforwardtoGalba,protestingeveryfory
theywere,thereuengeofhissmallermaybepresumedbyothers;theleast
owards,andsuchasindangerdaredtheleast,asstriallemadeprove,beingmoft
excessivelyinwords,andhardyoftongue.Thuswhilstallaffirmed,anobod
knew,Galbayeeldingtoauntruthsogenerallysoothed,ęputson*abreftplate,
andbeingnotableforbodynoragetoasstainethemepreffe whichcameinuponhim,
wasliftedupinachaire.InthepalaceIuliusAtticustheme,oneofthebilmen,
holdingoutablodyswordinhishand,withwhichhecriedaloud,hehadlaineº
Otho.Myfriend,quothGalba,whobadtheamanofrarevirtuetokeepeinawe.
alicioussoldier,whomneithertreats couldterriſſe,notflatteringspeeches,
corruptandabuſe. 

Bythistimethesoldierswerewholelyagreed,with sogreatfuryandfavouring
Otho,thatnotcontenttoaffisthimincompanieswiththeirstrengths,theycaft
ringabouthimwithbanners,asseffooede*inthemidftoftheenseignesintheTri-
bunal,inwhichalittlebeforetheimageofGalba wasplantedingould,notsuffering
theTribunesorCenturions toapproach,yeaandfurtherthecommontfoldierbid-
dingbewaredwahropficers.Allthewholecamperewithconfusaonwithmutual
encouragement:noneofthesedifferentchantingsofdullfla-
terypriſedamongthepopular:butastheyespiedanysoldiercoming,they
wouldtakehimbythehand,embracethemintheirarmour,letthefaffbythem,be-
ginhimtheother,recordingfometimetheirEmperourtothesoldiers,and
fometimefhesoldierstotheirEmperour.NeitherwasOthoflackeforhisparttoʃt
hesabroad,andwhatservilecrouchingesnotforanEmpire!Whentheweather
leviathanabowsthathadswornealliances,trustinglytohisstrength,and
incitethesoldiersincommon,whomasyethehadoonly
incitedinfeverall,standingupontherampireofthecamp,hebeginsinthismanner.
I am come here, as you see, to your presence, my loving companions: but what I am, that cannot I tell. A private man I will not be termed, being named Prince by you; nor Prince well I cannot, whilst yet another poseseth the place: your name also, whether trayters, or true subjects, shall be likewise in doubt, till it be decided what manner of man you haue in your campe, an Emperor of the people of Rome, or an enemy. Do you not heare how my death, and your punishment are both required at once? so evident it is, that we can neither perish nor be safe, but jointly together: and perhaps Galba, according to the measure of his discretion, hath promised it already, as one that could finde in his heart, vnaskt, vnrequired, to murther so many thousands of most innocent citizens. A horror perceth my hart, as oft as I call to remembrance the difmal entry, and that only conquest of his, when he did in fight of the city commaund to be slaine the tenth perfon of those, which vpon their humble request he had received into his protection. Such was his vnprofierous entry: and what glorious fact brought he beside to commend him withall to the Princes place, fauing the slaughtred of Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus in Spaine, of Bertius Chilo in France, of Fonteius Capito in Germany, of Clodius Macer in Africke, of Cingonius in the way, Turpilianus in the city, Nymphidius in the campe? nay, what province is there, what campe any where, that he hath not, as he pretends, amended and corrected, but in truth with cruelty misused and stained with blood? Those things which other men account haynos faults, he termeathem gentle remedies: cruelty he clokes with the name of severety; and wretched courtoufies he tearemeth provident sparing; your stripes & indignities ancient discipline. Since the death of Nero it is scarce feuen months, and yet hath one Icelus already raked more together, then all that rable, Polyclus, Vatinius, Elius, and their fellowes have done in so many yeares. And certainly with leffe courtoufies, and more respect would Titus Vinius haue raged, if himselfe had been Emperor: now he oppreßeth vs as vallals, & holdeth vs vile as strangers: the onely wealth of that man were enough for the donatione, which daily is cast in your teeth, but never paied to your purses. And left we might hope to better our estate, at the leaft when Galba were gone, he hath fetched out of exile one, that in cruelty & courtoufies he judged like himselfe, ye faw, fellow-soldiers, by that notable storme, that even the gods much abhorred that vntoward adoption. The Senar, the people are of the same mind: your part now only remaineth: your valour & vertue is looked for: you are the men who ad strength to good causes: without you, be the attempt never so worthy, it shall never take any worthy effect. I desire you not to a warre, I call you not to any dangerous exploit: the soldiers be all of our side, and that one vnrated cohort, which waits vpon Galba, endeavours not now to defend him against vs, but rather detaines him from feaping out from vs: when you shall come in their view, when they shall fea my enfeigne, this will be their onely contention, that shall in my behalfe do greatest service. No delay in that enterprize is to be vfell, which never is commended, before it be ended. Then he commaundeth the armory to be opened: armes by and by were taken contrary to custome, and order of seruice, where the Praetorian and Legionarie man is tauered by his different cognisance: with helmets and targets they mingle themeselves among the Aide-soldiers: no Centurion nor Tribune encouraging them, they become captaine and encourager, ech man to himselfe; and that which cheefely encouraged the bad, the good Were discouraged, and quite out of hart. Now Piso being scarred away with the noise, as the sedition grew fuller and hoater, with showtes refounding euin into the cite, by this time had ioyned himselfe to Galba againe, who was
was in the mean season issued out of the Palace, and came neere to the Place of publick assembly. Marius Celsus likewise had brought an heavy aunswer againe: whereupon some thought it expedient to retire into the Palace againe, some rather to posseffe themselfes of the Capitoll, some other to take the Rostra: but the most did only impugne the opinions of others; and as often it chanceth in counsels crost with euill succeed, that way was commonly judged the best, whereof the time was forepaſsed. It is reported that Laco, vnwitting to Galba, had a meaning to haue slaine Titus Vinius, hoping belike by his death to mitigate the soldiers, or mitruftruing he was confederate with Otho, or els vpon private displeasure: the time and the place bred scruple in the matter: for when men are set in a killing, it is not so easy to stoppe when you lift, and many other accidents stayed the purpose; fearefull messages, the flippings away of his friendes, their courages being all quiald, even of thofe which cheerfully at first made most offernation of loyalty and fouerneffe. Galba was drouen to and fro with the crowd of the companie, as it waue vp and downe. m The standing in temples and churches on every side were taken to view this forowfull fight: the people all mute, with countenances amazed, and listenning eares: no tumult, no quietnes; such a silence as argued great feare, and great anger: notwithstanding it was caried to Otho, that the common people were a putting in armes: whereupon he m commanded his men to march in all speede, and prevent the danger. So the Roman soldiers, as if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out of the throne anciendly posseſsed by Arfaces line, and not to murder their owne Emperour vnarmed, and aged, differing the people, trampling the Senate vnder foote, set spurrets to their horſes, and fiercely in armes rush into the Place of assembly: neither did the fight of the Capitoll, nor reverence of the temples about, nor the Princes past and to come, terrifie them from committing that abominable act; whereof the next succeſſour is the revenger. The enfeigne-bearer of Galbaes cohort, Atilius Vergilio by report, assoone as he sawe a far off the armed men, marching in array, pluckt downe the image of Galba, and daſhed it against the pavement, by that it did plainly appear, that all the fouldiers were wholly for Otho. The people vnbidden make away in all haste, leaving the Place of assembly voide, or if any seemed to linger, they were drawne vpoun by the soldiery. At Lucus Curtius Galba was tumbled out of his chayre to the ground, through the fearefullnes of them which bare it. His laft words are diversely by diuerse reported, as they admired or hated the man: some fay, he humbly demanded, what ill he had euuer deferued, requeting onely a fewe daies respite to pay their donatiue. The most doe agree, that he offered stoutly his necke, to do their pleafure, and strike, if it seemed fo good to the commonwealth: it mattered not much to the murderers what he did fay. The very man who flew him is not certainly knowne: some fay Terentius Euocatus; others Lecanius: the more receiv’d opinion is, that Camurius, a fouldier of the fiftteenth legion, peard his throat with a sword: his armes and legges (P for his broth was armed) others did miferably mangle and heuve; many flabbes, vpon a favage and beaſtly cruellty, were bestowed vpon the headleſſe carcaſe. Next after Galba, they asſayled Vinius, of whom likewife there is queftion, whether the present feare wafted his speeche, or els that he cried aloud, They had no commandement from Otho to kill him: which, whether he fained for feare, or confessed as associate of the conspiracie, the fame of his lewd life doth make it more probable he was guilty of the treason, whereof he was a caufe. At the first wound in his hamme he tumbled downe before the temple of Diuus Iulius, and after by Iulius Carus, a legionarie fouldier, was thruſt through the
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THE I. booke of THE HIST or LE

* Both Plutarch
* and Xiphilinus
write that not Pi-
* fo, but Galba was
proceeded by
* Denfis.
* Plut. note
* that he first lea-
* red them with
* the vine rodde.
* as also,
* but
* Dreher

the fides. A worthie man that day our age did aforde, * Sempronius Denfis a cen-
* turion of the cohort which garded Galba, and by him appointed to wait vpon Pifo,
* who with his rapier drawn encountering the armed men, and vpbraying to them
* their disloyaltie, partly by deeds, and partly by words turning the blowes vpon his
* own head, gaue Pifo, although he were wounded, time and ipace to escape away.
Pifo recovering the temple of Vefta, and being received by the sextens compati-
* on, and hid in his cabin, not by the reuenance of sanctuarie, or sacred ceremonies
* of the holy goddeſſe, but onely by hiding himselfe, diffreted imminent death, when
* as straight there came thither, by Othoſe express commandement, haotly bent by
* name for his blood, Sulpitius Florus, one of the Britifh cohortes, fately by Galba
* made citizen of Rome, & Statius Marcus a * bilman: of these two was Pifo drawn
* out, and flaine in the gates of the temple. No mans death did Otho fo joyfully take;
* no head did he view and reuiew ſoinſatiably: whether it was that then first of all his
* minde was at eafe, and free to reioice, lightened of all maner burden and care; or
* that the remembrance of maiſty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinius, had stroke
* a kind of horror into his vnmercifull mind: mary for Pifo, his enemie and concur-
* rent, he thought he might iſtly with all reaſon reioice at his ruine. Their heads
* were planted vpon ſpeares, and caryed among the enſignes of the cohortes, neare
* the Standerd of the Legion, strining to ſhew their bloudy hands, which they had
* flaine them, they which were present, some truely, some falfely, all making their
* vaunt, as of a goodly and memorable act. More then a hundreth and twenty ſuppli-
* cations, put vp for ſome good ſeruicethat day, were afterward found by Vitellius,
* who cauſed the men to be all sought out, and flaine, not in honour of Galba, but
* vpon a tradition receiued among Princes as an assurance of their present estate, and
* a meane of reuenge afterwarde. Now the Senate and people were no more the
* same men: they runne all heapes to the campe, contending and ſhouldering who
* should get formost, defecting Galba, extolling the fouldiers iudgement, kifſing
* Othoſe hand, and the leffe they ment it in hart, doing fo much the more in outward
* apparenee. Neither did Otho reiect any one though comming fingle, moderating
* with ſpeeches and countenancethe greedy, and manacing diſpoſition of the fould-
* iers; who demanded to the slauſher Marius Celfus Conſull elect, and to the laſt
* faithfull to Galba, offended with his ſufficiencie and innocency as capitall crimes.
* A quarrell was fought apparently to facke, and massacre, and to ouerthrow perfo-
* nages of honour: but * Othoſe authoritie was not ſufficiencie grounded as yet to
* prohibite a miſchieafe, well might he commaunde one: fo making femblance of
* anger, he willes them to put him in prifon; that he would ſhew at leſſe exempla-
* rie iustice upon him, and fo deliuered him from present deſtruction. All things
* befide were ordered according as the fouldiers appointed. They elected captaines
* of the Gard Plorius Firmus in time paſt a common fouldier, and then captaine of
* the watch, and in Galbaes life a fauourer of Otho: to him they adioyne Licinius
* Proculus, a neare and inward acquaintance of Otho, and therefore ſuspected to haue
* bene a furtherer of his proceedings. Flavius Sabinus they ordeyned Prouosſt of
* the cittie, following therein the iudgement of Nero, vnder whom he had obtained
* before the faied charge, moſt men in fo doing reſpeeting Vespaſian his brother.
* With great inſtance was it demanded that the fees of vacations vniſually giuen to
* the Centurions might be remitted: for the common fouldier payed them as an an-
* nuall pension; whereby some in companies, part wandring by licence abroade, or in
* the campe made no daintie to beare any burden, nor tooke any care how they gai-
* ned, till they had wherewith to pay the Centurion, by robbing and spoiling, or fer-
* uile
of Cornelius Tacitus.

Further the foeldier which had any wealth was sire to be tired with travaile and stripes till he bought out his immunitie; and when the poore wretch had consumed his substanace, and wafted his body with slouth, he returned to his bande vnlustie, and beggerly, whereas he was actiue and wealthie before: and fo likewise another and another corrupted with like licence, and brought to like beggery, were carried to mutinees, diffensiones, and ciuill wars in the end. But Otho left by gratifying the foeldier he should aliene the Centurions minds, promised to pay out of his owne cofer the yearely vacations; a thing no doubt verie profitable; and by good Princes succeeding establisshed for a perpetuall order. Laco confined in snew into an iland, was murdred by Euocatus, whom Otho had fent before for the purpofe. Vpon Martianus Icelaus, as being a freedman, open execution was done. The day being thus confumed in mischieues, the laft of all illes was the reioyning. The city-Pretor calleth the Senate to counfale: the reft of the magistrates contend to exceede in flatterie: the Lordes of the Senate run thither in haft: to Otho is awarded Tribunitian authority, and the name of Augustus, with all other Princeely prerogatives, and titles, ech man endeaunouring to abolish the opprobrious speeches, and reuiling tearmes which they had indifferentlie vfed against him, which neuertheleffe he seemed not much to remember; whether he purpofed to pardon the offences, or difcence the punishment, by reason of the short time he ruled, could not be feene. Otho, the Place of assembly being yet imbruised with bloud, was caried thorow the dead bodies, as they lay flaine, firft to the Capitoll, and thence to the Palace, giving permiflion to bury, and burne the car-cafes. Pifo was by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother; Titus Vinius by his daughter Crispina, compos'd and layed in graue; hauing fift fought out and redeemed their heads, which the murdredes had kept to be solde. Pifo was when he died one and thirty yeeres old, of better fame then fortune: his brother Magnus was flaine by Claudius, and Craffius by Nero: himfelfe liued a great while in exile, and foure daies a Prince, adopted in haft before his older brother, with this onely advantage, that he was thereby the firft made away. Titus Vinius liued fortie feuerie yeeres, not all after one fett: his father was of a Praetorian house; his fathers father one of the proscripts. At his firft entrance in warte he became infamous: his Lieutenant generall Caluflus Sabinius wife, caried with an unwomanly defire to view the site of the campe, and hauing in fouldiers attire wantonly peruued the watch, and other campe-offices, in the verie Principia forfed his honour; and the man accused of the fact was Titus Vinius: whereupon by commandement of Caius the Emperour he was imprifoned, and anone through chaunge of times being enlargd he paffed throue offices of honour without touch; firft Prætor, then Lieutenant of a Legion with good commendation: afterwardes he flained himfelfe with a feruile crime, conueying away a golden cup from Claudius boorde; whereupon the daye following Claudius made him alone of all his gueftes to bee ferued in earthen: notwithstanding being Proconfull of Gallia Narbonenis he governed the countrie with great feuerity and sincereneffe: anone by reaſon of credit with Galba being drawn to the place of dangerous downe-fall, hee was bolde, craftie, actiue, and as hee lifted to bende his minde, mischiefous or indiftruous in equall degree. The testament of Titus Vinius his wealtth made voide: Pifo, his pouertie ratified. Galbaes bodie long neglecd, and in the dark despitfully in treated, Argius his ftewarde, one of his principal bondmen, buried with small ceremonie in his private gardens. His heade by the followers and rafulles of the campe, mangled and flabbad was found the day after before Purtobius toome.
26 The I. book of the Historie

a freed-man of Nero, whom Galba had executed; and so was put with his body burned before. This ende had Seruius Galba, having liued 4 feventy three yeares, and oul-liued five Princes in great prosperity; happier under the Empire of others then in his owne: his house of ancient nobility, and great wealth: himselfe a man of a middle disposition, rather wise, then greatly vertuous; neither neglecting his fame, nor yet ambitiously carefull of it: of other mens money not greedy, sparing of his owne, of the common a niggard: bearing with his favorites and freedmen, without reprehension, when they were good; if they were bad, to his owne shame ignorant of their ill doings: but his honorable birth, and the dangerous times couered the matter, entitling that wise dome, which in truth was but sloth: in his flourish age greatly renowned for service in a Germanie: Africke he ruled as Proconsulf with great moderation: and growing in yeares, the rather Spaine wrightfully and well: feeming more than a private man, while he left was private, and by all mens opinions capable of the Empire, had he neuer beene Empourer.

1 The Aftrologers also: Mathematric. This vfe of the worde Mathematicus pro Apotelemaicco is vntil yKnown to the ancients; and to the Romans also, for once I remember, till the Emperour time. Before, they were called Chalizi, non ex artisti, non ex genti, vocabulo, saith Tully: then Mathematici (a name yndueto their occupation) or Planetari; and mathematici (for so in Dioces time they began to calibrate) and Magicians out of the same. Diocles. In Tiberius time, Faiia & de Mathematrici, magis, Italia pelletens factum, saith Ovid. And in Plutarch time, in P. Martinus Cofi. extra portam Eſquilinam, cum classium canere eius sent, more seruerum: Venerius diui, Haec Mathematici, Pupianus lib. 7, de officio Proconsuli, Praxear interdite: ef Mathematicorum callida imporben: nec bodie primum interdici ei placuit, sed vetust hanc prohibito eft, deni, extra factum, q. s. Pomponio & Rufe Cofi. factum, pro canonem, vs Mathematici in Chaldeis, ariolis & ceteris, quibus similem artem ficerent, aqua & igni interdictis, amming, bona eorum publicerem, and mone after, fepulcri deni, interditi eft ab omnibus principibus, ne quaemum hominum iniuriae irrompiere, yea the Princes came in, M. Papilius Lenaeus, On. Calpurnius Piso. Cornelius Epitomae. Praetor edifi Chaldeos in inurdo decem diem abierit ex urb Cups, Italia fuis: ferenis ingenios, falsus frumentum interpretatione que affuitam mundia sunt, calligenes incipientes: faecul Valerius lib. 6. Terullian in his book de habiti seu, and againe in lib. de Idolaetria, is of opinion, that the angels which fell from their first creation were of tours of Aftrology, and therefore excluded out of heaven, as their creatures out of Italy. Expellamur, feiath, Mathematici, suis an, si eorum, vor he Italia interdici Mathematicis, sicus calum angelis eorum, sedem pana eft exsog dipolipis & magnificis. All those lawes notwithstanding they renayed at Rome, faieth Tacitus, and that in as good credit as before, the better beleued, the often they peruted the Gayles. Invenia Septes. Inde fides ars etiam de descet distributing, Lanaev, fi longo califervor in careere transiet. Nemo Mathematicus genium indutaminatus habebis. And of Polemazes the name Iuenal. Præcipium tenerum ejf homum, qui fupers exist. Vsius amicitia confounding, tabella. Magnus ciuo abi & formidati Othoni, Sestonice & Obiene nameth him Selenus, by errors as it may seem; for Selenus was Vepfianas man. Nee erat insulius sibi superstitiones (Vepfianus) qui max vero dominus Seleum quemad Mathematicum voce & prefectus palam habebis. The lakes of Campania, and towns of Achaia. 1 The ancients and heift historiographers, taking their pleasur in explicacione confirmon, and faying orations, have left, vs sometimes rather an image of their owne wits, then of the times whereof they have written. The nature of which, in mine opinion, were better learned ex Alia urbibus, Alia fænatus, et fuch like, if any were extant, then by any ftorie we have. Not that I think a simple collection of memories of the like vfe in other respects, as a flor of witt written. Neither do I condemn that liberty of faying orations, which I fee granted them by Dionyfus Halicarnahas, and other good writers, for it be done with judgement and præ ad omnes, including no evident absurdity or contradiction. Thus dydes the fift, and as many think the best author of fuch fette speeches in stories, challenge expressly that right, etom, quos enim velut spectatuli collaterales familiare um, quos omnium, quos ad cœlum vocati, quos ad aemulatores. The lakes of Campania, and towns of Achaia. The ancients and heift historiographers, taking their pleasures in explicacione confirmon, and faying orations, have left vs sometimes rather an image of their owne wits, then of the times whereof they have written. The nature of which, in mine opinion, were better learned ex Alia urbibus, Alia fænatus, and fuch like, if any were extant, then by any ftorie we have. Not that I think a simple collection of memories of the like vfe in other respects, as a flor of witt written. Neither do I condemn that liberty of faying orations, which I fee granted them by Dionyfus Halicarnahas, and other good writers, for it be done with judgement and præ ad omnes, including no evident absurdity or contradiction. Thus dydes the fift, and as many think the best author of fuch fette speeches in stories, challenge expressly that right, etom, quos enim velut spectatuli collaterales familiare um, quos omnium, quos ad cœlum vocati, quos ad aemulatores.
OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

whom Odo had here to talk with were the Legionaries of Spain as they passed the mountains, who surely could not in possibility accompany Nero into Achaia. Hift. 4, in the oration of Vosula: Non adas turbas animi armis rem Romanam, et Tres etiam & Linguinibus debeat huius, Metam Diem Indi, Diog. Augusto nos esse animos. Gallienum, & infra tribus hostiis peritium inducit, Num hostiis, quae malis frustum, cum foedari, extinxi, furiosus, amicos se, & yet is plain by Taceius himself, and all other histories of that time, that Treuen, and Lingones, were of all the French the only which Galba etroitius edidit, & demone funum percurrit, feliciting the relief of their tru-}

and making them citizens. Vulcatus Gallicanus in the life of Audius Callius bringeth in M. Antoninus the philosopher profoundly differing the causes of the fall of certain Emperours, among other of Pertunax. 1

1. Enumerari deinde omnes principes qui usque effe manus habesset canes quibus meretur cessat, nec quinqueam facile bonum vel 2. Comitia de Provinciis & Galliis, in pressuram usurrium effe accipere, quum malum, whereas Pertin- 3. For Emperours, Tacite Auguſted; testuent, tediligimus, testeprentaminus & c.; Indis faur, in Lampridius after 4. In Flaulus Vopiſcus, to Tacitus verteberamus. 2, Joolaryvº 346. Tefeci ac. Ann. 3.4 dultero, earumm mortea aepiitin.; exilio,}

Famadediti Segeſis vulgataº quibuſquebeliumintitis, autcupientiºusera, 6; sivárgº # 37.09% & zoyl7taego. 5. Rowing grammar, as Dionyſushath done in Thucydides. 6. credulus in common Latin, & ſoitisvſedin this booke, ſignificth only quifacile credit, likewiſe, Nevulgilargisionecen.

b. But togiueataſtconceforallofTacitusgrammar, I will not chere three or four e places worthy the delituis i. ignorus, in another place, gnarumidceſari, fornatum, and, Tuegnara.º tellianisincompertaheſtluſ.i. Annal. 2. Framing acclamations at pleasure The formula of acclamations in Senate is to be scene in the later Ro- 3. Easily beleued: creduła feam Dionyſus note in Thucydidion among many other innovations in speech, that he commonly changed actius into paﬃnes, and paﬃnes into actues, το τοιαυτη πειραμεὶα παραφθηαι δο& creduła. In Taceius here we have creduła to signifie eu faciliter creduła paﬃne, whereas credulä in coion L, fiit, if it be vstd in this book,signifiehonly quifacile credit, likewiſe, Nr congiu largione cen. 2. Enumeraui adeindeownesprincipesquiottiſeſſenthabuiſſecauſa,quibusmererenturoccidi,necquenquamfacil:bonumvel1 M. Antonium. 3. Framing acclamations at pleasure The formula of acclamations in Senate is to be scene in the later Ro-
The I. Booke of the Historie

28

And so farre alfoe, saeth Mardoci

13 lib 23. quad.

And Aschewes ritu

14 suf confecratione

16 vs jexilia

17 permissus pri

18 cap.18.

ing great disorder. From this Arſace the Parthian kindome continued to Artabanus, who reigning in Alexander Nicator.

nºbºd figuaíois787:aſſºeuñati,"Jºe,de;dirtízzaoFogiće.Sta. Thatis, The Parthian, inhabiting beyond the river. Arſace, airari-of Tigris in cas[t[e], and holds, now of late they have some cities also, among others Cesphon, where the king place of resistance is.

23. After theucus founder of the Syriankindome.

34 hiºgºtie againetothecrown of Persia. Herodianus lib. 6. 7%logºſesor Vologeſia (for both ways we find it written the Greci

1.-Anhal.

29• Andſoli,

36 phatidišričiūgladjºincenturionesinuadunt,eavetuſiiffmamilitaribusodjºmateries,&ſeuiendiprincipium,profiratºr

37 tranſlatº. And in theſeſemeſs were adeitin Tacit. 1. Annal. cumſcfideimperatoreraptiinterſqna,interque

38 rum, for the common ſoldier by theſtriáncſeofancientdiſciplinewastied and bound to manyſcruileniſtcs

40 vacationes in this place, & in another, is as much as pretia vacatiōnum munera, for the common foldier by the freethrift of ancient discipline was tied and bound to manyſcruileniſtcs in the camp, by Tacitus called munera, asis aſſaid formerly, and by Vegetius munia, astobring in wood, ſtraw, meanes, redce

42 verberibus multantſexagenia singulos,vinumerum centurionum adequarent.Tum conuuſo,ſaniatoſque & partim exanimos,ante vallum, aut in amnum Rhenum projcunt.Now the wealthy ſouldier, and thoſe which

47 verberibus multant‐sexagenia singulos, vicenum centurionum adequarent. Tum conuuo, ſanatoque & partim exanimos, ante vallum, aut in amnum Rhenum projcunt. Now the wealthy ſouldier, and thoſe which had means, redeemed and bought out for money this ſenecia for the benefit of the Centurions handes. So theſouldiers in the camp, by theſtriáncſe of ancient discipline was tied and bound to many ſcruileniſtcs. But after the diuſion of the Empire made by Augustus in publicas, & principis provinciae, the words were no more indifferently vſed, as Fiuſm being appropriate to the Princes treaure, and Armenia the publicke, a difference notwithstanding more of names then ofſubſtance.

52 aďro Júrat, ἀναθήματα δὲ καὶ τιμία καταλληλοικα, ἐναι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπίστασις ὑπερ ταύτης τῆς ἱλαρούσης τοῦ Αἴολου. Διολ. 53. That is, in name the publicke treaure was seuered from Augustus excheque, but in truth that also was spent at his diſposition.

53 Being a freemandman. ] Ingemni were commonly murdred priuily: fœnic, or libertini generis publicly executed. Such also was Ataſcius end, that caried the credit with Vitellius, as fone as Vepafian came in. Tacit. 4. Hist. Aſconius, vs liberum malam parentem servitii futilia expiatio completias.

56 The City-Prætore calleth the Senaſe. ] For both the Comils were blame, in which case or otherwise in their absence the vacant honora belonged to the Prætor urbanus. Cicil. lib. ad familiares 10. Postul poſſi inſũs malis. Dedit enim cas litteras legendae diri, quas illis inveni, et eaque publice. Vepafianus non inſũs ad Germanorum prætorum urbibus
...as "Imperiumproconsulare," i.e., relationship to himself being not Consul, and that of being above all law, which is the prerogative of the Consul. As Tacitus

In the first place, I must say that the nature of the Consular Council was such that it could not be regarded as an equal authority with the people. The Consular Council, as a body, was not a court of justice, but merely the deliberative body of the Senate. It was composed of the "tribunes," who were acting in their capacity as delegates of the people, and as such were invested with the power to make laws. The "tribunes" were the only officials who were personally invested with the power to make laws, and the power to make laws was the most important of all the powers of the Roman state.

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THE I. BOOK OF THE HISTORIE

THE issue of the two parties was the first, on which the natural condition of Otho was uncertain, and yet it existed not in all circumstances, as here may be seen, nor of all common causes: Ptolemy once conductus incurravisse, si Caesar victor esset, Caesar victor esse non potest, si Ptolemy victor esset, simile est voluntate, si Caesar victor esset, non potest voluntatem Caesaris movere, si Ptolemy victor esset.

Of his principal bondmen: primus Caesar stood firm, and he stood firm, and the Senate granted Augustus power to propose any one thing which himself fulfilled every Senate, though he was not as then Chief. Likewise that he should have Proconsular authority once for all, so that he should not need either to deposit it when he entered the Pomerium, nor again to assume it. Befide that in all other places subject to the Empire his power and authority should be above and superior to all the particular magistrates there. The Conful apul Philippi in Proba, having made relation to the Senate of Probus letters elected Emperor by the founder, Decernit igis, ipsius, P.C. voto omnium conscientiam ( Aurelio Probo) nomine Caesarem, ponebant Augustum, alio Proconsulari imperio, Parisi patriae remunerem, Peninsulam maximum, in terri relatione, Tribunisim posset statuere, Pauli acclamatione ut omnes, Deum et VESPASIANUS.

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VIII. After the death of Galba, the news growing hoater of Vitellius and the German revolt, how the Civitie ftoode affected betweene him and Otho.

The citie thus terrified, and hauing in horror both the haynousnesse of the late fact, and the olde conditions of Otho, was put in a further fear, by the newes of Vitellius revolte, which were in Galbaes time supprest, that men should beleue no more that had rebelled, faue the armie of vpper Germanie alone. But then seeing two of all mortall men the most detestable creatures, in flouthulnesse, incontinencie, and wastfull life, fatally elect, as it were, to ruine the Empire, not only the Senatours and Gentlemen, who had some part and care of the state, but the commons also openly began to waile and lament. Their talke was no more of the fresh and bleeding examples of the late murdering peace: but of ciuill wares recorded in ancient story, of the citie so oft surprized by her owne citizens, Italy wafted, the provinces spoiled; of Pharfaia, Philippi, Perusia, Mutina, famous names of common calamities. The worlde was subuereted almost, euен when good men fstoore for the state: notwithstanding there remained when Caius Iulius, there remained when Caesar Augustus was conquerour, the forme of an Empire. If Pompey had preuailed, if Brutus, the popular state would haue ftoode: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius shoulde they goe to the temples! that both prayers were impious alike, both voles alike detestable, betweenetwo, in the warre of whom this alone you might know, that he which should win, wouldbe worse then before. Some secretly wished Vespasian with the EASTERne armies, and as he was more like then either of the other, so did they greatly mislike to multiply wares and calamities: and againe Vespasian was not altogether without exception; the 3 onely Prince before his time, which changed to the better.

Two of all mortall men the most] Otho and Vitellius are here compared as like, in opposition both to a good Prince: H卤t.as unlike, with notes of distinction, opposed the one to the other. Vitellius igname voluptate: Osuam ignarissime libidinem. Vitellius venere e-gulio spopophote: Otho inusu, secundid, modestid rejips, existitos daccherouer. Of the one fide an ill mine in a man of nothing, of the other an ill mine joined with courage and edge.

If Pompey had preuailed, if Brutus the popular state would haue ftoode] Of Brutus I cannot call it in question carying that honoureable minde which no doubt he did to the libertie of his countrie: but fiercely for Pompey I cannot affirme it:his doings affirme rather the contrary, and Tacitus himselfe teacheth vs otherwisse. H卤t. Most is dicebas laudis, C. Marius, et nobilissimi satyraeem I. Sallia, veliam armis libertatem in dominamentum vertere, Dei quos Cn. Pompeius victor acceperat. Salutat apud Sueton. De claris grammaticis. Pompeium o o probi, animo, immenso, Appianus 3. E. pag. related of a word that escaped Pompey, a man not well to difsemble that way, a little before the batelle at Pharfaia. De)i ois & ceteris melius, in melius, in melius, in melius, in melius, in melius, in melius, in melius.
he set his men in array at the battle of Pharsalia, to whom about him let fall some words, whereby it was discovered that himselfs if the victory had gone on his side would still have retained the monarchy. This day, quoth he, whether seven of us two shall win, will be the beginning of great calamity; for ever to the Roman estate. Of the same opinion is Tully also in his letters ad Atticum, whole judgemen, as of a man of affairs, and in rebus praetentia we may infly account above all exception, lib.3. epist. 1. Numeri nosce et ille, qui nos beatum sit, quique regnare vult. De Pompeio & Caio, lib. 9. ep. 6. Mirandum in modum Cneum nofer Sullani regni undisimum conscius, ut igitur omnes, sed igitur ut omnes. That is, I tell you this upon mine own knowledge, lib. 7. S. Ex victoribus sum multa mala, sum certa tyrannica exiles. The only Prince before his time which changed: For after him Titus his sonne changed also the same way. Suetonius Titus cap. 1. Titi amoe adexitia generis humani: tantum illi ad prorsus omnia vultatem vel ingravior, vel aris vel fortes superficiis: (quod difficillimum est) in imperio, quando primatum, utque eum sub patria princeps, ut quo quidem, neminem vincisse seipsum publice conatus.

IX. The revolts of the armies of both Germanies, and rising of Vitellius.

NOW will I set downe the beginning and causes of Vitellius commotion. After that Iulius Vindex with all his hoft was slaine, the army growing insolent with spoile and glory, as having obtained, without paine and danger, a moft rich conquest, lovd much better exploites and fighting, * rewards and bootes, then ordinary pay, they had pafted before a long, fruitful, and hard fatire there, partly through the * qualitie of the foyle, and climate, and partly through the straitness of discipline, which in time of peace being rigorously obferved, by ciuill warres, is vterly disfollued; corrupters being ready at hande on both sides, and fugitives scaping as then without punishment. Men, armour, horses they had sufficient for vfe, and ornament too: but before the * warre they had no further acquaintance together, but with the men of their owne troupe, and companies: the armies lay feuered in feeral provinces, then against Vindex the Legions being assembled in one, and hauing prooued themselues and the forces of Gallia, sought now a freth occasion of warres, and new troubles, not terming * them as they were wont friends and allies, but enemies and conquered perfons. The tract of Gallia, which lyes vpon Rhene, hauing followed before the soouldiers side, auanced themselues then with the foremost to inquitige the armies againft the Galbi ans: for so now they called them, dislayning the name of Vindex as stale. Thus being incendied againft the Sequani and Hedui, and so further, as the towns were in wealth, they conceived in hope lacking of citties, wafting of countries, rifting of houses, irritated next after couetoufies and presumptioun, principal vices of them which are stronger, by the peruerfenesse of them of Gallia foolishly bragging, that Galba had released a fourth part of their tribute, & generally made them citizens of Rome in deffe of the army. Moreover it was givn out craftily, and rashly beleued, * that in the Legions euery tenth man was allotted to die, and the ablest men of the Centurions shoule be caffed: from every quarter hainous rumours, finifter reports from Rome, the colony of Lions discontented, and as it were a nurcery of tales by reason of their constant affection to Nero: but greatest matter to forre out a lye, and win it credite, the camp, it selfe did yeeld vpon hatred, fear, security also, when they had measur'd their own ability. Aulus Vitellius entering the yeare before about the first of December into lower Germany, with great care and diligence had visited and surveyed the standing camps of the Legions: many he restored to their roomes, to their fame, and honor, most part to win favour, and some upon judgement, vndoining that with integritie, which Fonteus Capito vpon briberie and lucre had done displacing, or placing for money in degrees of tertius: neither were his doings accepted after the measure of an ordinary Lieutenant generall, but in a far higher degree. And as among the feuere fort Vitellius was thought base and demisse, to his favourers termed it curtesie
and goodness, because without measure or judgement he gave out his own, last out other mens', constituing vices for vertues * upon an extreme desire of the Empire. Many in both armies there were, as modest and quiet men, so likewise bad and valiant; by name among other Alienus Caecina and Fabius Valens 4 Lieutenants of Legions, in appetites immoderate, and singularly rash, Valens offended with Galba, as being not recompensed according to his deserts for discovering Verginius doubtfull proceeding, and the oppressing of Capitoes conspiracy, ceased not to urge and incite Vitellius; laying open before him the foildiers feruent good will; the honorable report that went every where of his doings: as for Hordeonius Flaccus that seely man could hinder but little, that Brittany would joine, the German Aides follow him, that the provinces were not afured; in fine that the old man was Emperor of curtesie and quickly would lose it; let Vitellius onely but open his boosome, make towards, and receive in good fortune, as she offred her selfe: that Verginius indeed had good cause to be doubtfull, being onely of a Gentlemans house, his father hauing not borne office; the place was above his capacity, if he had undertaken it, and then refusing it, he was out of danger: that contrariwise Vitellius father had bene thieve Confull, Censor, * collegue with the Emperour: that these qualities in the father tooke long age from the son the securitie of a priuat perfon, and put upon him the dignitie of a Prince. His dull spirits were sooned with these speeches rather to desire then to hope. But in upper Germanie Caecina a comely young man, of bodie big, and minde in satiable, quick of speech, of gate stately, had maruellously won the good will of the foildier. This young man Galba promoted to gouern a legion, for that being Quæstor in Bætica, he came without stay to his side: by and by being convinced to haue dealt falsely with the common treasure, hee was by Galbaes commandement eniated of purloyning: Caecina taking heavily the disgrace, determined to trouble the state, and with the calamities of the common wealth to couer and close vp his owne priuate wounds. Neither in the army wanted there seeds of sedition: for they all had beene present in field against Vindex, and could not be brought to sweare unto Galba, before they did know that Nero was slaine; and were also in taking the other present by the ensignes of low Germanie, against the Treueri, Lingones, and those other citie, which Galba had pinched with heauy edicts, or with losse of territorie, lay neare to the standing camps of the Legions: whereupon grew seditious conferences, and the foildier by correseration with the 4 countrey-man more corrupted, and by * reason of the good will borne to Verginius to be employed for any other man. The Lingones according to their accustomed manner had sent gifts to the Legions 5 Right-hands in token of mutuell lorne and hospitality, their messengers purposely with fad cheere and heauy countenance in the Principia, in the foildiers cabins, lament and bewaile, somtime the wrong done to themselues, somtime the honour done to their neighbours, and perceiving their talke had so ready an audience, they passed on further, incensing their minds, and bewaying the hard hap even of the armie it selfe, their dangers, and contumelies. The matter thus growing toward a sedition, Hordeonius Flaccus commandeth the messengers to get them away; and that their departure might be the more secret, he commandeth them to avoid the campe in the night seacon. Thereupon a fulpition and grievous tumour arose, the most part affirming they were made away: and that without doubt, vnleffe they provide for themselues the more surely, it would come to passe that those of the foildiers which were of most courage, and most misliked the present estate, should likewise by night, vnawares to the rest, be secretly murdered. Vpon this the Legions priuily comphire, and covenant together:
other: the Ayde-soldier was made also of the party, whom at first they suspected, as
though with his cohortes and wings environing them he meant them a mischief; but
alone he appeared more earnest then any, as the bad agree better to broach a
new warre, than in peace to keepe concord one with another. Notwithstanding
the Legions of lower Germany, the first day of Ianuarie, sware their solemn alle-
ance to Galba, with much adoe, and flow comming forward: some few in the first
ranckes yeyldeing a weake applause; the rest standing mute, ech looking his neigh-
bour should dare, as it is the nature of men, to follow with speed that, which they
are otherwise of themselves loath to begin: but even the Legions were diuely
minded, the first and the rest rebelliously affected, so that some cast stones at
Galbaes images: the fifteenth and sixteenth murmuring and threatening, and daring
no further, stood waiting for others to shew them the way. In the higher armie,
the fourth Legion and the eighteenth, winterring both in one place, the very first
day of January brake the images of Galba in pieces; the fourth very resolutely, the
eighteenth after some little stay, anone by common consent: and left they might
seeme to have shaken off the obedience of the Empire, they sware To the Senate
and people of Rome, a stile long ago ouerworne; no Lieutenant, no Tribune labou-
ring for Galba, yea some, as in tumults it happeneth, troubling more: neuertheless
no man presumed to make any solemn oration affenbly-wise, or out of Tribunall,
for as yet they had none to betowe their benefit vpon. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieu-
tenant generall stood by and lookt on, while this pageant was playing, not daring
neither to restraine the rebellious, nor stay the doubtfull, nor encourage the good; a
timorous slугe, and innocent, as being a coward. Fower Centurions of the eigh-
teenth Legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valent, Romilius Marcellus, and Cal-
purnius Repentinus, endoouring to faue and protect the images of Galba, with the
fouldiers violence were carried away, bound and layered vp: neuertheless
any more in any of them all any faike of faith, or allegiance, no memorie of the
other before gien; but as in fieditions it happeneth, as the most part went, so did
they all go. The same day at night the Standard-bearer of the fourth Legion
brough word to Vitellius, as he sat at banquet in Coleyne, that the fourth and eigh-
teenth Legion had brake downe the images of Galba, and sware to the Senate
and people of Rome. That othe seemed frivolous and voide: wherefore it was
thought good to use the opportunitie, and proffer them a Prince. Therupon
Vitellius dippatcheth in poff to the Legions, and Lieutenants of his owne arme,
advertissing them that the higher arme was revoluted from Galba: wherefore either
fight they must against the revolters, or if they liked better of peace, and concorde,
set vp an Empourer: and with leffe danger they might take a Prince, then seke one.
The first Legion lay nearest, and Fabius Valens Lieutenant, of all the rest the for-
wardest man: who, the very day after, with the horse-men of his Legion, and of the
Aydes, enteringe Coleyn: and solemnly salue Vitellius Empourer. The rest of the
Legions of the fame province, those who shoult be formost to follow the example:
and the higher army, laying aside the glorious titles, and goodly to theyv, of the
Senat and people of Rome, the third of January roundly come out to Vitellius side:
a man might eafily perceive that the other two daies they ment nothing lesse, then
a free common wealth. They of Coleyn, the Treueri, and Lingones, were not infe-
rior to the fouldiers in forwardneffe, offering aydes, horses, armoure, money, as they
were able in body, wealth, or wit, and not onely the 7 principall men of the colonies
and camps, which presently had wealth at wil, and upon the victory hopet for great
matters; but also the bands and common fouldier, vpon an instinct and heat of

D 2 affection,
affection, and conetous humor, gave vp their money, and in freede of money their belts, their trappings, the sliver trimming of their harnish. Vitellius hauing greatly commended their cheerful willingnes, committeth the offices of court, commonly supplied by freedmen, to Gentlemen of Rome; and paies the vacations to the Centurions out of his cofters. The fouldiers cruelty demanding many to death he doth oft condescend vnto: sometimes he deceuies them with shew of imprisoning. Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator of Belgica, was straighting put to death: Iulius Burdo admiral of the German nauy he faied by sleight, the whole army was incensed against him, as first an eniter of Fonteius Capito to rebell, & then a great helper to make him away: wel beloved was Capito, & gladly remembred; and in that raging and bloudthirstie company a man might openly kill whom he list, marie pardon or faue but by policy he could not: so Burdo was prentely had into prision, and after the victory, the fouldiers malice being appeas'd, enlarged againe. In the meantime Cruflinus the Centurion was yeelded vnto them, as an expiatory sacrifice, who had embrued his hands with Capitoes bloud, and therefore more in the eye of the felder, and of leefe account with Vitellius. Next after was Iulius Cutilus, a man of great might, and credit among the Batauians, deliered from danger; left by his death that fierce nation should become foes. Moreover in the state of the Lingones there lay 9 of Batauians eight cohorts, the aides of the fourteenth Legio, but then by means of the troublefone times they were departed away, of no small moment to sway the whole cause as they hapned to favor the one or the other. The four Centurions before mentioned, Nonius, Donatius, Romilius and Calpurnius, Vitellius commanded to be executed, being attainted of truth; a most hainous crime among rebels. Then came to the fide Valerius Asiaticus Lieutenant of Belgica, to whom anone after Vitellius maried his daughter; and Iunius Bloeus Gouernour of Gallia Lugdunensis with the Italian Legion, and Taurin wing encamped at Lions. The Rhetian fouldier without any fray joined himselfe. In Britainie also the matter went eleete. Trebellius Maximus was Lieutenant general there, contemned and hated of the army for his niggardly sparing and pollong; and Roscius Coelius Lieutenant of the twentieth legion inflamed them further against him, his ancient enemy, but now by occasion of civil diffensions they were fallen out further, and brake into more hainous terms: Trebellius objecting to Coelius, and charging him with factious behauiour, and disoluing of discipline: Coelius againe that Trebellius had spoiled and beggered the legions: but in the meantime, the Lieutenants thus iraing, the modety of the army was marred; the discord at length growing so great, that Trebellius being railed away by the Aydes also, in cohorts and wings forting themselves to Coelius side, was glad to giue place being forsaken, and fle to Vitellius. The province although the Lieutenant general was absent, remained in quiet, the Lieutenants of the Legions supplying the charge, in right of equall authority; but Coelius indeed bate the most stroke, because he was of most boldnesse. Now that the Brittfih hoft was adioyned, Vitellius growing strong in men and money, ordaines for the warre two fundry Generals, and two fundry waies for the Generals to paffe. Fabius Valens was willed to allure by faire meanes, or if they refused, to waft and destroie the countreyes of Gallia, and so by the Cottian Alpes to enter by force into Italie. Cæcina was commanded a shorter passage, by the Penine Alpes to make his descent. Valens had vnder his conduct the choie men of the lower army, and the fift Legion with cohorts and wings, forty thousand armed men. Out of higher Germany Cæcina led thirty thousand, the flower and strength whereof confisted in the one and twentieth Legion. Moreover they
they had both affixed unto them * Aides of the Germans; out of whom Vitellius, who was to follow with the maine weight of the warre, furnished up his army also. Strange was the difference betwixt the army and their Emperour, the soldier was infant, demanding arms whilelth they of Gallia stood in a feare, whilst Spaine in a doubt: as for the winter, that was not let, nor fuch like excusses receivable, only in idle and peaceable times: that Italy must out of hand be invaded, the city surprized; that nought is more safe then speede in ciuill diffusion, where dispatch is more needfull then long consultation: on the other side, Vitellius, a man of nothing, playing the Prince before hand in rioting and prodigall banquets, drunk at nooneday, and heavy with furfet; but the soldiers forwards ands ferenly fully supplied the valiant or daftard. When all was in order ready to march, they call to found the remoue, increasing Vitellius stile with the name of Germanicus: for Caesar, even after the victory, * he refused to be called.

* The army growing infolent, &c. Cæfoum omnibus copis (vulnus) fevra praedæ, glor. 29, exercitus.) Exercise ex vispia arg. opere exercij nomen accipit. Vegetus lib. 2. cap. 1. and it is feemeth that Tacitus here doeth in some fort appropriate the name to the Roman trained fouldier, learning the waye and vnrained of Vindex, copis, which word nowithstanding is common to both fortis. 1.Hift. Argypum, copia quam coerenter, meaning the two Legions remaining there. Befide this v/o copis hath also in Tacitus another fignification for provision, or vittailes. 5.Hift. Vici per tandem, et numis co[mmissis], copis, cæsarica, cæsarica, againe, & locis iphis cæsares placet, las, projfectam, tace copiarmas egiuns, cæsareis non egiuns munie. 4.Hift. Nihil est exercitium mutura, quod egius copiarum saepe habeat, and so it is taken in this booke, Prasian & prasianis copiis inuere militiam.

* That in the Legions every tenth man was allotted to die. In ancient time if some great part of the armie had loft their eneigues, thrown away their weapons, and run cowardly out of the field, the maner was for the Generall to put all the Standard-bearers, Centurions &c. to death, and of the common fort every tenth man. The The example is in Livy lib. 1. of Appius Claudius in the Volcain ware, in Dio, of Auguflus and Antone lib. 49, and in Tacitus of L. Apronium Poculifer, when ancient discipline was wchly expired. Annal. 3. The maner is in Polybios lib. 6. "in parte cuncta, & sors singulaque his ordinariae legiones, etiam ex eis, & apertrius equestrem aequo, & simul obsecro, & simul molestia, & simul occasio, & simul ratio absoluta, & insa ex cunctaque parte, & simul ex omnibus, etiam ex omni occipite."

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Germany had given shrewd signes of small good liking of Galba. 

The principal men of the colonies] Principes coloniarum, be the Decuriones, Principes castrorum, whom Vegetius lib. 1. calleth allo milites principales, & Tacitus 3. Hist. primores castrorum, are the Aquiliferi, Signiferi, Opiioni, &c., whome privilegium ministrum. Where as the rest, the common soldiers are called Manentes, quod Minimis facto censuram.

Now that the Britliſh hoſts were adjoynd if it be true that Trebellius deseritus (amilitibus) ad Vitellium perfuit, it is but true that Paulinus alledgeath. Hist. Britannicum militium lofere ac mari dislinere, which Tacitus himself writeth. In Britannico exercitu nihil irritum, Non sunt aliæ lexiones, per omnes civilium belliorem morem immonendum; egerunt, how can it be true that here is facted, Adujuste Britannicum exercuit, and in another place: Vitellium est Britannicum dilectissima milling jubi admissus?

X. How Fabius Valens guided his charge of forty thousand fighting men from Coelym to the Cottian Alpes.
ers so shoutèd for ioy, and the bird passèd on without feare so assuredly; that it was reputed an undoubted token of great and prosperous successse. The state of Trier, as friends, they passèd thorow with all securitie. At Dioudorum a towne of the Mediomarci, although they were with all kind of curtesy receiued, a sodain seare came upon them, and the alarme was givèn to sackle the poore innocent citie, not for the pray, or defire of spoile, but upon a fury, and rage, and cauSES not known, and therefore the remedies harder to finde; till at length, being pacified by Valens entreatying, they held their hands from razing the citie: notwithstanding about foure thousand men were flaine. This accident strooke such a terror into them of Gallia, that alwaies after, as the camp was a comming, whole citiies with their officers and humble supplications went out for to meet them, with women and children downe on their knees along the way side; and generally all meanes by the which men affwage their enemies anger, though warre they had none, yet then were they forced to purchase their peace. Valens in the citie of the Leuci receiued the newes, that Galba was flaine, and Otho in place: the foullidier was neither gladder, nor sadder having nothing but warre in his minde: the French thereby were resoluted; Otho and Vitellius they hated alike, and Vitellius they feared at side. The next citie, was that of the Lingones, fire to the side: being intertained there curteously, they requirèd it with modest behaviour: but the joy lastèd not long through the disorder of those cohorts, which being departed, as before I haue sayd, from the fourteenth legion, Fabius Valens had joined to his army. hard woords grew at the first, then quarrelling betweene the Batauians, and Legionaries: and as the rest of the foullidiers futed on sides, it had welny come to a hoat fray, but had not Valens in time, by punishing a fewe, reclaimed the Batauians, who had now forgotten their duty. Against the Hedui was fought, but in vaine, some occasion of warre: being willed to bring in both money and armour, they brought also vitæales for nothing. That which the Hedui did upon seare, the fame did the Lugdunenses for ioy, nevertheless the Italian Legion and Taurin wing were taken away. The eighteenth cohort it was thought convenient to leaue there at Lions in the accustomed standing campe. Manlius Valens Lieutenant of the Italian Legion, although he had well defuered of the side, was not in any credit with Vitellius: Fabius by secret sinister reports had defaced him unwitting, in outward speech commendying him, that he might be at more vnawares circummunicated. The ancient harte-burning betweene them of Lions, and them of Vienna, was by the late warre freshely reuived; much hurt was done on both sides, so often and in so cruel a fort, that a man might easily fee, they fought not alone for Nero and Galba: and Galba by occasion of displeasure had confiscatèd the reueneuws of the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Vienna: whereupon grew emulation and envy, and inspurable hatred betweene them, whom one ruer separatèd. Vpon these cauSES, the Lugdunenses incited the soldiersfeuerally to the subduction of the Viennenses; thewing vnto them how they had besieged Lions, furtured Vindex attempts, muttered of late Legions for Galba: and having fo placed in the first the seares whytsly they were to be hated; then they suggeﬆed to the foullidiers minde, what a rich and welthy pray they might get: and fo from secret exhorting proceeding to publicke requests, they besought them to go and revenge so many wrongs, to raze the seate-townse of the French warre: that there was nothing els but straugers and enemies: contrariwise themselves a Roman colony, and part of the army, their companions in welth and in wo: and if fortune shoulde chaunce to diffauour, they prayed not to leave, and abandon their friends, to the mercy of their mortall and merciless enemies. With thei
The I. Booke of the Historie

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these speeches and many such like they had wrought and incensed the soldiery so, that even the Lieutenants, and Captaines of the fide did scantily think it a possible matter to quench their cholers: when they of Vienna in very good season, foreseeing their danger, with 3 sacred veles and infules afores, as the army marched, embracing their armor, their knees, their feete, mollified the soldiers minds: beside, Valens bestowed upon them 6 three hundredst fterces a man. Then was the antiquity and dignity of the colony respected: then were the words of Fabius, commending into them the liues, and welfare of the Vienennes, patiently heard: being fined notwithstanding to forfait their publicke munition, each man according to his ability with private prouision helped the soldiery. But the report went constantly that Fabius favor was bought with a large summe of money: the man, a great while needy and poore, becoming now rich on the fodaine, cloaked not well the change of his fortune; exercising eexcessfully the lufts and desires which long povery had kindled: and of a beggarly young man a prodigall old. Afterward the army marched on slowly thorow the territory of the Allobroges, and the Vocontij, the Generall setting to fale the length of his iournies, and places of lodging; bargaining flamelessly with the owners of the grounds, and magiftrates of the cities, and in such threatening manner, that he offered to set 4 Lucus, a free towne of the Vocontij, on fire, till he was appeased with money: where matter of money was wanting, there payment was made with women and such like pleasures. And so at the last they came to the Alpes.

A lucky signe Many of the Latin stories (for to them and their disciples this vertue is peculiar) account it, I think, a capital crime to set downe any notable invention in facts, without many prodigious portenta, miraculous omnia &c. inditing the change, and of them being counterfaied, and couened to be true, exsafe, many happening commonly, and remembred only when any notable event did enue. In the second booke, at Othoest death, we haue another tale much of this making, or somewhat worse, with a preface to give it some credit. As for our eagle here she was surely either a notorious coferner, or els notoriously ignorant of what would befell, thus to give enem hand doubium of great proprertie, which in effect dured but a moment.

Nothing els but strangers and enimies: contrariwise themefellvs a Roman colony: And fo was Vienna too. The Emperour Claudius in a speech in Senate which yet is extant at Lions grauen in braffe:  "OR NAT issrma EC CE CO Lo N IA v A L E N T 1s s IMA Qy E VIEN N E N S Iv M ..Qy A M Lo N Go IAM re M P or E Hvic cy RIAE seN AT or Es co NF ERT & And Tacitus himſelfe almoſt in the next ſentence, Tum ve mula viſu, dignitasque coloniae velatis, speaking of Vienna, fo that both being colonies, and both externall alike, this rhetoricke of his was here out of ſeaſon.

Sacred veles, and infules:  "Vlamenta & infules" Yelemta & infules fignes of submission and humble demanding of mercy. 3.Hiſt. Antonius Primus vehemently assaulting Cremona, primores velamenta & infules pro moribus ſerientur. And Coriolanus wafting the Roman country, sacerdotes ſuis inſigne velato,  iſ ſupplices ad castra batiſsimum tradidit et.  Faient b Lunt, and the fame Lunt lib. 30. Hand procul abarat (Carthaginis portu Scipio) con ve late infules ramifie in des Carthaginensium occursit nauis. Now inſule Faient Varro and Furtis, were cerenae velamenta lanæ, quibus facerdotes & batiſte, timeplæ velabatur, so that by their declaration there shoulde feeme to be no great difference between velamenta and infules.

4. Lucus, a free towne:  "Municipium id Poonctorum et" Municipium and Colonia though vied indifferently in many good autours, yet indeed, and in preefciendie of speech cary feluerall fens, and so doth Tacitus. 2. Hiſt. put them as diuers. Differunt per municipia & collonias Vitellianis. The difference is that municipia in ciuitatem existinſum affinimmur, and coloniae in ciuitate educuntur. Gellius 4 lib. 16.ex narratione D. Hadriani di Italianis, diftinguiber the them in this manner. Municipia sunt cina Romani ex municipis, iso lae & fui legum vietes: munera tenent cum P. R. ha, novam patribus, 1. quod numero cepellen appellati videtur, multa alia neceditiſsimas, neque villa P. R. lege aſfiri, quomunque P. R. erum fiantu fællis effe. Colonia rum alia neceditiſsimo et; non enim vienatos eſt in ciuitatem, nec fuis radicibus eſunt, fed ex ciuitate qua di propagata sunt, & in ea inſigne omnibus P. R. non fui arbitrio habent. Now that Lucus was indeed municipium, according to the exquisite vie of the worde, may appeare by Pliny lib. 3. cap. 4. Poonctorum ciuitas fester e duo capita, Vafe & Lucus Augufti.

XI. The journey of Caecina from Coleyn with thirty thousand men throv the Penne Alpes into Italie.

Caecina gained more spoile, and fhed more bloud. The Heluetians (a people of Gallia anciently in name for warlike men, and after for the memory of their renowne) having not heard of Galbaes death, and refusing to be
be at Vitellius devotion, had exasperated his froward and troublesome disposition. The warre was commenced through the rauminzg and haftiness of the one and twentieth Legion; who by force took away certain money, which the Helueticans had lent to the pay of a garrifon, in a castle anciently kept with their owne men, and at their owne costs. The Helueticans being highly displeased at the fact, intercepted letters sent from the army of Germany to the Legions of Pannonia, committing a Centurion, and certain soldiers to warde. Caecina deisirous of warre, and ready to reuenge faults as they fell, without giving time of repentance, removed his camp hastily forward, warthed the country, and sacketh a place well peopled, by reason of the pleazant and holesome bathes, and through long peace beautified with buildings in forme of a free towne: word also was sent to the Rhoetian Aides to affaile the Heluetians backs, as they made head to the Legions. The Helueticans fierce before danger, in danger fearfull, though at the first tumult they had chosen a captaine Claudius Suerus, yet will not at all how to handle their weapons, to keepe their array: they had no common counsaille amongst them to direct their doings all to one end: toventure the bataille against the old experimented soldierr would be their ruine: to try the siege seemed unsafe, their walls being decayed, and fallen for age: on the one fide was Caecina with a puissant army; on the other the wings and cohorts of Rhoetia, and the Rhoetian youth practised in armes, and trained vp soldier-like. on every side there was burning and killing: in the midst the Helueticans stragling, flinging weapons away, and for the most part wounded or wandering in diiafray fled to the mount Vocetius; and being straightwaye by a cohort of Thracians beaten downe from their holde, and chaced by the Germanes and Rhoetians, they were in the woods and couerds put to the sword: many thousands of men were slaine, * many solde to be flaines. And as the army, hauing spoyley of the countrie marched toward Auenticum head-cittie of the nation in battell array, messengers were sent to yeeld vp the citty: which being accepted, Iulius Alpinus a principal man was by Caecinaes sentence adjudged to die, as one which had rayfed the trouble: the reft he referred to Vitellius to pardon, or punish as pleased him best. Whereupon the Helueticans send Embassadors thither: it is hard to say whether of both they found, Emperour or armie, harder to be appeased: the soldiery require the towne to be razed, they bend their weapons and fists against the Embassadors faces; and Vitellius for his part spareth no threats, nor speeches, till Claudius Costius one of the Embassage, a famous orator, but cunningly cloaking his arte with an apt kinde offære, and so much the more of force to perswade, appeated the soldiery furious wrath:* as usually the common fort is sodainly changeable, and within a moment as prone to pity, as it was before excessively cruel: with shedding of teares, and importunit begging a better answere, they obtained at length that their city should be faued and pardoned. Caecina hauing staied a few daies in Heluetia of purpoze to heare how Vitellius resolued, and withall preparing to passe the Alpes, received from Italie a joyfull message; that the Syllan wing which lay about Po had sworne to Vitellius. They had ferrued in Africk vnder Vitellius being Proconsul, and afterward being removed from thence by Nerces appointment to passe into AEgypt, and staied vpon the troubles of Vindex, and so remaining in Italie,they went to the side, perswaded thereto by the Decurions, who being beholding to Vitellius, and vterly vnacquainted with Otho, extolled the strength of the Legions comming, the fame and renowne of the German armie; and as a pretent for a new Prince, they brought ouer to his side the strongest freetowannes beyond the Po, Milan, Nouara, Eporedia and Vercelles. That aducrtif-
ment Cecina received by their means: and because the garrison of one only wing seemed not sufficient to keep & defend the largest country of Italie, he sent beforehand certain cohorts of Frenchmen, Portuguese, and Britians with the German eneignes, and Petrin wings, himselfe pausing awhile; and standing in doubt; whether he should turne aside into Noricum by the Rhetician mountaines, against Petronius the Procurator, who had raised the country, and broken the bridges in Othoes behalfe: but fearing to lose the Aides he had sent; and counting it more reputation to retaine Italie; and that Noricum, wherofsoever the matter should chance to be tried, would follow, and increase the conquerours heape; he conducted ouer by the way of the Penine mountaines, thowt the winter snowes, his heauy Legionary soldier.

1 Petrin wing] our printed bookes haue in Alpe Graia, corruptlyno quesion. for Alpes Graie are the passage out of Saudy into Italy, as I thinke, by mount Senis, or S. Bernardo minor; the direct way from Lions to Milan. Out of Sufferland, where Cecina was, bee the Penine by mount S. Bernardo maior. The Cottiae are out of Dauphiney into Italy by mount Geneura. In the Vatican copy of Tacitus it is, cum alae taurina, which with little mutation of letters, and more probability of circumstance, we may rather imagine should have been, cum alae Petrina, then cum alae Taurina, which passeth the other way with Valens: and Taurius himselfe 4. Hiſt. maketh mention of one Claudius Sagitta which was Vitellianus, and Prefcitus alae Penine.

2 His hautie Legionarie; Subſignanus mil tem græa legionum agmen] Subſignanus miles & græae legionem agmen

(And yet there was here but one whole Legion, the One and twentieth) may seeme to signifie both one thing, as being contradiuided both to Auxiliaries. 2. Hiſt. Esum legionario in penicemiam auxiliarum 4. Hiſt. id facere, ut ad immittit, monuimus, subſignamus miles militiae firmatae, Austilia passim circumfuſa sunt. And yet in another place we haue; Quique quid subſignis sociorum.

XII. Marius Celsus pardonéd.

Now Otho in the meane time, contrary to all expectation, did not giue ouer himselfe to pleasure and idlenesse; but differred his delights, dissembled his riot, and orderd all as was most fitting for the honor of the Empire. This glofe of vertues, and vices which would returne to their course, increas’d mens feare. And firft he commandeth Marius Celsus Consul elect, whom before he had faued from the soldiers rage by a colourable caſting in prifon, to be fent for into the Capitol: his meaning was, by pardonine fo noble a man, to odious to the side, to purchafe a name of mercifull dealing. Celsus being called, confantly confeſsed the whole accufation of faithfulnesse unto Galba, affuring that Princes were not to mislike such examples: and Otho, not as remittine a fault, but admitting the defence as just and verſuous, straighthway put him in place nearest about him, and anone in the warre appointed him one of his principal leaders; left lying aloofe as a pardonned enemy, he might peraduenture suspect the breach were but badly made vp: and Celsus, fatallly fauouring the loſing side, perſinſt vunfortunately faithfull for Otho alfo. The fauing of Celsus, an acte which rejoyced the chiefe of the citie, and was to the common fort plauſible, even of the fouldier was not misliked, admiing that vertue, with which they were fit for erewhile.

* The very next day after that Galba was slaine, as it seems by Plutarch.
Tigellinus put to death. Crispinilla esapeth.

Lke joy was conceyued vpon causes unlike, when Tigellinus death was obtained. 1 Sophonis Tegellinus was a man by birth obscure, a beafly boy, and a vicious old man; who hauing attreyed the captaines place of the watch, and the Gard, and other rewards due vnto vertue by vices (because it was the more expedit way) exercised in those places crueltie, and avarice, and other lewde qualities incident to riper yeares, corrupting Nero to all kinde of mischiefe; some things attempting vnwitting to him, and at laft a traitor, and backfilder from him: whereupon both the ill and well willers of Nero, vpon divers respectes, cried vnto him importunately to make him baue. In Galbaes time the credit, and might of Jutus Vinius did pretect him, who pretended that Tegellinus before had faue his daughter, as indeed he had done, not vpon any mercifull minde, as hauing murdered fo many, but onely projecting for time to come a plot to escape: for the lewd defire mistaking the present, and fearing a change, prepare before hand priate friends to set and oppoſe against publick hatred: whereupon it greweth that no care is taken of innocente life, but only a care to passe without punishment. But now for Vinius faue he fared the worfe, to his owne ancient hate fulnes the others late enuy being adioyed: insomuch that the people running heapes to the Palace, and Places of common assemblie, and where the commons are moſt in their kingdom, to the Race and Theatres, ceaſed not militiously to moſeſt, till fuch time as message of death was sent to Tegellinus being at the bathes of Sinuessa, where, wallowing among his concubines, dallying and kisſing, and vſing unhonest delays, he cut his owne throate at length with a razour, fouling his infamous life with a low and dishonest departing. About the fame time Galtua Crispinilla was likewise required to the slouther; but the Prince, although with some obloque, shifting it off, faued her life: one which had bin in her time schoolmestreffe of Neroces lufts; and after his death had fayed into Afracie to incite Clodius Mace to warre, and evidently enduevted to famish the citie of Rome: afterward she married a Conful, and had the good will, and good word of all the whole citie, vnhuert and vn touched.
42. THE I. B O O K E OF THE HIST O R I E

While Galba, Otho, and Vitellius lied, and after their times in money, and because she was childless, good helps in all worlds both good and bad.

* Sophonius Tigellinus] Of Tigellinus all the stories are full. After the death of Burrhus, Nero, saith Tacitus, duis Praetoribus cohorsibus imputo pars, Fenium Rufum ex vulgi famos, Sophonii Tigellini ex insinu libidinis auxilium, aequo optime, ut ei sese bona quod habuerit adfamily (fam. utens). That is, in luxuriously and cruelly exceeding all the men of his time. Xiphil. for these were indeed the two virtues, by which Tigellinus was credite with Nero.Tacitus 15. Annal. Fenium vita famae, leitamnus, per seuimiam impudicismium, Tigellini in animo principis anterior, quae, Foppea & Tigellini carum, quod erat famesi principium summitum consilium, interreges &c. Ann. he is described as the only author of all the miseries of that time. Validum indies Tigellini & melius aries, quibus folis poluit, gratiorem suam, principem societate sedem offerente, mone eum inviso ut. Tacitus befotheam as favours upon him these friendly terms: flagrantissima flogitia, adulteria, vetus impudicitia in famia, in another place. Tigellini sibi commissites eum pellicibus. , he notes him as author, or prius at least to the burning of Rome.

Tigellinus in indiciis, nec incendiis habuit, quae praebis Tigellini Aemiliam prosperat. A fit man in all respects for such a bad master, and wilt to have been by Galba protected.

To famil the city of Rome] Tacitus, Hift. Africam comed latres quem, terra, maris, inimicasse perebas, clamens annone subsidii imposam a dis ordinare hosti saecus. for so was it, that Egypt and Africke furnished the city of Rome for corn. Egypt for four monethes the year, and Africkle for eight. Iosephus aegypti cap. 28. desset de vno tempore nuntio, quod multo dicto uti vni nuntio, qui multis parte, quod servitutum (a mediis) quoniam Socus executed & imperium quod servitutum est de magnam vente, qua regem. That is, They of Africa besides eight monethes provision of corn every year for the people of Rome, pay all monies of tributes, and willingness support all other charges of the Empire. & paulo potius de annis quibus etiam tabellis, dare xii, dum multa plus scansioni partes (a ommis) & quoniam executum est, quoniam cum multis rebus consiliorum, interreges &c.

** XIII. Of the letters, messages and praisis that passed between the sides.**

In the mean time Otho sent to Vitellius many letters spiced with womanish persuasions, and offering him money and countenance, and what place of rest he would chuse to passe therein his prodigall life: Vitellius quit him againe with the like; at the first in milde terms, with fonde and vncomely diftembling on both sides: afterward in scolding manner, objecting ech to the other vicious life, and villanous aces: neither amisse. Otho retaking the Embassage which Galba had sent, fended a new in the name of the Senate to both the German armies, the Italian Legion, and companies which remained at Lions. The Embassadors that went flaited with Vitellius, being as it seemed quickly intreated, and willingly with-holden. Those of the Gard, which Otho had assigned to in new to attend upon the Embassadors, were turned home againe, not suffered to have conference with the Legions: Fabius Valens fended with a packet in the name of the German army to the Praetorian, and Urban cohorts, extolling the strength of the side, and offing amity, blaming them besides, in that they did concert upon Otho the title of the Empire, whereas of Vitellius had so long before the rightfull possession. So were they with threats and promisses doubly affayed, as being in warre not able to stand, in peace not likelee to loose: notwithstanding the Praetorians persifled for Otho. Plots also were laid for priuy attempts: Otho sent some into Germanie, to prattile against Vitellius person, and Vitellius to Rome against Otho. both misfled of their purpose: the Vitellians misfled the punishment, scaping vnspied, as in so great a multitude of men, where no body kneweth nor marketh another: but Otho's men, among such as knew ech other, were quickly bewrayed, as strangers. Moreover Vitellius wrote letters to Titianus Otho's brother, threatening the death of him and his son,
if his mother and children took any harm: and fo both the houses continued entier; for feare peradventure in Otho's time, but Vitellius being conquerour, and without such a bridle, caried away the vndoubted commendation of clemency.

XV. How the provinces declared themselves in favour or disfavour of the sides.

The first advertisement which put Otho in courage was out of Illyricum, that the Legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia had sworn vnto him: the like was reported of Spaine, and Cluuius Rufus by publique edict solemnly prayed; and by and by it was certified that Spaine had revolted to Vitellius. Aquitania likewise, though having received the oath to Otho tendered by Iulius Cordus, remained not long in obedience: fidelity or loue bare no where: by feare and force they changed to and fro. The same feare brought to Vitellius the province of Narbon, a gentle passage, and easily made, vnto the nearer and stronger. The provinces which were far off, & al the armies seuered by sea, remained at Otho's devotion, not for loue to the side, but the name of the city, and shew of the Senate did greatly countenance, and credit the cause: and he had first possess'd their mindes, as being the former in speech. In Iury Vespanian swore his armie to Otho, and Mucianus the Legions in Syria: Egypt likewise and Eastward the provinces were all possess'd in his name: Africk once in his obedience, they of Carthage being most forward; not expecting the Proconsull Vipsanius Apronianus authoritic, Creces an freedman of Nero (for he was in those bad times become a part of publique affaires) had feasted the people for joy of the new Emperor, & the people hastened many things disorderly. The rest of the cittyes followed the example of Carthage.

XVI. Otho bestoweth offices: restoreth the banished: ridiculeth the provinces, and erecteth the images of Poppea his olde loue.

The armies and provinces being thus disstracted, for Vitellius it was needfull, if he would be Prince, to win it in field. Otho as in time of great peace disposed the affaires of the Empire, some according to the dignity of the state, and most otherwise, hasting and shuffling up as present necessitie forced. And first hee declareth himselie and Titianus his brother, Consuls till the kalends of March: the next two monethes were assign'd to Verginius, to pleafe in some part the German armie: with Verginius he joineth Poppaeus Vopiscus, under the colour of olde acquaintance, most thought it was done to honour the Viennese: the rest of the Consulls, as they were by Nero or Galba appointed, remained unchanged; Coelius Sabinus and Flauius Sabinus till Iuly; Arius Antoninus, and Marius Celsus till September: whose offices Vitellius also after the victorie confirmed vnto them. The Pontificall dignities and Augurs roomes Otho bestowed upon ancient men, such as had borne already great office, completely to perfic all points of their honor: and young noble men, lately returned from exile, he friendly remembred with their fathers, and grandfathers places among the Priests, Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blosius and Seuinus Promptinus, in Claudius and Neroes time condemned for polling the provinces, were restor'd againe to their places in Senate. It pleas'd them which granted the pardon to change the true name; and terme that, which indeed was extortion and bribery, crime of 3 Majefty and treason; an accusation so hateful, that in respect of it even good lawes were not obserued. By the
the way of bounty he sought to win the cities and provinces; granting to the Hispalienes and Emeritenes a new supply of families; making all the towns of the Moors; new liberties upon Cappadocia, and new upon Aethicke, more for a shew then for to continue. Among these things which the necessities of the present affairs, and cares at hand made pastable good, Otho even then not vnmindfull of his olde loues, by an order of Senate, caufed the images of Poppæa to be erecte againe. It was also fuppos'd he had a purpose to celebrate the memory of Nero, in hope to allure the harts of the commons: and some there which set out the images of Nero; yea and certaine daisies the people and soldiery, in their acclamations to Otho, as though they went to enable and honor him more, cried To NERO OTHO: he notwithstanding helde it in supenfe, ashamed to acknowledge, or afraid to forbid it.

Himselfe and Titianus his brother Consuls till the kalends of March. In the free state the two Consuls entering the first of January remained in office the whole year out, till the theye chance to die, or upon speciall and rare occasions resigne. Afterward, when the Consuls found no other to fupply their roomes in the province of Baetica, bestowing in pure gift the liberty of the townes of the Moores; new liberties vpon Cappadocia, and new vpon Aethica, more for a shew then for to continue. Among the three which the necessities of the present affairs, and cares at hand made pastable good, Otho even then not vnmindfull of his olde loues, by an order of Senate, caufed the images of Poppæa to be erecte againe. It was also fuppos'd he had a purpose to celebrate the memory of Nero, in hope to allure the harts of the commons: and some there which set out the images of Nero; yea and certaine daisies the people and soldiery, in their acclamations to Otho, as though they went to enable and honor him more, cried To NERO OTHO: he notwithstanding helde it in supenfe, ashamed to acknowledge, or afraid to forbid it.

Ex Kalend. Lutarn. {Senius Galba. Titus Vinius.}

Ex Kalend. Martij. {L. Verginius Rufus. Poppæus Vopiscus.}

Ex Kalend. Maii. {Caelius Sabinus. Flavius Sabinus.}

Ex Kalend. Iulii. {Arius Antoninus. Marcus Cestius. Fabius Valens.}

Ex Kalend. Septembr. {Alienus Carcina, adjudged enemy of the state. In his place for one day that remained Reicius Regius. Ex Kalend. Novermi. {Cn. Carcius Simplex. C. Qinctius Atricius.}

This number & this time continued even to Dioces aged stinted (from the time) Albus to the age. In the first part of the year, the Consuls were of the same age, and were called ordinary, as being obicure and not heard of abroad.
OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

abroad, so that with great reason a man might demand in whose Consulships they were Consul: otherwise in authority &c., not differing any thing the one from the other. Dio. lib. 49. χ' διὸ ὑπερηφάνως ἐκτείνεται τὸ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῆς συνόπτου ἀναβολῆς τρίτην illum quæsbórum, quæstusque annum totum diuis erat, cuius rei non poff. Under the Empire the law was vended to be, as it may seem by Pliny. Iib. 2, epist. II. indicibus saeculub, futurum sit. Hoc

Prince, that he was able any other way to requite it, another, for that in his story he had commended &c. to the Proconsuls and Propraetors, both before and under the Emperors, caelest to racke and poll the poor countrymen. Nay the more laws there were and greater penalties established, the more they robbed and spoile the provinces, to make good great extortion abroad with great briberie at home, according to the Greeken feriæ, ὅ πολλὰ ἀλλοτριότητα ἀλλοτρίῳ. Inter se, ut quod habet in male with giving a small matter shall appe well enough, and therefore Tully telleth vis (in hot, or in earnest) that the provinces would surely prefer supplication to the Senate, that the law of repentem made in their behalf, at their request might be repealed. His words be the more notorious, quicumque pòr tis exitūn accipienda in verbo. Planum facerem minima se futibis possim, C. Perrem in Scipio multi auditiuntur fepe dis fret, it habère hominem potest cem caem, quae procula sunt, haec hic fuit lacunæ præ, quae sic numen nila preterit. Sicthingi distribuentes labores, ve semet ipse ille dicerit, in secunda quaestione in vnum communem actum: a lex Pius & defenditoribus suis, dextrae dispositione acta vnum etc. C. M. Tiberius capit, & Sicilia situr. Eque quod inter se rursus illud dicere, quod quid M. Glaubionem super caup in sui vindicatione indissimulare, intellecte, velut veterum Populam Romanae conuenerint, as mediari, as vnum ex eis agendis ut Populam Romanam misserint, et ex legis de pecuniarum diuis sana. Hoc profutum infirmum esse. Se autem, si dominus cupidissimae flectit pacem prope nationes, non posse, Vnder the Empire the law was vender, &c. as it may seem by Pliny. lib. 2. epist. II. against extor tion only.

Crime of Maiestas and treason.] Lex Maiestatis in the ancient free common-wealth comprehended onedie points of greatest important &c. and praetextae eximiae, aut plebem factionum demique magna dabere. Explicat, Republi ca maiestas Populi Romani minuens. Augustus put it in vre against libellurs, whereas we see a sufficient reason ex inquit enes, or at least not punished with the penalties le se maiestatis. In Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Neros time it was maiestas seculum, qui crimine vacavit, et Pliny speakeh. One was accused to Tiberius, and all was maiestas, quæ venditio horum fatus Augusti final stupiditate. Another quod voluit et periuero nominem Augusti. A third build up some vinditul speech, that he preferred his own image higher then that of the Prince, and that in that image he cut off the head of Augustus, and clapped in place of one of Tiberius for suing of cost, another for making a Tragedy wherein certain verses were of doubtfull understanding. In Claudius time one was arraigned, & condemned of maiestas for dreaming a dream, another for being dreamt of. In Neroes time one Coffins, qui inter imaginum maximum erat C. Caylus effigies collevit illum in ipso. Dicitur etiam maiestatis dictus etiam maiestatis Duci partum. Et infinita est qui in sicibus est. Seeing therefore that lex maiestatis had been so far to odiously executed, it pleased the people to secure that which indeed was extortion, crime of maiestas, the memory whereof was hallowed that in respect of each other good laws were neglected.

To the Hispanillas and Emerentias a new supply of families.] In deducing of colonies a certaine number of families were official, which in that state, or any multum had disgraced, or adulterated, to have them supplied a free means was disposed of this, as a special great benefit. Livy. lib. 32. C. Augustus tribunos plebis induct, quosque coloniae in uram maximum deicerentur. Tricesima familia in inglas coloniae indobluitur missa et omnes libri. Nominum legationes, aulorum numerus anuergerit, id Coflani petenter ipsum imperator, et in another place, potestatarit faciem Auguris legationes, ut numerorum colonum anuerget, m. & d. familiae ex S. C. &vus. Tacit. II. Ann. Cons. C. A. N. A. C. A. C. aequa aequo, adhibita veterum firmatae esse. Now that Hispanillas was a Colony of the Romans, Pliny affirmeth lib. 3. cap. 2. A L. Hesbiis coloniae, cognomine Romanissimi; Tha Emerita Dio. lib. 13. μεν τοι δια της ουγγρας την ιδιον παραβασιν. Si enim tamen ου ουρομενοι εκ της εμπειρίας κρητιδον τον τραγοδον, θαυμάζο ἀνεπιστευμενον τον εχθρον τον το ουγγρα, θαυμάζο. Tacit. II. Ann. Augustus
The I. booke of THE HIS To RIE

...tiguàudimſºdthſouldierswhichwerepaſyeere,ºfſtruice,andgauethemlicencetobuildeacitieinPortugallcalled
JAuguſtaEmerita.ThereaſonofthenameisapparentEmerita,quodemeritimilitesdºmaizékeoueideducerentur.For
militarcolonies(toleauetheotherkindewhichinthefree
ſtatewerederiuedabroadebytheSenates
appoint
y lib.1.
ment,forſoyVelleiusſeemestodiuidethem)theyweredeuiſedforarecompenſeofoldſoldiers,who
hauing
ſpentthefloureoftheirageintheſeruiceoftheircuntrey,ſmallreaſonitweretoturnethemabeggingwhenthey
wereaged.Wherefore Sylla, Cæfar and theEmperoursfollowing,attheendeoftheirſeruicerewardedtheold
ſoldierwithanhonourablemaintenanceof landeofinheritance.In thiskindeof colonicsatthe
2.Tac.lib,I
* vniuerſelegionerducebanºurcumtribunis,centurioribu,& ſuicuiuſqueordini,militibuſ,viconſenſi,ºrcaritate
remp.
.14c.ub,15.
Annal.
....
menethſomeſpeciallLegions,andwheretheywere
placed.SecundanorumArauffo,
SextanorumArelate,SeptimanorumBlitera,DecumanorumcoloniaMarciusTNarbo.Inproceſſeoftimethisgoodorder
decaying,"nonviolimvniuerſelegiones,ſedigmotiinterſeducebantur,diuerſ,manipulis,ſnerestore,fineaffettibusmu
tuis,quaftexaliogeneremmortaliarepenteinvnumcolleånumerumaghquamcolonia:andtheproofethereofwasac
ording,thefouldiersſlippingawayimprouincia,inquibuſtipendiameruerant,andleauingthecoloniesdeſolate.
Whethervponthisorwhatſoeveroccaſion,apparentitisthatHiſpalisandEmeritawerebothdecayed,andther
forewithnew familiesherebygracefromOthoſtockedagaine.

XVII. The Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia vanquished, and
flaine by the souldiers of Mæfia.

Mens mindes being fet pon ciuill warres, externall matters were lightly re

garded: by reason whereof the Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia, hauing the
winter before slaine two cohorts, ventured more boldly to ou invade Mœfia.
Their former exploite, and conceit of themselues had affembled nine thoufand
horse, more minding the spoile, then prouided to fight: whereupon the third Legi
on with the Aydes aſflayed them fo damaine as they were straggled and careleſſe. The Romans had all things fittéd for fight: the Sarmatians being scattered, or through
greedines of spoile heavily charged, their horses being tired by reason of their bur
dens and slippery waies, as if their hands had beene tied behind them, were hewed in
peeces. It was wonder to see how all the Sarmatians valuour is as it were out of
themſelues: to fight a nation so cowardly, on horsebacke by troupes they are
hardly reſiſted: but then the weather being wet, and the frost somewhat thawed,
neither their ſtaues, nor long two-handédſwordes fervered inſteede, throuſh the fli
ng of their horses, and great weight of their carthaphracks; a kind of harniſh, that
Princes and noble-men vie, compos'd of iron plates or fliffe bend-lether, which as
againſt blowses is sure and of proofe, fo if one be borne downe by the force of the
enemy it maketh him vnable to rife vp againe: before they funcke into the fnow be
ing deep, and not able to beare: contrarily the Roman ſoldier in his eafe.corfe
doing nimble and light, a far off with a dart, or with launce charging vpon them, and
with a light ſword neare at hand, the cafe for requiring, gored fo long the vnarmed
Sarmatian (for it is not their maner to warde with their buckler) till at length a few
which remained fled to the marithes: in the one place the mortallneſſe, in the other
the misery of their wounds wafted them all. When this was by certaine aduife
nderstood at Rome, Marcus Aponius Lieutenant general of Mœfia was honored
with a triumphal image, Fuluitus Aurelius, Ttitius Iulianus, and Numiſius Lupus
Lieutenants of the Legions with Consular ornaments; Otho rejoycing, and draw
ning the glory to himſelfe, as if he alfo were fortunate in war, and had by his leaders
and armes enlarged the Empire.

Honoured with a triumphal image: Triumphaliſauam Tac.4. Ann. lambique res crant laurate in vrbis flatu,
and the fentence before of the fame matter. Priores ducem irperantes Tibi triumphantium insignis fubfere reſ ses crediadeant, agane f. Annal. Triumphali decem, and Triumphales in foro imagines of the same. So that we may rea
onably gather Triumphantiam laurate to be either the fame with Triumphali insignis, or els parcel of them, and yet in
inducing the whole. This tite of honours, can the laurate, vnknown in the free common wealth, was fift confered,as fome do tippoſe, by Augustus by Tiberius Annbo. condoxt 740. Sueton * Tiberio. Quae ob res &
bonas cœrae vrebus ingrequi ess (Tiberes) prima (ut quidam possunt) triumphaliſb ornamentia honoriare, nonoe
ante caueare vrbis genuae honori. But * Dio writeth that it was to Agrippa two yeares before it was granted:

...
of Cornelius Tacitus

of CoR N E L I VS T A C I T V S.

ºvºſeeloy* *ex3%rowºftydº'sJº9 & 4 tºſuffraanáčacialvºº Tiutº)&tivezºº duevol34'dºroiTºjživāāt'ºsexow,ATE7% zigºv#! vſkirmeſov«Jºaſſo,& 3advasTwis&nvi ⧼. Tudiº

Thatis,SacrificesweremadetothegodsinthenameofAgrippa,yetwastherenotriumphdecreed

whereuponinsucceedingage,menofhisplacefollowing

his exampleasaruleneitherwrotetotheSenat,neitheracceptedthegrauntoftriumph,butas

contentedthem-. felue,withtriumphallornaments

andſoconſequentlytoTiberius.The cauſeasIitidgeoftheinnouationwas,

thattoAuguſtuswhooftheoldſtateleftnothingſtandingbutnames,andhardlythat,the

triumphallſee

medathingtoofullofmaieſtieforanyſubjeſct,ändthereforeſeekingeuerywaytocutthefinewesoflibertie,and

yettorctainea

ſhadowofancienty,hecunninglyconuertedtheſolemnityofatriumphintoTriumphalia

inſignia.

onlythePrincesthemſelues,ortheirchildren,asGermanicusinTiberiustime,ſolemnelytriumphed.Nextto

Triumphaliainlowerdegreeofhonourwereconſularia

inſºnia,
orornamenta,Tlacººratºgi,andPretorialike

wiſe,tualgramjºg,Vnderthem,0btainedbythoſe,Iſuppoſe,whom Dioinsundryplacestermeth78;5%Jo

zyia;Kararcºal,””pamynx&c.f.andlaſſtlyQueñoriaornamenta,tomakethemasConſuls,Praetors,Qua:

#orsfellowes.Tacit.4.Hiſt.MultocumhonoreverborumMutianotriumphaliadebelociulidata,ſedinSarmata,expe

ditionifingebaturaddunturAntonio Trimo

conſularia,CornelioFuſco,&

ArrioVaropraetoriaimſgnia,

Annal. II.DecretaZNar

siſquoſtoriaiſgnia,3c.

XVIII. AMutineecetheGard-fouldiers.

A

Boyt the same time vpon a small fparckle a flame of fedition arose, from

whence no danger was feared, to the destruction almost of the city. Otho

had commanded thefeuenteenth cohort to be called from Othia to Rome,

and charge was committed to Varius Crispinus, one of the Praetorian Tribunes, to

furnith it with armour. Which that he might do at more ease, and without inter-

ruption, the campe being quiet, at the shuttung of the evening he opened the armo-

ry, and commanded the cartes of the cohorts to be laden. The time wrought fulpi-

tion, the caufe bred a crime; the affecting of quietneſſe proved to a tumult a and

weapons fee ne among drunken perſons fiirred vp a desire in them to do being.The

fouldiers mutin and charge the Centurions and Tribunes with treafon, affirming

they purpoſed to put in armes the Senate, and Senatours men againſt Otho; some

vpon ignorance, and overcome with drinke, the worst seeking occaſion to fpoile, the

common fort ( as it is commonly fee ne ) defirous of nouelty howsoever: and as for

the better and founder part, the darkenes did not permit them to fhow their obedi-

ence. And first they murder Crispinus the Tribune, and the b feuereft of the Cen-

turions repugin to their feditious attempts; then taking armes, and drawing their

fiwordes, on horsbacke they make c toward the towne, and the Palace. Otho that

night had the d principall men and women of the city at banke: who standing a-
mazed and misdoubting what it might be, a caſuall rage of the fouldiers, or a praſtie

of the Emperour; whether were more danger to stay and be taken, or to flee and

disperfe; sometime make shew of outneffe, sometime bewrayed their feare, full ca-

ſting an eye vpon Othoes countenance, who, as it falls out where mindes yeeld to

fuppiſtion, did feare, and was feared. And fearing no leffe for the Senatours fakes

then for his owne perſon, he both bent by and by the capitanes of the Garde to ap-

pare in some for the fouldiers anger, and e willed his guests to get them away in all

possible speed. Then might one hapie ee ne magnifie euery where caſt downe the

markes of their office, efchewing the multitude of followers and feruants, old men

and women in dark without torche crepe this way and that, few to their owne hou-

ſes, moſt to their friends, and meaneft clients where they left would bee looke for.

The fouldiers furiousely breake open the gates of the Palace, and thrust into the ban-

queting place, rudeely requiring a figh of Otho, hauing wounded a Tribune Iulius

Martialis, and Vitellius Saturninus *Lieutenant of a Legion, as they endeavoured

to withftand their violence. On euyer fide armes and threats, fometyme againft the

Centurions, and Tribunes, fometyme against the whole Senate, franckie vpon a

E 3 blind
THE I. booke of the Historle

blind feare, and because they could not name any one to the slaughter, demanding licence indifferently against all the Senate; till such time as Otho standing upon his dining bed, contrary to the majesty of an Emperour, with teares & humble requests, at last, though hardly, restrained their rage: and so they returned to the camp unwilling, though after so much harme done. The next day, as if the townne had been taken, the houses were shut, small stirring in freetees, the people all sad, the soldiers hanging their heads, with many heauy lookes and little repentance. Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus the captains dealt with the soldiery by bands, in gentle or rough fort, ehe after his nature: the conclusion was this, that they should receive fiue thousand sesterces a man. Then Otho boldly entered the camp: the Centurions and Tribunes come round about him, and casting away the marks of their degrees, desire dimission from so vnfafe a turrice. The soldiery perceived the meaning, and framing them selves to obedience, require vnbidden the authors of the sedition to death. Otho, although things were in such a confusion, and the soldiery so dierfully minded (the best requiring a remedy for the present disorder; the common fort, and more part, who liked seditions, and corrupt government, seeing more eafily brought by troubles and spoiling to make ciuill warre) and withall remembering that a flate gotten by lewed means cannot be retayned at first with suddain modestie, and ancient grauity; neuertheless carefully considering the danger of the citye and Senate, at last he spake in this wise. My fellow-soldiery, I am not come hither to incite you to loue me, and leffe to exhort you to vertue and valour; for of both you have great store and too much: but I come to request a moderation of your va-lour, and a meane in your loue toward me. No hatred it was, no desire to have (which things have yet many armies at discord) no daunger you feared and ment to avoide, but a tender care, and excesse affection it was toward me, more zealous then consi-derate, which bred and excited the yeasternights trouble: for oft the causes of things being good, yet where judgement is wanting, pernicious ends do often ensue. We are going to warre, what? is it expedient that all messengers have open audience, that all matters be handled in presence of all? the nature of warring will not endure it, the swift sliding away of occasions permitteeth it not. I tell you it is as be-housefull that the soldiery should be ignorant of some things, as know other some. The authority of Captaines, the rigour of discipline is of that nature, that many things must be onely commaunded and simly bidde by the Centurions and Tri- bunes. If when things are bidden euery one may demaunde, and question the matter, obedience failing, government withall will fall to the ground: or shall there at midnight like wise thealarme be givne? shall a loft and drunken companion or two (for I cannot beleue they were no which madded in the last vprote) shall they dare to embrue their hands in a Tribunes and Centurions bloud? rush into their Empe-roors paullion? you did indeed the fame for my sake: but yet in the darke, in such a confusion, occasion might also haue ferued againste me. It Vitellius and his adme-nets had choise to dispose our minds as they lifted, what else would they with but sedition and discord? that the soldiery should not obey his Centurion, the Centurion his Tribune, footemen and horse confusiely shold run to their ruine. Surely fellow-soldiery by dully obeying, not curiously lancing the captains commandements, is all good soldiery and militare matters maintained: and that army in dan-geur is alwaies most valiant, which before the daunger is most quiet of all. Be you onely well armed, and valiantly minded, to aduise and direct your valour leaue that to me. The fault was of few: the punishment shall be onely of two: contend you the rest, to abolish and raze out of memory that dismall nights worke: such bloody wordes
of Cornelius Tacitus.

words against the Senate, *let never any army once dare for to speake. The head of the Empire, the ornament of all provinces, no not the very Germans them selfes, whom Vitellius specially raieth against vs, durst euer haue demanded to death: and shall the children of Italie then, and the true Roman race require to murder that honorable order, through whose glorious brightnesse we dimme and disgrace the obscure bafenes of Vitellius faction? Vitellius hath indeed some countreyes at commandement, he hath a certaine counterfaite of an armye: but the Senate is of our side; and therefore the state is of our side, traytours of theirs.

What? doe you think this goodly faire city consifteth in houfes and stones put together? these are dumbe and dead things, they may decay, they may be repayed againe, as it changeth: the eternity of the state, the peace of the world, your well-doing and mine, is founded upon the safety of the Senate. The father and builder of our city did first by the gods approbation ordeine and institute this worthy assemby; from the Kinges to the Princes never discontinued: then as we haue taken it from our progenitours, so let vs deliuer it to our succeffours. The Senate is the seminary of Princes, and you of the Senate. The oration thus framed to bite and to please the soldiers minde, and the moderate seuerity vsed withall (for onely on two iustice was done) were gratefully accepted; and they for the present compoſed, which hardly could have beene duly corrected. Yet was not the citie thorowly quiet: weapons clashed, and to shew it seemed a season of warre; the soldiers in common ceasing to trouble, but dispersed in houses in disguised apparell, maligning all those whom nobility, or wealth, or some other speciall excellency had made the matter of talke.

* The caufe bred a crime: *Caufa in crimen evadit[*]. If these rymes haue in them any reason, the meaning may be, that which the Tribune did to the ende to execute the Princes commandement, that the soldiery drew to a finer fente, as done not for the fentenc of the Prince, but rather seueritie in iniquitate armatum granti, Plutarch. de Caip. Trim. 14. sect. 2. sect. 2. 

** Casting away the marks: Abieši, militie inſºnibus jTribunatus inſgnethcbadge or marke of his officewas dagger. Martialis lib.14.of a Centurion viii.a warrior to correct therewanting soldiery. Ioan. of Marius Satyr. octua. 

"Arpinus alius Poltorum in mone solbas" 
"Psarne mercedes alium laffus araro."

** By
The I. booke of the Historie

By the gods approbation: Auspicia This is, addicentibus animis. For although neither Luy nor Dionysius ni. be any mention of any such ceremony obtained in the chiose of the Senate, yet seeing we find that equum cerni- 
turie were by Romulus angurata scripta, that the city was founded & named capia ad inaugurandum templi, the 
Aeutin by Remus, the Palatin by Romulus (Luius lib.i.although Ennius placeth them otherwise) seeing that 
Romulus ce vii. caput est quod vere autum neeles, nempe lepytiam, suum in quatuor, et id ante 
minuso autem (diu novem) scriptum, That is, brought up the custom for all posterity that they should not take upo them 
niches the kingsome, nor any other office, except for the gods per auspicia gave their approbation *, we may probably con-
ficure that it was not omitted in a case of so great importance, as was the chiose of a councellor of state. Surely 
fekr that Auius Nauus had cut with a razor a swithlone in Tarquinius Prius time, Luy writeth that the 
Augural discipline grew daily in reputation.

XIX. Rome full of ieloses: the dificultie that was to carie a mans 
selfe enuilse in the Citie and Senate. 

I was also supposeth by many that some of Vitellius men were come to the city 
to pryve out and learne how the sides were affected: whereupon all grew full of 
ieloses, and scarce were the secret closets free from feare: and abroade worst of 
all, where according to the occurrents which came they turned, and shpaped cou-
rage and countenance, fearing to seeme, when matters went doubtfull, distraughtfull; or when they went well, not enough to rejoic: specially in Senate, there was the 
hardnesse indeedea to bear a mans selfe euenly in fo nice and ticklish a cafe; silence 
would be construed for contumacy: free speech had quickly in ielose; and flatte-
ring O ho would scoone smell out, hauing passed from private estate, and vised the 
trade so lately himself. Wherefore they were forced to toffe and turne in and out 
their sentences, to wreth them this way and that, calling Vitellius patricide and 
traitour; the wiser sort spending vpon him some fewe ordinary railling terms, 
* somes touching neer with viler matters, and matters of truth; but then aboue 
temper, all times, when from the great nois the least could be heard, or when otherwithe the 
most spake at once, or else by tumultuous heaping of words confounding their 
owne disordery tale.

XX. Certaine prodigious things which happened in Italie 
and Rome before the warre. 

Morover diuerse miracles vowed by sundry persons terrified the minds 
of men. In the entry of the Capitoll the raynes of the coche whereon the 
image of Victory stoode were let slippe: out of lunoes cell startt vp a 
ghoft taller then any man: the image of Iulius of sacred memory in the Iland of 
Tiber turned it felle from the West to the East in a day which was cleare and with- 
out any earthquake: in Tuscany an oxe spake: ougly monsters were borne of beafts, 
and many other like prodigious things were reported, by the old world obserued 
euen in peace, but nowe not talkt on, but in times of daunger. But the principal 
terror for the time to come joynt with present damage was the sodaine 
wheeling of Tiber, which waxing hugely brake downe the Sublician bridge, and by the 
ruines of it being dammed, reculing againe, overflowed not only the lowe and 
plaine places of Rome, but those also which seemede safe from such casualties. Many 
were carryed away as they walkt in the streets, no intercepted in ships and lod-
gings: 6 deathe of vitales, and no waies of winning, bred a famin among the poore 
people: the foundations of the c iles, which the water by wafhing against them had 
weakened, after the river returned became ruinous: and assoone as that perill was 
overpaft, the d stopping by casuall, or naturall causes, of Campus Martius and the 
Flami.
Flaminian way, by which the army should passe, at that time when Otho prepared to march, was construed for an ominous signe of calamities to ensue.

XXI. The provision of Otho for the warre.

Otho hauing a hallowed the city, consulting how to manage the warre, and seeing the Penine and Cottian Alpes, and the other passages of France stoppt by Vitellius armies, determined to invade Gallia Narbonensis with a strong naune and b sure to his fide: for he had enrolled for Legionary souldiers the remnant of thosc which were slayne at the Miliuan bridge, whom Galba had cruelly laid in prison; and the 4 rest of their fellowes conceived thereby good hope of honourable seruice hereafter. With the naune he shipped City-cohorts, and many Garde-souldiers, for a strength and support to the army, and for a couensell and guard to the generalles. The general charge of this voyege was committed to Antonius Nouellius, and Sueвидius Clemens (which had been chiefe Centurions) and AEmilius Pacenus, to whom Otho had restored his Tribuneship, which Galba had taken away: Ofcus his freedman was Adimall of the voyage, being willed to watch how loyally honeste men behaued themselves. Of the footemen and horse e Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Amnitus Gallus were appointed governours: but his speciall affiance f was in Licinins Proculus captaine of the Garde, who being a man feruicable enough in city-foldiers, but raw in the fieldes, caulling and capring at the gruirement of Paulinus, the courageous quicknesse of Celsus, the confidence of Gallus, as ech was in vertue, by lewdenesse and craft (a matter not vneasy) bare it away from good men, and modest. About the same time g Cornelius Dolabella was confined to Aquinum, without either trait or close keeping, for no matter of crime, but only as an eic-for his ancient house and kindred with Galba. Then Otho commanded many of the magistrates, and a great part thereof which had been Consils, to be in a readinesse for the voyage, not as to employ them in any charge in the warre, but to accompany him only: among other Lucitus Vitellius also in like fort with the rest, neither as brother of an Emperour, nor as brother of an enemy. Hereupon the cares of the city resituated: no state was voide of feare or of danger: the chiefe of the Senate weake for age, and with long rest vn lusty, the nobility flothfull, and hauing forgotten the warres; the gentlemen igno rent in seruice: the more they all sought to couer and hide it, the more they in sight bewraied their feare. On the other fide some vpon a foolish vainglory bought them braue armoure and goody great horses; some riotous provision for banquets and allurements of lusts, as instruments of warre. The wider f worst were woe to fee the quieteness of the weale-publieke perturbed: the witlesse, and not able to see into sequels, were put vp with vaine hope: and many a good man, bankr upt in peace, now in the troubles shewed most gallant, then being saften, when the state was vn saften. The common people, who for their huge greatness taketh no care of publique affaires, began now to feele by little and little the smarts of the warre, perceiving the money was turned all to the souldiers use, and vittals to grow more deare in the market; which euils in Vindex commotion had nothing worne the commons, so bare: the city was then out of danger, and the warre in the province, which being fought betwene the Legions and them of France might seeme in a fort exterm and forayn. For since the time that D. Augustus ordered the Empire, the people of Rome fought a farre off; the care and the credite belonged to one: vnder Tiberius and Caius men feared alone the miseries of peace: h Scribonianus attempts
rempts against Claudius were begun and daſht in a moment: Nero was rather by newes, and by rumours, then by force of armes caſt out of state: but now the Legions, the nauies, and that which feldome else hath beene feene, the Garde and city-fouldier were brought to the field; the Eaft, and the Weſt, and whatſoever was on both sides behinde; matter for a long warre, if other captains had ware. Some perſwaded Otho, as he was now ready to march, to stay yet awhile, making aſcruple that the holy shields called Ancilia were as yet not laied vp againe: but he could not abide to heare of delays, which had bene, he faid, Neroes deſtruction; and Cæcina having already paffed the Alpes called him forward. The fourteenth of March recommending the commonwealth to the Lords in Senate, he granted to the perſons reſtored from exile the reſidue of Neroes confiſcations, such as were not as yet come to his cofers: a gift moſt reaſonable and in thw very great, but in effect fruitife by reaſon of the hafty exaſtion. By and by assembling the people he magnifieth the maiſty of the city, the conſent of the Senate and people of Rome in favour of his side, moſtly touching the contrary faſion, and blaming the Legions rather for ignorance, then raſhneffe, without any mention at all of Vitellius; whether it was of his owne temperateneffe, or that els he which penned the oration fearing the worſt, did of purpose forbeare to reuile: for as in militare matters he followed the aduife of Suetonius Paullinus and Marcus Celius, so in ciuill he was thought to vfe Galerius Trachalus wiſedom: and some there were, which would feme to know the manner of phrase, notorious by reaſon of his often pleading, large and founding, and framed to fill the cares of the people. The commons after their flattering faſhon receued the speech with cries and acclamations without either meaufure or truth, contending to paſse one another in aplauſe and withes, as if it had bene to Cæfar the Dictator, or the Emperor Augustus; neither for feare nor for love, but onely vpon a delight in feruility (*as in priuate families) every man prouoked by some priuate cauſe, no man re-garding the publicke diſhonour. k Otho departing awaye, commended the quiet eſtate of the City, and cares of the Empire to Sallius Titianus his brother.

* Allemements of luft & c.] Iuuenal Satyrāſecondā writeth, that Otho himselfe facto instrumenta beli caried a certaine looking glaffe.
OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

Vنمو the which fell from above (one Namuerris vndertaking the worke,) that whomever sought to seal it, for the nearnes and likeness of the reis, wrought by many hands might not be able to discern the forme of that which came from the gods. Lampridius Heligabala. Maris typum, & Velle ignem, & Palladian, & Ancilia, & omnia Romanae veneranda erat. Now as concerning the mosus Anciliau, I finde of it two feeral circumstances recorded. Seruus upon this place of Virgil. & Anciis. ———— vig, impulus arma, writeth thus: L qui bellis suscepserat armam (meaning, as I thinke, the Conful) saeclarum Maris ingressus primi. Ancilia commonebat, post haustum simulta et ipsius deo, est. Mars vigila. After which ceremony performed by the Conful, the Salii, as I geffe, immediately they and their feruants carried the Ancilia about in procession. Which pompes and solemnitie is describde by Dionysius. Scruius upon this place of Virgil. & Anciis. ———— vig, impulus arma, writeth thus: Lui browsing efferam (meaning, as I thinke, the Consul): ———— scruius upon this place of Virgil. & Anciis. ———— vig, impulus arma, writeth thus: Lui browsing efferam (meaning, as I thinke, the Consul): 

The ceremony performed by the Consul, the Salius, as I geffe, immediately they and their servants carried the Ancilia about in procession. Which pompes and solemnitie is describde by Dionysius. Scruius upon this place of Virgil. & Anciis. ———— vig, impulus arma, writeth thus: Lui browsing efferam (meaning, as I thinke, the Consul): 

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The ceremony performed by the Consul, the Salius, as I geffe, immediately they and their servants carried the Ancilia about in procession. Which pompes and solemnitie is describde by Dionysius. Scruius upon this place of Virgil. & Anciis. ———— vig, impulus arma, writeth thus: Lui browsing efferam (meaning, as I thinke, the Consul):
THE SECOND BOOKE
OF THE HISTORIE OF
CORNELIVS TACITVS.


OW fortune in a contrary coast of the world prepared cause, and layed the foundation for a new Empire, which put vp in sundry regions, and according to the different government, became acceptable or hatefull to the state, and to the Princes themselves prosperous, or permittis. Titus Vespasianus being sent by his father from Iewry, before Galba was flaine, gaue forth as cause of his voyage the doing of dutie to the new Prince, and suing for office, whereunto he was now by his yeeres enabled and ripe; but the common fort, ready to make and deuide, had cast abroad, that he was sent for to be declared succeflour. The age of Galba and lacke of suffitue, and that intemperate humour of the city, to name many till one be appointed, gaue occasion and miniftred matter to the speech: the towardlinesse of Titus increaft the report, as being a person capable of any dignitie were it never fo great: the comelinesse alfo of his countenance with a certaine maiesty, the prosperous proceedings of his father in Iewry, prophecies and oracles; and lastely, when as the minds of men were once inclined to beleue, euen common accidents were reputed ominous, and helped to further the fame. At Corinth a city of Achaia he received certaine aduenture, that Galba was flaine, and some also were there, who affirmed that Vitellius was in armes, and doubtflep would procede to make warre. Whereupon being perplexed in minde, calling some fewe of his friends, he weigheth the reasons on both siders in counself: if he shoulde proceed in his journey to Rome it were but an humble office, being first vnder taken to honor another; and beside he should remaine as an hostage to Vitellius or Otho: if returne back againe, the winner without question would be offended, but yet in som tolerable fort, seeing the victorie as yet resold uncertaine, and the father afterwarde applying himselfe to the side, the fonne would finde an easy excuse: or if his father tooke upon him the state, then care not to offend were to be forgotten, where open hostilitie must bee proclaimed. With these and the like discourses was Titus distracted betweene feare and hope, till hope at the length prevailed. Some men supposd the vehement loue he bare to Berenice the Queene did alter his course: and in truth his youthly affections were setled somewhat that way, notwithstanding in no such degree, that it was any hinderance to his honorable actions: his youthfull yeeste he past in pleasures licenciously, of better behauioyr Emperour then Emperours fonne. So coasting along by Achaia and Asia thorow the seas on the left hand, he faild to Rhodes and Cypres, and thence by the maine sea into Syria. Touching at Cypres he had a desire to goe visite the temple of Venus at Paphos, so much spoken of both there and abroad. It thall not be long summarily to set downe the beginning of that devotio, the fire of the temple, and shape of the goddesse: for she is not elsewhere portrayed fo. The ancient tradition is, that the temple was founded by king Aerias, which
which some affirm is the name of the goddesse: a later opinion holdeth, that King Cinaras did consecrate the temple, & that the goddesse, being conceiv’d of the sea, arrived there: but the skill and arte of Haruspicine was borrowed abroad, brought in by Thamyras the Cilician; and so it was agreed between them, that the government of the ceremonies should belong equally to the posterity of both families: anone it seemed absurd, that the blond royal should not have any prerogative above the foraine; whereupon the strangers gave place in the science, which they themselves had induced; and so the Priesthood remained alone in Cinaras line.

Beasts for sacrifice, as every man liked to vow, onely of the male kinde were chosen: the fibles of kids are estemed of certaine estate: to powre blood on the altar is not permitted: prayers and pure fire are the incense for the altare, which are not within any counter, and yet neuer wet with the weather. The image of the goddesse is not of humane shape, but a figure rising continually round, from a larger bottom to a small top, in a conical fashion: the reason thereof is not known.

When Titus had viewed the riches of the place, the offerings and liberalties of Places, and what else fouver the Greciffh nation, delighting in antiquities, fabulously fathereth upon times out of mind, he propos’d himself first as touching his voyage by sea: and when it was answered, that the way was open and passage prosperous, then causing many beasts to be sacrificed, he enquir’d courteously concerning himself. Solfratus (for so was the name of the priest) seeing the entrailes fortunate and agreeing, and perceiving the goddesse to give assent to his great desigines, at that present time made a short and ordinary answer, and anone requiring a secrete conference, he open’d to him his whole fortune to come. Thus Titus encreas’d in courage, returned again to his father, bringing great comfort to the minde of the armies, and pronounces that were suppened and doubtfull. Vespasian had vanquish’d the Jews, and made in a maner an end of the warre; it only remained to oppugne Jerusalem; an enterprize of difficulty and hardnesse, more through the nature of the people, and the obstinate persifting in their superstitition, than for any strength or ability they had to bear out the siege. Vespasian, as before we have said, had three Legions trained in warre, and Mutianusower governed in peace, from whom notwithstanding emulation, and the glory of the army adioyning, drave away floth; and as the one thorow labour with danger grew stronger and more able of body, so the other became more lustie and fresh by rest undisturbed, and peaceable labour: both had Auxiliary cohortes and wings, both fleets and kings at commandement; both renowned alike upon causes unlike: Vespasian a vigilant warrior, marching the forrmoft, chusing place for commodious encamping, night and day giving out direction and order where it was needfull, and the cafo requiring manfully fighting with hand; of diet not dainty, appareled as the common soldiier, or not much otherwise; in all respects, but a man, very expert in the direction and foresight of civil affayres: a well forted medleye of princely qualitie, if taking away the vices of both, the vertues alone were layd togethier. But the one being Lieutenant of Iewry, the other of Syria, countreyes confining, through emulation, and envy certaine ielosies were betwenee them: notwithstanding upon Ne-roes decease, they layed grudges aside, and conferred counsels in commun, first by friends interposed, then by mediation of Titus, the principall assurance of true reconcilement; who being a person by nature and arte framed to winde in with Mucianus also, induced them both to surcease from such hurtfull contentions, with consideration.
federation of their common utility: the Tribunes, Centurions, and common soldier, by labour or licence, by virtues or pleasures, according to their several inclinations, were drawn to the party. Before Titus comming both the armies had sworne allegiance to Otho, the newes of his being in state, as the custome is in such great matters, being brought in great post, and ciuill warres ripening by leaute into which the Eas, that had a long time beene quiet and peaceable, then first of all began for to enter, for in time past the most mightie and puiſſant ciuill warres, beginning in Italy and Gallia, were undertaken with the power and strength of the West, and they which maintained them in the Eas, as Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, Antonius, ended alwaies unfortunatly, and Syria and Judee more often heard tell of then saw any Caesars: the Legions had never mutined, one sometimes were led out to braue the Parthian, speeding not alwaies alike: and during the las ciuill warre, when the world was shaken elsewhere, among them was assured tranquillitie, then faith toward Galba. But after it was publickly known, that Otho and Vitellius went about with impious armes to pray upon the Roman eſtate, the fouldiers began to storme, that others received the fauours of Princes, and they serued continually as faues, from thence they grew to consideration of their owne forces: seven Legions they faw at hand, and two prouinces, Syria, and Judee, with a huge multitude of Aide-fouldiers; then AEgypt adioyning with two Legions, and on the other fide Cappadocia and Pontus, and the strengthe which lay encamped against the Arme- nians: Aſia and the rest of the prouinces, plentifull of money, and of men not vnfur- nished: all the islands of that sea, and the sea it felde unfp Vp vnd yeilding security in the meane seafeaon to prepare for the warre. The forwardnesse of the fouldiers was not vnknown to the Generals: neuerthelesse it was thought expedient to attende the ifflue of the other warre then being on foote, fith doubtleſſe mutuall ineluſes, betweene the conquering and conquered party, would never suffer any found and perfece intelligence betweene them: neither mattered it much whom fortune shouled fauour, Vitellius or Otho: euен singular commanders by prosperity would grow insolent, much leſſe might good profece be expected of these, whom discord, sluggishly, and riot would ruine; whereof the warre would overthrow the one, and the victorie the other, both of them through their owne vices and faults. So till occaſion should serue, the open taking of armes was diſffered by Vespasian and Mucianus, having entred but lately into theſe communications, whereas the reft had con- ferred thereof long before; the better fort vpon loue to the common wealth, the reft, vone allurrd with the sweetnes of spolie, some pricked thereto by reaſon of their doubtfull and decayed eſtate at home: so the good and the bad, vpon cauſes vnlike, with like affection ardently all deſired the warre.

1 By the meane fea, Audentioribus {facin i }, per a l i u m, in oppoſition to lius f p om legere, feu praer e n u h. So that the meaning of the place is, that Titus from Corinth to Cyprys went along by the coaft, and from Cyprys into Syria by the meane fea.

2 The temple of Venus at Paphos } Strabo lib.14, igitur nolam παρος βους ον ειναι, πλεον θεν την της Σαλ κοινόν αναφερεται, συν ην ειναι εν ην ακομον την πναια αυξησιμα. That is, Next old Paphos isante above eleven stadia from the sea, there is an harbor for ships, and an ancient temple of Venus, named the place Paphia. Home- runus Ο'Juan, 0.

3 H'αυτης Κουνης Έγγειον Αποκοιμου, Εκ Παρος, ηπου α ι ει τιγέρους Εονδές συ θεοκη. Dionysius Afer calleth the whole land Εγγειον Αποκοιμου Aspendus. 

4 The fire of the temple } A point propoſed, but forgotten to be handled, vnlesse we will take those wordes, quanquam in ope re, as a sufficient diſcharge thereof, which were somewhat hard, being spoken particularly of the altars, whereas Homer maketh diſtinct and expresse mention, both of τιγέρους and Σωκλυς. That is, The temple and altar.

5 Prayers and pure fire } If it were an vnbloody sacrifice, as by these words it should seeme, it may reasonable be
be doubted wherfore mention is made before of the choice of beasts, of the fibres of kids, and anone Cæsi compli-
mentus fulfilius. But perhaps there might be bloudie facrices before the Altar, although upon it none but vbnloudie.

5 A figure rising continually round] The figure which Tacitus describeth is a Cornelius Maximus Tyrius termeth
it *cornucopia*, which is a somewhat different thing in strictnes of termes. His words be thefe, *diuixena. Alii, Cum
beo ueniet, arma prius, arma qui dicitur. Et qui Hic Abraham, qui est de quem viuens in præcognitos. Pateras
et nobi Areoliti tuis præs exe, et te Hic Abraham ne te uobis wn volup irum tuum. Qui in* cornucopiu* eximia.
Thas s is, in his 36.42. The Celt worrifh Ipsires this image with them is nothing but an high oak, the
Arabians adore, but whom I know not the image which I saw among them is a square stone. In Paphos Venus had
the chiefest honours, bringing his image you can liken to nothing so well as in a white Pyramis, or rather atriangular
Pyramis, or peraduenture it was written *cornucopia*. So, that is, *cornucopia*.

* Received the favour of Princes He feemeth to have expressed the very words of Josephus 4.6.3.76.3.1.1.

...evy̱o̱ mapadri̱xy̱zẕ. That is, The leader, and soldier, banded them selves, together, and openly sought to make

change, furiously crying; These soldiers which liuet in Rome at their ease, which never could abide to hear so much as

the rumour of warre, chafe whom they lift to the Empire, and upon hope of gain promis Princes, Whereas they who had passed

through so many paines, and were now seen old under their helmets, must yeeld that awnning to others, and thus having in

their owne comp their force for all other for government. & Paulo Post:—pryńae, s 4. advoya's 77. Tvizz 3.37.37:TeigT 44.

...adix̱f̱®̱v̱v̱; h; a̱7̱a, 3} Evpḏg 8awT 44. andOvtz 9̱f̱oyḴ ̱esa. That is, That not onely they would employ

their forcesto the eftablisbing of such as should be agreed upon there, having presently with them three Legions and auxiliarie

force from the kings; but that the whole East would confpire, and so much of Europe as floode out of feare of Viciuins.

II. Counterfaite Nero opposed in the ile of Cythus.

A Boy the same time a false alarm was giuen to Achaia and Asfia, as if Nero
were approaching: for the report going dierely concerning his death, many
gaine out vntruly that he was aluite, and many beleued it. The adventures
and attempts of the rest of those counterfaits we hall hereafter declare, in the
proceffe of this worke. Now at that time a bondman of Pontus, or, as others have
written, a libertine of Italie, skilfull in instrument and voice, and thereupon, be-
side some reemblance in countenance, being more fit to deceive, adoining vnto
him certaine fugitive and beggerly vagabond persons induced by great promisses,
taketh the sea: and being by violence of weather driven into the ile of Cythus, he
associated to him certaine soldiers which paffed that way out of the East, comman-
ding the rest to be flaine which refused and spoiling the marchants armed those
of the flanes which seemed most puiſſant of body. Moreover he aflayed by fundry
deuises to praftice the Centurion Siſenna, who caried in the name of the Syri ăn
army to the foundiers of the Garde, Right-Hands in token of concord: untill such
time as Siſenna for feare, and suspeting violence, left the land and fled secretly
away. Thereupon the terrour was dispersed abroad, and the matter growing fa-
mous, many lent their cares willingly thereto, upon defire of change, and dislike of
the present. Thus reputation dayly growing to the caufe, it was by a matter of meere
chance wholly overthrowen. Galba had granted the government of the prouinces
of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Asprenas: to waft him were allotted two
galleys out of the nauy at Milenum, with the which hee arrived at the ile of Cythus.
Vpon his arrival the masters of the galleys were summoned to come vnto
Nero: who at their comming composing himselfe to beauteine, and requiring, as
their late master at his soldiers hands, their faithfull assistance and seruice, prayed
them to sethim aland in Syria or AEgypt. The masters, partly persuaded, of els
fraudulently, anwered that first they would talke with the foundiers, and fo hauing
prepared their minde would returne: but the whole was truly reported to Asprenas,
by whose permission his ship was forced and taken, and he whatsoever he were,
flaine. His body was carried into Asia, and thence brought to Rome, wondered at for the eyes, and hair, and sternness of countenance.

III. Annius Fauius, after much ado and some flurres in the Senate, condemned of promoting.

In a dissenterious state, and through the often changings of princes, wavine between licence and liberty, even small matters were not shu't vp, without great ado. Vibius Crispus, a man for money, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great men then the good, called to his aunifere in Senate Annius Fauius a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroes time of accusing: for immediately upon the election of Galba the Senators had ordered, that the caules of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diversely construed and drawn, and as against a weak defendant in force, so against a mighty too weeke. Beside Crispus employed the terrour of his greatnes, and the vtenmost of his might, particularly to overthrew him, as the accuser of his brother, and had drawn a great part of the Senate into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended not heard: contrarielie others favouring the defendant, so much the more because the plaintiff seemed too mightie, were of opinion, that a time should be grante, the crimes specified, and the man, though culpable and odious, should notwithstanding not be excluded from common right of being heard in his justifications. Which opinion prevailed at the first, and to the hearing of the matter was some few dayes put ouer: But in the end Fauius was condemned, albeit not with that general affect of all partes that his weake conditions defered: some men disliking, not that the crime was so punisht, but that it was done at his suite, whom they well remembred to have exercised himselfe the same profession with gaine.

III. The power of Otho by land.

The beginning of the warre was prosperous on Othoes side, for at his com- maundement the Legions marched out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number fou're, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legions followed after with competent journeyes; the seuenteth lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleventh and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their seruice in repressing the Britishe rebellion; and Nero had encreased their glory, e chusing them out as the most special men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great fauourers of Othoes proceedings. But these Legions the more stregthen and forces they caried with them, the more confident they were, and consequencely the flower in comming forward: theAuxiliary cohorts and wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. Moreover the city it selfe furnished good store of soldiers: sixe Praetorian cohorts, and certaine cornets of horsemen, the first Legion, and besides two thousand fencers; a base supply, but in ciuil warres vice vsed eu'en by suerere commanders. Annius Gallus with Vetticus Spurinna were appointed to leade this power, and sent before hand to put themselves in possession of the banckes of the Po: because their first determination had failed, seeing Cecina had already past the Alpes, whom they hoped might have been kept within Gallia. Von Othoes person a choice company of spearemen attended, accompanied with the rest of the Praetorian cohorts, and the old soldiers of the Garde, besides an excesse number of those which
of Cornelius Tacitus.

which had feued at sea. His voyge was with diligence and speede as appertained, not wafufully spent in riot and pleasures: himselfe with his iron briugandie, marching before the enemie on foote, not decked, not trimmed, but friedlike, and unlike the name that went of him.

1 The beginning of the warre. In declaring of this great and important action betwixt Vitellius and Otho, I finde Tacitus, at least in my conceit, much inferior to himselfe otherwhere: omitting many necessearie circumstances, confounding things together, affirming contrarieties in apparell, and generally leading his reader not to fully satisfie, as in a historie to be looked for. As if in the circumstances of Otho the principal person, whose paces and footstepes would have been numbered, Tacitus bringeth him out of the cite accompanied in a manner with all the Senate toward the later end of March, as wee found by collection out of other writers on the feauen and twentieth day. Then here fhewing his foildierly manner of marching before his foildiers on foot, in the end he bellotweth him and his company no where: whereas indeed the Senate was left at Mutina, and himselfe marcheth toward the enemie, as faire as Brixellum a cite on the Po, and there finding out his captains flated behind, as it appeared in Plutarch, & Tacitus elsewhere; circumstances, in mine opinion, not to highly to have beene paffed over. From Brixellum, fith Plutarch, were dispachted away Cellus, Paulinus, Gallus and Spurinna. Tacitus feemeth to say, that Gallus and Spurinna were dispatched at Rome, and fent before hand ad occumpandas Pado ripas. Which if it were meant to garde the fourthe side of the Po, and fo to flay the Vitellians at leaft from paffing the river, since they could not ftope them in the mountaines, a fewe being able to keep up such a paffe against a great armie, it hath good reaoning. but Gallus did not obserue it. If to put himfelfe in possess of both fides of the Po, and fo to have the whole armie of the Po, hee could not have with the Capitaines whole armie, haung no advantage of the place? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurinna fent before, from what place fomer, ad occumpandas Pado ripas, Tacitus affigneth fom Praetorian Cohorts, equium vexilla, legio prima Adiutrix, and two thousand gladiatores: in the procefe of the worke, affigning the gladiatores to the government onely of Marcus Macer a third man, and after him to Flavius Sabinus, and setting in the other two far enough at hand, Spurina at Placentia with three Praetorian cohorts, one thousand vexillor not named before in the entry of their whole power, and a fewe, and Gallus with Prima adiutrix, I cannot tell where, nor where, and upon what occasion they diuided themselues; but wherefoever he was, taking Beibracum in his way to Placentia, he was in all reason of the north side of the Po. Then for his other three capitanes Paulinus, Celsius, and Proculus, whereof mention is made in the preparation of the warre, here in the letting out they have no charge at all affigned them (and to say the truth, I cannot see any great maffe of men they could have, leaving Otho sufficiently garded them, not as much as one named. by way of probable conceit we may suppose, that Proculus, as being Captain of the Garde, flate at Brixellum, and attented upon Othoes person. But Celsius and Paulinus are not named before in the bataille ad Batula, where bodely within twelve miles of Cremona they appare, and not farre from Beibracum (where Gallus was left) neuer mentioned before, besides many other with prima legio under their leading, being the peculiar charge of Gallus. So that to rouse at that which it was our authors fault not to set downe plainly, we may imagine, that Paulinus and Celsius were fent afterward from Brixellum to the camp at Beibracum, either to take joint-charge with Gallus, or else charge in his place, as it is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus withdrew himfelfe, perchance to recover his fallen mentioned. But seeing there is no mention of him in the action ad Batula, and in an action which paffed at Beibracum, we shall find him by & by away, where notwithstanding Tacitus left left him. Now whereas Tacitus upon not protescting a little shrivme of the gladiatores against the Vitellians, maketh Otho to fende for his brother Titianus, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant general, Plutarch with greater reaoning & probabilities, fayth it was done after the bataille ad Batula, upon dislike of Paulinus frow; proceedings; and that Proculus Captain of the Garde was fent withall, but when they came to Beibracum I cannot determine. Now if Otho were at Brixellum, Paulinus and Celsius at Beibracum, where shall we fay the great consultation was holden, where Otho, Titianus, Paulinus, Paulius & Celsus were preſent, and Gallus abfent? Heere Tacitus faileth vs again, and Plutarch rec- leueth vs, fhewing that Otho remoued from Brixellum to Beibracum to consult with his capitanes of the manner of the proceeding in the warre. Thus much of Otho, and his capitanes, it followeth of their power, which was of two forts. brought from Rome, and fent for from abroad. From Rome of our forts. Quinque Praetorian cohortes: a Equitum vexilla: b legio prima Adiutrix: c Gladiatores: d Celsius Praetorian cohortes: e & Claffi: i, with Gallus and Spurinna: f Quinque praetorian cohortes: whereof three were with Spurina in Placentia, the other two belike with Gallus: g equium vexilla without number: h legio prima Adiutrix Claffi ex religius cæsare ad Galla ad pontem Missolin: i two thousand gladiatores: in the siege of Placentia we finde mention of a thousand vexillor; whether differing from all theer, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Othoes traine Spartecia non fities corpora, I thinke: k Praetorianis: l Prima praetoria cohortes, befoide the five fent with Gallus: and yet may Praetorian fouldiers were fent with the nauy into Narbonensis, fo that hardly all the reft were not here. Claffi: i from whence focuer they came, haue miniftr'd vs, and minifter many men, feauen thousand were flaine by Galba ad pontem Missolin, & the reft decimated; m religius prima legio Adiutrix was composd. In the letter to Narbon there feued also many as souldiers, heere we have clasfis comnis ingenium numerus; with Otho a thousand Claffi inter Placentiam et Ticinom intercepit, which by all circumstances were none of this company. And Tuullius Cercialis had many Claffii: but whence he had them, and how he became his capitanes is not set downe. and before all these we haue in the third booke another whole legion e Claffii differing from prima legio, which then was in Spaine. The power fent for by Otho from Beibracum onely. Where at that place were fenttten Legions, to win, two in Dalmatia, Vndecima Claudiana & quartadecima Gemena; two in Pannonia; q epipiana Galbana et tertiae Gemina: in Meditia three, petita Gallica, septima Claudiana, and octaua Augustea, as is declared elsewhere. Now all thefe being fent for Otho, there marched at Othoes commandement, fith Tacitus, the Legions of...
Dalmatia and Pannonia, which is manifestly defective, for the Moesian Legions marched also, and came forward as far as Aquileia in favour of Otho; the same Tacitus. So that all the seven legions upon Otho's command marched, and came on: but who were come before the great battle at Bebracium, and who not, is in my opinion a question inexplicable, Tacitus words receiving so many oppositions, and implying so many contradictions, and no other story to purpose being extant of this matter. And first to begin with the most certain, the three Legions of Moesia absolutely were absent in all military actions of this warre, Tacitus lib. 1. *Mago exercitum viritu abessit: *present absolutely were two thousand and four fowlers sent before out of the four Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, as Tacitus faith. But Suetonius *Vitellius coeptum est inter se qui venireNavigate autem legiones innobis: *but these只会用 comes the passage out of Marcus Suetonius's account of Vitellius's march, and Tacitus himself, *Premiſsi Mago: *either meaning the same that he maketh here to come out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, or talking there of men in the action, which we finde not here in his general view. And lib. 3. *Dum sine Pannonia et Pannonicis: *which words seem to be meant only of this *Pannonia.*

Tacitus, and Vitellius Aquilia Lieutenant of the same. Likewise in the very conflict at Bebracium express mention is made, of the *Quattuordecima* unit, one of the Dalmatian Legions, and lib. 3. *Quattuordecimae campis Bebracianus foil feriusque.* Now that Septima Galbiana, & vndecima Claudia were before the battle at Bebracium vntied with their fellows, albeit they are not in the battle expressly named, it may appeare where they are counted *inter viros legiones.* as well as quattuordecima and terciadecima, and by Vitellius *commandement sic hiberbus sic ete.* and in Pannonia *terciadecima legum as sepima Galbiana dolorem iramque Bebraciensis pugnae restituit.* Moreover the Praetorian fowlers at Bebracium after the field left comfort themselves with no other, but only of the Moesian Legions: and at Brixellum, in comming Otho likewise mentions it made only of them. *premiſsi Moae tandem obtinentionem aduentu exercitum.* *Legiones Aquiliana insignias minabatur, ut memiones diuiniti remanerent.* So that by these places, and some other like, we may reasonably conclude, that all the other Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia were come, and so的速度, *quartadecimae , legiones usque per octavam partem commune, as being a strongest manner, that quattuordecima was not come at the time of the battle at Bebracium, and againe, speaking of the *Quattuordecima legio,* *Bebraciam et civitates aduentus.* *hanc etiam be lieve to come out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, or talking thereof men in the action, which we finde not here in his general view. And lib. 3. *Pannonicae legiones decem in limes bellum in quos est,* and *sunt ductores virosque vix ad aequalem contendere.*

Furthermore the *Pannonica Legioni,* as it appeareth by Plutarch were absent at the time of the confusion at Bebracium, *Omero de nisib or, ut inutile inuersusque ad se inventam vero ductores virosque est.* *That is, That Otho forces expeted was of Moesia and Pannonia were no less then those which he had then present, and Tacitus lib. 3. *Pannonicae legiones decem in limes bellum in quos est,* and *sunt ductores virosque vix ad aequalem contendere.*

And generally if the four legions of Pannonia and Dalmatia were in the action at Bebracium, why have we no mention feele downe of their manner of yelding to Vitellius: *being without all doubt the greater, and better part of Otho's army*? and yet certain it is, that immediately after the battle the other four Legions in question at least were in Italy, & diposited of by Vitellius, as appeareth by Tacitus, but when they entered Italy, whether they euer rejoyned with the rest, and how, where they rejoyned, and all other circumstances necessary in a point of that importance, we are generally beholding to Tacitus diligence for ordering. Of the contrary side, we may probably conclude, that all the other four Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, *being without all mention of their manner of yeelding to Vitellius:* as well as *quartadecimae legiones usque per octavam partem commune.*

*Legiones Aquiliana insignias minabatur, ut memiones diuiniti remanerent.* So that by these places, and some other like, we may reasonably conclude, that all the other three were come, but not quattuordecima. *et legiones Moesciae.* *hanc etiam be lieve to come out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, or talking thereof men in the action, which we finde not here in his general view. And lib. 3. *Pannonicae legiones decem in limes bellum in quos est,* and *sunt ductores virosque vix ad aequalem contendere.*

In the Germanies, *Kal. Ianuarii Galba et anno Vino Caesaris,* at the Time of Vitellius reuleo, were feuen Legions, as is declared elswhere; namely in lowe Germanie quintia, & quintadecima, whose standing campe was at Verea: prima, who lodged at Nauseum, and fextadecima at Bonn. In high Germania quarta Macedonica, and decimaocata alia duodecimae encamped at Magontiacum, and vnaet fextadecima Rapax lodged, as I thinke, at Vindonisia. whereof Cæcina tooke away with him vnaet fucismium Rapax wholly, and pulled well the other two at Magontiacum, to make up thirtie thousand men: and in Italy associated to him legio Italica, & other cohorient Batauorum. Tacitus lib. 3. *Maffeitzer vo potius ab eo que eius legiones in quattuor legiones Modicae.* *Excerptus erat autem quamvidelicet autem anea legiones in quattuor legiones Modicae.*

*Vitellius coeptum est inter se qui venire Navigate autem legiones innobis: *but these只会用 comes the passage out of Marcus Suetonius's account of Vitellius's march, and Tacitus himself, *Premiſsi Mago: *either meaning the same that he maketh here to come out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, or talking there of men in the action, which we finde not here in his general view. And lib. 3. *Pannonicae legiones decem in limes bellum in quos est,* and *sunt ductores virosque vix ad aequalem contendere.*

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The II. booke of the Historie
OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

NOW fortune seemed to smile upon Otho and favour his proceedings; for the greater part of Italy, by reason of his navy at sea, was possessed in his name, even to the entry of the *sea-Alpes*. to the taking in whereof and including the province of Narbon, Suedius Clemens, Antonius Nouellus, and AEmylius Pacenfsis were appointed captains by Otho: but Pacenfsis was overawe to govern the licentious soldiers; Antonius Nouellus had no reputation; Suedius Clemens in government too popular and plausible, both corrupting the rigour of discipline, and yet greatly desirous to fight. It seemed they entered not into Italy, their own native country and foile: as if it had been forraigne coasts, and cities of enemies, they burned, wasted and spoiled, with so much the more outrage and harme, because no such invasion was feared, and therefore nothing provided against it: the fields lay full of commodities; the houses wide open; the masters meeting them with their wives and their children, through the security of peace, were overtaken with the misery of warre. Marius Mattius the Procurator was President of the sea-Alpes at that time, who mustering the countrey, which yeelded store of serviceable men, purposed to withhold the Othonians from entering into his government: but at the first push these mountaine-people were slain, and dispersed, as being assembled at adventures, without knowledge of camp or of captain, and therefore reposing no honour in the victory, nor shame in the flight. The soldiers of Otho being exasperated with that battell, wreaked their anger upon the free-towne of Albium Intemelium; for in the late conflict they had gotten no booty: the peasants were begggerly, their armour not worth taking vp; and besides, being swift of foot, and skillful in the countrey, they could not be taken: but the sack of the poore innocent town paid the reckening, and contented the covetous soldier. The odiousnes of which fact was greatly encreased by a notable example, which happened there of a Ligurian woman: who having hid her sonne, the soldiers supposing she had hid her money with all, and thereupon by torture examining her, where she had hid him, sheewing her belly answered that there he was hid: neither could she by any maner of torment afterward, or death at the length, be induced to change that worthy answere.

VI. Certaine skirmishes betwene the Othonians and Vitellia-nis in Galla Narbonensis.

NOW word was brought in haste & great scare to Fabius Valens, that the fleet of Otho lay houering and ready to affail the province of Narbon, which had fided it selfe and sworne to Vitellius; and the colonies sent their Embassadours to him, desiring helpe and assistance, whereupon he dispatched away to that part, two cohorts of Tungrians, four *troupes* of horsemen, and the whole wing of the Treueri with Iulius Clasius their captain: part of which power was retained
THE II. booke of the Historie

retd for defence of the colonie of Forum Iulij, left if all were imployed in the
land-service, the fleete finding free passage by sea should sodainly surprize the city:
twelue troupes of horsemens, and the choyce of the cohortes, went against the enemy,
beside a cohort of Ligurians being the Aide antenuely belonging to that place, and
five hundreth Pannonians, which were not as yet marshalled into companies. Nei-
ther was it long ere they met together, the battell on both sides standing thus,
part of the Mariners with peasants among were placed aboue in the hils, which were
not farre off from the sea: the euen ground, betweene the hils and the sea, was filled
by the Gard-souldiers: fast by them in the sea it selfe floode the fleete prepared to
fight, turning against the enemy a terrible and threatning front. The Vitellianists,
whose strength consisted in horse rather then foote, placed their horsemens against
the Gard-souldier, and behinde the horse the cohorts in thicke and close rankes,
marshalling the Pannonians in the hils adjoyning. The troupes of the Treueri
charged vnaduisely, which charge the olde souldier receiued with courage: and
withall the peasants in flank galled them with arrows, men fit enough for that kinde
of seruice, and such as being mingled with souldiers, though otherwise daftards,
yet nowe in the victory dared as farre as the left. As the Vitellianists were thus
distressed, a greater discomfort was added by the fleete, which in the meane
seasone fetching about affailed their backes as they fought: so being enclosed on
every side they had all beene doublely destroyed, had not the darkenesse of the
night fauoured their flight, withholdinge the winners from following the chase. The
Vitellianists, albeit they had lost a battell, would not so be contented: but sending
for new supply gau叁 fresh assault vpon the enemie, which by reason of the former
successe was growne secure and less vigilant, flew the watch, entred the trenches,
and gaued the alarme to the ships; till such time as the seare, which at first is most
terrible, settling by little and little, the Othonians drew themselves in safety to a hill
there adjoyning, and then charged courageously vpon them. Much blood was there
shed, and the captains of the Tungrian cohortes, hauing long maintayned the skir-
mish, were forced at length to yeeld vp their lines: euen to Othoes men the victory
cost bloud, of whom duerse vnaduisely following were intercepted by the horse-
men turning vpon them. And so as if a mutuall suspensjon of armes had bene con-
cluded vpon, with covenant on the one side that the fleete, on the other that the
Horsemens should not attempt any sodaine inuasion, the Vitellianists retir’d to An-
tipolis a freetowne of Gallia Narbonensis, the Othonians to Albingaunum a colo-
nic of Liguria inferior.

The battle on both sides] In this conflict we haue of Othoes side mention distinctly of Classici, Pagani,
Prætoriani, and the navy, for Vitellius of twelve turmez of horsemens, a cohort of Ligurians, the choyce of the two
Tungrian cohortes, five hundreth Pannonians, and a little afterwa ye Alpins before wherefa peraduenture it should
be rede; Alpins in both places, and ment perchance of the Liguers: for what Pannonians should do heere I
cannot imagine, or if it were true, yet being strange, at the leaſt Tacitus should haue done well to haue told vs how
they came thither.

VII. The estate of Corsica and Sardinia, and the rest of
the islands there about.

THE reputation of Othoes Victorious fleet easely held Corsica, Sardinia, and
the rest of the islands thereabout in Othoes obedience. But Corsica almost
was ruined by the rashnes of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator; who entred
into an action, which in so great a preparation for warre, could nothing ansaile to ef-
fecting the principall purpose, and yet serued well enough to worke his destruction.

For
For upon hatred against Otho, he determined with the strength of the island, to aide Vitellius; an aide vaine and to no purpose even if it, had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principal men of the ilande, he declareth his meaning, and comman
deth Claudius Phirrhicus master of the galleyes there, and Quinctius Certus a gentle
taman of Rome, to be slaine, who opposes themselves against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being所产生的 allegiance to Vitellius, & consequently the inferior fort partly upon ignorance, & partly to bear them company which did it for seare. But when as Pacarius began to take mister, to tire those rude people in training & other militare duties, they waxing weary of that unwoanted labour fell to recount their owne weakenesse: that it was but an ilande, which they inhabited: that Germanie and the Legionary power was far off: and that even they were wasted and spoiled by the fleete, whom both cohorts & wings did prote\nt. Whereupon their mindes sodainly fell away, and so they conspire against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by priuie attempt against his person. for which purpose chuing out a fit opportunity, as he was in the bath naked and without helpe, the multitude that followed him being departed away, they flew him and his company, and carried the heads of them, as of traitours, to Otho: by whose notwithstanding they were not punished, as also not punished by Vitellius, in future great confusion and disorder of the state, passing among greater crimes; and shadowed with other more hainous offences.

**VIII. Certaine small actions of the Syllan wing in Italie before Cae
cinaes entrie.**

Now the Syllan wing, as before we have shewed, had opened the passage into Italie, and drawnen the warre over the mountaines, the countrey flattering not Otho, neither yet upon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom long peace had broken to all kind of flauery, they were easily possesed by the first commet, and not curious to side with the better. The whole countrey and cities lying betweene the Po and the Alpes, the most flourishing part of all Italie, was held by Vitellius soldiers: for the cohorts which Caecina had sent before him were now already come in. At Cremona a cohort of Pannonians was taken, and betweene Placentia and Ticinum an hundredth horse intercepted, and a thousand sea-soldiers: by which succession Vitellius men being animated could not be stopped by bancke nor by rier. Moreover the inhabitants of Bataia and beyond the Rhene were enflamed the more even by the verie b fight of the Po; which they passed over against Placentia, and taking some of the enemies spyes fo terrifed the rest, that being afraide they falsely reported Caecina was come with his whole armie. Spurinna, who then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Caecina was not yet come, and if he did come, was certainly resolued to keepe his men within their defences, and not to hazard three Praetorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a few horse, against an army of old and approved warriers: but the v

ruly soldiers and wnskillfull of seruice staching vp their enfeignes and banners ruth
fed forward, and as the capitaine endeououred to stay them they bent their weapons vpon him, not respecting their Centurions and Tribunes, who commended the capitaines circumpe\ntenes, but the soldiery cried For Otho, and stucken not moreover to affirme that Caecina was sent for vnder hand. Spurinna yeelded to follow their follie, by force at the first, afterward making shew as if he were willing that his counsaille might cary more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to coole,
When they were in the sight of the Po, and the night approached, order was given, that the camp should be entrenched and staked. That labour strange and unusual to the city-soldier, abated their fierceness. Then they of the elder sort began to see their own error, and correct their credulity; to lay open the feare, and the danger, if in those champion countries Cæcina should with his army enliven them being as it were but an handful: and now they began throughout all the whole camp to vse modest and dutifull speeches, and by meanes of the Centurions and Tribunes, who insinuated themselves into their companies, to commend the wisedome of the captain, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and state of the warre, a colonie of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spurinna himselfe, not by vntimely exprobrating their fault, but by reason convincing it, wanne them to his opinion, and leaving some behind for scouts brought backe the rest into Placentia lefse mutinous then before, and more at commandement. The walles were made stronger, the number of bulwarkes and towers encreased, and provision made not only of armour, but of subjection and love of obeying; the onely point which lacked in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

Lying betwene the Po and the Alpes] of Milan, Nouara, Epoedia and Vercellæ we haue mention before lib.I. of the rest being many, and great tounes, how they were at this time come to Vitellius side, nothing is set downe in Tacitus: matters in my opinion not to haue beene omitted, especialy concerning Cremona. Plutarch seemeth to make Cremona, one of the tounes betwene the Alpes and the Po, to haue beene kept and possessed a great while by the Othonians. And Tacitus here writeth, capta Pannoniarum colors apud Cremonam by the Vitellianists, which cohort of Pannonians, whomever they were, and from whence soever they came thither (for Tacitus leaues vs to our gesses) may seeme to haue beene put in the toun by Otho for a garrison, and here taken by the Vitellianists with the toun, although the circumstances in Plutarch do not fully agree with it by reason of the time there.

IX. Cæcina commeth into Italie, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.

B

Vt Cæcina, as if he had left on the other side of the mountaines cruelty and licentiousnes behinde him, marched thorough Italie with all modesty, he and his companies. His kinde of attire the free cities and colonies conftrued as a signe of pride, because he gaue audience to men which came gowned, himselfe being in his short fouldiers cote of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had been interested thereby, they were greued also to see his wife Salonna riding yppon a goodly palfray with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: such is the nature of man, and so deeply is the quality rooted in vs, straitly to looke into the late prosperity of others with an envious eye, and to require a moderation of fortune, no where so much, as in those we haue feene in an equall degree with our selves. Cæcina hauing pased the Po, and assayed by parlees, and promises to weaken the loyaltie of Otho's men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plausible names of peace and concord had often beene spent beweteene them in vaine, converted his counsailys and cares to the besieging of Placentia in moft terrible maner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succede, so for the rest reputation would follow. But the first daies worke was conducted rather by fury, then according to skill mette for men of so long experience in seruice: without couer or defence they ventured rashly vnder the walles, their bodies furcharged with meate and with wine. In that assault the Amphitheatere, a piece of moft curious workmanship standing without the walles, was burned, set on fire either by the besiegers as they hurled brands and balles of wildefire against the besieged:
besieged: or by the besieged as they hurled againe. The townesmen being icelous, and prone to sicpicion, beleaued that matter was minisitred to the fire vpon ma-
lice, by certaine neighbour colonies, vpon emulation and envy, because no piece of worke in all Italie was of that capacity beside: by what chance foever it happened, whilst left further danger was feared, it pass'd not greatly regarded; when all peril was past, as if no greater misfortune could haue befallen, then it was much followed for and lamented: but in the end Caeçina was repulsed with loss of many of his men, and the night following was spent on both sides in new preparations.
The Vitellianits make provision of plutei, crates, and vinea, instruments to vnder-
mime the walles, and proteç t thofo which were to give the assault: the Othonians of timber logges and great weights of stones, and lead, and brafe, to breake thorrow the workes and overwhelme the adversaries. Both parties were pricked a with shame, and with glory, and seuerall encouragements were vfed; the one side exalting the Legions and strength of the German army, the other magnifying the honour of the cittie-feruice, and of the Praetorian cohorts: the one reuiling the soldier within as flaggish, and rety, and effeminated in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuking the enemy without as a forrainer and stranger: affumings withall into part of the praise and dispraise the perfections of Otho and Vitellius, accordine indeede more plentifully matter of reproch then of stt commendation. The day was scarce
yet sprung, when as the walles were replenished with men at defence, the feeld did gliter with armour and soldiers; the Legionary * with their thick and clofeº ranckes, the Auxiliary loose and dispersed, they attempt with arrows and stones a fare off to disfurnish the highest parts of the walles, if any place were neglected or decayed by age thither they make nearer approches: Otho men from aboute
with more peyze and certainty, hurle darts vpon the German cohorts, which rashly came vnder: with a hideous note, and according to their cuntry maner, with bod-
dies naked, shaking their targets ouer their shoulders. The Legionary soldier, cove-
red with plutei and crates, vndermineth the walles, raiseth vp mounts, and endou-
reth to wret open the gates: of the contrary side the Praetorian soldiers hauing millstones of huge weight placed for the purpoze, with fearfull noyse rowle them downe vpon the enemy; part which came vnder were overwhelmed, part wounded with darts, and flaine or mangled: and so as in a confusion and fear, the sligh
ter encresing below, and consequently their fircenes above, the Vitellianits re-
tired with decay of reputation to the fide; and Caeçina vpon the infamy and shame of this siege so rashly attempted, left he should seeme to sit still in the fame ground skorne and to no purpoze: paffeth the Po backe againe with purpoze to go to Cre-
mona. As he departed away Turullius b Cerealis with many of the mariners retol-
ted vnto him, and Iulius Briganticus with a few horfe: Iulius was by birth a Bata-
tian and captaine of a wing, the other, hauing servied as a principall Centurion in Germanie, was easily wunne to Caeçinaes fide. Spurinna, vpon knowledge had what way the enemy tooke, certificheth Annius Gallus by letters, that Placentia was defended, what had pass'd, and what Caeçina intended to do. Gallus, mistrusting left those few cohorts within could not endure a long siege, and the force of the German army, was bringing the first Legion to succour the towe: but when he re-
ceived aduise, that Caeçina was repulsed, and going to Cremona, he staith the Le-

gion c at Bebriacum being hardly withholden from mutining, because he would not leade them to fight. d Bebriacum is a village betweene Verona and Cremona,
*notorious and infortunate for two Roman calamities.

a: With shame, to bee overcome, and glory of outnumbering.

b: In the name of the Emperor Vitellius.

c: Caeçina was repulsed, and the German army was bringing the first Legion to succour the town.

d: For the fuller satisfaction of the reader, it had been convenient to have declared whether they were after Gallus, or Cassius, or some other, and to what occasion they were then in that place.

For the full iententia legi-

*demissa legi-

*mones omnem:

and yet Caeçina

* had but one

*Legion, namely

* in vacuo:

*Ropes, as I
take it.
THE II. booke of the Historie

Plutei, crates and vineae Plutei, saith Vegetius lib.4, cap.15, is a certaine moueable engine contexte ad familiares albis, & citius vel coni exsella, quin obdestantes auant maris, iniqua munitione proseti; fugitiva sine man- due vel misellina defensores de propagante exturbant, ut scire secedendo facilis praestet occa. Vinea according to Vegetius in the same place, and Luke.1 lib. was a frame of wood, or hurdles, covered with earth, su quo subhiden- stecta ad fabrinnen mensurum penetrans fundamenta. Crates the same with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same purpose.

Notorious and infortuniate the two calamities here ment are the two great battailes, the first between the Othonians and Vitellianiists decribed in this booke: the other between the Vitellianiists and Florianists set fete in the next, more commonly known by the name of praelium Cremonense, & with greater reason, being fought under the walls of Cremona, and twentie miles from Bebriacum, albeit then the first skirmish indeed began not above eight miles from Bebriacum. 3 Hift. and this former bataile also was fought a great way from Bebriacum, immensum in statuibus, saith Tacitus, and by all probabilite, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

X. Macer skirnifhet with the Vitellianiists. Otho, suspecting the rest of his captaines, committh the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.

A bout the same time, not farre from Cremona, Martius Macer had a luckily day against the Vitellianiists. For Macer being a man of courage and forward, put the fencers in boates and landed them sodainly on the other side of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitellianiists were dirstressed, and the rest fleeing to Cremona, those which remained behinde flaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, left the enemies strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and after the fortune of the bataile. That fact bred icelice in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howsoever finifter, who egerly as ech was in courage most daftard, most lauifh in tongue, so sought they by divers misconftruing criminations to put in disgrace Annius Gallus, and Sueto- nius Paulinus, and Marius Celcus, for them also had Otho made Commanders. The principal firebrands of sedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, who being transported by feare, and the guiltines of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good courte of proceeding; sometimes breaking openly out into mutinous speeches, and sometimes by secret aduertisements to Otho: who giving credit lightly to euery base person, and standing in feare of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperiy uncertainly caried, and goerning himselfe in aduersity better. So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant general in the war.

So he sent for Titianus! This change of captains Plutarch with more reason putth after the bataille ad Cataini: nam (speaking of the victorie ad Cataini) in omnium seculorum quilibet in re operatione, ertur in duas universum vetustatem, et secalum quod spectat. That is, The victorie being not fully prosecuted through the leaders, faults of the soldiers being the Sunes of the victorie, and Primus captane of the Garde, and indeede the alteration is too great to be induced upon the slacknes of a pettie companion, especally seeing we finde Macer, who committed the fault, full retained in his charge, & Paulinus & Celcus, two of the greatest men in the state, in a maner disgraced for the fault of another, according to Tacitus. Now upon this fault whensoever committed, to send from Brixellum for Titianus at Rome so many miles distant, (for there we left him in the last words of the fault booke) and bring him to Bebriacum to the consultation, may perchance seeme strange to him that considereth how that from Othoes going out of Rome with his armie till his death were not about twenty fouer daies in all, and perchance not so much.

XI. Paulinus and Celsius give Caecina an overthow.

N the meane season vnder the conduct of Paulinus and Celcus a notable over- throw was gien. Caecinae attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his armie now waning, much greeued his minde: he had beene repulsed from Placentia; his Auxiliaries lately flaine; and when as the discouerers met one an-
there, in those ordinary bickerings rather then materiall he commonly went to the worse: whereupon when Fabius Valens approched, left the whole honor of the war should fall upon him, he hafted with greater speede then good counsell, to recover his glory. About twelue miles from Cremona, at a place calleid Cattores, he placed secretly in the woods, joynynge upon the hys way, of his best Auxiliary soldiers, commanding the horfemen to go out further, and so hauing begun the skirmish to give backe and retire, drawing on the enemy to follow in the heat of the chace, vntill the ambush shou’d rife: that purpoſe was bewrayed to Othoes commandes. Paulinus was generall of the foote, and Celtius of the horfe. The Vexillaries of the thirteenth Legion, lower Auxiliary cohorts, and five hundredth horfe were placed in the left battell; in the middle three Praetorian cohorts, ranked straitly together, kept their standing vpon the hys way: in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillaries cohorts, and five hundredth horfe: and out of the Praetorian and Auxiliaries were lead a thousand horfe, for an ouer measure if fortune hapned to go on their side, or otherwise a supply, if they should be distresse. Before the joining the Vitellianists turned their backes, and Celtius, understanding the fraud, reprefted his men. The ambush rising vp raflily, as Celtius gaue ground, followed fo farre till they were circumambulated themselves: for on the sides were the cohorts, and the Legion to meete them in face, and the horfemen sodainly ranging out had encloued their backes. Suetonius Paulinus at the first delayed sometime to give to his foote men the signe of the bataile: for being a persōn naturally flowe, and one who likd much better wary courses with reaſon, then happe by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the fielde to be made open and easie of passage, the battalions to be displaied, supposing it feasional enough to beginne then to ouercome others, when as order was taken they could not be overcome themselves. By means of that delay space was given to Vitellius men to flee into the vines, where, by reaſon of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was troublesome to follow: and a little wood adioyned which covered them; out of which they issued eftfoones and flew the formost of the Praetorian horfemen, there


* King Epiphanes, fighting valiantly on Othoes side, was wounded. By that time Othoes footmen preffed forward, and bare downe by maine force the enemies host turning to flight even those also which came for to succourse. for Caeccina sent not for his cohortes together, but one after another: which thin in the fight augmented the terror: for the feare of them that fled carried away the succours, which came disperſedly, and neede so many at once, as to reftore the battell. In the campe also a mutinie arose, because they were fetched so fcatteringly, and Julius Gratia the Camp-maister was put in prison, as though in fauour of his brother, who servd under Otho, he intended some treason, where as the Othonians had, on the other side, committed to ward Julius Fronto his brother, a Tribune, vpon colour of the same crime. But in truth every where the fear was so great, in those which fled, in those which met them, in the field and at the campe, that vnsleſse Suetonius Paulinus had founded the retreat, not sufferinge his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Caeccina might have bee engrooved with his whole army. Paulinus pretended that he was afeard, left, beside so much trauail and so great a journey, the Vitellian fouldier shou’d have issued forth of their campe fresh against his men being tired, no supply remaining behind, if it fortuned them to have beene defeated. Some few approoved that reaſon of the Generall, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.
The II. booke of the Historie

1. Hiſt.

b Itſcemeth strange, that the Legions should be displeased with the departure of those, whose insolent and contumelious behaviour they could not abide. If Tacitus for true not part five lines before.

Six miles from Cremona is a place called Cafor. This place is twelve miles (faith our author) from Cremona, where the maine campe, I think, of Cæcina lay, and eight miles at the least from Bebriacum, where Paulinus and Cælius were encamped, howsoever they are here met in the middle way. Gallus, as it should feeme, was retired to cure himſelfe of his fall, or at least, seeing here is no mention of him in the field, left to garde the campe; as it feemeth also he was the time of the great maine battæle described in the sixteenth chapter.

Three Praetorian cohorts] Five Praetorian cohorts were under the charge of Gallus and Spurinna. Tacitus, whereof three were at this time in Placentia with Spurinna, and three more we have here now in Gallus campe, one too many: but Otho, we must say, was not farre off to supply it out of the rest of the Praetorian cohorts.

XII. The description of a mutine which happened in Valens campe.

Valens commeth into Italie and ioymeth with Cæcinaes.

This overthrow did not so much daunt the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to a more modest behaviour, not onely in Cæcinae campe, who caft the fault on the souldier more ready to mutin then fight; but the army of Fabius Valens also (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying aside contempt of the enemy, and defirous to recover their glory, began to shew to their Generall a more reuerent and orderly obedience. For before a great and hoate mutine had happened out, which I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it was not conuenient to interrupt the course of Cæcinae actions. The cohortes of Batauians, which in the warre of Nero were departed from the fourteenth Legion, and in their returne toward Britannie, hearing of Vitellius attempt in the countrey of Lingones, had ioyned themselues, as before we haue shewed, to Fabius Valens, began to waxe proud and insolent, vanting and brauing as they came to the tentes of any of the Legions, that they were the men which had ouerruled the fourteenth Legion, bereaued Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all thefortune and whole successe of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the souldier, and highly displeased the Generall, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings corrupted. At the laſt Valens, by their insolent behaviour suspecting perfidiousnes alfo, receiuing aduife, that the wing of the Treueri and Tungrians were beaten by Othoes fleete, and that the province of Narbon was in some danger of invasion, partly upon a care to defend his friends, and allies, and partly upon militare policie to disperse these Batauians so mutinously affected, and of so great strength if they remained togethre, commanded part of the cohortes to goe and relieue them. Which thing when it was heard and noyned abroad, the Auxiliaries mourned, the Legions stomached, lamenting they should be deprevt in such a time of so maine an affinte of such valiant men: what? should those so experienced, and conquereurs in so many warres, when as the enemies were within viewe, be sent away, as it were, out of the field? if the province were a matter of more conſequence then the citie of Rome and safety of the state, why did they not all follow thither? but if the accomplishment of the victorious, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italie, what raefon then to brake off, as it were, the foundeſt and strongeſt liames from the bodie? vpon thofe and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by fending his sergents among them, went about to correct their fiditious behaviour, they offered violence to himſelfe, threw stones, and forcing him to flee, followed after; and crying, that the spoile of France, the gold of Vienna, and the price of their labours was by him embezelled, and hid, they spoiled his cariage, they pearced and searched his pauilions, and the very ground it felle with their launces and dartes: for Valens himſelfe in a bondmans apparell lay vnknowne in the tent of an vnder-captaire.
taine of horsemen, Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-master, perceiuing the heat of the mutiny past, & the soldiers by little & little to grow colder, adoineth a policy thereunto: forbidding the Centurions to meddle with searching and perusing the watch, & omitting to sound the trumpet, by which the soldier is called to his charge. Whereupon they all amazed, looking on another, astonished and dismayed to see themselves thus without head, or direction: and so with silence and patience, and lastly with tears and intreaty besought pardon of their offence. But when as Valens came forth above all expectation aitue, weeping and badly tire, then was there joy and compassion, and a general favouring of the man: and changing their former affections into gladness, as the common fort is in both without measure, they carried him in the midst of the Standards and ensignes, with praises and gratulations, to the Tribunal. Valens, vowing a profitable and discreet moderation, required not any one to be executed for this transgression; one in words reprooued some few, lest if he dissemblled the whole, he should be suspected the more: knowing right well that in civil warres the soldiers have a vantage over the Generall, and are more bold to commit disorders, then the General may to correct them. As they were entrenching at Ticinum, woorde was brought of Cæcinae overthrow, and the sedition was almost renewed againe, as though by fraud and delays of Valens they had beene kept backe, and come short of the battell. Whereupon refusing to rest any longer, without staying for their Generall they march forward, running before their ensignes, and hastening the ensign-bearers: and so in all speed joyne with Cæcina. Valens was also disliked and generally blamed in the armie of Cæcina: who pretended themselves to be aggrieved, that they were left, being so farre inferior in number, as a pray to the whole power of the enemies; highly extolling withall the strength of the other army, partly to excuse themselves, and partly to flatter their fellows, left as conquered and cowardly persons they should be despised of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, almost double number of Legions and aides to the other, yet were the good wills of the soldiers more inclining to Cæcina, beside curteze, wherein he excelled the other, by reason also of his flourishing age, and taleness of stature, and upon a certaine vaine fauour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation betweene the two generals. Cæcina contemned the other, as a lewd peron of life and criminally noted: Valens scoffed at him as being proud and vaine glorious: but referring their hatred in secret they joyned openly both in the common cause, by many letters, without respect of pardon, objecting to Otho his infamous life; whereas the Generals of Othoes side, notwithstanding the argument yeelded that way most plentiful matter, abtained from all reuling speeches against Vitellius: and in truth before their ends, which on Othoes side was most commendable, of Vitellius most ignominious, the drowzie pleasures of Vitellius were feared leste, then the hot burning lustes of Otho: and beside, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily no man charged Vitelius with beginning the warre. Vitellius in exceede and bellicheere was an enmy to himselfe: Otho in riot, cruelty, audaciouines, reputed more dangerous to the state.

* Forbidding the Centurions */ Petitu vigiliae obire centurioniibus. The Centurions charge was not obire vigiliae, but / circitores, fuisse in caul vigiliae distinct. Whenupon they whole charge it was (in Polybius, some of the horsemen, in Vegetius, Circitores) went about. so that the Centurions not founding, the Round was not gone.
THE II. booke of the Historie

XIII. Otho determineth to commit the matter to the hazard of a battell, and retireth himselfe to Brixellum.

THE forces of Cæcina and Valens being ioyned together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the caufe in a maïne battell. Otho proposed the matter in councell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the warre, or els to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetonius Paullinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in militare affayres, supposing it agreeable to his fame and renowne, to discouer of the whole maner of proceeding in this warre, floode vp, and declared his opinion to be; that making of haste was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them, that all the host of Vitellius was come, certaine small forces remaining behinde, which could not conueniently be removed from the banke of the Rhene, for feare of invasion of those fierce nations: especiallly Fraunce standing also in some teares of rebellion: the foildier in Britannie had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also stopped by the sea: that Spaine had no great store of foildiers: the province of Narbon was frightened, by reason of the late invasion by sea, and the ouerthrow which they received; and that portion of Italie beyond the Po, now in the posseffion of the enemy, was wafted with the passage of their army, and haue no helpe but by sea, and by land shut in with the Alpes, could not be reliefed fro then abroad: so that they could no-where have come for their men, and an host without provision could not be entertained. Now the Germans, which of all the enemies were most terrible, having foggy and waterish bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the sommer, be able to endure the change of the soile, and the ayre. that many armiyes whose fury at the first rush could not be resifted, by delays and weastring out were brought vnto nothing. Contrariwise they had all things themselues, well stored and well assured vnto them: Pannonia, Moesia, Dalmatia, the Easte, with their armiyes, whole and untouched; Italie, and Rome the queene of the world, the Senate and people, titles never darkened, though sometimes ouershadowed: wealth priuate and publicke, and infinite masses of money, which in civil commotions is of greater force then the sword: the bodies of their foildiers were accustomed to Italie, or to other hoate countreyes: the riuer of Po lay before them as a defence: their cities were safely manned and walled: and by the holding out of Placentia it was cleere to be seen, that none through distresse or despair would yeeld to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion he was to protract the warre. That within fewe daies the fourteenth Legiun would be come, a Legiun of great reputation, with the forces of Moesia: then might he deliberate againe, and, if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power and greater advantage. Marius Celius approv'd the opinion of Paullinus, and certaine which were sent to Annius Gallus (who was hurt with a fall of his horse a fewe daies before) to demande his advice, brought word that he also was of the same judgement. But Otho was willing to bring it to a battell: his brother Titianus and Proculus captain of the Gard, hastening upon ignorance and lacke of skill, protestted that fortune and all the gods, with the godhead of Otho, favoured the counsailes, and would without question prosper the enterprize: descending to this groffe kind of flattery, lest any should dare to crosse their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperour should withdrawe himselfe, or else be present in the field in person: the felted manes taking also herein a wrong course, without any more opposition of Paullinus.
Paullinus and Celsus, lest they should seem to hazard their Prince too venturously, persuaded him to retire to Brixellum; and so being exempt from the doubtful events of the field, to reserve himself for the main chance of the state. That day was the beginning of ruin to Otho's side. For with him a valiant company of Praetorian cohorts, of spearmen and horse departed away: and the rest which remained behind were quite out of heart, as having no confidence in their Generals: and Otho, whom only the soldiery trusted, because he trusted none else but the soldiery, had not perfitely feted the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and uncertain.

XIII. A Skirmish between the Vitellianists and Macer with his fencers upon the Po.

That which was said or done was carried by and by to the Vitellian side, fugitives swarming as in civil warres, and the spies, upon desire to search out and discover other mens counsails, disclosing their owne. Cæcina and Valens lay still, quietly attending while the enemy should by his owne ra fertile misery, meaning in lieu of widsdome to use the vantage of other mens folly. And so beginning a bridge, left their soldiery should be made worse with too much idlenesse and ease, as if they had meant to have pass'd the Po, and forced a band of fencers encamped on the other side, they commanded boats to be placed crosse the riuier, with their heads vp the streame, in equal and convenient distances, and joined them strongly together with plancks, casting anckers also to make the bridge steadfast and firme: but the cable ropes were not tied short, but plaide at length, that when the riuier should rife, the whole frame likewise might rife without hurting. Upon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the vermoost boate, that out of it they might with their engines and shot displaice, and drive away the enemies: the Othonians also upon the bancke had builded a tower, and did hurl stones and fire. In the middle of the riuier there was an isle, into possession whereof the fencers sought to put themselves by boate, but the German by swimming prevented them; and when Macer saw a competent number of them arriv'd there, embarking of his best fencers, he put thereto to assayle them: but neither were the fencers of the like courage in fight to the soldiery, neither could they, tottering out of their boats, ayme to certaine a blow, as the other steadily standing did from the land: and when as through sundry stippings aside upon feare the rowers and soldiery, which stoo'd at defence, were confusedly mingled together and put in disorder, the German soldiery leaping courageously into the shalow, and hanging at the tailes of the boats, either clambered vp to the hatches, or by maine strength overthurned the boats into the water. All which things passsing after this sort in the view of both the armies, as they were matter of great joy to the Vitellianists, so to the contrary side they gave occasion to hate and detest him, who was author and cause of the loffe. And the skirmish was ended indeede by flight and the breaking away of the boats which remained; but Macer was required to the slaughter: and when they had wounded him with a darte a farre off, they rannie in with their swords drawn to dispatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protect him. A little afterward Vestricius Spurinna by Otho's commandement, leaving a small garrison at Placentia, with his cohorts came to succour them: and anone Otho sent Flauius Sabinius Consul elect to commande Macers companies, the soldiery being glad at the
the change of captains, and the captains, by reason of so many mutinies, unwilling to enter into so dangerous a service.

XV. That it is nothing probable, that in so corrupt an age, the soldiers would of their owne accord have surceas'd from civil war, and by common consent, and advice of the Senat, depositing these two bad, have chosen a third good Prince.

In some writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either having in honour the warre, or loathing both Princes, whose shames and dishonours were daily divulged more notoriously abroad, consulted amongst themselves to surcease the contention, and that either they by common consent should choose a new Prince, or refer it over to the Senats appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Otho's side, namely Paulinus, had counsail'd to delay and protract, hoping it would fall upon him, as being the most ancient Consulare, a famous commander, and one that in the warres of Britanny had won great glory and name. For my part, although I could be induced to grant that some few peradventure secretly wished quiescence in sted of discord, and for two most lewd and wicked, one good & innocent Prince, so I cannot be brought to beleue, that Paulinus being so wise a man would ever hope in a most corrupt age for such moderation in the common fort, that when as for desire of warre they had troubled the peace of the state, now for love of peace they would abandon the warre: or that armies in tongue and conditions so different, could condescend to so great an agreement: or that the Lieutenants and Generals, which for the most part were persons drowned in riot, beggarly and guilty of most hainous crimes, would ever have suffered any Prince but one polluted with the like vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholly obnoxious to them. That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingrafted now long agoe in mens hartes, grew vp and shot out with the greatness of the Empire. For whilest our dominions were strait, an equalitie was easily maintained: but after we had subdued the world, destroyed all cities, or kings which stood in our light, or might worke our annoyance; when as we had leave to seeke after wealth vide of peril, there arose first hot contentions betwixt the nobility and commons: sometimes factious Tribunes carried it away: sometimes the Consuls held a hard hand and preuailed: and in the city and Place of assembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were of ciuill warres, were attempted. Anone after Caius Marius one of the meaneft of the comminallty, and Lucius Sulla the cruellest of all the nobility, by force of arms overthrowing the free estate, induced an absolute government. After whom Cneius Pompeius succeeded, somewhat secret, but nothing better: and after that time never was other question debated by armes, but who should be soueraigne Prince of the state. The Legions in Pharsalia and Philippi, consifting of citizens, were not so moderately minded: much lesse may we thinke the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, haue layde downe their weapons. The gods were no lesse incensed against vs: men were no lesse mad and furiously minded: the same vices reigning amongst vs haue induced the like dissensions and discords. That the warres were decided, and ended as it were each at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardlines and faint-hartednes of the Princes, and not to the peaceablenes of the armes. But the recounting of the dispositions & maners, of present & ancient times, hath caried me out of the way. Now I returne to the order of the story.

XVI. The
XVI. The great battle at Bebriacum: wherein Otho's side was overthrown.

When Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother carried the countenance and title of General; Procullus captain of the Garth the power and authority: Paullinus and Celsius, when as no man employed their wisdedome and skill, were captains onely for name sake and to be entitled to other mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contemned, and the worst fort in credit, were doubtfull of the event: the fouldier not withstanding was full of courage and heart, yet such as had rather construe then execute his Generals commandements. It was resolued, that the campe should remoue forwarde, and sit downe in a place lower miles of from Bebriacum, so without reason and skill, that although it was spring time of the yeare, and so many rivers about them, yet were they distrest for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to be gien or not. For Otho by letters required to haften the matter: the fouldiers defined their Princes presence in fielde: many were of opinion to send for the companies which lay on the other side of the Po. Neither can it so easily be discerned what had beene best to haue done, as that it was the worst which they did: vndertaking to goe to the confluence of the rivers of Po and Olius, full sixeene miles from that place (a competent journey for an army to march, and much too great for them which went to a battell) directly against the aduise of Paullinus and Celsius; who held it unsafe to hazard the fouldier, tired with the journey, and heavy laden with cariage, against an enemy, that would not faile, being lightly appointed, and having come scarce lower miles, to charge upon them either as they marched in disarray, or else at their sitting downe as they dispersed themselves to fortifie the campe. But Titianus and Procullus, when as they were overcome by reason fled to authority, by vertue of their office commandning the contrary: and indeed there was come a Numidian horseman in post from Otho with a sharp message, in the which, as one that could not abide delays, and impatient to linger in hope, he checked the Generals for their slacknesse, commandning them forthwith to put it to a field. The same day as Caecina was busily occupied about making the bridge, two Tribunes of Praetorian cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and being upon the point to give audience, and make answere to them, the skowts came running in haste, signifying the enemy was at hand whereupon the parlee brake off, and so it remained vncentaine what they intended: whether to lay a trayne for Caecina, or to betray their owne fellows, or els some other honest devise. Caecina hauing dismissed the Tribunes, riding backe to the campe, found the signe of the battell already given by Valens commandments, and the fouldiers in armes. Whilest the Legions cast lots concerning their order in matching to the field, the horsemen issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely, by Othoes men being fewer in number, eu'n in the trenches, had not the Italian Legion manfully draven their swords, and by fear forced them to returne and make head upon the enemy againe. The Vitellian Legions were ordered and put in array without tumult or feare: for the bushes and thickets tooke a way the fight of the enemy, albeit he were neare. Contrarily in Othoes army the Generals with fear were put out of their skill; the fouldiers neither loued nor trusted their Generals; the wagons and idle followers of the camp troubled the works of the soldiers, being confusedly mingled amongst them; and the hys way deeply dirched
ditched on both sides was too narrow for an army, though marching without fear of the enemy: some stood about, some fought their ensignes, on every side there was a confused noise of men running and crying: and as each was guided by boldness or fear, so pressed he forward into the first ranks, or retired into the left. Their minds being in this fort striken with a sodain terrour, a falsely surmised joy abated their fierceesse: for some there were which vntruly gaue out, that the army was revoluted from Vitellius. That rumour whether it was difpersed abroade by Vitellius slyes, or ofle otherwise among Otho men, whether by fraude or chance, it is not certainly known: but howsoever, thereupon the Othonians laying aside all edge to fight, in fled thereof profered after a friendly fort to faltu them, but were with vnielie murmurie intertained againe: which salutation gaue cause to many of their owne side, that were ignorant of the rumour, to feare treason. Then the hoft of the enemies in good array, superiour both in number and strength, charged vpon them: the Othonians, although in difarray, fewer and weary, yet valiantly receiued the charge. And as in places troubled with trees and vines the fight was not euery where after one maner: but heere neare at hand, and there a farre off: sometime in squadron, sometime in triangle figure: vpon the height of the way ioyning footo to foot, and bearing downe with body to body, and buckler to buckler: omitting the vses of the dart, and with swords and hatchets unbuckeling and breaking helmets and corcelets: and the parties knowing one another, and being seene of their companions, each contendted to shew vertue and valour, as if vpon their manhood had depended the event of the whole warre. It fortuned, that in open field betweene the Po and the high way, two Legions met and fought together; for Vitellius the one and twentieth named Rapa, a Legion ancieently renowned, of Otho part the first called Adiutrix, one neuer bef or brought to the battell, but premising greatly of hir selfe, and greedily, as in his first servise, of honour. They of the first Legion, beatinge to ground the ensignes of the one and twentieth, tooke away the standard by force: whereupon the Legion incensed with griefe both put them of the first in branie slaying Orphidius Benignus the Lieutenant, and also tooke many ensignes and banners from them. On the other side the thirteenth Legion was forced by them of the fifth: and certaine of the fourteenthe hemmed in with multitudes of enemies that came in vpon them. And whereas the Generals of Otho's side had left the field and were fled already away, Cæcina and Valens yet strengthened their side with freche supply: and beside a new succour came in of Alphenus Varus with his Batauians, after he had discomfited the band of the fencers, who passing the water by boates were flaine by the aduertery cohorts in the very riuers selle. So being victorious they invaeded the flank of the enemies: and when once the middle battell was forced, the Othonians brake and fled towards Bebricacum. The way was long and almost stopped vp with dead carcasses, the slaughters being the greater for that in ciuill warres there is no profit to be made of the prisoners. Suetonius Paullinus and Licinius Proculus tooke sundry waies and thunpered the campe: Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the thirteenth Legion, supposing all other waies vnfafe, through vnadvised feare put himselfe into the danger of the furious standpoint. For entering into the campe a great while before it was night, he was exclaimed vpon and tailed at on euery side, with clamors of the most feditious and cowardly persons: who forbearing to vse neither tongues nor hands, reuiled him as a fugitive and traitour, not vpon any specialty they could charge him withall, but after the maner of the common fort, ech man laying his owne shame vpon others. Titianus and Celsius returned not before night, which seruied them to good purpose,
for the watch was now set, and the soldiers' fury appeased by the help of Annus Gallus: who partly by intreaty and aduise, partly by his credit and authority, persuaded them not to heape misery upon miserie, and besiede the losse of the barrell to seeke the spoile one of another: that whether the warre were now at an ende, or else it would please them to resume it, the onely meanes to releuce the conquered side confindest in their agreeing together. And indeed the rest were out of courage and comfort: onely the Gard-soldiers stormed, affirming they were overcome not by manhood but treason: and that the Vitellian side had bought the victory dearly with their blood, their horsemen being repulsed, and the stander of a Legion taken away, that there yet remained in store many foullers beyond the Po attending on Otho: the Legions of Moesia were coming at hand, and that a great part of the army had stayed behind Bebriacum and never presented themselves to the battell: that surely these at the left had not beene overcome: and if so neeedes it must bee, they should with more honour dye in the field. Upon these and the like cogitations sometimes growing desperate, and sometimes yielding to feare, through consideration of their owne forlorn estate, they were incited more often to rage than to relent. The Vitellian army lodged five miles from Bebriacum, the Generals not daring that day to attempt the enemies campe: and besides a voluntary yielding was hoped for: where albeit they could not entrench, as men that went out lightly appointed and onely to fight, yet their weapons in hand, and the victory they lately obtained, was a sufficient defence. The day following those of Otho's men which had made shew of most courage, repenting and yielding, the whole army with one accord sent an Embassage to the Vitellianists. The Vitellian Generals without any question graunted them peace: onely the Embassadors were stayed there for a season, which bred a scruple in the minds of the other, not knowing whether they had obtained as yet or not their request: but anone the Embassage returning, the campe was fet open. Then both the conquered and conquerers, breaking out into weeping, with a wofull joyfulness, detested the misery of civil diffensions: and meeting in the same tentes, some comforted their brethren, some their friends which were wounded. Hopes and rewards were doubtfull and in expectation alone: burials and mournings were certaine and sure before hand: neither was there any fo void of mischaunce, that had not to mourne for some bodies death. The body of Orphidius the Lieutenant was fought out, and buried with accustomed solemnity, & some few beside by their friends: the rest of the common sort were left on the ground.

When Otho was gone to Brixellum [In the description of this great battle, in my conceit, are many great imperfections. And first to settle the reading, where in some printed copies it is by correction confluentes Padi et Addua. Eromerius petebans, whereas Padi & Acile was found in old handwritten copies, is a mistaking of the corrector. Padus and Addua meete above Cremona: Bebriacum standeth twenty miles below, so that the Othonians, remouing from Bebriacum, with intention to fight with the Vitellianists being about Cremona, had no reason to goe to the confluence of Padus and Addua. Then the distance cannot agree, for the straight way betweene Bebriacum and the confluence of Addua, must be more then here is limited. So that we must finde a river meeting with the Po, &c: four miles, or therabout, beneath Cremona: Ollius perchance, or some other, whose confluence the Othonians went to, and whereabout the battell began. Now where the Vitellianists were encamped, Tacitus very strangely omittet the point whereabout the campe. Then the Vitellianists which fled away, came to Cremona, &c: to their strength, and place of retreat. Lastly Tacitus himselfe, 3. Hist. talking of Cremona, edamus usus beli sedes, and in the same bookes, Othomano bello Germanico miles manibus Cremonasium falsa info, falsis vallum circumcissat: a notable particular, and more agreeable to have been declared here. But by all these places, we may, I suppose, safely presume, that at Cremona, howsoever they came by it (for of that all may be a question, as is touched before) was always afterward the Vitellianists maine campe. Now the Othoans, faith' Tacitus, remooned four miles forward, causing now withstanding at Bebriacum the campe standing and furnished with many men for the defence. So that this campe four miles from Bebriacum was but only for a nightes lodging for to Bebriacum only but one of the Othoan soldiers return when they
The II. Booke of THE HIs To RIE

According to they were in rote from that lodging they remoued sixteene miles further, not directly, as it may be suppos'd, on declining on the left hand toward the Po, about foure miles beneath Cremona, at the confluence of the Po, and Oglio as they now call it, or Agele, or whatsoever. and yet it feemeth they fate not downe there, but were straight to finde the emene in his owne strength at Cremona. for (saith Tacitus) they had almoﬆ druven the Vitellian horfemen into their owne trenches. so that, in my fansie, the poore innocent village of Bebriacum, never heard of before, nor since, inſomuch that none knoweth where it stood, had littleright to carry the name of this goean hundred, rather then Cremona, and yet all writers denominate it ſo, vuleſſe it were because the Othonians, being broken, fled thither: for surely the battell was begun twenty miles off, and hard vnder Cremona. For the time of this battell, according to Iοſephus and Egeſippus, it ſhould ſeem to have beene fought the very next day after that ad cæla, but by Tacitus, in this caſe a more credible authour, as in a matter done in Italie, it appeareth to have bene far otherwise. Sarœnonus Othone, cap.9, deſcribeth the meeting of the two armes in far other maner.

Apud Bebriacum jam numa quæsum, quod colouqii fæcta quasi ad conditionem pacis mutuæ edîdis, ex impruviso aequo in iça confaluatione dimicandum suiffet.

Annius Gallus ] In the conſultation at Bebriacum he was abſent, when he returned againe thither, and wherefore he †eria there when all the rest went out to fight, is not declared by Tacitus: like as also many particulars concerning Cellus, Gallus, Titiuanus &c. woorthy the remembrance in the yeelding of the Othonians to Valens & Cæcius, which are well recorded by Plurarch, and ill left out by our authour, who, to conteffe a truth, in this whole historie he behaued himselfe so well, that the only thing we may perfectly vnderstand, is, that he yeelded not the matter fully himselfe: and indeeſe for the particularities Plurarch writeth, that they which were preuent at the battell preſted not to knowe them ſelues, but diſcoursed of them ſelues. That is, For the diſorder and confedemſe, but yet surely Tacitus is not execuable, seeing that Plurarch, who was leffe skilled in the Roman affaires, and had leffe occasion to knowe ſo much, of two bad hath fet it downe more intelligibly, being a man otherwise not to be named the fame day with Tacitus.

XVII. Otho understanding of the overthrow at Bebriacum killet himſelfe. Theſouldiers about him, when they could not induce Verginius to undertake the place, yeeld themſelues to the Vitellianists.

In the meane while Otho at Brixellum waited for the newes of the battell without all paſſion of feare, and certainly resolued what he would doe. And ifſt an unceraine report of ill tidings was muttered without head or aduow; then they which fled out of the battell came and declared that all was certainly loft. Theſouldiers ardent affection was ſuch, that they fled not for any comfort or encouragement from their Emperor, but contrariwise they comforted him, biding him to be of good cheere: that there was yet new forces remaining, and that they would hazard all perils and fuffer all extremities for his fake: neither was it flattery; but in vnſainſ good meaning, vpon a ceraine instinct and fury, they mightly deſired to goe to the field, to fet vp the fire and recover their loſses againe. They which fped a fare off helde vp their hands and befought him: the nearest embraced his knees, especially Plutius Firmus captaine of the Garde, who befought him often and infantly not to forſake his ſo well deferving ſouldiers, fo loving and faithfull an army; auering that it was greater magnanimity to endure then to relinquifh when fortune doth croffe: that stout men and valiant even againſt fortune do reloye vpon hope, whereas the cowardly daſtards are haſtily drawn by feare to deſpaire.

As Otho feemed by his countenance to yeeld to these ſpeeches, or reſect them, fo were there diuerſely shortwings for ioy, or gronings for sorrow. And not onely the Praetorians, the moſt addicted and partiall ſouldiers to Otho, but thofe also which were fet before out of Moſea affirmed, that the army which was expepected would alike obstinatly maintaine the quarell: and that the Legions already were come to Aquileia; fo that with out all queſtion a cruell and bloody warre might have bene renewed of doubtfull euent to the one fide and to the other. But Otho altogether alieene from any purpose of warre, To hazard, quoth he, this vertue and valoure of yours to needleſse dangers, I account it too deare a price of my life. The more hope you doe shew, if I lifted to live, the more commendation will be of
of my death, as being voluntary and not by constraint. Fortune and I have had good experience the one of the other: and nothing the less for that my time hath beene short: I tell you, it is harder to moderate a mans selfe in felicity, the which, he looketh not long to enjoy. The ciuill warre began on Vitellius party, and thence grew the first occasion to contend with armes for the Empire: but to contend no oftener but once, I for my part am purpofed to give the example. And hereby let posterity judge and esteeme of Otho. Through my benefit Vitellius shall enjoy his brother, his wife, and his children: I seke no reuenge, I have no neede of such comforts. others haue kept longer the Empire, but let it be said, that none hath ever so valiantly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman bloud againe to be spilt, and the common welth depriued of so worthy armes? Let this minde accompany me to my graue, and so surely it shall, that you for your parts would haue died for my sake: but tary you and liue, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of pardon, nor you to my determination and purpofe. To speake more of dying, or to vfe many words in that argument, I take to procede of a cowardly courage. This take for a principall proove of my resolutenesse, that I complaine not of any. For to blame gods or men is their property that gladly would liue. After these words and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he required the young men, and defired the olde to get them quickly away and goe to the winner; left by flaking the time they provoked his further displeasure: rebuking eftoones the vnfeableable weepings of thoſe about him, without any fhw of alteration in countenance, or figne of fear in his speech. Then hee commanded thofe which departed to be furnished of wagons and barges; burned all bookees and letters containing any matter notably in favour of himſelſe or disfavour of Vitellius, and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should dye. Then he called vnto him Saluius Cocceianus his brothers fonne, being in the prime of his youth, and seeing him for aide and weeping, he comforted him, notwithstanding the cafe touched nearer himſelſe, commending his kindnesse and naturall affection, and reprehending his timorouſnesse. What? were it poſſible, that Vitellius fhould be fo hard hearted, and cruellly minded, as not to doe him that one pleafure, whereas he had preferued for him his whole houſe without harme? that at leaſt by this haſty dispatch of himſelfe he deferued that fome curtesie should be fhexed his kimred: especially hauing forborne, for the loue of his countrey, to fecke his laſt and vtermost remedy; not vppon extreme deſpaire, but then, when as his army with inſtance demanded to bring it to a baterell againe. but, he faid, for his part he had gotten renoue neough for himſelſe, and noſtily for his posterity, after the Iulian, Claudian, and Seruian families, having firſt of all men brought into a houſe of no great continuance the honor of hauing an Emperor: and therefore he willed him with good courage to liue and go on, neither forgetting at any time that Otho was his vnkle, nor yet too much rememering the fame. After these things he willed all to depart and give place, and gauε himſelfe awhile to his reft: but a fodaine tumult interrupted the course of his laſt cares, word being brought in of the disor- red and outragious behavioure of the soldiers; who threaten'd to kill all thoſe which went away, but were moſt egerly bent againſt Verginius, whose houſe being fhit they befet round about. Whereupon Otho went out, and hauing rebuked the principall mutins, returning againe spent the time in talking and comforting them which departed, vntill they were all safely conueied away. When it grew toward night, he quenched his thirſt with a cup of cold water. then two rapiers were brought in: and after he had tried their points he put the one vnder his pillow: and having
having certaine knowledge that his friends were already gone, he passed the night
in good rest, and as it is said not without sleepe: afoone as it was day he ranne him-
selue through the breft with the rapier. vnpon his groning, as he was dyeing his freed
and bondmen, with Plotius Firmus captain of the Garde, entred in, and found but
onely one wound. The funerals were haftened with all speede, for he had most ear-
nestly befought and intreated to dispatch them, leaft his head peraduenture should
have beene cut off, and contumeliously vfed: the Praetorian cohorts caried the
biere, with praiues and teares, kifing his wound and his hands. At the funerall-fire
some of the fouldiers flew themselves, not vnpon crime, but for feare, but for
the great love they bare to their Prince, and to imitate fo honorable an example: and
afterwards at Bebriacum, Placentia, and in other campes many did the like: a
rumble also they erected for Otho with little coft and solemnity, and therefore the
liker to stand. In this manner Otho ended his daies in the feuentieth yeare
of his age. He was originally defcended from Ferrentium: his father was Conful,
his grandfather Prætor: his mothers bloud loud somewhat disparing, but yet not
safe: in his tender age and youth such as we have thowed: one, that by two actes,
the one moft detestable, the other moft praiseworthy, deferted with posterty
good fame, in as great meaure as he did ill. As to heape together fabulous mat-
ters, and delite the readers mindes with tales devis'd at pleasure, I would account
of Flautio, a thing little agreeable to the grauity of my purpofed worke, soon the other
side I darenott to detraĉt all credit, from things which are commonly spoken, and deliure-
ded. The fame day that the armies fought at Bebriacum, the inhabitants of Regium
Lepidi report, that a strange bird was feene sitting in a grove much frequented:
and that she could not be feared or driven away, by the reforting of men to the
place, or of birds flying about her, vntill such time as Otho fled himselfe: then the
vanished out of sight; and that conferring the times, they found the beginning and
end of the miracle to agree precisely with Othoes deceafe. At his funerals the fouldi-
ers throughforrow and grieue raised a new tumult, neither was there now any to
stay them. And setting vpon Verginius manacingly they befougthed him, sometime
to take the Empire himselfe, sometime to be his spokeman to Cæcina and Va-
lens: but Verginius, as they were breaking into the house, deceiued them, flipping
out priuily at the backe gate. So Rubrius Gallus caried the supplication of the co-
horts, which were at Brixellum, and straightways obtained their pardon. Flauius
Sabinus alfo came, with the 8 companies which he commanded, and yeedius
himselfe to the winner.

1. In the feuentieth and thirtieth yeares ] Otho was borne, faith Suetonius, Camilla & Abemobaes Cof., ch. 32.
of April, Anno xrbco. inculite 785, and died in Anno 822, Galba inurmo & Vincto Cof. The day or moneth of his death
Taucitus settheth not downe, as he is that way negligent even in very great aĕcions. Nevertheless beginning his
Empire the 15. day of January, as Taucitus reporteth, 1. Hist. if he died, as Suetonius reporteth, 2. nunejimo & quin-
to impiis die, allowing feuentene daies of January, twentieth eight or twentieth nine of February, thirtie one of
March, the eighteenth or the nineteenth of April fall not to be the day of his death. True it is, that the co-
pies of Xiphilin and Zonaras have onely nine daies for the time of his Empire, both taking it out of one erroni-
ous founctaine,as I thinke, for Otho went out of Rome, as Suetonius faith cap. 8. die quo cultus deum narrat
lucernari & plangere incipitwh ich is the twentieth feuenthe of March, as Marcellinus affirmeth. and fo for manie
great matters as by Taucius are here recorded to haue passed betweene that and his death, three or fower
and twenty daies may in reason seeme time little enough at all. Now from the twentieth eight of April, Anno 785. to
the eighteenth or nineteenthe of April, Anno 822, are thirteene yeares as Taucius here faith (to whom Zonara-
s and Xiphilin do agree, nor thirtie eight, as Suetonius, who counteth both the extremites) lacking nine or ten
daies,Xiphilin faith lacking eleuen, censari ubi & ibi & incipere non, undeque necesse non.

XVIII. The
When the war was every where at an end, a great part of the Senate, which accompanied Otho from Rome, and afterward stayed by order at Mutina, incurred extreme danger. For when word was brought thither of the overthrow, the soldiers rejected the news as false: and supposing the Senate to be enemy to Otho, they observed their speeches, interpreting their countenances, and external behaviour to the worst; not attaining at the last from remonstrance, and contumelious terms, and apparently seeking an occasion to begin a massacre: whereas the Senators had beside to stand in fear another way, lest they should seeme not forward enough to like of Vitellius victory, with whom now all the world was gone. Thus trembling, and betweene both being doubtfull how to carry themselves, they mete together, none daring to follow any private direction, but associating himselfe with the multitude, presuming thereby of greater securitie. As they were in this perplexity, the council of Mutina increased their cares, offering them armour and money, and filling them at every word, very unfeasibly, Lords of the Senate. In that assemblies arose a hot contention. Licinius Cæcina inuercyed against Eprius Marcellus, for that he seemed to speake ambiguously concerning the present estate, whereas in truth neither did the other Senators plainly open their minds: but Cæcina picked out Marcellus among the rest, as a man exposed to enuy, and odious for his late trade of accusing, to the end that himselfe being lately riled, and newly come into the Senate, might become renowned and known, by entering into enmity with great persons. But by the moderation of the better sort interposing themselfes the matter was pacified: and so they went all backe to Bononia, there to deliberate anew, hoping with all in the meanest seasion to receive more aduertisements. At Bononia they set in several waies seuerall persons to enquire newes of the passengers which latelyeft came from those quarters: by whom a freedman of Othoe being demanded the cause of his comming away, he answered, that he had brought with him his masters last charge: that indeede he had left him alithe, but without any care, sauconely of posterity, and having recollected all delites of this present life: hereupon they grew into admiration, and were ashamed to ask any further: and now all wholly declared themselfes for Vitellius. His brother L.Vitellius was present at their consultions, and already offered himselfe to be fawned vpon, when sodainly Cenus, a freedman of Neroes, with a lowde and desperate lye amazed them all, affirming that vpon the arriual of the fourteenth Legion, the forces which were at Brixellum being ioyned thereto, the fortune of the sides was changed, and the conquerours were overthrowne. The cause of detuing the rumour was, that the commisions of Otho for posts, which began not to be regarded, might through so gladisme a message be renewed againe. And so Cenus passed indeed in post to the citie, but within few daies after by Vitellius commandement was executed, but the perill of the Senators was augmented thereby. For Othoe soldiers beleaued the news to be true: and that which made their cause worse was, that they were departed from Mutina, and so the side seemed discountenanced and forsaken, as it were, by the counsell of state. Neither did they after that time consult any more in common: every man sought to provide for himselfe, vntill such time as letters sent from Fabius Valens, and the
The death of Otho, the more praiseworthy the sooner heard of, put them out of feare.

XIX. The estate of affairs at Rome; and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian soldiers after the victorie.

At Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the plaises of Ceres were solemnly kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Otho was dead, and that Flavius Sabinus, Pro- uo of the city had sworne all the soldiers in the city to Vitellius, in signe of joy the people clapped their hands and gave applause unto Vitellius. Then they carried the images of Galba with boughes of lawrell and flowers about the temples, heaping vp together in maner of a tumbe garlands and coronets about Lacus Curtius, which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senate all titles and honours visially conferred upon other Princes by occasions, and after they had reigned many yeares, were straightwaies decreed to Vitellius: and withall praiyes concluded vpon for the German armies, with solemne thanks for their good service; and an Embassage sent to congratulate. Letters also were read; written by Fabius Valens to the Consuls, in a stile humble enoughe: yet Caecinae modesty was better accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grievously vexed, and cruelly handled then during the warre. The Vitellian soldiers dispersed in the free townes and colonies pill’d and spoild, polluted and ruin’d without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane; but only following their rauenous and insolent humor, or els by money bought out to forbear: and some there were that counterfaiting themselves to be soldiers flewe their particular enemies. The soldiers also themselves were skilled in the countrey, and defign’d out the well floareth grounds, and well monied matters to pray vpon, or if resisstance were made, to destroy them; the Generals being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit it: Caecina was lese courteous and more polissshed with vainglorie: Valens was for bribery and polling infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faultes, so many footmen and horfe, so great violences, damnages and injuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empouerishec before, were hardly abidden.

XX. Vitellius voyage from Germanie to Lions, and his actions there.

In the meanes seaseon Vitellius, ignorant of his owne victorie, made preparation as for a warre new to begin, and caried with him beside eight thousand soldiars of Britanny, the strength which remained of the German army: fewe old soldiars were left in the standing campes, but newe men leued in haff out of Fraunce to vphold the names of the Legions remaining behinde: and the charge of the militare affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched some few daies journey, he understood of the good successe at Bebracum then that Otho was dead and the war finishe: whereupon calling an assembly he highly exoloth the valiantneffe of the soldiars. After the speech, his armie instantly requested him to creat Asiaticus his freedman a gentleman of Rome: which sham-full flatterie he then rebuked; and soone after vpon a fickleneffe of wit, that which he had openly refused, he priuily bestowed in banquete, and honoured with rings Asiaticus, a base abieect flaue, and one seeking to rise by ill meanes. About the same time
time message was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauretanias was slain, and the countries had sided themselves with Vitellius. Lucceius Albinus was by Nero set over Mauretania Caæariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana; so that he had forces of good moment under his charge: eighteene cohorts, five wings, and an infinite number of Moors not vnfit for the warre, as men that visially lived of stealing and harrowing their neighbours. When Galba was slain he followed the party of Otho, and not contenting himselfe with Africk, had a purpose for Spaine, being diffoooned from it by a narrow straite. Hereupon Cluuius Rufus was afraid, & commanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore, as if he meant to have shipped over: sending before certaine Centurions to induce the minds of the Moors to favour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German army was great thorough out all the provinces, and besides a reporte was spred, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had vffirped a royall diademe, and the name of b Iuba. So their minds being changed, they went and flew Asinius Pollio captain of a wing, one of Albinus faithfullest friends, and Feltus and Scipio two captains of cohorts: Albinus himselle as he went by sea from Tingitana to Mauretania Caæariensis was slain as he landed, and his wife withall, who voluntarily offered her selfe to the slaughter. These things and all else that was done Vitellius passed over without due examination, as his manner was with a short audience to turne over matters of greatest importance; a man far vnmeete to welde weighty affairs. When they came to Araris Vitellius willed the army to march by lande, and went himselfe downe by the river, without any furniture fit for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Iunius Bleæus governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, a man of high parentage, of a francke minde and wealth answerable thereto, furnishd him of prouision and seruitours, and accompanied him honorably according to his estate: a thanklesse office and displeasing, albeit Vitellius sought by submissie and glazing speeches to cover his hatred. At Lions the Generals met him of both sides, the winning and loosing. Valens and Caecina he commanded in open assembly, and fet them about e his chaire of estate: then he commanded the whole army to go out, and meete his little d young son. Being brought, and clothed in a princely mantell, his father holding him in his armes named him Germanicus, and arrayed him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessive honour in prosperity, in admirerie ferued for a comfort. Then were the brauest and forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sworde: vpon which occaision grew, principally the dislike the Illyrian armies conceiued of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly vpon enuy to the German foilliders, projected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus could not haue audience, but were detained a great while in sorrow and heauenesse; till at length being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood with the present necessity, then such as might stand with their honour: as that in favour of Vitellius they had betrayed their owne fellowes; alledging the length of the journey before the battell, the wearnesse of Othoes men, the fluffling of carts and the foilliders together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpose: and Vitellius beleued the treason, and acquitted them of the crime of fideality. Saluius Titianus Othoes brother was clearly discharged, being holden excusid both because he was so nearly tyed by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Celsus had his life & honor saued: for his Consulship was referred unto him. It was saied and beleued, and afterward objected to Caecilius Simplex in the Senate, that he fied to haue bought that office with money, seeking withall the destruction
destruction of Celsus: but Vitellius refused the suite, and gave Simplex afterward a
Confulship without either money or blood. As for Trachalus, Galeria Vitellius
wife protected him against his accusers. Among these dangers of honorable per-
sons one Maricus (a shame to be spoken) abase fellow among the Boians, counter-
faiting newe relations, dared to thrust himselfe forward and trie his adventure,
and to prouoke the Roman forces against him: who pretending to bee the letter of
Franchise at freedome, and a god, (for so he intitled himselfe) had drawne already
together eight thousand men, and began to waste the frontiers of the AEduans; but
that graue and wise city, assembling the choice of their youth with some of Vitellius
cohorts, discomfited that fanatical multitude. In that encounter Maricus was ta-
ten, and being caft to the wilde beasts because he was not devoured, the fortith
people beleaued that he could not be hurt, vntill such time, as in the presence of
Vitellius afterward he was slaine: neither was there any further cruelty shewed to
any of that conspiracie, either in body or goods. The tettaments alfo of them which
dyed in the field for Otho, remained in their full strength and validity; or if they dyed
vnteate, the ordinary course of the lawe, provided in that behalf, was obserued.
And generally, if he could have forborne his riotous living, or vued any moderation
therein, couetousnes was a crime in him not to be feared: but he was shamefully gi-
ven to his belly, without all order or meafure: for which purpose there were daily
brought out of Rome and Italie, all provocations of gluttony: the hie waiws from
both the seas founed of nothing els but of caters and rippers: the greatest men in
the cities were spente and confumed in providing of cates for the banquets: the cit-
ties themselues were wafted: the fouldiers grew worse and degenerated from labor
and vertue: partly by enuring themselues to pleasures, and partly through the con-
temptibleneffe of the Comander. Moreover an edict was sent before hand to
Rome, wherein Vitellius declared, that he would not accept of the title of Augu-
itus as yet, nor the name of Caesar at all, whereas in substancce and power he abated
nothing thereof: and withall the Astrologers were banished out of Italy: and
moreover it was straitly inhibited, that no Roman gentleman should pollut him-
selue with profession of fencing in schoole or theatre. Some former Princes had hi-
rred them with money to do it, and more often compelled them by force: and many
free townes and colonies, ech striving to excell other, induced some vnthriftie
youngmen to the like difaithon. Now Vitellius vpon the comming of his brother,
and certain schoolemasters of tyranny creeping into the court, waxing prouder and
fierce, commanded Dolabella, whom, as before we remembred, Otho had con-
fiated to Aquinum, vpon this occasion to be slaine. Dolabella, hearing that Otho
was dead, was returned to Rome: whereof Plautius Varus once Prætor, one of Do-
labellas most inward friends, accused him before Flavius Sabinus the Proouost of
the city, as if he had broken prifon, to the end to make offer of himselfe for a head
to the conquered faction: adding moreover, that to that purpose he had felt the co-
hort, which was in garrison at Oſtia: but having no one proofe of any of these fo
great crimes, he began to repent of his wicked deed, and sought pardon, but too late,
after the fact. As Flavius Sabinus was in doubt how to proceed, in a matter of that
weight, Triaria the wife of Lucius Vitellius, fierce and cruel aboue the ordinary of
that sexe, terrified him; warning him not to affect the commendation of clemency
by the perill of his Prince. Sabinus a man of his owne nature of a milde disposition,
but when he was put in a feare easie to be changed, and fearing to make another
mans danger his owne, left he should seeme to have helped him vp, as he was falling
pushed him forward. So Vitellius, partly vpon feare, and partly vpon an old grudge,
because Dolabella had taken Petronia to wife straight upon his return from him, called him by letters to him: and commanding to cause the beaten Flaminian way, and carry him by Interamna, he gave commission to murder him there, that seemed too long to him who had the commission: and therefore in an inn by the way, as Dolabella rested himself on the ground, he cut his throat, to the great infamie of the new government, whereof this was the first proofe. This kind of behaviour of Triaria was the more odious, by setting against it the modesty of his next neighbour Galeria the Emperours wife, heapings not forrowes upon the forrowfull, and the rare vertue of Sextilia his mother, a woman of the auncient fort: who is also reported to have faiied at the reading of his sonnes first letters, that a Vitellius was borne by her and not a Germanicus: neither did the afterwards through any allurements of fortune, or courting of the city, participate any thing els of his sons estate, faue only the smarts of his houfe when it fell.

* The astrologers were [1] The substance of the edict was, ut in estra collo. sed. Italiique Mathematici excederant. The night following the Astrologers set vp, faith * Suetonius, another edict in loco verba. BONVM F.A.C T.P. M, ut Vitellius Germanicus in eodem calendario dieum viquam non effe, which how it was verified in him that liued till the latter end of December following, I would gladly have the Astrologers themelues to calculate versus: especially being an example whereof all their books are full, and to faine the truth, Zonaras feemeeth to give some panegyrie to the error, and Xiphilinus also, who faith the edict was published after Vitellius comming to Rome, whereas by Tacitus it should seeme rather to be sent from Lions. His words be thefe, κατά τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παραραθέωσεν τὸν ἐπισκευαστήν τοῦ φυλακών, μένετε τὴν θησαυρού ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ νικηφόρου. Thus being a follower of Tacitus, and according to small a matter without their aduise. Faith Zonaras three times seem to say, οὐ μεταγενεψάσθω, ἀλλὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα τὰ τιμία τοῦ ἐπισκευαστήν. That is, Being come to Rome he published an edict wherein he exiled the Astrologers, charging them before such a day (naming the time) to depart out of Italy, and they to require him in the night before their castle denouncing to him that he should before such a day depart out of this life, as in truth he did.

XXI. Vitellius viage from Lions into Italie by Turin, Paula, Cremona, Bebriacum, and so to Bononia, and the actions which happened in the mean while.

As Vitellius was departed from Lions, Marcus Cluiius Rufus leaving his charge in Spaine ouertaketh him, carrying joy and gratulation in counceanee, but heauinesse in heart, knowing that he had beene shot at, and matter put vp against him. Hilarius the Emperours freedman had articled against him, that hearing of Vitellius and Othoes contention for the Empire, he had endeavoured to erect a fouterainty of his owne, and affure to himselfe the possession of Spaine: and therefore had named in the beginning of his * commissions no Prince : certaine points alfo of his orations he picked out, and construed as tending to the disacing of Vitellius, and making himselfe popular. But the credit of Cluiius prevailed so farre, that Vitellius contrarily commanued his man to be punished, and assuaded Cluiius into his traine; sufferinge him withall to enjoy Spaine, which he governed still notwithstanding his absence, according to the precedent of * Lucius Arruntius, whom Tiberius Caesar retained for feare, but Vitellius kept Cluiius vpon no such ilouise. Trebellius Maximus had not the like favour: he fled out of Britannie, because the souldiers were incenced against him; and Vectius Bolanus was sent in his place.

Of all matters present that vexed Vitellius most, to see the vanquished Legions retaine their stomaces vnvanquisht: being disperfed thorow Italie together with the winners, in all speeches they shewed themselves affected as enemies, and namely the fourteenth Legion, who carried the greatest stomacke of them all, denying that

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ever they were overcome: that in the battell at Bebriacum the Vexillaries only were put to flight, the strength of the Legion being not present. Wherefore it was thought expedient to send them backe into Britannie, from whence they were called by Nero, and in the meane time, that they and the cohorts of Batauians should quarter together, by reason of the ancient irarr of betwene them. Neither could they, having both weapons in hand and hating each other so deadly, agree long together. At Turin as one of the Batauians quarrelled with an artificer, as having cozened him, and a Legionary soldier took his part, and defended him as being his host, their companions forting themselves each to their fellow, from bitter words passed to blows; and a bloody battell had beene fought, had not two Praetorian cohorts taken the Legionaries part, and so much increased their strength, that the Batauians were forced for feare to give ouer. Upon which accident Vitellius commanded to vntie to his traine the Batauians, as well willers to the cause, and to send the Legion away and conduct it ouer the Graian Alpes, by the way that missed Vienna; for they of Vienna also were had in a jeoloufe. That night the Legion removed, fires being left here and there negligently vnpou'd, part of Turin was burnt: which dammage, as many other bad effectes of that warre, greater calamities of other cities did vntterly blot and put out of remembrance. The Legion having passed the Alpes, some of the most seditious among them caried their enseignes toward Vienna; but by the consent of the better sort they were stay'd: and so the Legion was transported into Britain. The next feare that Vitellius had, was of the Praetorian cohorts. And first they were separated: then in good order and courteously called, with commandment to deliver vp their armour to their Tribunes; and so they remained untill such time as the warre was begun by Vespasian: then they refumed armes and were the strength of the Flavian side. Of the other Legions the first surnamed Clasica was sent into Spaine, that by peace and rest it might waxe tractable: the eleuenth and seuenth were returned to their standing camps: the thirteenth set a worke to bulde Amphitheatres: for Cæcina at Cremona, and Valens at Bononia made preparation to set forth a flock of fencers; Vitellius being neuer fo intentiuely addicted to serious affaires, that he would forget his palettes and pleasures. And thus with good moderation he fet them vnunder. In the winning side a mutine arose vpon a sporting beginning, but that the number of them which were flaine made it a matter of carnall, and the whole warre more odious. Vitellius was in Ticiinum at banquet, and with him Verginius. The Lieutenantts and Tribunes are frugal or riotous, according to the Princes dispositions: in like sort the fouldiers were either for dalliance or disollution: in Vitellius traine all was disorderly and full of drunkennesse, more like to wakes and the feafts of Bacchus, then to a camp where discipline should be. It happened that two fouldiers, one of the fift Legion, another a French Auxiliary, vp a oility challenged one another to wrestle: and when as the Legionary was throwen, the French man insulting ouer him, and they which look on dividuing themselues into sides, the Legionary fouldiers taking themselves to their weapons made haucck of the Auxiliaries, and flew two cohorts of them. The remedy of this tumult was another tumult. duft and glittirring of armour was seene a farre off: and fadainely it was nois'd in the army, that the fourteenth Legion was returned with intention to fight: but it was their owne reward, which being perceiued, that care was ended. In the meanse season, as one of Verginius fennants by chance came by, the fouldiers charge and accuse him, that he was set to kill Vitellius, and rush thereupon into the banqueting place requiring the death of Verginius. No man doubted of Verginius innocency, no not Vitellius himselfe,
himselfe, although otherwise very suspicious and fearfull: and notwithstanding they demanded the death of so honorable a personage, and one which had once beeue their Generall, yet were they hardly appeased. Neither was there any man fo off shot at as Verginius in all feditions and mutinous affembles: the admiration and fame of the man remained amongt them; but they hated him deadly; because he had contemned their offer. The day following Vitellius gave audience to the Senators Embassage, which he willed there to attende him; and going from thence to the campe, he spake to the fouldiers, commending their dutifull disposition, and tender carefulness over his person: but the Auxiliaries fretted and fumed to see the Legionaries grown to that height of insolencie, and no punishment inflicted vpon them. Whereupon the cohorts of Batauians, left they should attempt some desperat act, were sent backe againe into Germany, the course of affaires farly tending to minifter matter, as well to a forraine war, as to a ciuill. The French Auxiliaries also were turned home to their countreys; an excesse number, and straight at the first revolt assumed by Vitellius into the caufe, for an idle complement of the warre. Now to the end that the treasure and revenues of the Empire, though minified and wasted, might suffice for his excesse and prodigall donations, hee commanded to leffen the number of fouldiers in the Legions and Aydes, forbidding supplies to be made, and offering dismissions indifferently: which action of his proved pernicious to the state, and vnpleasent to the fouldiers. For fewer now bare the fame burthens; and perils and labours came thicker about; and their strength was wafted with riotous life by reason of such abundance, contrary to the ancient discipline and viage of our forefathers, vnder whom the Roman eftate was governed and foode, by vertue better then money. From thence Vitellius turned to Cremona: and when he had seene Caecinae plases, hee was defirous to goe to Bebriacum and view the place with his eies of the late victorie. The spectacle was ougly and grisly to behold: within forty daies after the battell, bodies torne pieces, mangled limmes, figures of horSES and men putrified, the ground inmured with corruption and bloud, the trees and corn troden downe and spoiled: that also was a point of inhumanitie that they of Cremona had flrowed the way with roses and bay, erected altars, and sacrificd thereon as the maner is to kings paffing by which things, albeit they pleased them prefently, turned afterwards to their ruine. Caecina and Valens were by, and shewed the places of the conflict: from this place the Legions went out and charged: from hence the horsemen arose: from thence the Auxiliaries clofed about. Now the Tribunes and captains exulting eeh his owne prouesse, with many a lyningled some truths, or made of the truth more then it was. The common fouldiers also with clamour and joye stepped out of the way, call to remembrance the ground they had trauersed, beholding and wonder at the heapes of armours, and bodies: and some there were whom the changeable fortune of humane affaires mooued to pity and teares. But Vitellius as a man without all compation turned not away his eies, nor had not in horror to see so many thousands of unburied citizens: but contrariwise incende, and ignorant of his owne lot which followed so nereely, he maketh a Solemn sacrifice to the gods of the place. After these things Fabius Valens at Bononia maketh a shew of fencers: to the setting out whereof, furniture was fetched from Rome: and the nearer Vitellius came to the city, the more disolute and corrupt was the & his company, stage players associating themelles to the traine, and droues of eunuches and the rest of the buffonso of Neroes court. For Vitellius was an admirer also of Nero himselfe, and was wont to attend and follow him as he did sing, not by compulsion.
compulsion as many a good man, but selling his honour to nourish his riot and feed his belly, to which he had wholly enthralled himselfe. Now that Valens and Caecina might obtain some voide moneths that yeare to be Confuils in certaine others were abridged of their time: M. Macer was paffed over because he had beene a captaine of Othoes side: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put over to another time, not vpon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put vp a wrong. Pedanius Cofta was omitted being diffilkt of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, and pricked Verginius forward: but Vitellius alleged other causes; and according to the sytuale custome of that time great thankes were given him besides.

* Wakes, and the feasts of Bacchus] Paingilium, wakes and solemnities by night, in honour of some god, during sometimess for many nights together, in which indeede was practisde all kinde of dissolutenes and indolencie. Cum vinum et nox, et multis faminis sacris, etiam temere maiestas deferentem omne pudor eximissimoff, as Liue speakeath. Of which kinde in the common weales of Greece were many, and many abuses growing thereof, as may well appeare out of the comedies of those times, and Plautus Aulularia. Et ego inimico visce faciestra filiae sua, Cereria vigilia per commata atque impulsi adolescentes, and yet thofe to Ceres feeme of all other to have beene the most SOber, and therefore thought fit to be retained by Tully. 2. de legibus. Nelle quae sanissima mulierum, in fine, praeter alll quae possettis sitis, nouum quam initium, nisi, si afferes, Cereria, Graecorara. Vitellius, faith Suet. cap. 10. In appennis quibus in ipsis seignoribus etMulieb. 1.e omittis, for which which of his Tacitus peraduentus heere alludeth. Now Bacchanalia were, as I thinke, nothing else but paingilium in honour of Bacchus, of all other the most dissolute, corrupt and desperate, of whose beginnings, increase, and defstruction in the Roman flate, reade Liue lib. 38. and Tully lib. 20. de legibus.

* With roes and bay, erected altars] Vpon the comming of kings and great personages, the custome was to stirr the waies with flowers. Herodians lib. 4. at Caracalates entrie into Alexandria. ad Precipuæ, ut vocent eum, Tatulhus. Thus is, They honoured the Emperor with torches and streaming of flowers, and lib. 1. at the comming of Commodus to Rome, ut de piumo exergete, die cœlum non facias, ut in se levaret, et percussis, ac secutis egerinti non tibi aedificat, ut cum casus tibi et, non in illo, fons est qui in oppido, ut in se levaret, cum casus tibi est qui in oppido. Thus is, As he approched in heere the citie, all the Senate, and generally as many as dwells in Rome came forth and mes he every man as farre off from the citie as possible he could, bearing bales and bringing all sorts of flowers them in stafon. Claudianus Panegyrica. 2. de Stilicone. * Speclabam in specie marsis, fragarum & omnes.

* To the gods of the place] In that religion every wood and field had his locall gods, without whom no humane action could in that place haue any happy success. So Aeneas in Virg. lib. 7. in his entrie into Italy genismque loci primamque devotione Tellium, mymphiathone et adinge ignota precaste Plumaet.— and Oretts in Sophocles Elctra. 

In Xenophon 1. part. Cambyses and Cyrus passing out of Persia olympenced, quae eum posse populos, quae cœlum posse cælum, quae pro omnia posse omnia. Thus is, to revenge the gods provocatives of Persia, to send them forth favourables and with good sheedes, and entering into Media, olympenced, quae eum posse populos, quae cœlum posse cælum, quae pro omnia posse omnia. Thus is, to revenge them favourably and with good sheedes.

XXII. One Geta a bondman counterfaisethime selfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and associating others unto him, was taken, brought to Vitellius and hanged.

At the same time a certaine fable, beleeced at first, and running without controtlement at the begining, ended within a few daies. A certaine man counterfaisethime selfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that he had lyen in Neroes time for fear of secret in Histria, because there the vassals and possessions of the old Gram, and the affection toward the name did remaine, so certaine lewd persons being asumed to furnish the play, the credulous common people, and some of the fouldiers, vpon ignorance of the truth, or else desirous of troubles, began to assoicate themselves unto him soace but his captaine was impratfed anon brought before Vitellius, and being examined what maner of man he was, when as they found
of Cornelius Tacitus

found no truth in his answeres, and that he was owned by his master by name and quality Geta a fugitive bondman, he was executed after the manner of slaves.

XXIII. Vespasian speaks to Vitellius: then taketh upon himself the Empire in Jewrie.

It is scarcely credible, how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and slothfulnesse, when as the soldiers sent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Jewry, that the East had sworne allegiance unto him. For Vespasian, albeite onely upon a flying report without any certaine author, was in euery mans mouth, and commonly spoken of, and oftentimes as he was named Vitellius would startle. Then he and his army, as being without any concurrent in cruelty, in luft, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and storne behauiour. But Vespasian in the mean season laying his plot for the warre, entred into consideration of the forces both neare and farre off. His owne soldiers were so ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the othe and wished all prosperity to Vitellius, the soldiers answered with silence, without either good with or good worde. Mutianus was not alene from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the gouernour of AEgypt had entred into the confederacy. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Moesia, Vespasian reckened as his owne: and the rest of the Ilyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the inolent behauiour of the soldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and lookes, and rude speeches, despising al others as base and inferior, had wonderfull offended all the armies beside. But to enter into so weighty a warre was a point not so quickly resolved upon: and Vespasian albeite he hoped the bett, forecaſt sometimes the worfe in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himselfe of threecore yeares of age, and his two sonsnes in the flower of their youth? that in private attempts a man might proceede and stop where he listed; but to them which defired the Empire there was no midle course, between the estate of a Prince & the death of a traitour. Furthermore he laied before him the piffance of the German army; a matter well knoen vnto him: being a martiall man: that his Legions had never made triall of themselves in a civill warre, whereas they of Vitellius had beene conquerours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints then in forces and strengthe. Moreover that in civill diffensions the faith of the soldiour was fleeting: and that there was perill to be feared from euery particular man. For what would cohorts & wings auaile, if one or two, to attaine the reward proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? so Scribonianus was slaine vnder Claudius, & so his murderer Volaginio of a common soldiour was preferred to the highest places of seruice, that it was a more easie matter to incite an in generall, then to beware of euery one in particular. As he seemed to waver mooved with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his friends sought to confirme him, and Mutianus after many and secret conferences, now also in open councell spake to him in this wise. All men, which are to enter into great and important actions, ought to weigh with themselues, whether that which is vndertaken be profitable to the common wealth, honourable for themselues, and easie to be effected, or at least not greatly difficult: withall the party that pertwadeth vnto it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and aduice he adioynes his owne perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune doe favour the attempt to whom the principall glorie accrueweth. I call you Vespasian to the taking of the Empire, a matter as much
much for the safeguard of the common wealth, as for your owne honour. Next after
the gods it is in your hand to attaine it: and feare not as though I sayd it to flattren:
it is more neare a disgrace then a praiue to be choyen after Vitellius. We rife not
against Augustus, a man of that deepe insight, not against the warie old age of Ti-
berius, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rooted by so many de-
fants in the Empire; you gaue place also to the ancienettes of Galbaes house: to
sleepe any longer and abandon the fiate to be in this fort polluted and ruined, were
a floth and cowardife, yea although to liue in that flauerie were as fafe for you; as it
is dishonorable; which indeed is not fo. The time is already "gone and forepaft
when you might feeme to haue for ambition defirerd the Empire: the Empire muft
now be your sanctuary and refuge. Haue you forgotten how Corbulo was murde-
red? a man of greater ligneage then we are, I grant: and fo was Nero likwise then
Vitellius. He that is feared is alwaies noble enough in his conceit that doth feare:
and that a Prince may be made by the soldiers abrod, Vitellius himſelfe hath the-
wed the way; a man otherwife which never ferved in field,neuer attained to any mi-
litare renown, but preferrerd onely vpon a dislike of Galba, and now fo disliked him-
selde, that Otho, whom he ouercame, not by stratageme or strength, but by his own
hafte caighting away of himſelfe, is become a notable Prince and much wished for:
whereas Vitellius in themeane time diſperſeth the Legions, difarmeth the cohorts,
and miniftreth daily new manner of warre. His owne fouldier if he had any courage
or edge, it is dulled and worn away in tipling and brotheling house, and following
the Princes example. You haue out of Jewry, Syria and AEgypt nine complete Le-
gions in readineſfe, not wafted by warre, nor corrupted with mutinees; but a foul-
dier confirmed with pratiſce and vſe, and hartened with happy expoyts against for
raine enemies. We haue nauies, wings and hoorites to strengthen our cauſe, and
kings befide moft faithfull vnto vs: and that which is aboue all, your owne experi-
ence and skill. Of my felfe I will not fay much: this onely that I am not inferiour
to Caecina and Valens: difdaine not Mutianus for a helper, because you haue him
not a competiſtor: I prefer my felfe before Vitellius, and you before me. Your
houfe is beautified with triumphal ornaments, and adorned with two goodly young-
men, the one already b capable of the Empire, and in his ftelfe renowned am-
mong the armies of Germanic alfo: it were absurd for me not to yeeld ye vp the Em-
pire to him, whose fonne I would furely adopt if my felfe were Emperour. Now as
concerning the reward and the perill, they fhal not be equally parted betweene
vs. For if we do overcum, I fhall haue that honor which you will affoordeme:
the danger and perill fhall be alike to vs both or as it is better, rule you these armies
here, and commit ouer to me the warre and uncertaine eventes of the field. The con-
quered fide liueth this day vnder better discipline, then the conquerours; anger and
hater, and defire of revenge inflaming them to valour; whereas the other through
pride and breach of discipline waxe dullifh and blunt: whose secret and swelling
wounds the warre of it felfe will open and difclofe, neither do I repose my felfe more
upon your vigilant, frugall and difcreete dealing, then upon the flagiffh, doltiffh, &
cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And befide all this our cauſe is more iufitable in
warre then in peace: for they which delibera to rebell, have rebelled. After
the oration of Mutianus the reft came more boldly about him, exeuting and per-
fwading him, and laying before him the oracles and prophecies, and the fauourable
aspects of the heavens: neither was Vespasian voide of that kind of superſition. For
afterward when he was Emperor, he had openly about him one Selæucus an Aftr-
ologer, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreouer certaine oldes and ominous pre-
fages
sages came to his remembrance. A notable * tall cypress tree was in his grounde, which sodainely fell downe, and the day following rose vp againe vpon the same root and flourished, growing higher and better fpered then before. That thing by the consent of the Haruspices foreshewed great and prosperous matters: who assured him, when he was very young, of most high and honourable preferment. But at the first the d Consulship, and triumphall ornaments, and the glory of the Iewishe victo-ry seemede to haste fulfilled the prophecy: when he had attained to them, hee be-leued then the Empire was portended thereby. Betweene Iewry and Syria lyeth the mount Carmelus, and to the god also is called, to whom according to the cuftome anciently receyued an altâre is erected, and all denoutie and reverence shewed: but neither by either image or temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with secret hopes in his head, Basilides the prieft often viewing and marking the enrailes, * Whatsoever it is, quoth he, o Vespasian which thou intendest, whether it be to build a house; or to enlarge thy poftellions, or to increase the number of fer-vants, it shall be effected: the gods doe grant thee a great room, large limits, and many men. These darke speeches were straightwaies noted and published, and now by the common voice of the people applied and confirmed: neither was there any thing more vulgare in every mans mouth, and especiallly in his owne audience; as to them which depend vpon hopes, such kindes of speeches are most vest. From this conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespasian to Caesarea, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Judæa. The matter was first published, and Vespasian named Emperour at Alexandria by Tiberius Alexander, who made the most haste, and ministrated the souldiers their othe vpon the first day of Iulie, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the first day of his raigne, although his owne army of Iewry began not before the 3rd of the fame moneth: and then in his presence they swere with such affection and heate, that they did not attend the comming of Titus his fonne out of Syria, who was a messenger of all matters bewteene Mutianus and his father. The violence of the souldier ouerruled the whole action: for no assembly being called; the Le-gions not met together; the time and place not agreed of, nor the man determined vpon, a point in that case of most difficulty, that should speake the first word: hope and feare, reaon and chance, diuerely distracted their mindes. Matters standing in these termes, as Vespasian came out of his chamber, a few souldiers after the wor-ried maner stode on a rowe, as to saluate their General, but they saluted him Em-perour: then the rest ran to, and heaped vpon him the names of Cæsar and Augustus, and all titles of soueraine power. His conceites rose from apprehension of feare to the consideration of his fortune, notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of pride or arroganccie, nor change in so great a change; but being ama-zed at the sodaine sight of so great a multitude, affoone as he had recovered his spirtts he spake vnto them souldierlike: and being received with a joyfull applaushe, he sent word to Mutianus of the success. Mutianus at Antiochia receiuing the mefage which he looked for, called the souldiers to the othe for Vespasian, which they most willingly accepted. Then he went to i the Theatre, where the maner of that towne is to meete and consult: and made a speech vnto them, as they flocked and fawned about him, in their owne language, as he was a man competently eloquent in the Greeke tongue also; and one that had the arte to make the most shew of whatsoever he spake or did. But above all, that incensed principally both the pro-vidence and the army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to transferre the German Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet servitue; and of the con-trary
He came out of Jewry with Titus when he was sent by his father to Galba: and when Titus was sent by his father to Galba, death returned back againe from Corum, Agrippa not withstanding, faith Iohannis l. c. c. 29. and so faith our common Hessey, l. c. c. 31.

trary side to remove the Syrian Legions into Germany, a hard and cold country, and a place of great paines: for both they of the province liked well of the soldiers company, to whom they were enured, and with whom many of them were linked in affinitie and kinred, and the soldiers likewise loved the place of their settled camps, as their owne homes, being grown familiar with them, by reason of their long service there. Before the fifteenth of Iuly all Syria had receyued the same other. Moreover Sohemus with his kingdome adionued himselfe to the caufe, a man of good forces, and Antiochus of wealth of long gathering, and of all the subject kings the richest. Agrippa also, ypon secret aduertisements from his friends, departed from Rome vnawares to Vitellius, and sayled hastily home: and likewise the queene Berenice with all her might furthered the side, a queene in the flower of her beauty and youth, and well beloued of the old Vespasian also, in respect of the great and rich gifts which she gaue. All the prouinces which bordered on the sea, as Asa and Achaia, and all the inlands to Pontus and Armenia, receyued the oth: but the Lieutenant thereof were without armies, for as yet Cappadocia had no Legions assigned.

The Theatre, where the maner of that towne is to meete and consult. For so all the Grecian cities vsed to doe, as appeareth both by the Grecke Orators and Historiographers. a thing noted alfo by Antonius Ludojsapientum, Prol. Quid erubescis tuo tempore Romule? Scenam quaed variis inter sacris variis? Nobis postulandum est hoc, non & Antioch. Quibus theatrum curiae praebet vicem? Residia regionis sua loco feruit Deus. Campus consilii, vs confertipic curia. Forum atque æqueque se ciuitatem, Vna est Athenae, ut in omni Graecia. Ad consilium publici sedes loci.

Cappadocia had no legions. Vespasian being seded in flate Cappadocia, faith Suetonius, propone officius barbarorum incosse legiones addidit, consularem, vel terem inopus pro aequiae Romana yet by Tacitus it may seemeth there was some power. Cappadocia Ponsq, quae quid cistrosa Armeniae gratiendus.

XXIII. The preparation of Vespasian and his side for the warre.

EYTUS was elected for the place of their principal consultations. Thither Mutianus with the Lieutenants and Tribunes repayred, and the chiefest of the Centurions and soldiers, and certaine choife persons out of the Jewishe army. So many footmen and horfemen together, and so great preparations of kings striving to exceed one another made thew of a Princes estate. The first provisio for warre was to ley more men, and reuoke the old soldiers which were dischargd: certaine strong cities were appointed out to make armour therein: at Antioche gold and siluer was coynd: and in all these several works great speed and diligence vsed by the meanes of good overeers. Vespasian also would in his owne person and enforce them, inciting the good by praise, the fowre by example rather then correction, more ready to conceive the vices of his friends then the vertues: many he rewarded with capaines and Procuratours places, many he advanced to be Senatoris, excellent men and of great vertue, and which afterwards attained to highest degrees, although in some fortune supplied the want of good qualities. As for donatius to the soldier, neither did Mutianus in his first oration make any mention but sparingly thereof, nor Vespasian make any offer of greater in ciuitall warre, then others were wonted in peace, a man notable and firme against these lauishings to soldiours, and therefore hauing his army better in order. Moreover Embassia-
Embaladours were sent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia to conclude a surceance of armies, left while the Legions were intantive upon the civil warre, those nations should affault the frontiers behinde. It was agreed that Titius should prosect the Iewish warre, and Vespasian should put himselfe in possession of the strength of AEgypt. Against Vitellius it was thought sufficient to send a part of the hoft, and Mutianus to leade them, and the name of Vespasian, and the favour of fate, which findeth or maketh a way through all letts. Then letters were written to all the Lieutenants and armies, and order quien out to invuite the Ractorian souldiers, which hated Vitellius, upon promise of restitution to their places. Mutianus with an army not encombered with cariage, bearing himself rather as the Emperours fellow then as a seruante marched forward, not very fowly, left he should feeme for feare to delay, nor yet very haftily, but gaue time for the fame of the action to grow; knowing that his strength was not much, and that men beleue alwaies greater matters of things which are absent; but there followed a great troupe, the fixth Legion, and thirteenth thousand Vexillaries. The fleete he commanded to passe out of Pontus and meete him at Byzantium, being halfe in a minde to leave Moesia, and with his horfemen and footemen directly to go to Dyrrhachium, and withall with his shippes of warre to flipt the fea toward Italie, leaing Achaia and Asia behinde him in safety; which, vnlesse they were garded with sufficient power, being without armies would lie open to Vitellius, and that by that meanes Vitellius himselfe would stand in doubt what part of Italie to proct, if at one inftant Brundifium and Tarentum, and the coasts of Lucania and Calabria should be infested by enemy fleets. Thus the b provinces were busily occupied in provision of shippes, men, and armour; but the greatest difficulty was to get money: which Mutianus affirming to be the fineues of ciuill warre, respected not lawe or equity in judgements, but only what way to procure maffes of money. Crimes were daylie deuised, against men of moft wealt, and they spoild: which manner of dealing being of it selfe greuous and intolerable, but in some sorte excusable by the necessity of the warre, remayned alfo in peace afterward. For Vespasian himself, albeit at the beginning of his Empire he was not so obtinately bent to obtain unreasonable matters, yet vppon his continuall prosperitie, and taught by ill matters, he took forth a bad leffon, and vsed it boldly. With his owne purse alfo Mutianus furthred the warre, conferring priuately that, which he would in more ample meafure repay himfelfe out of the common. The ref following his example in contributing of money, few or none had the grace to receive it againe with the like vantage.

Berytus] By the circumftances in the story of Iofephus it may feeme, that here at Berytus was the first meeting of Vespasian and Mucianus, and that before all was delt betweene them by the mediation of Titus, whom we finde in Tacitus abfent with Mucianus in Syria, which had not neede if they had met before, and the matter been concluded uppon. Surely in Tacitus of their first meeting no place is fett downe, and it may feeme strange how two Lieutenants Generall could come personally togethuer before the warre was openly undertaken. But they not comming together before the open declaration in armies, there had been no place left for that good action, which Tacitus ment how to beget on Mucianus. although for the truth of the story, and the circumftances of matters which paft in Jewry, and Syria, I am content to beleue Iofephus better, who, as I haue faid, was an eie-witneffe of the whole action.

Marched forward] Iofephus An. 74. cap. 40. b. 12. Iudg. 1:9. R. 39. Thuc. 2:13. This is, Mucianus being willing to committ himselfe to the sea because it was the deep of winter, broght his army by land through Cappadocia and Phrygia. How it could be so ordered & execd, the deep of winter, whereas without question the war was begun sometime in July, or at the utmost in the beginning of August, I cannot imagin.

To leave Moesia, and with his horfemen] It appeareth in the proceef of the story, that he took the way of Moesia, of whose whole journey from Syria, till we finde him in the third booke fighting with the Dacians, we have not one word fett downe by Tacitus; as likewise after that action, till his entire into Rome, in the fourth booke: points in my judgement very material in a good story, and greatly to the satisfaction of the reader.
The affayres of Vespasian were in the meane seasion hastened forward by the Illyrian armies affection toward the side. The third Legion gave example to the other two Legions of Moesia: the seuenth surnamed Claudiana, and the eighth, being wellwillers of Otho, albeit they were not present at the battell, but only come forward to Aquileia; at which place misusing the messengers that brought word of Othoes overthrowe, and tearing the banners wherein Vitellius name was inscribed, and lastly taking a summe of money by violence and parting it amongst them, they shewed themselves open enemies to the cause. Whereupon they feared displeasure, and upon feare desisted, that this kinde of dealing, which to Vitellius must have needed a long and solemne excuse, might to Vespasian be set vp and reckened as a favour and benefit. So the three Moesian Legions, thus concurring in one, by letters invited the Pannonian armie to the cause, or if they refused, prepared to force them. In that tumult Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Moesia endeavoured to commit a moft wicked act, sending a Centurion to murder Tertius Iulianus Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion, upon private grudges, pretending the publicke cause of the sides. Iulianus understanding of the danger, and taking guides skilfull in the countrey, fled by the deserts of Moesia, beyond the mount Hemus, and afterward was not present in the ciuill warre of the one side or other: protracting the journey he tooke to Vespasian by divers delays, and as the occurrences were, making leffe speede or more. But in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and seuenth surnamed Galbiana, retaining the anger and griefe of the loffe at Bebriacum, without any stay joined themselues to Vespasian, at the incitement principally of Antonius Primus, a man attainted in law, and in Neroes time convicted of forgery, but among other miseries of warre and a troubled state he recovered his place in the Senate, and by Galba was made Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion. He was suppos'd to have written divers letters to Otho, offering his service for a captain to the side; of whom being not regarded, he was not that warre in any employment: but whenas Vitellius state began to decay, following Vespasian he added great weight to the cause, being a man valiant of his hands, of a ready utterance, a cunning craftsman to make others odious, in diffensions and mutines powerable, a violent spoyler, a wastfull spendere, in time of peace and quiet government insupportable, in warre not to be contained. The Moesian and Pannonian armies, being thus joyned together, drew anone the Dalmatian soldeir, albeit the Lieutenants generall sturred nothing at all. Titus Flauianus was generall of Panonnia, and Pompeius Sullanus of Dalmatia, two wealthie old men: but there was in the countrey Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator, a man in the principall strength of his age, and of noble birth; who in his first yeares upon defire of ease, had renounced his place in Senate, and afterward being captain of his colony in fauour of Galba, by that meanes attained a Procuratorship. This man, entering into the cause for Vespasian, became a principall firebrand of the warre, seeming to delite not so much in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves, and in stead of certainties, wherewith he was ancietly indued, chusing new and doubtfull uncertainties. So he affaieth to shake and sturre vp whatsoever there was any where discontented, writing into Britanny to the fourteenth Legion, into Spaine to the first, because they both had ftoode against Vitellius for Otho; letters also were sent abroad into France:
France: and so in one moment there brake a great and mighty warre out, the Illyrian armies thus plainly rewolting, and the rest inclining to follow, where fortune should fauour.

Illyrian armies 3 Some learned men charge this narration here, and generally the story of the actions betweene Vitellius & Vespasian, of great insufficiencies, imperfections, & confusions, whereof I do in my judgment most clearly acquit. Illyricum was diuided into three provinces; Moesia, whereof at this time Aponius Saturninus was President or Lieutenant generall; Pannonia, whereof T. Ampius Flavius was President; and Dalmatia, whereof Poppeius Silanianus, or Pompeius Sullanus (for in both names we finde difference of writing), was President. In Moesia were three Legions, Tertia Gallica, Odessa Augusta, and Septima Claudiana, led by three legati legium, Lieutenants of Legions: Dillius Aponianus of the Third, Hult 3. Numius Lupus of the Eight, Hult. 3. and Tertius Iulianus of the Seventh; who forfaking his place, as appeareth in this place, Vipsanius Meffllia undertook the charge. 3. Hult. In Pannonia there were at this present two legions, septima Galbiana whose Lieutenant was Antonius Prunus; and septdecima Gemina sent backe out of Italy from building of Amphitheatres, whose Lieutenant was a certaine man whos name is unknowne. In Dalmatia there was none but one Legión, namelie undecima Claudia, whose Lieutenant was Annius Bassus. 3. Hult. The premises considered, which are all expressed by Tacitus, I see no what can be required more to the perfection of this narration here, it seeming to me one of the best, and most sufficient in this booke, and so like wise in the whole storie of Tacitus, of all great actions it talketh that betweene Vespasian and Vitellius to be generally the most full, and best set downe, as other betweene Otho and Vitellius the worst. Now for the time when Illyricum began to revolt from Vitellius, as in noting of times Tacitus is always too scant, Suetonius Vitellio somewhat retelleth. Oleasesonemay be described ab eo exercitio Moesarianum quod Pannoniae; so that it seemeth to have begun in August, or perchance toward the later end of July.

XXVI. Vitellius maketh his entry into Rome.

Whilest these things were a working in the provinces, by Vespasian and his adherents, Vitellius growing every day more contemptible and slothfull, staying upon every place of pleasure in town and country, with his troublesome traine marched toward the city. 3 Threescore thousand armed men were in the company licenciotly given, of lackeyes and horsekeepers a greater number; with infinite vittailers and followers of the camp, the most diffluite of all: the traines of so many Lieutenants and so many friends, out of all compaſse of obedience, yea although the governours had beene men of great austerity and strictness. Moreover the Senators and gentle men charged the traine, who came out of the city to meet him, some for feare, some for flattery, the rest and so all one after another for company, left they should seeme to stay behind when others did goe. Thither restored also of the baser sort certaine well known to Vitellius by meanes of vnhonest servises, which in time past they had done him, as buffons, stageplayers and charret diueters; with which kinde of reproche full acquaintance he was delited wonderfully. Neither were the colonies onely or free townes impoverisshed by puruyeing of vittailles for so huge a company; but the husbandmen then. felues, and fields, the corne being now ripe, were spoiled and wasted as an enimie country. Many and cruell murders were committed by the fouldiers among themselves, by reason of the iarring which continued betweene the Legions and Aydes, eer since the filet at Ticinum; against the peants, or any third party they agreed but too well: but the greatest slaughter was feuent miles from the city. At that place Vitellius distributed to his fouldiers, according to the fashions of 2 fencers diet, to euer of them meate already drefted: and the common people, that came out of the city to see it, had dispersed themselves throughout the whole campe. As the fouldiers gave no heed to such matters, certaine pleasants, after a kind of homely ietting, cut away secretly their belts, and spoiled them thereof; asking in jying maner, whether they were girded or no. The fouldiers stomacke, not vised to bore words of disgrace, could not digest that fcorne: but with their swords reuenged.
reunged themselues vpon the people which was without weapon: among others: the father of one of the souldiers was slaine as he accompanied his sonne: vpon which accident perceived and noised abroad they refrained from shedding of innocent bloud. Notwithstanding in Rome the terror was great, by reason of the souldiers running and gadding thither before. The Place of common assembly they repaired specially to, countuing to behold the place where Galba was slaine: when as they themselues were a spectacle no lesse horrible, with hides of wilde beasts about their backs, and huge maggy iauelins in their hands, falling to quarrelling, and from quarrelling to bowes and their weapon, whenas thorough their owne lacke of skill they did not avoid the preffe of the people, or chanced to fall by means of the slippery stones, or infulting of others. The Tribunes also and other captains in terrible fort, with multitudes of armed men, went squaring and jettting the streets. Vitellius himselfe riding from the Miluian bridge vpon a goodly courser with his coate armour on backe, and girded souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had weelly made his entry * as into a towne taken by force; but being advised otherwife by his friends he laied aside his militare attire, and taking his robes marched with his men in peaceable maner. The 3 Standers of lower Legions were marshalled in front, and so many banners about them out of other Legions: then the enlieges of twelve wings: next to whom were the ranekes of footemen, and behinde them the horte, and lastly lower and thirty cohorts distinguished according to the names of the nations they were of, or kindes of weapons they vsed. Before the Standerd marched the Camp-masters and Tribunes and principal Centurions in white garments, the other Centurions eche with his owne band glittering all in armour, and goodly gifts won by their feruice: the chaines also of the common souldiers and horte furniture thone: a brave and beautifull shew, and an armie worthy of a better Prince then Vitellius. After this maner entering the Capitol, and there embracing his mother, he honoured her with the name and title of Augustus.

* Three score thousand armed men ] Valens had out of Germany fortie thousand armed men, &c. Cazinae, &c. &c. &c. &c.

* Discours diet, Gladiatoria sagina ] Gladiatores & Athlete in old time were most daintily dieted and stail fedde, as it were: the knowne phrases of Athleticus habitudinum, & Gladiatoris regina importing no leffe. Cicer. Cum gladiatores socius corporis furniretur. Cyprianus: Impletur in succum cibus fortissimi corpus, & arma affidebant, ulla, &c. Vitoberm utuifemvis, ut fuscipiantur in pannum caritatis pretia.

* The standers of lower legions ] Crassus, which seeme heere, and elsewhere, to be noted of Vitellius sиде, were Italica, and the seaven Legions of Germany, albeit none completely but Rapax, in all the rest part of the men being left behinde, and the whole names attributed alike to both parts.

XXVII. The actions of Vitellius at Rome after his entry.

The day following, as though he had spoken before the Senate and people of a strange citie, he made a glorious speech of himselfe, extolling his owne induftrious and temperancie, when as they which heard him of his owne knowledge were witnesses of his lewd actions, and all Italy beside, thorow which he marched for dowfinesse and riot notoriously infamous: notwithstanding the common people which is voide of cares, and learned in one lesson onely, without difference of truth and falsehood to flatter them in authority, with showts and words gave their applause; and when he denied the name of Augustus they constrained him to take it by force, as vainely as before he had vainely refued it. By vertue of his
his High-priestship he published his edict of ceremonies upon the eighteenth of July; which thing in a city which construeth all things was taken for an ill signe, the day being of ancient time accounted vnluckie, by reason of the overthrows at Cremera and Alia: so ignorant he was of all law humain and divine, and so negligent were his friends and servants, as that he seemed to have none but drunken persons about him. Notwithstanding in the election of Consuls he carried himselfe in a kind of equality, seriously affecting in the Theatre as a spectator, in the Race as a partaker, the favour of the meanest fort; things acceptable indeed and popular, if they had sprung from a vertuous roote; but the memory of his former life made them esteemed base and dishonorable. He came often into the Senate, even when small matters were handled; and as once by fortune Heluidius Priscus Praetor elect had opined against a matter which Vitellius affected, he was in choler at the first, but proceeded no further, but onely to pray aide at the Tribunes of the people against the contempt of his authority. Whereupon Heluidius friends, who feared a deeper impression of anger in his minde, going about to mitigate and make vp the matter, he answered that it was no new thing to see two senators in the common wealth disagree in judgement: that he also was wont sometimes to differ from Hraesa. Many derided the impudencie of the comparision; others liked it well, that he had picked out not one of the powerable favorites in court, but Hraesa rather for a patterne of true glory. P.Sabinus and Iulius Priscus were constitted captains of the Garde; Priscus by Valens preferment, and Sabinus by Caecinaes. For Caecina and Valens disposed of all the affaires of the Empire, leaving between them little authority or none at all to Vitellius, and yet iarring and disagreeing together, aunciently enemies one to the other: but the warre and the campe covered the rancour so for a season, which now brake out and was greatly increa&ced by the peruerse behaviour of friends, and liuing together in a city so fruitfull to breed and nourish dislikes; whilest they contend together, and are compared by others in multitude of suiters and followers, and greatnes of traine; Vitellius diversely favouring sometyme the one, sometyme the other: as powerablenesse is more sure where it is too exceedible. As for Vitellius, knowing him to be sodainely mutable upon every offence or flatterie, they contemned and feared him withall: neuertheless whilst the time was they severed themselfes, and got houeses, gardens, and the riches of the Empire into their hands; when as the lamentable and indigent multitude of Noble men, whom Galba with their children restored to their countrey, was not any way relieved by the Princes liberalitie. Onely hee granted them their former right over their freedemen: a point acceptable to the chiefe men of the citty, and not disallowed even of the meane fort: but those feruile natures marred altogether the benefit thereof, hiding their money in secret corners, or in great mens coffers; and some of them passed to the service of the Prince, and became of more might then their masters. Now as touching the sourdlers, when as the Praetorian campe was replenished, the remainder which was very great, lodging in porches and temples scattered vp and downe the whole towne forgot to knowe their enfeignes, to kepe watch and warde, to harden them-selves with labour and trauell: but drowned in the pleasures of the citty, and filthinesse not to be named, weakened their bodies with idlenesse, and their mind with incontinent liuing: and lastly without any care at all of their owne health many quartered in the pestilent places of the Vatican, wherupon the death of many common persons ensued: and the Germanes and Frenchmen lying by the Tiber, and being otherwise fubiect to diseases, utterly overthrew the state of their body, with too much swimming in the river, and impatience of heat. Moreover the city-soulediery
was through vndiscreetnes or ambition corrupted. Sixteen Praetorian cohorts and foure urban were enrolled, containing a thousand men a piece. In preferring to those roomes Valens presumed to beare greater stroke, as being the worthier man, and hauing redeemed Caecina himselfe out of perill: and in truth by his comming the side was revuied, and with so happie a battell hee cancelled the hard opinion of his flow comming forward: and all the fouldiers of low Germanie followed Valens and depended wholly vpon him: vpon which causes it is supposed that Caecinaes faith began first to be fleeting. Notwithstanding Vitellius yeedled not so much to the captains, but that he yeedled much more to the fouldiers pleafures: euerie one chose his owne place of ferenice: were he neuer so unworthy, if he liked it better he was deputed to the citty seruice: againe those which were fitte were suffered, if they lifted to remaine in their former estate among the Legionarie or Auxiliarie fouldiers: which diuerfe were willing to do being molested with sickeneses, and not able to endure the heat of the cuntrye. Notwithstanding the Legions & Aides were drawn of their principall strength, and the beauty of the Praetorian camp blemished, by this confusion rather then choife of twenty thousand out of the whole army. As Vitellius was making a folemne speech, the fouldiers required Afiaticus, and Flaviu, and Rufinus, captains of France to be executed, because they had taken armes in Vindex behalfe: neither did Vitellius reftaine fuch speeches, besides that he was a man of weake refilience by nature, knowing alio that the day of his donatiue was at hand, and the money wanting. Wherfore he granted liberally all other requestes to the fouldier: and to supply that defect the freedmen of the former Princes were commaunded to contribute, according to the number of their bondmen: whereas Vitellius without other care, faue onely to waife and confume, builded vp tables for charret-drivers, filled the Race with spectacles of fencers and wilde beasts, and as in greatest abundance caft money most idely away. Furthermore Caecina and Valens with great preparation, and such as before that time was never feene, celebrated the birth day of Vitellius, with fhowes of fencers in every strete throughout the whole citty. One thing much greued the good, as it cheered the bad, that Vitellius erected altars in Campus Martius, and there celebrated folemly the exequies of Nero. the beafts for the sacrifice were publickely flaine and burnt: the Auguftales put to the fire: which order of Priests Tiberius Caesar confercated to the Iulian family, as Romulus did another the like to king Tatiu. It was not yet fully foure moneths since the victorie, and Afiaticus Vitellius freedman had fully done as much harme, as euery had any Polycleus, or Patrobius, or whatsoever moft odious name in former courts. No man in that citty sought to rife by vertue or ablens: the onely way to credit was with prodigall banquets, and fumptuous cheere to fatiare the vnsatiable appetitres of Vitellius; who contenting himselfe to enjoy the present, and caring not any further, is thought in foue moneths to haue waffed nine hundreth millions of sestertes: a great and a miferable citty, which in the same yeare supported an Otho and a Vitellius: and that which is more insupportable, a Vinius, a Fabius, an Icelus, and an Afiaticus, in great variety of most ignominious forts, vntill such time as Mutianus and E Marcellus, and rather other men then other maners succeeded in place.


Of Cornelius Tacitus

In the election of Consuls: Comitia Consulam cum candidatis civilibus celebratur. What by Comitia Consulam should be meant in this place, the people being at this time excluded from all voice in elections, either I do not consider, or else comitia consulam civilibus celebratur is but as much, as numerum a considens consularum edict (whether it were by request or any other) civilibus celebratur. In the free state the furers for officers to winne the peoples favour and good will doth glorify electors, till such time as a law, preferably by Tully to that purpose enacted forbidden, and brought within the compass of emium, Cicero in Vatianum: Ego legem de emium ex S. C. siti, qui uti dicata vetas biennis quo quae posta pestiferum fit, gladiatores dare nisi ex se venditione. But after they had assured their fate it was then, not lawfully only, but necesse incident to modi officers to exhibit to the people all sorts of games and plays, and accordingly they performed it with all magnificence & cost. Under the Emperors, albeit no part of the election of any officer depended upon the peoples favour, yet both candidates, & designates, and actual officers continued to minifie to the people their accustomed pleasures of gladiators, circuses &c. contending therein by all possible means to win the good will of the people. In the time of Alexander Mammce, Quæfitoris candidatus numeris populo decem: in Nero's, Qui interdum designatus gladiatores edebat necessitas erat, fatai Tacitus. Consuli designatus esset munus redol: Marcellus Tureconsulibus L. 36. Now to present at these plays was accounted great popularitie in the Prince. Xiphilde Othone, ei Tūbaeza. Tūb eiostoftafozévoy T 25%. That is, He ... hec faculoplurima, horas, alquandototo, die, aderat. Tacit. 1. An, decodem. Ciuterebatur miser; voluptatibus urga as contrarily to come self in Miropogone 323 iwº 78% irº deº, dazzº & Xºftwaradºzó 7& Twºcºoe;; 3x944, 3, #1, aº Twºpolº, &c. That u, Ialwaie, hate and shun the horse race, as, they which are indebted do the place, of publicke aßemblie, therefore I go seldom to them, or to comethither and not to be attentiue, or alium agere, as Caesar, qui visgåre reprehendent. Suet. b Titus: Qjºin & studium armature Thracum (me quid popularitas prætermitterei) pre suo ferre, eiem cum populo & voce geus, 40, manus castram esse Titus, venditum maiefalse falea.

In the preparation of Vitellius against Vespasian

The reuol of the third Legion was first of all other certified to Vitellius by letters, written by Aponius Saturninus, before that he also associated himselfe to Vespasians side. But neither did Aponius write all, as a man atraitwithd with the sodainnes thereof: and beside the friends of Vitellius flatteringly fought to extenuate and lesen the matter: that it was but a mutine of one Legion alone; a matter of no moment, seeing all other armies remained in obedience. After the same style Vitellius also spake to the fouldiers, inueting against the lately call'd Praetorians, by whom he affirmed falle rumours were spred, and that there was no danger of ciuill warre, suppressing the name of Vespasian, and fretting underhand fouldiers abroad: in the town to restraine the speaches of the common people: which thing was a principal means to nourish the fame. Neuertheless he sent for Aydes out of Germanie and Britain, and the Spaines, coldly and dissembling the necesse: the Lieutenants and provinces on their parts vied the like coldneffe againe. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant of Germanie supressing already the reuolt of Batavia, had
had a war of his own to care & provide for. Vеспащio Bolanus governed in Britanny, a cuntrey neuer so in quiet, that he could conveniently spare any number of soldiōrs: and beside neither of them were greatly faft to the side. Out of the Spaines also final hafte was made: at that time there was no Lieutenant general there, but only the Lieutenantes of three Legions, of equall authority; who as in Vitellius prosperity they would have contended who should have bene formost, so nowe in his declining estate they equally drew backe. In Africke the Legion and cohorts leued by Claudius Macer, and straightwaies dismiffed by Galba, began by Vitellius commandement to refuse their service againe: and withall the whole youth of the province voluntarily gaine in their names to be soldiōrs: for Vitellius had governed as Proconfull there with good integrity and liking, Vespasian with as much infaine and hatred of the cuntrey; and accordingly our allies presumed, they would carry them selves in the Empire: but the triall was otherwife. And at the beginning Valerius Fælius the Lieutenant furthered faithfully the endeavours of those of the province: but anone he faulted, in letters and edicts openly pretending Vitellius, and with secret messages interrayning Vespasian; meaning to defend the one side, or the other, according as they should happen to prosper. Some Centurions and soldiōrs were taken in Rhœetia and Frauncie with letters and edicts of Vespasian about them, and being sent to Vitellius were slaine; but more escaped passing undiscovered by the secretes of friends, or by their owne shifting. So the preparations of Vitellius were known abroad: Vespasians purpoſes were for the most part vnknoyned, partly thorothe the negligence of Vitellius, and partly because the Pannonian Alpes were kept with garrison, which stayed all meſsengers; and at the beginning Valerius Fælius blew, a good wind to faile Eastward, and contrary from thence.

* Olympiodorus

Vitellius had governed as Proconful, [In administranda provincia (Africa) singularum innocens cui praebitur (Vitellius) faith Suetonius Vitellio cap.5 agreeing with Tacitus. but in Vespasian he diſagreeht vtherly. Tacitus faith heere famosum inniſsumque proconsulatum in Africa Vespasianus egerat, Suetonius Vespasiano. cap.4. Exin suitisAfricae (Vespasianus) integerrimae nec sine magna dignatione administravit, * The Eteſian winds, according to Aristoteles. Meteor. and Theophrastus de phœnis, Copæa. * the Eteſian winds, according to Olympiodorus in Meteor. it must by due, account light in that time upon the eighteenth of July, or post bidentem exsursum, faith the fame Plinit, Eteſte diuius quadraginta perfest, nee valuit venturum magis final fum, so that Etedus dured ordinarily from the twentie of July till the end of August. And the solstitium imum being in twentie fute days before vndecem Falœn, according to Olympiodorus in Meteor.Mui that which blowing directely against the mouth of the river hinder the water from falling into the sea.

* XXIX. The setting forth of Cæcina against the Illyrian armies, and the beginnings of his treason.

A length Vitellius terriſed with the breaking in of the enemies vpon the frontiers of Itālic, and fearefull meſsages from euery quarter, commandeth Cæcina and Valens to make ready for the warre. Cæcina was sent before, but Valens stayed behinde by reaſon of his weakeſſe in body, being lately recovered of a dangerous fickneſs. Now the German army going out of the city made a farre other then when it did at the entry. No quicknesse appeared in their bodies, no courage in their minds; marching slowly and thinly: the armour decayed, the horses
horses vnlust: the souldier impatient of the sunne, the dust, and the weather; and the more dull to sustaine trauell, the apter to mutin. And beside, the qualities of Cæcina wrought no small prejudice to the cause: his ambitious and populace proceeding, an old fault of his: a sluggishe and dull disposition, lately sprung vp: whether it were that too much favour of fortune turned his edge, and cauled him to degenerate to riotous life, or that intending even then treafon in his minde, he thought it good policy by that means to weaken the valoure and force of the army. Many haue beleued that Cæcinaes minde was shaken and altered first by a practife of * Flauius Sabinus, Rubrius Gallus carrying the message betweene them, and promising that Vespasian should ratifie all covenants made and agreed in case of revolt: and withall he was put in remembrance of the hatred and emulation betwene Valens and him, and that seeing he had not like part in Vitellius, he should do wisely to purchase credit and might with the new Prince. Cæcina taking his leave of Vitellius, and dismissd from his presence with great honour, sent part of his horsemen before to put themselves in Cremona. Straight after the Vexillaries followed of the b fourteenth and of the sixteenth Legion: then the fifth Legion and the eighteenth Legion: and lastly the one and twentieth named Rapax, and the first called Italica with the Vexillaries of the three Brittfish Legions, and the choife of the Aides. When Cæcina was gone, Fabius Valens wrote to the army which before belonged to his charge, to stay for him in the way: that so it was agreed betwene him and Cæcina: who being present, and therefore of greater authoritie, falsely alleged, that vpon later aduise that purpofe was changed, to the ende that resistence might be made with the whole forces united against the enimies comming. So the Legions were commaunded to make speed to Cremona, and part to go to Hostilia. Cæcina himself turned out of the way to Ravenna, vpon pretence to give direction to the navy: and so to Padoua, where secretly the treason was continued betwene Lucilius Basilius and him. For Lucilius Basilius after the captainship of a wing, being made Admirall of both the fleetes at Ravenna and Milenum, because he was not by and by created captaine of the Garde, reuenged his vnlust anger with wicked disloyalty: neither can it be certainly knowen, whether he drew Cæcina into the action, or the same vile minde induced them both, as it happeneth often fewd persons to be of like conditions. The histories written of this warre, vnder Vespasian and his children, haue delivered falfe and flattering cauſes, as that desire of peace and loue of the common wealth moued them thereto. To me it seemeth, beside the inconstant disposition of the men, and the small account of their faith, which once being falsed to Galba, afterward they never respected; that vpon emulation and envy that others should goe before them in the Princes favour, they compaſsed the destruction of the Prince himſelfe. When Cæcina had overtaken the Legions, he sought by findry little practises to weaken the good wils of the Centurions, and of the souldiers which were obstinately bent for Vitellius: Basilius attempting the like found not the like opposition, the navy being easily induced to change their loyalty, vpon the memory of their late service for Otho.
I. The consultation of the Flavian captains, at Petovio in Pannonia.

Concerning the manner of proceeding in the warre.

Sextilus Felix sent into Noricum.

Better fortune and faith the Flavian captains conducted their warlike affayres, assembling in counsell at Petovio, the standing campe of the thirteenth Legion. There was it debated, whether it were safer to stand upon their defence, and fortifie themselves by stopping the passage of the Pannonian Alpes, vntil their whole forces behind were come forward; or else were it more manfull and resolutely done, to march on and fight for the winning of Italie. They which persuaded to stay for more success, and protract the warre, amplifie the fame and force of the German Legions, and further, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the armie of Britannie: that their owne Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten; and though they spake biggely, yet the party overcome retained the leffe courage. But in the mean while if the Alpes were possessed Mutians would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and nauies, and the good will of the provinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by stayeing a little this advantage would grow, that new forces would come, and the olde not diminith. To this Antonius Primus (who was the chiefest inciter of the warre) replied; That speede was the thing that might most help them, and most hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained: they were grown more in careles flouthe, then courage thereby: not keeping in campes as men of warre, alwaies ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, lourtering and disporting themselves, feared of none saue only their hostes: and the harder kept and fiercer they were before, now giving themselves the more greedily over to enjoy their vnaccustomed pleasures. Moreover the theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the city, had effeminatd their mindes, or diseaseth utterly wasted their bodies: but if respite were giuen, through warlike exercises they would recover their strength: and besides, Germania was not farre off, from whence they might be supplied with new forces, and Britannie but a small step beyond: France and Spaine were hard at hand to furnish them of men, hostes, and money: besides Italy it selfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they list to begin and assaile vs, they have (quoth he) at commandment two nauies, and the whole Illyrian sea free: what will it then profit vs to keep the straytes of the mountaines? or what can it availe vs to differre the warre till another sommer? and whence shall we have money and victailes in the mean time? nay rather why take we not this opportunity present, since the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselves rather beguilid then beaten, are so instant and earneft to have their reuenge, and the armies of Moesia are yet entire and vnfoiled? if the number of soldierys be reckened rather then the names of Legions, our side hath more strength and much leffe disorder; and the very shame of the late overthrow hath greatly amended
ded our discipline: and yet our horsemen even then were not defeated, but contrarily scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battle went against vs. Two wings of Pannonia and Moesia were able at that time to break thorow the enemy: now the enseignes of sixtene wings united together, with their stamping and found, and the very durt of their feete, will double be able to couer and ouerwhelme both the horses and horsemen of our enemies, who have now almost forgotten to fight. For my part (if I may be permitted) as I am the first to give the aduise, so I will be the first to execute the fame. You, whose condition giues you free choice of either, ly still and keepe your Legions at home: some few light cohorts shall serve my turne; affooone as the warre is begun, you shall heare that Vitellius state will decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and treade in the steps of my victory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius vtttered with burning eies and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the soldiars also had intruded them selfes into the councell:) and the speech moued greatly euyn the warieft amongst them and doublelfelt to enter into danger. But the common soldierr and the rest magnified him, as the only man of courage, and the only captain; despising the colde and sluggishe proceedings of the other. This good opinion he first wans through a speech he made in the assembly, when Vespasians letters were first openly red, in the which he did not (as the most of the rest) deliver his mind in doubtfull and ambiguous terms with a meaning to interpret them afterward as he shold see best for his purpose, but seemed directly and refolutely to enter into the caufe, and therefore was a great deale better liked of the soldiars, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger and honor of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator was of chiefe autorty amongst them. For he likewise was wont to inuey bitterly against Vitellius, and thereby had left to himselfe no hope of pardon if the enterprise failed. Titus Ampius Flauianus, both by nature and by reason of his age being flow in proceeding, gaue occasion to the soldiars of suspiccion, as if he had respeted his affinity with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himselfe out of the camp when the Legions began first to reuolt, and afterward came againe of his owne accord, it was thought he did it to seeke some opportunitie of treason. For indeede Flauianus had once relinquished his prouince of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italie; and afterward by desire of noueltie was brought to take vpon him his gouernment againe, and become a medler in civill warres, through the perswacion principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great neede of Flauianus abilities, but that the name and countenance of a Lieutenant generall might giue reputatìo to the side, that was then but in rising. Then letters were writte to Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Moesia, to make haft, and back their passage into Italie with his army. And left the provinces, by this remouing away of the Legions, might lie open to the spoile of the barbarous nations conning, the principall men of the Sarmatae Iazyges, and heads of the countrie were assuned into the seruice, who made offer alfo of the common fort, and great troupes of horsemens, which is their sole strength, but the offer was not accepted, lest amidst our dissenions they should attempt anything prejudicall to the state of the Empire, or els vpon better wages, without respect of honour or faith, passe to the enemie. Sido and Italicus anciently devoted to the Romane name, kings of the Sueuians, a nation both more faithful and more obedient, were drawn to the partie. Garrisons also were laid on the side against Rhoeia which held for Vitellius, being gouerned by Porcius Septimius the Procurator, a most faithfull seruant vnto him. So Sextilius Felix was sent with
with the Aurian wing, and eight cohorts, and the youth of the country of Noricum, to plant himself against him along the bank of the river Enus which divideth Rhœaia and Noricum affinder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, while in the meantime the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

And least the provinces] All from these words in the Latin copy ac ne inermes provincie &c. to these splace cerae Galbae principatus, inclusi, should be placed before, quae sunt inde quas sedes bella legenter &c. and to the words reimmocum exercitum Maſcum celebrare cohore with & praesertim partes. Which disorder, by reason the lines and letters almost between quærum inde and Maſcum celebrare are equal to the lines between ac ne inermes and Gal ba principatus, may seeme to have grown first by the meere transposition of a leaf in the copy, from whence all ours were derived.

II. Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and having taken Aquileia, 
Opitergium, Altinum, Padoua, Eſte, setleth his maine campe at Verona.

NOW Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts, and part of the horſemen, marched on toward Italie, accompanied with Arrius Varus a valiant warrior rather then a vertuous man: which glory hee gained by his service and good succeffe in Armenia vnder Corbulo: whom notwithstanding he was suppoſed secretly to have discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such finifter meanes growing in fauour he attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contetnation, but afterward turned to his ruine. Antonius and Varus in paffing tooke Aquileia, and the countrey thereabouts, and proceeding forward were at Opitergium and Altinum joyfully receiued. At Altinum a garrison was left against the fleete of Rauenna, of the revolt whereof they had not as yet receiued any intelligence: and marching forward they adioyned Padoua and Eſte to the side. Where aduertifement was giuen that three Vitellian cohorts and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Aleni, having there made a bridge ouer the rier. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set upon them as they lay negligentely and carelesely; for that circumstance alfo was certified: and so accordingly they came uppon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part vnarmed. They were willed beforehand, that after some slaughter at the beginning, they should seek to induce the rest with feare to change their allegiance; and some there were which yelded themselves at the first: but the greater part fled ouer the rier, and breaking the bridge cut off the passage from the enemy pursuing. This victorie being divulged, and the first attempts of the Flauianists having succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the feuenth suffamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina \* with Vedius A qulila Lieutenant thereof, came to Padoua cheerfully, and ful of courage. There some few daies were spent in reposing the army, and Minucius Iuſtus campemaster of the feuenth Legion was saued from the fury of the soldier, and sent to Vespasian, because his gouernement was straier and more feuere, then the nature of a ciuile warre would support. At what time alfo Antonius supposing it a plaſible action, and for the credit of the side, if Galbaes gouvemement should seeme to be liked, gaue commandement throrowout all the free towns, that the images of Galba, which vpon change of times and diffension in state, had beene broken downe, shold be restore anew: a thing very long and greatlie desired, and therefore interpreted gloriously in the higheſt degree. Then was it proposed and difputed, what place were best to be choen, for feate as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fitteſt, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horſemen, wherein con-
fisted their principal strength: and beside to dispose of Vitellius of a town of such wealth and importance, would both be commodious and bring reputation to the cause. In the passage thitherward they took Vicenza a thing of itself not greatly material, as being a town of small forces; howbeit because Cæcina was borne there it seemed a matter of consequence; when men began to recount, how that the Generall of the contrary part had loft his owne country and home: but the getting of Verona was worth the pains taking. For both the side was relieved with their wealth, and the example was a good precedent to others: and the army lying there opportunely in the way, betweene Germanie and Vitellius powers, did shut vp the Rhoetian and Italian Alpes, and cut off all hope of passage for the Germanes that way. All which proceeding was either unknown to Vepiasian, or expressly forbidden by him: his commandement was to march no further then Aquileia, and there to expect Mutianus; adding also a reason thereof, that seeing AEGypt, the garners of the city, the revenues and tributes of the richest provinces were in his hands, Vitellius army might through lacke of pay and victaille be constrained to yield. To the same purpose also Mutianus aduised them often by letters, alluding what a glory it would be to obtaine a victorie without blood, and whereof no mourning ensued, with such other pretences; whereas he did it indeede upon ambition, and coueting to reserve the whole renowne of the warre for himselfe: but by reason of the great distances counfailes came after the factes. Antonius having thus fea-ted himselfe in Verona issued forth on the soudain, and gau the alarme to the ene-emy, where trying their manhoo de together in a light skirmish they departed on eu en hand. Anone Cæcina encamped himselfe betweene Hostilia, a village of the territorie of Verona, and the marishes of the river Tartar us, in a safe and defen sible place; his ba cke being garded with the riu er, and the flanckes with marishes: who if he had meant truth, hauing all his masters power vnder his hand, might with great facilitie either haue surprized two simple Legions (the army of Moesia as yet being not ioyned) or at lea ast beaten them backe, and forced them to flie, and with shame forfake Italie. But Cæcina omitted traiterously all advantages, which at the first were offered, speding the time in trifling delayes, and rebuking them by epistles, whom with like facility he might haue repulsed with armes: untill by mesengers passing betwene the bargain was driven, and the covenant for his treason agreed vpon. In the meane time Aponius Saturninus came with the seventhe Legion fur na med Claudiana: the Legion was governed by Vipfanius Mefallia a Tribune, a man nobly descended, and of noble qualities himselfe, the only vertuous man and with out note, that entred into that action. To this army, nothing comparable to his owne (for as yet there were but three Legions) Cæcina sent letters, blaming their rashnes, that being once overcomen they durft put themselues againe into armes: and withall he extolled the valour of the German armie: of Vitellius making small mention and in common termes only, without any reproachfull word against Vespa sian at all: in summe writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or ter rifie him. The captaines of the Flauian armie, omitting to speake of their former misfortune, returned answere concerning Vespasian in hawtie and glorious termes, shewing themselues very confident in their caufe and secure of the event; reuiling Vitellius as enemies, and bragging of the Moesian armie, as being hither to never overthrown; seeking moreover to weaken the faith, and win the good will of the contrary fide, by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining their places, and fauours which Vitellius had bestowed vpon them, and exhori ting Cæcina himselfe in plaine termes to revolt. Both the letters were solemnly read
Antonius takyn with him certaine &. ] The Legions, their captains, and marching with all necessarie circumstances in a manner, are in this warre fully and plainly set downe by our author, incomparably better then either in the last betweene Vitellius and Otho, or in the next betweene Ciullis and the Romans in Germany. Here Antonius Lieutenant of septima Galbiana marcheth first, about the latter end of Auguft, or beginning of Septem-
ber, with vexillari & cohortibus, and part of the horfe, making vp no doubt a conuenient power, albeit there was not any enter Legion. With him went Arrius Varus, of no higher degree at that time, as I thinke, then a Primus plius, of what Legion I cannot tell: but lib.4. Tertia Legio is called familia Arria Varonis: afterward, as it appear eth Hift.4. he obtained the captainship of the Garde, and Pratia infignia, and being put by Mutianus from the cap-
tainship of the Garde, was made Praefatius annone. At Pauuum or thereabout the two Legions of Pannonia outerook Antonius, namely septima Galbiana, whose Lieutenant was Antonius himselfe, and terciadecima Germinia, with Vediun Aquila Lieutenant thereoff, the Lieutenant generall also T. Ampius Flauianus, as it may be profu-
ed, comming withall: for we finde him alone in the mutine. At Verona Aponius Saturninus President of Meitia with septima Claudia, Viplanus Mcfalla being Lieutenant thereof, outwoke them: and anone afterward at Verona or thereabout the other two Legions of Meitia, tercia Gallica with Dillisus Aponianus, and septima Aug-
us with Numius Lupus, And this was also the power that was preuent of the Hauidian side at the battle of Cre-
mona, certaine bands of olde Prautorian fouldiers excepted,whereof we finde mention both in that field and else-
where: but when and where they came to the side, is nowhere, as it ought, expressly set downe. Of Vitellius fide there were preuent in the action of Cremona two complete Legions, eueraqveitca Roma which came out of Ger-
many with Caecina, and Italia taken away from Lions by Valens; and fixe vnpurled Legions out of Germany: to win awaie, and alia septima alias ducesiefina out of high Germanie: prim, quinque, quintoedecima, and septuadecima out of lowe Germanie, whereof five be named 2. Hift. A little before the ioyning all the eight are set downe particularly, and by name. And beside the eight Legions there were of that side vexillari out of the three Britith Legions, secunda Augustana, numa, et vietca Viictis, part of the eight thousand which Vitellius brought out of Ger-
manic; et Britannico elefien. Tacius 2. Hift. 3. Hift. and all this power under the charge of Caecina. After the battell at Cre-
mona viete legiones per librumum diuerfa. Tacius 2. Hift. 3. Hift. the five conquering Legions, being increas'd by un-
dericia Claudia, and fixe thousand men beide out of Dalmatia, under the leading of Poppeus Silvanus Lieute-
nant general of all that curreny: and Annius Baflus Lieutenant of the eleuenth Legion, were left at Verona. An-
numus with the Auxiliaries and left legionem marched to Fanum Formuan. Tacius 2. Hift. At Fanum they stept for all their power from Verona, which outerook them at Carluke. On the other side after that other battle at Cre-
mona went to Fabius Valens three Praetorian cohorts with the Britith wing, which were taken by Cor-
elius Fulfus at Ariminium. Then he sent both the captains of his Garde with fourteen Praetorian cohorts and certaine wings of horfemen, and a Legion et calicia different from Adiutrix Cal⭐ca (which then was in Spaine) and belike newly enrolled. And this in effect was the power of both sides imployed in this action.

III. A mutine of the Pannonian fouldier against Flauianus their general and another of the Ma∫ian against Saturninus likewise theirs.
outcries: and the rest likewise were rejected with noise and clamour: only to Antonius they were content to give care for he was both eloquent and skillful to please a multitude, and beside of most authority amongst them. When the sedition waxed hoat, and passed from words and ill speeches to weapons and blows, he commanded Flauianus to be layed in chains. The fouldier perceived the flight, and breaking thorow those that garded the Tribunall, they were at the point to haue Flauianus: but Antonius opposed himselfe with his sword drawen, proreeting that if they would not desist, he would either dye by their hands, or by his owne: and withall desired the affittance by name of all that he knew, or were of note otherwise for their degrees and places in service. Then turning himselfe to the ensignes and gods of warre, he besought them to send such fury, such discord, into the minds of their enemies rather: till at length the sedition growing colde, and the day being spent, the fouldiers slipp'd away eche to his lodging. Flauianus departed away the same night, and meeting with letters from Vespasian was delivered from danger: but the Legions, as it were tainted with a contagious infection, staid not there, but banded themselves in like mutinous manner against Aponius Saturninus, Lieutenant generall of the Moelian army, vpon the comming abroad of certaine letters, which he was suppos'd to haue written to Vitellius: and their fury was so much the more hard to appease, because it began, not as the former toward the euening, when they were tired before with labouring, but at the noone time of the day. As in times past fouldiers strouet to passe one another in modestie and vertue, so then the contentation was to excell in vnrulineffe and infolency: the Moelian fouldier being both to sic leffe violence in seeking the death of Saturninus their General, then the Pannonian were of Flauianus before: the Moelian fouldiers alledged that they had had help the Pannonians to prosecute their reuenge: and the Pannonian fouldier, as if the sedition of others would acquit them, were glad to see the like fault committed again. So agreeing together in this determination they went to the gardens where Saturninus lodged. It was neither Antonius, nor Aponianus, nor Messalla, that saued him out of their fury, though they did what they could, but the secretneffe of the place where he was hid, lying cloef in the furnaces of certaine baths, which by chance were vnoccupied; and so priuily he conveyed himselfe to Padoua, putting away his sERGEANTES, and liuing as a private person. The Lieutenants generall being thus remoued, Antonius had the whole government and direction of both the armyes; his companions the Lieutenants of the Legions easilie yeelding to him, and the fouldiers fancying him above others: and some were of opinion, that both the mutinies were rais'd by his procurement, to the ende that hee alone might enjoy the whole benefit of the war.

1 Flauianus departed away] It had beene well Tacitus had made vs acquainted with the contents of these letters, which met him so marvellously, quod, TANQUAM EX MACHINA; as if Vespasian in fury two moneths before had seen, that his good friend Flauianus should have been suspected and misused by his fouldiers at Verona, and therupon directed letters in his fauour. Then where the letters so luckily met him, or at all whither he went is not spicified: but surely whither fouer it was, being once out of the fouldiers fingers, he was as I presupue out of all danger, at least any such as Vespasians letters could exempt him from.

IIII. The reuolts of Lucilius Bassius the Admirall, and of the sleet at Rauenaa. The treaason of Cecina generall of the armie by land.

OF Vitellius side also matters were no leffe disquiet, the diffension being more dangerous, as proceeding not of soldiers ielosies, but of the treaason of the Generals. Lucilius Bassius, Admirall of the nauie at Rauenaa, had woon to
the Flavian side the minde of his soldiery, being somewhat inclinable thereto of themselves, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which countries held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilest the rest knew nothing of the matter, they onely of the conspiracie might assemble themselves in the Principia. Baflis either for shame, or doubt what would be the issue, kept himselfe within his house. The captaines of the galleys in the mean time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few which refristed being put to the sword, the rest of the multitude vpon desire of change was easilie induced to favour Vespasian. Then Lucilius comming abrode auowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the nauy in his place made choise of Cornelius Fuscus for Admirall; who came with speed to thither: and Baflis was conveyed by ship to Hadria, as it were under honourable arrest, and by Mennius Rufinus captaine of a wing being in garrison there put in bands; but soone after enlarged at the comming of Hornius Vespasians freedman, who was also in this warre counted among the Generals of that side. Now Cæcina, asfoone as the revolt of the nauy was published abroad, assembled the chief of the Centurions, and some of the soldiery, the rest being dispersed and busied in their ordinary militarie duties, into the Principia, purposely chusing the most secret corner of the campe. There he greatly exhorted the Valour of Vespasian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the nauy was already revolted, the onely support of Vitellius provision: that Fraunce and Spaine were turned against him: that in the citie there was nothing to be trusted unto; and generally aggravating all to the worst against the person and state of Vitellius. Whereupon some that were priuie to the plot beginning to swear to Vespasian, the rest amazed at the strangenesse of the matter followed the example: immediately Vitellius images were broken downe, and messengers sent to Antonius to declare what had past. But asfoone as this revolt was brutethorow out the camp and the soldiery comming into the Principia saw Vespasians name set vp, and Vitellius images cast vnder foote, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is there the glory and fame of the German armies now come to this? that without battaile or any blowe striken they should thus binde their own hands, and yeeld vp their weapons? for else what power was there of the other side to compell them? onely the Legions which before they had overcome, and yet the flower and strength of them abfent, to wit, the first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewise overthrown in the same field with the rest: and all belike to this ende, that so many thousands of valiant soldiery should afterwards, like a droue of bond-slaues, be bestowed as a present vpon Antonius an exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one nauy. But fo was the pleasure of Baflis and Cæcina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treasure, to bereave him also of his soldiery, albeit never touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, even to the Flavianists also. For what could they say being required an account of their prosperity and aduerity? To this effect every one by himselfe and all together crying out, as grieue and anger wrought in their minde, the fift Legion being most forward, they set vp Vitellius images againe, and laying hold vpon Cæcina put him in fetters, & appointed Fabius Fabulus Lieutenant of the fift Legion, & Callius Longus the camp-maister Generals in his place: killing certaine galleys-soldiery, which by chance arrived there in ill house, though utterly ignorant and innocent of that which had passed. Then leaving their camp, and breaking the bridge they returned to Hoftilia, and from thence to Cremona, and ioyne with the fift Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax.
pax, which Caecina had sent before, with part of his horsemen, to put themselves in Cremona.

* Baebius was conveyed Why remained he not still in the charge? why was hee committed, albeit it were caufa-dia hominum, by those whichfavoured Vespasian? why went to Adria? why there put into straiter prifon, if Mennius were a friend to Vespasians cause? if an enemie, why looked at Hormus commandement, who was Vespasians man? and what then became of him? when, by whom, and wherefore was Mennius Rutilus put there in garri-

Bion? Thes petty circumstances, or some good part had in my opinion bene necessa}ry in this place for the full fa-

tisfaction of the reader.

V. The skirmish of the Flavian and Vitellian horsemen betweene Bebriacum and Cremona.

When Antonius had understanding hereof, he determinated whilst the enim-
ies were at diffension, and their forces not joined together, to use his adva-

tage and affaile them, before either the Generals could ground their authority, or the fouldiers frame themselves to a new obedience, or the Legions recouer courage by uniting together. He gess'd that Fabius Valens was alreadye come out of Rome, and would make great haste, affone as he heard of Caecinaes treason: and Fabius was known to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not vnkindfull in feruice: besides a great power of Germans was feared by the way of Rhaetia, and Vitellius had sent for Aydes out of Britannie, France and Spaine: enough to have maintained a mighty and puiflant warre, had not Antonius vpon doubt thereof ha-

ftened the battaile, and before hand obtained the victorie. So with his whole hofte he remoued from Verona, and the seconde night fate downe at Bebriacum. The next day imploying his Legions in fortifying the campe, he sent out his Auxiliary cohorts into the territory of Cremona, to the end that the fouldiers, under colour of providing necessaries, might be enured and flipt a cui uill spoile. He to fappe conduct the forragers advanced himselfe with foure thoufand horse eight miles for-

ward from Bebriacum: and the skowts in the meane time, as the manner is, pricked on further. About the fift houre of the day one came riding in poft, to give intelli-
gence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some few marched before, but the noife and trampling of the whole army on evry fide was clearely to be heard. Whileft Antonius was deliberating what was to be done, Arius Varus, deſirous to do some piece of feruice, brake out with certaine of the forward left horsemen, and made the Vitellianists recule, and flew some few: for by & by more of their fellows comming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were moft forward before in pursuiving, were now left left in the flight. This hafte was against Antonius wil, who suppos'd the event would be fuch as it was: but feeing it could not not vndone he en-

couraged his men to fight valiantly: and dividing his troupes in two parts, left a lane in the middle to receive in Varus with his horsemen, word also was sent backe to the Legions to arme, and the alarme was giuen to those that were forraging abroade, that every man shoule leave of spoiling, and reparaie with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varus in a great feare was retir'd within his owne troupes, and induced thither a generall terroure. The wounded and vnwounded were beaten in together, and greatly distress'd through their owne feare, and the ftrait-

ness of the waies. In all which confuſion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a resolute Generall, or valiant fouldier, encouraging those that were dif-
mayed, staying them that thrunk: where moft neede was, whence any hope ap-

peared, there buffetling himselfe, with direction, hand and speech, in the view of the

enemie,
enemie, in the fight of his owne men, growing at the last to that heate, that with his lance he ran throw a guidonbearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it against the face of the enemie: whereat for very shame there stayed about an hundred horse. That which principally helped was the quality of the place, the way being there somewhat narrow, and the bridge broken of the riuer that ran behind them, whose unknowen channell and steep banks stopped their further flight. That constraint or chance recovered the field that weely was lost. For knitting the felves strongly together, with thick and close rankes, they receyued the Vitellian fouldiers comming on losely without any order. Which thing the leffe it was looked for, amazed them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yielding pressed the more instantely upon them, overthrowing all that came in his way: and with all the rest as their inclinations were, some fell to spoiling and catching, some to take armour and horses: even they which before were broken, and scattered abroad in the fields, hearing the joyfull erie of their fellowes, returned then backe to take part of the victorie. About fourer miles from Cremona, the enfeignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica, appeared, hauing marched so far upon the successe of their horsemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were so farre to seeke, as that they neither did open their rankes, & receive their distressed fellowes within them, nor yet went forward to affail the enemy tired already with fighting and following so farre. Thus being by chaunce overcame, they founde in aduersity the lacke of a leader, which in their iolity they cared not for. As the Legions ftoode wauing in termes of breaking, the Flauian horfemen charged vpon them: and Vipsanius Messallus the Tribune was at their heele with the Macedian Aides, who in militare renowne, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferior to the Legionary fouldiers. So horfemen and footemen mingled together did easily breake the Vitellian Legions, and the towne of Cremona lying so neare gave them leffe minde to resift, and more hope to escape: neither did Antonius preffe any further, considering the trauaile and wounds, which both his horfemen and horfes had taken, in so dangerous a skirmish, albeit the ende went on his side. Towarde the shuttinge in of the euening the whole power of the Flauian armie arrived: who affoone as they troade among the heapes of dead bor'es, in the freshest steps of folate a slaughter, as if the whole warre had bene ended, cried to leade on out of hand to Cremona, and take by surrender or force those conquered persons. These gaiete speeches were in their mouthes and openly pretended, but secretly every one cast thus with himselfe; That a towne rated in the plaine might bee won easie at a push: that their courage would as well serue them to enter in the night, and their liberty to spoile would then be much greater: but if they attended till day, then would there come complicated extortions, and injustices for peace, and so for their labour and hurts they should carie away the vaine smokes of clemencie and glory, and such other titulare matters, but the wealth and richeffe of the towne would cleane to the captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the spoile of a citie taken by force fell to the fouldiers, but of a citie surrendred alwaies to the captaines alone. Hereupon the perswaions of the Tribunes & Centurions, as persons suspect, were reiectt, and because no mans speech should be heard, they ratted their weapons, threatening if no man would lead them beside, to guide and conduct themselues. Then Antonius inuistanting himselfe among the common fouldiers, after he had with the fight of his person, and reverence of his place, procured silence, protested vnto them, that his meaning was not in any sort to defraude so well defending fouldiers, either of honour or reward, notwithstanding the captaines and fouldiers duties were of different nature: a fouldier ought to be fierce and
and desirous to fight, but in captains a wary foresight and deliberate kind of proceeding is rather commended: and more often times profiteeth and helpeth him by procrastinating, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victorie, so would he likewise help now with direction and counsale, peculiare qualities to a General, and the place he sustained. And surely if they lift but a little consider, the dangerousnes of the enterprise was very apparent. It was now night, the situation of the towne was unknown, within nothing but enemies, and every corner fit for an ambush: nay if the gates were wide open, yet were it not safe for to enter, no not in the day time, but upon good discouerie before hand, and assurance that all coasts were cleere. What? would they begin an assault when they could not finde the best place of approach, nor the height of the walls, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot, or by engines at hand, or by mine? then turning himselfe to particular persons he demanded of them severally, whether they had brought their *hatches & axes with them, and all other tooles necessary for an assault: and when they denied, What, quoth he, then are any mens hands in the world of that force, and strength to break down walls with sawes & swords? what if it fall out that we want of necessity raise mounts, cover our felues with hurdles and frames of boorde? shall we not then be forced to stand like good sillyfooles gaping and gazing at the height of their towers, and the strength of their fortifications? nay rather let vs stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meanes time our engines and instruments of battery, and so carry the victorie surely before vs. And herewith he dispatched the *servants and followers of the campe, and the freest of his horsemen to Bebriacum, to bring vittailes from thence, and all other necessary provision.

VI. The great battell at Cremona betweene the Flauianists and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.

The soldieer discontented thereat and repining, was growing toward a musique, when as their horsemen hauing cowered to the very walles of Cremona tooke certaine stragglers of the towne, by whose confession it was understood, that six Vitellian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeate of their fellows, had marched thirty miles that very day, and prepared themselves to fight, and would by and by be upon them. That terror opened their minides, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsale, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand upon the *cawfy of the Posthumian way: fast by it on the left hand stooed the seventh suumamed Galbian in a plaine field: then the seventh called Claudiana hauing before it a *common ditch for a kind of defence, as the place chanced to yeeld: on the right hand stooed the eighth Legion in an open ground: then the thirteneeth in a thicket somewhat disunited by reason of bushes and shrubs. In this fort stooed the standards and ensignes of the Legions, but the soldieers were blended together, as it chanced in the darcke. The bande of Praetorians stooed next to the third Legion, the Auxiliary cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horsemen garded the flankes, and rearward: Sido and Italicus the Sueuians with the choie of their countrymen sitten in the foreward. On the other side, the Vitellian army, whose best course doublesthe had bene to have taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselves with smoke and sleepe, and so the next day to have given the onsest upon their enemies, starved with hunger and colde, for lacke of a leader and want of direction, about the third hower
hower of the night dafhed themselfes vpon the Flauian army, who stode now in array strongly prepared to receive them. The order and standing of the Vitellian army I dare not for certaine auouch, being doubleffe disordered through anger and darknes. Some afferme that the fourth Legion called Macedonica stode in the right wing: the fift and fifteenth Legions, with certaine companies out of three BritthLegions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled vp the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the fift: the soldiers of Rapax and Italica dispered themselves thorow out all: the horſemen and Aides choſe their owne standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruel, with great mortality sometime on the one side, and sometime on the other: courage or strength auailed little in the darke, where the eie could not dis cerne a friend from an enemy. On both sides was the same kind of armour and weapons: by many mutuall questions ech knew others watchword: the banners also were mingled together, as it happed a band to take any from the enemy and carry them to and fro. The feuenth Legion lately leuied by Galba was pressed most hard ly: sixe of her principal Centurions were slaine, and some enseignes taken away, the flanderd it selfe was hardly defended by Attilius Verus the chieſe Centurion; who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his owne death in the end, notwithstanding his charge. The Flauianifts thus going to the worse, Antonius reinforced and strengthened the battell by sending for the Praetorian soldiers, who affonne as they undertoke the fight repulsed the enemy at the fift, and anone were repul sed themselves. For the Vitellianifts had brought their engins of warre, which before were dispered and discharged against bulthes and trees, without any hurt to the enemy, and placed them vpon the casley of the high way to haue an open paffage and free scope to shoot out; among the reft as Ballista of a wonderfull greatneffe, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them fore, and had made a farre greater hauock among them, had not two soldiers vndertaken an honourable exploite, and taking vp targets among the dead bodies gone vnknown, and cut the cords and weightes of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces, and so their names are not knoune; of the fact there is no question. Now the battale continued doubtfull, and fortune indifferent to both sides, till at farre in the night the moone rose and discovered the armyes, though in deceitfull fort, and more in favour of the Flauian side, because she was at their backes: by meanes whereof both the shadowes of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and the arrows and darts of the Vitellianifts, being falsely bestowed vpon shadowes, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily by reason of the moone shining against them, the Vitellian soldiers were easily hit vnawares with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of co uert. Antonius affonne as he could discerne his owne company, and be likewise dis cerned of them, began to inflame them feueraſely, some with Shame and rebuke, others with praiſe and encouragements, all with hope and large promifes: desmaun ding of the Pannonian Legions for what purpoſe they had now resuſed armes? if to wipe away the blot of their late ignominie, here was the field where they might reintegrate themſelves in their honour againe. Then turning to the Moſlian soldiers, he challenged them as authors and beginners of the waie, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellianifts with words and threats, if now they durft not abide their hands and lookes. And after this and the like fort he spake to all whom he met: but moſt at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how under the conduct of Marcus Antonius
Antonius they had overthrown the Parthians, under Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians, then directing his speech to the Prætorians in great anger: As for you disgraded soldiery (quoth he) if you winne not here, what other gene
rall, or what other camp shall receive you? Yonder loe, threate ye your eneignes
and weapons, and present death if you leese, for you have spent already your
shame. Great crying and noise there was on every side, when as the third Le
gion, as the maner in Syria is, with a great showe saluted the senderising:
upon which accident, or by the Generals pollicy, a generall rumour was spre’d
thorow the hoft, that Mutianus was come, and the armies had met and saluted eac
other. Whereupon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gaue a
fresh onfet, the Vitellian rankes growing now thinner, as being without all direc
tion, and banding together or disbanding as their owne courage or feare did induce
them. When Antonius felt them weake in the thocke, and yeelding vnder his
hand, with a company sumely compacted he charged and disordered them. The
ranckes once loosed brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the carriages and
engins, which hindered the matter. The conquerours hoastly pursuung the chace
dispersd themselues along the high way. The slaughter was the more famous, be
cau’d in the fame it happened the sonne to kill his owne father: the thing and the
names of the persons I will set downe, as Vipsanius Messalla hath reported it.
Iulius Manuætus borne in Spaine, and called to serue in the Legion surnamed Ra
pax, left a sonne at home vnder yeares, who growing afterward to mans state, and
being entrold with Galba into the fourteenth Legion, by mere misfortune here met
and encountered with his owne father; and having wounded him deadlie, going a
bout to rifice him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewit known by him a
gain. Whereupon embrasing the corps, which now was without sence or life, with
teares and lamentable voice he befought his fathers ghost, not to impute this im
piety vnto him, nor abhorre and detest him as a particide: that it was the publicke
act of the caufe: and what a small portion was one fouldier of thefe ciuil warres?
And withall he tooke vp the body, made a pit in the ground, and perfourmed his
laft duty toward his father. This was perceived by them which were next, and
then by more also: in the end the fame of this strange chance went thorow the
whole army, and much complaining there was, and detestation of fo cruel, and
wicked a warre: and yet they continued nothing the leffe to kill and to spoil both
kinsmen and friends, and even their brethren also, they talk what a wicked fact was
committed, and in the meanes time commit it themselues. Whenas they came to
Cremona, there appeared a new and no small piece of worke yet behinde. For in
the warre against Otho the German fouldiers had caft their camp about the waels of
Cremona, and about their campe rampiers and trenches, which they had now late
ly augmented. At the sight whereof the Flauianists were at a stop, the Generals be
ing doubtfull what to appoint. to begin the affault the army being tired with the
trauaille both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter, and hauing no place
of retiring at hand dangerous too: to returne to Bebriacum were intolerable paine,
the way being too long, and besides, all they had done would be loest, and the victor
made voide: to fit downe and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to
be feared, left the enemies being fo neere shoulde fallie out, and breede fonic disorder
as they were dispersd, and busy at their worke. But aboue all these respectes the Ge
nerals stode in most feare of their owne fouldiers, who would sooner abide any dan
ger, then any delay: all that tended to saferty was vnfaucy; in precipitation was
their hope; the greedy desire of the spoile made al killing, wounding, shedding their
their blood to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius finally inclining, commanded to enuiron the trenches with soldiers round about. And first they fought aloofe with arrows and stones on both sides, but with disaduantage to the Flauian part, vpon whom the enemy dischargd from above: then appoaching nearer he dis tribute to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to ech their feueral quarter, to the end the labor being thus divided, the different betweene the valiant and the coward might be perceived, and mutual emulation of honor shoulde excite them to vertue. The third and 4 euenth Legion were assigned the quarter next to the way, which leads from Bebricacum: the eighth and feuenth surnamed Claudiana tooke vp the trenches on the right hand: the thirteenth was caried with a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they pawde awhile, till they had fetched out of the fields therabout, some of them e spades and 4 axes, some others e hookes and ladders. Then with a strong target fence ouer their heads they came vnder the walles, and were receiued by thoſe that vnderfoode that kinde of service, as haung being trained vp in the fame schoole, who rowdde downe huge stones vpon it, and forced the frame to stagger and fleete, then followed & ſearched into it with iaululins and ſpeare, till the connexion of targets being dissolued and broken, they flew or maimed the men. Vpon so great slaughter the Flauianisſe were almost at a stay, had not the captains perceiving the soldiery to be tired, and all other encouragements preuaile but a little, fhewed vnto them the town of Cremona, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus deuife, as Meſſalla reporteth, or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleuèd, who caſſeth the fault vpon Antonius, I cannot easily determine; this only, that whether Antonius or Hormus were author of this moft bad part, it was not vnſuitable to neither of their former infamous lives, and behauioirs. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could stay the Flauian soldiers, from breaking downe the trenches, and behaing open the gates, even with their ſhoulders; and ſome cliimng vp by a double target fence toke hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes: fo the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came downe tumbling together, and perished some after one fahion, and some after another, representing all diuerſities of deaths. The euenth and third Legion fough baudraely, and gaue the sharpest ſfaull, and Antonius the Generall himſelfe, with the chosen men of the Auxiliary soldiery, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianiſse perceiving themſeſfe not able to sulfaine any longer the force, and fury of men fo obstinately bent, and that whatſoever they caſſed downe vpon them flid away vpon the target fence, without doing any harme, resolued to rowle downe at the laſt a great ſſeine vpon them as they approched: which indeed for the preſent overweſmed thoſe that were under, but within falling it drew the battlementes with it, and vppermost part of the rampier: and at the fame time a tower adjoing being battered with stones fell downe. At which breach as the feuenth Legion affaid to enter, in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane feaſon brake downe the gate with their swords and axes. It is agreed vpon by all writers, that the first man which entred the treche was Caius Voluſius, a fouldier of the third Legion, who ſeſtently going to the rampier tumbled downe all that reſisted, and aduauing himſelfe in flight pronounced the campe was taken: and as the Vitellianiſse were now beginning to faint, and leape downe from the rampier, the reſt brake in. All the space betweene the trenches and the town was filled with dead bodies. And there againe appeared a new worke, and another labour: the walles of the city were high, the towers all of stone, the barres of the gates of iron, the fouldier ready with weapon in hand on the walles,
OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

The townsmen many and sure to Vitellius; beside a great number of strangers assembled out of all places of Italy thither, by occasion of a faire usually holden there at that time. But that as it was a help to the defendants in respect of the multitude, so was it a provocation to the assailants in respect of the spoile. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certaine most goodly buildings, standing without the walles, if peraduenture the townsmen on the losse of their subsaunce would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neere to the walles, and exceeded them in height, he replenished with the valiantest soldiers he had; who with blocks of timber, and tiles, and firebrands, bet away the defendants from the walles: by this time also, the Legions had cast themselues into a target fence, and others shot stones, and arrowes against them on the walles. Then the Vitellianists harts began by little and little to faile them, and every man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld vnto fortune, lest if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turne not uppon the poore and beggerly soldier, but vpon the Tribunes and Centurions, by whose death some gaine might be gotten: contrarily the common soldier not searching into sequels, and in leffe danger by reacon of his bafeneffe, perished still for Vitellius: and wandring in the streetes, or hiding themselves in houses would not fие for peace, euen then whenas they had left off to make warre. So the principal men of degree in the army razed Vitellius name, and defaced his images, and loofing Cæcina, who then was in bands, defired him to become intercessour in their behalf. As he made dainty to do it, and bare himselfe proudly against them, they besought him instantly euén with teares (a misery of all miseries, to many valiant men to implore the aide of a daffainful traitour) and then hung ouer the walles their sacred veles and infules, in signe of submission. Whereupon Antonius commaund-
II.4  THE III. Booke of THE HIs To R1E

cond time for the feate-towne of the warre: that they had helped the Vitellian army with vittailes: that some women were found slaine, which for extreme louse to the side had come out to the battaile: and not least because the faire time had filled the towne, being otherwise wealthy, with shew of more wealth. And thus stooed the soldiery for their part affected. As concerning the Commanders, the behaviours of the reft were not much marked: Antonius by reaſon of his fortune and his fame was principally eyed: who affoone as he entred the towne went presently to the bath to waſh off the bloud, and finding it somewhat too coole, let fall a word which was quickely taken vp, that ere long it would be made hoater. This base left turned the whole blame upon him, as if he had gien thereby a watchword to set Cremona on fire, which to say the truth was burning already. Forty thouſand armed men were broken in, and of feruants and followers of the campe both a greater number, and a great deale more disorderd in all kinde of licentious and cruel demeanour: neither age, nor honourable calling could warrant any from violence, but without reſpect of eather they abused their bodies in villainous manner, and flew them indifferently. Aged men and old women, nought worth to be solde, they haleed in a iolity for palttime and ſport: if any made of competent yeares, or beautifull yongman fell amongſt them, in striving who should carry them away, they pulled them afunder and tare them in pieces; and thereupon growing in choler turned to kill one another. Whenas any had gotten and carryed away for himselfe money, or the golde and iewels out of the temples, being met by a stronger, he left behind him both his life and his bootie: some contenning that which they found ready and open, compelled the owners with torture and ſtripes, to ſeſte and yeeld vp their hidden riches, and ſtreasures buried vnder the ground. The soldiery walked with ſtrebrands in their hands, which affoone as they had emptied the goods, they hurled in a ſport and wantonnesse into the voiſe houses, and empty temples. And as in an arme diuerſe in language and manneres, compounded of Romans, confederates, and strangers, their lufts and desires were diuerſe, and ſomething held lawfull by one, ſomething by another, and nothing vnlawfull to all. Pover whole dayes Cremona miniftred matter toſackle and to burne: and all things beside both holy and proſphane being conſumed into aſhes, the temple of Mephitis without the walles remained vntouched, either because it stooed out of the way, or by reaſon of ſome divine vertue of the goddeſſe. This end had the city of Cremona, two hundreth eighty and fix yeares after the foundation. It was built in the yeare that Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius were Conſuls, when Hannibal was about to come into Italy, for a bulwarke againſt the Frenchmen beyond the Po, and if any other power shoulde breake in by the Alpes. So by reaſon of the number of inhabitaunts, commodity of riuers, fertility of the soil annexe, and affinities contracted with other people, it grew vp and flourished, in foraine warres vntouched, vnfor ſunate in ciuill. Antonius afhamed of this foule aſt, which daily grew more and more odioſes, made proclamation, that no man shoulde keepe any citizen of Cremona as his lawfull prifoner: and all Italie with one generall content refuing to buy any of them for flaues marred the soldiery market: who thereupon began to murther their prifoners. Which being once knowne, their friends and kinfolks secretly came and ranſomed them. In short time after the rest of the people returned to Cremona. The publicke places and temples were reedified at the charges of the townesmen, and vpon Vespasians speciall encouragement. For the present, the ground being infected with the noyſomenesſe of the dead carcasses, suffered not the Flauian army to dwell long vpon the ruines of the razed citty. So they remoued three
of Cornelius Tacitus

three miles off, and there reduced the Vitellianists, being disbanded, and trembling for fear, every soldier under his colour, and anon afterward sent them away into Illyricum, left during the time of the troubles they should fortune to work innovation. Into Britannie and Spaine messengers were sent with the newes of the ceasefire: and for a proofe of their victory, into France they sent Iulius Calenus a Tribune, and into Germanie Alpinus Montanus captaine of a cohort, because Alpinus was of Triers, and Calenus an Aeduan, and both had followed Vitellius side: and withall they kept and fortified the passages of the Alpes with garrisons, fearing the decent of the Germans that way in favour of Vitellius.

1 The moon rose] The very same effects fell out upon the like use, in the night battle betweene Pompey and Mithridates described by Plutarch, and Dio. But the Epitome of Dio, feeth this there downe somewhat otherwise then Tacitus. "\[NAP\] A περὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡ μετὰ κελάτων, ἐν οἷς η ἐπὶ ἄκεφος οἰκήματα τοῦ ἐπιφυλάττομα ἀρχηγόν μέ να παράσυνθεν ἡ μηδὲν καὶ δόχινως ἀλλὰ καὶ περί παράσυνθεν" αὐτοῖς ἐπιφυλάσσεις. This is, the moon being eclipsed this night increased the astonishment, not so much because she was darkened (although in such as we seight such things also strike a terror,) but because she seemed bloody and blackish, and streaming out some other wonderful colours.

2 Vnder the conduct of M. Antonius] Some three or four years about an hundred yeare before, so that no one man, that feemed then with Antonius, could in possibility now be here in this service. But we are to vnderstand of a Legion, as the lawyer faith of a shippe, that being repaired by pecaemeal, albeit in proccesse of time there be no one fitcike remaining the same, yet doeth it continue till the same shippe. That is, Some defending is to remaine the same shipp still, some denying it. Thefeo.

3 Target fence] Teſtudo. The maner of Teſtudo and the vriliticis very well declared by Liucie lib. 44. in their owne words. Quadrato agmine falsi semina super cuprae denfinis planiuscubicula, secunda majis & quadrat, pellitens iuxta genem nucis foliis cusdem, securus tunc addit auras, sum跌破 attabulationes: si alio arsatis hoplicanis prope propugnatoribus mariis ostenda aditus dum quiescere. Some men in force extrema, &c. ex iussu autem non lubente super cuprae eis cum victus, ne nudaret corpora, sed eorum postquam tumulos, &c. Testudinaria intibus in modum cubicae fereficii inopiae invisa al immo labenteur. Plutarch, Antonius autem suarum quae eis fuerant decipulorum ad secessio, ut quidam ad lepantem praebes, &c. Testudinae etiam somnis testudinariae sunt, et sic eis dum incubantur. That is, The target bearers, kneeling on their knees bold before them their targets, those which next follow court them with theirs, and other, them selfes, the same is very like the covering of a house, somewhat else resembling a theatre, and of all other defences is most sure against arrows flying downe upon it. Now in case one Teftudowould not serue to set their armed men high enough to match them on the trenches or walls, they made, as I thinke, a double Teftudo, one upon another. Tacitus in the words following super iteratam testudinem sustellationem, albeit those words may receive also another connotation. The strength of targets so compleated together is declared by Antonus aduersarii. Whenas Alexander had to ascende the mount Haemus, the top whereof was occupied by the enemies, who turned dowe mighty great carrs upon his army, he willed such as could not open their rankes, and so the carrs comming downe, comming downe upon the men bare, as it was likely, with their own force might passe away, without doing harme, and as Alexander seazed, so it came to passe. Of a didlyinfull traitor | Xiphilinus feareth to say that upon hanging out of their velamenta and infrule obtaining not pardon, they loosed Cecina, and sent him in his Consular robes thence: καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀντιπρόσωπον, οὗτος τὸν ἀποτελέσαι. 

4 This ende had Cremona] In this battle, faith Iphoephus 4. c.p. 4. were slaine of Vitellius side thirty thousand and two hundred: of Antonus soldiers fower thousand and fite hundred. Xiphilinus saith that in Cremona, with those which were slain in the field, died fifty thousand persons. The time was about the latter end of October, about which time allo, as it appeareth by Tacitus, the newes were brought to Rome of Cæcinios reuolt.
exercis; he conferred not in publicke in the face of the people (like those sluggish creatures, which if you supply with foode eye carelessly stretched along) lurking in arbours and places of pleasure, he had cast off all memorie alike, of past, present, and to come. Thus allowing in sloth, and languishing in the groves of Aricia, the hea-
uiue newes came vnto him of the treafon of Lucilius Baffius, and of the revolt of the
nay at Rauenna: foone after the sorrowfull tidings mixed with some ioy concerning Caccina came, both that he had revolted, and that he was put in bands by the
armie. His blockish and dull disposition apprehended more the ioy then the care,
isomuch that with great triumph he made his returne vnto the city, and there in a
solemne assembly commended, and highly extolled the dutifull affection of the soul-
diers. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captain of the Garde, because he was
inward with Caccina, to be committed, substituting Alfenhus Varus in his roome:
immediately to the Senate he made there a stately and magnificall oration vnto them, and was required of them againe with all kindes of exquisite flatteries.
Then proceeded a heauie sentence against Caccina, pronounced firft by Lucius
Vitellius and so by the rest of the Senate in order: who as in the Princes behalfe vt-
tering their owne grieue aggratuated his fact with tearmes of affected indignation,
That a Conful should betray the common weath, a Generall his foueraine Lorde,
and a man so greatly advancedd in riches and honour his sole aduancer and maker;
without any touch at all or injurious speech against any of the Flauian captaines,
but onely blaming the errour, and overhaul of the armies: and for Vepfians pro-
ceeds, with great caution touching that ftring, and alwaies sparing his name.
Then Roscius Regulus prefented petition, and by humble uptoyn obtained, a ridicu-
Ious thing both to give and to take, the Confulshipp for one onely day which remain-
bend of Caccinaes time, and fo the last day of Octorber he entred and resigned
his office. It was observed by men skilfull that way, that never before was there
anie such subtituotie feene, but either upon errour in the creation, or an express 
Iaw for that purpose enacted. For b Caninius Rebilus had likewise beene Confull
for one day alone, at the time when Caius Cæsar was Dictator, and the seruice
of many in the ciuill warre required much speed in rewarding. About the same time
the death of Iunius Blœfus was openly known and much talkt of abroade: the cir-
cumstances whereof, as we have received them are thefe. Vitellius lying fick of a
grious disease in the Seruilian gardens, chance to espie in a turrett not farre off
many lights burning in the night feast, and demanding the cause, they about him
made answere, that in Caccina Tufcus house there was a solemne feast, and much
company met, whereof Iunius Blœfus was the principall guest; amplifying the
sumptuouesnes of the entertainment, and the mirth, and the wanton folacing them-
selfes, and such other matters fatre above trueth: yea and some fictucke not directly
to accuse Tufcus himselfe and others; but aggratuated most against Blœfus, that had
so good leyfure and luft in the Princes sicknes, to banquet and passe the time fo mer-
ily away. When they found Vitellius humour once sharpened, and it was cleere to
them, that see deeply into Princes dislikes, that Blœfus might be overthrown, the
promoting and prosecuting against him was committed to Lucius Vitellius: who
upon a sinifter emulation malicing Blœfus (because he was so famous a man, and
himselfe by defert so infamous) entred into the Emperours chamber, and taking his
little sonne in his armes fell downe at his feete. When his brother demanded the
cause of this his confusion, I come not (quoth he) for any feare or care of mine own,
but my humble suite is, and these teares are shed in your owne behalfe, and your
childrens. In vaine do we stand in feare of Vepfian, whom so many Legions as we 

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* In amplifying the great bount-
tifulnes of Vitellius, toward a n a
in all respects fo vaueworthy as
Caccina, they vte-
tered indeeede
their owne grieue,
that by wise a
person should be
so highly pref-
ted, and were
com-
in Vittellius be-
halfe.

* Of whom that
left of Tullie
is remembered:

* Of who, being
beholding to
many, had many
so pleasure.
haue of our side, so many provinces of valour and craft, and so great and infinite distance by sea and lande doth withhold and keepe off: we had more neede to take heed of an enemy at home in our bofore, who vaunts of the c Iunij and e Antonij for his progenitours, and maketh all demonstratrons of curtseie and bountifulneffe toward the fouldiers, as one defended of the imperiall blood: that way all mens mindes beginne now to bend, whileft your majesty in the meane time, carelesse of the estate both of your friends & foes, nouriseth a concurrent,that taketh delight, out of his banquetting houfe to behold his Princes sickenes and grieses. Vouchsafe, I befeech you, for his unseasonable mirth, to render him a sad and sorrowfull night, whereby he may both know and feele, that Vitellius liueth and ruleth, and if ought should befal him but good, hath a fon to leave in his place. Vitellius standing in dread betweene the feare of differing, and the open auowing so wicked a fact, left the one might breed his destruction, the other procure great enmy and flaunder, finally resolved to attempt it by poision: the suspicion whereof was strongly confirmed, by his going in great joy to visit Bloesus as he lay a dying; and moreover a mooff fa- uage speech of his was overheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne verie words) that he had fed his eies in beholding his enemies death. Bloesus besides his honourable birth and courtly conditions, was lauyall and faft to Vitellius, For before Vespaian put vp, when as matters were yet enter, being follicited by Cacia and the chiefest of the side, who began now to waxe weare of Vitellius, he stily refisted; a man of upright conversation, not turbulent, not desirous of haftie ri- fing, and to far from ambitious aspiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was esteemed not vnworthy of it.

VIII. The proceedings of Fabius Valens, and his taking.

I N the meane season Fabius Valens marching forwarde, more slowly then was conuenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminate traine of concubines and eunuches, was aduertised in poft of the treason of Lucilius Bassius, with the loffe of the navie at Rauen; and if he had followed with expedition his purposed journey, he might either have prevented Cacinaes falling away, or ouertaken the Legions before the battaile was gien. And some peruated him to take a few of his trustiest friends, and so avoiding Rauen by secret bywaies to go in all speed to Hoftilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to send for the Praetorian cohorts out of the citty, and so by strong hand to make passage. But Valens vning delay, to the great hurt of the caufe, spent the times of action in consultation: and then reiecting both the aduises, and taking a middle course, which in cases of danger and doubt of all is the worst, he neither was venturous enough with the one, nor prouident enough with the other, but onely wrote letters to Vitellius for some suply. Wher- upon three cohorts were sent with the Brittish wing, a number neither fit to paffe secrete withall, nor sufficient to break thoro by force. But Valens even then, amiddit to great danger, abtayned not from his olde vntemperate liuing; but was dis- famed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleasures, and pollute his hoists houfes, wherefoever he came, with adulteries and other vnlawfull lusts: he had both might and money, great means to induce, and the last lusts of fortune beginning to fal, now at the farewell shewed themselues most outragious. When the horfemen and fo- men were come, then appeared the weakneffe and fault of that counfaile. For nei- ther could he with so small a company, though they had bene most trustie, paffe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they faft and trustie indeede: but for a while L 2 shame,
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shame, and the reverence of their Generall being present, restrained them, boundes of no long continuance with men greedy of dangers, and carelesse of credit: vpon feare whereof Valens sending the cohorts before to Ariminum, and appointing the wing to garde them behinde, with a few in his company, whom aduerititie had not altered, turned aside into Vmbria, and from thence into Etruria. Where vnderstanding the event of the battaile at Cremona, he entred into a notable determination, and if it had succeeded, of great consequncces; to betake himself to the sea, and setting on land in some part of the province of Narbon, to raise Fraunce and the nations of Germanie, and so fliiere vp a new warre. Atsoone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fuscus came with an army vpon them at Ariminum, and bestowing his shippes not farre from the town forced the fouldiers for feare to yeld, and made himselfe master of the plaine of Vmbria, and the countrye of Picenum all along the sea side; and so all Italy on the one side of the Apennine mountains was vnder the subjection of Vespasian, and on the other side vnder Vitellius. Valens having embarked himselfe in the bay of Pifa was driven by the violence of the sea, or contrarie windes, into the port of Hercules Monocerus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procuratour of the sea Alpes remained, a man verie faithfull and constant in Vitellius caufe, not withstanding all thereabout had declared themselves for the contrarie side; who intertaining Valens with all kindes of courtesie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the province of Narbon, with this admonition strooke a terror into his minde, and withall the rest of the company began to faint for feare, and stagger in their allegeance. For Valerius Paulinus a b Procuratour, a valiant souldier, and a friend of Vespasians before his aduancement, had sworn the cities round about vnto him, and gathering all those, which being dismisst by Vitellius of their owne accord, returned together to Forum Iulij, being the keie of the sea, with a garri冯: his dealing therein carrying the more credit, because hee was borne in that towne, and was highlie esteemeed among the Praetorian souldiers, whose Tribune sometimes he had beeene; and the townesmen also vpon fauour to their countryman, and hope of greatnes hereafter, endeauoured to further the side. This strong preparation being reported in the amplest fort to the Vitellianists, who already were watering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the shippes, accompanied onely with fower Spearmen, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Maturus and the rest were at their liberty to steare behinde, if it liked them, and steare to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or townees, so floating thereon unresolued, and seeing rather what to thin then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast vpon the Stoechades islands, vpon the coat of Marsels; from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships fetched him in.

* A middle course. It may seeme that Valens for his part resolued vpon the first opinion, that was accied ex vobis cohortibus vultis munus peremptare, but the fault was in Vitellius who sent no more.

* Men greedy of danger. Apud multas periculae. So be the wordes in our copies, the meaning I know not; and the narration following I finde in my conceit to be somewhat unperfect, as wherefore Valens did send the power rather to Ariminium into the enimies mouth, then backe to Vitellius, if he meant not to followe them himselfe, vpon what intent and purpose he went into Vmbria and Etruria, and what he would have done, if hee had not had aduentement of the battell at Cremona, vntelie it were to take the secret way now, which before he refrained toward Hostilia and Cremona. Which circumstance surelie would not have been omitted.
IX. The estate of the provinces abroad upon the troubles in Italic.

As soon as Valens was taken, all the provinces turned themselves to Vespasian's side, the matter beginning in Spain at the first Legion surnamed Adiutrix; which upon the memory of Otho was enemy to Vitellius, and drew with it the tenth and sixth Legion also. Neither did the provinces of France make any stay. And for Britain, the great favour and reputation in warlike affairs, that Vespasian had gotten being Lieutenant there of the second Legion under Claudius, did easily win that Legion unto him, albeit not without some sturre of the rest, whereof manie Centurions and soldiers, who had beene advanced by Vitellius, were unwilling to change the Prince, whom they had prooued alreadie. By means of which diffension and continuall rumours of civil wars, the Britains tooke heart and rebelled, through the procurement of Venusius; who besfide a naturall fiercenesse of courage, and hatred of the Roman name, was incensed particularly, by a private vnkindnesse betwene him and the queene Carthifmanda. Carthifmanda was queene of the Brigantes, of high and noble linage, who vpon the deturie of king Carataucus, whom she tooke by fraude, and sent to furnih and set out the triumph of Claudius, was favour with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon ensued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: insomuch that casting off Venusius, who was her husband, she joyned her selfe in mariage with Vellocatus his harthif-bearer, and crowned him king: which fact was the overthrow immediately of her house. The goodwill of the country went generally vpon the lawfull husband: but the queenes vntemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her minion. Whereupon Venusius by the helpe of his other friendes, and the resolt of the Brigantes, made warre vpon Carthifmanda, and brought her into great extremities: then praying aide at our hands, our cohorts and wings were sent to defende her, which after sundry skirmishes with diuerse enuie, deliuered her person out of peril, but the kingdom remained to Venusius, and the warre vnto vs. About the same time our affairs in Germanie, through the insufficiencie of our captaines, and feditiousnesse of our Legions, soirene force assailing vs, and our allyes betraying vs, were reduced to those desperate termes, that we ftoode in danger of leaing the countrey: but that warre together with the caufes, and particular enuies thereof (for it continued long) I will hereafter declare. The Dacians alfo stirred, a nation never loving vs, and as then, our armie being withdrawn out of Moesia, not fearing vs neither. When the first alterations and troubles began, they held themselves quiet, and looked but on: but when as they perceived Italic to be all in armes, and betwene the fides every where open hostilite, forcing the standing campes of the cohortes and wings, they put themselves in posseffion of both the banckes of Danubius, and were now at the point to have razed the campes of the Legions, had not Mutianus, having knowledge before of the victorie at Cremona, opposed the sixt Legion against them, left two forreigne powers should have broken in at one time, the Germans and Dacians, from two diuerse coasts. As often heretofore, so now specially fortune was favourable to the Romans, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arrive there at that instant; and that in the meanes time the matter was so dispacted at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had beene one yeare Proconsull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Moesia; assigning him sufficient forces out of the
Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of pollicie and peace to disperse abroad in the provinces, and keepe occupied in forraine warre. Neither were other nations at quieter. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which sometime had been Admiral of the kings nauie, raised vp a sodaine warre in the countrey: his name was Anicetus a freedman of the late king Polemo, sometime of great credit and power, and now since the kingdom was reduced into a province displeased and grieved with the change. Whereupon having associated vnto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell vpon Pontus, alluring the poore and needieft fort with hope of bootie and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces; with which he sodainely invaded and brake into Trapezus, a very ancient citty built by the Graecians, in the vttremost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the service there of the king, but being afterwaide made citizens of Rome, had taken eftinames and armoure after our maner, retaining the flothfulneffe and dissolute life of the Greekes notwithstanding. He burned alfo the nauie there, doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was vngarded, by reason that Mutianus had giuen order for the best of the galleyes, and all the fouldiers to meete him at Byzantium: vpon occasion whereof the barbarous people also of the country ranged abroad, and robbed without feare of checke or controulement, building them boates on the nauie, which they call Camerae, of narrow sides and broade bottoms, wrought and joyned together without any brasse or iron, and when the sea goeth high, as the waues rife they raise alfo the sides of the vessell with boordes, untill they cloe and couer it aboue like a house, and so the boates tumble vp and downe in the middle of the waues, having a prow alike on both sides, and ready to row either way without any danger, as it shall fall out for their purpose. These things mooued Vespasian to alligne vnto those parts some Vexillary souldiers out of the Legions, and Virdius Geminus for captaine, a man of good prooue in service: who setting vpon the enemies being in difarray, and difpersed in looking of spoile, draue them to their boates, and then causing some galleyes to be built in haste, purfued and ouertook Anicetus in the mouth of the riuer Cohibus, being there under the protection of the king of the Segochezi, whom he had won by money and giftes to undertake his defence: and indeed at first the king threatened to protect his supplyant with force of armes: but when as he saw him selfe put to the choise, to accept either reward for yeelding him, or warre in defending him, as an unconstant and dilloyall barbarian, vpon composition he surrendred Anicetus to die, and deliuered the fugitives, and so ende was made of that sodaine warre. Vespasian being joyfull vpon the obtaining of this victorie, all thingsucceeding vnto him aboue his own wiſh, was certified soon after being in AEgypt of the bataille at Cremona, which caused him to make the more hast to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius army was defeated and broken, he might preffe alfo with hunger the citty of Rome, standing altogether vpon forraine prouifion. For so likewise he made preparation to invade Africke, situate on the same coast, both by sea and lande, meaning to cut off the two storehouſes of corne from the enemy, and to procure famine, whereof consequentlie diffension would growe.

Barbarous people also of the country. Others as I thinke before those which associated themselves with Anicetus: namely the Achazi, Heniochi, and Cerceri dwelling of the other side of Pontus Euxinus, and according to Strabo living, as they are here described, by pyracie.
WHILEST in these generall alterations, thorow out the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leaving Cremona, left also his former care of well carrying himselfe, supposing the warre to be at an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or els peraduenture prosperity, in a man of that disposition, discovered the secret and inward faults of his minde, as couretousnesse and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italie he harnied as a conquered country: the Legions with all kind of curtesie he sought to assure to himselfe: in summe by all speeches and deedes he made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to give the solldier the more his owne will, and leave him the bridle at large, of his meere motion he graunted vnto the Legions the choose of Centurions in their roomes that were slaine: by which kinde of election the bestest and troublesomest fellows were chosen; and generally the solldier was not governed by the direction of his captaine, but the captaine drawn by the violence of the solldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, he converted himselfe to the pray, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to have contemned Vespasian himselfe. Neuerthelesse the army marched on, without carriages, because the winter was neere, and the fields overflowen with the Po. The enfeignes and standers of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent solldiers, with many found also, were left at Verona. It seemed sufficient, now the warre was in so good a forwardnesse, to take onelie the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions. vnto this companye the eleventh Legion also adioyned themselves, who at the first had made some delay, but seeing the good successes of their fellows were fory it was their ill hap to be absent: with it there came also six thousand Dalmatians newly levyed. Poppæus Siluanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole direction of matters rested in Annius Bassius Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietnesse disposed of all that was to be done, and vnder colour of obedience governed Siluanus peaceably, being a man of no action in militaire seruice, and trifling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adioyned the best of the mariners at Rauenna requiring Legionary service, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serve at sea. At Fanum Fortunae the army and the leaders were at a flip, being in doubt concerning their principal purpose, because they had heard the Praetorian cohorts were already set forth out of Rome, and presumed that the passages of the Apennine hills were fortified & garded against them. But that which cauſed most feare was want of provision, in a countrey wafted and consumed by warre, and the feditious cries of the solldiers demanding * Clautarium (which is the name of a donatius) of them who had neither provided money nor corn: and the too much haste of the solldiers hindered greatly, whilet that which in due order might have beene taken and seruèd somewhat, was in a moment spoiled in snatchinge. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was such a contempt of common honestie, and such unnaturall dealings against all lawes humane and divine, that a common solldier among the horsemen was not ashamed, openly to professe, that he had slaine his owne brother in the last battle, and to require recom pense for the same at the captaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanitie, nor daring to punish it in respect

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* Clautarium, a donatius to buy them cæterius claus. as Cæcurnium in Suvinum Prius. fían. cap. 8. to buy them f淮安.
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respect of the nature of the present warre, differed the matter, pretending that he had deserved much more, then they were presently able to give: how it was ended I finde not recorded; notwithstanding in former civill warres I finde the like to haue happened. For in the battaile fought against Cinna at Ianiculum, one of Pompeyes soldiernes flew his owne brother, and when hee saw what he had done, flew himselfe also, as Sifenna reporteth: so much haue our ancestors exceeded vs, not onely in glory of their vertues, but in grieue for their faults. These and the like drawn out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place and matter requires to set downe either *examples of that which is good, or comforts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flauian captains being at Fa-nun, thought it expedient to send some horsemen before, and search all the coast of Vmbria, to finde some easy and gentle passage ouer the Apennine: and withall they determined to send for the standers and enjeignes, and all the soldiernes that remained at Verona, and to replenish the Po and the sea with store of provision. There were of the Commanders which fought all meanes to delay: for Antonius was *growen now so intolerable, and *better hope was conceiued of Mutianus: who being inwardly vexed that the victory was so speedily gotten, and fearing vn-leffe he were present at the taking of Rome at the leaft, he should haue no part neither of the warre,nor the honour,wrote vnto Primus and Varus ambiguously, sometime perswading to follow with inuance, and sometime discourageing of the profitable ease of delaying; framing his speech in such sort, that if things fell out ill, he would clearly disclayme them; if well, he might take them vp his: but to Plotius Griphus, whom Vespasian had lately made, Senator and Lieutenant of a Legion, and the rest of his trustie friends he gave plaine direction to stay till his comming: all which persons returned vnto him a plausible anwser, and greatly blamed the heade proceeding of Primus and Varus. Those letters Mutianus sent to Vespasian, and so procured that Antonius deuies and doings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently, and imputed the fault thereof vnto Mutianus, by whose calumniation he conceyued his dangers had growen: neither did he forbeare to vie hard speeches against him, as a man of an intemperate toung, and not accustomed to acknowledge any superior. He wrote also letters vnto Vespasian in a more haughty and arrogant stil, then be seemed a subject to his Prince, with secret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no body els, who first put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and woorking the captains of Moesia were first stirred vp to the warre: by his resolutenesse the Alpes were passed, Italie possess'd, and the ayde of the Rhetians and German nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at discord and dispersed the vantage was spoyed, and they overthrown first by a furious charge of horsemen, afterward by a power of foote-men for a whole day and a night together; that was indeede the brallest point of the seruice, and his only doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other civill diffensions in former ages had cost the common wealth much dearer, even the subversion of manie great townes, that he serued his Prince not with sending of messages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand: neither did he enuy or hinder their glory, that in the mean time had quieted Moesia: they regarded the peace of Moesia, and he the conservation and safety of Italie. by his perwafions France and Spaine, the most puissant parts of the Empire, were ioyned to the side: but all his paines and travaile were in vaine, if they alone should reap the rewards, which had no part in the perill.
OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

perill. Mutianus was advertised of all this proceeding, and thereupon enfewed great enmity, which Antonius prosecuted simply and souldierlike, but Mutianus closly, and therefore the more irreconcileably.

XI. _Vitellius proceedings and behaviour after the losse at Cremona. The resolute of the nauie at Misenum._

BUT Vitellius having received so great a blow at Cremona, concealing the newes, and foolishly dissemblimg the matter, differed the remedies of his evils, not the evils themselves. For if he would have plainly confessed it, and taken aduise thereupon, he had both hope and strength inough and too much remaining, but when as contrarily he sayned that all went on his side, by that vntrewth he marred his owne case, and cut off from himselfe all means of recovery. In his presence there was no mention of warre, but a woorderfull silence that way: in the citie all speeches of it were forbidden, which caused the more: and they, which if it had bene lawfull would have talked nothing but true, being restrained gave out much more then it was. The captains also of the Flavian side helped to increase the same, carrying Vitellius spies, as they chance to take them, round about the campes, to see and view the strength of their victorious army, and so dismissing them back to their matter. All which at their return Vitellius, after secret examination had, commanded to be made away. But above all other the constancie and resolutenes of the Centurion Iulius Agrestis was most notable; who after much speech tending to incite Vitellius to vertue in vaine, at length obtained that himselfe might be sent to view the forces of the enemie, and see what had pased at Cremona. For the performing whereof he sought no corners, but addressed himselfe directly to Antonius, and openly professing what charge he had from his Prince, and what was his intent, he required he might be permitted to take a perfect suruey of all things. Some were sent with him, which shewed him the place where the battle was fought, the ruines of Cremona, the conquered Legions. Agrestis went home againe, and making relation, when as Vitellius would not beleue his report, but charged him with vntrewth, and further that hee was hired thereto: seeing then (quoit Agrestis) no meane proofe will serve, and neither my life nor my death can now stand you in any other stead, I will give you an assurance which you may beleue; and so departing from him, he sealed his sayings voluntarily with his blood. Some write that he was slaine by Vitellius commandement, but of his fidelitie and constancie they report the fame. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of sleepe, commanded Iulius Priscus and Alphenus Varus with fourteene Praetorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horsemen to kepe the streits of the Apennine. after them followed a Legion of Scamien; a power both for number and goodnesse of men and horses sufficient (if another had beene Generall) to make warre offensive, not onely to stand vpon their defence. The rest of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to garde the citie withall. Himselfe abating nothing of his wounted riot, and haftie through distrust, huddled vp the election of officers, wherein he declared Consuls for many yeares to come. Moreover new treaties and more gracious were concluded with our allies, and the right of Latium conferred vpon strangers. To some he released their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of pofteritie mangling and mayming the Empire. But the common sort accepted these fauours that seemed so great, and the foolishly bought them with money, which wife
wife men accounted but voide, being such as could neither be gien nor taken with the safetie of the state. At the last through the instant request of his armie lying in Meunia, with a great traine of Senatorius assumed, partly vpon suite and most vpon
on feare, he repayed to the campe irrefolute of himselfe, and obnoxious to vnfaithfull counfailes. As he was speaking to his fouldiers in publike assembly, it fell out fo manie vnluckie birdes to flie ouer his head (a montrous matter) that the day was overcast, as it were with a blacke cloude: and another no leffe ominous and of euill prelaffe, that a bull which was appointed to be sacrific’d, brake away from the altar, ouerturned the furniture of the ceremonial, and was knocked downe farre off from the accustomed place. But the greatest monftr was Vitellius himselfe, a Prince without skill in the profession of armes, and deuioe of direction and counfel, demanding effoones of others in what order to march, what diligence was requifite in making discoueries, what meane was to be observed in vrging, or delaying the warre, and vponuerie flying report apparently fearfull in coundenance, and trembling in heart, and besides all this most commonly drunken. At the length growing weary of the campe, and in feare of the reuoltof the naui at Milenum, he returned to Rome, ever fearing moit the blowe that came laft, and careleffe in the meane time of the mayne chance. For whereas it had bene a course moit clear in reason, and evidant in fight, to haue passed the Apennine with his armie, which then was in hart and strength, and so to haue affayled the enemies almost confumed with hunger and colde, he on the other side fell to dispensing his forces, and so abandond his beft and faithfull fouldiers, whom he left thereby to the enemies mercie, and deliered them as it were into their hands; contrarie to the opinion of the moft expert Centurions, who disliked greatly the disuniting, and if their aduise had been asked, would haue tolde plainly their minde: but Vitellius inwardeſte friends hindered them from accesfe, the Princes eares being fo framed, that he accounted all that which was wholeſome, and liked of nothing but that which was presently pleasant, and afterwards hurtfull. But the nauiue at Milenum (so much the audaciousneffe even of one fingle man in ciuil diffensions may worke) was brought to reuolt by the meanes of Claudius Fauentinus, a Centurion ignominiously caſsed by Galba, who counterfayting letters from Vespasian, with hope of reward induced them to change their aliageance. The Admirall thereof was Claudius Apollinaris, a man that neither constantely kept his fidelity, nor stoutly maintained his treason: and Apinius Tiro, who had bene Pretor, and was then by chance at Minturnæ, offred himſelfe for a head to them which revolted; by whose meanes the colonies and free townes were drawn to the side, the Puteolanis shewing themselves most forward that way. But Capua on the other side, persifted firme to Vitellius: whereupon there passed, vnder colour of the publicke cause, much private choler between the two townes. To the pacification of these troubles Vitellius chos out Claudius Iulianus (who had lately bene Admirall of the nauie at Milenum, and governed himſelfe in that charge with great mindneffe) as the meeteſt man to appeafe the fouldiers minde; assigning vnto him a power of one cittie-cohort, and the ‘fencers which were vnder his charge. Asſoone as the campe approached the one to the other, Iulianus without any great fтай turned to Vespasians side, and so jointly they tooke Tarracina, a place of great strength in regard of the walls and situation, if the men within had bene faithfull and good. Vpon knowledge whereof Vitellius leauing part of his forces at Narnia, with the captains of his Garde, sent his brother Lucius Vitellius away with fiex cohorts and fiue hundred horſe, to manage the war of Campania. Himſelfe being greatly perplexed in minde was yet somewhat reui-
ued with the earnest goodwill of the soldiers, and clamours of the townepople requiring armour and weapons; whom being nought else but a cowardly company, whose boldness neuer went beyond words, he called by the false title of armies and Legions. At the persuasion of his freedmen (for of his friends the greatest men were least truly) he commanded the tribes to be called, and swore them which gave in their names: too many presenting themselves, he divided the charge of the muster betwene the two Consuls, and affeoffed the Senatours at a certaine number of bondmen, and quantitie of fliuer. The Gentlemens of Rome made offer both of their service and money, even the Libertini requiring of their owne motion they might be admitted to do also the like. This counterfeit forwardness made the offices, that were done for feare, be thought to procede of goodwill. And indeed many pitied not so much the man, as the place he sustained: and Vitellius himselfe ceased not by his countenance, speech and teares to provoke compassion and pittie, promouing largely, and (as the nature is of men in great feare) without measure. Moreover he taxed then vpon him (which hee had refusèd before) the title of Ceasar, vpon some superfluos conceit of the name, and because in a time of feare, the counsailes of wife men, and pratlings of the people are heard and respected alike. But as all actions entred into vpon heat without confederation are strongest in the beginning, and afterward fade and decay, so here the Senatours began by little and little to shrinke, and the Gentleman likewise; at the first with some respect and in Vitellius absence, but afterwaide more openly, being afrade and penfive for the danger which was like to enuie; till in the end Vitellius seeing the attempt not feasible, for shame was contented, not to demand that he could not obtaine.

New treaties: Fadervesci, Latium externis] that is, to our foes their seders were renewed with a further increas of exemptions and privileges; and to forrainers that privilege was granted, that those which had borne annuell office with them shoulde by that means become Romans: so that was the maine point of the Laty. Titus a little before his death Sabino, petit, faith Suetonius, aliquot transitori, quod sacrificatas hostias offerre. The books of Caesar had anitiberation and confirmation to a host to procede, and the Senatours, for this sacrifice, to profer a host to the people. But it was not necessary to profer a host, as it was necessary to do sacrifice. Plautus, Novii. An. Cap. 15. Cap. 54. Cap. 18. Cap. 10.

The Flavianists passe over the Apennine, the Vitellianists at Narina yeeld themselves, the death of Fabius Valens.

As the posseffing of Menania by the Vitellianists had wrought great terrour in Italie, seeing another warre as it were sprung vp a fresh by that means, so of the contrary side the easte of Vitellius in so fearefull maner procured great credit, and good to the Flavian cause. For presently thereupon the Samnites, and Peligni, and Marsi reuoluted; and vpon emulation that Campania had prevented them, to recomepence their flackenesse, as men newly come to a new master, shewed extreme diligence in furthering the service. But in passing the Apennine the armie by the fowlenesse of the winter weather was greatly distreßed, and marching with all liberty and quietnesse could hardly wrestle out of the snowes, so that it was cleare to be feene, what danger they must needes have sustayned, if fortune, to which
which the Flavian captains were more often beholding, then to their good guiding and skill, had not turned Vitellius backe home againe. In the mountaines Petilius Cerealis met them, who in clowndish apparell through knowledge of the countrey had escaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinity with Vespasian, and of some name for matters of warre, and therefore was assumed among the Leaders. Many write that Flavius Sabinus and Domitian might also have easily escaped, and ceraine it is, that discrete messengers sent by Antonius by sundry cunning sleights came to their speech, pointing the place, and offering them meanes for their safety: but Sabinus alledged that his crazy body was not to undertake a matter of that paines, and such an audacious attempt. Domitian would gladly have ventured, but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had set about him, although they offered to accompany him in his escape, left peraduenture it had beene a snare to intrap him: and indeede Vitellius himselfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intended no cruelty against Domitian. When the Flavian captains were come to Carcula, they stayed there a few daies to repose their army, till their Legionary power should overtake them: and the place of the campe in it selfe was delightful, with a large goodly prospect, and verie safe for the provision of victualles, having to manie of the welthie cityes, as it were store-houses behinde them. And besides they were in some hope that the Vitellianists, which were not distant about tenne miles, would fall to some parle, and so from a parle to a revolt: which thing the soldiers could not abide to heare of, but desired an end rather by conquest, then by peace: even their owne Legions they were vnwilling to stay for, loath to haue more fellowes in the spoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them publickly together, shewed unto them, that Vitellius had yet some forces remaining, waveringe perhaps, and vnconstant if they might haue time to consult, but of fierce fromacke if they were druen to despaire: that the beginnings of civil wars were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accomplishment of the victorie was to be governed by reason and wisedome: that the nauie of Misenum, and the most flourishing countrey of Campania were alreadie revolted, and there remayne nothing of all the world vnto Vitellius, saue onely so much as lay betweene Tarracina and Narnia: andSurely they had wonne honour sufficient in the battayle at Cremona, and blame too much by destroying the towne, therefore they should not now desire to take Rome, but rather to saue it: their reward would be greater, and their glory most great, if they wrought the safety of the Senate and people of Rome without bloudshed. With these and other like speeches their minde was mollified, and soone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrifyed with the fame of the armie so much increauned, began to wauer, no man animating them to the warre, but manie to revolt, who desired to make a present of their bands and cornets vnto the conquerour, to purchase favour hereafter; and gave also advertisement, that saueth thereby at Interamna was a garrison of fower hundred horse. Whereupon immediately Varus was dispatched with a band of men lightly appointed, and flew some few that made resistance: but the most part laide downe their weapons, and yeelded themselfes to his mercy: some fled to the campe at Narnia, and filled all there full of seare and terror, extolling about the forces and valour of the enemies, to diminish their owne dishonour in losinge their fort. Neither was there any punishment for ofences among the Vitellianists: on the other side the rewards were apparent of those that revolted: so that from thence forth the contention was, who should be most traitour, and daily some of the Tribunes and Centurions fled to the enemy: for the common soildier was obstinately bent for Vitellius,
OF CORNELIUS TACITVS.

Vitellius, until Priscus and Alphenus Generalles forsaking the camp upon fear, and returning to Vitellius, discharged the rest from all blame of treason. About the same time Fabius Valens was put to death in the prison at Vibine. His head was openly shewed to the Vitellian cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they beleued that he was escaped into Germanie, and putting in armes both old and new fouldiers there: but when they sawe he was dead they began to despair. The Flauian armie also tooke a wonderfull conceite as if his death were undoubtedly the end of the warre. Valens was borne at Anagnia, of a gentlemans house, loole in conditions, and not without grace in seeking by wantonie the name of a pleasant conceit. In the games of Iuuenalla in Nerces time he played a part first as it were by compulsion, then voluntarily, with more dexterity and credit. Being created Lieutenant of a Legion he both sought to preferre Verginius to the Empire, and then to discredit him. Fonteius Capito his Lieutenant general, either because he was entred into treason, or because he could not induce him to treason, he murdered and made away. A traitour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a vertue in him so much the more eminent, because so many others were false. Now the Vitellian fouldiers seeing all their hope cut off, going to yeeld themselves to the contrary part, even in that also had a care of their honour, and came downe into the plaine vnder Narnia vnder their ensignes and banners displaced: the Flauian army stooke armed with their weapons bent, as in battell, in thicke ranckes along the way side. So the Vitellianists were received into the middle, and being so inclosed about, Antonius intretained them with comfortable and gracious words, and appointed some of them to abide at Narnia, and some at Interamna, leaving some of his owne Legions withall, without molestation to them if they were quiet, and yet of force sufficient to represele them if they rebelled.

XIII. Vitellius upon composition with Flavius Sabinus Vespasians brother offreth to resigne up the Empire. Sabinus by the fouldiers is driven into the Capitol, and there besieged. The Capitol is burnt: Sabinus taken and slaine.

During their abode at Carfula, Antonius and Varus sent continuall messa-

ges vnto Vitellius, offering him, if he would surceafe armes, and yeeld himselfe and his children to Vespasians mercy, life, money, and what secret place he would chuse of Campania to retire himselfe into: to the same effect Mutianus wrote also vnto him; and Vitellius oftentimes gaue ear thereunto, entring into speech about the number of his seruants, and the choise of the place. So great a fenelefneffe had posseffed his minde, that if other men had not remembred, that he had bene once Prince, and therefore was not to looke for security in private estate, he himselfe would haue quickly forgotten it. But the principall men at Rome secretly incited Flavius Sabinus being Proud of the citie, to put himselfe into the cause, and undertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonstrance vnto him, that the city cohorts was his owne peculiar fouldier, the cohorts of the Watchmen would question him to take his part, and their owne retinue of bondmen should be at his disposition, beside the fortune of the side, and the easie course of proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning, that he should not yeeld the honor of the action to Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but fewe cohorts in number, and those discouraged and trembling at the euill newes that came out of all quarters:
quarters: the common people was sickle & changeable; and if Sabinus would present himself for a head, they would vide the fame flattering terms for Vespasian, which now they did to the other, as for Vitellius he was a man not able to govern himselfe in prosperity, much lefse sufficient to weilde & wind out of his declining estate: that the honour of finishing the war would be his, who first should take possession of the citie; & so were it fit in all congruity, both for Sabinus to refere the Empire to his brother, & for Vespasian to efteme of al other mens fercue secundarily to Sabinus. These warlike speeches made but a slender impression in his feble old mind, & some did secretly suspect & charge him, that through eneie & emulation he sought rather to hinder his brothers good fortune. For Plaunius Sabinus was the elder brother, and exceeded Vespasian both in riches & authority, while they were both private men, & was thought to have fauned his credit, & kept him from breaking, by lending him mony, but taking in mortage his house and landes for repayment therof: whereupon albeit in outward flow they continued friends, yet some secretieloues were feared between them. But the better interpretation was, that being a mild man he abhorr'd from slaughter & bloud, & therefore treated divers times with Vitellius of a peaceable composing of matters upon conditions. And after diuerse meetings at his house, at the laft a capitulation was concluded upon (as the fame went) in the temple of Apollo, only two perfons, Cluuius Rufius and Silius Italicus, being witnesses of their words: their countenances were noted a farre off by the beholders: Vitellius seemed abject & base, Sabinus not insulting, but pitying rather. And if Vitellius could as easily have perfwaded his friends, as he was readie to yeeld himselfe, Vespasians army had entred the citie without bloodshed: but the loial & faithfull seryants of Vitellius flatly reiect'd all speech of peace & conditions, declaring the danger and dishonour thereof, and that the performance confiſted only in the winners good pleafure. Nay, said they, Vespasian will not be fo confident, as to suffer Vitellius tollue, though in a private estate: or if he would, yet your very owne seryants & friends will not abide it: & so through your pitty your life shall come in danger. You are old, & therefore, for your part, as one that hath had his fill of both fortunes, are content to accept of conditions; but what title and estate shall your little sonne Germanicus have? now they offer mony, seryants, & the pefiant places of Campania to folace you in: but when Vespasian fhall once be settled in the Empire, neither he, nor his friends, nor his seryants will think themselves fafe, while fo great a concurrent doth liue. Euen Fabius Vales, whom they had in prifon, & referued in store if ought should go wrong, was too heauy for them to indure: much leffe are we to thinke, that Antonius and Fuscus, & the chiefe flower of the fide Mutianus, will otherwise deal with Vitellius, then to make him away. Caesar left not Pompey alue, nor Augustus Antonius vnleffe perhapes Vespasian carriage a brauer minde, the meanest among many of your fathers followers & eyents, when he was fellow in office with Claudius the Emperour. Nay rather as it befeemeth you being fonne of a thrife Consul & Censor, as it becommeth so many honorable titles of your moft noble house, let despare at the leaft armee you to courage and boldnefe. The seryants persifft fil for you: the goodwil of the people continueth yet verie fervient: in summe no greater harm can happen, the which that we run into voluntarily, die we muft if we be overcome, & die we fhal if we yeeld: the difference only is this, whether we should end our lues vertuoufly & with honiort, or with shame & perpetual reproch. But Vitellius cates were stopped against al manful counfailes: his mind was overcome with care & pittie, left with too long resistent he should leave the conqueror leffe mercifull to his wife and children. A mother alfo he had of great yeares, but she died some fewe daies before, very feaonably not to
to see the ruin of his house, having gained nothing by her sonnes preferment, but
froward and a good name. Upon the eighteenth day of December, hearing of the
ruin of the Legion and cohorts at Narnia, he departed out of the Palace in
mourning weeds, with his servants all fade and weeping about him, and with-
all in a small * chaire was carried his little young sonne, as it were to his burial.
The people in passing vied their accustomed flatteries, being as then out of seamon: the
soldier kept silence, but seemed to carry wrath in his countenance: neither was there
any man to senselefe, or vnmindefull of humane instabilitie, which was not moosed
with that fight. An Emperor of Rome, a little before Lord of the whole world,
to abandon the fear of his state, and throw the people, the city to go out of the Em-
pire! The like was never seene, never heard of before. Sodaine violence oppreßed
Caesar the Dictator, and secret conspiracie Caius: night and the obscure corner of
a country house covered Nerces flight: Piso and Galba died as it were in the field:
but Vitellius in the assembly of his owne people, amidst his owne souldiers, women
also looking out of their windowes, after he had vittered some few speeches agreea-
tble to his present heaines, that he gave place in regard of quielines, and the good of
the weale publike, only defining the to retaine some remembrance of him, & take pity of
his brother & his wife, & the hamelesse of his young childe; prefenting withal his
son vnto them, & recommending him somtimes to particular persons somtimes to the
generall assembly: at the length overcame with tears he loosed his sword from his
side, and offered it vnto Cæcilius Simplex the Consull that stoode by, surrendering
thereby as it were the power of life and death over the citizens. Which when the
Consull refused to accept, the whole assembly also clamorously gaining at it, he
de parted protesting he would in the temple of Concordia lay downe all his regali-
ties, and so as a private man retire himselfe to his brothers house. But there the
multitude began to cry more then before, not suffering him to enter into a private
house, but calling him to the Palace, stopping vpon the other passa, and leaving that
only open which led to Via sacra. Wherupon not knowing what to do, or whither to
turn him, he returned in the end to the Palace again. Now the same was gone before
the fact that he had resigned the Empire: Flavius Sabinus had written to the Trib-
unes of the cohorts, to keepe their souldiers in order. And now as if the whole
common wealth were fallen into Vespasians armes, the chiefes of the Senators with
many gentlemen, and all the City-souldiers, and the Watchmen flocked to Sabin-
us house. There they vnderstoode of the peoples constant affection toward Vi-
tellius, and the threatnings of the German cohorts: but Sabinus had proceeded
too farre now to drawe backe; and every man upon his owne particular feare vrged
him being otherwise loath to goe out and take armes, left the Vitellianists should
meete with them afterward when they were feuered, and so of leffe strength. But as
it fallles out in fuch cases, all gate countaflate, but few tooke part of the perill. About
Lucas Fundani the armed men of Sabinus were encountred by some of the most re-
solute Vitellia soldiers: there a final skirmish was fought, as in a sodain tumult, wher-
in the Vitellianists had the better. Sabinus seeing his side go down, as the safest way
vpon the present, seized vpon the Capitol with his souldiers, & som Senators & gen-
tlemen, whose names it is not easy to set downe, because very many when Vespasia
was prince pretended to have done that service to the side. Some of the most famous was Verulana
Gracilia, drawn neither with respect of children, nor kinfolke, but only because she
would be of a party. The Vitellianists having pinned the vp, set the sentinels so neg-
ligently, that about midnight Sabinus sent forth and brought into the Capitol his
owne
owne children, and Domitian his brothers sonne, and dispatched out other messengers to the Flauian captaines, shewing them how they were besieged, and vnlesse succour came, were in great danger, and passed the whole night in that quietness without any attempt from the enemy, that he might have easily escaped without any perill. For the Vitellian soldiers as they were fierce, and stout against dangers, so in labour and watching they were not diligent; and withall a great shower falling on the sodaine hindred both their sight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostility was begun by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principal Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complaining and charging him with breach of covenants, and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fayed shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap so many noble personages: for if otherwise, why withdrew he himself from the Rostra, into his brothers house standing neare to the Forum, and full in the sight of the world, and not rather to his wives in mount Auentine out of the way; for so had it beene meeteste indeede if he had ment to have liued as a private man, and auoyded all shew of a Prince: whereas contrarily he returned againe euin into the Palace, the very feate of the Empire, and from thence he sent forth a companie of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the city with the blood of innocent persons, not forbearing the Capitoll it selfe: for his part he continued vnarmed, and liued in all respects as an other Senator, whiles in the meantime the matter was tried betwenee Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of townes, and yeelding of cohorts: yea when Spanie, Germanie and Britannie were revoluted, yet did he being Vespasians brother continue still in allegance, till Vitellius began first to motion a parle; who surely should finde in the end that peace and composition is indeede for the glory of the conquerours, but for the vutility of the conquered: or if it repented him of his bargaine, let him not make warre against him, whom he had with fallhood beguiled, nor against Vespasians young sonne (for what woulde the death of an olde man and one childe availe?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the event of that battaile. To this charge Vitellius in great feare made answere, with some words in excuse of himselfe, and laying the blame vpon his soldiers, whose too much vehemencie, his modestie, he said, was vnable to bridle; and withall aduised Martialis to conuey himselfe out of the house by a priuy way, lest the soldiers shoulde murder him as a negotiator of the peace, which they so greatly detested: and indeede Vitellius was now but a cipher, neither able to commande nor forbid, not Prince in effect, but onely matter of warre. Martialis was scarce returned into the Capitoll, when as the Vitellian soldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or captain, but euery man of his owne head: leaving with speede the Forum and temples vpon it behindem, they set them selues in array and marched vp the hill, euin to the frift gate of the Capitoll. There were in olde time certaine open galle ries vpon the side of the cliffe, on the right hand as a man goeth vp: from the tops wherof the defendants with stones and tiles beat the Vitellianists downe, who had in their hands nothing but swords, and to flacie while engins and shot were fetched seemed lost time: wherefore they tooke firebrands and hurled them into the uttermost gallerie, and following the fire were at the point to haue entred the gate of the Capitoll being halfe burned, had not Sabinus pluckt downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitours, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they affaied to make their entrie on the other side of the Capitoll by Lucus Asyli, and by the stayres of a hundreth steps, in the ascent
afect to Rupes Tarpeia. At both these places the assault came unlooked for, but the nearer and hoater was that by the Asylum: neither could they be stopped from climbing up by the buildings that touched together, which as in a time of long peace were raised to the height of the floors of the Capitoll. Here it is doubted whether the assailers fired those buildings, or (as the more receiv'd opinion is) the defenders, thereby to repulse them which pressed forward, and were come so farre on: but howsoever it was, the fire there beginning, from thence ran along to the galleys that lioynd to the temples; then the Eagles which bare vp the roof being of olde drie timber drew and maintained the flame. And so the Capitoll, the gates being shut, no man defending it, no man attempting to foil it, was burned to ashes, the most lamentable mischance, and detestable fact, that ever befell the people of Rome since the city was founded: especially no foreign enemy invading, and the gods most plentifully powring their benefits vpon vs, if our owne euill conditions would have permitted vs to enjoy them: the feate of the great god Jupiter founded by our ancestors with the approbation of the gods,  as a pledge of the Empire, which neither Porfennus when the city was yelded, nor the Frenchmen when they took it, could hurt, thus to be defraied by the furie of our own Princes.

It was once also burned before in a ciuill warre, but by private malice: now it was publickly besieged, and publicly burned: and that not in honouurable defence of our countrey, which might from what lighten the offce, but in the ambitious wpholding of partialities and fides. The Capitoll was h vowed first by king Tarquinius Priscus in the warre against the Sabins, who laided also the foundation, rather according to the hope of future greatness, then proportionable to the present estate of the Romans. After him Seruius Tullius with the helpe of our allies, and Tarquinius Superbus with the poile, when Suefia Pometia was taken, finished the worke: but the honor thereof was referred to the time of libertie. For after the kings were druen out, Horatius Pulillius in his second Consulship dedicated it, in that magnificent and fumptuous fort, that the exceuise wealth of the Romans, which afterwarde followed, perchance might adorn and beautifie the worke, but did not augment it. Fower hundreth twentie and five yeeres afterwarde, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were Consuls, it was burned and builded againe vpon the fame foundation. Sylla after he had gotten the upper hand tooke the care of it vpon him, yet did he not dedicate it: this point only he wanted to make him indeed, as he was in name, perfectly happy: but Lutatius Catulus name remained to be fene among so many worke of the Emperours, even till Vitellius time. That building then was fired, which dissmaid more the defendants then the assailers. for the Vitellian souldiers lacked neither skill, nor resolution in cafes of difficulty: but of the other side, the souldier was fearfull, the captain without courage, and as a man halfe disstrict, had neither the vse of his toong, nor his eares, not governinge himselfe by the aduise of others, and yet not able to resolute of himselfe, but running about from one place to another, at every cry of the enimie, forbad that he had commanded, and commanded againe that he had forbidden: Anone, as it happeneth in loose and desperate cafes, every man was a commannder, and no man a putter in execution: at the length casting away their weapons, they began to deuise how to flee and escape secretly away. Then the Vitelliani brake in and killed, burned, and flue some fewe military men that offered to fight were slaine: among whom Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Caperius Niger, Didius Scaevus were the most of note. Flauius Sabinus was beft and taken, being neither armed, nor attempting to flee, and Quintius Atticus the Consull, a man of speciall marke by reason of his office,
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offe, and through his owne vanitie and follie, having published edicts in honour of Vespasian, and to the disgrace of Vitellius. The rest made fardie shifts to escape, some in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conueyed away amongst the stuffe: some there were also that had learned the Vittellianists watch-worde; whereby one of them knew another, and so asking and answearing accordingly, vfed boldnesse in liew of a hole to lurke in. Domitian at their first breaking in was hid in the sextens house, and there by the policy of his freedman put in a linen garment, as the ministers of the temple did weare, and so escaped vnown, and lay secret at the house of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, near to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the state he pulled downe the sextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honour of Jupiter his Preserver: and also erected an altar and caused this historie to be cut in marble: and when he came to the Empyre himselfe he built a great temple to Jupiter his Keeper: and consecrated himselfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loden with irons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither received with ill speech, nor ill countenance; whereat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their seruice, fretted and chaffed: and so the next beginning the cry, the rafcall fort of the people demanded Sabinus death, mingling threats and flatteryes togethers. And as Vitellius presented himselfe upon the flaires of the palace to intreate for his life, they forced him in the end to delit: then they stabbed and mangled him, and cutting off his head trailed the bofie into Gemonia. This was the ende of Sabinus, a man sorelie not to be contemned. He had feru'd in publicke place thirteene yeeres, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and vpright dealing no man could touch him: somewhat he was too full of worde; the onely thing blamed in him during the seauen yeares that he ruled in Moezia, & the twelve yeares that he was proouf of the cite: in this laft act of his life some judged him cowardely, others moderate rather and sparing of his citizens bloud; but of this all men agree that before Vespasian was Prince, the reputation of the house rested in Sabinus. It was thought that Mutianus was glad of his death: and many were of opinion, that it fell out not ill in respect of quietnes, all strife and emulation being thereby taken vp betwenee two, whereof the one was the Emperours brother, and the other caried himselfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required also Atticus the Consuls death plainly withfoord them himselfe, being somewhat appeased, and in some fort to require him, for that being examined, who had first sighted the Capitoll, he tooke upon him the matter himselfe, and by that confession, whether it were true indeed, or fained onely to ferue the present purpose, seemed to take upon him the blame of the fact, and eleete Vitellius and his adherents.

* As a pledge of the Empire] Liuius.lib.1. secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium ess. capta humanum integra facie aperiessebus fundamenta templi diciter apparsisse; quae vita species haud per ambages arcem cum imperii captuque eram fore posita habet, idque sua acriore vates quique in verbis evenerat quod in medio debus et ex Messia accius. Dionysius lib.4. reporteth the words of the anfwere made to certain messengers sent from Rome purposely into Etruria. aequae montes, alvea eos. in eum totum politiam, non causis eius patriis venisse: eorumque inipsius tempus, tempus quo elyce carnem cum erat. That is, Men of Rome go tell your citizens that the Gods have decreed, that where this head was found, the place should be the head of all Italie. Varro lib.4. de ling. Latina. Capitolium dictum, quod hic, cum fundamenta reductum adeo fuit, capta humanum intempestum diciter. hic moni ante Tarpeius dictus & virgine Vestal Tarpeia, quae ibi ab Sabinio necate armis et signis: eius nominis monumentum reliquit, quod eadem nomen eius rupes, Tarpeion oppidum iacuit. And this head I found take to bee that ipsum imperii here in Tacitus.

* Peronna when the city was yeelded.] It must bee that either Tacitus followed some other tradition in this historie then we have, as in deed by Liuy it appeareth there were other, or els had forgotten himselfe in reporting it. Of hostages given to Peronna Dionysius lib.5. and Lucius lib.1. make mention: of surrendering the city I finde no worde spoken by any other we have extant faze Tacitus, to my remembrance.

* who laid also.] According to Dionysius * Halic. Tarquinius Priscus did but only lenell the ground: Tarquinius Superbus laid the foundations and builded most of it vp, but did not confummate the worke, &c. &c. &c. 312

Lth. 3.
The Temple was finished under the annual magistrate, the third year after the Consuls came in, read the same Dionyſius; lib. 4, and lib. 5. But it may seem that Tacitus took hold of these words in Livy; lib. 1. Tarquinius Prisco are said to be in Capitola, Tullus occupied fundamentis, which notwithstanding is not otherwise meant, but of levelling the ground, and making it ready for the laying of the foundation. For Superbus, as it appeared by the same Livy, was the man that layed the foundation. Of Servius Tullius in this building I have not found mention elsewhere to any remembrance.

XIII. Lucius Vitellius taketh Tarracina.

In the meane season Lucius Vitellius pitching his campe at Feronia, pressed sore upon Tarracina to take it, having shut into the towne the "fencers and mariners," who durst not come out of the walls, and not hazard themselves in the field. Their captains (as we have remembred before) were Iulianus over the fencers, and Apollinaris over the mariners, men both in dissoluteness and insufficiency more like fencers then captains; obseruing no order in watching and warding, nor repaying the weake parts of the walls, but passing both nights and daies in wantonness and melody, upon whose pleasant sea-foares, and dispersing the soldiours abroad to make preparation for their riot, neuer talking of warre, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some fewe daies before, and with his extortions and sharper dealing in the free townes, purchaſed more ill will then strength to the side. In the meane time a servant of Virginius Capito fled out of the towne to Lucius Vitellius, promising him, if he would allow him sufficient men, to deliuer secretly the caſtell being vnmanned, and accordingly in the dead of the night he brought certaine light armed cohorts into the place standing upon the top of a hill, over the enemies head. From thence the soldiers ran down rather to a butchery then a battaile, killing some vnarmed, others beginning to arm, some newly awaked out of sleepe, distracted and confounded with feare, darknesse, the sound of trumpets and noyſe of enemies. A few of the fencers made resiſtance, and were slaine, albeit they sold their liues: the rest ranne headlong to the ships, where through the like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the towncemen were gotten in amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships upon the first notice of the surprize escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admiral of the nauie: the rest were either taken upon the shoare, or els functe in the sea, being overcharged with the company that leapt into them. Iulianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Divers have accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding hirſclf with a ſworde like a ſouldier, she should haued demeaned hirſſelfe cruellly, and insolently amidst the pitifull cries, and lamentable destruction of the poore towne. Lucius himſelfe let a lawre in token of victorie to his brother, requiring withal his further pleasur, whether he should returne presently to Rome, or stay and subdue the rest of Campania: the interposing of which little time fell out greatly for the good both of Vespasians side, and of the state. For if the soldiours presently after their victorie had directly repayed to Rome, whiles they were in courage and hart, by reaſon of their late good successe, beside a naturall obstinatenes in them, the matter would not haue bin ended fo quickly without much ado, and the evident destruction of the cittie. For Lucius Vitellius albeſt he were infamous otherwife, yet was he indiftiuous, and powerable not as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst fort.
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XV. The Flavian armie entresth the citie. the Pratorian campe is taken by force. Vitellius is slaine.

While these things were a doing of Vitellius side Vespasians armie removed from Narnia to Otriculum, and at good essayre celebrated the Saturnalia there. The cause of this harmfull delay, was to stay for Mutianus: some impute it to Antonius, as done with a traiterous intent, upon letters received from Vitellius, wherein he offered unto him the Consulship, and his daughter in marriage with a great dower, if he would revolt, in rewarde of treaison: others affirm, that all this was falsely tymified, and maliciously spred to please Mutianus withall. Some are of opinion, that it was the purpose of all the Commanders rather to put the citie in feare, then to feke to take it by force, seeing the most and principal cohorts had already relinquished Vitellius, and now all his strength being cut off, it was likely he would resigne the Empire without further coaction: but all that course was croffed, first by Sabinus haste, and then through his cowardynesse; who rashly taking armes was not afterward able to keep a fortresse of that strength, and which even great armies could not have taken, against three onely cohorts. But the fault cannot well be imputed to one, which was common to all. For both Mutianus was somewhat occasion of stay, by meanes of his doubtful letters, and Antonius by his preposterous obeying, or in seeking to avoide enuiie, descreued great blame, and the other Commanders presuming the warre to be finisht, made the ende of it more notorious. Neither did Petilius Cerialis (who was sent before with a thousand horse, to coast through the cuntrey of the Sabins, and so to enter the city by Via Salaria) make that haste as the matter required, till in the ende the newes of the siege of the Capitol made them stirre all at once. Antonius came forwarde by the Flaminian way to Saxa rubra late in the night, and too late to succour. For these he understood that Sabinus was slaine, the Capitol burned, the city in great feare, and all things went ill: it was also declared, that the people and bondmen were arming for Vitellius. And besides Petilius Cerialis had received a blow in a skirmish of horsemen, by running headlong and charging rashly upon the enemy, preffuring them conquered persons: but the Vitellianists, with horsemen and footmen interlaced together, valiantly receiued the charge. This skirmish was not far from the city, among the buildings, and gardens, and croffelanes, wherewith the Vitellianists were well acquainted, the other not: which was an occasion to dismay them the more: and besides all their horsemen were not of one minde and affection, some being of those that having lately yeelded at Narnia kept aloof, meaning afterward to close with the winner. Tullius Flavianus captain of a wing was taken prisoner, the rest ranne away dishonorably: but the Vitellianists pursuied no further then to Fidenae. By this successe the affection of the people was greatly augmented, and immediately the townesmen tooke armes: few had any militare targets, but the most tooke vp whatsoever weapons came to their hands, and forthwith required the signe of the battell. Vitellius thanked them heartily, and willed them to issue out with all speed in defence of the city. Then he called a Senate wherein Embassadors were appointed to the armes, which as in the name & vnder the colour of a common weale, should perswade them to peace and agreement. The hap of the Embassadors was not all alike: For they which met with Petilius Cerialis incurred extreme daunger, the fouldiers refusing vitrily all conditions of peace, and Arulenus Rusticus the Preitor was wounded, which beside the enormitie of the fact, in the person of an Embassador
of Cornelius Tacitus. 135

sadour and a Pretor, was also more hainous, in regard of the worthines of the man. His traine was dispersed, and one of his sergeants next before him slaine, for prefuming among armed men to make way thorrow the prease for his master: and vnlesse they had beene defended by a bande that the captaine assigned to garde them, the right and priviledge of Embassadours, reputed sacred euuen amongst strange nations, had through ciuill furie beene violatet by murder, euuen at the very gates and walles of the citty. But they which came to Antonius found more courteous entertainement, not bicaufe those soldiours were ciuiller, but bicaufe the Generall was of greater autoritie. Into the company of these Embassadours Musonius Rufus inserted himselfe, a gentleman of Rome addicted to the studie of philosophie after the way of the Stoicks, who thoruing himselfe among the companies of the soldiours began to discourse of the good of peace, and danger of warre, and to schoole men in armes: at which many scoffed, more grew weary of it, and some forbore not to push and spurn him away, till in the ende by the aduise of the discreeter fort, and the threats of the other, he was perwaeded to desist from his vnseasonable wedidome. The Vestall Virginis also were sent with letters from Vitellius to Antonius, requesting him to differ the battaile for one day: by means of that little delay with more ease would all points be agreed vpon. The virgins were sent home with honour, and answere was made to Vitellius that by the murder of Sabinus, and the burning of the Capitol all parle of peace was cut off, and all extremitie to be looked for; notwithstanding Antonius calling his armie together assaied to pacifie them thus farre, that they would be content to encampe themselves for that present at the Miluian bridge, and not to enter the towne before the next day: the reason of the motion was, left the soldier hauing his blood heated in skirmish, shoulde afterwards spare neither people nor Senat, no not the churches and temples of the gods. But they misliked and suspected all delay as a hinderance to the victorie: and withall certaine banners glittering upon the side of the hills, albeit followed by none but townepople, and men of no seruice, made a shew of an armie. Whereupon the Flauianiſts dividuing themselves into three companies, made their approach to the towne: one part as it floode along the Flaminian way, another close by the bancke of the Tiber, and the third by Via Talaria toward the gate called Collina. The townepeople was immediately broken by the horſmen, but the Vitellian soldier made head, dividuing alfo themselves into three severall bandes. Many skirmishes passed betweene them before the towne, & with divers euent, but more commonly to the advantage of the Flauianiſts, who had more sufficient men to their captaines. They onely of that side were distrest, which turned vpon the left hand toward the Saluſtiens gardens, through narrow lanes and slipperie waies: where the Vitellianiſts standing aloft vp on the walls of the gardens, with stones & iuelins repulsed them, till it was towards the evening, whenas the horsemen that in the mean time had entred at Collina were at their backes and surprized them. In Campus Martius alfo there were hoat skirmishes betweene them. The Flauianiſts had the favour of fortune, and the vantage of fo many victories: the Vitellianiſts ran headlong and furious, supported with onely despaire: and albeit they were defeated and broken, yet did they rally themselves againe in the citty. The people floode by and looked on as they fought, and as in a pastime or game clapped their hands, and encouraged sometime the one, and sometime the other: and when either side turned their backes, and hid themselves in houſes or shops, they cryed to haue them pluckt out and killed, and to attained themselves the greatest part of the pray: for whiles the soldiours minded nothing but slaughter and bloodshed, the spoile fell to the common peoples share. Over all the citty
cittie a cruell spectacle and shamefull was to bee scene: in one place fighting and wounding, in other tippling and bathing: here streams of blood, and heapes of dead bodies, & hard by it strumpets & strumpets fellowes: in sum all the licentiousnes of a dissolute & riotous peace, & the mistery of a most cruell captiuitie: so that a man plainly would judge one & the same town, both extremely furious & raging, & externally drowned in pleasures. There had afore times passd great conflicts between armed powers in the city, twice where Sulla, & once where Cinna ouercame, & the cruelty then was no leffe: but this was an unnaturall brutish security, that men for one moment of time would not intermit their accustomed pleasures, but as if this had given them further occasion of joy amidst their festial daisies, clapped hands and rejoyced, without care of sides, at the publicke calamities. But the greatest difficultie of all was in taking the Praetorian camp, unto the which the valiantest amongst the Vitellian soldiers had betaken themselves, as to their last refuge, and therefore the Flavianists were the more earnest to assault it, especially the old Praetorian cohorts, employing all meanes devised for the taking of most fortified townes, as the target fence, engins of batterie, mounts, and firebrands, crying aloude that that one work was the accomplishment and perfection of all the trauels and dangers, which they in so many battailes had passd; that the city belonged to the Senate and people, and the temples to the gods, and both were restored to their owners: but the soldiery honor was in the camp, that was his country, and his dwelling place, which vnsleeze they could straightwaies recover, they must and would lye all night in their armour. On the other side the Vitellian soldiers, although inferior both in number and fortune, disturbed the course of the victorie, hindred the peace, polluting the houfes and altars with blood, and embracing the last comforts to conquered persons. Many lay gasping and died upon the towers, and battlements of the walls. When the gates were broken vp, they that remained alive presented themselves to the conquerors, and died all with their face toward the enmy, and wounded upon their foreparts: such care they had, seeing they must die, to die in most honourable manner. Vitellius whenas the city was taken, conueyed himselfe in a carrying * chaire, by the backe-gate of the Palace, into his wisues house in the mount Auentine, intending if he could have lynen secret that day, to haue fled by night to Tarracin to his brother and the cohorts there. Anone changing his minde, and as it falls out to men in a maze, fearing all things, and most disliking the present, he returned into the Palace againe now vaft and desolate, even his balest seruants being either fled away, or else purposelie shunning his presence. This great solitaireffe, and silence in those places affotished him: whereupon he ayled to open that which was shut, and was amazed finding all voide. After much pitifull wandering about, being wearied he cast himselfe into a base corner: whence Iulius Placidus Tribune of a cohort pulleth out, and led him along thorow the citie with his hands bound behinde him, and his garments all torn, a most ignominious spectacle, many reuling him, and no man pitying his case: the dishonorableffe of his end had taken away all compassion. Being led in this manner, one of the German soldiery aymed a blow, whether intending to strike at Vitellius vpon some quarrell, or because hee would sooner rid him from shame, or els at the Tribune it is vncertaine, certaine it is that in striking he cut off the Tribunes ear, and was forthwith slaine himselfe. Then forcing Vitellius with the pointes of their swordes sometimes to looke vp and abide all indignities, sometimes to see his owne images breaking their neckes, and many times to beholde the Rostrae, and the place where Galba was slaine, they haled him along, and at the last thrust him into the Gemoniae, where the body of Flauius Sabinus had
hadlyen. One worde he was heard utter not proceeding from an abiect mind, in an
twere to the Tribune who insulted ouer him: That he had yet sometime beene his
Prince: and so after many wounds received he fell downe dead: and the common
people as much without reason railed vpon him when he was dead, as they flattered
him being alio. He was some to Lucius Vitellius: about seuen 1 and fifty yeares
olde when he died: the Consulship and facerdotall dignities, with a name and place
among the chiefest nobility, he attained vnto, not through any sufficiencie of his
owne, but by his fathers great fame and renowne: the Empire was conferred vpon
him by those which knew him not; and yet neuer man found so constant goodwill of
his fouldiers by vertuous meanes, as this man with all his cowardly floth: notwithstanding there was in him plaine meaning and liberalitie, which without disrete
handling tyme often to a mans ruine: faithful friends he deferred rather then found,
because he fought them more by great gifts, then vertuous behaviour. It was a sin-
gular benefit to the common wealth, it cannot be denied, that Vitellius was put
downe; but they which betrayed him to Vespasian 4 have small reason to reekken it
among their good deeds to the state, being the same men that had also revolted
from Galba before. That day the Senate could not be called, because it was already
farre spent, and the magistrates and Senatours vpon feare had withdrawen them
selues out of the city, or els lay hidden in their clients houes. Domitian when all
feare of hostility was past presented himselfe to the Flavian captaines, whom the
fouldiers straightwaies saluted Cæsar, and armed accompanied him to his fa-
thers houfe.

* Seuen and fifty yeares old] Vitellius was borne, saith Suetonius, * Draf Caflare de Ntbarano Flacco Cest. which
 was ab urbe condita the 768 yeares, the 14 of September, or as some say the feventh of the same moneth. The day
 in which he went out of the Palace with intention to resigne the Empire was, according to Tacitus, 18 of De-
cember in anno 81. the day following being the 19. of December the Capitoll was burned, the 20: of December
Antonius eneterd into the towne, and the death of Vitellius ensued. All which doth appeere plainly by
the courie of the flore of Tacitus. So that from his birth to his death we haue no more by iut account but fiftie
fewer yeares, and as much as is betweene the feuenthe or fower and twentieth of September, and the twentieth
of December.

THE
THE FOURTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. The behaviour of the Flauian soldiers in the city, after the death of Vitellius.

VITELLIUS thus being slaine, the warre was rather ended then peace begunne. For the conquerours with implacable hatred, pursued the contrary side throughout the city in armes: the streetes were straowed with dead carcasses, the temples and common places embryned with bloud; every one lying flaine, where it was his chance to be overtaken, without distinction of place: and anone licentiousnesse growing, they began to search houses, and fetch forth such as were hid: if they saw any man looke like a soldier, personable of stature, and of yeares not disagreeng, were he fouldier or citizen, they murdred him: satiating themselves at the first, while their malice was fresh, with nothing faie bloud. But anone the heat of their choler affwaging, they converted their cruelty into coutoufines: suffering no closet to escape vnntilled, no hidden place any where to be secrete, pretending the Vitellianists lay lurking therein: that was the colour to break vp mens houses, or, if resistance were made, an occasion to slay them. beside the fouldiers, the rascals and beggerly scumme of the people, now with the foremost, helped to sacke and to spoile: and some of the lewdest bondmen voluntarily discried their wealthy masters; some were detected by their owne friends: every where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miserable state to be scene, and face, as it were, of a city taken by the enemie: insomuch that the insolent, and riotous fouldier of Otho and Vitellius, so much detested before, was now in comparison much wished for againe. The commanders of the fide were indeede sufficiently able to kindle a ciuill warre, but vnable to moderate the victory. For to stirre vp diffensions and troubles, the worst man most commonly bears greatest froake; but peace and quietnesse are not establisshed, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Dometian * had already possessed himselfe both of the title, and lodging of Cæsar: not bending his studies as yet to matters of state, but in * adulteries, and dissolute demeanour behaung himselfe as an Emperours sonne. Arrius Varus was captaine of the Garde: but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affairs, rested in the hands of Antonius Primus; who at his pleasure tooke money, and servaunts out of the Palace, with the like liberty, as if it had been the spoiles of Cremona. The rest, either for modesty, or because they were not of name, as in warre they passed vnrenowned, so at this time they went vnrewarded,

II. Lucius Vitellius yeldeth himselfe, and his soldiers to the Flauianists.

The city fearing new troubles, and ready to submit themselves to the present possesflour, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be surprizd, and so all remnants of ciuill warres utterly extinguished.
of Cornelius Tacitus

extinguished. Whereupon the horsemen were sent before to Aricia, the Legions going not beyond Bouillae: but Vitellius incontinently, without further delay, yeelded himselfe and his cohorts to the discretion of the conqueror: his foulidiers likewise threw away their vnfortunate weapons upon indignation, rather then feare. Then they were marthalled in length and led thotow the city, as it were, in triumph, garded with armed men. Not one of them threw any signe of submissenesse in countenance, but all fad and sterne, not moued with the flowtings,taunts of the multitude insulting over them: onely some few, through impatience breaking out, were beaten downe by their garde, the rest committed to prison. Not one of them let fall any vnseemely wordes, but euyn in the middeft of aduersity they retained their honor and fame. Then Lucius Vitellius was put to death; a man in vices equal to his brother, howbeit in his brothers raigne the more vigilant man: and not so much parraker with him in prosperity, as violently caried away with the current of his aduersity.

III. Lucilius Bassus sent to quiet Campania, the servanit of Verginius Capito hanged.

About the same time Lucilius Bassus, with certaine light horsemen, was sent to quiet the cuntrey of Campania, where the free cities were at disorde rather each against other upon priuate quarrels, then any against the Prince upon rebellious intent: but at the first sight of the foulidiers they were straightwaies appeased. And the leffer colonies escaped vnpunished, onely "Capua was appointed to lodge the third Legion that winter, and some noble families by reason thereof were afflicted: whereas on the contrarie side, the Tarracinenes, who for Vespasians sake had endured so much, were no waies relieved. So much are we prover to require injuries then good tunes: for thankfullnes is a burden, revenge sweeter and reckened as gaine. Notwithstanding it was some comfort vnto them, that the servanit of Verginius Capito, who betrayed the towne, as before we haue shewed, was hanged with the same rings on his fingers, which he had received from Vitellius, as a rewarde of his treafon.

III. Matters concluded vpon the Senate after the death of Vitellius.

Now at Rome, whatsoever honors, and preeminences were usualluy vntied to the Emperors person, the Senate a bestowed vpon Vespasian, joyfully, and conceiving assured hope of future tranquillitie. For seeing the contagion of cuill dissention, beginning in France and Spaine, had passd to the German foulidiers, then taken a course to Illyricum, and lastly infected AEgypt, Judea, and Syria, in summe all provinces, and armies: they were to presume reasonably, the whole world being thus purged, and clenced, that the humour was spent, and cuill waers, and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladnes of theirs was increasd by certaine letters received from Vespasian, endeth as if the warre had yet beene on foote; for so they shewed at the first sight: notwithstanding he spake in all points as their Prince; modestly indeed of his owne person, and of the weale-publicke magnificently: howbeit the Senate was not flacke in declaring their obedience. To himselfe with Titus his sonne was awarded the Consulship, to Domitian the Pretorship, and Confular authoritie. Moreouer Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing ministred matter of speech: If he were a priuate man, why should he write thus in publicke to the Senate? he might haue spared his pen, and within feve
daies after haue vttered the fame there in person, as one of the house. likewise his in-
queyng against the Vitelliansifts was mifliked, as comming too late, and carryng no
shew of liberty now: but specially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the com-
monweale, and contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire
was in his disposition, & by him was collated vpon Vespasian. Neuertheles louvering
their difdain in secret, they flattered openly, and in most ample & honorable terms
awarded him triumphall ornaments; in deed in respect of his service in the ciuill
warre, but an expedion against the Sarmatians 1 was pretended: then to An-
toniuss Primus were decreed Consulare ornaments, and Pretorian to Cornelius Fuc-
cus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, deuoutly remembering the gods, they
enacted that the Capitoll should be builded anew: all which points were specified
first, and comprised in Valerius Asiaticus the 1 designed Consulsoration; to whom
the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of handes, some
few either chiefe in place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flatterie, with set ora-
tions and speeches. But when the course came to Heluidius Prifcus, who was desig-
ned Pretor, he vtttered his opinion, in termes honourable enough to a good Prince,
yet without all flatterie or glozing; a thing much commended and allowed of great-
ly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured vnto him, both
great offence and great glory. The matter seemeth to require, seeing we are 4 once
agoaine fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall haue cause to
remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what stu-
tudies he had followed, and what fortune hee had prooued. Heluidius Prifcus was
borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city 2 of Tarracina: his fathers name
was Cluuius a principall Centurion. Being very young he applied his rare and ex-
cellent witt to those profound studies, not, as the most part, to cloke sloth, and idle-
neffe with so glorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publicke affaires,
being first by that means better armed against all mischances of fortune. In the
studie of philosophie hee followed the learning of those 5 masters, which define
that onely to be good which is honest; that onely ill which is dishonest: other qua-
lities not inherent in the minde, as powerableness, nobilitie and fuch like, neither
good nor euill. When he had onely beene Quefor, Petrus Thrasea made choife
of him for his sonne in lawe. Of his father in lawes conditions he borrowed no
thing so much as libertie: in qualitie of citizen, Senator, husbande, sonne in law,
friend; in all parts and offices of life he was alwaies one, and the fame man: a con-
temner of wealth, stiffe in a good cause, not remouable for any feare: to some men
he seemed too defirous of glory: and indeed that passion, amongst all other, euon of
wife men is laft layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was 6 druen into ba-
nishment, and returning vnder Galba he called Epius Marcellus, who had infor-
mended against Thrasea, to his anfwere. This attempt, of fo great, and fo iust a revenge,
notwithstanding dividéd the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were ouerthrowen,
then whole troupe of others, which were in the same caufe, must needes goe to
wracke. At the first the contention was hoat and fierce, and maintaine of both
sides with notable orations: but when Prifcus perceived that Galba was doubt-
full in the point, at the intreatie of many Senatorus, he desisted from following
the suiter; diuerse men, according to their seuerall dispositions, diuerly inter-
preting his faRe, some commending his moderation, others mifliking his vncon-
ftancie. But that same assembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Ves-
pasian, withall an embassage was agreeed vpon, to be sent to the Prince. Hereupon
arose raunting, and bitter words between Heluidius and Marcellus. Heluidius opi-
iion
of Cornelius Tacitus.

nion was, that the embassadors should be elected, and named by the magistrates being first sworn to chuse of the fittest. Marcellus required they might be chosen by lot, to which purpose also the designed Conful had spoken before: but the principal cause, which pricked Marcellus so far to that way, was the shame which might redound to himselve, fearing, left others being chosen, he should seeme to be, as unworthy rejoyced. And fo, after some fewe brawling words interchangeably vfed, by little and little they fell to continuall, and bitter orations: Heluidius de-maunding, what caused Marcellus so much to fear the judgement of the magis-trates, seeing hee excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might easily moue them to that choice: vnleffe peraduenture the remem-brance of his own manifold misdeeds draue him to difftrul the, that the lot made no difference between the good & the bad, but suffrages & the judgement of the Senat were deuided to enter into every mans fame,& behavior, that it greatly appertained, both to the commody of the common welth, & to Vespasians honor, that thofe of the Senate should be sent to meete him, which were best accounted of for innocencie, and integritie of life, who might feacon (as it were) the Emperours cares, with good and vertuous speeches. that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had beene of Vespasians olde friends, and acquaintance, whose accusers if they must not be punished, much leffe lent and fhewed in places of credit: and that by this choice of the Senat, the Prince should, as it were be admonifhed whom to like, and whom to eschew. 

For no greater instruments, or helps of good regiment can there be, then good friends, that Marcellus had done for his part sufficiently, havin induced Nero to the destruccion of fo many innocents: let him injoy his rewards and imputtie, and leave Vespasian to better directors. Marcellus replied, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the designed Conful was impugned, and the ancicnt precedents, which committed the choice of Embassadors to lot, to take away a occasion of sutting and debate: that there was no new caufe, that he knew, why fo olde a custome shoule now be abolifhed, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a dihonour to any considering that euerie man was sufficiently able to carrie that message, and do a low reuerence to him in the name of the Senate: may rather they were to beware, left through the peruerfies of some the Princes minde might be offended, being now at his entrie full of ieloies, and marking not onely words, but also all gestures and countenance: that, for his part, he well knew the quality of the times wherein he was borne, and what forme of government our fathers, and grandfathers had establisht: beyond he honored and admired, but professed to follow the present estate, that he prayed and wished indeed for good Princes: but if it were otherwife, would tolerate such as they were. As for the ouerthrowe of Thrasea, why should he give account of accusing, whenas the Senate gave none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his vndoing: but fo was Neros maner, with such shewes to colour his cruel proceedings; whole favour and friendship annuished his minde peraduenture as much, as banishment did some other mens. Finally, that well might Heluidius in confancie, and courage be equall to Cato and Brutus: for his owne part, he was one of that Senate, which were but servants, as well as himselfe, and would likewise counsel Heluidius, not to seeke to climbe above the Prince himselfe, nor like a tutour to bridile with his precepts Vespasian having attayned to those yeetes, and that honor, & having beffide fo good ly an illue. For as wicked Princes love to rule, and rageine without limitation: fo even the best would have their subiects vse a meane in their liberty. These things, argued thus to and fro with great heat, distracted the Senate into diuerse opinions;
notwithstanding that part prevailed, which allowed of not only the worst, but the middle sort striving to retain their ancient custom; yea and the greatest inclined that way, for fear of displeasure, and enuie, if they themselves should be chosen. After this there followed another contention. The Pretors of the common treasure (for at that time the common treasure was governed by Pretors) complaining of the emptiness of their bags, presented request, that some restraint might be made, to abridge the publicke expenses. This proposition, both for the greatness of the charge, and difficulty of the remedy, the Confull designd thought good to referre to the Prince: but Heluidius would have it decided in Senate. And as the Confuls proceeded in asking of voices, Vulcatus Tertullinus Tribune of the people "interceded for bidding that anything of so great moment should be determined of, the Prince being absent. Heluidius also, declaring his minde in the Senate, was of opinion, that the Capitol should be builded againe, at the charges, and in the name of the common wealth, and Vepsian should helpe. Which speech of his the modestest fort paffed ouer then with silence, and afterward for gat; howbeit some there were that remembred it well. Then Munonius Rufus commenced an action against Publius Celer, by whose false witnesses, he affirmed, that Barea Soranus was condemned. If cognition should be taken thereof, that were to enter againe into the odious, and endless quarrels against the accusers: notwithstanding, the guilt, and vilenesse of the party now in perill was such, that hee could no waies be protected. For Soranus was of honourable memorie, and Celer, that of a philosopher by profession, became a false witnesse against his friend, was justly hated of all men, betraying, and violating that sacred bonde of friendshipp, whereof he would seeme a principall teacher. The next session was appointed for the hearing of the caufe: but the whole company seeing that matter requited, and mens minds bent to renge, looked no lesse for Heluidius and Marcellus, with others at that time, then for Munonius and Celer.

Was pretended Triumphes, and Triumphalia ornamenta, which succeeded in their place, were awarded upon great fortune done, and upon some notable conquest obtained against a forayne enemie: at least now any man in the Roman state made profession of triumphing de viuis civibus. L. Sylla, saith Valerius, lib. 3. qui plurima bella civilia concessit, cum consuetudine ac consistoria potentissimi triumphi duceret, ut Graciae et Atque multis vosbe, inclusim Romanorum triumfum opus est. 2. Cafer after he had ended the civil wares, albeit he spared in theew to triumph de viuis civibus, and choise rather the name of king Tuba for the title of his African triumph, then of Scipio, Caro, or Afranius, who were Generals in the field, yet went he further then Sylla, carrying their images and pictures in triumph, and grieving thereby the people of Rome. Augustus, having overcome at Actium Antonius and Cleopatra, entitled likewise his triumph upon the woman, omitting the man, Cyprians: whereof he would seeme an externall ensign, and not daring to name the citizeen, divers colours, as here, have bene vied.

Of Tarracina  I Italie was Augustus deuided into eleven regions. Pliny, lib. 3, cap. 15. Regio prima is from the rier of Tiber to Sucrum, or rather to the rier of Silarus thirteen miles beyonde (for the limit of that side is doubtfully set downe in Pline ) containing Latium, Campania and Picentini. Regio secunda, from Metapontum in Sinum Tarentinum to the rier of Tifernus in mari Adriatico, comprehending Salentini, Calabria, Apulia & c. Regio tercia, betwenee Silarus and Metaponum, containeth Lucani, Bruttii and magna Gracia. Regio quarta estendeth from Tifernus to the rier Aetnus likevise upon the Adriaticum, and inclosett Ferentini, Pergiti, Samnum & c. Regio quinta is from Aetnus to Ancona, including Picenum. Regio sexta containeth Umbria, and the coast betwenee Ancona and Ariminum. Regio septima comprehended Venetia betwenee the rier of Macra and Tiber. Regio octava is the country which lieth by west from the limits of the first region, betwenee the Apeninum and the Po, comprehending Ariminum, Raunena, Bononia, Brixemium, Mutina, Parma, Placentia & c. Regio nona is from the rier of Macra, to the rier of Varus, containing Liguria. Regio decima containeth Venetia: and Regio undecima Gallia transpadana. Now for this place, it was in the olde copies of Taucius regione Italica without any addition of number, and Tarracina municipio doubtfully written, sometimes Tarentinum municipio, sometimes Tarentinae municipe, sometimes Tarantinae municipio, and sometimes Tarantina, indeed it may seeme strange, that he should so deliberately describe and set out Tarracina, a towne so famouly knowen, and so neare vnto Rome. But howsoever, this is more strange, that allowing it to be Tarracina, some hauent inferred septima to fill vp the fende, and some fundat, whereas Tarracina is clearly and evidently in prima regione Italica.

Counsell Heluidius] And Heluidius, for not obeying better this counsell of Eprius Marcellus, lost his life even vnder Vepsian a good and moderate Prince. Suetonius • Vepsianus, Heluidius Priscus, qui reversione.
OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.


The folio apon lunetal toucheth another particularitie. Egnatius philosophus filium Barea Sorani, con ipsos ad magiam descendens borusi, Neronem deservit.

V. The entry of Mutianus into the City, and his actions there.

Things being in this state, the Senators iarrone one with another, the conquered part being fil of malice, the conquerous wanting authoritie, no lawes regarded, no Prince present to governe the state, Mutianus made * his entry into the city, and with a maine courle drew the whole manage of affaires into his owne handes. Antonius Primus, and Varus were fooe out of credit, when it was perceived, that Mutianus loved them not, although in countenance he pretended otherwife: but the citizens, hauing a quicke eie to fee in secretes dislikes, espying the truth, turned themselves quickly about, and went to Mutianus: he alone was courted, and followed of all. Neither was he, for his part, negligent in vying all meanes to retaine his fouterainty, being continually garded with souldiers, and for his pleaure changing of houeses and gardens; in his prouision, his gate, his traine, and warders, keeping the state of a Prince, although he forbare the title and name. And first he commanded Calpurnius Galerianus to be flaine, which stroke an exceeding great terrorre into mens harts. Hee was sonne to Caius Piio, and had not entred into any attempt, but being of a noble house, and a comely young man, hee was greatly talked of by the common people: and as in a city vnsettled, and among a people gladly imbracing new tales, some there were, which vainely named him to the Princes place. Wherefore, at the commandment of Mutianus, he was committted to a garde of souldiers: and left his death in the face of the city shoulde have beene more offensive, forty miles off, in the Appian way he was put to death, by letting the bloud out of his vaines. Iulius Priscus, who had beene captaine of the garde vnder Vitellius, killed himselfe, rather for shame, then upon necessity. His fellow Alphenus Varus ouerliued his honour, and sawe himselfe countred a coward, and a person infamous. Asiaticus, for his lewde credit vnder his maister, made satisfaction now as a freed-man with a feruile death.

VI. The rebellion of the Batauians and Caninefates through the instigation of Iulius Ciiulis.

At the same time the newes of the ouerthrowe in Germanie was rife in the city, and the city nothing troubled thereat (Every man talked how the armes were flaine, the standing campes of the Legions taken by the enemy, how France had rooled,) as if it had beene newes of a straunge cuntryt, not a calamity that touched themselues. That * warre, vpon what causes it arose, and with how great bandinge it was maintained, both of our allies, & of forraine nations, I will now declare from the beginning. The Batauianes, whilest they dwelt beyonde the
Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being thrown out by ciuill sedition, they seated themselves in the vttremost limits of France, which then lay voide of inhabitants, and tooke in withall the ilande that is sittuate in the flattes, and hath the Ocean before, behinde and on either side the river of Rhene. And albeit they were confederate with the Romans much mightier then themselves, yet were they not, as it happeneth in such ouermatches, spoiled of their riches and welth, but one-ly bounde to minisfer men and armour to the behoofe of the Empire, and so for a long time they were employed in the German warres. Afterward they became more famous, by reason of certaine cohtorts of them sent euer into Britannie by the Romans, vnder the leading of certaine noblemen of their ownenation, according to their ancient order, and beside, there remained behinde in the cuntrey a companie of choft horfemen practised especially in swimming, so that they woulde in whole troupes passe ouer the Rhene in harinth, and governning their horfe in their handes. The principally men among them, and farre excelling all other, by reason of their royll parentage, were Iulius Paulus, and Claudius Civiilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito vnder colour of a falsely furnifhed rebellio[n]: Civiilis was sent in chains vnto Nero, and acquitted by Galba, and againe vnder Vitellius escaped narrowly, the armie instantly demanding his death. Vpon these caufes his anger was founded, and vpon our troubles his hope. But being of a crafty and futtle wit, aboute the ordinarie of those barbarous people, and carrying him selfe rather like a Sertortius, or an Hannibal (as indeede in the maine of his face he was not vnlike) fearing least if he shoulde make open defection, our armyes would aduance themselves against him as an ememie, he couered his dealing with loue to Vespaian, and fauour toward the side. And in truth Antonius Primus had sent certaine letters vnto him, wherein he willed him to ducet away the aides sent for by Vitellius, and vnder shew of trouble in Germanie to stay the Legions there. The same adu- uile also Hordeonius Flacciis had giuen him by wordes of mouth, partly vpon good will to Vespaian, and partly vpon a care of the state, which seemed to be in evident peril of vttre destruction, if a new warre shoulde begin, and so many thousands of armed men passe into Italie. Thus Civiilis being resolued to breake, and yet concea- ling his purpose, as meaning to gouerne himselfe in the action by the euent, began after this maner to worke inovation. At the commandement of Vitellius, the able men of the Batauians were summoned to be pressed to the warre: which being of it selfe a burdenof some thing, was made much more infupportable, by the avarice and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money releafed them: againe such as were vnder age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comely tall stature) them they carried awaie to abufe their bodies. At these dealings the cuntrey being highly offended, certaine factious heads were suborned, to perfwade them to refuse to be pressed. Whereupon Civiilis assembling into a sacred wood vnder pretence of a banquet the nobilitie of the nation, and the chiefes of the communaltie, when he saw them at farre in the night, merrie, and warmed with wine, he beginneth a solemne oration: recounting first the praiises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth vnto them of the injurys, insolencies, and other miseries whereunto they are subiect, that are subiect vn-to a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and allies, as in former times, but flat enemies and slaues; and that not vnder a Lieutenant generall, which were more tolerable, albeit they come with a chargeable traine, and a proud and disdainfull kinde of commanding: but they were delivered into the hands of pettie capraine[s], and Centurions, whom when they had filled with
with spoiles and bloud, then were they remoued, and straightwaies fresh hungrie
masters set outer them, and new deuiles of polling inuented. that now the day of the
mutter approched, when children shoule be drawn from their parents, brethren
from brethren, never to see one another againe: and that, which might the rather
courage them, the Romans were neiuer in so poore a case, hauing nothing in their
standing campe, but a rich spoile, and olde men to garde it: wherefore they shoule
onlyly lift vp their eies, and not be afraide at the naked and bare names of Legions,
that they had strengthe of their owne, both of footemen and horfe, the Germans
were alleiued vnsto them in bloud, the French likewise affected: that euem the Romans
themselves would not greatly mislike of this warre, the loffes whereof, if any were,
they might impute to Vespasian, and if they went through and conquered, they
should not be called to their account. Hauing ended his speche with great appro
bation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and aduaria
tions vfed by them in like cases, in a firme association together. Straightwaies me
sengers were dispatcht to the Caninefates, to induce them also into the league.
The Caninefates inhabite a part of the islend, of the same language and race, in va
lour equall to the Batauians, but inferior in number. Then Ciuillus sent secret mes
sages to solicite the Batauian cohorts, which had serted as aydes in Britannie,
sent into Germanie, as before we have shewed, and at that time remaining at Ma
gontiacum. Among the Caninefates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolhardy
braine, howbeit of a high and noble stocke, whose father, hauing sundry times inva
ded our borders, and done many actes of hostilitie, boldly contemned those mocke
expeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being descended of so rebellious a
kindred, in that respect they liked him best of all others. And thereupon fettting him,
after their cuntry manner, on a target, and bearing him rounde about on their
shoulders, they electte him Generall: and he forthwith associating vnto him the
*Frifians, a nation beyond the Rhene, invaded the standing campe of two cohorts
adjoyning to the Ocean. The Roman souldiers, neither foresaw this sodeine inua
fion of the enimie, neither, if they had, were of sufficient force to repel it: so the
campe was taken and spoile, and the vittailers and merchants, wandring securely
abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew forth, to make their approches to the
castles, and holdes, which by the captaines of the cohorts were set on fire, because
they were not defensible: the ensignes, and bandes, and such souldiers as were left,
gathered themselues, vnder the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion, into the
higher part of the islend, composing an armie, rather in name then in power: for
Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe strengthe of the cohorts, and for sup
ply toke oue out of the nearest villages, of the Neruians and Germans, a rawe com
panie, whom he loaded with armour. Ciuillus, supposing it furest to worke by fraude
and deceit, blamed the captaines, for that they had forfaken their castles: affuring
that he alone, with the cohort vnder his charge, would easifie the tumult of the
Caninefates: and therefore willed them to returne every man to his owne place.
It was perceiued, that his counfaile proceded not of good meaning, but tended
only to this end, that the cohorts being feuered might be ouerthrown with grea
ter facilitie: and by many apparant arguments, and speches of the Germans them
selues, a nation joyfulfull of warre, and not concealing long their owne joy, it was dis
covered daily more and more, that Ciuillus, not Brinio, was the head and contriuer
of this conspiracie. Wherefore, seeing his secret plots tooke none effect, he fell to
plaine force, and cafft his power consisting of Caninefates, Frifians, and Batauians
into three pointed battels, each nation by themselves. The Romans opposed their
forces
forces against him, not farre from the river of Rhene, directing also their ships, which after the burning of the castles, they brought to that place, against the enimie. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Ciuilis: whereupon our souldiers, discomforded with the sodaine treason, were on all sides beaten downe, both by their false fellowes, and enimies: the like perfidiousneffe was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batauianes borne) faing vs skill in handling their oare, hindered both the mariners, and souldiers in doing their dutie: anone without dissimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enimies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that woulde not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleete, of fouer and twentie barkes, either fled to the enimie, or was taken by force. This victorie both presently wanne great reputation, and afterward stoode in great steade: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted; and throughout France, and Germanie, they were highly renowned as the authors of libertie. The Germans by and by sent Embassadors offering them aide: and Ciuilis, by pollicie and gifts, endeavoured to win the harts of the French, fending the captaines, whom he had taken, gently home, and giuing the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to returne to their countrey: if they would carrie, he offered them honourable reward for their service: if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed upon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonishing them in secret of their calamities sustained fo many yeeres, and of their miserable thralldome falsely entitled a peace; shewing them how the Batauians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had notwithstanding taken armes against them, which tyrannized ouer them both. that the Romans, at the first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomfited: what were then to be hoped, if all France shoulde joine to shake off the yoke? Italie was disarmed, and could of it selfe, neither conquer nor keepe; but with the provinces bloud were the provinces won. that they shoulde not bee discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batauian horse were the men, which defeated him and his armie; and among the Aydes of Verginius there were beside some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her owne forces. But now if it pleaded them to joine with him in this action, they both shoulde make but one partie: beside that they had seene and learned the beft of the Romans militare discipline: moreouer those olde experienced Batauian cohorts, before whom Othoes Legions could not stand, no doubt would goe with him. let Syria, and Asia, and the East, vfed to serue kings, be slaves if they lift; in France many men were yet alive borne before tributes began: neither could it be denied, that Germanie of late, by the ouerthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had given a checke to the Romish vuppers, banished feritude, and provoked to the field, not a Vitellius, but a Cæsar Augustus. that libertie was granted by nature to dumbe beasts also, but vertue and valour were peculier ornaments of mankind, and to the valiant alone the gods gave their assistanct. Wherefore, since they were at good leyfire, and fresh, he willed them to set couragiously vpnon their busily occupied and tired enimies: whereas some leaned to Vespasian, some claue to Vitellius, vndoubtedly harme might be wrought against both. Thus Ciuilis, laying the plot for France and Germanie, aspired, if his purpose tooke effect, to the monarchie of those most mightie, and most welthy countreyes.

And Tributes began about five score yeeres before that many in France before were known lived.
The two Legions also at Magontiacum yeelded themselves to the enimie, and were not remoued from their campe, who upon Cerealis comming returned againe to the Romans. Tacit. The eight Batavian cohorts resolved at the verie first beginning of the warre to Ciuilis. Now in supply of these to resoluing, yelding themselves, and being flaine, there were aigned under the leading of Petlinus Cerealis feauen Legions, Saith Tacitus, to wit sexta V Silkis, which came with Mutianus out of Syria, and Octava Anglia, one of the Median Legions (for so it should be redde, not Octava decima, there being none of that name inter interdictos) unnoticingly Repax; secunda, surmised as I think Flavia, is recus censorinus; quarta decima Gemina out of Britannia: sexta Ferrata, et decima Gemina out of Spaine. whereas as the common copies of Tacitus haue tertia at prima ex Hispantica accesse, there was no tertia then in Spaine, and that the Spanish sexta was in this action, we finde expressly let downe lib 5. His. True it is, that a prima surmamed Adurrinx was in Spaine: but seeing we finde, lib 5. twice mention of decima, a Spanish Legion, wee must say, that either all the Legions of Spaine were called away, against probability, or els that prima, should be redde decima. So that following these corrections, in the later ende of this warre against the Germans and French, we haue at one time eleven Legions employed by the Romans.

Superioris Germaniae

Quarta Macedonica.
Oftanadecima aliis: Duo victoriae: Didius Fucula legatus.

Inferioris Germaniae

Prima: Herennius Gallius legatus.
Sexta V Silkis, et Syriscis.
Oftana Anglia, et Medica.

VIII. Hordeonius Flaccus, Lieutenant general of both Germanies, lying at Magontiacum commandeth Mumiuni Lucpercus, who with two Legions, the fift and fiftenth, lodged at Vetera, to go forth against Ciuilis and the Batauians: but the Romans lost the battell, and fled backe into Petre their standing campe.

By Hordeonius Flaccus, who at the firt by conniuence nourished Ciuilis attempts, now receiuing featefull aduertisements, that the campes were surprized, the cohorts defeated and flaine, not one Roman left in the whole Batavian land,commanded Mumiuni Lucpercus the Lieutenant,who gornemned the standing campe of two Legions, to go forth against the enimie. Lucpercus taking the Legionaries about him, and the Vbians at hand, with certaine horfemen of the Treueri not far off, led them out in hafte, taking also with him a wing of Batauians, which being long fince secretly corrupted, notwithstanding made fliue of fidelitye, to the end that in the verie instant of ioyning, betraying the Romans, they might flip away with more dammage to the one, and be better welcome to the other. Ciuilis placed round about him the enfeignes of the late taken cohorts, that his soldiery might be encouraged in beholding the monument of their late glory, and the enimie dismayed with the memory of their ouerthrowe. Moreover he caufed his mother, and fifters, together with the wiuies and young children of all his soldiery, to stand at their backes for an encouragement to the victorie, or a shame if they happened to fliue. In the ioyning of the two armies, the fingeing of their men, and howling

\* Quarta, as it seems to me, without Lieutenant, at least in the story now is named, and peradventure Petilius had taken him away, but surely Didius Fucula, although by office but only Legate of the xix. acted the xix. executed no doubt both the orders.
ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble showte of our Legions and cohorts; and the Batauiian wing fleeing to the enemie, and straightway turning upon vs, bare the left flank of our battell: notwithstanding the Legionary soldiers, as in a case of such danger, yet retayned their weapons in their hands, and themselfes in array. The Aydes of the Vbians and Treuer iran most shamefully away, and brake euerywhere, which chafe the Germans pursued, and gave by that means leyture to our Legions to retire themselfes into their campe called Vetera. Claudius Labeo captaine of the Batauiian wing, who had followed at home a contrary faction to Ciullis, left that either his death should offend the countrey, or his presence minister caufe of disension, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

The III. booke of the Historie

VIII. The eight Batauian cohorts, which had servd the Romans long in Britannie, against Otho, and elswhere, solicited by Ciullis (for these two Legions were not above five thousand men) butdifmifshed of capitaines also, leaving here but one Lieutenit over two Legions, & yet as though he had forgotten himselfe, we find another, tantquam ex machina, to wit Numius Rufus, of whole comming into Vetera as we finde no reason, so we finde him in another place out of Vetera with little reason. If he were there from the beginning, why doeth Tacitus tell vs here, that Luper- cus alone duram Legiorum hiberna praerat? if not, how and when came he? and especially how, and when went he out? But in the setting downe of this German warr there are in my opinion many little imperfections and negligences, whereof part we wil touch, as occasion shall fente, but most of them we have supplied, and explained in the contents of the chapters, and by inferring sometimes a worde or two into the text, as by comparing the booke it will appeare.
fore: but Flaccus changed his purpose againe, and in other letters of later date will
led Gallus, not to stay their passage. Whereupon suspicition arose, that the Lieu-
tenants of fett purpose stirred vp and fostered these warres; yea all the mischiefs,
which either had chanced alreadie, or were feared hereafter, were imputed, not to
the cowardlinesse of the fouldier, or strength of the enemie, but onely to the fraude
and falsehood of the Leaders. When the Batauians drew neare to the camp at
Bonna, they sent before certaine messengers, to declare to Herennius Gallus the
intention of the cohortes: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Ro-
mans, in whose behalf they had so oft borne armes; but forasmuch as they were
wearyed with a long and fruitleffe service, their desire was, quietly to liue at home
in their country. And therefore, if no man made opposition, their passage should
be harneffe: but if any hostilitie were offered, they would make their way with the
sword. Whilest the Lieutenant stooode deuided in minde what to doe, his fouldiers
vrged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his camp three thou-
fand b Legionary fouldiers, and certaine tumultuary cohortes of Belgians, and with
all a number of pezants, and followers of the camp, brave men before the danger
approche, in the danger but cowards. Out they flue at all the gates of the campa
to enclofe the Batauians, whom they knew to be farre inferior in number. The Ba-
tauians, mindfull of their olde order in service, fet them selues in array in pointed
battells, standing on euery side close together, and having their front, their flancks,
and their backe surely garded, and so with great facility brake thorow our thin com-
panies. The Belgians first gaue grounde, and then our Legionaries were beaten
backe, and ran for feare towards the trenches, and gates of the camp. There the
most slaughter was committed: the sosses were filled vp with dead bodies, and ma-
nie died in the throng, by tumbling one ouer another, and running upon their owne
weapons, as well as flame by the enemie. After this victorie the Batauians went for-
ward, leaving Coleyn of the right hand, and attempted no act of hostilitie in the rest
of their journey, but excusing the battraile at Bonna as a thing done by constraint,
and for their owne saftie, whenas they intertrued for peace and it would not bee
granted.

IX. 

CIVILIS, vpon the coming of these olde cohortes, had now vnder his con-
duct a full and complete armie: neuether heeleffe wauring in minde, and stan-
ding irresolute, considering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused al
his men to sweare to Vepstian, and sent forthwith Embaffadorus to the two Legi-
ons, which being defeated by him in the former battraile were fled to Vetera, requi-
ring them alfo to take the like othe. Their anfwer was, they would not be aduised

neither
neither by traitour, nor enemie; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and would stande for him in armes to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitius, and faithleffe Batauan catry himselfe as vmpier of the Roman afferaires, but rather looke for condigne punishment for his defect. Ciuilis being greatly incensd with this anfwere, bringeth the whole nation of the Batauians into the field. The Bructeri and Teucteri associeth themselues, and messengers were sent into Germanie, who raised the whole country, some to win honour, and some to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and bandings of so many enemies, Mummius Lupercus, and Numius Rufus, Lieutenant of the Legions, fortified their trenches and walls, and razed the buildings, which in so long a peace were erected, not farre from the campe, in maner of a towne, left they should be a harbor for the enimie. But through oversight they omitted to conuey the vitraile, and other provision therein into the campe, suffering it to be taken at discretion: and in few daies that was riotously consumed, which by good order would have relieved their needs a long time. Ciuilis led the middle battell himselfe, wherein was the flower and strength of Bataua: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the ende the fight of his armie might strike in the greater terroour, he causeth the regiments of the Germans to march, the horsemens gallopping about the fields: and withall the ships were brought vp the streame. So on the one hande the ensignes of the old cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of wilde beastes taken out of their woods and consecrated groues, according as every nation vſeth to beare in the feld, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the swwe both of an externall, and ciuill warre. Moreover the great compasse of the trench made the attempt of the besiegers more feasable and increased their hope. For whereas it was made to containe two Legions, at that present it had scarce five thousand armed men to defende it, beside the followers of the campe, which upon the breaking vp of the peace gathered thither, and there remained doing them some service in the war. A part of the camp was situate upon the pendant of an easie hill, and part ftoode upon the plaine grounde. That standing campe Augustus settled there, supposing it sufficient to watch over; and as it were, to besiege the curtreyes of Germanie, never imagining that the world could go so far otherwise, as that they should presume to begin and affaile our Legions: whereupon the leffe cost was bestowed, either to helpe the site of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armour alone were thought a sufficient defence. Now to the ende, that being feuered in place, the proewell of each nation might more distinctly appeare, and be scene, the Batauians, and the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene, tooke standing ech by themselues, and began to dart at out men a farre off. But whenas they saw most of their weapons sticking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the walls, and many of themselues wounded with stones throwen from aboue on their heads, leaving that kind of oppugnation, they foddainely with great force, and outcry affayd to feale the turrets, the most part by setting vp ladders, others climing over the heads of their felowes upon a target fence. And as some were now clamering vp, they were beaten downe headlong with swords and paff of pike, and so with clubs, and darters overwhelmed, being men otherwise howt in the beginning, and too too courageous when fortunate favoureth, but then for desire of pray they tolerated all hardnesse also; yea and that which with them is vnusiall, they endeavoured to proove with engins, whereof they had of themselues neither experience nor skill, only some fugitius and capituies taught them to frame timber in maner of a bridge, and to drive iftowarde on wheeles, whereon certaine standing aboue might skirmish with them on the
wals, as it were from a mount, and others within secretly undermine the foundations. But the defendants, with great stones shot out of engines, battered downe their rude and ill framed worke. And whenas protrusion was made of hurdles, and planckes to cover them in giuing the assault, our men shot burning speares, and fired the worke: affayling with fire even their affaylers; who despayring at length to effectuate any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingering siege thereunto, knowing that they had but few dayes vitraile within, and manie vnprofitable mouthes to confume it, and hoping withall, that of want of food fero men would bequeat, beside the casualties, which vfitually happen in warre.

In maner of a bridge J. Vegetius, lib. 4 in the description of Turris ambulatoria make mention of Pons cap. 17. in hae verba. Turrtes sunt machinamenta ad edificiorem spectem ex trabibus tabulatisque comparta, tantum proeritate, ut non solum muros, sediam turre altitudine superant, his pluvius a mecanica arte subduentes, quam lapis magnis in tum ampla momentor. In inferioribus habes arsitem, cuina impedia difficiles muros, circa medium partem accipere ponens factione de labiibus trabibus, quem sibi producent inter servum manumponis consistens, et per omne ingredientes de machina militis opere muros in situm se transsum. In superioribus partibus ostinet et ingressi collocantur, qui propagant rem revellentes, etc. In this place Tacitus seemeth to take Pons for the whole engine of Turris ambulatoria, and not onely that speciall part which Vegetius calleth by that name.

X. Hordeonius dispatching Vocula before remooneth from Magontiacum with his power to Bonna; and then to Colyn, where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocula; following notwithstanding the armie from hence to Nove-

fium, where, as it seemeth, he slayed till his death. At None-
fium Gallus is oxynd in commission with Vocula; and so they remooned forward to Gelda-

ba, where being encamped, Vocula voasteth the Gugerni; and Gallus is beaten by the

Germans.

In the meane time Flaccus, having understood of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to levy aies, selected out of his Legions a company of chosen men, and committed them to the leading of Dillius Vocula, Lieutenant of the eighteenth Legion, willing him to hasten, and make all possible speede along the bancke of the river; himselfe followed slowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated of his soldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had suffered wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohorte of the Batauians, or rather purposely sent them away: that Ciuulis rebellious attempts were by his conniuence fostered, and by his meanes the Germans called to the party. that neither Antonius Primus, nor Mutianus, had so strengthe. Vespaian's side, as Flaccus by this kinde of dissimbling dealing: for open enemies and armes might openly and with armes be repelled, but fraude and deceit were matters hardly espied, and therefore could not be aoind.that Ciuulis ftoode in the field embattell against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed chamber gaue order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoofe: and why then should so many armed companies of valiant fouldiers be governed by a sicke and feely olde man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and free their fortune and verties from the ill chance of fo un幸运 a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespaian which incensed them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceale, caused openly to be red before the assembly, and sent the bringers thereof bounde to

O 1

Vitellius.
Vitellius. By this means the fouldiers mindes were somewhat appeased: and so they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion: the fouldiers whereof were more displeased with Flaccus than the other: laying the fault of their late overthowe wholly upon him: auerting that they at his commandement marched forth against the Batauians, affuring themselues, vpon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should affaile them behind; and so no supply comming from thence, they loft their lutes through his treafon: that these matters had never beene notified to the rest of the armies, nor to the Prince, or els by the helpe and affittance of so many countries this sodaine rebellion might haue beene quenched in the beginning. Whereupon Hordeonius caufed the copies of all the letters, which he had sent into France, Britannie and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be red to the armie, and began a very ill example, that all letters sent from abroad should be deliered to the stander-bearers of the Legions, who red them to the fouldiers, before they came to the Generals hande. Then he commanded one of the most fasticous to be apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in vre, then because the fault was but of one man alone: & so he remoued with his army fro Bonna to Coleyn, where many Aides reftorted vnto him of the French nation, which at the first with all their power affifted the Romans, till afterwards seeing the Germans pretiaile, many of them tooke armes against vs in hope of freedome, and that point attained, for desire of freeurty. But the wrath of the Legions stil increaseth, neither would one fouldier imprifonment terrify them: nay even the party imprifonned impeached the General of treafon; alledging that he had beene messenger between Ciuilis & him, and therefore a colour was sought to make him away, leaft he should declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with maruellous stoutneffe ascending into the Tribunall, commanded the fouldier, as he exclaimed and cried, to be apprehended, and caried away to execution: which thing so terrifyed the bad and seditious, that the fouldiers without impeachment fulfilled his commandement, and anone by common consent they demaunded Vocula to be their General: which place Flaccus willingly resigned vnto him. But their minds were already mutinous affected, and many newe occaions of more rage were presented, as want of pay, and proouision of corne; Fraunces refusing to yeeld soldiers and tributes; the Rhene also by reason of drought vnusuall in that cuntrey hardly able to beare any vessell scarcity of vitaleis; garrisons of men placed along the bancke to keepe the Germans from passing the riuer; and so lesse corne, and more men to confume it. Among the ignorant and simper fett the lowneffe of the water was helde for a prodigious matter, as if the riuers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now forfaken vs, and that which in peaceable times would have beene counted chance, or proceeding of naturall causes, at that time was called a fatall matter, and Gods indignation and wrath. At Noveium they assumed the sixteenth Legion, and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was joyned with Vocula in part of the charge: yet durft they not go to finde the enimie, but encamped themselues a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practised their fouldiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching and other militare exercizes. And to the ende that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and hart, Vocula led foorth part of his armie into the cuntrey of the Gugerni adjoyning, who had allied themselfes with Ciuilis: part remained behind with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge loaden with corne, was runne vpon a shelfe, the Germans espying it laboured to draw it to their side of the water; which Gallus would not endure, but sent a cohort to the reskew: the Germans also increa-
fed their number, and so by little and little, supply resorting on both sides, a battle was fought: wherein the Germans, after the slaughter of many of our men, by force halted the boate away. Our fouldiers, being thus put to the woefe, according to their custome there, blamed not their owne cowardlineffe, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, rāte his clothes, & bet his bodie, commanding him to tel vpon what price, and with what complices he had thus betrayed the armie. But ḵ Hordeonius was charged with the whole enuie of the fact; him they termed the contriver of the mischief, Gallus onely the instrument; till at length Gallus, being retir’d with their threatning of his destruction, to saue his owne life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was he put in bands, and afterwards, at the returne of Vocula loosed, who the next day following put to death the autours of the futurre. So strange diversitie there was in that armie, both licentiouſly to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common fouldier was firme to Vitellius; the principall men more enclined to Vespasion. Hence came it, that succensuall, and by course as it were, they offended, and suffred for their offences; that furie and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they casilie punished, which could not be governed.

In the meanse time Flaccus ] Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at Mentz, where the standing campe was ofquaræ et octauadeçima alis duoocüicifima, understanding of the siege of Vetera; & thereof Didius Vocula Lieutenant of the octauadeçima alis duoocüicifima before with the choice men picked out of the two legions, whom Hordeonius, leaving sufficient power to garde the campe at Mentz, feethim immediately to have followed and ouertaken at Bonna, a towne likewise vpon the river, euen miles above Coleyn, and thereforc above Vetera, according to Antoninus in Itinerario, and Tac. l. Ann. and so ioyned to have remoued to Coleyne; where at the inffe of his numerous army, and vpon informacion of body, he resigned his Generalship, at leafe the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithstanding remoued with them to Noesium, now called Nuits, a towne euen eene miles below Coleyn, according to Antoninus. At Noesium Flaccus as it feethayd, and there was, as appeareth aboue, flaine by a munite of drunken fouldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the armie marched further down, and nearer to Vetera, encampinge himselfe at Gelduba, a caſtell like wyse vpon the Rhene, vbi scribae generositatis practica, faith Pliny. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion, not so plainly and articulately set downe, as they ought, by our autor.

XI. Ciui lis combineth him selfe with the Germans, vvaseth the French side, urgeth the siege of Vetera, and gyneth diuerse assaультes in vaine.

Contraſtly all the Germans extolled Ciui lis exceedingly, and combined themselves with him in league, yeelding of their noblemest men for pledges. Whereupon he gave commandement to them which lay neere left, to waſte the Vbij and Treueri, and with another companie to pass the river of Mofa, and forrey the Menapij and Morini, and Frontiers of France. In both places a fpoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the Vbij, because being originally deſcended from the Germans, renouncing their cuntry, they called themſelues Agrippinenſes after a Roman denomination: whose cohorts through negligentneſs and carelesſneſſe, as being farre from the bancke of the Rhene, were flaine in the vil·lage of Marcodurum. In teuenge whereof the Vbij fetched continuall boottes out of Germanie; which they perfourmed at the first without losſe, afterward they were ouertaken and flaine, in all that warre more faithfull to vs, then fortunate for themſelues. The Vbij being thus beaten, Ciui lis growing more hard to be delt with, and hautieſſe minded, by reaſon of the prosperous successe of his actions, earnestly vrged the siege of the Legions setting ftrait watch, leaft any secret messenger might happily enter in, to bring them wordes of the fuccour comming. The engines and making of the works he alligned to the Batauians, appointing the inhabitants behide the
The Romans with great dexterity levelled at the Barbarians standing in the light, and especially at such as were boldest to press forward, or glittered most in their furniture: which thing Ciullis perceiving commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the dark. Then there arose confused clamours, and noises, variable chances, and uncertain adventures: no foreshot in striking or warding: on what side sooner the cry arose, therewith would they turn their bodies, and direct their arrows: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all: and the most valiant men oftentimes were slain by the most cowards. The Germans ranne with vnadvised rage, but the Roman foildiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heavy stones, not at adventure; where they heard any labouring to break in, or fetting vp ladders within their reach, they thrust them backe with the pikes of their bucklers, and followed them with darts, and many which had got on the walls they stabbed with daggers. The night being thus spent, the next day discovered a new kind of assault. The Batauians had builded & brought forward a tower of two heights, which as it approached nearer to the Pretorian gate (for that part of the camp was of easie access) our soldiers brake it in pieces with mighty planks runne against it, and logges cast upon it, with great damage and slaughter of them that stood thereupon. At which accident the enemies being dispaied, our soldiers sodainly fled out, and cut off many of their men, with all the Legionary soldiers, being expert and skilful in that way, didsnied many warlike engines; but that which was the most dreadful, was a moueable and wagging engin, in manner of a crane, which being sodainly let downe snatched vp one or more of the enemies, and hoised them aloft in the fight of the rest, and so the beam turning about let them fall into our camp. Ciullis laying aside all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by track of time to effect the same purpose, seeking in the mean season by messages and promises to corrupt the faith of the Legions.

XII. Montanus a capaine of Vitellius side, and borne at Triers, bringeth word to Novesium of the event of the battell at Cremona: wherupon they there and the rest of Geldubas swore to Vepasian: and sent Montanus to declare the same to Ciullis, willing him to desist from hostilitie: but contrarily Ciullis wrought Montanus to his purpose, and layed the plot of the rebellion of France, which shortly after ensued.
with to forsake Vitellius: but the old fouldier stucke at it, till upon Hordeonius tendering, and the Tribunes urging they tooke the oath: albeit neither in countenance, nor minde seeming to be fully resolued, but pronouncing roundely the rest of their oath, and at the name of Vespasian either stopping, or tripping it lightly over, or skipping it quite. Then were the letters of Antonius to Ciuilis red in the open assembly, which raised many suspicions in the fouldiers heads, because they seemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spake hardly of the German armie. Anone word was carried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; and thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Ciuilis, to warne him to desist from making of warfare; and that he should not cloke any longer open rebellion with the colour of following sides. if he sought to helpe Vespasian, his desire now was accomplished, and his purpose perfommed. To these allegations Ciuilis replied, first in subtle and craftie tearmes; afterwaarde perceiuing Montanus to be of a hoate and fierce disposition, and readie to accept any new impression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twenty yeares space he had endured in the Roman seruice: A woorthy, and iufte reward (quoth he) have I had of my travailes, the death of my brother, mine owne imprifonment, and the bloody words of this armie, of whom being demanded to the slaughter, by the lawe of nations I doe, & may iustly fecke my reuenge. But as for you "Treueri, and the rest of sute foules, what reward expect you of your bloud fo often shed for their fakes, but fruitlefe seruice, continual Tributes, whips, gibbets, and blauterie vnder powdere, topt with insolent masters? Behold I a captaine of one cohorte, and the Caninefates and Batavians, a small portion of France, haue destroyed and ouerthrown those vaft and vaine campe of theirs, and doe besiege them with famine and fword. to conclude, if we venture, we shall either recover our libertie, or if we leefe, be in the fame state we were in before. Ciuilis hauing thus incensed Montanus, dismissed him away, howbeit willed him to make a more favourable report, who accordingly at his returne onely signified, that he had not sped in his embassage, dissembling the rest which straight after brake out.

XIII. Vocula ouerthroweth two captaines of Ciuilis, as he lay at Gelduba.

Ciivilis retaing part of his host, sent the olde cohorts, and the forwardest of the Germans, against Vocula and his army, under the leading of Iulius Maximus, and Claudius Victor his sithers fonne. In the way they tooke vp and spoiled the standing campe of a wing sited at Aschburg, and fo ducinily assaulted the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leasure to speake to the soldiers, or to display the rankes; thus much onely, as in a tumult, he warned to strengthen the middle battell with Legionarie fouldiers, and the Auxiliaries to caft themselues about on euerie side. Then our horfemen brake foorth, and seeing the enimie in good order and array to receive them, they turned their backes, and fled towarde their footemen: whereupon a slaughter ensued and no fighting. The cohorts also of the Nerui through fear of falsehood fled, and bared the sides of our men; and so way was made to our Legionary soldiers, who began now to ouerthrowen within the trenches, and to lose their eneignes, whenas ducinily with a newe supplye the fortune of the bataile was changed. For certaine cohorts of Vacones lieued by Galba, and then sent for, comming neare the campe, and hearing the noise as they fought, assaied the enemies backes being intencion another way, and caused o 3
a greater terror, then so small a number could otherwise have done, had not the enemy beleued, some of them, that the rest from Nousesium, and some, that the whole power from Magnonicaum was come. That error also increased the Romans courage: and whilst they presumed upon other men's strength they recovered their own. The most valiant of the Batavian footmen were slain, the horsemen escaped with the eneignes and captives that were taken in the first conflict; on our side that day were slain more in number, but men of small service; the Germans lost the very flower, and strength of their armie. Both the Generals by like default deferred the overthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Ciuili had furnished his side with greater forces, they could neuer have beene by so fewe cohorts enclosed about: and the campe of the Romans being, as it was, by force broken vp, had doubtlesse beene utterly razed. Vocula like wise lacking fowts abroad to signifie the enimies approch was sotainly surpris'd; and so in one moment went out to fight, and was overcome: afterward winning more by lucke then defect, and not trusting his owne victorie nor vſing the benefit thereof, he vainely trifled out many daies before he would march toward the enemy; whom if he had prefently followed, and pursuéd the course of his victorie effectually, hee might at that blowe have raised the siege of the Legions at Vetera.

XIII. Vocula putteth Cuiilia to flight, and entreseth Vetera.

Ciuilis in the meane time had assayed to induce the Legions to surrender, as though the Romans had beene quite overthrown, and his men obtained an entire victorie, for proofe whereof he commanded the Roman eneignes, and banners to be caried about, & the prisoners produced in fight, wherof one ventured worthily, and declared aloud how the whole matter had passed, and was killed in the place by the Germans, which thing caused them within to beleue his relation the better, and withall by the wafting and burning of the villages they might discern, that their owne victorious armie was comming. When Vocula came neare vnto Vetera he commanded the eneignes to be pitched in the sight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be caft round about: that laying aside their baggage and needless furniture in place of fafetie, they might fight more lightly and less embroiled. Whereupon the soldiers began to exclaine, crying to goe to the bataille, and now they were growen to that custome to threaten their Leader. So without taking so much time as onely to set the bataill in array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight; for Ciuili was readie to prevent them the bataill, reporting no lesse alliance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his owne people. Of the Roman side the matter went doubtful and hard, and the most mutinous proved the most daftards: some there were which mindefull of the victorie lately obtained kept their standing, galled the enemy, and animated themselves and their fellows. The bataill being thus brought backe againe, which ere while in a maner was lost, they held vp their hands to them in the campe, that they should not neglect to vse the opportunity, who beholdin all things from the walls, issu'd forth at all the gates, and by chance Ciuili being by the fall of his horse overthrown, of both sides was thought to bee wounded or flaine; which greatly dismayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in ours. But Vocula pursuéd not the chace, but entring Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the campe, as against a newe siefe, being had in a jealousie,
by this kind of cold dealing, to desire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, having so often marred the victorie for want of good following.

XV. *Povula vittaileth Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Noveium: where Hordeonius in a mutine is slain. Povula with his power goeth to relieue Magontiacum besieged by the Germans. The faithfulness of the Treuers to the Romans at the beginning of these troubles.

Nothing distressed our soldiers so much, as lacke of provision and food. Whereupon the caryages of the Legions, with a weake and vserviceable companie, were sent to Noveium, that from thence by lande they might furnish the armie with vittailes; for the enemies were masters of the river. The first convoy passed peaceably without molestation, Ciullis being not yet recovered of his hurt: but anone understanding another company was sent to Noveium, and certain cohorts assigned to conduct them, marching as in time of great quiet carelessly, not keeping themselves to their ensignes, but casting their armour and weapons into the wagons, and routing about licentiously, he sent before to take vp the bridges and straites, and then in good order charged upon them. The battle was fought with troupes displaid out thinny in length, and continued doubtfull, untill the night tooke vp the quarrell. The cohorts proceeded forwarde to Gelduba, the camp standing there as it was, garded by the soldiery which Vovula had left. There was no question what perill there would be in the returne, the forragers being but fewe, and heavily laden: whereupon Vovula determinig to go out and relieue them, increas'd his armie with a thousand men chosen out of the two Legions, which were besieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborn and headstrong soldiery, and hating his capaines. More went then were comman'd, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer endure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behinde complained, that they, by carrying away so many men, were forfaken, and left as a pray to the enimie. Whereupon a double mutine grew, the one part recalling Vovula sedulously, and the other in like sort refusig to return againe to the camp. In the meane seacow Citulis besieged Vetera. Vovula marcheth to Gelduba, and leauing Gelduba (which Citulis straightway tooke vp) from thence to Noveium, not faire from whence, shortly after, his horsemen skirmish'd with the enimie prosperously. But prosperitie and aduerstie inflamed alike the soldiery to seek their capaines destruction: and the Legions being augmented, by that increas out of the fift and fifteenth Legion, more insolently required their donative, understanding that money was sent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay, divided the money amongst them in Vespasians name, which was the principal thing that ministred matter, and fed the mutine which followed. For the soldiery, hauing idle spending money, gave themselves to rot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that meanes renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they haled out of his chamber and flew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gainsay, or withstand them being hardened, by reason of the night seacow, against all modestie and shame. The like was intended against Vovula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped vnknown in the darke. Alfoone as the heat of their furie was past, they fell to consider the danger wherein they did stand, and sent by and by Centurions with letters to the cities of France, demanding...
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desiring supply of money and men, themselfes when Ciullis approched, as the common fort without head is headlong, feareful, and sluggishe, rashly tooke up their weapons, and soone laying them downe ranne away. Aduersitie bred discord, those of the upper armie disioyning their cause from the others. Notwithstanding the images of Vitellius were set vp againe in the campe, and in the cities of Belgium adioyning, whenas Vitellius himselfe was now downe. Then the soldiours of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth vp on repentance came in and submitted themselfes vnto Vocale, at whole hands receiuing againe the oath to Vespasian, they were led forth to raife the siege at Magontiacum. The army which besieged it (confifting of Catti, Vfipij and Mattaci) was alreadie departed away laden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at vnawares, was in part put to the word. Moreover the Treueri along their confines call a trench with a *parapet, and with great flauert on eeh side skirmifhed against the Ger-

mans, vntill shortly after revolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good seruice done heretofore to the Romans.

XVI. The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the begin-
ing of the yeare. The ordinarie Senate vpon the first day of Ianuarie. Mutianus supplanteth

Antonius Primus.
Scribonianus refused the offer; a man so greatly fearing uncertainties, that even an assured certainty could not easily have sturred him. Therefore Mutianus, because Antonius openly could not bee put downe, spent vpon him many good words, and great commendations in the Senate house, and secretly laded him with promises, putting him in hope of nearer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluuius Rufus lay voide, and bestowed vpon his friends Tribuneships, and Captainships liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with these windes of hope and desire his emptie vainglorious minde, he proceeded suftely to infringe his power, and utterly put him out of his strength, by dismiffing vnto their wintering place the feuenth Legion, which did most earnestly affect Antonius. The third Legion also that depended vpon Arierus Varus was sent away backe into Syria: another part of the army was caried into Germanie. So the cittie being desbursed of those which were prone to breed trouble, recovered her former estate, the lawes tooke their due course, and the magistrates resumed their charge.

XVII. Certaine matters which past in the Senate.

THE day that Domitian, after his newe honour came into the Senate, he made a briefe and curteous speech concerning his fathers, and brothers absence, and of his owne greene yeeres and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behauiour: his often blushing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowne abroad, was reputed modestie and bashfulness. When as he proposed that Galba shoulde be restored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memorie of Pifo also should be solemnized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Pifo it tooke none effect. After this, certaine were allotted to see restitution made of those things, which had beene by force taken away in the warre; and some others to view and fet vp the braſent tables of the lawes, which by a tract of time were decayed; & others to reforme & purge the publick records, & registres, which by flatterie of times were corrupted, & to moderate & stint the publicke expenses. Tertius Iulianus was restored to his Pretorſhip, after it was knowne that he fled to Veſpasian; notwithstanding Griphus kept his room too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cafe betweene Munofius Rufus, and Publius Celer should be reuiued and determined: and so Publius was condemned, and satisfaction made to the soule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publicke seueritie of the Senate was notable, fo privately Munofius wanted not his due commendation, for having judicially prosecuted fo iust a reuenge: as contrarilie Demetrius the Cynick was generally blamed, for that ambitiously, and without regard of his credit, he had lent his hand to protect a manifest offender: for Publius himselfe had neither spirit nor toong to pleade his owne cause. When the signe was giuen, and a flagge of reuenge, as it were, set out against the accusers, Iunius Mauricus requested Domitian, that it woulde please him to communicate a copie to the Senate of the Princes records and papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to hauie the accusing of whom. Anfwere was made, that the Princes aduice was to be asked in a caſe of that weight: whereupon the Senate, the principall personages beginning the example, conceived a forme of oath, which all the magistrates sware, contending who should be foremost, and the rest, as their voices were severally asked, solemnly protesting, and calling the gods to witnesse, that they had never attempted nor done any act against the life of anie, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were guiltie
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guiltie that way pronouncing it faintly, and mincing the oath, but diuertly wressting and changing the words. The Senatours allowed of them which sweare truely, and openly reprooued the others perierie: which reprooefe lay most heauily vpon Sario-lenus Voclula, and Nonius Aciatus, and Celtius Seuerus, perfonis infamous for their often accusings vnder Nero: and besides, which aggrieved his caufe, Sario-lenus had lately attempted the like with Vitellius: so that they bent their fists against him, and ceased not to offer violence, vntill he departed the house. From him they went to Paccius Africanus, seeking to throw him out likewise, because he had guen information against the Sribonian brethren; renowned both for their wealth and mutuall agreeing together, and procured their destruccion with Nero. Africanus neither durft confess the matter objected, nor could well denie it: but turning himselfe to Vitius Crispus who presed him neere with his interrogatories, he on the other side challenged him of the like, seeking to shift off the odiousnesse of that, which he could not directly defende, by ioyninge the plaintiffe in the same crime.

That day Vipsanius Messallawanne himselfe great credit, both for eloquence and good nature, vnder taking being vnder Senatour's age, to make intercession for his brother Aquilius Regulus. Regulus was extremely hated, because he had wore out the ouerthrowe of the noble houses of the Craffi, and of Orphitus. he was at his owne suite appointed by the Senate to be their accuser, and vnder tooke that odious charge voluntarily being very young, & not as some others, to avoid danger that in refusing might grow to his selfe, but in hope of rising higher thereby. And Sulpicia Pætextata wife of Craffi, with favour of his children presented themselves in a readiness to prosecute the matter, if it would please the Senate to take knowledge thereof. Messall, neither justifying the cause nor the man, but opposing himselfe against the perils of his brother, had moued some to compation. Then Curtius Montanus replied with a bitter oration, proceeding so farre, that he charged Regulus with giving of money after Galbaes death to him that slew Piso, with bissing of Pisoes head being dead, these things (quoth he) I row Nero neuer constrained you to do: neither faute you either your life, or your honour by such savage crueltie. Let vs graunt their defence to be tolerable, which chose rather to bring others into ruine, then themſelues into peril, for your part you had nothing to leefe: your father going into banishment left you voide of all danger that way; his goods were parted amongst his creditours and your age as yet not capable of honours: you had nothing that Nero should either desire from you, or feare in you. Nay it was your owne bloudthriue humour, and gaping for gaine, which cauſed you to emploie your gifts, being as yet not known nor tried in defending any mans cauſe, to the destruction of the nobilitie: when at one blow you mined and overthrew innocent children, reverend old men, honourable women, and by this good service in deftoying the common wealth merited Consulare spoiles, feuen thousand and thousand fees tres, and an honourable Priesthood: when you blamed Neroes slacke and remiss kind of proceeding, that he went house by house and tired out both himselfe and the whole companie of the accusers, whereas he might with like facilitie and speaking of a word subuer the whole Senate. Kepee I pray you (my Lordes) and make faire of a counſeller of so good a dispach, that euerie age may be furnished as and as our old men imitate Marcellus and Crispus, fo our young may do Regulus. Dishonestie euens when it thriueth not, findeth followers, what will it do then when it doth prosper and flourish? and whom we dare not offend having beene but Queſtor, what shall we doe when he shall have passed the higher offices of Pretor and Consul? or doe ye thinke that Nero shall be the last tyrante? indeed fo they also beleued,
beleeued, which ouerliued Tiberius and Caius, when in the meane time arose ano-
other more cruell and detestable then either. We feare not Veſpaſian, his age war-
ranteth vs, and his moderate diposition; but precedents dure longer then dipositions.
We are waxen cold ( my Lordes) neither are we now the fame men, that af-
soone as Nero was slaine required these promooters, and all other instruments of
tyrannie to be punished moremajorum. After the deceafe of an ill Prince the first day
is alwayes the bett. With fo great applaufe and liking of the Senate Montanus was
heard, that Heluidius conceiued hope of the possibility of ouerthrowing Marcellus
also. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluuius Rufus,
who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had notwithstanding in Naros time
never procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his owne faft, and
with the others example, and the Senatours singers euen tickled against him:
Which when Marcellus perceiued, making semblance of departing the house, We
are gone Heluidius ( quoth he) and leave to you a Senate of your owne: take your
pleasure, and "exerciſe your kingdome in the preſence of the young Prince. After
him followeth Vibius Creſpus, both well warmed and netled: Marcellus with a
threatening countenance, Creſpus halfe smiling, but at the entreatie of friends
they came againe to their places. And fo the contention growing hoater, and of the
one side many and good, on the other few & mightie banding together, and inun-
ing despitefully one against the other, that day was confumed in brawlings. The
next meeting Domitian beginning to perfwade, that old grieſes & grudges should
not be reuied, but buried together with the memory of the late times, wherein men
were forced to do many things againſt their owne mindes, Mutianus continuing the
speech opined at large in favour of the accuſers, gently admoniſhing with all, and as
it were entreating them, who seemed to refume their actions which they had discon-
tinued. The Senatours, when they faw they were croſſed in following their libertie,
medled no further, and Mutianus, left the judgement of the Senate fhould feeme to
be little regarded, and a generall pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes comitted
under Nero, commanded Octauius Sagitta & Antiſtiuſ Sofianus, Senatours by
calling, which were without leave returned from exile, to be reduced into the fame
Ilands againe. Octauius had frequented with Pontia Posthumia another mans wife
adulterously, & because she refuied after to marie him, he slew her upon extreme pa-
fion of loue: Sofianus by his lead qualities had bin the ruine of many: both of the had
bin cōdemned & baniſhed by a heavy fonſentence of the Senat, & others being reftored
they were left stil in the fame penalty. But Mutianus could not with all this wip the
ill opinion away of his former dealing. For Sofianus & Sagitta were men vile and of
no account, neither mattered it where they lued: but the accuſers great gifts, great
wealth and great power, being men so well feene in all lewd praſtiſes, were feared
not without cauſe. The Senatours minds were anone in part reconciled by meanes
of a certaine caufe heard in the house, and decided according to ancient cuſtome.
Manlius Patricius a Senaour made complaint, that in the colonie of Siena he was
beaten of the multitude at the magistrates commandement, and not contented with
this outrage they * mourned and wailed, and made fiew of celebrating his funerals
in his owne fight, with many skornefull and reprochfull speeches redounding vpon
the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, and vpon due examination con-
viſted, and executed, and an act made to admoniſh the people of Siena to behauie
themselves in modester maner hereafter. At the fame time Antonius Flamma was
condemned of extortioune, at the suite of the Cyrenenſes, and exiled for his cruell be-
haviour, and shedding of innocent bloude.

XVIII.
XVIII. A view taken of the Pretorian soldiers. Aloane motioned in the Senate. The funerals of Flauius Sabinus.

A M I D S T these things there had weoly broken out a sedition of the soldiers. The Gard-soldiers displeased by Vitellius, & assembled in favor of Vepfians cause, required their former place: likewise the a soldiers, which upon hope of the same roome were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance of promise. Neither could Vitellius garde well be removed without much bloodshed. So Mutianus, comming to the camp to the ende he might better view their years of feruice, appointed the winners seuerally to stand, with their enfeignes and wepons, a little distance asunder. Then hee willed the Vitellian garde, as well those which yielded themselues at Bouille, as others fought out within the City & about, to be produced in a maner unarmed, then to be divided, and those which were chosen out of the German and Brittish armies, and so of the rest, if any were, to stand ech by themselues. The first sight hereof did straight amaze them, to see the contrary side as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, & themselues without armour, deformed, and in poore miserable state closed about. But when they began to be drawn, and distracted hither and thither, they trembled all, especially the German soldiers, as if the separation tended only to sort them out to the slaughter, wherupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their necks, to kisse them as for their last farewell, beseeching not to leave them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune then others; with obfcrations sometimes to Mutianus, sometimes to the Prince that was absent, sometimes to the gods and the heavens to relieve their distressed estate; till such time as Mutianus calling them all liegemen of one soueraine, and soldiers of the same Prince, eased them of this vaine feare; the rest of the soldiers present with a showe furthering their teares, and declaring themselfes to fauour their cause: and so for that day the matter was thus vp. Some fewe daies after Domitian in an oration made offer unto them of lande and possesions, who being now assured and out of all feare did boldly refuse it, praying to haue their former feruice and wages againe. It was but a prayer, many such as could not be denied: and so they were received into the Garde. Afterwhere they which had serued their yeares, and accomplished their iust number of stipends, were honourably dismissed; some others criminally, and for theiur misdeemeour figned out one by one: the safest remedie to weaken and disolute the content of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether vpon necessitie indeed, or because they would haue it to see moe, that a loane should bee made, by priuate men to the Publicke of sixtie millions of festerces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppaeus Siluanus: but shortly after the necessitie ceased, or the false semblant. Then by a law proposed by Domitian the Consulfships conferred by Vitellius were dianulled: and Plauius Sabinus + funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe: great demonstrations of fortunes ficklenesse, turning vp-side downe whatsoeuer feemeth high in the world.

* Funerals were celebrated with Censorial pompe: Censorium funus the most honorable, and solemn manner of burial: as the Censorship was the most honorable office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. Polybius lib. 6. saith, that in the burial of a Consul, or Praetor, certaine chosen out for the like to the dead person accompanied the corse & follow immediately, that is, in vestis praetextae pompa: in the burial of a Censor ev moribus, in purpurea.
XIX. The death of Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africa.

About the same time Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africa was slain: the truth of which murder I will briefly set downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may seeme to have ministered chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconueniences. The Legion in Africa, and the Aides assigned to garde the frontiers of the Empire that way, in the time of Augustus, and Tiberius, were under the government of the Proconsull, till Caius a Prince of a troubled braine, and hating in jealouſie M. Silanus, who then was Proconsull of Africa, removed the Legion from the Proconsull, deliering it to a Lieutenant sent for that purpose. The parting of an office thus betweene two without subordination, and their charge and points of commissiion lying intermingled, and running jointly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discord and quarrels: and so through finifter emulation the Lieutenants office incroched and grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferior persons commonly take more paine, and delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsulls seeking rather safety then might. Now at this time Valerius Festus was Lieutenant of the Legion there, a riotous young man, and one that gaped after great matters, but much perplexed in minde, by reason he was so nearly allied to Vitellius. This Valerius in his often conferences which he had with Piso, whether he persuaded him to take upon him the state, or opposed himselfe against Pisoes soliciting it is uncertaine (for at their secret communication none was present beside: and when Piso was slain most men inclined to fauour the slayer) certaine it is, that the province and soldiers were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianiataries escaping out of the Citie, layed downe before Piso the great possibility of effectuating that purpose: that France was at terms of revolting, Germanie readie to side themselves with him, adjoyning the danger wherein he floode for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the only safe course. As these things were in doing, Claudius Sagitta captaine of the Petrin wing came thither, hauing ouſſayled Papirius a Centurion sent by Mutianus, and auowed that the fayed Centurion had commissiion to dispatch Piso: that his kinſman and sonne in law Galerianus was alreadie dispatched in Rome, so that the onely hope of faſtie consisted in venturing boldly: and of venturing there were but two wayes, either straignt to take armes, or faying into France to offer himſelfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Piso persisted vnmooucable: and anone the Centurion fent by Mutianus came, who, assoone as he arrived at the port of Carthage, proclaimed Piso Emperor, willing to him as Prince all succeffe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazd at the wonder, to joine in the fame crye. The credulous common people flocked in the market place and demanded the presence of Piso, filling the cittie with howts and aclamations of joy, partly upon negligence to search out the truth and partly upon a pleasure in flatterie. But Piso, whether upon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himſelfe to the peoples discretion: and examining the Centurion, perceiving it was but a snare to entrapp him, and so to make him away, he commanded him to be flaine, not so much for hope of escaping himſelfe by so doing, as upon rught indignation against the Centurion, because the same man had beene one of the murtherers of Clodius Macer, and ment to bring his
his hands lately embraed with the bloud of a Lieutenant now to the slaughter of a Proconsull. Then he checked the Carthaginians with a sharpe and severie edict, and ceased to execute even the visuall points of his office, keeping still within doores, lett any occasion of new commotion by mifchance might arise. \[Feftus undrestanding how the people was daunted and daſhed, the Centurion flaine, and other occurrences part true, part false, or enlarged and ampliſed, as famefeedeth in going, fendeth certaine horſemen to murther Piſo who making all haste in the dawning of the day brake into the houfe of the Proconsull with drawen fwordes, the moft part not knowing Piſo by fight, being Auxiliaries of the countrey, and Moores picked out for the purpofe. \] Whereupon meeting one of his ſeruants, not farre from his bed-chamber, they asked him who he was, and where Piſo was to be found: the ſeruant perceiving his masters danger, notably and resolutely answered, that he was Piſo, and was prefently flaine in the place: by and by after Piſo himselfe was maſſacred, for there was in the company Bebius Maffe, one of the Procurators of Africk, that knew him; euen then a worker of good mens destruction, and one that often will fall into the course of this ftorie, as an instrument of the mifchieues, and a caufe of the miferies that we ſuſtained afterward. Feſtus in the meane time ſtayed at Adrumetum to watch how the matter succeeded, and from thence went to the Le- gion, where he commanded Cetronius Piſanus the Camp-maſter to be committed to ward, vpon priuate diſpleafures betweene the men, pretending that he was an abet- tour, and complice of Piſo. Some merchandifed alſo and Centuries ſent him ſmall diſpleaſures betweene them, pretending that he was a better and complice of Piſo. Some ſoldiers alſo and Centuries ſent him, and he awarded neither of them for any deſert, but because he would ſeeme to have ended a waite. Then hee tooke vp the debates betwixt the "Ophenses and Leptitani, which ofſmall beginnings, as robbing of cattell & corne from the countrey, were now by force of arms maintained in the field. For the Ophenses being the weaker side had called the Garamantes to aide them, a ſauage people and al- gother giuen to robbing and ſtealing upon their neighbours: whereupon the Leptitani were hardly belted, and their fields being round about wafted, trembling for fear within the wallèd townes, till ſuch time as the cohorts and wings came, who put the Garamantes to flight, and recovered all the ſpoile, faue onely that which certaine out-riders had caried further into the countrey, and fold there among their wilde inaccessible cottages.

XX. Veſpasian at Alexandria receiued a daertiſement of the death of Vitelliua. The embassage of Voloſeus king of the Parthians to him. Titus ſpeech with his father. Corne is sent to Rome. The foundation of the Capitolli is laied.

AFTER the battell at Cremona, and good newes from all quarters, many of all forts hazarded to put themselfes vpon the rough winter sease, and sailed with Iaffettie to carie Veſpasian the newes that Vitelliua was flaine: and king Volo- geſeus embaſſadours were there offering fortie thouſand Parthian horſemen to aid him. It was a glorious and joyfull thing, to be ſought vnto with offers of so great affiſtance, and yet not to neede them. So thankes were giuen to Voloſeus, and he willing to ſende an embaſſage to the Senate, and affire himſelfe of peace with the Romans. Veſpasian concurring his cares vpon Italie, and the affaires of the citty, was aduertized somewhat hardly concerning Dominians dealings, as if he had paſsed the bounds of his age, and caried himſelfe aboue his compaſſe, rather like an Em- perour then an Emperours fonne. Therefore the moſt seruiceable part of his army
he delivereth over to Titus willing him to prosecute and finish the Jewish warre. It is reported that Titus before his departure vted long speecch and entreatie with his father, desiring him not to beleue lightly, or enter in choler at the tale of euerie backbiter, but rather to refere himselfe free for an indifferent audience, and carry a placable minde towards his owne sonne. For neither were Legions nor nauues so strong defenses and rampiers of a Princes estate, as the multitude of children. Friends with time and fortune, sometimes by vnadvisit desires, or ouersights, decrease, fall from vs and fade, whereas a mans owne bloud cleaueh faile, and cannot be diffoyned: especially in Princes, whose prosperitie as well may others enjoy, but their aduerstie toucheth none neere, but their neerest in bloud: and how should they two being brethren agree, if the father gaue not first an example. Vespasian not so much pacified toward Domitian, as delighted with the good nature of Titus bad him be of good comfort, and looke to his charge in advancing the weale publicke with armes in the fields, himselfe woulde take order with matters of peace, and domesticall affaires. Then he committed to sea, which as yet was tempestuous, his best ships of faile fraught with corn: for the citie was in such diftresse, and floode in those termes of famishing, that when the corn came from Vespasian, they had not at all in their storehouses about ten daies provision. As concerning the setting vp of the Capitoll againe, he committed the charge thereof to Lucius Vestinus a Gentleman of Rome, but for authoritie and countenance one of the principall men of the citie; by whom the footsailers being called together expressly charged, that the reliques of the former temple should be conuied and caried away into the marithes, and the new erected vpon the felle fame foundation: for it was not the pleasure of the gods the old forme should be altered. The one and twentieth of June being a goodly faire day the whole plot of the temple was bounde, and tied about with fillets and garlandes. The fouldiers whose names had luckie significations entered in with fortunate boughes. Afterward the Vestall virgins, with boies & girtles which had both father and mother alive, washed it with water fetched from rivers and springs, and running streams. Then Heluidius Priscus the Pretor, Plautus Elianus one of the chiefe Priests going before him, hallowed the floore with a solemn sacrifice of a swine, a shepe and a bullocke, andlaying the entrailes vpon a greene turfe, calling first vpon Jupiter, Iuno, Minerua, and the rest of the gods protectours of the Empire, that they would prosper the work, exalt and advance this their own habitation, begun by the devotion of men, with their triuine and celestiall power, he put his hand to the fillets and ropes, wherein a huge mightie stone was fast tied, and withall the rest of the magistrates and priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and a great part of the people preasing with great desire and joy, drewe the stone to the foundations, throwing in withall ingots of golde and silver, and oare never tried in the furnace, but rawe as it grewe: for the footsailers forewarned that the work should not be defiled with stone, or gold which had been destinated to any other use. only the roofe was made hyer:that alteration alone was not disallowed by the gods, and the former temple, for want of proportion that way, was thought to lacke statelyneffe, and maiestie convenient for a building, wherein fuch a maffe of men shoulde be holden.

He committed the charge thereof. Most of the other writers affirme contrary to Tacitus, and to the truth, as I thinke, that Vespasian was present at the laying of the first foundation of the Capitoll. Sueton. Vespasianus in feuis primis de templo sacerdos esse extendit per quam munus admirum, ac sedes quaedam exquisitum. Xiphilin. Vespasianus in seuis primis de templo sacerdos esse extendit per quam munus admirum, ac sedes quaedam exquisitum. Titus, he forthwith began to build the temple in the Capitol, himselfe first carrying out some part of the subtile. And yet by Tacitus the greatest man present in this action was Heluidius Priscus Praetor urbana, the chief office in the absence of the Consuls. And surely
The IIII. booke of the Historie

Surely be beside the credit of Tacitus, whom ayer wight twenty such writers at randon, I cannot see how in possibility Vespasian could well be in Rome before the one and twentieth of June; for at Alexandria he attended certaine months, faith our author, certa maris apperit ens. Now from the eleventh day of November to the tenth of March, Faith Proginius, lib. 4. maris stanciunus: from the tenth of March to the fifteenth of May, maris sensatun, and not lightly ventured upon but by marchants so that before the middle of May or thereabout it is not likely he left out of Alexandria. Zonaras feemeth to say, that he flaid a great while longer in Egypt, then otherwise he would have done, uppon hope that Hierufalem might have bene wun before his departure, and fo Titus should have accompanied him also to Rome. Again, the viage of Vespasian to Rome was long, and much effect performed by lande, and many great businesse dispatched in the way. Iosephus, ab. 7. cap. 5. and 10. Suetonius and others. So that in all reason his entrie into Rome was toward the later ende of the sommer, and fo he not present at the foundation of the Capitoll.

XXI. The Treueri and Lingoones, at the inigation of Clasicus, Tutor, and Sabinus, assembling secretly in councell at Coleyn, determine to revolt from the Romans.

Vocula remoueth from Magnistacionem to Coleyn. Claudius Labo maketh a roade against the Caimefates, without great effect.

When the death of Vitellius was heard of in Fraunce and Germanie, it doubled the warre. For Ciuliis now laying aside dissimulation declared himselfe, and made open warre against the Roman Empire. The Legions which had serued Vitellius withdrew rather foraine bondage, then to haue Vespaian their Prince. The Frenchmen conceived courage, and hope of freeing themselves from the yoke, supposing that the same fortune was befallen to our armies in all places alike: and indeede a rumour was noised that our standing campes in Pannonia and Moesia were straitly besieged by the Sarmatians and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing persuaded them so much to beleue, that the Roman Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitoll. For the cittie had bene once before taken by the French, but the state of Iupiter then being vntaken the Empire floode and remained: whereas now by this fatal fire a manifext signe of the gods heauie wrath, and displeasure was given. And the Druides out of their vaine superstitious learning did prophesie that the Empire of the world was to passe, and be seate beyond the mountains. Moreover a common fame went, that the noble men of Fraunce, when they were sent by Otho against Vitellius, did coextant togethuer before their departure, that in case the Roman common wealth ceased not thus to be torne by multiplying of ciuill warres, and domesticall troubles one straight succeeding another, they woulde jointly attempt to recover their ancient libertie againe. But before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus nothing brake out whereby the conspiracie might be perceived: after his death there passed messages betwene Ciuliis and Clasicus captaine of the wing of the Treueri. Clasicus in birth and wealth farre exceeded the rest of that quarter, he was extract from the line of their ancient kings, his auceffours renowned in war and in peace, and himselfe boasted to be descended of enimies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Vnto him in this action adjoined themselves Iulius Tutor, and Iulius Sabinus, the one of Triers, the other a Lingoone. Tutor was appointed by Vitellius ouerseer of the bancke of Rhene. Sabinus besides a naturall vanitie was pricked forward with the vain-glorie of a supposd kinred; that his great grandmother for his beautie had pleased Iulius Cæsar, when he warred in Fraunce, and was by him carnallie knownen. These three by secret conferences searched the mindes and inclinations of the rest: and when they had made acquainted, and associated to them such as they supposed fit for the purpose, they appointed a meeting in Coleyn, in a private house: for the publicke state of the citty vterly abhorred all such attempts. Notwithstanding...
withstanding certaine of the Vbij and Tungri were present at the consultation: but
the strongest part and that which carried the matter was of the Treueri and
Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voice cried
amaine, that the Romans did nothing but rage in civil diffusions, that the Legio-
ans were slaine, Italie wasted, and the citie of Rome even taken; that all the armies
were helde occupied every one with their severall warrs: and if the Alpes were for-
tified with good & sufficient garriſon, and fo their libertie won and affured, then
might France determine at leſſure what course to take of further proceeding, and
how farre they lift to enlarge. This was no sooner faied then allowed: a scruple re-
mained concerning the remnant of the Roman fouldiers. Many were of minde that
they were to be put to the fword, as mutinous, and faithleſſe perſons, and polluted
with the bloud of their leaders: but the opinion of opparing them prevailed, leaft
hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought
more conuenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie, and that the Lieute-
nants alone being made away, the common fouldiers would easilie be wonne to the
fide vnpon guiltinesse of their owne misdeedes, and hope of impunitie. This was the
forme of their first consultation, and some were fent abroad into Frankes to kindle
and rarre vp the warre: they themſelues pretended all subjection and obedience to
Vocula, that they might oppreſſe him at the more vnawares. Vocula had secret in-
telligence hereof, but he had not forces to puniſh it, his Legions being both thinne,
and vnstedfalt. So betweene vnſure fouldiers, and secret enimes, ſuppoſing it the
beſt way that now he could take to vſe their owne ares againſt them, he diſſembled
the matter and went downe to Coley. Thither Claudius Labeo was eſcaped, ha-
ing corrupted his keepers; who as before we haue faide was taken, and confined
out of the way into Friſia, and promising that if he might haue men he would go into
Bataui, and reuifte the greateſt part of the cuntrey againſt to the Roman Empire:
hauing a pretie companie of horſemen and footemen aſſigned, he durſt not enter-
prise anything amongſt the Batauians, but drew certaine of the Nerui and Betha-
ſij after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open inuation, made
some incurſions upon the Caninefates and Marſaci.

XXII. Clafficus and Tutor corrupt Voculae fouldiers. Vocula at Nouesfum is
forſaken by his fouldiers and slaine, who immediately sweare
fidelitie to the Empire of France.

Oc vLA allured by the fraude of the Frenchmen remouoeth towards the
enemie. When they approched to Vetera, Clafficus and Tutor pricking be-
fore vnder colour of discovering met with the German captaines, and con-
cluded the bargaine, and thereupon encamped their companies with a feuerall
ſtrench from the Legionarie fouldiers. At which ſigne of manifeſt contempt and
reuoit Vocula conceiving great indignation, cried aloud, that the Roman flate was
not by ciuill warrs brought yet to fo low an ebe, as that the Treueri alfo and Lin-
gones neede to deſpiſe it: fo many cuntres continuing faithfull, our armies being
victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entier, and the gods ready to reuenge
this perfidious part: fo long agoe Sacrour and the Aedui, fo of late Vindex and
France were ouerthrown, ech at one blowe, and now also the perfidious breakers
of treaties fo loemly sworn were to looke for againe the fame gods and the fame
fall. Iulius and Auguſtus knew better their crooked inclinations: Galba, and the
abatement of their tributes hath made them our enimies. Now they are foes be-
cause
cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ransackt and stript of their wealth, they will be our friends and subjects againe. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Clasicus and Tutor notwithstanding to continue in their traiterous purpose, he retir'd backe to Noueſium. The Frenchmen sent downe two miles from the towne in the fieldes, to which place the Centurions and fouldiers retorting from Noueſium were bought, and corrupted to a villanie never heard of before, that a Roman armie shoulede swearre allegiance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliver them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counsaile him to withdraw, chusing rather to flicke to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this manner.

"I spake not at any time into you, either more carefull for you, or careleff for my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and accept death in these troubles as an ende of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and you do I pittie, not because any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended against you; for that were agreeing to a fouldiers profession, and according to the lawe of the field at an enemies hand: but because Clasicus with your hands hopeth to fight with the Romans, and abused your simplicitie with the goodly oath and imaginary Empire of France. *Are we so faire now fallen, not onely from our fortune and courage, but even from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the Roman Legions chuse rather to die then to yeeld one inch of ground to the enimie? Our allies have many times suffred their citiies to be razed, themselves, their wives & their children to be confumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, saue only to keepe their faith & their fame. The Legions at Vetera support with all patience hunger & siege, and yeeld neither for fear nor faire words. We, besides men and armour, and a campe strongly fortified, have provision and victuails sufficient for a long warre, if neede were. Money lately we had, not onely for pay, but also to ferue for donatute too: which whether you lift to accept as coming from Vespasian, or from Vitellius, sure both waies it came from a Roman Emperour. If you do it for feare of the battle (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who haue foiled sone ten at Gelduba, at Vetera, & so many times overthrown the enimie) we haue trenches, and walles, and waies to prolong till more strength and supplie come from the cuntries about vs. If it be for displeasure at me, you haue other Lieutenants and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common fouldier, make your chiose of anie so he be a Roman to leade you. Let neuer for shame so prodigious a thing be brutted throughout the whole world, that Civiliis and Clasicus shoulede invade Italie, having a gard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans and Frenchmen should leade toward the wailes of the citie? will you fight against your owne naturall foyle, and harpen you spereas against the wombe of your mother? The onely conceite offo great an impetic striketh an horrour into my mind. Shall Tutor of Triers have a watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Batavian give you the signe of the battell? will you be caried about for supplemets to the German regiments? and what end will you finde of your treason? when the Roman Legions shall march out against you, what shall become of you then, but of fugitives to be fugitives againe, and traitors of traitors, betweene your old oath and your new an abomination to the gods and men? O thou most mightie and mercifull Jupiter, whom with so many triumphes these eight hundred and twenty yeeres we haue adored and worshipped: and thou Romulus the founder and father of the citie, I pray and moft humbly beseech you, that if it be not your heauenly pleasures, that vnder my hand and government this campe..."
campe should be kept uncorrupted and clean, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and Classicus; and that it would please you to inspire to the Roman soldier, either a mind to follow honourable courses, or else a speedy and harmless repentance. The oration was diversely taken, as of men diversely affected between fear, hope, and shame. After the speech Vocula withdrew himself, and consulting upon his end was by his freedmen and bondmen staied from voluntary preventing of a most shameful death: for Classicus sent by and by AEemlius Longinus a fugitive of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of servitice. As for the Lieutenants, Herennius, and Numisius, it seemed sufficient to put them in prison. Then Classicus assuming the marks and ornaments of the Roman governors, came into the campe: and albeit he were hardened to all kind of desperate mischief, yet would not his vterance then serve him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All that were present swore fidelity to the Empire of France. Then he advanced the murderer of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, each according to the lewd servitice they did.

XXIII. Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all upper Germanie to the oath of France. The Legions of Petera surrender the place to Ciuiltin, with condition only of saving their lives: which not being standing is not performed.

After these things Classicus and Tutor divided charges. Tutor with a strong power lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the fouldiers which lay upon the upper bancke of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, and driving away the Camp-master which refused to swear. Classicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yielded themseles, commanding them to goe to Vetera, and there to proclaine pardon to all those, that would submit themselves to follow the present course: otherwife to looke for no hope but sworde, and famine and all extremities. They which were sent vfed also their owne example as a motiue vnto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present necessitie, distracted the persons besieged, betwene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to resolve, their foode failed them both visuall and vnvisuall: they had eaten their mules and horses, and other creatures, which being otherwise abhorred and loathed, hunger had made savourie and sweete: and lastly feeding of branches, and frigs, and pulling of grass which grew in the walls, they were a patterne of miserie and patience, till such time as sending Embassadors to Ciuiltin for life, they stayed their honorable actions with a shamfull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they swore fidelity to France. Then he granted them life, referring the spoile of the campe to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the ferenants, and stuffe, and others to conduct the fouldiers empty away. About five miles off the Germans lying in ambush, rose so dainely and set upon them vnwares: such as were most valiant and made resistance were slainne where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recovered the campe. Whereupon Ciuiltin made complaint and rebuked the Germans as having wickedly broken their faith: whether it was but a countenance of his, or else hee could not bridge them in their fury it is not assuredly knowne. When the campe was ransacked they set it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burnt therein.
CIVILIS upon a barbarous vow when first he entered warre with the Romans, suffered his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as upon accomplishment thereof caufed it to be cut, when the slaughter of the Legions was perfommed; and it was reported, that hee set vp as markes certaine of the captuies, for his littleorne to shooe and darte at in sport. Neuerthelesse neither did he sweare, nor causd any Batauian to take the oath of Fraunce, trusting in the strength and affistance of the Germans, and if there should happen hereafter caution to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himselfe both of more name and abilitie. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among other preftents was fent to Velleda, a virgin of the Brucerian nation, and queene over many cuntreys: for so the olde maner of the Germans is, to beleue many of their women to be prophetesse, and so, superstition increasing, goddeses. And at that time the autoritie of Velleda was grown in more reputation, by reaon that shee had tolde before hande the Germans Should prosper, and the Roman Legions should be destroyed. But Lupercus was flaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French borne were refuert as a pledge of alliance & amitie. The standing campes of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were ouerthrown and burned, those onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindonissa. The sixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the same time yeelded themselues, was commaned to depart from Nouesium to Triers, and a day set downe, before which they should aoide the campe. The meane time was spent in f Kurdicate. Some of the cowardlie were terrified with the late example of them which were slaine at Vettera, in their inlluing out; the better for blushed for shame, to thinke of the infamous and dishonorall journe, whom they must follow for guides, and how all things should be at the simple pleasure and discretion of those, whom they had made Lords over their life and death: others without respect of dishonour packed about them money & such things as were of most price: others made ready their harnesse & buckled themselves to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus mufing, and caufing their cards, the houre of remoue was come, more grievous and dolefull then was imagined. For within the trench the deformitie of the spectacle was not so apparent: the field and the day discovered the flame, the images of the Emperours being plucked out of their places, the enseignes tied vp; whereas contrariwise the French banners glittered and playd on euery hand: in summe a silent and sorrowfull troupe, and as it were a long funerall pompe. The conductor Claudius Sanetus augmented the indignitie, one eied, ill favoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The dishonour was doubled, when as the first Legion relinquishing their campe at Bonna, vpon the like commandement adjoined themselues to the other: and the cuntreymen, that a little before quaked for fear at the vere name of a Roman, when the fame of the Legions captuittie was noised, ran out of their houses, andield from all quarters, to gaze and feede their eies with...
of Cornelius Tacitus.

so strange a sight. The Picentine wing could not endure the joy, and insulting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promises of Sancius, turned to Magontiacum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murtherer of Vocluni with their darts flew him for a beginning of future amends. The Legions went forward in their purposed journey, and sate downe before the walls of Triers.

XXV. An embassage of the Teneterians to them of Coleyn.

Civilis and Classicus puffed vp with prosperous success made a question, whether they should permit the cittie of Coleyn to bee sacked by the their fouldiers. Their natural inclination to crueltie and coutroufines drew them that way, but the policy of warre was against it, and especiallie the opinion of Clemencie needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a private benefite made Civilis more tractable toward them, bicaue in the very beginning of the troubles taking his sonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene envoyed the riches, and growing of the cittie, and judged there could be no end of war, vnlesse that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else razed to the ground, and to the Vbiij also dispersed. Wherefore the Teneteri, a people onely feuered from them by the riuier, sent an embassage, with instruction to declare their charge in the common councell of Coleyn, which one of the most imperious among the embassadoruer vttred in this petentorie maner. We thanke our gods and yours, and Mars chiefc of al gods, that you are returned into the corps and community, and name of Germanie; and we rejoice for your sakes, that you shall at length live as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans haue shut both water and lande, and in a maner the very heauen it selfe betweene you and vs to hinder our conferring and meeting, or else which is more contumelious to mar-shal men, that we should never have accesfe to your cittie but unarmed, and naked almost and that garded and paying a toll. But nowe, to the ende that this mutuall league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for euer, we require of you to pull downe the walles of your towne, the bulwarke of your bondage, for euens wilde beasts shut vp forget their accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require you to kill all the Romans within your territorie: libertie and Lords cannot dwell together. Then to bring out all their goods and divide them in common, that no man should hide any thing, or seake to seuer his caufe from the rest. Moreover that it may be indifferent both for vs and you, as it was in times past to our fathers, to conferfe and inhabite upon both sides of the riuier. As nature hath communicaed the day and the night to all men, so hath she laied open all landes of the world to valiant minds. Refume your ancient customes and lawes, laying aside all your effe- minate pleaures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue nations and countrelies. So shal you bee a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of for-reynemaners or bloud: so shal you forget servitude, and either live in libertie, or be lords ouer others. The Agrippinenes taking a time to deliberate: seeing nei-ther future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their present estate plainly to refuse them, made anfwere in this maner. We haue taken, you see, the first opportunite of recovering our libertie, perchance with more haste then good speede, that we might bee ioyned with you, and the rest of the Germans our kinmen:
kinsmen: but seeing the Roman armies do gather of all sides against us, it is meaner
and safer to strengthen, then to pull downe the walls of our citrie. As for strangers,
Italians or other, which liued amongst us, either they are slaine in the warres, or fled
home to their countreies. To them which be ancient inhabitants amongst us; and
are linked with vs in marriage, and to their offspring, this countrey is their owne na-
ture soile: neither do we thinke you so unreasonable as to wish vs to kill our parents,
our brethren, or children. For taxe and tallage we acquite and discharge you for
euer: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the daie
time, and vnarmed, till our rawe and newe amitie be ioyned, and confirmed by con-
tinuance and custome. Ciuillis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we
referre the caufe, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Tenesteri being
thus in part pacified, embassadors were sent to Ciuillis and Velleda with presents;
who obeyed all things as they of Coleyn desired: onely they were not admitted
to have access, or speech with Velleda, nor suffered to see him, for more keeping of
state, and to maintaine a more reverend conceit in the harts of the people. She was
lodged in a high tower, and one of hir kinred appointed to carie as from a goddesse
hir oracles and answers.

XXVI. The Bethaui, Tungri and Neruui yeeld
to Ciuillis.

Ciuillis thus strengthened with new increase of confederats, resolued to as-
soicate the cities adjoynne, or to warre against them if they refisted. So he
tooke in the Sunici, and composeth their able men into cohortes: but as hee
purposed to haue paffed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw companie of Bethauij,
Tungri, and Neruui, hauing seised vpon the bridge of the Moe, and trusting to the
advantage of the place, oppossed himselfe, and stopped his paffage. The euent of the
skirmish was doubtfull in the straites, till the Germans swimming ouer the river
came vpon Labeoes backe: and withall Ciuillis, whether vpon a bold venture, or
vpon a let match, ruysted into the middef of the Tungri, and with a lowd voice pro-
tested, that the war was not vnder taken to that end, that the Batauians and Treueri
should be soueraine lords ouer al other nations: Far be a such arrogancie (quoth he)
from our thought: onely receiue vs as your good friends and allies. Lo here for my
part I committ my selfe to your hands, employ me as you list, either for a captaine or
a common soldier. The common people was much mouned at these words, and
put vp their swords, and Campanus and Iuuenalis chief men of the Tungrians yeel-
ded the whole nation vnto him: Labeo before he was compassed in fled away. The
Bethauij also and Neruui yeelded themselfes: whom Ciuillis adiowing to his power
became verie puissant and strong, all the cities either fearing, or favouiring him vo-
luntarily.

XXVII. Iulius Sabinus with his Lingones giueth bataile to the
Sequani, and is overthrown.

In the meane season Iulius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments and records
of the Roman alliance, tooke vpon him the title and title of Cæsar, and led after
him a huge and rude companie of his countrey folkes, the Lingones, against the
Sequani, a state bordering vpon them, and faithfull to vs. Neither did the Sequani
refuse to wage bataile; wherein fortune favoured the better side, and the Lingones were
were discomfited. Sabinus as rashly he enterprised to give battle without due circum-vention, so without fear of shame he ran away cowardly away: and to raise so rumour that he was dead, he set on fire the house, into which he was known to have fled, and there was supposed voluntarily to have ended his life. But hereafter in convenient place we will shew by what means, and secret shifts he prolonged it, for the space of nine yeares, and withall the rare faithfulness of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina.

XXVIII. A Diete of the citie of France summoned at Rheims. The preparations at Rome for the warre against the Batauians, Treveri, and Lingones. The Diete at Rheims resolved upon peace, not with standing the embassage of the Treveri and Lingones, and the allegations of Tullius Valenti-nus to the contrary.

This success of the Sequani rebated &Stayed the violent course of the warre. The citie began to consider better of matters, and to remember their covenants and leagues with the Romans, at the motion principally of the Remi, who sending messengers throughout France summoned a Diete, to deliberate what course they should take, keepe peace, or seeke libertie. All these things reported at Rome to the woore, troubled Mutianus, leaft the captains whom he had choosen, Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis, albeit excellent men, should hardly be able to wade thorow so mightie a warre. Neither was it expedient to leave the citie without a gouernour and head, and yet not in Domitians hande, whose wilde and vnbridged affections were greatly feared: especially Antonius Primus, and Arrius Varus, as before we have shewed, being suspected not fully to faults the state. Moreover Varus was captain of the Garde and strong, as having so many fouldiers at commandement. Therefore Mutianus before his departure displace him from the roome, and leaft he should be discontent altogether, made him chief officer for the provision of corn: and to pacifie the minde of Domitian, that bare some good will unto Varus, he set in his place over the Garde Areiitus Clemens, one neerly allied to the house of Vespasian, and dearely beloved of Domitian: alleging that his father had worthily performed the same place under Caius the Emperor. His name was acceptable to the souldiers, and the man, though a Senator by calling, was thought sufficient to discharge both the roome. The greatest men of the citie were willed to provide for the voyage of France: some others were taken in by especiall suit. Domitian and Mutianus both of them prepared for the journey, but not both minded alike: Domitian hastening forwards upon hope, and young bloud: Mutianus seeking delays to retain the fierceenesse of Domitian, leaft if he put himselfe in possession of an amnie, through the heats of youth and ill counsellors, he shoulc disturbe both the peace and the war. The sixth and eighth of the victorious Legions, of the Vitellianists the one and twentie, the second of the lately enrolled, were conducted part over the Penin and Cottian Alpes, part over the Graian; and more over the fourteenth Legion was sent for out of Britannie, the sixth and tenth out of Spaine. Now the cities of France partly upon the fame of the hoste approaching, and partly of their owne disposition inclining to the milder course, met in counsell at Rheims, where an embassage of the Treneri attended, whereof Tullius Valentinus was the chief man, a principal firebrand of the warre: who with a premeditated oration applied to the Romans all those objections, where-
with mightie monarchies are vniually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor art to aggrauntate matters against them; a factious person and apt to stirre troubles, and willingly heard of the multitude, by reason of his eloquence such as it was. But Iulius Auſpex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discourting of the puissance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that warre might be commenced by cowardes, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that even now the Roman Legions were upon their backes, by this grave speech stayed them all: the wiser fort with respect of dutey and faith, the younger of danger and feare. And fo they commended the courage of Valentineus, but followed the counsaille of Auſpex. It is certain that the Treueri and Lingones had the worfe audience in France, because in the commotion of Vindex they had sided themselves with Virginius. Many were discouraged by reason of the emulation that would ensue between the provinces; what should be the head of the warre, from whence should lawe and souerainty be derived, and if they did conquer which should be the seat-towne of the Empire. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at discorde brawling about the presence: some alleging their treaties & ancient leagues, some their riches and present strength, and some their antiquity. Whereupon the whole counsell detesting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written vnto the Treueri in the name of the common counsell of France to desist from armes, whilest pardon might be easily obtained, and many would become futures in their behalf if they repented. But Valentineus refused the cutesi, and at his returne stopped the eares of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentiful in orations and speeches, then careful for other provision of war.

XXIX. The one and twentieth Legion surnamed Rapax commeth into Germanie. Sextilius Felix with his cohorts overthroweth Tutor and the Treueri. Valentineus returning from the Diете Hirreth up the war againe. The two Legions transported from Noueſium and Bonna to Triers depart to the Medio-matrici.

In like maner neither did the Treueri, nor Lingones, nor the rest of the states that revolted, carry themselves as the weight of the cause and the danger required: even the captains themselves conferred not counsaiies together. But Ciulis wandred about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or els to caufe him out of the cuntrie: Clafficus lay for the most part idle and lazie, and as it were took the fruition of his supposedly gotten kingdome. Tutor also flacked to make himself strong vpon the upper bancke of the river, and with garrison to possesse the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilest in the meane time the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindonifla, and Sextilius Felix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhetia: vnto whom a wing of horsemen called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italie revolted afterward to Vel-palían) adjoyned themselves. Their captaine was Iulius Briganticus Ciulis sifters fonne, mortally hating his vnkle, and hated againe: as commonly the enmities of nearest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most dispiteful and deadly. Tutor increased his power consisting of Treueri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with olde experienced Legio
natie soldiers, both footemen and horse, some corrupted with hope, and others awed with fear: who at the first killed a cohort sent before by Sextilius Felix, and anon when the Roman captains and armies approached, redeeming their former fault fled over to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treueri eschewing Magontiacum fled to Bingium, trustful upon the strength of the place, because he had broken down the bridge of the river Naua: but Sextilius with his cohorts following his footsteps, and finding a forte did chief his power, and overthrew it. This discomfiture utterly discouraged the Treueri: and the common people casting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobility that they might seeme to be foremost in laying hostilitie aside, fled to those cities for refuge which had not broken with the Romans. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commandement from Nocesium and Bonna to Triers, voluntarily resumed the oath to Vespasian. These things were done in the absence of Valentinus: who at his returne, in a desperate furie and rage stirred the coales, and kindled the fire anew. Whereupon the Legions got them away to the Mediomatrici, a state in league with the Romans: and Valentinus & Tutor perswaded the Treueri to take up their weapons againe, and goe to the field, hauing first killed Herennius and Numius the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might bee more faftly united together in their wicked conspiracie.

XXX. Petilius Cerealis overthroweth the Treueri, taketh Valentinus alive, adiouneth the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and maketh an oration to the Treueri.
lentinus with a great power of Treueri was encamped, and had made it stronger by arte, casting trenches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the passage. But these fortifications terrify the Roman captain nothing at all, but boldly he had the footmen breake thoorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen to clime vp the mountaine, despising the enemy, whom he knew to be raw, and vskillfull in service, & not to haue that advantage by the difference of place, that himselfe had by the difference of men. At the going vp of the hill some little stay was made, vntill the enemies had spent their arrowes & dares: then coming to handie strokes, they were druen downe headlong, and tumbled one ouer another, as it were stones at the fall of a building: and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier ascents tooke many of the chiefe nobilitie of Belgium prisoners, and amongst others Valentinus Generall that day of the field, the next day Cerealis entred the town of Triers. The soldiery were extremely defirous to raze the city, alleging, that here Claficus, where Tutor was borne, here were the men through whose wicked conspiracie the Legions were besieged & slaine, what had poore Cremona defreted to greatly, as to be rooted out of the body of Italy, because it differed the victory onely one night; there in the confines of Germanie stood the head-towne of rebellion enter, & triumphing with the spoiles, & slaughter of our armes & generals. As for the spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe, they could be contented with the burning, & ruines of that rebellious colony, to requisite therby in some part the destruction of so many campes, Cerealis for feare of infamy, if he shoulde be thought to nooel his soldiery in licentioious & crueltie, represled their anger, and they obeyed, being become now they had left off ciuill warre, of more modest behauiour also in forreine. Then the miserable and pitifull spectacle of the Legions, which came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the consideration thereof. Upon the guilt of their offence they floode with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, casting their eyes down to the ground, no joyful greeting when the armes met, nor answerung ought to those that fought to encourage and comfort them, but hiding themselues in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not so much amazed with danger or feare, as with the shame and discredit, and even the conquerours were astonied at the sight, who not daring to speake, begged their pardon with silence and teares, till such time as Cerealis with comfortable words reuited their spirits; affirming that those things, which indeed came to passe through the mutinoufnesse of the soldiery, or the diffention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but fatall mishapens, which could not be escaped: and threfore that day they shoule account the first both of their feruice, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince, nor he would remember. Then were they receiued into the same campe, and a proclamation made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or anger shoulde obiede to any of them their misdeeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treueri and Lingones to an assembly, he spake vnto them in this wise.

I was never practised in the arte of speaking: my profession is armes, and with armes I have made good prooue of the vertue of the Romans. But because words preuaile so much with you, and I see you eftimare armes and euill, not by their owne natures, but by the speach of fatesious persons, I thought it expedient to say some thing, which now that the warre in a manner is finished may be more behouefull for you to heare, then for vs to speake.

The Romans, their Captaines and Leaders, entred your countrey and the rest of France, not pricked by any desire of theirs, but requested thereto by your predececers, at what time ciuill diffensions had tired and ruined them, and the Germans called in by one side brought both into thraldome. How many battailes we haue fought
fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies have taken, and it is notoriously known; neither do we therefore with so much expense of money, and men garde the Rhene for the safety of Italie, but left some other Ariouíſtus, should passe and conquer the kindome of Fraunce. Or do you thinke your selues, better beloved of Ciullis and the Batauians, and the Germans over the Rhene, then your fathers and grandfathers were of their predecessours? the same caufes still are, remaying, and fo will be for euer, to moue the Germans to passe into France; to wit, satisifying of their pleasures and lufts, avarice, and desire of changing feate, that leaving their mines and deserts, they may take poſſefion of this fruitful countrey, and you the inhabitants thereof. yea but libertie and glorious sweares are preten- ded. Where was euer any, I pray you, that sought to enthrall or vſurpe ouer others, but he cloaked his purpoſes with fuch goodly titles? France euer was without pettie tyrans and wars, till yee came vnder our jurifdiſtion. We, albeit we haue benee, often prouoked, haue put that onely as conquerours vpon you, where by peace might be maintained. For neither peace can bee maintained without armes, nor armes without wages, nor wages without tribute: all other things are alike to vs both, you commonly gouerne our Legions, you are the Presidents of these and other pro-vinces, no prerogatiue is kept from you, or referved for vs. Againe, they which dwell farre off, feele the commoditie alike of a good Prince, whereas tyrannes op-preffe moſt the nearest. As you endure and support with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and vnſeazable weather, and fuch other defects of nature; even fo tolerate a little and beare with the riotous life or avarice of governours. Faults will be fo long as there be men: but neither are they continuall, and amends is com-monly made by better which follow. Vnleffe peraduenture you hope for a more moderate, or easier gouernment vnder the raigne of Tutor and Claſſicus, or that with leffe tribute, then now is paied, armes can be maintained to hold out the Ger- mans and Britains. For if the Romans, which the gods defend, should be disposſeſed, what els can ensue but wars of nations against nations, and the confusion of the whole world. This frame is the workmanship of eight hundreth yeares, good fortune, and discipline, which cannot be diſſolued without the destruction of the dif-soluers; but your danger, which haue gold and riches the chieſest cauſes of warre of all is the greatest. Therefore embrace you peace, and love that cittie whereof both you and we are members alike. You haue proued both fortunes: let them be a warning unto you to chufe rather ſubiection with safety, then rebellion with ruine. With this speech he fetted their minds, and lightened their harts, who feared a hea-tier doome.

XXXI. Ciuliis and Claſſicus write to Cerealis.

At the time that the Roman army was within Triers, Ciuliis and Claſſicus ſent letters to Cerealis. The contents were, that Velpasian was dead, although the Poſtes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italie were conſumed and wafted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were noth ing else, but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis liſt vnder take the Empire of France, it were his beſt courſe, and they would not be againſt it, containing themſelves with their owne citties and confines, or if barbaie pleade him better, even that they would not refuſe. To these points Cerealis answered nothing to them, but ſent the messenger, that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

Q_2 XXXII. Ciui-
In the meane season the enemies began to march, and approched on every side in severall companies; whom Cerealis permitting to joine, was blamed by many for suffering them to vntie, with whom he might have fought single, and defeated them easily being diuided. The Roman army cast a ditch and trench about their campe, in the which they were before vnadvisedly lodged without any defence. Among the captains of the other side there was diversitie of opinions, and the matter debated both waies. Ciuilis thought it expedient to stay for the Germans comming which dwelt ouer the Rhene, the terror of which nations would treade vnder foote the Roman powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much what way they went, being nought else but a pray to the conquerours; and yet the stength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at leaft secretly wished them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romans would growe and increafe, so many whole hostes comming in from every side, one Legion being already transported out of Britannie, others sent for out of Spaine, and many Legions at hande out of Italie, not of rawe souliers, but olde and well expert in warre: as for the Germans they looked for, what were they else but a kinde of unprofitable troubles of a campe, out of all awe and obedience to superiors, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but doe all as they lifted themselues? Now for money and gifts, the onely meanes to corrupt the Germans, the Romans had more abundance, and no man was so haftly to fight, but would rather chuse quietneffe than danger with the same hire. Whereas if they would presently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but onely the remnant of the German army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreover this their late unlooked for successe against Valentinus, and his rude vntrained company, would be a baite vnto them and their Generall to further rashness, and therefore they would without doubt venture againe, and so fall into the handes not of an unskilfull youth, better scene in words and babble, then armes and militare feates, but of Ciuilis and Clasius; at the very sight of whom the enemies woulde tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and fightes, and famines, and how oft they had beene taken and pardoned their liues. Neither doe the Treueri and Lingones keepe in with the Romans now upon loue and goodwill, but for feare: which take ye away and they will resume their weapons againe. Clasius approvynge the opinion of Tutor decided the controverfie, and forthwith they proceede to execution. The middle battell was assignd to the Vbij and Lingones, on the right side stood the Batauian cohorts, on the left the Bructeri and Tenkeri: in this array partly from the mountaines and part betweene the way and the riuer Mosella they asailed our army so loadamente, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the campe, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one instant, that the battell was begun, and his men ouerthrown, rating at the first their daftard lineesse that brought in the newes, vntil with his owne eies he sawe the whole message clearely confirmed, the campe of the Legions broken vp and entred into, the horsemen defeated, the bridge ouer Mosella in the midst of the towne possefed by the enemie. In which confusion Cerealis behauing himselfe without all feare, with his owne handes drew backe them which fled away, and manfully, albeit vnarmed among so many weapons, with his fortunate rashnesse, and the assistence of some valiant souliers comming in, recovered the bridge, and
left a chosen company of men to garde it. Then returning to the camp, he founde the bandes of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Noveium, disbanded and scattered, few sortdiers at their einsignes, and the standers almost circumvened. Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath, You forseake not (quoth he) Hordeonius or Vocula, you can alledge no falsehood or treafon in me: neither ever did I commit any act that needed excuse, faue onely in affirming you had forgotten your oath to France; and remembered your allegiance to the Roman Empire. I shall, and so am contented to be numbred with Numiſius and Herennius, that all your Lieutenants may be said to have died either by the handes of their owne sortdiers or elfe of the enemy. Go tell Vespaſian, or which is nearer Ciulius and Clafficus, that you haue left your Generall in the field: Legions shortly will come, doubt ye not, which shall neither sufter me to be long vnreuened, nor you vnpunifhed. The accusation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes spake, and urged to the fame purpose. So they rallied and made head by cohorts and bandes, for the whole battell could not be diſplaied, partly because the enemy was upon them, and partly by reaſon of their tents and stuffe, which hindred them greatly fighting within the trenches. Tutor and Clafficus and Ciulius ech in their feuerall quarters animated their men to fight, the Frenchmen for libertie, the Batauians for glorie, and the Germans for spoile: and all went with the enemy, till the one & twentieth Legion knitting together in a more open place then the reft, valiantly received the aduersaries charge; and recharging by and by drave them from their ground. It was not without the speciall helpe of the gods, that our enemies being victorious fo fadainly altered their minds, and turned their backes. They affirmed afterwarde the fight of the cohorts terrified them, which at the first joyning being defeated united again in the hill tops, and seemd a new supply in their fight. But indeed the chief impediment of their victorie was, that they left of to deale with the enemy, and quarrelld foolishly among themſelues for the spoile. Cerealis as he had almost vnconly all by negligence, fo by diligence and constancie he recovered it againe, and following his fortune toke the fame day, and razed the enemies campe.

* Betweene the way and the river Tacitus might wel in this place, after the example of the moſt approued storie-writers, haue fet vs downe a more plaine and particular chorography of the place wherein this bataile was fought, of whether fide of the river the Roman campe ftoode, and how in reſpect of the towne: for as is written, in my fanſie, it is hard to conceiue, not onely to vs now, but euen to them for whose time he wrote it, unlesse wee will suppoſe that every common man that lived in Rome in those times knew theſe, which he tells vs of here, and fuch other pettymatters in the fite of Triers necæſsarie for the full conceiuing of the place, beſide that perchance, alter the fite as you lift, some objections may bee piked out of the text here hardly answerable.

XXXIII. They of Coleyn kill the Germans which they finde in their towne: and cut a cohort of Ciulius lying at Tolbiacum in pieces. The Caminefates fight proſperously against the fteete of Britanny, and Ciulius againſt some of Cerealis horſemen.

The souldier without any long intermiffion was straightwaies called to a newe service. They of Coleyn requested their helpe, and offered to surrender the wife and fitter of Ciulius, and the daughter of Clafficus, which were left with them as pledges of mutuall amitie, and in the meane feaſon flew the Germans which lay dispersed in their towne: wherupon growing into extreme feare they had louf cause to crie for aide, before the enemies gathering new ftrength should resume courageous, or prosecute the reuenge. For Ciulius alſo purpoſed thitherwaſe, beſide other competent
competent forces, upon confidence principally of his most courageous cohort composed of Chauci and Fristij, which was not present in the overthrow, and lye at Tolbiacum in the territorie of Coleyn, but he was diverted from that determination by a forrowfull mesgafe, that the cohort was maffacred by the fraude of the Agrippinenses, who when the Germans had filled themselfes with wine and good cheere, and so were laid to sleepe, shut vp the doores, put fire to their lodging, and burned them alio : and with all Cerealis was come himselfe with speede to relieue them. Moreover another feare troubled Cuiulis minde not a little, left the fourteenth Legion together with the nauie of Britannie should wafte and spoile the Batuian border that lyeth vp, on the Ocean. But Fabius Prificus the Lieutenant, having croffed the seas at the shortest cur, led forth the Legion by land into the coasts of the Nerui and Tungris; and those countries yeelded themselfes to the Romans. As for the nauie, the Caninefates venturously made out against it, and took or funcke the greater part of the ships: and the fame Caninefates defeated a multitude of Nerui, voluntarily gathered together to fight in fauour of the Romans. Claficus also against certaine horfemen, which Cerealis fent before to Nouesium, skirmifhed prosperously. Which small but often loffes did dimme and diminish the glory of the victorie lately obtained.

XXXIII. The fomne of Vitellius is slainge. Antonius Primus discontented saileth from Rome to Vespafian lying at Alexandria.

A Bovt the fame time Mutianus commaunded the fomne of Vitellius to be slainge, preteding that a perfect vnion could not grow, vnlesse all seedes of waare were vitterly rooted out. Moreover he would not permit that Antonius Primus should be affumed into Domitians traine in the voyage of France, hauing him in ieloufie, by reaſon of the fouldiers loue towards him, and bicaufe of the mans haute proud nature, who could not abide any equal, much leffe a superior, So Antonius mal-content went to Vespafian, who receiued & entertained him in good fort, albeit not according to his expefctation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct doublette the war was consummate & ended, distracted him one way, & Mutianus letters another: and withall the reft put forward, inueyeing against him as an infolent and intolerable perfon, inoyning there to the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogaunte behauioir ceaft not to prouoke difpleaure, odiously inculcating at every worde, what things he had done, and how greatly he had defervered of the cause, despising the reft as men of no service in waare, and Caecina as a dishonoured captiue, and yeelded perfon. Whereupon by little and little he began to be in leffe credit, and lightlier esteemed of the Prince, notwithstanding outwardly he countenanced him as before.

XXXV. Certaine miracles which happened whileſt Vespasian staid at Alexandria attending for a good vvinde, and a feasoneable time of the yeere.

IN those monethes which Vespasian staid at Alexandria, attending the ordinarie sommer winds, and a faire feason by fea, many miracles happenèd, whereby the speciall favoure of the gods and their good will towards Vespasian was evidentely signifièd. A certaine poore blinde man of Alexandria, knowne in all the towne
of Cornelius Tacitus.

Towne by reason of his infirmity, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adoreth above other gods, fell downe at the feet of Vespasian, and humbly besought him with tears to remedy his blindness, praying him to vouchsafe with the spittle of his mouth to wet his eyes round about. Another lame of a hande, by the commandement of the same god, praised Vespasian that it would please him to treade upon him with his feote. Vespasian at the first skorne and rejected their suites. But when they per sifted still infant upon him, he began to doubt with himselfe, fearing on the one fide discredite, and opinion of vanitie, on the other upon the importunitenesse of the diseased, and speeches of flatterers, enticing into some hope, at the last he willed the Phisicians to consider, whether such blindness and lameness were possible by humane helpe to be cured. The Phisicians according to their custome disputed the point diversely discoursing out of their learning, that it might be, the blinde mans eyes were not perished, but onely outgrown with some skin, which being remoued the sight would returne: likewise the other mans limmes were dislocated, and might with force conueniently vfed be set right againe; and per chance it was the pleasure of the gods to restore them to health, and to chuse the Prince for the meanes of performing the fame. Finally if the remedy had good sucesse the glorie woulde redonde to the Prince that did it: if not the skorne should light vpon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Vespasian supposing all things feasable to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, steped forth with a merrie countenance, and in the presence of a great multitude, that stood by attending the event, did as they had desired him to doe, and presently the lame recovered the vis of his limmes, and the blinde of his eies. They which were present at both affirme both to be true, even nowe at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Vespasian became more desirous to vifite the sacred seate of the god, and there to aske counsaile concerning the affaires of the Empire; and commauding all to voide, he entred into the temple, and as he was busie about his devotion sodainely he saw behinde his backe, as he thought, one of the noblemen of Egypt named Basilides, whom he knew to be sicke in his bed many daies journey from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the priests whether Basilides that day had entred the church, and of others whom he met, whether he had bene seene in the citty or no: at the last sending horsemens of purpofe to see, hee found that the same moment Basilides was no leffe then foure score miles off: then he perceiued it was a divine vision, and out of the name of Basilides derived an anfwere. The originall of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our writers. The Egyptian priests do report the historie thus: That Ptoleme the king, he which first of the Macedonians ordered the kingdome of Egypt, when he had walled the lately built citty of Alexandria, erected temples, and instituted religious rites, fawe in his sleepe a faire goodlie young man much taller then the ordinarie stature, who warned him to send into Pontus of his most truftie friends, and fetch thence his image; that it would bring great prosperity to the whole kingdome, and that place would especially flourishe where the image should be receiued: and straightwaies the yoong man seemed to be caried vp into heauen out of his sight in a great flame of fire. Ptoleme moued with so great and prodigious a miracle, declared his vision to the Egyptian priests, who are wont to interprete such things. But when he sawe them vterly ignorant of Pontus and forraigne matters, he asked Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpidae, whom he had sent for from Eleusis to haue the chiefes governement of matters of religion, what devotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with some which had trauell'd in Pontus,
THE III. Booke of the HISTORIE

...understood that there was a citie called Sinope, & neere vnto it a temple of ancient name among the inhabitants dedicated to Pluto: for there stode by it the image of a woman commonly named Proserpina. But Ptoleme, as the viuiall manner of kings is at the first prone to scare, and quickly returning to former securitie, as being more additc to pleasures then to devotiones, neglectted the matter and caft his cares otherwhere, vntill the same vison appeared in more terrible & vehement manner, denouncing destrucctio peremptorily to him & his kingdom, if he performed not his comandements. Then Ptoleme sent an embassage with presents to Scydrotelhis the king of Sinope, willing them at their departure to go by Delphos and ask counsai of Apollo. Their iouney by see was prosperous, & Apolloes answeuered without ambiguity, namely that they shold goe forward, and bring with them away his fathers image, but leave his sisteres. When they came to Sinope, after they had presented their gifts to Scyderothemis, they declared at large their commaision, & what the king their master requested at his hands. Scyderothemis was doubtfull in minde: somtymes he feared the wrathful displeasure of the god, somtymes the threats of his subiects, who were vitreous against the granting of it, & somtymes he had a favoravel respect to the presents & promiss of the embassadors. And for three years being spent in this negotiation, Ptoleme notwithstanding continued an earnest suiter, sending more honorable embassadours, no ships, & more store of gold. At the last a fearful and threatening vision appeared to Scyderothemis, charging him no longer to hinder that, which the god had determined: and as notwithstanding he protracted, many mischiefes befell him, and diuerse diseases, and the manifest wrath of the gods vexed him daily more and more. Then calling an assembly of all the people he declared vnto them the will of the god, his owne and Ptolemes visions, and also the mischiefes which otherwise hung ouer their heads. The common people withstood the motion, enuying at Egypt, and fearing their owne state, and so befet the temple about: whereupon a strong report goeth, that the god without handes conveyed himself into the ships, which lay there at ancker: and, which is maruellous to be reported, staying from thence throwow fo vast seas, they arrived the third day at Alexandria. So a temple was build answerable to the magnificence of the citie, in a place called Rhacotis, where had beene a chappell of ancient time consecrated to Sarapis and Isis. And this is the most famous opinion concerning the originall of the god and his transport. I know that some hold he was brought from Seleucia a citie of Syria, in the raigne of Ptoleme the third: others that the fame Ptoleme was the transporter, but it was from Memphis a famous citie, in ausnent times the glorious and strength of olde Egypt. The god him selfe many suppose to be Asculapius because hee cureth diseases; some Osiris the oldest god known of those nations; many Jupiter, as foueraine lord over all; most Pluto, by notes that manifestly appeare in him, or otherwise by collection gathering arguments of their coniecture.

XXXVI. The
XXXVI. The voyage of Domitian and Mutianus with their traine to Lions.

But Domitian and Mutianus before they came to the Alpes received the newes of the prosperous bataille against the Treueri: and for a sure proofe of the victorie Valentinus the Generall of the enemies was withall delivered into their hands, who in his aduersitie retained his former courage, declaring in countenance what stomacke once he had borne. He was permitted to speake for himselfe, only that his nature and gifts might be seene, and so adjudged to die. At his execution one vbraided vnto him that his cuntrey was taken, then shal I die, quoth he, with greater contentment. Then Mutianus cunningly induced speech proceeding from the present occasion, being indeed that which long time he had projected before: that seeing through the great favour and goodnesse of the gods the forces of the enemies were broken, it were vnseemly for Domitian, now that the war was almost at an ende, to intercept the glorie of another mans travailes: if the cause ftoode so that the state of the Empire or safetie of Fraunce were in danger, it were requisite that the Princes sonne should stand in the field: but to fight against the Caninefates and Batauians would be committed to commanders of lower degree; he him selfe should stay at Lions, & from thence in a reasonable distance make the new of the Princely puissance and state, neither venturing his person in matters of small moment, and if any greater should happen, ready at hand. The arte was understood, but seeming not to understand it was a point of obedience. And so they came to Lions; from whence it is thought that Domitian sent a secret message to Cerealis, to proue his loyalitie, whether if he came thither in person he would deliver him his army and government: what he intended thereby, to make war with his father, or to strengthen and fortifie himself against his brother when the time should serue, it is not certainly knowne: for Cerealis with good and difcreete answer shifted off this fond and childish request. Domitian perceiuing his youth contemned of the elder men, ceased from medling any more in affaires of estate, even of the meanest sort, and such as before viously passed thorough his handes: withall, vnder colour of simplicity and modestie, sequestring himselfe to a clofe and solitarie kind of life, pretending desire of learning and loue of poetrie, thereby to couer his disposition, and auoide all emulation and cause of vnkindeffe with his brother, whose unlike and far more curteous nature he construed contrarily.
THE LIFE OF IVLIVS
AGRICOLA WRITTEN
BY CORNELIVS TACITVS.

O report and deliver to posterity the doings and demeanours of excellent personages, a thing usual in ancient times, even our age, though carelesse otherwise of her owne, hath not omitted then and so oft whenas any great and eminent vertue hath overgrown two vices, to little and great common wealths common alike, ignorance of that which is good, and enuying at it. But in the daies of our ancetours as it was farre more easie and open to atchieue actions worthy of writing, so likewise their finest wits, without favour or flattery, vpon an upright conscience, without other reward, were led to record and chronicle the same: yea diversely upon confidence of their owne proceedings have thought it no presumption to set downe in writing themselves their owne liues. Neither were Rutilius and Scaurus a whit more misliked, or leffe beleued for that: so certaine it is, that vertues are then valued most rightly, whenas they doe growe in most plenty. But now it fareth with me farre otherwise: who hauing heretoe describeth the life of a man already deceased, I am first of force to beg pardon; a thing which indeede I would haue forborne, were it not to mee and fall in with a time so terrible, so capitall an enemy to vertue and honour. We reade that Arulenus Rusticus for praising Pætus Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio for commending Heluidius Priscus were both put to death: and beside the writers, against the booke also severity was vsed, charge being giuen from authorty to the Triumviri, that the workes of those noble wits should be in the market place solemnely burned. Belike they supposed they could with that fire quench the speech of the people of Rome, abolish the liberty of the Senate, and suppreste the common knowledge of whole mankind: expelling withall the 5 professors of wifedome, and banishing all good learning and arte, left any sparkke of honerfy shoule by mischance remaine within view. For certaine we gaue great prooffe of our patience, and as our ancetours attained and sawe the highest pitch and perfection of liberty, so we of feruility, being deuoured by intelligencers and spies of the commerce of hearing and speaking together: yea memory also, as well as toung we had lost, had it lyen in our power as well to forget as it did to keepe silence. Now at the length our former spirits begin to revive: howbeit although Prince Nerua, straight at the first entry of this most happy age, hath wisely matched and mixed together two things heretofore inconfuciable, the souerainty of one with the liberty of all; and Traian his sonne, proceeding in the same traine, maketh the Empire dayly more supportable and easie; so that not onely we may hope and conceiue prayers for the publicke security, but see and touch the effect of our prayers asfurred and confirmed vnto vs: yet notwithstanding by proffe it is found (such is the nature of mans imbecility) the remedies to be of slower operation, then were the diseases. And as our bodies waxe and gather strength by leyjure, perish in a moment; so good wits and good learning are sooner cut downe then raised againe. For the sweeteffe and pleasing of idleneffe, and of doing nothing, creepeth into our senes: and floathfullenesse which at the first we deteste, by custome obtaineth our fauour and loue: to omit
omitted that in five or six yeares, a great part of mans age, many haue beene waced by casual chancies, the most sufficient and forward by the cruelty of the Prince, a few of vs onely remaining who have ouerlived, as I may say, not only others, but also our selves, having so many yeares subducted out of the midst of our life, in which we proceeded in silence from young men to aged, from aged almost to the grave. And yet peradventure it shall not repent me to compose, though in rude and vnframed speech, a b memorie of our late thraldome, and a testimonie of our present felicities.

In the meantime whilst this treatise I hauespecially vowed to the honour of Agricola my father in law, and therefore as being in discharge of duety, and carrying profection of kindnes, I shall either abroade purchase praisse, or be covered at least with some curtsewe excuse.

1 Ignorance of that which is good, and envying at it; As small obiects of weake eies, so small vertues are not conceaved of common capacitites: but as there, a certaine quantity and bignesse is requyred, before the dul ftence can be percewed; for here, before the vulgar conceit. Now asonne as vertue is grown out of ignorance, the entreth by and by into envy, till mounting aloft, as the sunne being verticall abath all shadowes, so, in the top and height of perfection, all envy.

2 Am forfeitt of for to beg pardon j) Belike then he dead in some faire. And of what? of falling in with those "feus and infilia vteruis temporis," under Domitian, but he wrote this treatise in Traitian time, in beatus simplici
tuce, as he termed it; and I see no sufficient cause, the times being fase wherein he wrote, to fea the times whereof he wrote, of that which followeth; Whereas we read that Arulenus Ruficus &c. being things so lately done, and all in his memorie, and, as it may, seem his fight for he saith him selfe in the end of this book.

3 The profefoursof wiſdome J Suetonius &t Domitiano. *IuniumRuflicum (interemitDomitianu) guëd pati''.*

4 Against the bookes also: Whereof hewrote: to fearethimes 

5 Thrasea Put to death by Nero *vtraqueconspectu conhapio, *saieth Tacitus: Heluidius Priuscus for Vepifan in obeying no better the good counfaile was given him by Eprius Marcellus in the Senate some years before, and recorded by Tacitus in the words. Sundere enim Priuscus, ne ipso principem similiter, ne Vepifanum senem triumphebant, invenirem liberam partem praeservavit. Quodam Corinum imperatorem sub finum dominorum, in quibus ageremus egerit modum libertatis placere.

6 Against the bookes also: {*Thrasea& Heluidius, Triſtilaude, edidiffet: appellaretque eos sanctissimo, viros, cuius criminis occaſionem philosophos." Tacitus, in lib. of that}

7 That the profefoursof wiſdome J Suetonius &d Domitiano, *Iunium Rufficum (interemit Domitianuum) guëd Pati.*

8 Thrasea & Heluidius Priuscus, being things so lately done, and in his memorie, and, as it may, seem his sight for he saith himselfe in the end of this book.

9 The facts of the bookes also: *Liue, Incuſat gratiter ab senatu Aedile, Trium-

10 The professours of wiſdome J Suetonius &d Domitiano, *Iunium Rufficum (interemit Domitianuum) guëd Pati.*

11 Thrasea & Heluidius Priuscus, being things so lately done, and in his memorie, and, as it may, seem his sight for he saith himselfe in the end of this book.

12 For long Domitian was Emperor. a b: "Vtraque conspectu conhapio, *saieth Tacitus: Heluidius Priuscus" for Vepifan in obeying no better the good counfaile was given him by Eprius Marcellus in the Senate some years before, and recorded by Tacitus in the words. Sundere enim Priuscus, ne ipso principem similiter, ne Vepifanum senem triumphebant, invenirem liberam partem praeservavit. Quodam Corinum imperatorem sub finum dominorum, in quibus ageremus egerit modum libertatis placere.

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29 The facts of the bookes also: *Liue, Incuſat gratiter ab senatu Aedile, Trium-

30 Against the bookes also: Whereof hewrote: to fearethimes 

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32 Against the bookes also: Whereof hewrote: to fearethimes 

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34 Against the bookes also: Whereof hewrote: to fearethimes 

35 The facts of the bookes also: *Liue, Incuſat gratiter ab senatu Aedile, Trium-

36 Against the bookes also: Whereof hewrote: to fearethimes 

37 The facts of the bookes also: *Liue, Incuſat gratiter ab senatu Aedile, Trium-

38 Against the bookes also: Whereof hewrote: to fearethimes 

39 The facts of the bookes also: *Liue, Incuſat gratiter ab senatu Aedile, Trium-

40 Against the bookes also: Whereof hewrote: to fearethimes 

41 The facts of the bookes also: *Liue, Incuſat gratiter ab senatu Aedile, Trium-

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exercisefall good qualities and artes. And beside his owne disposition clearly and wholly guen to good, it was a good means to withholde him from the allurements of vice, that he hapned to have the towne of *Mafilia for the place of his first aboad and studie in yOUTH, a cite compouded of Greke civilitie and provinciall frugalite well sorted togethier. I haue heard him say, I remember, that being young he had addicted himselfe to the studie of Philosophie in earnest fort, and beyond the measure of a Roman and Senator, had not the wisedome of his mother corrected and cooled the heat of that humour. That noble and hawtie minde of his was caried to embrace, with more frequencie then discretion, the beautie and gaiety shew of that high and glorious profession: but reason anone and ripere yeeres reformed his judgement: and so he retained, a point most hard to be kept, of wisedome a meane.

His first seruice in warre was in Britannie under Suetonius Paullinus: into whose traine being assumed he was of that diligent and discreet leader well liked: not spending the time in riot after the maner of youthes, which conuerse warfare into wantonneffe; nor accepting the title of tribuneship without skill in the seruice, as a calling of ease for pleasure and gadding abroade: but wholly directing his minde to know the province, to learne of the skillfull, to followe the belt, to desyre no imployment vpon vainglorie, to refuse none for feare, joynly to shew himselfe both careful and earnest in action. Neither did our affaires in Britannie stande at any time in the like termes of doubt and diftresse: our old soldiers were flaine, our colonies burned, our armies entrapped, then we fought for to liue, afterward for to winne. All which exploits, though performed by the counsaile and conduct of another, and consequentely the credit of the cause, and glory of recovering the country appertaining to the Lieutenant, yet were they occasions to increase in the young man skill, experience, and desir of militare renowne, a quality not so acceptable in those seasons, wherein great vertues were greatly suspected, and a great fame endangerd more then a bad.

From Britannie departing to Rome to beare offices he ionyed himselfe in matrimorne with Domitia Decidiana, a woman of honourable birth: which mariage was a countenance, and a strengthe to his further purpos: and they lived together in marveulous anitie with mutuall loue, and "yielding preeminence the one to the other; a point otherwise not greatly materiall, sauing that a good wife is a great commendation, as well as an ill reproch. Being Quettor his Lot tell in Afia with Sal sius Titiannus the Proconsull. Neither was he withdrawn by that meanes from his wonted integritie, although both the province was rich and readily ministrd matter to offende, and his Proconsull a man of infatiable greedinesse would with any re- misnesse willingly have redeemed at his hands mutuall conniuence and couering of faults. There his wife bare him a daughter both to his stay & his comfort, for the son she brought him before was alreadie deceased hauing liued but a little. After his Quettorship till he was created Tribune of the people, and the yeare also of his Tribunehip he passed ouer in rest & quietnesse, well weying the nature of Neros time, "wherein sloth was a vertue, and to do nothing the greatest wisedome of al. His Pre- totship also he passed ouer in the same fort, with the like silence: for one of none of the judicall places happened vnto him. The 3 plaies and vanities of the office he governed and executied by the rule of reason and measure of wealth: farre from exceffe, and yet not without magnificence and honour. Anone afterward being elected by Galba to view and furuey the jewels and gifts belonging to the temples, by most diligent and straite search he procured full restitution of all, saue onely of those which Nero had taken.
The yeere following wounded his minde, & plunged his house in a heavy mishap. For Othoes fleeing raving at large licentiously, in wasting Internelium a part of Liguria, slew the mother of Agricola in her own gronds, spoiled the grounds, & carried away most part of the wealth which was the cause of the murther. As Agricola went to solemnize the funerals he receiued aduise, that Vespasian was in armes for the Empire, and without more aduise ioyned him selfe to the side. Domitian as yet was but young, & challenged not, as an Emperors sonne, any thing elsuate one licentious life. The affaires of the Empire & state of the city were governed at the beginning, & wholly directed by Mutianus alone. By comission from whom Agricola being sent to take musters, & behauing him selfe in that charge with great integritie and courage, he was by the fame Mutianus, vpon meffage receiued of the feditious deemonour of Roscius Coelius, made in his place Lieutenant of the twentieh Legion, a Legion which flowly had sworne to Vespasian, & was out of awe, or awed much rather euen the Lieutenants generall; much lesse was the Legions Lieutenant of power to restraine them, whether through the weaknesses of his own arms, or hard mouth of his soldiers, it is not assured. Thus being elected both to succeede and revenge, he shewd an example of most rare moderation, in chufing to fee me rather to have found, then to have made, them dutifull soldiers. At that time Vecius Bolanus was Lieutenat of Britannie, governin in a gentler & milder maner, then was fit for so fierce a countrey. Vnder him Agricola cunningly conforming him selfe to that humour, & not vnlearned to joine profitable counfailes with honest, tempered the heate of his nature, & restrained from growing his hawtie desires. Soone after Petlius Cerealis was appointed Lieutenant General there; vnder whom the vertues of Agricola had a large field and free scope to shew themselfes in. For Cerealis communicated and imparted vnto him, first him selfe & his counfailes, then actions of labour & danger, and lastly glorie also; committing oftentimes for a proofe to his leading some portion of the army, sometimes many more, according to the success. Neither did Agricola at any time brag of his doings as seeking to win fame for him selfe, but humbly alwaies as a minister referred to his supeior, and Generall, the good fortune and honour of all his exploits. So by his vertue in valiantly doing his charge, & his modestie in sparingly speaking thereof, he was without enuy, but not without glorie.

Vpon his returne from the Lieutenantship of the Legion, Vespasian of furred memmory elett him into the company of the Patritians, and afterward sent him Lieutenant General into Aquitania, an honourable roome, both in respect of the office it selfe, and as being a way to the confullhip by the Prince purposed vnto him. The receiued opinion is, that militarie wits are not reined to that sharpenesse and futiltie, that is practised in pleas and courts of justice, because the martiall law is but groff and blunt, executing most by the hand: notwithstanding Agricola, though brought vp in the field, vpon a naturall wit and discourse of reason, among those peaceable men, carried him selfe easily with great vprightnes and justice. Now the feasons of affaires and vacations he diuided discreetly and well: in times of audience and judgements grave, heedful, austere; and yet mercifull too: that dutie perfomned, no face any more nor shew of autoritie: sowre looks and stately, strait and hard dealing were layde apart: in such fort, that neither his gentle and curtious behauioir weakened the reuerence due to his person, nor his feverity the loute: a thing rarely to see. To speake of integritie, and forbearing of brierie in so great a personage, were a wrong to his vertues: euen glorie, vpon which good men also oftentimes doate, he never affected by ostentation of vettue, or by artificiall means: far from emulation with his colleges, farre from contention with the Procuratours;
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whom to overcome he esteemed no honour, and to be overcome a foule shame. In that Lieutenantship having spent scarcely three yeeres, he was called home to be Confull, the opinion going also, that Britannie should be assigned him, without any speech given out by himselfe to that purpose, but because he seemed sufficient and meete: fame faileth not alwaies, sometime the chufeth aright. Being Confull he affured to me his daughter, even then of rare hope, and after his Confullship solemnized the marriage: and straight thereupon was made Governour of Britannie, having besides a Pontiscall dignitie annexed.

The site of Britannie and dwellers, described by sundrie writers, I purpose here to declare, not to compare in finenesse or wit, but because it was then first thorrowly subdued: so that such things, as our elders without perfect disscouerie have pollishec with pen, shall now be fet faithfully downe vpom knowledge. Britannie, of all lands known to the Romans the greatest, coasteth by East vpon Germanie, by West toward Spaine, and hath France on the South; Northward no land lying against it, but only a vaft & broad sea beating about it. The figure and fashion of whole Britannie, by Liuy of the ancient, and Fabius Rusticus of the moderne, the most eloquent authors, is likened to a long dish or two edged axe: and so is the part shapen indeed of this side Caledonia, whereupon the fame went of the whole, as it feemeth: but there is besides a huge and enorme tract of ground, which runneth beyond unto the furthermost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge. This point of the utmost sea the Roman fleete then first of all doubling discovered Britannie to be an Iland, and withall found out and subdiced the selves of a Orkney before that time never known. Thyle also was lookt at looche, which shew hitherto and winter had covered. The sea therabout they affime to be dull and heavie for the oare and not to be rayed as others with winds: belike becauſe lande and mountaines are rare, which minifter cause and matter of tempests, and because a deeppe maffe of continentall sea is flower扶ered to rage. To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides pertaineth not to this worke, and many have done it before: one thing I will adde, and may safely auow, that the sea no where in the world rangeth and ruleth more freely, carying by violence so much riuuer water hither and thither, and is not content to flow and to ebb so far as the banckes, but inferte and windeth it selfe into the land, shooting into the mountaines and cliffs as to his owne channell. Now what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britannie were, forreyn brought in, or borne in the lande, as among a barbarous people, it is not certaynely known. Their complexions are different and thence may some coniectures be taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in Caledonia, and mighty limmes import a German descen## The coloured countenances of the Silures, and haire most commonly curled, and fite against Spaine, seeme to induce, that the old Spaniards passd the sea and posesse those places. The nearest to France likewise reembles the French, either because they retaine of the race from which they descended, or that in cuntryes buttting together the fame apects of the heauens do yeeld the same complexions of bodies. But generally it is most likely the French being nextest did people the land. In their ceremonies and superstitious perswasions, there is to be feene an appaent conformitie: the language differeth not much: like boldnesse to challenge and set into dangers; when dangers are come, like feare in refusing: sauing the Britans make shew of more courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the French also were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till such time as giuing themselves ouer to peace and idlenesse cowardife crept in, and shipwrack was made both of manhhood and libertie together: and so it is also befallen to those of the Britans which were subdued.
fubdued of olde; the rest remaine such as the French were before. Their strength in the field confilte in footemen; some cuntrteyes make war in wagons also: the greater personage guideth the wagon, his waiters and followers fight out of the fame. Heretofore they were governed by kings, now they are drawn by petry Princes into partialities & factions: and that is the greatest helpe we haue against those puiffant nations, that they have no common counsell together: seldom it chumne th that two or three states meete and concurr to repulse the common danger: fo whilest one by one eighteth, all are fubduded. The skie verie cloudie and much giuen to raine without extremtie of cold. The length of the daies much above the measure of our climate. The nights light, and in the furthest part of the lamente fo short, that betwene the going out and comming in of the day the space is hardly pereceived, and when clouds doe not hinder they affirme that the Sunshine is feene 1 in the night, and that it neither seteth nor riseth but passeth along: because belike the extreme and plaine parts of the earth protect a lowe shadow and raife not the darkeninge on height; so the night fairely vnder the skyes and the stars. The foile, setting aside olue and vine and the rest, which are proper to warmer cuntrteyes, takerth all kind of graine and beareth it abundance; it shooteth vp quickly and ripeth flouerly; the cause of them both is the fame, the ouermuch moistuere of the foile and the ayrre. Britannie beareth gold and fluer, and other mettals to enrich the conquerour. The Ocean bringeth forth 8 pearle also, not orient, but dusky and wan, which proceeded, as some do suppose, of lacke of skill in the gatherers, for in the red sea they are pulled panting alowe from the rocks; in Britannie cast out by the sea and so taken vp. For my part I do rather believe the nature of the pearle not to yeeld it, then that our crouetousneses could not finde out the way to gather aright. The Britans endure lenues of men and money and all other burdens imposed by the Empire patiently and willingly if infolences be forborne, indignities they cannot abide, being already fubduded as to be subjectes but not to be slaves.

The first of the Romans which entred Britannie with an army was Iulius Cæsar, who although he terrified the inhabitants with a battle which went on his side, and gained the shoare, yet may seeme rather to have shewed the place to posterity, then delivered to them the possession thereof.

Then civil warres ensued, and handings of men of great qualitie against the free state, and long after that lay Britannie forgotten, even in peaceable times. Augustus termes it 9 policie, and chiefly Tiberius.

That Caius had a meaning to invade Britannie it is certainly knowne: but his rash running head and hafty repentance, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing ensued, and the purpose noe farther procceded.

Claudius did first with effect prosecute the matter, transporting Legions and Aides, and affisting Vespasian into the action, which was the beginning of the greatnes whereunto he after attained: some cuntrteyes were subduded, some kings were taken, and Vespasian made knowne to the world.

The first Lieutenant General was Aulus Plautius, then Oftorius Scapula, both excellent warriers: and so by little & little was the nearest part of the land reduced to the forme of a province; and besides a 10 colony of olde soldiers establishe there. Certaine cities were also bestowed in pure gift upon king Cogidunus (who remained moft faithfull even to our daies) according to an olde contract receiued of the Romans to vs euen kings themselves for instruments of bondage.

Then Didius Gallus succeeded in place, who kept that which his predecessors had gotten, and builded some few castels further in the lande, to win by that means...
a name of augmenting the office.

After Didius succeeded Veranius, who died within one yeare.

Then Suetonius Paulinus for two yeares space behaved himselfe fortunately, subduing the nations and estabbling garrisons. Upon confidence whereof going to assaile the iile of Mona, which ministred supplie to the rebels, hee dismissed the cuntry behind, and laied it open to all opportunities of the enemie. For through the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discourse the miseries of bondage, to lay their injuries together, and aggravate them by constructions, that their patience had profited them nothing, saue only to drawe heavier burdens upon them, as men that would gently beare. that whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two thirst vpon them, the Lieutenant to fucke their bloud, the Procuratour their substance: whose disagreeing was the torment of the subjectts, their agreement their vndoing; the one vexing by soldiers and captains, the other by wrongs and indignities: that now their coutousniſfe and luft layed holde, without exception,of all: and whereas in field he that spoileth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part disposed of their houses, bereft of their children, injoynd to yeld soldiers for other mens behoofe, as though they were men, that knew how to do any thing els, saue onely to die for their owne cuntry. For otherwise what a small handfull of soldiers were come ouer, if the Britans would fall to recken themselves! that Germany so had shak off the yoke, hauing no Ocean sea, but onely a riuier, for their defence: that their caufes of taking armes were vrgent and luft, their wives and children, their parents, and country, whereas the Romans had nothing to moove them to ware, but their owne coutousniſfe and wanton luft: and that they would doubeleſfe depart, as Cæfar Iulius had done, if the Britans would imitate the vertues of their progenitors, and not be dismised with the doublfull event of one skirmith or two, that men in miserie had more courage and vehemencie to attempt, more constancy to continue: and now evene the gods seemed to pitie the poore Britans estate, hauing sent the Roman Captaine out of the way, and confined the armie, as it were, into another ilande, that now being assembeled to aduize and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein without question it were more danger, to be taken consulting, then doing. With these and the like speeches inciting one another, by common consent they resolue to take armes under the conduct of Voadica a lady of the bloud of their Kings: for in matter of governing in chiefie they make no distinction of sexe. And first pursuſing the soldiſſers which lay diuided in garrisons, and winning the forties, they invaded anone the colonie it selfe, as being the feate of their flauerie: in sacking whereof noe kind of crueltie was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victorie might induce a barbarous people to pratiſce. And whilleſſe vpon knowledge had of the revolt Paullinus had come to succour with speede, Britannie had then beene loſt, the which with one prosperous bataille he restored to her former obedience, and patient bearing the yoke, some few keeping out and remaining in armes, whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and some feare also of the Lieuenteants private displeasure: who though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shewe too much hauty and hard dealing toward those which yelded themselues, & to reuenge in a fort his owne injurie. Whereupon Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place as a more intreatable perſon, and a stranger to their faules, and therefore more ready to receiue their repentance: who hauing composed the former troubles, and daring no further, delivered Trebellius Maximus the charge.
Written by Cornelius Tacitus.

* Trebellius aman was fit for action, and altogether unexpert in servuce, by a kind of curteous and milde regiment intertained the countrey in quiet. For now the Britans also had learned the good maners, not rudeely to repulse the fugred assaults and flattering of vices; and the disturbance of ciuill diffentions minisifted a lawfull excuse for his doing nothing. But the soldier accustomed to warfare wasx wanton with ease; and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by fleeing away and hiding himselfe eschewed their first indigination, and anone refusing his place without maieflie, without authoritye, he ruled by way of intretatie, & at his soldiers diffusion: & so coming as it were to a capitulation, the armie for licence to do what them lifted, the captain for safetie of his owne life, the mutine ended without any bloudshed.

Vecius Bolanus succeeded in place, and in the same looffes of discipline, the ciuill warres continuing still; like default against the enimy, like licence in the camp, fauing that Bolanus a good honest man, not odious for any crime, in stead of obdience had gotten good will.

But when as Vespaian with the rest of the world recovered Britannie also, great Captaines, good soldiours were sent, and the hope of the enimy was greatly abated. For straightwaies Petilius Cerealis strooke a terror into them, by invading upon his first entrie the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province. Manie battailes were fought, and some bloudie, and the greatest part of the b Brigantes either conquered or wafted.

And whereas Cereaalis without doubtlesse have dimmed the diligence and fame of another successor, Julius Frontinus a great man, as he might after that predecessor, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puyiant, and warlicke people of the Silures: where he had, beside the vertue of the enimie, to struggle with the straites and difficult places.

In this estate Agricola found the province, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middeft of the sommer he paßed the seas: at what time the soldier, as if the feason were past, attended an ende for that yeare of his travaiale, and the enimie a beginning to hurt. The Ordouices a little before he entered the lande had cut a wing almost wholly in pieces, which lay in their borders. Vpon which beginning the countrey being awaked, as men defirous of warre, alowed the example: some staied to see how the new Lieutenant would take it. Agricola although the sommer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the province, and his soldiours had fully preuuded of rest for that yeare, which hindered much, and crosed diretly the undertaking of warre, dierse also being of opinion rather to keepe & assure the places suspected, all this notwithstanding he resolved diretly to encounter the danger: and gathering the enigne of the Legions, & some fewe Auxiliaries, because the Ordouices durst not descend into indifferent ground, himselfe first of all, to giue others like courage in the like danger, led vp to encounter the enimie. And hauing destroyed almost the whole nation, knowing right well that fame must with instancie be followed, and as the first shoulde fall out, the rest would succeede, he deliberated to conquer the iland of Mona: from the possession whereof, as before I haue rehearsed, Paulinus was reuoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny; but as in a purpose not purposed before, ships being wanting, the pollicie and resolutenesse of the Capaine deuised a passage, commanding the most choise of the Aydes, to whom al the shawles were knowne, and who after the view of their countrey were able in swimming to gouverne themselves with armour and horles, laying aside their cariage, to put ouer at once and sodainly inuaue them. Which thing so amazed the enimie attending for ships and such like proviaun by sea, that surely
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Surely believing nothing could be harder or inciville to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yelded the islande. Thus Agricola at his first entrance into his province (which time others consume in vain ostentation or ambitious seeking of ceremonies) entring withall into labours and dangers became famous indeed & of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the prosperous proceedings of his affaires to vanity or brauing in speeches. He termed it not an exploit or a conquest to have kept in order persons subdued before: he bedecked not with lawrell his letters of aduertisement, but stopping and suppressing the fame he augmented the fame, when men began to discouer what great premuntions of future succeffe, he shoule to light an account of such great actions already performed.

Now as touching his ciuill gouernement, Agricolaknowing right well the disposition and minde of the province, and taught also by experience of others, that armes auayle little to settle a new conquered state if injuries and wrongs be permitted, determined to cut off all causes of warres and rebellions. And beginning at home, his house first of all he reformed and restrained, a point of more hardnesse to some then to governe a province. He commited no maner of publicke affaires to bondman or freed: he receiued no soouldier neate to his person vpon priuate affections of partiall suiters, nor vpon commendation or intreatie of Centurions, but elected the best, presuming the fame to be the most faithfull. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rouge: light faults he would pardon, and the great severely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repentance: chusing rather not to prefer to office and charge such as were like to offende, then after the offence to condemne them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equal dividing of burdens, cutting away those petty extortions which griefed the subject more then the tribute it selfe. for the poore people were constrained in a mockery to waiue the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy corne, then after to sell at a price. Several waies were injoyed and faire distant places by the purveyours commandements: that the countrey shouldie care from the nearest standing campes to those which were farre off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gaine of a fewe. By reproofing these abuses straights in his first yeere, a good opinion was conceiued of the peace, which either by the negligence or connuience of former Lieutenants was now no leffe feared then war. But when the sommer was come assembling his armie together, those which in marching behaved themselves in modest fort he commended, & checked the loose & dissolute forgers: the places for pitching the camp he designded himself, the fifthes & the thickets he proued the most in his owne person: not suffering in the meane season any corner in quiet in the enimies country, but wafting and spoiling with sodaine excursions and roades, and when he had throughly terrifyed them, then woulde he againe spare and forbear, alluring thereby their mindes to friendship and peace. Vpon which kinde of proceeding many states, which before that day soode vpon terms of equalitie, gave hostages, and meekely submitted themselves, receiuing garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reaon performed, that nothing was ever attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in all Britannie escaped before vnassailed.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and politick deuise. For whereas the Britans were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone vpon every occasion to warre, to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them in
in private and helped them in common to build temples, and houses, and places of publick service, commending the forward and checking the slow, imposing thereby a kind of necessity upon them, whilst each man contended to gain the Lieutenants goodwill. Moreover the noble mens fones he tooke and instructed in the liberal sciences, preferring the wits of the Britans before the students of France, as being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that our attire grewe to be in account, and the Gowne much vied among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those provocations of vices, to sumptuous galleries, and baths, and exquisite banquetings; which things the ignorant termed ciuitie, being indeede a point of their bondage.

In the third yeere of his wars he discoverd new countreies, wafting along, till he came to the firth of 8 Taus. Which thing so terrified the enemies, that although the armie had beene toiled with cruell tempests, yet they durst not affaile them, and the Romans moreover had leyfure and space to fortifie there. They which were skillfull that way observed, that sooner any captain did more assuredly chose his places: no caftell planted by Agricola ever was either forced by strength, or upon conditions surrendered, or, as not defensible, forsaken. Many times they issued forth: for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole yeeres provision. So they wintered there without fear, every garrison guarding it selfe; and needing no helpe of their neighbours; the enemies assaulfing sometymes, but in vaine without any success, and druven thereupon to despaire. For the losses of sommer they were commonly wont to repaire with winter euents: now sommer and winter alike they went to the worse. And in all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himselfe the glory of any expolit done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully wittnesse the fact, and yeeld him alwaies his due commendation. By some he is said to have beene somewhat bitter in rebuking: and indeede the man was, as toward the good of most sweete disposition, so to bad and lewe persons vnpleaſant and sour: but his cholere passed away with his words: closefesse in him and silence you needed not feare: he esteemed it more honest to offend, then to hate. The fourth sommer was spent in perusing & ordering that, which he had ouerrun: and if the valiant minds of the armies, and the glory of the Roman name could have permitted, or accepted it so, they needed not to have sought other limit of Britannie. For Glota and Bodotria, two armes of two contrarie seas shooting mightie into the lande, are onely divided afunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was garded and fortifie then with garrison and caftell: so that the Romans were abolutel undes of all on this side, hauing cast out the enimie, as it were, into another iland. The fift yeere of the war Agricola first taking sea went ouer, and subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time vnown, and furnished with forces that part of Britannie, which lieth against Irelande, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might have beene wonne, lying betweene Britannie and Spaine, and fitly also for the French sea, would aptly have vnitid, to the great advantage of the one and the other, the strongest members of the Empire togeth. In bignesse it is infectious to Britannie, howbeit bigger then the ilands of our sea. The foyle and temperature of the aire, the nature and fashions of the people, differ not much from the Britith. The portes and places of acesse are more known, by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had receiued before a Prince of that countrey driven out by civil diffension, whom vnder colour of curtesie and friendship he retained till occasion should serve. I haue heard him
him oftentimes say, that with one Legion and some few Aydes, Ireland might be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our Britifh affairs, if the Roman forces were planted elsewhere, and passages were all befit with the power of the enemies, he manned a fleet to search the creeks and harbours of the ample region beyond it, backing then first of all with a nay the reft of his strength, and with a goodly braue fhe wbring war both by land and by sea. And oft of it chanced, that the horfeman and footman and the sea fouldier met, and made mettre in the fame campe, extolling and magnifying each owne proueſfe and adventures: making their vaunts and comparisons soldiers like, the one of the woods and high moutaines, the other of dangers of tempefts and waues: the one of the land and the enemie, the other of the Ocean, subdued. The Britans, as by the prisoners it was vnderfoode, were amazed also at the fight of the nauie, as though now the secrets of their fea were diſclofed, and no refuge remained if they were over come. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparation and greater fame, as the maner is of matters unknown, afayed our castels as challengers, brauing and putting in feare: insomuch that some of our fide, which would feeme to be wife being daftards indeed, counfell the Generall to retire on this fide Bodottia, and rather to depart of his owne accord, then to be repelled with fame. In the meanefon Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemie ment to diuide them felves, and to giue the onfet in feuerall companies. Whereupon left he should be inclofed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skill in the countrey, he marched also with his armie diuided in three. Which when it was known to the enemie, changing aduife on the fodeine, and vnting their forces togethers, they jointly auaulted by night the nieth Legion, as being of weakeſte resistance: and hauing flaine the watch, partly alleepe and partly amazed with feare, brake into the campe. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola hauing vnderfood by spyes what way the enemie had taken, and following their footstepe, commandeth the lighteſte horfemen and footmen to playe on their backes and maintaine the skirmiſh, and anonethewhole armie to ſhowte. And when it drew neare to be day, the glittering of the enfeignes was feene. So the Britans being quayled with a double danger, the Romans recovered courage agoaine, and being out of perill of their perſons, fought now for their honour; freshly allying their late affaylers, and druing them to the gates: where in the straites the con flict was harpe and cruell, till in the ende the enemies were forced to flee, whileſt both our armies contained, the one to feeme to haue helped their fellowes, the other to haue needed none other to helpe them: and if the bogges and woods had not couered their flight, that victorie had ended the warre. Upon this battleſo manfully fought, fo famouſly won, the armie premising that to their proueffe all things were easie and open, cried to lead into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britannie with a courfe of continual conquests: and those which erewhi were fo warie and wife, waxt forward enough after the event, and grew to speake bigly: such is the hard condition of wars: if ought fall out well all challenge a part, misfor tunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwiſe the Britans prefuppoſing that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by vſing the occasion, had caried it away, abated no whit of their fombatke, but armed their youth, transported their children and wifes into places of safetie, and fought by asfembles and religious rites to eſtab lish an aſsociaſion of the cities togethers. And fo for, that yeare both parties departed
The same sommer a cohort of Vfipians, levyed in Germanie, and sent ouer into Britannie, committed a haynous and memorable act. For hauing slaine a Centurion and certaine fouldiers set ouer them for direction in discipline, they fled and embarked themselues in three vessels, compelling the Masters by force to execute their charge: and onely one doing his office, the other two being suspected and thereupon slaine, this strange going out, the fact being yet not noyled abroad, was gazed and wondred at. Afterward being druen uncertainly hither and thither, and assayling the Britans which stode in defence of their owne, often preuayling and sometimes repulsed, they came at the laft to that miserie, that they were inforced to eate one another, first of the weakeft, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britannie, and leeffing their vessells for lacke of gouernment, they were intercepted first by the Sueuians, and then by the Frifians, as pyrats and robbers, and some of them being bought by merchants as flaues, & by change of masters brought to our side of the river, grew into a name by giuing first notice of so great and so rare an aduenture.

In the beginning of the sommer Agricola was deeply touched with a grievous mischief, which happened in his owne house: for he loft his owne fon being about a yeare olde. Which infortunate happed he neyther bare out, as some great men haue done in the like, vaingloriously, nor tooke it againe fo impatiently as we are wont; and amidst his mourning and sorrowes vfed the warre as one of his re- dies. Therefore sending his naue before, which by spoyleing in sundry places should induce a greater and vncertayner terrour vpon them, he made readie and followed himselfe with his army, ioyning thereto some of the valiantest Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found moft faithfull, and so arraigned at the mount Grepiau, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted with the event of the former battaile, and attending for nothing els but revenge or fenuitude, and being taugh at the length that common danger must be repelled with concord, by leagues and embassages had assembled the power of all the cities together, about thirtie thousand armed men, the view being taken, beside an end- leffe number of youth, which daily flocked to them, and luttie old men, renowned in warre and bearing the badges due to their honour: at what time Galgacus, for vertue and birth of all the leaders the principall man, seeing the multitude hoatly demaunde the battaile, is sayed to haue vfed this speech.

When I view and consider the caufe of this war, and our present necessitie, I have reason, me femyes, to presume, that this day, and this your agreeing consent, will giue a happie beginning to the freedome of the whole iland. For both haue we all hitherto lived in libertie, and beside no land remaineth beyonde, no sea for our safe- tie, the Roman nauie thus, as you fee, surveying our coasts: so that combate and armes, which men of vertue desire for honour, the daftard musl also vse for his securi- tie. The former battailes, which haue with diuerfe event beene fought with the Romans, had their refuge, and hope resting in our hands. For we the flower of the Britifh nobilitie, and leated therefore the furthermoft in, fawe neuer the coasts of the countreyes which fued in flauerie, even our cies are kept vnpolluted, and free, from all contagion of tyrannie. Beyonde vs is no lande, beside vs none are free: vs hitherto this corner and secret receffe hath defended. Now the uttermoft point of the lande is laied open: and things the leffe they have beene within knowledge, the greater the glory is to achieve them. But what nation now is there beyonde vs? what els but water and rockes, and the Romans Lords of all within lande, whose intollerable
intolerable pride in vaine shal you seeke to auoide by service and humble behavi-
our: robbers of the world, that hauing now left no lande to be spoiled , fearech alfo
the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seeke to win wealth: if poore,they are content to
gaine glory: whom not the caſt, nor the weft have satisfied: the onely men of all
memorie that seeke out all places, be they wealtie or poore, with like ardent affec-
tion. To take away by maine force, to kill and to iſpoile, faſſely they terme Empire
and government: when all is waſte as a wіldernefe, that they call peace. His chil-
dren and bloud ech man by nature holdeth moſt deare: those are pressed for fouldi-
cers, and cařed away to be slaues otherwhere. Our fisters and wınes, though they
be not violently forced as in open hostitility, are in the meane while under the colour
and title of friends and gueſts often abused. Our goods and substance they drawe
for tribute, our come for prouiſion: our bodies and handes they weare and con-
sume, in pauing of bogges and of woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities.
Slaves which are borne to bondage are folde but once, and after are fed at their
owners expences: but Britannie daily buieſt, daily feedeth, and is at charges with
her owne bondage. And as in a private retinue the frefhman and laſt commer is
laughed and caﬅed at by his very fellow-ſeruants, fo in this olde femínte of the
whole world our deſtruction onely is fought, as being the laſt and moſt vieſe in ac-
count. We have no fieldes to manure, no mines to be digged, no partes to trade
in: and to what purpoſe then should they reſerve vs alıue? Moreouer the manhood'
and fiece courage of the fribiět pleañeth not much the ioles Soueraine: and this
corner being fo secreat and out of the way, the more security iy yeeldeth to vs,in them
it wheats the greater ſupſicion. So seeing all hope of pardon is paſt, at the length
take courage, to deſende and maintaine your ſafetie as well as your honour. The
Brigantines led by a m woman fırked the coloſie, forced the caſtels: and if such a
luckie beginning had not ended in loth and ſeuritye, they might haue with eafe
shakt off the yoke. We as yet neuer touched, neuer subdued, and borne to be free,
not to be slaues of the Romans, let vs fhw straight in the firſt ioyning what maner
of men Caledonie referved in ſtore for his felfe. Or do you thinke the Romans to be
as valiant in warre as they are wanton in peace? No,not by their vertue, but by our
iarrings and diſcordes they are grown into fame: and the faults of their enemie
they abuе to the glory of their owne armie composd of moſt diuers nations, and
therefore as by preſent prosperitie holden together,fo if fortune do frowne it doubt-
leſſe diſſlueth:unleſſe you fuppofe the Frenchmen and Germanes, and to our fhamе
be it fpoken, many of our owne nation, which now lend their liues to eſtablith a for-
reyne vſipper,yet haue beene enemieſ longer then fervuants, to be led and indu-
ced with any true harted and faithfull affection. No, it is terrour and feare, weake
workers of loue, which if you remoue, thoſe which shall haue ceaſed to feare will
ſtraight begin for to hate. All things to incite to the victorie are on our ſide. No wife
to encourage the Romans: no parents to vpbraideth them if they flee: moſt have ei-
ther no cuntrey at al,or fome other: a few fearefull perſons, trembling and gazing at
the straungefe of the heauen it felſe, the fea and the woods: whom the gods haue
delivered mewed vp, as it were, and fettered into our handes. Let not the vaine
fthew and glittering or golde and silver terriſie vs, which neither defends nor offen-
deth. Amongst the enemieſ we ſhall finde of our ſide: the Britans will agnize their
owne caſe: the French will remember their freedome and former eſtauere: the refi
of the Germanes will leaue and forfaie them, as of late the Vſipians did. And what
effe then haue we to feare? the caſtels are emptie, the colonies peopled with aged
and impotent perſons; the free citiess diſcontent and in factions, whilst thoſe
which
which are vnder obey with ill will, and they which do goure rule against right.

Here is the Generall and here the armie, there tributes and mines, and other nuis-
eries insepably following them which lute vnder subjection of others: which whe-
ther we are to continue for ever, or straight to revenge, it lieth this day in this field.

Wherefore going to battell bear in your mindes, I beleech you, both your ances-
tours and your posteritie. This speech was cheerefully receiued, with a song
after their barbarous fashion, with confused acclamations and noyes. And as the
companies cluttered togethier, and glitering of armour appeared, whilst some of
the boldest advanced forward, and withall the rancles were putting themselves in
array, Agricola albeit his fouldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words
be withheld, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wise.

Fellow-fouldiers and companions in armes, your faithfull servitue and diligence,
these eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Roman
Empire hath conquered Britannie. In so many journyes, in so many batelles we had
of necessitie to shew our felues either valiant against the enimie, or patient and la-
borious aboue and against nature it selfe. In which exploits we have borne vs
both hitherto so, that neither did I desire better fouldiers, nor you other captaines.
We have exceeded the limits, I of my predecessours, and you like wife of yours. The
end of Britannie is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pa-
uilions really inuested thereof; Britannie is found and subdued. In marching when
the passing of bogges, or mountaynes, and riuers, troubled and tired you out, how
oft haue I heard the valiant fouldier saie, When will the enimy present himselfe?
when shall we fight? loe they are now put vp out of their holes: and here they are
come: your with loe here, and place for your vertue, and all things to follow in an
easie and expedite course, if you winne; if you leefe, all against you. For as to have
gone so much ground, escaped the woods, passe over the firthes, is honourable
forward, so if we do flee, the vantages we have this day will become our moft dis-
advantage. For we are not skilled so well in the countreyes, we haue not the like
store of provision, but hands we haue and weapons, and therein all things included.
For my part I am long since resolued, that to shewe their backes is neither safetie
for fouldier nor Generall: and therefore a commendable death is better then life with
reproch; and furetie and honour are commonly dwelling togethier: or if ought
should mishappen, even this will be a glorie, to haue died in the vettermost ende
of the world and nature. If newe nations, and fouldiers unknownen were in the
fielde, I would, by the example of other armes put you in courage; now recount you
your owne victorious exploits, and ask ye your owne eies. These are the fame men,
which the late yeere affailed one Legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast
of your mouth overthrown: thefe of all other Britans have beene the moft nimble
in running away, and therefore haue escaped the longeft alyue. For as in forrests
and woods the strongest beasts are chafe away by maine force, the cowardlie and
fearfull are scarred by the noys of the hunters, so the valiant of the Britith nation
we haue already dispatched, the rascal heard of daftardly cowards onely remaineth;
whom at length you haue found, not as having intended to flay and make head, but
as laft overtaken, and by extreme passion of fearie standing as fleeces, presenting oc-
casion to vs in this place of a worthie and memorable victorie. Make an end there-
fore of your warfare, and to fiftie yeeres traualies let this day impose a glorious
conclusion. Approoue to your cuntry, that the army could neuer iffitly be charged
either with protracting the warre, or pretences for not accomplishing the conquest.
As Agricola was yet speaking, the fouldiers gave great tokens of ferenencie, and
when
when he had ended accompanied the speech with a joyfull applause, & ran straightwaies to their weapons. Agricola seeing them sufficiently animated, and rushing furiously forward, ordered his men in this maner. With the Auxiliarie footemen, being eight thousand, he fortified the middle battell: three thousand horse, he put on both sides in the wings; commanding the Legions to stand behind, before the trench of the camp, to the greater glory of the victorie, if it were obtayned without Roman bloud, otherwise for assistance and succour, if the vanguard should be repelled. The Britans were marshalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the shew and to terrifie, the first battalion standing on the plane, the rest in the acent of the hill, knit & rising as it were one another: the middle of the field was filled with the clattering and running of charrets and horfemen. Then Agricola perceiving the enemy to exceed him in number, and fearing left he should be aflaged on the front and flanckes both at one instant, displayed his army in length: and although by that means the battell would become disproportionate long, and many admired him to take in the Legions, yet being more forward to hope, then yeeding to fear, he rejected the counsale, and leaving his horse avanced himself before the enemyes on foote. In the first encounter, before the ioyning, both sides discharged and threw: wherein the Britans employing both arte and valour, with their great swords & little targets, avoysed our throwes, or shooke them, darting withall great store against vs of theirs: till at length Agricola spying his vantage exhorted three Batauan cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to press forward, and bring the matter to handie strokes and dint of the sword; a thing which they in respect of long service were able readily to performe, and contrarily to the enemies prejudicial, and hurtfull by reason of their little bucklers, and huge swords: for the swordes of the Britans, being blunt pointed, were no way fit for the close or for open fight. Now as the Batauans began to decline bowles, to strike with the pikes of their bucklers, to mangle their faces, and hauing overborne in the plaine all that resifted, to march vp the mountains, the rest of the cohorts gathering courage upon emulation violently set downe all about them, and many halfe dead, or wholly untoucht, were left for hafte of winning the field. In the meanetim the charets mingled themselves with the battalle of the footemen, and the troupes of the horfemen beganne for to flee: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distrefed themselves by the vnummer of the ground, and thicke ranckes of their enemies. Neither was the forme of the fight like a loose skirmiſh of horfemen to and fro, but standing still and maintaining their places they fought by maine weight of horfes, to breake and beare downe one another. The wandring wagons also, and masterlesse horses affrighted, as it happened them by fear to be guided, ouer-bare many tymes of their friends which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the Britans, which s tooed afose from the battell on the height of the hills, and at their good leyture dislayned our fewnesse, began to come downe by little and little, and to compass aboue the backes of our men, which were now in traine of winning the field: but Agricola suspecting as much, opposed against them fower wings of horfemen purposely retayned about him for foidal dispatches, and chances of warre, and repelled them back as sharply, as fiercely they ran to affayle. So the counsale of the Britans turned upon their owne heads: and the wings were commanded to forfaie the battell and follow the flight. Then might you have seene in the open fields a grievous and pitifull specta cle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken when others were offered. Now whole regiments of the enemies, according to their feueral dispositions, though armed and moe in number, turned their backes to the fewer
fewer: others vnrmed fought their owne death, offering themselfes voluntarily to
the slaughter. Every where weapons lay scattered and bodies, and mangled limbs:
the ground euer where imbred with bloud: & sometymes even in them which were
overcome, appeared now at their ende both anger and valour. When they appro-
ched the woods, uniting themselves, they intrapped vnawares some of the foremost
of our men, which vnaudiously followed, not knowing the countrey: and vileſſe A-
gricola had with his presence euerie where asfiſted at neede, fetting about them of
his braeſt and most readie footheme, as it were in forme of a toyle, and command-
ing some of his horſemen to leave their horſes where the pillages were narrow, and
others where the wood was thin to enter on horſeback, no doubt we had taken some
blow by our ouermuch boldneſfe. But after they saw our men againe in strong array
to follow the chace in good order, they fled, not in troupes as before, and attending
each other, but vterly disbandeſſed and ſinge, eschewing all company, toward the de-
ſert and farre diftant places. The night and our fulneffe of bloud made an ende of
the chace. Of the enemies side 4 ten thousand were ſlaie: three hundred and for-
tie of ours amongst whom was Aulus Atticus captain of a cohort vpon a yſhoulfull
heate, and through the fiercenesſe of his horſe, being caried into the middeſſ of his
enemies. That night the winners for their parts folaced themſelues with the victor-
y and ſpoyle; and the Britans being vterly broken, crying and howling, men and wo-
men together, take and draw with them their hurt perſons, call the not hurt, forfaie
their owne ſtoies, and in defpiſe also fet them on fire themſelues, chufe out holes
for to lurke in, and straightwayes forfake them, communicate some conſolates togeth-
er, and then haue some glimſhire of hope: sometymes on theſeſe of their dearſteſt
beloved they are mooued to pitie, more often ſtirred to rage: and certaine it is that
some, as by way of compaffion and mercy, ſlew their owne children and wines. The
day following difcouered more plainly the greatnesſe of the victorie. Euerie
where defolation and silence: no ſtreering in the mountaines: the ſtoies ſried and
smoking farre off; no man to meete with our ſpies; who being ſent abroad into all
quarters found by their footſteps the flight was vnſcertaine, and that they were
no where in companies together. Whereupon Agricola because the ſummer was
spent, and the warre conveniently could not be diuided, bringeth his army into the
borders of the Horreſtians, where receiuing hoſtages he commanded the Admi-
ral of the nauie to faie about Britannie, lending him ſouldiers and ſtrength for that
purpoſe, and the terrourof the Roman name was gone alreadie before. Himſelfe,
with eafe and gentile iourneies, to terrouſe the new conquered nations with the very
ſtay of his paſſage, diſpoſed his ſooneſt and horſemen in their wintering places i.
and withall the nauie with proſperous winde and ſucceſſe arrived at the port Trutu-
lenſis, from whence it departe, and coaſting along the nearestſide of Britannie
returned thither againe.

This state of affaires in Britannie Agricola ſignified by letter, without any ampli-
yng terms, to Domitian: who after his maner with a cheerfulſſe countenance, and
gried hart receiued the newes, being inwardly pricked to thinke, that his late
counterfaite triumphi of Germanie, wherein certaine flanes bought for money
were attired, and their haire drefſed as captives of that countrey, was had in derifion
and ſkorneſſe abroad, whereas now a true and great victorie, fo many thousands
of enemies being ſlaie, was currant and famous in euerie mans mouth: that it were
indeed a moſt perillous point, if a private mans name ſhould be exalted above the
name of the Prince. In vaine then had he ſuppreſſed, the study of Oratorie, and all
other worthy politike arteſ, if he ſhould in militare glory be diffeſſed by another:
for other matters might more easily be passed over, but to be a good commander of
an army was to be above private estate, that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince.
With these and the like cares being tormented, & musing much in his cloister alone,
which was a token and signe of some crueltie intended, he thought it yet best for the
prentent to diffemble and put over his malice, vntill the heate of his glory and loue
of his souldiers were somewhat abated; for as yet Agricola remayned in charge.
Wherefore he commanded that all the honours of triumphall ornaments, * image
triumphal, and what elvs virtuall was conferred in lieue of triumph, should be awarded
unto him in Senat in most ample & honorable termes: & sending a succesflour caufed
withall a bruite to be fped, that the province of Syria, which then lay voide, by the
death of Atilius Rufus the Lieutenant, and was referred for men of great qualitie,
was purpoſed unto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian fending one
of his moff secret and trustie sertuants to Agricola, fent withall the patent of Syria,
with infruction, that if he were in Britannie it should be deliberated: and that the
fame man meeting Agricola as he crofed the feas, without speaking vnto him, or
delivering his miffage, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true, or
fayed and furnizied probably, as correspodent to the Princes disposition, I can-
not affирme: but in the meane feasen Agricola had delibered to his succesflour the
province in good & peaceable state. And left his arrial at Rome should be noted, by
reafon of the mulititudes of people which would go out to fee & to meet him, cutting
off that curtse of his friends, he entered the city by night, & by night, as he was willed,
came to the palace. Where being admitted to the Princes preſence, & receiued with
a short falutation and no speech, he forted himselfe with the rest of the waiters.
Now to the end he might temper and qualify with other good parts his mili
tare renowne, a vertue vnpleaſant to men of no action, he gaue himfelfe wholly to quiet-
nes and medling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, ac-
compained virtuall but by one or two of his friends: so that many, which commonly
judge of great men by the outwarde apparence and pompe, feeing and marking
Agricola, miffed of that which by fame they conceived, fewe aimed aright at the
cause. Often was he in those daies accuses to Domitian in abſence, and in abſence
acquitted. The caufe was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of partie aggrie-
ued, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and
the moft capitall kind of enemies commenders, procured the perill. And in
truth those times ensued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolas name to be
buried in silence: fo many armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germanie, Pannonia, either
through the rafheffe or cowardlineffe of the Generals caft away: fo manie good
souldiers, with manie cohorts defeated and taken. Neither was it the queſtion
then for the vetternost boundes of the Empire and bancke of the Riuer, but the
standing campes of the Legions, and the provinces themselves were in danger of
leeffing: fo that loffes being heat vpon loffes, and every yeare becomming no-
rourious for some calamitie and ouerthrowe, Agricola was required by the speech of
the people for General, euery man comparing his quickneffe, resoluteneffe, and
experience in warre, with their insufficient and daſtardly dealings: with which
kinde of talke, it is certainly knowne, Domitians eares were not vnacquainted; his
faithfullest sertuants vpon loue and allegiance, the reft vpon fpite and enemie pric-
ing him forward, being of himfelfe prone to the worfe. So Agricola partly through
his owne vertues, and partly the vices of others, was drawn headlong perforce
into glorie. Now the yeare was at hand, whenas the Proconfullhip of Afia or
Africke should be allotted vnto him, and vpon the late murdering of a Ciuica, nei-

ther could Domitian fail of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should do. Some also priuied to the Princes secret intents offered speech of themselves, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the government: commending at the first a faire off a quiet life and voide of business, and proffering anone their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine termes, by perswasion and threats they induced him to become a direct suiter in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance upon it, and composing himselfe to keepe maestie and fatare, both heard his humble petition excusing himselfe from that charge, and when the excuse was admitted suffred himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and was not ashamed of fo odious a benefite. Howbeit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality, and by him had bene granted to certaine, hee did not bestowe vpon Agricola: either being offended it was not fied for, or vpon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, left thereby he should seeme to have bought out that thing, which he had forbidden. It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurt: beside Domitian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irreucable, yet was he notwithstanding alterd and mollified by Agricolaes discretion and warie behauiour: for he did not with obtinacie, nor vaine oftentation of libertie, neither haften his fame nor his fall. Let them well knowe that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may be found euenn under bad Princes; that dutiful obedience and modestie, if industrie and valour bee joyned, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some following dangerous courses have aspired vnto by an "ambitious death, without any further profit at all."

The end of his life brought mourning to vs, and grieue to his friends, and euyn to strangers and persons unknown was lamented: the common sort also, and this reachles people of ours, both came off to his house, and in all publicke places & meetings had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either rejoice or foidainly forget it. And that which procured the greater compasion was a confant report, that he was made away by poiyon. Of mine owne knowledge I dare assurance nothing; this onely, that during the time of his sickness there came from Domitian, oftener then usually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretest servants and nearest physicians to fee him, whether as of carefulnesse, or only to spie, I leave it vncertaine: certaine it is, that the day of his death, every degree of his going away was caried in post to the Prince; and few men beleued the newes should be haftened so much, that he would be forie to heare. Notwithstanding he made shewe of sorrow in minde and in countenance, being nowe out of danger of that which he hated, and one that more easily could dissemble his joy then his feare. When Agricolaes testament was read, wherein he made Domitian coheire with his most deare wife and most dutifull daughter, it was certaine he greatly rejoied thereof, as if it had bene a signe of honour, or proceeded of judgement: fo blinded he was, and so greatly corrupted by continuall contume of flatteries, that he could not perceiue, that no good father did euer appoint for his heire any Prince but a tyranne. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of June, Caius Caeasar being thirde time Consull, and died the xiiij fis and fittieth yeere of his age, the fower and twentieth day of August, Collega and Priicus being Consulls. Of perionage (if poletirie desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned then tall, with an assurednesse and great grace in his countenance: a good man you would easily thinke him, and willingly a great. And although he died in the middle courte of

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his
The life of Iul. Agricola

his ripe age, in respect of honour and glory he lived with the longest: for of all the parts of true felicity, which consisteth in virtue, he had fulfilled the measure: and having obtained beside Consular and triumphal ornaments, what more could fortune annex to his estate? excessive of riches he delighted not in; honourable he had and according to his degree. Yea happy may he be thought and happy indeed, that escaped those tempests which followed, leaving behind him a daughter and wife, his honour not stained, his fame not touched, his friends and allies in bowring state. For as in our hearing he wished and hoped to live and left to the light of this most blessed age, and see a Traian established Prince, so his haftened death had this great comfort, that he lived not to see that last and most miserable time, in the which Domitian, not at seasons and by fites, but with a continual course and at one blowe, as it were, ruined the state. Agricola liued not to see the Senate-houfe fet, the Senate environed with fouldiers, and all in one fury the death of fo many Consulare personages, the banishments and flights of fo many great women. Catus Metius had obtayned as yet but one conquest, and Meffalina bloudy sentences kept themselves within the manour of Alba, and Maffa Bebius himselfe was then called in question. Anone after our handes led Heluidius into prifon; the fight of Mauricius and Rusticius pierced our harts; Senecio besprinkled vs with his guiltles bloud. Yet Nero withdrew his presence, and commanded cruelties, looked not on: the principal part of our miseries vnder Domitian was to see and be feene; when our secret fighes were registred, when that cruel countenance and red vifage, with which he armed himeselfe against blushing and shame, could endure to note and marke the feares and paleness of fo many persons. Thrice happy then maiest thou, Agricola, be counted, not onely for the renowne of thy life, but also for the opportunitie of thy deceafe. Thou diddest as they do affirme, which were pefent at thy laft speeches, accept thy death moft patientely and willingly, as though for thy part thou wouldst haue cleared the Prince. But I and thy daughter, beside the losse of so deare a father, we haue a further cause to be grieved, that it was not our chance to be by in thy sicknesse, to cherifh thy weaknesse, to satisfie and content our selves with feeing and embracing thee. Some counfaile no doubt, and some precepts we should haue receiued in charge to print and engrave in our harts: this is our grieve, this our speciall misfortune: to vs, in respect of our long abfence fower yeares before, thou waft loft. And albeit thy moft louing wife the belt of all mothers fate by, and furnished no doubt al things in moft honourable fort, yet waft thou laied vp with fewe teares, and at thy laft hower thine eies miffed somewhat. If there be any place for the ghosts of good men, if, as wife wemen define, the soules of great persons die not with the bodie, in peace maiest thou reft, and recall vs thy posteritie from impatient and womanish wailings to the contemplation of thy vertues, which are in no fort to bee forrowed for, or bewayed, but rather admired.

This is true honour indeed, and this is the dutie of nereft kinsfolkes. So I would counfaile thy daughter and wife to reuerence the memorie of their father and husbande, with often remebering his doings & words, recognizing the glorie and image of his minde, rather then of his bodie: not that I dislike of images cut in marble or mettall, but as mens faces, so the images of faces are mortall and fraile; the shape of the minde is eternall, which we may reprefent and expreff, not by matter and arte borrowed abroade, but by our owne manners within. That of Agricola which we did loue, which we admired, remaineth, and so will remaine, in the mindes of men, in the continual succedion of ages, in fame and renowne. For manie of the ancientes shall lie buried in obscure and inglorious oblivion,
obliuion, but Agricola shall lie recommended to posterity, and continue for ever.

Annotatns upon the life of Iulius Agricola.

1. Forum Iulium. A toque soeie in tisore Nenomeni, distant from Masilia 75 miles, as Strabo recketh. Of the same name there were all in Italy, but none so famous as this. The present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent chancellor of France, Michael b. Hospitallus.

2. Apontificalldignific||Of all thecollegesofPriests,in Rome being many innumber, that of thePontifici

3. None of theindisclapsses] That is, he was neither a Priest virbus, nor prerension, which were the two places of civil causes, properly called by the name of iustice. To the refld belonged cognition of criminal causes, as de Ambus, Reprimenda, Faci, Vendigii, etc. properly called by the name of Questions, and under the Emperors handled before the Praefectus virbus, rather than then their own Praetor, which at those times carried not much more then a bare name.

4. Patrians] One of the fundamettall duations in the Roman State was in Priates, nine Patrians & plebians.

The Patrians were all made by Romulus, as Livy reporteth, Senators and counsellours of state: as Dionysius, out of the Patrians the Senates were elected. Hmfus v所产生的 Alba to Rome, Principes Albusnot in Priates, va ea quaques polita ex erudito,ingenio,Senatus,Quinta,honours.many in number, that of the Pontifici.
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THE LIFE OF Ivl. AGRICOLA

I see, not my selfe, I am content to leave it to others. One thing I see, that many good writers have had but ill luck in such kind of refembances. Strabo likeneth the known part of the world to a cloake, and Dio commentary. After to a sling (being much like the one to the other) and both of them Spaine to an oxhide, Ruinus Numantianus Italie to an oken leafes; and the same Dionyius Africa and Europe to a conus and Pholoe. Peloaphes Thessalia is to a cloace.

7 The extreme and plain partes. A place in mine opinion very hard to be well vnderstood; or at least, made good. For he feemeth to say, that the extreme parts of the world being plaine, the light therefore is nothing, or little, which importeth much as, if the night were nothing els, but when the sune hideth it selfe behind some mountaine or other, els, that albe it the earth toward the midde was globose and boffed, yet was it toward the poles flatth and plaine. Very vulgar conceret in a great man, and yet in the text infa caetero sida varia, by no meanes. For, if a man there, as out of the boulles of argy and the lowe extremity of the shadow projected is the cause of the thornynesse of the nights, but the lowe sune proceeded neither of mountaine, nor plaine, but because the sune in the summer feason runneth his course almost all about ground in those countrie toward the poles, and when it doeth fet, by reason of the inclination of his circle to the horizon, descendeth not directly, but passeth obliquely razing as it were vnder their horizon, yet one of the Pangyrists, as though Taciust had deliveter vs here matter of vntimity, hath taken the paines to assume this speeke learning ad verum into his oration.


9 Againſt this opinion of the sune in the summer, it may be said, that way in him selfe, is one of the moſt diſtle, ready, and pernicious meanes to worke a great injury in the commodity of the Empire, if not to performe his other purposes, for the price of corn, in all parts of the Empire, as Caesar himselfe, in the Actes of the Senate, saith if it be not to make a breach into their countrie, and to conquer any more than the conquest of the Empire, it would be both hard to be kept, and dangerouſ, he said, that which they had and this precept be alwaies obſerved himselfe not only in word but in deed and effectuall, when with great ability, he might, to conquer any more of the barbarous nations.

10 To buy corn. The Romans, beside tribute, imposed upon the countries输送, such at least as yeelded commodity thereof, a proportion in corn, commonly the tenth part, and besides for the provision of the Lieutenant, andouldiers maintained there, and other like purpose, at a reſonable price. In gathering whereof the head officers vled many concussions and valuaylfull exactions, as appeared at large in Tullies firth oration againſt Verres. In Britanny it seemed the Romans had ingrossed all the corn of the countrie, and imputing a monopoly theringe compelled the poor Britains to buy at their hands and therisprice, and by and by laying a new charge upon them, as to vntaile the arme, or such like, to fell it again under foote. Moreover the British and inhabite Britanniacaeremonie, it came about to London, would take vp cars at Caerlili, or make them pay well to be garde, whereas the same thing might have been done without any moleftation at large of the byricet, but not with like gaine to the officers. These abuses, or other of this kind, are erected in this place, as I understand it, submitting my judgment herein to better maner of experience this way.

11 The most capital kind of enemies, commenders. To hurt or disgrace by way of commendation, albeit he seemeth a straine position at the first light, yet may be, and dayly is, both easily and diuerely performed. For example. To commend a man to his Prince for those qualities, wherein the Prince him selfe either by his place ought to excell, or otherwise upon some fpeciall fancies affeecteth to excell, and principally if he finde any weaknes that way in himselfe, is one of the most flathe, ready, and pernicious means to worke a great yan in disgrace with
with his Prince. Whether that humor were with the rest infused into vs at our beginning, I know not, but I surely beleue, that no man liueth so vterly voide of good parts, but that he supposeth he hath some special gift about moff men some way or other. the nature & motions of which humor who can marke and obserue in his Prince to take where advantage is offered, and worke as the matter doth yeeld, shall feldome want means to doe harme to note wherein they delight and pleaſe themſelves, beeing as ready a necane to doe hurt, even with the good Princes, astro * feele and search out, what they feared, hath bene with the bad. For if all kinds of rivalry breed in private men caules of grudge and dislike, what may the subiecte attende from his Prince (whoſe mind, as his body is more tender, and more to receiue offenfte impionions) in fo great menes to offend, but allured deftruction be the concurrence founded upon neutrals, and with either party, upon some gender phrenely, having a deafe to become in his old daies a writer of Tragedies, hated, impenifed, at torment was loxemus the poet, who was thought to fill in his light. * The first difcase of Seneca with Nero was grounded upon a suppole, that Seneca sought to excell him in eloquence, and making of verſes; into which studies the Prince in thoſe daies had wholly betaken himself. and in his later times settling his faucy and loute upon finging and playing in staggles, qualities vniſeme for his effere, * he caſt out of favour, and then made away Paris the flagelaier, as his concurrent in that protection. Now by way of commendation Poppea Sabina commending the gentleness qualities of Otho, albeit she did it to an other intent, yet brought the vnwares his * diſcredit with the fame Nero. And for my part I am not refolved, howe an excellent poet of our time obtainted conuictue, which before a Prince, that esteemed it more then his crowne to be accounted the most beautifull perſon in the world, maketh one extoll his owne brother so highly, yea and preferre him alo before the king himself in that point, beeing a point fo prone to engender emuſion, and emulation in that kind, dangerous effets. But aboute all others kinds of commendations, that touch most nearely, and worketh most danger, where the quality commended breedeth not onlye loue, but admiration alo generally among the people, is military renowne, magnanimitie, patronage of justice against all oppreſsions and wrongs, magnificence and other Heroicall vtures properly belonging, or chiefly beſeeeming the Princes perſon. And this being general to all inſome manner, no Prince in the world haueing his minde so well armed against this cunning but that some breach may be made at some feasions into it, yet there it worketh moſt speedily, and dangerousſly, where the Prince, as before I haue faide, is a witness to himſelfe of his owne weakeſs. For as it is true, that Aeneas virtutis nemini, qui confidebit se, in toto, * it true alſo, that inſufficiency is most apprehensive and envious. * Vefpanian and other great Princes, banding upon their owne might, and the strength of their vtures, could eafely difcover, that one should be faide, for example, to have imperatione genoum, yea and pretended him alo to place of credit, adding inſtead, that he would perhaps remember it one day, whereas with Dominian a Prince erũageable and fearfull, because of himſelfe he was nothing, no way was found more fitte to bring Agricola in diffaute, then by commendinge his excellent vtures. In like manner certaine of Conſtantius court, where they could not niftly faide ill, by the same fretegme of Praising in fauour, and then made away Paris the stageplaier, as his concurrent in that profeſſion. Now by way of commendation Poppaea Sabinac commending the twa " ava改造, *tutus humilissimus, qui per benevolentiam illa famae, Iulianus Alamaniam domuit: Iulianus, urbe S Gallie ex famillis & sº. kindes of commendations, that toucheth moſt nearely, and worketh moſt danger, where the quality commended " st. ruribus susceptible, sed illis qui suadimus, & adhibitos qui e contra visum, certat. Iesu verba in aliis, in quibus omnibus " st. st. proximus, aliquis flagiti occultatis, candida filii rebus susceptis: in instar, ruribus suscepstis, & suaeus nullus refulus. Another kind of hurtinge by way of commendation is touched by Polybius, whereof he gueſte in the fouthe book of his fórme in the perfon of Apelles a counſellour, & one in chefe credit with Philip of Macedon fader of Perues: who being devote to reuoue Taurion, gournour of Peloponeſe, from his charge, and place some creature of his in his roome, tolde Philip his fader, that Taurion was a moſt fuggle man, and fite in all reſpectes to feue neare, counſellinge him thereof, and fende him aboue his owne perſon, cruſty calling him by that meanes from an honouuable, and almoſt aboſt gourment thither, where hefhould line in equallity with others, and be ſubiecte to one as the meane: great men in this point somewhat remembinge the moone, which although thee fet her light from the funne, and effonnes reforte thither againe to receiue new influence and moone, yet in her puroturneth her darke face toward the world, and fhine then brightel, when she is furſte removed. Alber in latter times the con¬ trary example hath beene moſt vſable in courtes, by way of commendation to remove one from about the Prince, and fende him out of the way, under pretence that he is the onely fitte man for fuch and fuch a feruece abroad. Many other kindes might be reckned of this fort of ophithrie, as to commend a man publickely, where it can doe no good ( befide that it maketh the partie fecure of all danger from thence ) and fecretly diſpraiue him, where it should doe much harme, Massini Vanes, faeſt Tacitus, 1. Hifl. quamquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo opuso Vitiiſam homoe fuit, scriberi non criminibus, insinuariac Fabius ignorant, & quo inciden tum desperare, papam datum. Or els to commend in generalitie, and faue vnder the oppinion of a friende in the Princes cares, defcrivable to diftabe this or that particular, which is in quallion, with fuch like decency, which the maſles of courtiers heretofore haue inſenete, and daylie muiteneſte plentifully. For in court, tatey 1 Polynius, this maſle was found, and in court it remaine. * A good man you would eafe thyself think him: &c. Bonum vtrum facilis credere, magum omen. * Eas Corneli Tazete bonum honore fuit, facilis credere, bonum ueritate creditum, were not for this and some other fixings of the like making. Forti ille vir, faeſt 5 Tacitus judging of Seneca, as we may of him, ingenuo accepi, temporibus illius urbius ac omni mandatum. How that age was eared, long or round, I cannot define: but sure I am yedde a kind of Sophisticate eloquence, and rining harmony of worde, wherevnde was small matter in fencnes when there seemed to be moff in apparence. This kind of Rhetorike was induced into Grece by the teachers of oratoric in schools, who forbid thes vſe and experience had not refuеd: firſt by Gorgias, as it may well appear by that little of his which is left: then by flocrates and his disiples, and being refuеd by that audacious nation found fauer in some corners of Asia, if it length the vſe of eloquence decaying in common wealth, and the 18 Annae
Annotations vpon the life of IVL. A GRICOLA.

The study thereof remaining in Schooles, that bastard Rhetorike returned againe, yeelding vs in stead of the soundly contrived sentences of Demophenes, Alciphron, Hyperides, the paintings of Aristidus, Philestratus, Dio Chrysostomus, and others, though not without opposition of many, as Dionysius, Lucian and such like. The auncient Romans fuccking the best from the Greeks, when they were at their beft fayled not much that way, vneffe peraduenture wee may reken Hortensius as one of the number: for so Tully in Bruto seems to describe him. But of the later, whom haue wee almost not infected with that heresie of stile begun by Seneca, Quintilian, the Plinies, and Tacitus, continued in their fucceffeours the Panegyrits, and laffly conveyed to Christian religion by Cyprian, Ambrofe, Augustin, Bernard, &c. For a taste of this affectation in Tacitus, 1.Hift. Rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quæ velim, & quæ sensio diciuers litter. Inchoantur annos habi viuim, reip. prop. suprema. Secundae res antiquitas similia avium explorat, quæ miseriae tolerantem sibi facilitatem corrupserit. Quaenam Caesar properata adoptione, ad hoc cunctum maius facti praedatus ut prior occideretur. Et venante differentia omnium ordinum, Redemissaque in castra iniuientes innocentes. Nec illi priores & suorum principes tertius, quo minus facti erant simul culto ulterior est quisquis successe. Quaque aetate placenta hostilia ira non quidem in bello sed pro pace suspenderant. 3.Hift. Et Vitalius credidit de perfida & fidem abscuti. Hift. Aferas & ante Cipriolam, sed grande pristina: nunc palam obfiffam, palam incensum, with many moe of the same mark.

FINIS.
A VIEW OF CERTAINE MILITARY

matters, for the better understanding of the ancient Roman stories.

Servius in warre is by lande, or by water. The Roman service by lande
was either at home in the City, or externall abroad. The externall
service principally in Legiones and Auxilia, is a knowne diuision in the
Roman stories. Lucius lib. 8. De exercitu, legionibus, and auxilii P. B.
legiones autaileque sibiuitm autem autem magis daemonum, modest frequent in Tacitus. 1. Hist. infecta
from Polybius, and from his own both rules and examples, in the warres with the Latins about the yeare of the City 415. 1 makesthe first thousand the ordinary number of that age, and 42. = the summe of ancient times.

And yet the same Luius, as haung forgotten himselfe, Paulus & Parnote Cef. in the second Punicke warre writes: 43. numero quos legiones annotas, milli. pediones in fontas adistant. In quas milia pediones efferant. Of first thousand we have examples everywhere: of first thousand and two hundredth in Polybius, lib. in the French warres: and in Appian. 4. Epis. where he relooth 3. legions of Sylla into one hundredth and twenty thousand. Of first thousand and fourer thousand in Luie, lib. 37. in the warres against Antiochus. Of fix thousand in the warre against Pleisthenes: Luius lib. 42. Appianus * Mithridanco relooth the foue Legions of Lucullus into thirty thousand. Quos * Epis. after the warre at Philippes, Antonius interpreteth to the Grecians twenty syght legions of 44. * Mithridaticum in the field: 3 legions of the same age one about one thousand and fouer thousand perifons, that is above first thousand spexe. Sex million & ducentores pediones, quos * Zolimitus lib. 6 refolvaing & centuriones intro mellei ad iuvat. That is, Six Legions of soldiers into 48,000 persons. Now for horsemen * Polybius writing in and of the free state affirneth to every Legion two hundredth, and upon extraordinary occasion three hundredth. Luie likewise sometime two, sometime three hundredth. Appian in Mithridat. guich to six Legions one thousand and fix hundredth horse. In the Macedonian warre, Anno vrvb. Caesaris, 138, according to Luicus fupputation, to 4. Legions were attributed 3 thousand and three hundredth horse. In the second Punickewarre writeth: 4. Sex millium & ducentorum in legiones, aliterbus & decuriones, as it was in trothe, soe can. Under the Empire, as it may be gathered by Vegetius, six hundredth at the leaft were matriculated in a Legions, and six hundredth in fixtume where prima cohoris was millia, before fifty six Decurions: suntu feuentque hundred twenty fix comprehending the officers. As for * Tophius allowing to each Legion but an hundredth and twentyfive horse, it was an over sight. And thus much of the number of soldieres in a Legion, which we are to vnderstand at the first enrolment when it is enter, not diminished by warre, or misfortune, nor contrary through ambition overcharged. Carof in the ciuell warre had his Legions soe strong, that they conterney scarce three thousand a piece, and cane at the first enrolment 4. not about foower thousand. On the other side the Legio dejectas confirvated by Nero was so hugge and enourme, that when they were thighed they were at the entrie of Galba into the City, the rest decessati, yet the remainder sufffaced Otho * to make up a Legion. Such Legions Appianus, 4. Epis. fecundum, as to call they in corporis & legiones, et sequentia. So that of the number of the Legions in an army, without due consideration of other circunstances, we may not haile to conclude the number of soldieres.

The footemen in the Legion of Romulus were deuided, according to the tribes which yealded them, into Romane, Luceres & Tentates, each containing a thousand: and every thousand into ten Centuries or * Curiae. In the Popular Legion confulting as we have laied ordinarie of fewer thousand and two hundredth the footemen were 3 distribut into foure foures, 30,000/l. The youngest and poorest fore they named Velites, the next in age Hastatim, the third being at the age of their principal strength Principes, the fourth somewhat elder Triari. Of this 1st and 2nd euerie Legion altered or increased howsoever or fixtewere fixtewere hundredth only: of Principes, Hastatim, and Velites nueue hundredth a piece in an ordinary Legion, and proportionably in an increade. When this partision was induced I cannot precisely define. Dionyius lib. 5. straight after the kings were expelled, madest mention of Tertius as of a mattere not now. Valerius Maximus lib. 1. * writeth, that the vie of the Velites was first deuided by Fulvius Flaccus & Capua, in the second Punicke warre. In later times, and specially under the Emperours, this division so famous in ancient fories was in a maner wore out. Now the Hastatim were diuided against into ten * Enfeignes, or ordines, every one in an ordinary Legion containing an hundredth and twentie perifons. The first Enfeigne or order whereof was called prima Hastatim, the second secunda & Hastatim: and fo for every ad decimus ordinem Hastatim. Likewise the Principes into ten Enfeignes, primus, secundum, tertium Principem: &c. euerie enfeigne containing as before. And laffie the Tria were also diuided into ten Enfeignes, each containing sixtewere perifons. The first Enfeigne whereof was called prima Pila, the second 2nd secunda Pila, and fo forth to the tenth. The Velites were proportionably diuerfed among all the Enfeignes. Of these thirtie Enfeignes called in Latin Manipulus, according to Bellius, lib. 6. cap. 4. and Semius in i. ætatis, (although Plutarch, in Romulo interpreteth Manipulis, * egeretzi, confounding it with Centurie, and Vegetius lib. 1. cap. 13. most abroadly maketh it equivalent with consensus, a company of ten or eleuent perifons) echorne was diuided against in doue Centurias, Centurianum & Centurianum postierum, although in trueth they contented not the full number of an hundredth, but online in an ordinary Legion fixtie perifons befides the Velites, and of the Tria but thirtie. Luie in describing the 14th Centuriae feemeth to vie an inuerde kind of speech, lib. 42. His me imperator digeminam imitantur, cui primam hastatam priorem centuriam signignis, in place as it may feeme, of cui priorem centuriam primam hastatam signignis, and in the leafe following left it might be supposeth done by chance or negligence;
In the Legion of Romulus over the footmen (fifth Dionysius) three Tribunes, were appointed to govern under the king, each over his own tribe: and over euerie Centurie or Curia, a Centurion, or Curion.

Three Tribunes and three Centurions in a Legion, the Tribunes selected out of the greatest men for nobilitie or reputation, eú τῶν εὔπροστάτων; the Centurions of the most valiant, ἐὰν τῶν ἐξουσιάστων. Vnder the Conful or Prefet in time of liberty, and Prince in the Empire, captains inchiefe and soueraignty, to haue the cuſtodie of the Eagle or banner of the Legion, to sounde the watches, &c. monſouldiers, and the third namethamifle, for Decurio is of detem, not of triginta or triginta duo. Wherefore if he

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will needs have two of Polybusus Decuriones reckoned among the commons herefore, the thirde he might more suitably have named with Polybusus Prefellius Turrano, then Decurio. So have we in Polybusus Legion frigidos Decuriones, whereof ten were explained, as I sayd, in Venustus.twelve two Decuriones, or in more reasonable speech, & more according to his own principles, fixtie fix. Of any higher office ordinance over the Legiunarii, then Polyesterum, I finde no mention in the Popular or Imperial Legion, the horse in generall being, I suppose, under the direction of the great officers of the fields, Legiunarii consiliorum, and Legionarii legum: extraordinarily I grant under the Dictator, Magister equiunx, as it were, the generall of the horse. Of the Centurion and Decurion under the officer, and as it were vicegerent or aduizor, was named Optio, the name which is in Polybusus called, as I suppose, Bagellius, the equiunx of the prefect, as it is, return praestari minimis, que facilius absolvit publicis officis, Optio, faeclai Felix, qui adstridat destinacione vel tricentis. So called quis consequuntur permittam et opere quem velit: where, as it feemes, he omits his charge among horsemen, as Varro lib.4. de lin.Lat. doth among foote. Quo decuriones (faeclae hec) primi administris spio fuis adoptabant, Optiunae vocari capi: quo namo proper ambitionem tribunis faciam, Thus much of the Legionarii, among whom none were enrolled but siis Romanis, iurisper quis indicare expertes. As touching the first point it is cleere in libry, that any hundred yeares together all the delitell were ex plecte Romana alone, which in later times fellome was murdered, in the Empire scarce euer, nor almost anie Italian borne, but siis Romanis est provinciis. Herodiass lib.2. * ceiae iustisse in the French warre feemeth to have enrolled of the tranpand into Legions, beeing then not citizens of Rome. Concerning the second point, they which were liberis genere, though siis Romanes were never enrolled, much less freed, but once or twice in extremeties. For the third, according to Dionysius lib.3. not only H perdans disabled to Legionarie service, but all * fedentarie, mechanical, and voluntary arts. Agriculture was only allowed of, as the only trade of * men for the service in warre: noas in the practice of Sparta, and precepts of Plato one man to till at home, and another to fight abroad, but one and the same man in peace a good husbandman, and in warre a good soldier, no per per the opinion of many being more daungeous in a latte, then which he makestouldier his occupation and trade. Furthermore it was requir'd, that the Legiunary foilder should within the yeares of service, * ex circulo trenta, and ass fidell at least in the fift clausi. The military age was * from betweene to fotttie fix, as Dionysius faeclae, oforos ix, as * Polybusus, and in dangerous times to fotttie. * Secund a lib. de iustisia vite cap.20. Lex quisque iurisper non minimum vel, a seceximomnem non nisi, in which time the footeeman might be allowed to serve fotttie or twentie yeares, if need required the horseman ten. In Augustus time, Dio lib.4. apparet quod seueue yeares of service for the Praetonian foilder, and interme for the Legiunarie service, in the booke following, as having forgotten militicelle, feteene to the Praetorian, and twenty to the other. In Tiberius the fouteen to the fouldiers in German is allia alta est. Tactus, . Annal. vicae * fipendiarium: exsequari, qui sena denta efferent, as reenia sub versico, et usum innominatis a propinquis bona, which words peraduenture may reconcile in some part the repugnant places of Dio. Now for the clausi, the manner of multurig, which in Romanis time went meerecl tribunum, civice tile conferring his thousand, and Tactus Tullius reduced to a matter of centor taxe: according to which not onely the matter was taken, but all officers of importance in the flate were elected, laws established, and tribus imposed. The whole number of Citizens being digested into sixe clausi, in the fift were all thole, which in the taxe or libidio booke were assifed at an * hundred thousand atties and avove. The second from an hundred thousand downward to fenteene thousand. The third from fenteene thousand to five thousand: The fift from twenty thousand to twelue thousand and five hundred. The last of all such were under the left rate. Now whereas the fift clausi conferred eighteen hundred, and the other fourteen hundred and two thousand foolders, bein fised and fished to the censu. The third clausi fouth fenteene thousand. The fourth and second, and two hundred to founde the trumpet, and strike the drumme, the fift: The fift clausi * inomnis militis, egerunt exercitum claudantes, et suum suos exercitus, et suos eorum exercitus, et suos exercitus. But this is free from allposure in warre and all payments of Tribute. Dionysius lib.4. although in the same Dionysius, in the same place allsoeth it by oright one soolder in 123 true is it that the fift clausi had one voice in 193, in comittis centurias, but is yielded no man to the matter at all. So that one coure by this manner of multuring yielded a hundred ninety two men to the warre, whereof eighteene were horsemen, lower arularis, and fitters, a hundred and fourteene foolders: and to about againe, as the cale required a greater or leys armm, in the fame proportion. Dionysius lib.4. With whom Luiy lib.1. aguing in the ref, differeth only in the cente of the fift clasius, which by him is but eleven thousand attie, and furthermore the artificers Luiy joyneth to the fift clasius, and the fift to the fift, whereas Dionysius purgeth them to the second and fourth. The reason why this left and poorst for was excluded from fercet from Ferris w foule dagome by Lulius Exuperantius. Populous Romanus, faith he, per clasius dishus erat, * pro patrimonio faciebant se centurias, et ex omnibus quibus erat, ad militiam ducabant, diligentiaris enim pro victoria laborabatur, qui praeber litteratis, bona defenda, illius armis quibus milia aegis erant, capitis quoniam solum poeflebus centurias, et belis tempore in miliarum vel de servitu: facile enim presidium exserte predictos: quae egeat hand faciebe hostem sine damn. This kind of multuring per clausi influenced by Saluatiu, was later in times, as it may be gathered by the praelie in the Roman florices and plavc words of * Polybusus, altered in part and reduced somewhat nearer to a manner of tribe, as being a more popular order, and more agreeable to the present generall, yet for, that so Legiunary foilder none could be multured but fach as were fettle at 12 and forty the rate, and at the least,fyeth Polybusus, which is indeed somewhat lef then the cente of the fift clasius limited by Dionysius and Luiy; whether it were that Polybusus had forgotten the summe, or that the cente of the clasius was abated, for that both then and afterward regard of the clausi in taking the mutter it is cleere by the words of Saluatiu, in Ingurichuno. Marinisci militis sciesrire non more maiorem, neque ex clasius, sed vae eunius turbidos erat, capitio consenpere poenae, such as for lacke of wealth were cenfed onely by poll. After while which the clausi were, as take it, in little confideration in the mutter of Legions, especielly in the cuiall warres, and in the Empire vertely neglected, the cenf alo being abolishe.
Rome feared in the Roman camp. After that time, we find sometimes mention, but no great reckoning made in the free state of Auxiliaries. Perpetually obserued, as it appeareth by infinite places in Livy, Appian and others, but more or less according to pils, magis adinimulum officet, quam principale subsidium. Of Auxiliaries we find two principal kinds, external and social.

On were eight Cohorts: which if it were ordinary, seeing the vse of that age beareth at least six hundred men for a Cohort, the Auxiliarie footemen belonging to a Legion were four hundred and eight hundred. And yet,...

Agricola had for three Legions in his army in Britannic no more but eight thousand, the rest perambulation being dispersed in garnisons. Equum alia, faith Vegetius, ab eodem quidem calidis veniam honoribus divisi, quae Antonia et Alia contained, as I suppose, about three hundred footemen. By Tacitus 1, Hist. It is plain, that ex quatuor equitum frontium

...and more, and[in] external and amongst the barbarous nations, and ancient enimes of the Roman Empire with their manner of service, not without notable præcedent to the late. In Tacitus under the first Emperor we have in the Roman camp. Auxiliares conductur ad prælimin. ex diversis, ex diversis numero, diversis vocationibus. Nec dissipando inter se

Auxiliaries conductur ad prælimin. ex diversis, ex diversis numero, diversis vocationibus. Nec dissipando inter se

The Emperor for three Legions in his army in Britannic no more but eight thousand, thereat present were but five or sixteen. Contrary, Vitellus to the eight broken Legions had but twelve. Agricola in Britannic to three...
Legions had three thousand Auxiliary horsemen. Of these Cohorts of Auxiliary footmen the governors in later times also were called Prefetti; and the Wings of Auxiliaries likewise in later times had their Prefetti severally, from the foot, of which in Polybius we find no mention. In Wings the undercapitains, as in the Legions, were named Decuriones. Of the number I cannot affirm: only it is certain probable, that the Prefetti then were according to the number of the Cohorts and Wings, and the Decuriones, as in the Legions, the three Tarma confirming this of horsemen. To conclude this point, although the Imperial Auxilia seem not to have always one line, as by the examples alluded may be assumed, yet taking two Wings and eight Cohorts for the Auxilia of a Legion, those things presupposed which we have before done, the Legion Imperial with their Auxilia arriveth to twelve thousand and per sons. Six thousand Legionary footmen, fix hundred Auxilia horse. Summe twelve thousand. Yeve- nuus out of other particulars collecteth the same total. 

Of Augustus, Dio. 

...: The Roman manner of encamping according to Polybius and other ancient writers is represented in the figure following: 

...len praesent-N E QJ-E Ex 0 R D 1NE REce S S P Ros, NISI T E L 1 S M M E N DIAPIT P E re?N

...uturandum more forme of it was F/GAE 6c, idTratt...ºttotitls

...3º.len...temrecuſaturo,proRomangrepublict. In the place of Liuy before quoted mention is also made of a voluntary an swer...º.º.IH O ST IS FER IE N DI, A VT c1VIS S E R / A N DI C.A.P.S.A. Beyond this oath 

£º., quemeoscariore,habeboquimCaium& ſororescius. The

...tºuxzººandtheyou know not.

...aricCohortsandWings, ſpecially locals, had also their ſcuerall names, as cohors DecimaEpsipima, DecimaeLuna, numbers, cohors Ten希望自己, chas.4. before mentioned is also made of a voluntary aw

...Fº

...it'suconſulumconuenturo,nequeiniuſi,

"Iuration, que poffea, ſaith he, exvoluntariointermiliter-fadereadlegitimamiuriſurandiada&ionemtranslataeaffect. The

...eternizingthemmanyages, thereſtdecaying of being diſſolued, thenamewasnolongeranote of his place, but rather became a proper name simple. In the later * times we read of three Tertiae, and two * extre distinguished by

...3º,HAR A R T N E I, IIANT Ax,

"...*s...temrecuſaturo,proRomangrepublict. In the place of Liuy before quoted mention is also made of a voluntary an swer...º.º.IH O ST IS FER IE N DI, A VT c1VIS S E R / A N DI C.A.P.S.A. Beyond this oath 

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"Iuration, que poffea, ſaith he, exvoluntariointermiliter-fadereadlegitimamiuriſurandiada&ionemtranslataeaffect. The
PRAETORIVM: A square plot, every side containing two hundred foot, for the Generals lodging, and his traine: the ground to be chosen as might be fittest both for prospect and direction.

d. d. A streete of fifty foot broade leading from the middle of the PRAETORIVM to the gate K at the toppe of the page.

c. c. c. A streete directly opposite to the former, and of the same breadth, leading from the PRAETORIVM to the gate K at the bottom of the page. Of the right hand of which streete was lodged one Legion with her Auxilia, and on the other of the left. Now from the PRAETORIVM toward K, measuring out an hundred and fifty foot employed to fies specified, we are there to begin the lodgings of the common soldiers.

Deum Tournum equinum: A rowe of lodgings for the horsemen of the first Legion divided into ten partitions, according to the Tournum of Polybius Legion which consisted, as before is declared, of three hundred horse and four thousand two hundred foot. The shift Tourns being quartered in the lodging nearest to the square, somewhat more than eighteene foot every way.

Decem ordines Trierarium: Ten lodgings for the ten ordinaries, or manipuli Trierarium primus legiones with their Centurions and under officers, joyning backe to backe with the lodgings of the Equites, & opening into the streete according to Polybius, from the top of the page to the bottom; and from the left hand to the right the breadth; altbe it the latter each called as often lymphs, etc. etc.

The Centurions according to Polybius lodging, of one hundred and fifty in breadth, to make the one as conveniently lodgate as the other. And so Polybius expressely significat in these words; "et a centurione magnarum ordinum, speciall care taken of which strett, which, being in the middle of the soul treade, the gound so choosen as might be fittest for such a purpose, was holden a market, forum romanum viciumium, Lueth Peutius.

Now of the hundred fifty foot, which, as it was declared, were betwene the horsemen quarter and the PRAETORIVM, a hundred foot was the breadth of VIA PRINCIPIS, of which lodeg the Poles Polybius special care was had, that it should be fittest and handesome, because it was the visicall place of return for the footmen in the daytime. In the other fifty foot towards the PRAETORIVM was a rowe of lodgings opening upon VIA PRINCIPIS, ech lodging bearing every way fifty foot, for the twelve Tribunes and twelve Prefetis equestris, their trains, horse, and luggages, and at their return by their respective partitions, the lorde in the first lodging answering directly to the Legionarie horsemen quarter, and the last to the streete, and eighty foot distances between of thirty foot, b, b, b, b, b, the lodgings of the Prefetii, (whom as it seems Polybius had forgotten to answer) answering precisely to the breadth of the Auxiliaries quarter, with a voides pace of fifty foot betwene the third and fourth tent, and of the other side for thoof the other Legion, a voides pace of fifty foot being left answerty the streete c. c. c.

S. E. S. G. S. A crosse streete before the PRAETORIVM, being a hundred foot broad, where I suppose was fised the watche, mentioned by Polybius, etc. etc. with the campes of the auxiliarie, etc. etc. in the campes of theirs. In every day one Ensigne by two horsemen watch and ward at the Generals position both for the safety of his person, and maintaine of his peace.

Extraordinari Equites, and Extraordinari Peutius, a plot of a hundred fifty foot in length (for so it will fall out if wee make the whole ground for the lodgings, as we must, perfectly square) and four hundred and fifty in breadth, answering to the QVAESTORIVM and part of the PRAETORIVM for the extraordinary bands of the Auxilia.
Enseignes were placed sub dio, as indeed, being certain elong speares couered with sliuer with the Princes images. 

7 & al Twi: toplace them all in one chappell. That is, "hanging upon them under the Empire, they could hardly be blies, and the

Trench. The uſe of this voideroome is for the commodious entring and diſſuing of the Legions, for the safebi of the enemie.

But the prinſal commoditie is, that the enemie vpon ſo daie aproaches by night to the trenches, cannot throwe any fire worke, or dart to doe any greathurt in ſo great a diſtance.

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in this case we are rather to believe. Now that Praetoria was nearest to the enemy, and Decumanus set forth off, it is
evident by Cæsar. de bel. A Pompeius,Sateth he, acte accedit, prænet, fi in castra equo consilii, &c centumvires
quis in fissionem ad Praetoria portam pol to, et, mutinibus, simi, castra, &c. and immediately after, Pompeius et in ea
&c. Praetoria pora ex eis castra eiecit. That Praetoria was the foreground, and Decumanus the back gate: it appears in the place of Luni, above alluded to, o. e. tergo castrorum Praetoriae continentem
pallium, &c. and yet Polibus calls the side where K. standeth perpetually the nuncius militaris, where the
armies stood, &c. That is, the fore side of the camp; and that other where A. and B. standeth, &c. Praetoriae, That is,
the back side of the camp, as I think, only by way of supposition and distant fancie, because in his description of
the lodgings he begins at the Praetorium and proceedeth on forward toward Pons Decumanus.

Thus have we a description for two of Polybius ordinary Legions with their Amastus, which was the ordinary
army of one Conful: a camp perfectly square, not as the Grecians (although if Frontinus say true, the Romans
took this whole learning of Pyrrhus to a Gracian) who framed their camps according to the ground, whereas the
Romans framed the ground to the campe, and distinguished it with streets and pavilions to a good order,
that a man might as readily finde his place there, as his house in the town where he was born. The whole
perimeter within the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred foote, or one thousand five hundred
fifty paces; every side, according to the positous already ligned, containing two thousand five hundred foote. Now when
the Legions were made thinner then ordinary, in lodging both horse and foot; the Quadrages were made propor-
tionally bigger as well as length as to breadth, and to the figure square full retained. But if the Assilis doe exceede,
first they contrive the Quadrages and Formes into one, and lodge them in the other: as if that doe not
suffice, they make more rows of lodgings upon the right and left hand of the Auxiliary quarter, enlarging the
figure in breadth by these means, and retaining the former length. And likewise if more then two Legions under
one General were to be encamped together, the figure was, Hippiote, a long square, enlarged only in breadth
with more rows of lodgings on both sides the freete & c. For Tacitus in a place above alledged signifieth
that by measuring the Principia we might finde out the number of the Legions, which presupposing, the enlarg-
ment in length could not by that means be so well differenced. But when fewer Legions under two 
Conuls were to be joined in one camp, if it pleased the Generals to keep their standing apart it was likewise a long
square, but doubled in length, in all other respects agreeing with this description: and the camp so doubled
contained twice as much ground, perimeter halfe as much more with its gates two Decumanus, two Sinistrae Principales,
and two Decumanus without any Praetorius at all. But when it pleased them to pitch together they placed the Formes
of the Prinicipi, Qaestorium and Praetorium in the middle between the two armies; the Extraordinaes and Assilis
external quarreering, as it may feeme, in this case, between the Tribunes and fouliders lodgings in the same quan-
ty of ground as before, and with convenient freeteres on both sides.

The General officer out the Campes was called Praefectus Castrorum: * to whose charge appertained to flake
out the Campe and see it kept sweete, to appoint and order the trenches and ditch, to quarter the fouliders
with their carriages in their lodgings, to provide diet and phyllick for the sick, and pay the phyllicky &c.
Particularly over the furnishes, carpenters and other artificers with the enginers and such like the officer was called
Praefectus Fabricis. Both of them, as I thinke, lodged in Qaestorium, where it is likely the Legisdiction also were
quartered, and in the free house the Legisdiction consilii.

After that the ground was notched, and campes failed, all which followed the campes both bond and free
received an oath called Sacromentum Castrorum, which according to Polybius was, MIBAE * 'EK THS PA-
RMOBAXE KALEFEIN, AAAA KAN ETIHI TIT E TOTTANOISEIN EPI
TOUS XIAPXOYTS. This is, that he should feale nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to finde ought
he should say it to the Tribunes, &c. and in another place he toucheth a matter of greater importance, concerning
the reception of the spoil in the sacking of citties, a point most profitably indited, whether the spoil
were to be referred to publicke use, or els divided among the soldiers, whereof the worst part are commonly most
nimbly that way. But chiefly it flattered the minds of thehe, who by the Generals commandment remained in armes
in the Market place against all foddens machinances of ware, being allied therof by equal part with the rest
in the pray which should be taken by others. Ana 4 Gracchus fetched the very forme of the oath downe in more par-
ticular terms out of Cincius de re militari: Exercitation decem millia passuum prop? Formes non fasere dolo mulo culce, nesci
cum pluribus placui nunc argentia in dies longos, estra, halia, balle, ignis, pabulum, strem, folium, fuctum, quid iu
innumeris quod pluris numi argentei esuris, veti ad Cuff, fet alt quorum cuncta alteris insinuerat perquiras, am profittere in sive proximo
quicquid inunuenis su futiliterene dolo mulo, nam domino suum in censibus esse reddes, veti quid reelle facium esse vole.

In feruice the Legionary soldier had allowance of pay, corn and apparel: and at the ende of his fervice
a consideration in money, or lande of inheritance, and sometimes both. For the pay Linius * wrighteth thus. Annu
ubiectum consae. 339, decembris Senatus vij Specimenis millies de publico acipientes, quorum amiti sensum de quoque forume
munere effet. The quantity Polibus limith in the first book, at least as it was in his time, assigning to a footeman
the third part of a drachma, or two oba oba by the day, which Polibus in another place redueth to lower afo, to
a Councillor vote so much, to a horsemann a drachma, or Roman demurrs then currant for twelve afo. This pay
continueth, as I thinke, in this forme still, and is legimium, whence in paye of mechanism, Suctumus
cap. 26. so that the foomean had by the day slover, the Censorius stemine, the horse two foote.

Augustus increased the footmenes pay to ten afo a day, and as it feemeth shortly after itrose to a full demurra,
Poleide wages the fouliders received in later times vij dem de publica, as they were some finer garment, not all his
apparell, as Hippiote. Murcians Gracchis, among the Iwes which were esblished by G. Gracchus one was,
sereth he, EXTRAIPXOA, KALESESIM, in the same habert, where C. Gracchus said it, &c. in the misa

destinum, &c. That is, Militar, commanding a thousand of the soldiers by the officers with all the necessaries of wages before, for to be
assemblen, as Polibus they received apparel, and other necessaries of the quæstor, but the price was for vp in
their wages. Vegetius lib. a. cap. 19. Imperatoris miles, qui tete & annual publicum peciss, Thirdly they received
sacramentum. Vegetius in the place above alledged, Imperatoris miles qui annual publicum peciss. And in the free state,
S-luff.
For such a man 10 thousand drachmas, the Centurion ten thousand, the Tribune twenty thousand. Augustus reducing it to Appian. Eg.[

had their pay and *paymaster from home, as living in some equalitie of alliance, and yet recognizing a superiourity on the Legionarie at the end of twenty, three thousand. For the pay of the Auxilia, the allies in the free state, some which had lien in common before; and some taking it by force from the owners; not only as a recompence of their services, and Antennates were incorporated, the Romans had then, saith Dionysius, lib. 3. six thousand Legions, but also for their maintenance of the Prince as well as the Legions.

The Roman law before then being done by half inch.

At the battle of *Iulius forty five after, double the Centurion, triple the horse. At the battle of *Africanus forty after a piece, two thrones six pence. English. At the battle of *Iulius forty five after, double the Centurion, triple the horse. Pompey out of Asia fifteen hundred drachmas a common soldier, and the rest in proportion, so much was either wealth or ambition grown in few years. At the battle of *Cesar after the battle was the fodder the soldier had some little remembrance: at the battle of *Africanus forty after a piece, two thalers six pence.

In the time of Tullus Hollius, the Romans legen domalauta, i.e. in the singular number: in the beginning of Tullus Hollius, the Romans legions less five hundred, at the point, in the plural, i.e. Romuli, in the time of the Sabines carrying arms more for the maintenance of the Princes effect, then for the interest of their own liberty, received their pay and other commodities of the Prince as well as the Legions.

It remaineth now to consider the number of the Legions and men which the Romans commonly armed, or armed at the highest, or possibly could arm. Rome in her infancy had only one Legion, according to Dionysius and *Varo, consisting of three thousand footmen, and three hundred horse, as before it is shewed: notwithstanding the words before alluded of *Plutarch, a man of latter art, seeme to import a multitude. After the Centuries, and Antennates were incorporated, the Romans had then, saith Dionysius, lib. 3. six thousand Legions, footmen, that is according to the figure of that time, two complete Legions. In his army against the Sabins, Romans tworome Legions, and horse seven hundred and forty, and horse eight hundred, horse Dionysius. Afterwards the Sabins being received into the city, and the Camerinii with others, they despaired, and Romulus 4 left the City furnished of foot six thousand footmen, and little left then *a thousand horse; great and almost incredible incease in one man's rage. In the time of Tullus Hollius third king of the Romans by the names of Alba the Roman forces were doubled. Dionysius lib. 3. Which is both true in grammatical vnderstanding, the state of Rome at that time was able to make welch an hundred thousand men to the field, an exceedinge number of soldiers, seeing the whole ceste, which contained all men about fourteen or yeeres, not *bond nor mechanicall, in Serious time amounted but to eighty thousand, or eighty thousand and feauen hundred, as Liuy, and the fame Dionysius do wittesee, although Fabius Pictor indeede makes it the number of men able for service, something approaching to our number collected by consequence out of Dionysius words. In the free state from the beginning in a manner without interruption, the common armed every yeere lower Legions with their Auxilia, *as Polybut an ey-witness, and Liuy do testifie, which according to the lowest reckoning of those times with the Auxilia make thirty two thousand footmen, and fower and twenty hundred horse. And this was their ordinary yearly flint, observed even in peaceable times, and even as to keep their hands in: a point of great consideration and necessary vse in a warlike common-wealth. But how many they armed upon occasions, or possibly could arm is another consideration. In the battell ad locum Regium, Anna Vellis condict 257 the Romans *put in the field twenty four thousand, that is six complete Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thousand horse, five hundred as it concerned to a Legion, which exceedeth greatly the yeie of that age, and the Latin, at that time enemies neither Auxillaries, fortie thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. In the ceste two yeares before were 1 cenfus in hundred and ninfe thousand footmen. So that of which, excepting those which were above militare age, we may reasonably premise the one halfa centenar horse at least to have been ferueable men for the field. Anna Vellis condict 247, the yeare after the kings were excluded, the ceste was
an hundredth and thirty thousand. This is, of those of seventeen years and upward, and the number of persons men and women above three hundred thousand. Now half of the cenos, or a quarter of the heads in common intent and being accounted men for the field, we may probably conclude, that the state of Rome in those dates was able to put twenty thousand, or not much less in armies.

The Roman state, in the time of Cæsar, was able to arm more than seven hundred thousand men, of which the Romans themselves were not more than two hundred thousand, and their allies, as Dioςium lib. 1. legiones decem effiles. Dioςius adderit k̲̅̅̅̅q̲̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅̅...
In this catalogue Prima Italica of Gallia Lugdunensis, Prima adiutrix at Rome, and Septima Galbiana of Pannonie were constituted by Nero and Galba. The seven legions of Germanie, Duovivicenna of Egypt, and Nona of Britannie were established by Titus and Caius; Claudius, or peradventure some of them in the latter part of Augustus. All the other nineteen were undoubtedly founded by Augustus, and in effe yeeres before Augustus death. For albeit two of them bear the name of Claudius, Vndecima Claudia, and that of the other legions, where two and twenty are the same that we have found in Galliae time, the nine remaining of the three one which we had under Galba, being mufciared in the mean time, or ioynd to some other: to wit, Nona of the Britannie, all the seven legions of Germanie, and Victima secunda of Egypt. And for Scipio and Decima in lowe Germany we are assured by Tacitus of their ruine at Vetera. In felde of these nine thus deuised, we haue ten other named by Dio: Secunda Adiutrix, and Septima Flavia enrolled by Vefpanian: Prima Minerva by Domitian; Secunda Euphemia, and Trifeima Germanica otherwise called Secunda Traiana and Trifeima Vpia by Trajan; Secunda Italica and Tertia Italica by Marcus: Prima Parthica, Secunda Parthica, Tertia Parthica by Senerus. The catalogue of the legions which at this day is extant in the court of the Capitoll, and is evidently more moderne then Dio, hath the same number with Dio, and nine and twentie of the same legions. One lyke in the particular names in felde of Victima, Sepima Galbiana, and Tertia Italica which are in Dio, is Vnita- Secunda Primigenia, Secunda Claudia, and Decima of Flavia, and of the Legions in Galbaes estime that monu-
mens hath but onely twicel, lacking (beside the same in which are wanting in Dio) septima Galbiana, and the Victima which we have placed in Syria. Now thirteene legions Imperiall, which in Gaalbae time we doe finde, according to our suppositions content an hundred eightye thousand footemen, and eighteene thousand foot in seven hundred horfe. The Auxilia of the one kind and of the other in number not much otherwiſe. So we haue in chiefes times usually maintained by the Empire, foemen three hundred & fourteen thousand two hundred, and horſe thirteene thousand two hundred at the smallft reckoning. Whole ordinary pay, beside cornne and some apperell, at one denarius or drachma a day for the foemen, and three for the horfe, beside the increase of wages guine to the officers, amoung of them to the yeere to a hundred and foyme sixe hundred thousand four yeeres: in our money fouvene millions five hundred & fourteen thousand forty two pounds and ten shillings: which is more then i. 

...
...
faith well of that Prince) by dividing it into 4 foure, and weakening their authority. 

Militiae  
vani

in Augustus time (if Dio be not deceived, as I think he is) were in number six thousand, distributed into four cohorts or companies. Dio lib. 53, c. 12. And the places where they resided are mentioned, in Tibers and Caesarea, and the number of them, and those of their sons, and their posterity, is given in Dio lib. 52, c. 3. 

...in Vitellius time quinque venale obteres quibus singula milia inveniunt. Tacitus lib. 3. 

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Roman stories, but especially those by Appian in his fragment and the Epitome of Livy lib. 12, first that there was an ancient league with the Latins, 

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that the Romans haunted the sea. Then that the Roman Diumna, went by ten names to survey the coasts of Magna Graecia, whereof four were sunken, one taken, and the Diumna Line. But whether now first, or otherwise, the Romans upon the occasion before mentioned entering the sea brought thither from their service by land, Gaeth Polybius, a kind of violent proceeding, as though wised and weather notwithstanding, what once they had determined to do, that they must necessarily go thereto with all. Which manner of contending and running or rather enforcing of Fortune, as it is by land comendible, & to the Romans hath bin cause of infinite good, so by sea against that wide element it did them more harme, then their enemies the Carthaginians did; who although through their long experience by sea they excelled the Romans in skill & agility of the seamen, yet the Carthaginians, by his great forces, might at length interior in the whole.

Shippes of warre as concerneth our purpose, were of three sortes: of warre, of burden, and of palleage; the first towed with oare, the second governed with false, and the last often towed with corses. Shippes of palleage by sea, were either for transportation of men, & was called also apollonia, or of horses, & hippoines. Outer a nuer, or some short cut paracenture by sea, were, if possible, ferboates, if the number were few; and to palle whole armies with their cariage galle, rates, planks or figures tied together.

Shippes of burden, meretaria, sertopia, &c, which were our vulgar language also raethen, were for cariage of vitall and other provision, and sometimes for transportation of soldiers also. Of shippes of warre the most principall and of greatest seruice were naues longe, 

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lately years before his time they had done continued to make and to become so beautiful that which in our gallant now adayes they never fawe: whereas as in truth Zosimus tellth vs, that very many years before his time they had did continued to make any naues at all: as indeed from the battell at Actium, till the battell betwixt Constandine the great and Lucinus at Hellepont, I do not remember by sea any action of moment. His words be lib. 8, that in the forty and fifth year of Augustus, in several and sundry, the 17th day of the month of September, in that sea battell, the scipion the great 

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land. Monno in frag. men of the ancient stories was bees a top: and in the writers of Roman histories we have mention alfo about the number, though it seldom in the Roman wars, and other places of one about weather, as I saie it, though perhaps not directly. I doe knowe, or conteined other, the shippe of the Trireme for example, three men with three oares late upon one banke, and some other that three men pulled at one oare, directly against both the authority of ancient writers produced by themselves, and contrary to the ancient portrayes or similitudes of naues remaining yet to be seen: so incredible a thing it seemed to believe that which in our gallants now adayes they never sawe: where as in truth Zosimus tellth vs, that very many years before his time they had did continued to make any naues at all: as indeed from the battell at Actium, till the battell betwixt Constantine the great and Lucinus at Hellepont, I do not remember by sea any action of moment. His words be lib. 8, that in the forty and fifth year of Augustus, in several and sundry, the 17th day of the month of September, in that sea battell, the scipion the great ...
As Herodotus, Clio, expressly named the Thracians and Scythians, the same which in another place seteth both Scythians and Thracians in opposition to ships of war: and so doth Phurtag, Catone, by oversight. The naval, and that some of the Mareses alto were Scythians, it is alleged by Luys Libro. 3. Rexes monstros ita inuenta bella contra, which else were a vain and needless addition. Befide these three, divided as we see, by the number of rows, we have in the first an particular mention of others as Argonaut, Phurtag, Catone, &c. differing per adventure from防护 the whole, where we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, being in former times under the Longe, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. Epitoma, in which name, &c. differing and adventure from防护 the whole, where we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, being in former times under the Longe, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. Epitoma, in which name, &c. differing and adventure from防护 the whole, where we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, being in former times under the Longe, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. Epitoma, in which name, &c. differing and adventure from防护 the whole, where we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, being in former times under the Longe, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. Epitoma, in which name, &c. differing and adventure from防护 the whole, where we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, being in former times under the Longe, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. Epitoma, in which name, &c. differing and adventure from防护 the whole, where we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, being in former times under the Longe, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. 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Epitoma, in which name, &c. differing and adventure from防护 the whole, where we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, being in former times under the Longe, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. Epitoma,
THE EXPLICATION OF A PLACE IN POLYBIUS WITH A DEFENCE

of the common copye against the opinion of certaine
great learned men, wherein also the reason
of the military stipend is declared.

POLYBIUS lib. 3. discourting of the excellent and miraculous fertilitie of Lombardie, maketh report that a man in his Inne might there be well and plentifully entreated for halfe an ass a meale, which is, saith he, the fourth part of an obolus. His words are nummerat, and are as followeth: 

"Dennarius, or Denarius, was the eight part of an ounce, and vitally divided into fix Oboli. That Dennarius and Denarius in these most testimonies in number and most pregnante in content, we see, and more and more equa by the sixteenth. And if at any time Denarius was currant for twelve Asses, as Polybius seemeth to make it in this place, then one Ass was woorth halfe-penny of English money, and an halfe Ass, furthering thee, the price of a mans dinner in our money, but furthering thee price.

If that of our silver, whereof the thirteenth, the sixteenth, a ce, and the twentieth, and the thirtieth, and the thirtieth, be the price of a dinner in our money, but furthering thee price.

If for halfe an Ass be the price of an obolus, one obolus is equal to two asses, and conversely for obolus, that is the Drachma or Denarius to twelve Asses.

That Denarius contained precisely, and in all ages, of Serius, and at the first was current for ten Asses only, as the name also importeth; but afterward went at a hyer reckoning, sometime for seiscento. So that of our silver, whereof the thirteenth, the sixteenth, a ce, and the twentieth, and the thirtieth, be the price of a dinner in our money, but furthering thee price. And if at any time Denarius was currant for twelve Asses, as Polybius seemeth to make it in this place, then one Ass was woorth halfe-penny of English money, and an halfe Ass, furthering thee, the price of a mans dinner in our money, but furthering thee price.

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ginning of the eight booke produceth another testimony out of Polybius in the fower and thirtieth of his storie, that in Portugal a good far kidde was visuall sold for an Obole, the price of fouer mens dinners in Lombardie. And Hottoman himselfe s bringeth out of Gellius enough to have withheld him from laying violent handes upon a poore innocent place, that inge Aesneid a sheepe was prised at ten afer : for I holde it no aburditie that twenty per sons might dine competently for the price of a sheepe. The money, I grant, is but little, farthing cee for a dinner ; and so was two pence halfe-penny weight for a souldiers paye by the day, which weight in fluer now will not find the leaft lackey in the campe his breakfast : and yet the Roman allowance in corne, a bushell of wheates by the moneth, will even in our daies ferue the talleft souldier that is. For money receiueth valuation and price by the position of the Prince and state, or mutuall convention of men, things most alterable vpon every occasion, and therefore the Grecians terme it ρωιςεμα, because it consiseth ρωις ρωις, as being nothing indeede and in nature, but wholly depending vpon the voluntary infiniton of men : whereas the other being a position of nature remaineth for euer the same. Now why a piece of fluer of the same weight and alloy should then go so faire, and now do so little, no caufe, I suppose, more general can be assigned, then the great store of that mettal. For the exceexshe abundance of ταιos ανετρον, things which conistonly vpon the infiniton of man, draweth necessarilly ταιον ανετρον, thole things which nature requirith, to a higher rate in the market. Capi-

d ab Auguſtis Alexamid, faith Orofius, ῥομain tantum opibus eius crevit, ας ἄνω τοια πολυ μεγαλυταρα ὑπερτελειαν προισια δωκουμεντον. And here in England that which was solde about an hundreth yeeres agoe for tenne groates, which then weighed an ounce, now since the discovery of the Indies can hardly be bought for tenne shillings of our currant money, or two ounces of the same goodness and weight, and if it should happen hereafter the whole treasures of those countries to be transported into our land, the like plente preifupposed in the rest of the world adjoyning, these present prices, which to vs seeme so exceexshee, to them which should live in that age would double exshee seems as miraculous as that of Polybius to vs. Polybius himselfe, as Strabo writeth in the fourth booke of his Geographie, reporteth that vpon the discovery of certaine gold mines in his time about Aquilius, the price of gold throughout all Italy fell a third part; which in other termes is all one to say, the prices of all things bought with gold rose a third part. As for that which D. Hottoman mayntaineth that Denarius was never currant at twelwe sflv, but either at ten, or at fixteen, although it be not much material to our purpose, yet surely his neganitie is not receuable against this positive place of Polybius inferring the contrary; then it is without all question, that it should goe at ten and fixteen and neuer at any middle rate; beside that other learned men maintain directly the contrary with greater reason as it seemes, and ground of good writers. So that D. Hottoman hath double exshee done great wrong euery way to this place of Polybius. And surely if men vpon private fancie do presume thus to alter publike records, shortely we shall have incau to prefe Winkin de Worde and Badius Aftenius before the printers of our time, and generally to elethe those copies most corrected, which have leaft beene corrected.
In the margin of Tacitus.

In the year two before the death of the Emperor Augustus, the Senate declared that the Schema of the Olympic Games should be established. To this effect, the Senate sent a mission to the Greeks, who were represented as desirous of the establishment of the Games.

Galba, in his capacity as Prefect of the Praetorian Guard, offered to make a sacrifice to Jupiter, and be some of the citizens. He lifted his fingers and cast towards every on of them.

They reached, robbed, and spoilt all things they could lay their hands on.

They returned home, their desires in Verginius, they sought to fulfill in some other.

Otho dispatched towards Tigellinus king at Simena, for there he had learned, having ships attending in the trade, as though he would host first, and first he attempted to corrupt him who was sent, offering him store of gold to let him escape: then not obtaining his purpose he gave him notwithstanding the gold, praying him that he would yet have patience a little still; his heart might be change, and himself taking the excuse of his own throat.

Leaving being in wine you fall to quarrelling among your selves, and wound one another, and so disfigure the banquets, for the fight of arms drawn out men often to handling of them. Telemachus excuse why he remooved his fathers armour and weapons out of the place where the wooters voted to eate.

Two Centurions.

Eighty Senare.

Sending them out by a backe gate.

And the common people accounted the rising of Tibur as an evil signe. The river did most harme in the cornes markets, whereupon followed a great dearth for many days.

To doe his reverence to the Prince, and receive commission from him concerning the affairs of Italy.

Some say that the island was called Cyprus, of Cyprus the sonne of Cybeus. The said altar was placed in the open air without any court, as others also in Homer seem to have been, on which stone that translated by the way did offer. It is reported and believed amongst the Baryliotes that the image of Diana named Kindya as though lying open to all weather is yet neither touched with snow, nor rain at all.

Saying all shose of the vanguard.

One of the common soldiers flathing onts his furade and crying. We are thus refinshed for thee all O Cesar, flew himselfe.

So forth it madethscope to receive the Empire as the conquered handes, having refused it before at the conquerors, and fearing to go in Embassie to those of Germany whom he had forced to many things against their own will.

Nothing amended at the change determined to goe on his journey to Rome.

Small vessels of one and light of some 25. men apiece; soldone and at the vtermost not above 30. the Grecians call them Camare.

The temple of Jupiter, and luno and Minerva. As at what time also the Capitol was burnt, which soule affe imputed to Carbo some to the Consuls, others auided it was done by Sylla's commandement. The certainty was not known, neither can I conclude the cause why it was done. Appian, for his felicitie against his enemies his flatteners named him the Happy, which name proceeding from of flattery was afterward confirmed as him by common consent. Plut. Last, upon these accidents he commanded himselfe to be called The happy: for so much doeth the word Felix signific.
In the margin of the Annotations.

Dio...a Dio. Wherefore it becometh v, not to mourn for him, but to magnify alway his spirit as a god. Afterward the Centurions with torches put fire to the pin, which was some consumed, and one of an eagle its last flew vp, carrying for

such his soul into heaven.

Appian. To be feared and not to be touched himself, and whatsoever should fly unto him. Dio. The prerogatives granted to the Tribunes were conferred upon him, so that if any man should injure him in word or deed, he was to be reputed a seditious and detestable person.

Anony allotted soldiers to death, not those who had pierced enemies, for taken their place in watch, or standing in battle, upon which crimes only the law of arms had laid so rigorous and terrible a punishment, but as called then Lugudunum now Lugdunum.

Northerly winds blowing yearly after the summer solstium some twenty days, about the rising of the Dogstar.

Being mixed of the northerly and westerly winds.

One day after Antonius entered the city, being the third of the month Apellaeus.

Of the Roman wars he swore to triumph, as being small, and neither much beholding himself, and much misliked and abhorred of the people. And was voted by the people yet did not wear upon him, c-alway, after other Emperors, his matches, lest that subjecting by the smallest of the enemies their actions so to be checked they should wreak their anger upon the Senate, as if it were necessary to be led in triumph, or triumphed over.

FINIS.